

Felix Albrecht / Reinhard Gregor Kratz (eds.)

# Editing the Greek Psalter



# De Septuaginta Investigationes (DSI)

Edited by

Anneli Aejmelaeus, Felix Albrecht, Kristin De Troyer,  
Wolfgang Kraus, Michael Segal

In Co-operation with

Kai Brodersen (Erfurt, Germany), Cécile Dogniez (Paris, France),  
Peter Gentry (Louisville, USA), Anna Kharanauli (Tbilisi, Georgia),  
Armin Lange (Wien, Austria), Alison Salvesen (Oxford, UK),  
David Andrew Teeter (Cambridge, USA), Julio Trebolle (Madrid, Spain),  
Florian Wilk (Göttingen, Germany)

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# Editing the Greek Psalter

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## Preface

The Greek Psalter, a central text of the Septuagint, has been the subject of scholarly investigation and study for centuries. As our understanding of the Septuagint evolves, so do insights into the Greek Psalter within the Septuagint. Bringing together a range of scholarly perspectives, this volume seeks to provide a comprehensive examination of its nuanced intricacies, historical context and continuing scholarly and cultural influence. For more than a century, the monumental task of critically editing the Old Testament in Greek has been systematically undertaken in Göttingen. Between 1908 and 2015, this task was in the hands of the “Septuaginta-Unternehmen”. In 2016, the baton was then passed to the “Kommission zur Edition und Erforschung der Septuaginta”.<sup>1</sup> Finally, in 2020, an important course was set with the establishment of a long-term Academy project entitled “*Die Editio critica maior des griechischen Psalters*”. This project, which is based at the Göttingen Academy of Sciences and Humanities in Lower Saxony, is scheduled to run for 20 years.<sup>2</sup> It focuses exclusively on the edition of the Greek Psalter, acknowledging the Psalter as one of the most comprehensive, versatile and deeply interpreted books of the Bible. Its liturgical and meditative roots bridge Judaism, Western and Orthodox Christianity. Moreover, its profound influence on European and global literature is felt in areas ranging from poetry to the visual arts, and is echoed in the works of eminent figures such as Arnold Schönberg, Paul Celan and Marc Chagall, among many others. The ceremonial opening of the Psalter project, which had been postponed due to the Corona pandemic, took place from 1 to 3 December 2021 as a hybrid event within the framework of an international colloquium.<sup>3</sup> The organisers wish to extend their heartfelt thanks to the Fritz Thyssen Foundation for its generous and straightforward financial support of our conference. Including the speakers, an average of approximately 25 individuals attended in person, complemented by a substantial online audience that peaked at around 400 participants. This volume compiles the proceedings of this seminal conference.<sup>4</sup>

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1 Cf. Felix Albrecht, “Report on the Göttingen Septuagint”, in: *Textus* 29 (2020): 201–220. Open Access: <https://doi.org/10.1163/2589255X-bja10003> (last access: 5.9.2023).

2 See the website of the Psalter project <https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/> (last access: 5.9.2023).

3 Cf. the conference reports by Beatrice Bonanno, in: *Revue théologique de Louvain* 53 (2022), 261–264 (French); and by Eugenia Sokolinski, in: *Comparative Oriental Manuscript Studies* 8/1 (2022), 260–261 (English). Open Access: <https://doi.org/10.25592/uuhfdm.11546> (last access: 5.9.2023).

4 The ceremonial opening lecture, which also formed the 2021 Wellhausen Lecture, was given by Prof. Dr Dr h.c. mult. Christoph Marksches (Berlin). His lecture entitled “Psaltertext und Psalter-

While the majority of the papers were presented during the colloquium, subsequent contributions serve to enrich and capture the discourse in its entirety. The volume is divided into four sections, which will be briefly introduced in the following.

**Section I “The Greek Psalter”** commences with two linguistic analyses. John Lee and Anneli Aejmelaus examine the Greek Psalter’s linguistic complexities and its unique translation technique. **John Lee’s** contribution (“The Language of the Greek Psalter”) offers a fresh perspective on the translation of the Psalms into Greek, underscoring the translator’s mastery of idiomatic Greek and the use of high-register, literary Greek. Lee examines the broader implications of these linguistic choices, demonstrating the translator’s intentional selection of a sophisticated, idiomatic language that aligns with the literary quality of the era (II BCE). In his view, the Septuagint Psalms are composed in a style that can be described as “natural, idiomatic, upper-middle literary Greek of II BCE” (p. 18). According to Lee, they can be located in Egypt, and there is “no link between καὶ γάρ in the Psalms and καὶ γε as a rendering of וְ in later texts” (p. 19). In the 1990s, **Anneli Aejmelaus** was responsible for the preparation of the Psalter collations at the Septuaginta-Unternehmen and is therefore familiar with the various problems linked to the Psalter tradition. In her article, Aejmelaus emphasises the importance of analysing the translation technique in editing the Psalter (“Translation Technique in the Greek Psalter”). In characterising the translation methods, she distinguishes between quantity and quality (see § 2 of her article). In terms of word order and number of words (quantitatively), the Greek translation follows the Hebrew *Vorlage* closely, being quite literal. In terms of lexicon and grammar (qualitatively), however, the approach differs. She compares the translation of the Psalter with that of 1 Samuel, both of which are considered particularly literal. In her opinion, the translator of the Psalter, unlike the translator of 1 Samuel, was a professional scholar who had both the Hebrew and Greek Pentateuch as a reference. Finally, she evaluates briefly the important papyrus Ra 2110 for its textual value and considers it to be a pre-Hexaplaric testimony influenced by Jewish revisionary activities. She concludes that “Even such an ancient papyrus cannot be taken to represent the original translation without a careful text-critical evaluation.” (p. 32). **Siegfried Kreuzer** focuses on the criteria of textual criticism and the textual history of the Psalms (“Kriterien der Textkritik und die Textgeschichte der Psalmen”). According to him, there are two authoritative phases in the development of the Septuagint: the Old Greek and a Hebrew-oriented revision. Origen’s Hexaplaric recension is the only confirmed later revision of the Septuagint. The long-held view of a post-Hexaplaric revision, traditionally associated with Lucian of Antioch, is considered outdated by Kreu-

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exegese bei Eusebius von Caesarea oder: Zur Gegenwartsbedeutung antiker Textwissenschaft” is to be published separately as part of the series “Julius-Wellhausen-Vorlesung” (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter).

zer. The original Septuagint often translated with linguistic freedom from another Hebrew text, while later revisions adapted more to the proto-Masoretic text. Therefore, the original Septuagint is considered to be further from the proto-Masoretic text. Any new edition of the Septuagint should follow the classical text-critical rules laid out by de Lagarde and Thiersch, according to Kreuzer. **Emanuel Tov** illuminates the contribution of the Septuagint to the understanding of the original text of the Psalter (“The Aid of the Septuagint in Establishing the Original Text of the Psalter”). His analysis raises questions about the nature of our received texts and emphasises that the tradition of the Psalter both in Hebrew (MT) and Greek (LXX) is relatively unified, which can be illustrated, for instance, with the Elohist-Psalter common to both tradition (p. 43). **Reinhard Müller** studies the Elohist-Psalter from a text-historical perspective (“Der elohistische Psalter im Licht der Textgeschichte”). His insights into the Elohist-Psalter highlight the change from “Yahweh” to “Elohim” as a notable feature in the Psalms that points to a distinct literary tradition or redactional layer. This linguistic shift allows for a broader view of the historical development and theological foundations of the text. Meanwhile, **Michael Segal**, re-examining the relationship between Psalm 113 and the Song of Hannah, argues for a textual model rooted not only in the Septuagint but also in a broad philological landscape (“On the Relationship Between Psalm 113 [LXX 112] and Hannah’s Song [1Sam 2:1–10 || Odes 3]”). Segal’s approach transforms our understanding of the language and themes in these biblical passages. Finally, **Reinhard Kratz** offers insight into the textual and literary history of Psalm 151 (“Textual and Literary History in Psalm 151”). His discussion of Psalm 151 draws attention to the intertwining of textual and literary history. His deconstruction of the Qumran and Septuagint versions of the Psalm highlights the transformation of the text from its poetic essence to its adaptation to biblical narratives, especially in the context of David’s life. Taken together, these analyses on “The Greek Psalter” provided in the first section unfold a rich tapestry of Psalm traditions and illuminate the dynamic interplay of text, context and interpretation. They challenge us to see the Psalms not just as static texts, but as evolving reflections of theological, literary and socio-historical developments.

**Section II “Translations of the Greek Psalter”** deals with the translations and sheds light on the intertextuality and dissemination of the Greek Psalter. In 1997, Anneli Aejmelaeus organised an international symposium in Göttingen on the daughter versions of the Greek Psalter.<sup>5</sup> Translations of the Psalter stand out as a particularly rich field, characterised by a diversity of languages and histories. This is exemplified in **Eva Schulz-Flügel**’s study of the Old Latin Psalter (“Die älteste erreichbare Vetus-Latina-Version des Psalters: Alte Fragen neu beleuchtet”).

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5 Anneli Aejmelaeus and Udo Quast (ed.), *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen. Symposium in Göttingen 1997*, MSU 24 (Göttingen, 2000).

By focusing on the transmission of the text in its multiple layers, Schulz-Flügel revisits old questions surrounding the origins of the *Vetus Latina* version. **Maria Tomadaki** provides a fascinating insight into the Byzantine world, where the translation and use of the Psalter reflect the spirit of the times and illustrate religious dynamics. In her article (“The Quadripartite Psalter Manuscripts, Witnesses and New Findings”), she presents new findings on the quadripartite Psalter manuscripts. **Frank Feder** underscores the Coptic Psalter’s significance in understanding the earliest Septuagint Psalter (“The Coptic Psalter – Its Transmission and Its Importance for the Earliest Septuagint Psalter”). Feder is responsible for the new edition of the Coptic-Sahidic Old Testament, including the Psalms and Odes, which is currently being prepared at the Göttingen Academy. In his study, **Willem Th. van Peursen** examines the intricacies of the Syriac Peshitta version of the Psalter and explores its implications and relevance for the study of the Septuagint Psalter (“The Peshitta Psalter and Its Relevance to the Study of the Septuagint Psalter”). His analysis carefully traces the nuanced relationships between these two ancient texts, drawing attention to the possible influences they may have had on each other. **Stephen Delamarter and Curt Niccum** take us deeper into the geographical and cultural distribution of the Psalter and introduce us to the Ethiopian Psalter (“The Relevance of the Gəʾəz Psalter for the Editing of the Greek Psalms”). This translation is a testimony to Ethiopia’s rich Christian traditions, which are closely interwoven with the country’s indigenous religious practices. **Ronny Vollandt** introduces the Arabic version of the Psalms and focuses on notable early examples found in Sinai and Damascus (“The Arabic Version of the Book of Psalms Found in Sinai and Damascus”). He gives an overview about Greek-Arabic bilingual manuscripts such as Ra 1191–1193 from Mount Sinai, and deals with the famous Violet fragment (Ra 1046) from the Qubbat al-khazna, which uniquely presents the Arabic translation of Psalms 77:20–31, 51–61 in Greek letters, garnering significant academic interest. Vollandt uses Psalm 90 LXX as a test case and provides a sample synopsis of the Arabic tradition (Ra 1191–1193 plus Bryn Mawr, College Library, MS BV 47). **Claude Cox**’s discourse on the Armenian version in the new Göttingen edition shines a light on the intricate challenges faced in collating the Psalter, highlighting the delicate interplay between the Armenian translator’s style and the underlying Greek source text using Psalm 90 LXX as an example. **Anna Kharanauli**’s exploration of the Georgian Psalter provides a captivating glimpse into the soul of a translator from the first generation, one who grappled with the spirit of the Psalms and the challenges of linguistic nuance. It is a tale of struggle, faith, and the emergence of a new literary Christian language. Lastly, **Ralph Brucker** reflects on the complexities of translating the Septuagint Psalms into a modern language, namely German. His bibliography of modern translations of the Greek Psalter strives for completeness. Taken together, these studies on the “Translations of the Greek Psalter” in the second section, are a testament to the enduring influence of the Psalter and its ability to transcend boundaries.

It is a vivid reminder that the Greek Psalter, in its various translations is one of the most influential biblical books. It has left its mark on all major Christian cultures of the Orient and Occident in faith and scholarship.

**Section III “Hexapla of the Psalms, Antiochene Text and Catena Tradition”** focuses on the Hexapla of the Psalms, on Symmachus and on the Antiochene text of the Psalter as transmitted by Theodoret of Cyrus. The meticulous study of ancient Psalter manuscripts and their commentaries allows us to draw a vivid picture of the cultural, theological and historical significance of the Psalms over time. A fine example of an enormously important Psalter catena commentary that includes parts of the Hexapla of the Psalms is Ra 1098. **Stefano Serventi** and **Roberto Carrera** both offer an in-depth study of the Psalm palimpsest in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, manuscript O 39 sup (Ra 1098). While Serventi focuses on understanding the codicology of the original manuscript (“Kodikologische und paläographische Bemerkungen über den Psalmenpalimpsest der Biblioteca Ambrosiana [O 39 sup.]”), Carrera, who focused his PhD on this manuscript, draws attention to the palaeographic profile of the manuscript and presents an hypothesis for its palaeographic classification (“Codex Ambrosianus O 39 sup. [Ra 1098] and Its Palaeographical Profile”). **Alison Salvesen** (“Symmachus in the Psalter”) draws attention to an examination of Symmachus’ translation work and refutes the argument that he may have deliberately altered Psalm 21(22) in response to early Christian interpretations. Salvesen’s findings underline that Symmachus may have devoted himself to a standard Hebrew text, thus refining Aquila’s style while carefully avoiding certain older expressions of the Septuagint. **Luciano Bossina** highlights the pervasive influence of Theodoret of Cyrus on the Antiochene text of the Psalms (“Theodoret von Kyros und der Antiochenische Text des Psalters”). He postulates two processes of standardisation of the Antiochene Psalter text: First, an initial textual standardisation by Theodoret with reference to Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia. Here Bossina shows that Theodoret constructed his text philologically. Secondly, a further unification through textual tradition. It was the handwritten tradition after Theodoret that “vulgarised” the text of the Psalms. Finally, **Margherita Matera** presents a ray of hope in the field of manuscript preservation and research (“New Investigations on the Burnt Greek Manuscript *Taurinensis* B. VII. 30 (Ra 1208): Codicological Analysis and Content Reconstruction”). Her work on the burnt Greek Psalter Codex Taurinensis B.VII.30 uses innovative digital techniques and reconstructs the form and content of this ancient manuscript, which was severely damaged in a fire in 1904. Matera’s study is a testimony to the manuscript’s unique catena tradition and its liturgical imprint. Overall, the articles in this third section on “Hexapla of the Psalms, Antiochene Text and Catena Tradition” offer an enriched understanding of the historical, linguistic and theological development of the Psalms, highlighting the intricate interplay of text, context and interpretation.

**Section IV “Reception History of the Greek Psalter”** reflects on the legacy of the Greek Psalter. This section evaluates its influence and reception. **Martin Meiser** examines the role of Psalm quotations in the New Testament (“Psalmzitate im Neuen Testament. Überlegungen zur Textkritik”). Meiser’s work on the text-critical analysis of the Psalms provides insights into the translation relationships between the Hebrew and Septuagint versions and sheds light on possible adaptations and semantic shifts. Wallraff and Elhage-Mensching investigate the earliest paratexts and the Eusebian psalm titles respectively. **Martin Wallraff** focuses on the early paratexts of the Psalter (“Framing the Text. The Earliest Paratexts to the Greek Psalter”). He examines the *Codex Alexandrinus* and highlights its unique, christocentric design of the Psalter, which is evident in its extensive paratextual framing not found in other codices. These paratexts make up more than a quarter of the Psalter and range from devotional to scholarly elements, underlining the specifically Christian intention of this Psalter. In her research on Sahidic lectionaries, **Lina Elhage-Mensching** has discovered unique Eusebian titles in the Coptic Psalter Codex sa 2033 (“Eusebian *tituli psalmorum* in the Coptic Psalter Codex sa 2033”). This discovery reveals previously unidentified Eusebian titles in Coptic texts and underlines the importance of the manuscript for biblical scholarship. These titles in sa 2033 introduce each psalm. The reasons for their insertion in this Sahidic tradition require further research. In his contribution, **Ugo Mondini** explores the question of Manuel Philes’ Septuagint *Vorlage* in his Metaphrasis of the Psalms (“Manuel Philes und die Psalmen im griechischen Mittelalter. Der synoptische Psalmentext in der Edition von Philes’ Psalmenmetaphrase”). Manuel Philes, a Byzantine author of the late Middle Ages, was known for his commissioned poetry. A significant work in his literary corpus is the Metaphrasis of the biblical Psalms. Together with Anna Gioffreda and Andreas Rhoby, Mondini is a member of the Viennese team that has produced the first complete edition of this work with introduction and indices. **Georgi Parpulov**’s palaeographic approach highlights the relationship between different manuscripts and textual variations and sheds light on regional differences and palaeographic subtleties (“A Palaeographical Approach to the Greek Text of Psalms”). A unique perspective is offered by **Stig Simeon Frøyskov**, who looks at the development of the liturgical Psalter of Jerusalem, highlighting its central role in the Christian Liturgy of the Hours and its spread to other liturgical traditions, including the Byzantium rite (“The Jerusalem Psalter and Its Evolution: A Comparative Study of Early Liturgical Psalter Divisions of the Syro-Palestinian Sphere”). **Dimitrios Papanikolaou** (“The Psalms in Postclassical Greek Epigraphy”), on the other hand, turns to post-classical Greek epigraphy and shows the enduring presence of the Psalms in Greek inscriptions from the early Christian period to the Middle Ages. This diverse epigraphic culture, in which the learned and the vernacular stand side by side, demonstrates the ubiquity of the Psalms in the Greek-speaking world. Finally, **Felix Albrecht**

addresses common misconceptions about supposedly Jewish adaptations of the Psalms in the early modern period and emphasises the importance of these versions in the realm of early Greek vernacular (“Supposedly Jewish Greek Psalter Versions of the Early Modern Period”). Overall, these articles in the fourth section, dealing with the “Reception History of the Greek Psalter”, shed light on the profound influence of the Psalms and their dynamic development in different areas of Greek history and tradition.

As editors and contributors, we are pleased to present this volume to enhance our collective understanding of the Greek Psalter, its multiple interpretations and its indelible legacy as we embark on the long journey of a critical edition that, God willing, will reach completion in 2040.

The studies in this volume illuminate the multi-layered legacy of the Greek Psalms, offering an interplay of linguistic, theological, historical and liturgical dimensions that span centuries. We hope that this volume will assist both scholars and students in their exploration of this monumental text.

Göttingen, September 2023.

The editors.





## Abbreviations

- Accordance = *Accordance Bible Software*, Oaktree Software, <https://www.accordancebible.com>
- BDB = Brown, Francis/Driver, Samuel R./Briggs, Charles A. *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906.
- CAD = *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1956–2006.
- CGCG = van Emde Boas, Evert, et al. *Cambridge Grammar of Classical Greek*. Cambridge: University Press, 2019.
- GKC = *Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar*. Edited by Emil Kautzsch. Translated by Arthur Ernest Cowley. Oxford: Clarendon Press, <sup>1</sup>1910.
- HALOT = Koehler, Ludwig, et al. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Translated and edited under the supervision of Mervyn E. J. Richardson. 4 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1994–1999.
- HTLS = Bons, Eberhard (ed.). *Historical and Theological Lexicon of the Septuagint*. Vol. 1, Alpha – Gamma. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020.
- Jensen = Jensen, Hans. *Altarmenische Grammatik* (Indogermanische Bibliothek, 1. Reihe. Lehr- und Handbücher). Heidelberg: Winter, 1959.
- Joüon-Muraoka = Joüon, Paul/Muraoka, Takamitsu. *A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew* (SubBi 27). Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 2006.
- LSJ = Liddell, Henry George/Scott, Robert. *A Greek-English Lexicon*. Revised and Augmented Throughout by Henry Stuart Jones et al. With a Revised Supplement. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
- LXX.D = Kraus, Wolfgang/Karrer, Martin (ed.). *Septuaginta Deutsch. Das griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung*. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2009; <sup>2</sup>2010.
- NA<sup>28</sup> = Aland, Barbara, et al. (ed.), *Novum Testamentum Graece*. Begründet von Eberhard und Erwin Nestle. 28. revidierte Auflage, Herausgegeben vom Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung Münster/Westfalen unter der Leitung von Holger Strutwolf. 28th ed., Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2012.
- NETS = Pietersma, Albert/Wright, Benjamin G. (ed.). *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007, <sup>2</sup>2009, <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/>

|         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|---------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| NJPS    | = <i>New Jewish Publication Society of America Tanakh</i> , 1985.                                                                                                                                                      |
| NRSV    | = <i>The New Revised Standard Version</i> , National Council of Churches, 1989.                                                                                                                                        |
| Ra      | = Rahlfs number of a manuscript, see the online Göttingen Verzeichnis ( <a href="https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/">https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/</a> ) for the latest descriptions. |
| RGK     | = <i>Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800–1600</i> , vol. 1–3, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1981–1997.                                                                          |
| Sixtina | = <i>Vetus Testamentum iuxta Septuaginta, ex auctoritate Sixti V. Pont. Max. editum</i> . Rome: Zannetti, 1587.                                                                                                        |
| THEOT   | = <i>Textual History of the Ethiopic Old Testament Project</i> .                                                                                                                                                       |
| VGH     | = Vogel, Marie/Victor Gardthausen (ed.). <i>Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance</i> (Beiheft zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen 33). Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1909.                  |

## Online Resources

last access: 31.08.2023

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|------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| CATSS                                          | = Kraft, Robert/Tov, Emanuel, Computer Assisted Tools for Septuagint/Scriptural Study, <a href="http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rak/catss.html">http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rak/catss.html</a> . |
| epigraphy.packhum.org                          | = <a href="https://epigraphy.packhum.org">https://epigraphy.packhum.org</a> , Searchable Greek Inscriptions, The Packard Humanities Institute.                                           |
| Göttinger Septuaginta                          | = <a href="https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/">https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/</a> , Academy of Sciences and Humanities in Lower Saxony.                                      |
| papyri.info                                    | = <a href="https://papyri.info">https://papyri.info</a> , produced by The Duke Collaboratory for Classics Computing & the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World.                  |
| PmbZ                                           | = <a href="https://www.degruyter.com/database/pmbz/html?lang=de">https://www.degruyter.com/database/pmbz/html?lang=de</a> , Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online.         |
| The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library | = <a href="https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/">https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/</a>                                                                                                    |
| TLG                                            | = <a href="https://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu">https://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu</a> , Thesaurus Linguae Graecae, University of California.                                                       |

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# I. The Greek Psalter





## The Language of the Greek Psalter\*

The Psalter is one of the most studied books of the LXX. Most of its topics have been intensively investigated. The language as such has received limited attention. The aim of this contribution is to describe the language of the Psalms, that is, the language as a specimen of Greek within the history of the Greek language. It was apparent to me at the outset that other aspects of the translation were connected, and discussion of them would also be needed to deal fully with the question of the language. The project grew bigger as it progressed. This article is a reduced version of what could be written on the subject and what I originally thought I could cover. It will address, in a fairly short compass, two topics, “Greek idiom” and the “level of Greek” or “register” of the Psalter. The other, related topics are “translation method” and “style”, which I hope to pursue at another time.<sup>1</sup> References to the scholarly literature in this article are limited, though more works were consulted than are noticed.

The perception of the Psalms translation as an extremely “literal” version was established early and has coloured all subsequent discussion. Emphasis on this aspect has been detrimental to a full appreciation of the translation. I believe it is time to set out in a new direction, one not confined by this narrow view. Rather than allowing the supposed “literal” method of the translation to dominate our thinking, we should open our eyes to all the qualities of the work. Then its richness will be seen and a negative opinion of the translator’s efforts will be found to be unjustified. In my view James Aitken is right to say that the translation is “more sophisticated than it ... seems”.<sup>2</sup>

A new description of the Psalms translator’s translation method is needed, one that does not depend on the inexact term “literal”, or other descriptions that have improved on it but are not really satisfactory. A better description is possible, I believe, but will not be covered here. Further topics to which the language can contribute, such as the dating of the translation, must also wait for later treatment. Some remarks on these are offered in the conclusion (§ 3).

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\* I am grateful to Anneli Aejmelaes for tempting me to work on the Psalms, and to Felix Albrecht for the invitation to contribute to this volume. Michael Curran offered his usual insightful comments, leading to improvement. – The following sigla are used: > = “becomes”, ~ = “corresponds to”, \* = hypothetical.

1 Cf. Lee, “Greek”, 136 for these four as suggested criteria of classification of LXX books.

2 Aitken, “Septuagint Psalms”, [3].

## 1. Greek Idiom

### 1.1 Introduction

One begins with the fairly obvious fact that the Greek of the Psalms is fundamentally “natural” Greek. All the normal features of Greek grammar and syntax are its underpinning, and much of the vocabulary is routine for the Greek of its time. “Hebraisms”, mostly types inherited from the Pentateuch, are a slight element overall. Criticism of the absence or rarity of some Greek features, such as *participium coniunctum*, conjunctions like ἐπεὶ, and μὲν ... δέ clauses, is beside the point.<sup>3</sup> These are characteristic of prose and general use of them is not to be expected in a poetic work.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the standard applied in these comments is often that of Classical Greek. While much of the Classical inheritance continues into Koine Greek, changes have occurred. “Upper level” Koine Greek, as in the Psalms, is an entity of its own and cannot be expected to conform entirely to the Greek of an earlier era.

The Psalms abound in Greek idiom. I use the term to include both features native to Greek (e.g., attraction of the relative pronoun) and expressions that are “idioms” in the strict sense (e.g., ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό). The translator shows much sensitivity to idiomatic usage in context, that is, choices are usually guided by what is natural Greek in the context. While adherence to the sequence of words in the original is maintained as far as possible, frequent departures are made, mostly to suit the needs of normal Greek (leaving aside possible cases of a different Hebrew original). Isomorphic adherence to the original is also usual but not strict: many departures are found for the same reason. I select only a few features, and specimens are from a much larger pool available. My translations are approximate not definitive.

### 1.2 Features of Natural Greek

#### 1.2.1 Word-Position

The particles, enclitic personal pronouns, indefinite personal pronoun τις, and the special particle ἄν are positioned in the Psalms in accordance with Greek rules. The positions often coincide with the Hebrew position but many do not: they are placed contrary to the Hebrew order. They thus demonstrate the translator’s adherence to Greek idiom. The patterns usually reflect the ancient “Wackernagel’s Law”. Retention in the same position as Hebrew none the less accords with Greek idiom. Indefinite τις appears rarely, but ἄν is used often, both alone and in ὅπως

3 E.g., Bons, “Psalmoi”, 1480–1481.

4 ἐπεὶ appears three times, introduced in an entirely natural Greek way (37:21; 77:20; 118:136).

ἄν (§ 2.2.3). The presence of τις and ἄν is significant in itself: these are Greek features unmatched in Hebrew.<sup>5</sup>

### Examples

(1) 10:5 ואהב חמס > ὁ δὲ ἀγαπῶν ἀδικίαν.

Here ὁ is introduced for the sense and as a bearer for δέ. See (34) below for ואני > ἐγὼ δέ.

(2) 54:23 והוא יכלכלך > καὶ αὐτός σε διαθρέψει.

The enclitic personal pronoun is moved forward to the second “slot”, contrary to the Hebrew order.

(3) 49:12 לך אס-ארעב לא-אמר > ἐὰν πεινάσω, οὐ μὴ σοι εἴπω.

Another similar to (2), οὐ μὴ being treated as a unit.

(4) 87:12 היספר בקבר חסדך > μὴ διηγῇσεταιί τις ἐν τάφῳ τὸ ἔλεός σου;

The pronoun is introduced without Hebrew equivalent in a natural Greek way. The other instance of τις (28:9 πᾶς τις) is equally idiomatic.

(5) 118:92 לולי אבדתי בעיני ... > εἰ μὴ ὅτι ... τότε ἂν ἀπωλόμην ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει μου.

The particle is required for the meaning (“then I would have perished ...”) and placed correctly.

### 1.2.2 Pronoun and Copula

In Hebrew a pronoun alone may stand for a pronoun and copula (i. e., the verb “to be”): אתה = “you are”. The Psalms translator (like others) often inserts the unexpressed verb: אתה > σὺ εἶ. The interesting thing is that the order of pronoun and verb varies. Is it free variation? No. One can see from studying the occurrences that the order is related to which word is the “focus” in the context, that is, the word that imparts the most important information, or has “emphasis”; and moreover that the focus is connected with the first and last positions in the clause. Thus one can deduce a position rule: when a pronoun and copula are paired, the *first* of the pair is the focus when placed at the beginning of (or early in) the clause, the *second* of the pair is the focus when placed at the end of the clause.<sup>6</sup> In the examples, the underlined word is the focus. The translator himself inserts εἶ and ensures that it is in the right place for the sense.

5 Cf. Lee, *Greek of the Pentateuch*, 128–139. Ps tallies: ἄν alone × 17, ὅπως ἄν × 16.

6 This “rule” is a new observation as far as I know. I hope to elaborate on it at a future time. Cf. CGCG, § 60.15, for a difference between head-modifier and modifier-head in noun phrases, and § 60.22–23 for the term “focus”.

### Examples

(6) 117:28 וְאַתָּה וְאֱלֹהֵי מִן > θεός μου εἶ σύ, καὶ ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι.

That “*you are my God*” is more important than “*you are ...*”.

(7) 92:2 אַתָּה מֵעוֹלָם מֵאֵד נָכוֹן כִּסֵּאד > ἔτοιμος ὁ θρόνος σου ἀπὸ τότε, ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος σὺ εἶ.

The word-order indicates focus on “are” and is right in the context: “your throne (has been) ready since then, from eternity *you are*”.

(8) 85:10a וְעָשָׂה נִפְלְאוֹת > ὅτι μέγας εἶ σύ καὶ ποιῶν θαυμάσια.

The clause ends at σύ, so that is where the focus is: “because *you are* great and a doer of wonders”.

(9) 85:10b לְבַדְּךָ אַתָּה אֱלֹהִים > σὺ εἶ ὁ θεὸς μόνος ὁ μέγας.

“*You are God alone the great one*”.<sup>7</sup>

### 1.2.3 Onoma Rule

There are two instances of observance of the “*onoma* rule”, that is, ὄνομα is constructed *without* the article when the possessor of the name is expressed in the dative.<sup>8</sup> These two and one other (28:2) are the only places in the Psalms where ὄνομα is without the article in 113 occurrences.<sup>9</sup>

### Examples

(10) 67:5b בֵּיה שְׁמוֹ > κύριος ὄνομα αὐτῷ.

The normal inclusion of the article with genitive possessor appears just before in the same verse: 67:5a ψάλλατε τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ (~ שְׁמוֹ). The translator ignores the (difficult) -בֵּיה in בֵּיה.

(11) 82:19 יְהוָה שֵׁםךָ > ὅτι ὄνομά σοι κύριος.

The Hebrew (literally “for [as for] you, your name is ...”) is converted into natural Greek form.

### 1.2.4 Prepositions

Far from relying entirely on standard equivalents, the Psalms translator usually adjusts his choice of preposition to the context. This is not to say there is no use of standard equivalents; nor that there are no instances of unnatural Greek or even

7 The meaning, “*you are*”, would have required \*ὁ θεὸς εἶ σύ μόνος ὁ μέγας: cf. 3 Kgdms 20:5 καὶ οὐκ εἶ σύ ἐσθίων ἄρτον.

8 See Lee, “*Onoma*”.

9 In Ps 28:2 ἐνέγκατε τῷ κυρίῳ δόξαν ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ some kind of hyperbaton may be intended.

Hebraisms created by using a standard equivalent. There are some, most probably where it was not easy to see what else to do.<sup>10</sup> The translator's general approach, however, is to use the right preposition for the context, or to drop the preposition and use a case instead; sometimes he adds a preposition.

Some of these preposition choices have already been studied. Aejmelaeus has found a "remarkable" picture in the combinations of verbs for "rejoice" with a preposition. The most frequent construction in Hebrew is with  $\text{ב}$ , but it is rendered more often by  $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$  + dative than by  $\epsilon\nu$ . This use of  $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$  is in accordance with normal Greek.<sup>11</sup> Similarly, the Psalms translator nearly always constructs  $\epsilon\lambda\pi\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$  and  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\pi\omicron\iota\theta\alpha$  with  $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$  + accusative or dative to represent  $\text{ב}$  in the original. This again is because of its "acceptability" as Greek.<sup>12</sup> A short investigation of my own into the renderings of  $\text{ל}$  finds that in the first 100 occurrences in Psalms (of 1000 +; superscriptions not included) the expected match  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  is outnumbered by the plain dative ( $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  23 %: dat. 32 %). Other less frequent cases and other renderings make up the rest (45 %). All this is a far cry from the picture presented by Pietersma in *NETS* and the "interlinear" model.<sup>13</sup>

The following offer just a glimpse of the abundance available to illustrate the variability in rendering of prepositions.

### Examples

(12) 2:2ab  $\text{על־יהוה ועל־משיחו}$  נוסדו־יחד >  $\sigma\upsilon\nu\eta\chi\theta\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$   $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$  τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου καὶ κατὰ τοῦ χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ.

"They gathered together against the Lord and against his anointed one". Here we have κατὰ instead of  $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$  rendering  $\text{על}$ . κατὰ + gen. is used often in Psalms (× 20), with  $\text{על}$  a frequent but not consistent match.<sup>14</sup>

(13) 10:2  $\text{כוננו חצם על־יתר}$  >  $\eta\tau\omicron\iota\mu\alpha\sigma\alpha\nu$  βέλη  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  φαρέτραν.

Another rendering of  $\text{על}$  tailored to the context: "they made ready arrows in the quiver".

(14) 31:3  $\text{כל־היום בשאגתי בלו עצמי בשאגתי}$  >  $\epsilon\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota\omega\theta\eta$  τὰ ὅστᾱ μου ἀπὸ τοῦ κράζειν με ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν.

The translator thinks contextually:  $\text{בשאגתי}$  could have been rendered by  $\epsilon\nu$  τῷ + infin., but ἀπὸ τοῦ "as a result of/from" makes better sense: "my bones grew old from my crying out the whole day".

10 E.g., 101:25  $\text{שנותיך בדור דורים}$   $\epsilon\nu$  γενεᾷ γενεῶν τὰ ἔτη σου.

11 Aejmelaeus, "Rejoice", 513–520; quotation 515.

12 Aejmelaeus, "Faith", 370–375. Cf. Williams, "Date", 260.

13 Pietersma, "Psalms", 546–547.

14 Cf. Pent. usage in Lee, *Greek of the Pentateuch*, 154–159.

(15) 32:6 נעשו יהוה שמים > τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ κυρίου οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἐστερεώθησαν.  
 “The heavens were made firm by the word of the Lord”. The dative of agent in τῷ λόγῳ is a higher-register equivalent of the preposition in בדבר.<sup>15</sup>

(16) 120:6 בלילה וירח לא יכבה > ἡμέρας ὁ ἥλιος οὐ συγκαύσει σε οὐδὲ ἡ σελήνη τὴν νύκτα.  
 The preposition in בלילה is not natural Greek, so the translator omits it and uses the accusative of time: “... nor the moon during the night”. Similarly 87:10 בכל יום > ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν.

(17) 121:1 נלך בית יהוה > εἰς οἶκον κυρίου πορευσόμεθα.  
 The preposition is needed in Greek, so in it goes.

(18) 140:1 יהוה קראתך > κύριε, ἐκέκραξα πρὸς σέ.  
 The preposition is inserted where a plain accusative to match the Hebrew suffix would not be suitable.

### 1.2.5 Relative Pronoun

The Greek relative pronoun is used naturally and idiomatically by the translator. Attraction and incorporated antecedent come readily to him. The most common phenomenon is the insertion of a relative pronoun where none is expressed in the Hebrew but needed in Greek to make proper sense. The relative adjective ὅσος is not common (× 11) but is used appropriately (“whatever” etc.).

#### Examples

(19) 24:12 יורנו בדרך יבחר > νομοθετήσει αὐτῷ ἐν ὁδῷ ᾗ ἡρετίσατο.  
 A simple insertion of the relative, with normal attraction to the antecedent. “He will give him the law in the way which he has chosen”.

(20) 55:10 ביום אקרא > ἐν ᾗ ἂν ἡμέρα ἐπικαλέσωμαι σε.  
 A Greek idiomatic expression, with relative and incorporated antecedent, replaces bare ביום.

(21) 89:15 עניתנו כימות עניתנו > εὐφράνθημεν ἀνθ’ ὧν ἡμερῶν ἐταπείνωσας ἡμᾶς.  
 “In return for/because of the days when ...”. The translator interprets כִּי, using the common Greek combination ἀνθ’ ὧν.<sup>16</sup> The incorporated antecedent ἡμερῶν has the case required by ἀντί.

15 Cf. Muraoka, *Syntax*, 174–176. M. notes an example in *Ep. Arist.* 28.

16 Once more in Psalms at 108:16 ἀνθ’ ὧν ~ אשר יען.

(22) 92:1 תָּבֵל בְּלִי-תָמוּט > ... τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἣτις οὐ σαλευθήσεται.  
An inserted relative in the Koine form for the feminine singular.<sup>17</sup>

(23) 1:3 וְכָל אֲשֶׁר-יַעֲשֶׂה > καὶ πάντα, ὅσα ἂν ποιῇ.  
Instead of the plain relative, ὅσα is the natural Greek choice here.<sup>18</sup>

### 1.2.6 Idiomatic Translations

These are conveniently separated from idioms proper. Here I give examples of conversion of the Hebrew into a Greek form of expression for the idea. The syntax usually changes completely. Many of them are in the nature of paraphrases. Some are very skillful.

#### Examples

(24) 36:33 בְּהִשְׁפָּטוֹ > ὅταν κρίνηται αὐτῷ.  
A periphrasis for -ב + infin. used only here in the Psalms; it is common in the Pentateuch.

(25) 77:30 עוֹד אֲכָלִם בְּפִיהֶם > ἔτι τῆς βρώσεως αὐτῶν οὕσης ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν.  
The translator deploys the genitive absolute to turn this into smooth Greek while retaining isomorphic matching except for the insertion of οὕσης: “still their food being in their mouth”.

(26) 145:2 אֲזַמְרָה לֵאלֹהֵי בְעוֹדִי > ψαλῶ τῷ θεῷ μου, ἕως ὑπάρχω.  
A brilliant solution to rendering בְּעוֹדִי. Isomorphic it is not.

(27) 30:12 רָאִי בַחוּץ נִדְדוּ מִמֶּנִּי > οἱ θεωροῦντές με ἔξω ἔφυγον ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ.  
The translator opts for the natural Greek equivalent ἔξω, not an isomorphic rendering of בַּחוּץ: “those who saw me outside (the house) fled from me”. This ἔξω is a continuation of Attic usage: see, e.g., Pl., *Parm.* 127c.6 τὸν δὲ Παρμενίδην τυχεῖν ἔξω ὄντα (“P. happened to be out”).

(28) 9:27(10:6) בְּלִי-אֲמוּט לְדֹר וּדֹר אֲשֶׁר לֹא-יִבְרַע > οὐ μὴ σαλευθῶ, ἀπὸ γενεᾶς εἰς γενεάν ἄνευ κακοῦ.  
A straight-out paraphrase which captures the awkward Hebrew adequately: “I will not be shaken, from generation to generation (I will be) without harm”. (MT אֲשֶׁר לֹא-יִבְרַע literally = “which not in/with distress”).

<sup>17</sup> See Lee, *Greek of the Pentateuch*, 230, with references and data there.

<sup>18</sup> See Lee, *Greek of the Pentateuch*, 228–299 for Pentateuch usage.



### 1.2.7 Idioms

Greek idioms proper appear often in the Psalms translation. Some, such as διὰ παντός for תמיד, have become the translator's standard equivalent and recur frequently. Others are called up once for one context. Idioms are not isomorphic matches to the original: the idiom is the Greek equivalent of the Hebrew in *meaning*, and may or may not be similar in form.

I give a small selection, with a summary of the attestation in common authors. Every one has a Classical provenance, suggesting that the Psalms translator was well trained in “good-quality” Greek. The LXX profile of these also tends to be “literary”.<sup>19</sup>

#### Examples

(29) 6:11 יָשׁוּ יִשְׁוּ רָגַע > ἀποστραφεῖσαν καὶ καταισχυνθείσαν σφόδρα διὰ τάχους.

Th., S., D., D.H., etc., papp., inscr. LXX: Esther × 1, 1 Macc × 1, 3 Macc × 2, Ps × 1, Sir × 1 (all literary except 1 Macc.). The translator chooses an idiom διὰ τάχους (“speedily”), though it is not quite a semantic match to רָגַע (“in a moment”).<sup>20</sup> He also uses ἐν τάχει (2:12) and ἕως τάχους (147:4).

(30) 72:2a וְאֲנִי בְּמַעַט נְטוּי רַגְלִי > ἐμοῦ δὲ παρὰ μικρόν ἐσαλεύθησαν οἱ πόδες.

Anaxag., E., Isoc., D., Arist., Theophr., Plb., etc., rare papp., inscr. LXX: Ps × 1, PsSol × 1, Ezek × 1. This παρὰ μικρόν (“almost”) is a unique rendering of בְּמַעַט in Psalms; it secures a parallel in form to παρ’ ὀλίγον in the next *stichos*. In 93:17; 118:87 בְּמַעַט is rendered by another idiom of similar meaning, παρὰ βραχύ.

(31) 72:2b כִּאֵין שִׁפְכָה אֲשֶׁרִי > παρ’ ὀλίγον ἐξεχύθη τὰ διαβήματά μου.

Th., X., Pl., Theophr., Men., Plb., etc., (not early papp., not inscr.). LXX: Ps × 1, Prov × 1, PsSol × 1. The Hebrew idiom כִּאֵין (lit. “as nothing” = “almost”) is converted into a non-isomorphic Greek equivalent, paralleling παρὰ μικρόν.

(32) 95:2 בְּשֶׁרוֹ מִיּוֹם-לְיוֹם יְשׁוּעָתוֹ > εὐαγγελίζεσθε ἡμέραν ἐξ ἡμέρας τὸ σωτήριον αὐτοῦ.

This idiom (“day after day”) appears in the LXX first in Genesis, but can be traced earlier and later outside the LXX. There are more on the same pattern.<sup>21</sup>

19 For economy I use LSJ’s abbreviations, which I hope are not too opaque. The data are derived from searches in the TLG, <papyri.info>, and <epigraphy.packhum.org>.

20 The NRSV shows its face in NETS (“in a moment”).

21 See Lee, *Greek of the Pentateuch*, 141–144. Olofsson’s treatment of this as an “inversion” (“Word Order”, 127–8) is unbelievable.

(33) 102:12 כרחק מזרח ממערב > καθ' ὅσον ἀπέχουσιν ἀνατολαὶ ἀπὸ δυσμῶν.  
 Pythag., Th., Antiph., Isoc., Is., Ar., X., Pl., Lys., D., Arist., Theophr., Epic., Men.,  
 Chrysipp., Plb., etc., papp., inscr. LXX: Exod × 1, Deut × 1, Ps × 1, Sir × 1. The  
 rendering of -כ + infin. constr. (lit. “as the being-far of the east from ...”) by καθ'  
 ὅσον + finite verb cleverly turns the Hebrew into smooth Greek (“as much as the  
 east is distant from ...”).<sup>22</sup>

### 1.3 Conclusion

The Psalms translator is fully familiar with the Greek language and all its features. Only a selection of data has been presented in this section but it is strong evidence for this statement. We have seen a variety of features. Some are fairly standard for anyone with an education in Greek, such as the usage of the relative pronoun and the placement of enclitics; but some are quite subtle, such as the observance of the *onoma* rule and the positioning of σύ and εἰ. In all of this it appears that the Psalms translator proceeds naturally, even instinctively, using normal Greek as much as possible, even while adhering to his chosen method of retaining the word-order of the original.

## 2. Level of Greek or Register

### 2.1 Introduction

The language of the Psalter displays features of the literary level of the Greek of its time. Although there are glimpses of the next, highest literary register, it is not the level at which the language of the Psalms as a whole is pitched. The general level is better described (in admittedly inexact terms) as “upper-middle” literary. The main point to appreciate is that it is above the colloquial or everyday. Evidence to support this conclusion is found in a variety of minor features and especially in vocabulary. As well as the literary register, there are features best described simply as “formal” or “educated”, that is, what educated writers of the second century BCE would use in official documents or letters between one another. The petition language that is prominent in the Psalter is in this category. There are elements of poetic register as well, though again not at the highest level, which would need to reach into the special vocabulary of the Attic poets. There are indications, though, that the translator was acquainted with those sources.

22 LSJ cites a single example of καθ' ὅσον (in Pl.) s.v. ὅσος VI. The full picture was revealed by a TLG search.

The literary character of the language of the Psalms has been barely noticed, perhaps because of the poor start made in Thackeray's classification of the Psalms as "indifferent Greek".<sup>23</sup> A better appreciation has begun to emerge in recent work. Aitken notably remarks that some of the words chosen by the translator are "of a higher literary register", and that "complex words or rare formations add to the literary feel of the translation".<sup>24</sup> The poetic quality of the Psalms, which is linked to its language and literary level, has gained more recognition too.<sup>25</sup> This new outlook can help us to understand the translator's aims better and dispel the atmosphere of incompetence projected around him.

It is convenient to divide the material here into two parts. The first is a mixed group of mainly "function" words; the second is vocabulary, a most important element in the "literary feel" of the translation. In both cases there is much scope for further study.

## 2.2 Various Features of Literary Greek

### 2.2.1 Particles

The translator does use particles. The common ones are δέ (× 121) and γάρ (× 50 in total); others fairly frequently used are δὴ (× 19), and ἄρα (× 11). The combination καὶ γάρ (× 23) is in effect another particle, with a usage of its own. Others are rare: μέν (× 1), μέντοιγε (× 1), οὖν (× 1), τε (× 2); but their presence shows that the translator had command of them, and suggests that he could have used them more if they had been required. The poetic style and a lack of suitable contexts would account for their absence. All the particles apart from δέ and γάρ indicate educated and somewhat higher-register Greek.<sup>26</sup>

#### Examples

(34) 2:6 וְאֵיךְ נִסְכָּחִי > ἐγὼ δὲ κατεστάθην.

A typical example of the treatment of initial וְאֵיךְ and other similar cases (by my count 60 +): δέ in second position is used instead of an isomorphic initial καί.

(35) 7:5 וְאֵחָלֶצָה ... אִם-גָּמַלְתִּי > εἰ ἀνταπέδωκα ... ἀποπέσοιν ἄρα ...

The particle ἄρα is used to render -י to make the meaning clear ("if I repaid ..., then may I fall away ...").

23 Thackeray, *Grammar*, 13. A critique of Thackeray's classification may be seen in Lee, "Isaiah", 136.

24 Aitken, "Septuagint Psalms", [7, 9].

25 See Bons, "Devices"; Dorival, *Les Psaumes*, 113–120.

26 Cf. Lee, *Greek of the Pentateuch*, 92.

(36) 61:3 אֲדֹהוּא צוֹרִי > καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς θεός μου.

“For indeed he is my God”. The translator’s own choice of καὶ γὰρ to render אֲדֹהוּא (not אֲדֹהוּא). There is nothing unusual about this καὶ γὰρ. It is an old combination, first in Homer, and used appropriately here.<sup>27</sup>

(37) 9:35 חֲלָכָה יַעֲזֹב עֲלֶיךָ > σοὶ οὖν ἐγκαταλέλειπται ὁ πτωχός.

The only instance of οὖν (omitted in some Mss). Its infrequency is probably due to the lack of need in the poetic genre. In the Pentateuch it is a frequent match to וְעַתָּה, but וְעַתָּה in Psalms occurs only four times, translated καὶ νῦν (× 3).<sup>28</sup>

(38) 48:3 אִישׁ גַּם־בְּנֵי־אָדָם > οἱ τε γηγενεῖς καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

The translator converts גַּם ... גַּם into τε ... καί (“both ... and”), producing perfect literary Greek. The one other use of τε is equally skilled, introduced without Hebrew match (57:6).

## 2.2.2 Optative

The Psalms translator is generous with the optative. There are 110 instances, second only to Job in frequency among the LXX books.<sup>29</sup> In some places the translator positively delights in it: in 89:5–6, for instance, there are six in a row; in 39:15–17 there are six mixed with three equally imposing third-person imperatives. Nearly all of the optatives in the Psalms are the volitive use, the longest survivor of the optative mood, but it is not the only one used. There are even some instances of the comparative optative. An obsolescent use such as this, and the frequent use of optatives in general, are sure indicators of literary pretensions and an intention to aim at a higher register.

### Examples

(39) 16:2 מִשְׁפָּטִי יֵצֵא עֵינַי תַּחֲזִינָה מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל > ἐκ προσώπου σου τὸ κρίμα μου ἐξέλθοι, οἱ ὀφθαλμοί μου ἰδέτωσαν εὐθύτητας.

“Let my judgement come forth from your face, let my eyes see uprightness”.

The volitive optative, used often. The plainer alternative was the 3rd pers. imper., as in ἰδέτωσαν (both ~ jussives in MT).

27 See Aitken, “Origins”, 34–36. καὶ γὰρ is in papyri × c.30 in III–II BCE: see PCol 4.64.8 (III BCE) and UPZ 2.199.9 (131 BCE) for possible parallels to Ps 61:3. See also Mayser, *Grammatik*, II.3, 122–123.

28 See Lee, *Greek of the Pentateuch*, 102–107.

29 Cf. Muraoka, *Syntax*, 320–321, with lists in Psalms (× 99) and Job (× 123). In his view the use of the optative is “one of the important indices of stylistic and literary level” of LXX books (320). But cf. Evans, “Grammarians”, 9–11. (M. has missed some in Psalms: “Accordance” finds 110).

(40) 118:5 אֲחֵלִי יִכְנֹוּ דַרְכֵי > ὄφελον κατευθυνθείησαν αἱ ὁδοί μου.

“Would that my ways might be set straight”.

An ostentatious use of the volitive optative after ὄφελον, which normally conveys the wish idea in itself. The combination is rare if not unique (but investigation is needed).<sup>30</sup>

(41) 82:15 וּכְלֹהֲבָה תִּלְהֹט הָרִים: בֶּן תִּרְדֵּפֶת > ὡς εἰ φλόξ κατακαύσαι ὄρη, (16) οὕτως καταδιώξεις αὐτούς.

“As a flame burns mountains, so will you chase them down”.

The comparative optative, which has Homeric antecedents.<sup>31</sup> It appears first in the LXX in the Pentateuch, but rarely in later books.

### 2.2.3 ὅπως ἄν

In final clauses the translator prefers to use ὅπως ἄν rather than ὅπως alone or ἵνα. By itself ὅπως has a higher tone, but more so when ἄν is added.<sup>32</sup>

#### Example

(42) 118:71 טוֹב־לִי כִּי־עֲנִיתִי לְמַעַן אֲלַמֵּד חֻקֶּיךָ > ἀγαθόν μοι ὅτι ἐταπείνωσάς με, ὅπως ἄν μάθω τὰ δικαιώματά σου.

There is no reason to add ἄν except for style. ὅπως (ἄν) is a standard match to לְמַעַן in Psalms, but ἵνα is rather carefully reserved for other uses.<sup>33</sup>

### 2.2.4 ὥσει

The conjunction or adverb ὥσει is basically an elegant equivalent of ὡς. It is used about half as often as ὡς in the Psalms, in certain uses of ὡς (“as if”; “as”, “like”; “about”). Its Classical profile includes a lot of poetry as well as some prose; later it moves into formal and official writing.<sup>34</sup>

30 This example is discussed in Muraoka, *Syntax*, 270, 322, 768. Muraoka takes it to be “desiderative” (= volitive).

31 See Joosten, “Similes”; Evans, “Optative”; Lee, *Greek of the Pentateuch*, 84–85. There are seven in Psalms, six of them in 89:5–6. It is also used by the Isaiah translator: Lee, “Isaiah”, 144.

32 See Lee, *Greek of the Pentateuch*, 73–76.

33 The figures are: ὅπως ἄν × 16; ὅπως × 2; ἵνα × 30 (ἵνα τί × 22; ἵνα μή × 5 ~ וְלֹא, וְלֵא, וְלֵא ~ cohort. × 1; ~ -י + cohort. × 1; ~ -י + impf. × 1).

34 Ibycus, E., S., Bacch., + al.; Hp. × 10, Hdt. × 1, X. × 2, + al.; cf. Homeric ὡς εἴ τε (without verb); papyri: III BCE–; often LXX; *Ep. Arist.* 13. It appears to have come from Ionic. A study is needed.

### Examples

(43) 16:12 דמינו כאריה יכסוף לטרוף > ὑπέλαβόν με ὥσεϊ λέων ἔτοιμος εἰς θήραν.

(44) 9:30 יארב במסתר כאריה בסכה > ἐνεδρεύει ἐν ἀποκρύφῳ ὡς λέων ἐν τῇ μάνδρᾳ αὐτοῦ.

There is no evident reason for the difference here. It may be just personal taste, or it could be for some reason that is not yet clear to us, such as number of syllables or position of the stresses.<sup>35</sup> The Hebrew is the same in both (כאריה).

(45) 8:10 בבל-הארץ שמך מה-אדיר > ὡς θαυμαστὸν τὸ ὄνομά σου ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῇ.

Exclamatory ὡς, for which ὥσεϊ is not used: ‘How wonderful is your name in all the earth!’

### 2.2.5 Other Features

Further features indicative of literary, or at least higher-level Greek, are present. I offer just a list here, including some not entirely certain but worth investigating: ἄπας, ἐμός, ἐνταῦθα, ἔσωθεν (hypercorrect), εὔ, εὖγε, ἕως οὗ, ἡμέτερος, λίαν, νυνί, οἴμμοι, οὗ (“where”), οὐ μή, πλὴν (“however”, “but”), σός, σύμπας, ὦ; dative of agent, genitive absolute, gnomic aorist, substantival neuter adjective.<sup>36</sup>

## 2.3 Vocabulary

### 2.3.1 Introduction

A rich vocabulary is used in the Psalms translation.<sup>37</sup> It covers a broad range of subjects, though how broad needs further enquiry. The register range is more obvious: in addition to standard everyday words, there are literary or higher-register words, poetic words, and rare words including possible new creations by the translator. This range is a sign of an educated translator intending to produce a creative work of some literary quality. The ability to create new words (and uses) itself indicates education and “an attempt to raise the register of the work”, a significant point made by Aitken.<sup>38</sup> A full study of the Psalms vocabulary is yet to be done but would be of great value. Here I proceed by way of specimens, loosely classified. The main point

35 Cf. Irigoin, “Psaume”.

36 Example: 138:16 τὸ ἀκατέργαστόν μου.

37 Thackeray, *Grammar*, 69, offered an unhelpful and unclear description: “The whole book is marked by a somewhat peculiar vocabulary”. Is that *peculiar* meaning “strange”, or “peculiar to itself”? Neither is true, anyway.

38 Aitken, “Septuagint Psalms”, [7], cf. [9]; examples [8–10]. See also Aitken, “Neologisms”. Note the language-creating ability of (literary) Isaiah: Lee, “Isaiah”, 141–142.

is to illustrate how the translator commands a full and varied vocabulary up to the literary level, which he deploys deliberately and with confidence.<sup>39</sup>

It is obvious that to be able to say anything about a word we depend on “evidence”, that is, attestation. That means occurrences not just in the LXX but in all sources up to the time of the Psalms. Further, we cannot just rely on a standard lexicon (usually LSJ): checks and searches need to be done, especially in the case of suspected neologisms. When we have the data, judgement needs to be used. How do we interpret the (always limited) attestation? Can gaps be filled by deduction? Is this word *likely* to be an everyday word, a poetic word, a new creation, and so on? These questions must be considered; it cannot be a purely statistical or mechanical exercise.<sup>40</sup> When investigated, every word will be found to have a “story”.

### 2.3.2 *Koine Greek*

Some words supposed to be neologisms are not – as a search of the evidence would show. In some cases they are just new formations in Koine Greek, replacing an older word, as in the following instance.

#### *Example*

(46) 9:22 למה יהוה תעמד ברחוק > ἵνα τί, κύριε, ἀφέστηκας μακρόθεν;

Attestation of μακρόθεν (“from afar”, far off) outside the LXX begins in III BCE.<sup>41</sup>

It is a Koine Greek formation replacing πόρρωθεν, with a long history ahead of it. It is most unlikely to be a creation of any LXX translator.

### 2.3.3 *Literary*

This is inevitably an imprecise category, but the basis is attestation, including that in other LXX books.<sup>42</sup> A word with a mainly literary “profile”, supported by other indications (use of judgement again) are probably literary words chosen by the translator from his store of knowledge and education. There is potentially a large number of these in the Psalms.

#### *Examples*

(47) 26:9 אֶל־תַּטְשֵׁנִי וְאֶל־תַּעֲזֹבֵנִי > μὴ ἀποσκορακίσῃς με καὶ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς με.

“Do not spurn me and do not abandon me”. This is a rather erudite word (and group), based on the Attic expression ἐς κόρακας. It is one of numerous links between Psalms and the Isaiah translation.<sup>43</sup>

39 The issue of *consistency* of rendering is separate, and has no bearing on register. It is an aspect of translation *method*, as I see it.

40 The treatment in Dorival, *Psaumes*, 235–237, based on Schröder’s list, is deficient in these respects.

41 Chrysipp., Phylarch. (both III BCE), Plb., and note PTebt 1.230 (II BCE).

42 Cf. Lee, *Greek of the Pentateuch*, 90–91.

43 See Lee, “Isaiah”, 141. Literally ἐς κόρακας is “(go) to the ravens” = something like “get lost!”.

(48) 6:5 שובה יהוה חלצה נפשי > ἐπίστρεψον, κύριε, ῥύσαι τὴν ψυχὴν μου.

There is evidence to show that ῥύομαι (“save, deliver”) was “a higher-register word with literary and poetic associations”.<sup>44</sup>

(49) 118:21 גערת זים > ἐπετίμησας ὑπερηφάνοις.

The group as a whole is found in the LXX from Exodus onwards, but notably in literary books.<sup>45</sup> It has a long literary provenance, beginning with Homer and Hesiod; then in some poets and Classical prose authors. Its literary quality may be fading in the LXX but it has a certain “tone”, like its meaning (“proud” etc.).

### 2.3.4 Poetic

In the same way as in identifying literary vocabulary, attestation is the tool we rely on to recognise poetic words. These words are also “literary”, of course, but we look here for words occurring previously in Homer, Attic tragedy, and similar poetic sources; occasional prose occurrences may not be inconsistent. Poetic words are not always easy to spot in the Psalms, but some are definitely present, and they again indicate the translator’s capacity and the literary level he was aiming at.<sup>46</sup>

#### Examples

(50) 108:18 ותבא במים בקרבו > καὶ εἰσῆλθεν ὡς ὕδωρ εἰς τὰ ἐγκατα αὐτοῦ.

“It entered like water into his innermost parts”. The poetic provenance of ἐγκατα is clear.<sup>47</sup> In the LXX it is only in Psalms (× 2), Job (× 2), and Sirach (× 1).

(51) 68:27 ואל־מכאוב חלליך יספרו > καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄλγος τῶν τραυματιῶν σου προσέθηκαν.<sup>48</sup>

The word ἄλγος and its group (-έω etc.; “pain” etc.) appear in Homer, then mainly tragic poets, rarely prose, with a literary profile in the LXX.<sup>49</sup> The translator would have known the opening lines of the *Iliad*: μῆνιν ἄειδε, θεά, ... ἧ μυρὶ Ἀχαιοῖς ἄλγε’ ἔθηκεν.

<sup>44</sup> Lee, *Greek of the Pentateuch*, 110–112.

<sup>45</sup> Pent. × 4, Neh × 2, Est × 6, Jdt × 2, Tob × 2, 1 Macc × 6, 2–4 Macc × 14, Ps × 21, Prov × 2, Job × 3, Wis × 2, Sir × 22, PsSol × 9, XII Proph × 3, Isa × 5, Ezek × 3, Dan × 1 (figures from “Accordance”). Also PCairZen 1.80.4 (257 BCE) μαστιγῶν ἐμὲ ὑπερηφ[άνως], *Ep. Arist.* 262, 269 -ία, 170 + al. -ος.

<sup>46</sup> Aitken, “Septuagint Psalms”, [8–9] notes these as poetic words: βλέφαρον, καλλονή, ἄνους, ἔωσφόρος, γηγενής.

<sup>47</sup> Noted by Montevecchi, “Continuità”, 40, among reminiscences of Homer and Tragedy. The attestation to II BCE is: Homer (× 6), Hesiod (× 1), Theocr. (× 1), Nicander Epicus (× 1), Papyri: 0, Inscrr: 0.

<sup>48</sup> The translator evidently read a form of יספרו for יספרו.

<sup>49</sup> After Homer: Hes., A., S., E., etc. LXX: Ps × 1, 2 Macc × 1, Sir × 1, Lam × 3.



(52) 67:7 בֵּיתָהּ מוֹשִׁיב יְחִידִים > ὁ θεὸς κατοικίζει μονοτρόπους ἐν οἴκῳ.

“God settles the solitary in a home”. μονότροπος is only here in the LXX. It might be described as literary just as much as poetic, but the label is not so important. Its provenance is mainly in Euripides and comedy, with a couple of prose examples.<sup>50</sup> Mozley’s suggestion “(?) Derived from the Alexandrian stage” is a real insight: whether our translator heard it in a play or met it in reading, Attic comedy is the likely source.<sup>51</sup>

### 2.3.5 Rare, Possible Neologism

Rare words (and uses) abound in the Psalms. Most have a patchy attestation and the picture is very incomplete. Those not attested at all elsewhere are best thought of as rare until investigation is made. Special arguments need to be offered before any word can be classed as a true neologism of the Psalms translator. There may be some in this category, but not many.

#### Examples

(53) 60:3 בֵּעָטָף לִבִּי > ἐν τῷ ἀκηδιάσαι τὴν καρδίαν μου.

The word-group is old but rare. ἀκηδία (“indifference”) is found once in Hippocrates, but not again until the LXX. The verb ἀκηδιῶ (-άω) is not attested before the Psalms (× 3) and Sirach (× 1). There is a chance the verb is a new creation by one of them and thus a basis for relative dating of Psalms and Sirach.

(54) 15:11 נַעֲמֹת בְּיָמִינְךָ נֶצַח > τερπνότητες ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ σου εἰς τέλος.

“Delights are in your right hand for ever”. This noun is attested only in Psalms (here and 26:4) and *Ep. Arist.* 307, an interesting pairing. Again there is potential for relative dating. Abstracts in -ότης were readily formed, originally as learned words.<sup>52</sup> The plural gives a poetic flavour.

(55) 77:44 בְּלִישְׁתִּיּוֹן וְנֹזְלֵיהֶם > καὶ τὰ ὀμβρήματα αὐτῶν, ὅπως μὴ πῶσιν.

This word, first attested here, has a good chance of being a creation by the Psalms translator, to convey a certain meaning in the context. I suggest “rain-water channel”.<sup>53</sup> Its source is ὄμβρος (“rain-storm”), an old word with a somewhat poetic flavour.

50 E., *Andr.* 281 (lyric), Phryn. Com. + other comedies as a title, Men., *Aspis* 121.

51 Mozley, *Psalter*, 105.

52 See Buck/Petersen, *Index*, 464.

53 LSJ’s *rain-water*, accepted in some other lexicons and translations, is a poor fit in the context: “he has turned to blood their rivers and their ὀμβρήματα”.

### 2.3.6 Petition Vocabulary

A significant element in the Psalms translator's resources is adopted from the language of petitions used in the Ptolemaic era and beyond. This vocabulary is not so much literary as formal, but certainly a step above "vernacular". I give just one specimen.<sup>54</sup>

#### Example

(56) 41:10 אומרה לאל סלעי > ἐρῶ τῷ θεῷ Ἀντιλήμπτωρ μου εἶ.

This is one of a suite of petition words and phrases used in the translation, a dozen or more in all. The translator is generally not concerned with exact or consistent matches to the original, as is so here: סלע = "rock"; ἀντιλήμπτωρ = "helper".<sup>55</sup>

### 2.4 Conclusion

The evidence in this section shows that the Psalms translator was aiming at more than a prosaic, mechanical translation. While he did not aim at the highest poetic and literary level, he chose a suitably elevated and dignified register for a book that was not read like history or instruction or prophecy, but used in prayer and praise and devotion. The register also links with the poetic character of the original Hebrew Psalms, which he preserved in the poetic style of his version.

## 3. Conclusion

The two topics covered above give a good indication of the nature of the Greek of the Psalms. It is, in short: natural, idiomatic, upper-middle literary Greek of II BCE. The other topics that would complete the picture are translation method and style. Both are needed to characterise the language fully. As mentioned above, a better description of the translation method is needed and possible. The category of style, though vague, is important: the translator has aimed at a poetic style and carefully chosen the words and devices to achieve it. To my taste the result is a *tour de force* in the genre of religious poetry.

The language of the Psalms is connected with other questions in which language plays a role as evidence: date, location, and the *kaige* revision. These cannot be pursued here, but it may be helpful to foreshadow the view I would take in an extended discussion. (a) A date in II BCE can be proved from the language. It

54 Montevocchi, "Quaedam" is the pioneering study. See further valuable discussion in Aitken, "Divine Epithets", 199–202.

55 See Aitken, "Divine Epithets", 201. Aitken offers a new perspective on the rendering of "rock" and similar metaphors in the Psalms.

may be possible to refine this further with more language tests and firm conclusions about the relative dating of Psalms and other LXX books. (b) It seems to me beyond doubt that the location of the translation was Egypt. (c) The proposed link to the *kaige* revision is in my opinion dubious at best. I see no link between καὶ γάρ in the Psalms and καὶ γε as a rendering of ׀ג in later texts.

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## Translation Technique in the Greek Psalter

What might be the rationale behind a talk on translation technique at a conference titled “Editing the Greek Psalter”? I would like to answer this question by quoting what Albert Pietersma wrote several decades ago. He described translation-technical analysis as “the quest for the Archimedean point” in Septuagint research.<sup>1</sup> That is, translation technique promises to provide a vantage point from which other areas in Septuagint studies can be approached successfully. It is not just one area of research in itself but a kind of prerequisite for all the various branches of Septuagint research. We could in fact speak of translation-technical methodology as crucial for Septuagint research whatever the particular area of study. What this means in respect of editing the Greek Psalter is what I will try to demonstrate in this paper.

What is meant by translation technique? I would like to define it broadly as “the relationship between the translation and its *Vorlage*.”<sup>2</sup> The study of translation technique thus consists of collecting and evaluating various kinds of information concerning that relationship. It is not primarily a question of a technique or method of translation applied by the translator. Most of the original Septuagint translators did not proceed systematically but display a great deal of spontaneity and variation in their renderings. They may follow certain standard renderings, but they may also diverge from previous models. Later revisions, the so-called *kaige*-revision and Aquila, aimed at producing a systematic word-for-word correspondence with the Hebrew text. For the Septuagint translators, word-for-word translation was not a conscious goal or a principle but just an easy way to proceed.<sup>3</sup> Instead of trying to find a system, it is important to observe any departure from a system – to observe how well the translators succeed in rendering different structures and formulations of Hebrew or in finding fitting lexical equivalents in different contexts. It is important to gain a picture of their competence – in Greek as well as in Hebrew – and to see where their special abilities as well as weaknesses lie.

In a methodological sense, the translation technical approach entails that the Septuagint is always to be studied against the background of the Hebrew text and

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1 Pietersma, “Septuagint Research”, 299. See also Pietersma, “Critical Text”, 24. According to Oxford Reference (<https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/oi/authority.20110803095422175>), “the Archimedean point is a point ‘outside’ from which a different, perhaps objective or ‘true’ picture of something is obtainable.” Pietersma later suggested that Descriptive Translation Studies should be taken as a new Archimedean point! (Pietersma, “LXX and DTS”, 1–11).

2 Cf. Aejmelaesus, “What Can We Know”, and Ead., “What We Talk about”.

3 Barr, *Typology*, speaks of an “easy technique.”

in relation to it. Ideally, we would be comparing the original text of the translation with the Hebrew text of the *Vorlage*, but in practice, we need to work with the Hebrew and Greek texts available to us – Biblia Hebraica and an available edition of the Septuagint – which means working with approximations. We have good reason to assume that the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint corresponded for the most part with the MT and that the major part of the wording of Rahlfs's text of the Greek Psalter corresponds to the original translation. Thus, the main features of the translation character of the book that can be attained by comparing the two texts are roughly correct. When it comes to details, however, especially when establishing the original wording of the translation for the critical edition of the Greek Psalter, one needs to be on the alert and keep one's eyes open for (1) variation that has emerged during the textual transmission of the Greek text as well as (2) differences of the Hebrew text presupposed by the translation. Indeed, it is impossible to keep these different issues apart or to determine one before the other. This is an absolute necessity concerning the methodology. All the data must be on the table at the same time. The question of the *Vorlage* and establishing the original Greek wording are like pieces in one big puzzle in which all pieces must find their correct places before the final picture emerges.

## 1. The Role of Translation Technique in Septuagint Research

To begin with, I shall give some examples of the role of translation technique in a few different branches of research. Then, I shall concentrate on the role of the translator in the Greek Psalter and give some examples as well as a few hints and clues as to how to deal with this book.

As you may know, my teacher Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen concentrated his efforts on special features of the syntax of Septuagint Greek.<sup>4</sup> For him, translation technique was foremost a question of method, a question of how to unravel the influence of the underlying Hebrew text and the process of translation on the resulting Greek syntax. This he reasoned to be the only way to explain the characteristic syntactical features in which the Septuagint differs from genuine Greek texts. Working on complete collections of material concerning certain syntactical phenomena gives a reliable overview of the whole body of translations as well as offers material for other scholars working on individual books. To a certain extent, results in this area of study benefit editorial work as well.

Ever since the Qumran findings, it has been increasingly recognized that major and minor differences between the Septuagint and the MT were not always produced by the translator but are often due to a different Hebrew *Vorlage*. That is, the

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4 For instance, Soisalon-Soininen, *Studien*.

Septuagint can be and needs to be used for textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible. In this sense, the backtranslation of the Septuagint into Hebrew is something that has been practiced through the ages, but for instance in older commentaries, you can find wild reconstructions that had nothing to do with the *Vorlage* but only sprang from the fantasy of the writer. Forty years ago, Emanuel Tov wrote a book titled “The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint” in which he describes the methodology of retroverting the Septuagint.<sup>5</sup> For my purposes here, it suffices to emphasize that a thorough knowledge of translation technique is crucial for the use of the Septuagint in textual criticism of the Hebrew text of whichever book is in question. The use of a translation for the textual criticism of the original is only possible insofar as the scholar is capable of tracing back the steps taken by the translator from the *Vorlage* to his translation, that is, applying translation-technical data in the opposite direction.

Some decades ago, there was a lively discussion going on among Septuagint scholars on theological interpretation in the Septuagint. How to distinguish special interpretation from theological or ideological or whatever motives was the moot point. Some people saw theological interpretation all over in cases in which other more critical scholars saw nothing but normal translation. What is decisive in recognizing theological interpretation by the translator is familiarity with the translation technique of the book in question.<sup>6</sup> As long as the translators do not digress from their normal way of rendering, they do not give a hint of their interpretation of the passage, other than their interpretation on the level of linguistic expressions, grammatical forms and lexical items. In the Psalter, the subject matter is highly theological most of the time, and consequently, the translation contains theology, but seldom is there any special theological or ideological emphasis that cannot be explained by the translator’s usual way of proceeding.

The area of study that is perhaps least of all dependent on translation technique is lexicography. The main rule in lexicography is that the Greek vocabulary used in the Septuagint has the same meaning as it has in contemporary Koine Greek.<sup>7</sup> There are of course a few special termini that have been coined for central concepts of the Jewish religion, like *ברית* *διαθήκη*, *צדקה* *δικαιοσύνη*, and *כבוד* *δόξα*, which were probably coined in the Jewish community already before any written translations. But otherwise, the Greek language used is normal contemporary Koine Greek and the mother tongue of the translators. Comparison with the Hebrew can, however, reveal different things. If there are different alternative ways of understanding a Greek expression, the underlying Hebrew might help clarify what the

5 Tov, *Use*.

6 See Austermann, “Frevler”, 481–497; and Id., “ἀνομία”, 99–137.

7 Lee, *Study*. For the rapid development in the field of Koine studies as well as the problems and possibilities connected with it, see Lee, “Vocabulary”, 98–108.



translator was aiming at.<sup>8</sup> Comparison with the Hebrew may also reveal a deficit in the translator's vocabulary. If he simply did not understand a Hebrew word, he might have made a contextual guess, perhaps with the help of parallelism, or he might have tried to connect the word with another one on the basis of common consonants. In such cases, it is self-evident that the Hebrew does not determine the meaning of the Greek, although this rule has often been broken.<sup>9</sup> However, a different reading of the Hebrew, with different vowels or slightly different consonants, naturally always raises the question of a *Vorlage* different from the MT – which leads us back to the textual criticism of the Hebrew text.

Speaking of the linguistic aspect, it cannot be emphasized enough that the lexis as well as the grammar used in the Septuagint is contemporary Koine Greek and should not be evaluated according to classical standards. Whatever the focus of study, we need correct Koine meanings for the lexical items for a correct analysis of the translation. Finding such can sometimes be difficult and may demand searches in the ever-growing corpus of Hellenistic papyri because they are not yet recorded in any lexica.<sup>10</sup> We need correct meanings for lexical items in order to understand the text and to be able to evaluate the translator's competence as well as deficits. Since the translators were native Greek speakers, we should do our best to figure out what they might have had in mind.

## 2. Translation-Technical Study of the Greek Psalter

Coming now to editing the Septuagint, which implies doing textual criticism of the Septuagint in order to establish the original wording of the translation for the edition, we come to an area where a thorough knowledge of the translator's way of proceeding, his attitudes and abilities, his deficits and strengths, is absolutely necessary. What I have to say is based on my own work on the Greek Psalter during my years in Göttingen as well as the work of my students during those years.<sup>11</sup> I would especially like to mention the dissertation of Frank Austermann, *Von der Tora*

8 According to Pietersma, the underlying Hebrew can be used as an "arbiter of meaning". See, for instance, *The Psalms*, esp. ix of the Preface; or Id., "The IOSCS", 14.

9 This concerns the handling of Septuagint vocabulary in LSJ. See especially Lee, "Note", 234–242, a paper characterized by Albert Pietersma as "the beginning of a new era" in Septuagint lexicography ("Context", 165). The problem discussed is not limited to the supplement to the dictionary.

10 For developments in this area of study, see Lee, "Lexicography", 66–74, and Id., "Vocabulary", 98–108. In these as well as other publications, John Lee has suggested that an international electronic database should be created to gather all the material that has been published on ancient Greek vocabulary of the various periods and to keep the collection up to date. "This is the new *desideratum* of LXX studies" ("Vocabulary", 108).

11 Aejmelaeus, "Faith", 360–376; Ead., "Rejoice in the Lord", 501–521; Ead., "Criteria", 54–73.

*zum Nomos* from 2000 (published 2003).<sup>12</sup> I would like to recommend to everyone working in the project for the edition of the Greek Psalter to read this study carefully. Austermann gives a very differentiated and well-grounded description of different aspects of translation in the Greek Psalter.

Towards the end of the 1990's, a great deal of work was done in Göttingen around the Greek Psalter. A group of doctoral students from different universities and occasional international visitors came together for monthly sessions to study the Greek Psalter.<sup>13</sup> There was also an international symposium on the daughter versions of the Greek Psalter in 1997.<sup>14</sup> A great deal of groundwork has been done – but there is still much to be done before the complete critical edition of the Greek Psalter is in our hands. Let us just make sure that previous work is not forgotten.

What do we know so far? How should we characterize the Greek Psalter as a translation? Translations have been conventionally evaluated along the dichotomy of “literal” and “free.” Of the two, “literal” is easily definable as close word-for-word correspondence with the original, whereas “free”, meaning a departure from that correspondence, can include various things.<sup>15</sup> When the translated books of the Septuagint have been compared to each other, the position of the Psalter has always been at the literal end of the scale. In fact, more clearly than any other book, the translation of the Psalter follows the wording of the underlying Hebrew, retaining to an amazing extent the word-order as well as the number of words, including suffixes and other smaller units of meaning. Literalness of this kind makes, for instance, changes in grammatical constructions difficult. This aspect of the performance of a translator can be called the *quantitative* aspect of translation, whereas the *qualitative* aspect concerns lexical choices and grammatical forms. Extreme literalness in the qualitative regard would mean concordant translation that renders each word of the source text consistently by one dictionary meaning without attention to the demands of the context. Departure from concordant equivalence allows for lexical choices that are guided by the context as well as the semantic value of the underlying source text. Contextual guesses as well as interpretational features on various levels are also part of the qualitative aspect.

As for the Greek Psalter, the idiosyncrasies of this translator can be found precisely in the area of the qualitative aspect of translation. The quantitative aspect is, however, what immediately catches the eye of the reader and creates the impression

12 Austermann, *Tora*.

13 Another dissertation from this circle was authored by Cordes, *Asafpsalmen*. A further member, Oleg Lazarenko, received his doctorate from Moscow State University with a dissertation on the language of the Greek Psalter (written in Russian). See also Lazarenko, “ἀδολεσχέω”, 110–120.

14 The papers of the symposium were published in Aejmelaeus/Quast (ed.), *Septuaginta-Psalter*. Three of the speakers of that symposium are taking part in the present seminar.

15 As James Barr remarks in his *Typology*, “freedom is not a tangible method” (15).

of the Septuagint in general, and of the Greek Psalter in particular, as a very literal translation. As is well known, Albert Pietersma has described the Greek Psalter as an “interlinear” translation and refers to an “interlinear paradigm”. Of the Greek Psalter’s relation to its Hebrew source text, Pietersma uses the word “subservience”, meaning that the function of the translation was educational, practically guiding the reader to understanding and using the Hebrew Psalter.<sup>16</sup> This very one-sided view has been justly criticized by many,<sup>17</sup> and I am sure that the examples presented below will give material for a different view on the Greek Psalter.

### 3. The Greek Psalter in Comparison with the First Book of Samuel

To illustrate the characteristic features of the Greek Psalter, I would like to compare it with the First Book of Samuel, another book that carries the label of literal translation. When Henry St. John Thackeray, in the introduction of his Septuagint grammar, classified the books of the Septuagint “from the point of view of style,” as he said, he placed the Psalter and 1 Samuel (along with a few other books) in the second group under the title “Indifferent Greek.”<sup>18</sup> According to the Oxford English Dictionary, “indifferent” can be used as a euphemism for “not particularly good; poor, inferior; rather bad.”

In my view, the translations of the Psalter and 1 Samuel are not that bad, but what is noteworthy is that they are very different from each other. The source texts, to begin with, were of course very different: a narrative text, which is for the most part fairly easy, and religious poetry, which has a much wider vocabulary with numerous rare words. I am convinced that the position of these books in the Jewish community in Egypt during the 2nd century BCE was also totally different, and accordingly, the initiative and implementation of the translations of these books was in the hands of different people.<sup>19</sup>

With regard to 1 Samuel, it is clear that the translator was not quite up to his task: his understanding of the Hebrew shows many deficits, which he tried to compensate with contextual guesses or transliterations. The translator of the Psalter had

16 See, for instance, the Preface to Pietersma’s English translation of the Septuagint Psalter (*A New English Translation of the Septuagint: The Psalms*).

17 Most recently by Brown Jones, *Translation*.

18 Thackeray, *Grammar*, 13. The first group of translations, “Good Koine Greek”, included the Pentateuch, Joshua, Isaiah and 1 Maccabees (for which we do not have the Hebrew). “Indifferent Greek” was the label for most of the historical books, Jeremiah (the first half), Ezekiel, Psalms, Sirach and Judith. “Literal or unintelligent” was the next group that included the recensional parts of the historical books, the latter half of Jeremiah, Song of Songs, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Daniel 9 and 2 Esdras. The remaining groups were “Paraphrases and free renderings” and “Free Greek”.

19 For the Books of Samuel, cf. Aejmelaeus, “Books”, 263–281.

an even more difficult task with the poetic text, but it is easy to notice that this translator often looked for help in the Greek Pentateuch and generally followed the equivalents used there. It is my impression that the translator of the Psalter masters such difficulties more successfully. The use and non-use of the Hebrew-Greek equivalences found in the Pentateuch is exemplified by the following cases.<sup>20</sup>

1 Sam 30:8 אֲחֵרֵי אֶחָד־הָיָה הָאֲשָׁנָה

Ei καταδιώξω ὁπίσω τοῦ **γεδδούρ** τούτου; εἰ καταλήψομαι αὐτούς; (also 30:15 *bis*, 23)

Ps 18(17):30 כִּי־בָרַךְ אֶרֶץ גִּדּוֹד וְבִבְלֵי־שׁוּר

ὅτι ἐν σοὶ ῥυσθήσομαι **ἁπὸ** **πειρατήριου** καὶ ἐν τῷ θεῷ μου ὑπερβήσομαι τεῖχος.

Cf. 2 Sam 22:30 (*kaige*) ὅτι ἐν σοὶ δραμοῦμαι μονόζωνος καὶ ἐν τῷ θεῷ μου ὑπερβήσομαι τεῖχος

Gen 49:19 גִּדּוֹד יִגְדְּנוּ וְהָיָא יָגֵד עָקֵב

Γάδ, **πειρατήριον** πειρατεύσει αὐτόν, αὐτὸς δὲ πειρατεύσει αὐτῶν κατὰ πόδας.

The noun גִּדּוֹד ‘a raid’, ‘a gang of raiders’ was not familiar to the translator of 1 Samuel. He transliterated it but made an error by replacing the second *daleth* by *resh*: γεδδούρ. The translator of the Psalter picked up the translation πειρατήριον (‘a gang of pirates’) from the only occurrence of גִּדּוֹד in the Pentateuch. The equivalent found in Genesis seems to be the core around which the interpretation of the line is developed in the psalm. The verb in the sentence, רוץ ‘run’, is certainly familiar to the translator, but he decides to interpret it in this context as ‘to escape’, ‘to be saved’. This choice necessitates the addition of a preposition (one of the rare cases of adding a word). The “I” of the psalm is a warrior (presumably David) who praises God, saying in Greek: “By your help I will be saved from raiders”. “Being saved” is a recurring topic in the Psalter and thus a natural choice – whereas the meaning of the Hebrew is not defensive but rather aggressive: “By your help I will run to raid (or: make a swift attack).” The parallel case in the *kaige* section of 2 Samuel gives a *kaige* correction: “I will run as a μονόζωνος” (2 Sam 22:30) – μονόζωνος meaning “ranger,” “light-armed warrior”.

Although there is a difference between the Hebrew and Greek texts of the Psalter, we can follow the line of thought that produced the translation on the basis of the Hebrew known from the MT, and we can see that the Greek does not presuppose a different *Vorlage*. We can also observe that the translator translates complete thoughts, although he retains the number and order of words, except for that one preposition.

20 In addition to marking the focus of the examples in bold face, elements of the Greek translation of the Psalter that indicate a departure from the Hebrew text are emphasized by boxes.

It is obvious that the translator of the Psalter was well acquainted with the Pentateuch in both *Hebrew and Greek* so that he could look there for help, whereas the translator of 1 Samuel probably only knew the *Greek* Pentateuch, using similar vocabulary, but had not studied it in such great detail in both languages. The example given is one of many similar cases in which the translator of 1 Samuel was not able to translate a word that occurs in the Pentateuch, and on the other hand, in which the translator of the Psalter looked for help in the Pentateuch, even if the word was found there only once.<sup>21</sup> This is just one example that conveniently allows a comparison between the two translators.

The translator of the Psalter must have been a learned person, “ein Schriftgelehrter”, a professional scholar who had the authority to interpret the text. He had such a thorough knowledge of the Torah in both Hebrew and Greek that only comes from studying the text time and again. The translator of 1 Samuel had a different kind of learning. His special talent is revealed in verbal forms, which he knew to vary in a way fitting for a historical narrative. He could use the historical present and alternate it with the aorist, and he also used the imperfect to denote durative as well as iterative action – of which only the last-mentioned had special forms in Hebrew.<sup>22</sup> The primary motive for translating 1 Samuel was probably interest in the history of the nation rather than reverence for a sacred text. The Psalms, by contrast, had immediate religious relevance for the Jewish community. By the time of translation, the Psalms were certainly used in worship, and the translator seems to have endeavoured to produce a translation that could be used for the same purpose, for public recitation.

Translating the Psalter was clearly a more demanding task than translating the historical books, the style of which could remain rather simple. Both translators display a close quantitative adherence to the Hebrew source text, but they let their skills in the Greek mother tongue guide them in small details, in grammatical forms and in the choice and variation of lexical items, that is, in qualitative respects. Especially in the Psalter, the lexical choices show much variation. The translator clearly takes the context into account, aiming at more natural expressions and comprehensibility.

21 For another example, ἀδολεσχέω for חָשַׁב (Gen 24:63 for חָשַׁב), see Lazarencu, “ἀδολεσχέω”, 110–120.

22 For the use of tenses in the Books of Samuel, see Wirth, *Septuaginta*, 148–214.

#### 4. Lexical Choices that Exemplify the Qualitative Aspect of Translation in the Greek Psalter

Let me give some random examples from the area of lexical choices. The Hebrew **כּוּן** is a common verb with forms in nif., hif., pol. and hitpol. The most common rendering in the Septuagint is **ἐτοιμάζειν** ‘to prepare’. It is common also in the Psalter, but there is much variation, as shown by the following table, which exemplifies the translation pattern of *one by many*.<sup>23</sup>

##### Equivalents for **כּוּן** in the Greek Psalter

**ἐτοιμάζειν** ‘to prepare’ 16 times (hif. Ps 7:14; 57[56]:7, 65[64]:10, 68[67]:11, 78[77]:20, 89[88]:3, 5; 103[102]:19; 147[146]:8; pol. Ps 7:13; 9:8; 11[10]:2; 21:13; 24:2; 65[64]:7; 99[98]:4)

**ἐτοιμασία** ‘readiness’, ‘preparation’ 3 times (hif. Ps 10:17[9:38]; 65[64]:10; 89[88]:15 for the noun **מְכֻן**)

**ἔτοιμος** ‘prepared’, ‘ready’ 6 times (nif.part. Ps 38[37]:18; 57[56]:8 *bis*; 93[92]:2; 108[107]:2; 112[111]:7)

**κατευθύνειν** ‘to lead (straight)’, ‘to (cause to) prosper’ 12 times (nif. Ps 101[100]:7; 102[101]:29; 119[118]:5; 140[139]:12; 141[140]:2; hif. Ps 78[77]:8; 119[118]:133; pol. Ps 7:10; 37[36]:23 [pass]; 40[39]:3; 90[89]:17; hitpol. Ps 59[58]:5)

**καταρτίζειν** ‘to prepare’, ‘to restore’ 3 times (nif. Ps 74[73]:16; pol. Ps 68[67]:10)

**θεμελιοῦν** ‘to found firmly’ 4 times (pol. Ps 8:4; 48[47]:9; 87[86]:5; 119[118]:90)

**κατορθοῦν** ‘to establish’ once (nif. Ps 96[95]:10 with a change from the passive to the active)

**πλάσσειν** ‘to form’, ‘to mould’ once (pol. Ps 119[118]:73)

**συναντιλαμβάνεσθαι** ‘to support’ once (nif. Ps 89[88]:22 with a change from the passive to the active)

**συνιστάναι** ‘to establish’ once (pol. Ps 107[106]:36)

**στερεοῦν** ‘to make firm’ once (nif. Ps 93[92]:1 with a change from the passive to the active)

**εὐθής/εὐθύς** ‘upright’ twice (nif.part. Ps 51[50]:12; 78[77]:37)

**ἀλήθεια** ‘truth’ once (nif.part.fem. Ps 5:10)

Such variation in the rendering of a vocable with fairly unspecific semantic content is remarkable and shows the translator’s creativity in finding a suitable expression for each context. The translation of the Psalter is clearly far from a concordant translation. Not only are there frequent examples for the translation pattern of *one by many*, but also the pattern *many by one* – that is, several Hebrew words are rendered by one Greek word – is well represented. For instance, the above-mentioned

23 See also Austermann, *Tora*, 76–82.

ἐτοιμάζειν was also employed for עָרַךְ ‘to arrange’ (23[22]:5; 78[77]:19; 132[131]:17) and θεμελιῶν for יָסַד ‘to found’ (Ps 24[23]:2; 78[77]:69; 89[88]:12; 102[101]:26; 104[103]:5, 8; 119[118]:152).

To go deeper into the lexical choices of the Greek Psalter, let us look at a few more examples. The pattern *many-by-one* is exemplified by ἀνταποδιδόναι (‘to repay [good or evil]’; ‘to recompence’), which renders several Hebrew verbs all over the Septuagint, mainly שׁוּב hif., שָׁלַם pi., and גָּמַל qal, all of which mean ‘to do something (good or evil) in return’, ‘to repay’. The last-mentioned, גָּמַל, again has different meanings that require different renderings: *one-by-many*. In addition to the meaning (1) ‘to do good or bad (often with reciprocal connotation)’, it has the very different meaning (2) ‘to wean a baby’. Especially in the Psalter, there are different renderings for this verb that serve as an illustration here.<sup>24</sup>

#### Equivalents for גָּמַל in the Greek Psalter

- (1) ἀνταποδιδόναι 5 times (Ps 7:5, 18[17]:21, 103[102]:10, 119[118]:17, 142[141]:8)  
 εὐεργετεῖν twice (Ps 13[12]:6, 116[114]:7)  
 (2) ἀπογαλακτίζειν once (Ps 131[130]:2)

#### Examples

Ps 18(17):21 יִגְמְלֵנִי יְהוָה בְּצַדִּיק בְּכָר יְדֵי יֹשִׁיב לִי

καὶ ἀνταποδώσει μοι κύριος κατὰ τὴν δικαιοσύνην μου

καὶ κατὰ τὴν καθαριότητα τῶν χειρῶν μου ἀνταποδώσει μοι (*two-by-one*!)

Ps 103(102):10 לֹא בְּחַטָּאֵינוּ עָשָׂה לָנוּ וְלֹא כְעֻנְיֵינוּ גָּמַל עָלֵינוּ

οὐ κατὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν ἐποίησεν ἡμῖν

οὐδὲ κατὰ τὰς ἀνομίας ἡμῶν ἀνταπέδωκεν ἡμῖν

Ps 7:5 אִם-גָּמַלְתִּי שׁוֹלְמִי רַע וְאַחֲלָצָה צוֹרְרִי רִיקָם

εἰ ἀνταπέδωκα τοῖς ἀνταποδιδούσιν μοι κακά,

ἀποπέσιν ἄρα ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μου κενός

Ps 13(12):6 אֶשִׁיחַ לַיהוָה כִּי גָמַל עָלַי

ἄσω τῷ κυρίῳ τῷ εὐεργετήσαντί με (change of structure; cf. Ps 57[56]:3 with the Hebrew גָּמַר)

Ps 116(114):7 שׁוּבִי נַפְשִׁי לְמִנוּחֶיכִי כִי־יְהוָה גָּמַל עָלַי

ἐπίστρεψον ἡ ψυχὴ μου εἰς τὴν ἀνάπαυσίν σου, ὅτι κύριος εὐηργέτησέν σε

24 See also Austermann, *Tora*, 82–83.

Ps 131(130):2 אֲנִי אֶמָל עָלַי אֶמָל עָלַי נַפְשִׁי | וְדוֹמָמְתִּי שְׁוִיתִי אֶל־נַפְשִׁי  
 εἰ μὴ ἐταπεινοφρόνουν ἄλλὰ ὑψωσα (ורוממת) תְּהֵן ψυχὴν μου,  
 ὡς τὸ ἀπογεγαλακτισμένον ἐπὶ τῇ γυνή τερά αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἀνταπόδοσις ἐπὶ τῇ γυνή ψυχὴν μου

The first two cases display the use of ἀνταποδιδόναι with both negative and positive connotations. At Ps 7:5, however, the dual applicability of the verb renders the interpretation of the verse difficult. It must have been difficult for the translator as well, considering that he has turned the second line of the protasis into the apodosis. Understanding that the verse is part of a profession of innocence, the best way to interpret it is to connect κακά (which follows the Hebrew word-order) with the first occurrence of ἀνταποδιδόναι: “if I have repaid with evil...” In the Hebrew, the recipient is “the one in peace with me”, whereas the use of ἀνταποδιδόναι (act. pres. part. in plural!) again for this expression causes confusion, unless taken in the positive sense “those who do me good”.<sup>25</sup>

The use of εὐεργετεῖν in two cases highlights the translator’s skill in taking the context into account when choosing his equivalents.

At Ps 131(130):2, the same word (pass. part. of גָּמַל, ‘a weaned child’) appears twice, but the translator has rendered each with a different equivalent according to the two meanings of the verb. The result is difficult to understand, but it must be admitted that the verse was also extremely difficult for the translator. We tend to think that the metaphor is about longing for something: “like a weaned child longs for its mother, so the humble petitioner feels a longing in his soul”. In this translation, “the humble soul”, seems to be paralleled with “the mother”, which is comprehensible only if it is the mother who longs for her child. A further detail in this case is ὑψωσα, which is based on a different reading (resh instead of dalet). Noteworthy is also the expression of contrast to the previous verb by ἀλλά. The Greek verse might be translated like this: “Even if I was not humble in spirit but lifted up my soul, (it was) as the weaned child (reaching up) to its mother, (it was) as a reward to my soul.”<sup>26</sup> This example shows how difficult it can be to catch the point of the Hebrew poetry. The translator tried his best and found a solution of his own.

25 The alternative interpretation – “if I have repaid those that do evil to me ...” – would neither correspond to the Hebrew nor make sense in a profession of innocence. The tendency to use ἀνταποδιδόναι in a positive sense can be paralleled with the use of the noun ἀνταπόδοσις in the final example Ps 131(130):2.

26 This translation resulted from a consultation with John Lee. The clearly positive meaning of the noun ἀνταπόδοσις ‘reward’ is found e.g. at Ps 19(18):12.



## 5. Translation Conventions and Other Factors Influencing Choice of Vocabulary

The above examples give an illustration of how the translator of the psalms varied his lexical choices and thus revealed his interpretation of the Hebrew source text. Basically, the given examples display interpretation on the linguistic level of decoding the source text and expressing its content in the target language. There are also cases of interpretation on a higher level, especially concerning theologically relevant passages and statements concerning the deity.<sup>27</sup> In such expressions, the translator was not just left on his own to tackle the problems of translation one by one as they confronted him, but there were certain translation conventions that were also followed in other translated books. One well known convention is the consistent replacement of concrete metaphors of God (for instance, “rock,” “stronghold”) by words expressing the content of the metaphor (“help,” “helper,” “strength”) or by the referent (“God”).<sup>28</sup>

Ps 18(17):3 יהוה סלעי ומצודתי ומפלטי אלי צורי

κύριος **στερέωμά** μου καὶ **καταφυγή** μου καὶ ῥύστης μου, ὁ θεός μου **βοηθός** μου

Ps 18(17):47 ובָּרוּךְ צוּרֵי יְיָ יְשׁוּעִי

εὐλογητὸς ὁ **θεός** μου καὶ ὑψωθήτω ὁ θεὸς **τῆς** σωτηρίας μου

Another example is found in expressions of “seeing the face of God” in the sense of visiting the sanctuary. There was a tendency to avoid this expression by changing the verb into the passive voice (“appear before God”), which is reflected also in the vocalization of the MT. In the Psalter, the same happens with the verb חזה, which does not have a nif'al form.

Ps 42(41):3 וְאַתָּה פָּנִי אֱלֹהִים

καὶ **ὀφθήσομαι** **τῷ** προσώπῳ **τοῦ** θεοῦ

Ps 17(16):15 אֲנִי בַצֵּדֶק אֶחֱזֶה פָּנֶיךָ

ἐγὼ δὲ **ἐν** δικαιοσύνῃ **ὀφθήσομαι** **τῷ** προσώπῳ σου

Such translation conventions were pre-programmed in the religious community, but in a text like the Psalter, there are of course many more cases in which the translator felt a need to rephrase theologically sensitive expressions, especially expressions concerning the deity and the attitude of the person praying. The expressions

27 Aejmelaeus, “Levels”, 4–22 (in Aejmelaeus, *Trail*, 295–312).

28 Olofsson, *God*.

of confidence in God are interesting: mainly בטח ('to trust', 'to be confident') and חסה ('to take refuge') in Hebrew. The rendering used in the great majority of cases is ἐλπίζειν, which occurs altogether more than 70 times in the Psalter.<sup>29</sup>

Ps 62(61):9 בְּטַח בּוֹ בְּכָל־עֵת | עַם שֹׁפְכו־לִפְנֵי לַבְּרָכָה אֱלֹהִים מִתְּהַלֵּל  
ἐλπίσατε ἐπ' αὐτόν, πᾶσα συναγωγὴ (תד) λαοῦ.  
ἐκχέετε ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν· ὁ θεὸς βοηθὸς ἡμῶν·

Ps 7:2 הִנֵּה אֱלֹהֵי בֶּן־חֶסֶד הוֹשִׁיעֵנִי מִכָּל־דָּדַי | הַצִּילֵנִי  
κύριε ὁ θεός μου ἐπὶ σοὶ ἤλπισα, σῶσόν με ἐκ πάντων τῶν διωκόντων με καὶ ῥῦσαί με

It seems to me that the translator was here guided by his understanding of the religious sentiments of his community. It is notable that ἐλπίζειν is used with a positive connotation “to put one’s hope in someone”, whereas the word is generally neutral, meaning “to expect”, “to assume (either good or bad)”. The alternative πεποιθέναι “to trust” would have been the closest equivalent to בטח, but it is seldom used to express the relationship of those praying to the deity. The frequency of ἐλπίζειν and the noun ἐλπίς strongly colours the expressions of religious attitudes of the community. What guided this choice of vocabulary could be characterized as a socio-linguistic factor in the translation of the Psalter.

In his dissertation, Frank Austermann paid attention to the centrality of the Torah in the Greek Psalter.<sup>30</sup> The word Torah occurs 36 times in the Psalter, mainly concentrated in certain psalms (25 times in Ps 119 alone), and it is translated by νόμος as elsewhere in the Septuagint. However, the central position of the Torah in the Judaism of the time of translation is further reflected in related vocabulary that is more widely distributed, the most frequent being ἀνομία, which occurs 80 times for more than ten different words that designate different transgressions. Another example is the eight occurrences of παράνομος, referring to evil-doers, for almost as many different words in the source text. The noun ἁμαρτία, with 26 occurrences,<sup>31</sup> and ἀδικία, with 28 occurrences, are the more frequent words for sin and transgression elsewhere in the Septuagint, but they are outnumbered by ἀνομία in the Psalter. In the Greek Pentateuch, ἀνομία appears 11 times and ἀδικία 14 times, but ἁμαρτία appears 186 times as it is so frequent in the sacrificial laws. In 1 Samuel, there is but one occurrence of ἄνομος (24:14), whereas ἀνομία and παράνομος do occur in the so-called *kaige* section of 2 Samuel. The prevalence of ἀνομία and related vocabulary in the Psalms is conspicuous.

29 Aejmelaesus, “Faith”.

30 See especially Austermann, *Tora*, 171–206.

31 The noun ἁμαρτία and its cognates are mainly reserved for the Hebrew root שׁחט.

### Nóμος-related vocabulary

ἀνομία 80 times for e.g. עון 'sin', אָן 'injustice', זַמָּה 'infamy', עוֹלָה 'malice', עוֹל 'dishonesty', פֶּשַׁע 'crime', רִשָּׁע 'offence', חֲמָס 'violence', עָהֶק 'impudent'

ἀνομεῖν for e.g. עוה hif. 'go astray', בגד qal 'deal treacherously'

ἄνομος for e.g. פֶּשַׁע qal part. 'criminal', רִשָּׁע 'wicked person'

παράνομος 8 times for e.g. הָלַל qal part. 'foolish', פֶּשַׁע qal part. 'criminal', בְּלִיעַל 'uselessness', יָד 'insolent'

παράνομεῖν for e.g. הָלַל qal 'act foolishly', עוֹל pi. 'act unjustly', לִיץ qal 'brag'

νομοθετεῖν and νομοθέτης for יָרָה hif. 'instruct'

With regard to translation technique, this means the semantic leveling of the vocabulary that differentiates between different kinds of transgressions and evil deeds. On the one hand, this is normal in translation, but on the other, the concentration on νόμος-related vocabulary in the Psalter is unusually extreme. Perhaps the translator was not familiar with all these words, but he knew that the deeds being referred to were against the law. Moreover, this was a practical and tidy way of rendering these ugly words, and it also reflects the community's self-understanding as those who live by the Torah. The driving forces behind these translations seem to have been the socio-linguistic factor as well as religious convictions.

## 6. Translation Technique and Editing the Greek Psalter

I could talk for hours and not be able to give a complete picture of the translation technique of the Greek Psalter. Translation technical data is something that accumulates as the work on a text proceeds. More important than a huge amount of information on different translation equivalents is familiarity with the translator's inclinations and attitudes, his competence and its limits. When it comes to making text-critical decisions, it is necessary to check the translation-technical background for each case in question: how does *this* translator deal with this particular expression, and how do other translators deal with it, especially the translators of the Pentateuch? When a rare expression occurs, one should ask: Would this translator have been capable of achieving this?

For an editor, it is of course indispensable to know the manuscripts, especially the kinds of secondary developments that can be expected in them. However, it is seldom possible to make decisions relying solely on the manuscripts. One needs to consider the translation technical factors. One also needs to weigh the possibility of a different *Vorlage*. None of these different factors takes an absolute priority over the others, and as I already said, all the data needs to be on the table at the same time in order to reach a plausible solution.

## Examples of Text-critical Cases with Ra 2110

I would like to illustrate what I have said about the methodology by reviewing a few cases for which we have the additional witness of Papyrus Bodmer XXIV (Ra 2110), a 3rd/4th century CE papyrus not known to Rahlfs. According to Pietersma, this papyrus is “a first-rate witness to OG”.<sup>32</sup> All my examples are from Ps 104(103), a praise of the creator.

Ps 104(103):4 טַהֲרֵנָּה שֶׁנִּי־רָשָׁהּ תִּחְיֶה מִכֶּסֶף הַיָּם

ὁ ποιῶν [τοὺς] ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα καὶ [τοὺς] λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγον  
πνεύματα] πνᾶ 2110

πῦρ φλέγον] πυρος φλογα Bo Sa L<sup>b</sup> A<sup>c</sup>(φλεγα): ex [sic!] Hebr 1<sub>7</sub> & πυρος φλογα  
2110 (in addition, πυρ φλεγω<sup>ν</sup> on the following line: a misplaced marginal reading)

For both variant cases in v. 4, πνεύματα and πῦρ φλέγον, Rahlfs gives a reading that corresponds to the MT. As for the latter, the Hebrew expression does not occur elsewhere, but πῦρ φλέγον appears in Ex 24:17, and the genitive πυρός occurs with different forms of φλόξ in Ex 3:2 and Ps 28:7 (φλόγα πυρός). All of these render different Hebrew wordings. With πυρὸς φλόγα, 2110 probably represents the original reading (accompanied by some other early witnesses), and πῦρ φλέγον is a correction according to the Hebrew, given also as an ill-placed marginal reading in 2110. The translator proceeds word-for-word, but understands the second word as the noun “flame” and does not take into account that the first word of the two cannot function as a genitive in Hebrew. This is in harmony with the normal procedure of this translator. “Fire flame” also seems to fit the context better than “burning fire”.

The translator follows the Hebrew word-order while using ποιεῖν with two objects (‘to make an object into something’). Consequently, the first object and the second object have changed functions. In this interpretation, the singular πνᾶ (in 2110 and as a variant in Hebr 1:7), probably to be understood as ‘wind’, and “the flame of fire” work quite well, perhaps acquiring a distributive effect. Only modern translations seem to have turned the expression around: “The one who makes winds into his messengers and burning fire into his servants.” The psalm enumerates different elements of the universe and their functions for the deity.

Ps 104(103):5 יַעֲרֵב עֵשֶׂה בְּלִיָּהּ מִכֶּסֶף הַיָּם יִרְאֶה דָּם

ἐθμελίωσεν [τὴν] γῆν ἐπὶ [τὴν] ἀσφάλειαν αὐτῆς, οὐ κλιθήσεται [εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος]  
κλιθήσεται] κληθήσεται S L<sup>pau</sup> He, κεινηθήσεται A (Bo Sa?) & κλεισθήσεται 2110

32 Pietersma, “Critical Text”, 29. See also Id., “Ra 2110”, 262–286.

All the variants have different meanings (“decline”, “to be called”, “to be moved”, “to be closed”), while the Hebrew **טוט** nif. means “to be shaken”. The verb is familiar to the translator from other contexts (normally **σαλεύω** in 19 cases; **κλίνω** once; **ἐκκλίνω** once for hif.; **μεταναστεύω** once). In this case, I would stick with Rahlfs, although **κινηθησεται** would also fit the context. The verb **κινέω** is, however, rare in the Psalter and never occurs in this kind of context. The emphasis seems to be: “the earth will not lean over”. The two other variants are clearly corrupted forms based on the lemma. Thus, 2110 is in this case corrupted. In fact, this papyrus contains numerous misspellings.

Ps 104(103):24 **וְהַיָּם יִשְׁעוּ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ הָאֱלֹהִים**

**ὥς** ἐμεγαλύνθη **τὰ** ἔργα σου, κύριε· πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ ἐποίησας, ἐπληρώθη ἡ γῆ **τῆς**

**κτῆσεώς** σου

κτῆσεως *possessione* Ga = MT (cf 104<sub>21</sub>)] κτισεως rel. (= *creatura* La) & κτισεως 2110

Surprisingly, **κτίσις**, which would seem to fit here very well, does not occur in the translated books of the Septuagint (except for Sirach). Both the Hebrew and the Greek words – **נָכֶל** and **κτήσις** – occur several times in the Pentateuch, but they do not correspond to each other. The meaning is, however, the same for both (‘property’, ‘purchase’, ‘possession’). Thus, **κτήσις** is the correct word here (found also at 104:21), and 2110 clearly has an itacistic corruption. 2110 is an ancient manuscript but a poor copy of an even more ancient manuscript.

Ps 104(103):18 **הַרְיִים לִיבְהֵימָה לְעֵלְיָם מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ הָאֱלֹהִים**

ὄρη τὰ ὑψηλὰ ταῖς ἐλάφοις, πέτρα καταφυγὴ τοῖς **χοιρογρύλλιοις**

ὄρη] pr τα 2110

τοῖς χοιρογρύλλιοις B' -2044 Sa R' GaHi 1219(γρο pro γρυλ)] τ. λαγωοῖς O-(teste Hi) L' Su A' & 2110, + και τοις λαγωοῖς La<sup>R</sup> Aug Sy

The lemma **χοιρογρύλλιος** occurs 4 times: in Lev 11:6 and Deut 14:7 in the lists of forbidden foods and in Prov 30:26. The corresponding Hebrew **יָצִיף** is found in Deut 14:7 and Prov 30:26 as well as in the parallel verse Lev 11:5. No doubt, the translator found this word in the Pentateuch. In this case, 2110 has an early approximation to the Hebrew.<sup>33</sup> The word **λαγώς** does not occur in the Septuagint, but it is found as a reading of Aquila for the two cases in the Pentateuch (Lev 11:5 and Deut 14:7).

33 Pietersma, “Ra 2110”, 268–73, turns down the possibility of a Hebraizing correction in this case as well as several others.

Ps 104(103):6–10

6 הָאֵלֹהִים כְּלָבוֹשׁ כִּסְיָו עַל־הָרִים יַעֲמְדוּ־מַיִם:  
 7 מִן־גַּעֲרָתָהּ יִגְסֹן מִן־קוֹל רָעַמָּהּ יִחַפְּזוּן:  
 8 יַעֲלֹ הָרִים יִרְדּוּ בִקְעוֹת אֶל־מְקוֹם זֶה יִסְדֹּת לָהֶם:  
 9 גְּבוּל־שְׂמֵתָ בַל־יַעֲבְרוּן בַּל־יָשׁוּבוּן לְכַסּוֹת הָאָרֶץ:  
 10 הַמְשַׁלַּח מַעֲיָנִים בְּנַחְלִים בֵּין הָרִים יִהְלֶכֶן:

<sup>6</sup> ἄβυσσος ὡς ἱμάτιον τὸ περιβόλαιον αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ τῶν ὁρέων στήσονται ὕδατα

<sup>7</sup> ἀπὸ ἐπιτιμῆσεώς σου φεύξονται, ἀπὸ φωνῆς βροντῆς σου δειλιάσουσιν.

σου *bis*/ ου 2110: haplogr

<sup>8</sup> ἀναβαίνουνσιν ὄρη καὶ καταβαίνουνσιν πεδία εἰς τόπον ὃν ἐθεμελίωσας αὐτοῖς  
τόπον B-2044 RA] pr τον S L' 1219' & 2110 (possibly the original; against the MT)

<sup>9</sup> ὄριον ἔθου ὃ οὐ παρελεύσονται, οὐδὲ ἐπιστρέψουσιν καλύψαι τὴν γῆν.

ὃ] > 2110 = MT (cf. *kaige*)

ἐπιστρέψουσιν] αποστρέψουσιν B-2044 & 2110 (cf. *kaige*)

<sup>10</sup> ὁ ἐξαποστέλλων πηγὰς ἐν φάραγξιν, ἀνὰ μέσον τῶν ὁρέων διελεύσονται ὕδατα  
ἐξαποστέλλων] εἰς > B(non 2044): cf. 104:17 & 2110 (cf. *kaige*)

ὕδατα] ÷ Ga; > La<sup>G</sup> & 2110 = MT (cf. *kaige*)

The readings of 2110 include two cases of haplography in v. 6 (a negation instead of “yours”), one possibly original reading in v. 8 (against Ra: the article with τόπον), and the four remaining variants are probably approximations to the Hebrew text. The corrections found in 2110 occur in cases familiar from texts connected with the *kaige* revision: the omission of elements that are not part of the MT and the omission or change of the prefix of compound verbs (v. 10 the prefix of ἐξαποστέλλων is omitted; v. 9 ἐπιστρέφω is changed to ἀπο- without attention to the direction of the movement; cf. B and 2110 in both readings). We seem to have here a textual phenomenon comparable to my findings in 1 Samuel. The B text, which is often regarded as practically the original text of the Septuagint books of Samuel, has been found to contain occasional approximations to the Hebrew text similar to those in the *kaige* revision. These approximations, in B as well as in 2110, are pre-Hexaplaric and based on Jewish revisional activity.

Thus, it is my impression that 2110 is a most valuable ancient papyrus that may occasionally witness original readings. However, it is not only a poor copy but sporadically contains early approximations to the Hebrew text of the kind also found elsewhere in early witnesses. Even such an ancient papyrus cannot be taken to represent the original translation without a careful text-critical evaluation.

Textual criticism of the Greek Psalter does not happen in a vacuum. The textual critic must be on the alert for phenomena that are better known from and more frequent in other areas within the Septuagint. Although the translation of the Psal-

ter already closely follows the Hebrew text, it is still possible to find cases of correction to an even tighter correspondence with the Hebrew. Even in the case of the Greek Psalter, alternative readings that are closer to the Hebrew text should not automatically be preferred to ones that display more consideration for the context and thus depart from a close adherence to the Hebrew.

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## Kriterien der Textkritik und die Textgeschichte der Psalmen

Eine kritische und eklektische Edition eines historischen Textes hat zwei Komponenten: Einerseits das gegebene Material, d. h. die Handschriften und die sonstigen Quellen, wie etwa Zitate in anderen Werken oder Übersetzungen in andere Sprachen. Dieses Material ist für die Septuaginta der Psalmen in großer, fast unüberschaubarer Menge vorhanden, wenn auch in unterschiedlicher Qualität und Relevanz. Nicht zuletzt hat sich dieses Material seit der Psalmenedition von 1931<sup>1</sup> durch zufällige Funde wichtiger Papyri aber auch durch die Ergebnisse gezielter Suche erheblich vermehrt. Dazu kommt eine verbesserte Quellenlage bei den Tochterübersetzungen ebenso wie bei Kirchenväterkommentaren und anderen Schriften. Für die Septuaginta der Psalmen sind nicht zuletzt auch die Texte aus Qumran bzw. der Wüste Juda von großer Bedeutung, weil sie den Quellenbestand für die Frage nach der Vorlage der griechischen Übersetzung erweitern.<sup>2</sup>

Die andere Komponente für eine kritisch-eklektische Edition sind die für die Sichtung und Gewichtung der Textzeugen angewandte Methode und insbesondere die Kriterien für die textkritischen Entscheidungen. Diese Komponente ist für das Endprodukt mindestens ebenso wichtig, wenn nicht noch wichtiger, jedenfalls bei einer so reichlichen Quellenlage wie bei den Psalmen. Im Folgenden geht es vor allem um diesen zweiten Aspekt, zunächst im Blick auf die Forschungsgeschichte, die bis heute ihre prägenden – aber oft unbekannten oder unbewussten – Auswirkungen hat, und dann im Blick auf die aktuelle Methodik zur Bewertung der Quellen.

### 1. Forschungsgeschichte

Nicht nur für die Textgeschichte sondern auch für die Frage der Textkritik der Septuaginta könnte man schon die scheinbar diplomatischen Editionen des 16. Jh. nennen, denn sowohl die Herausgeber der Aldina als auch jene der Complutensischen Polyglotte haben Handschriften verglichen und Lesarten ausgewählt. Auch die Sixtina hat nicht nur den Codex Vaticanus wiedergegeben, sondern sie war eine an Hand des Codex Vaticanus revidierte Bearbeitung der Aldina, wobei auch

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1 Rahlfs, *Psalmi*.

2 Siehe dazu die zusammenfassende Ausgabe von Ulrich, *Qumran*.

andere Lesarten verzeichnet und zum Teil integriert wurden.<sup>3</sup> Auch als Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts Johann Ernst Grabe den *Codex Alexandrinus* edierte, machte er textkritische Änderungen. Bekanntlich hat Grabe auch eine eigene Schrift über den Text des Richterbuches im *Codex Alexandrinus* verfasst, mit der Behauptung, dass dies der gegenüber dem Codex Vaticanus ältere Text sei.<sup>4</sup> Diese Schrift hatte immerhin zur Folge, dass 200 Jahre später Alan England Brooke und Norman McLean in ihrer großen Ausgabe<sup>5</sup> zwar, wie auch sonst, den Text des *Codex Vaticanus* im Ober-Text druckten, dass sie aber für das Richterbuch auch den Text des *Codex Alexandrinus* nicht nur nach den Varianten wiedergaben, sondern vollständig abdruckten. Das führte wiederum dazu, dass Alfred Rahlfs in seiner Handausgabe von 1935 ebenfalls beide Textformen abdruckte, nur mit dem Unterschied, dass Textform A eine eklektisch verbesserte Form des Alexandrinus-Textes darstellt, während Textform B den Vaticanus-Text diplomatisch wiedergibt. – Eine Editionsform, auf die ich später zurückkommen werde.

### 1.1 Die Einsichten von Heinrich Wilhelm Thiersch und die Axiome von Paul Anton de Lagarde

Damit kommen wir zu zwei Personen, von denen die erste vorwiegend dem Namen nach und die zweite vermutlich kaum bekannt ist. Die erste ist Bernard de Montfaucon, der 1713 eine Sammlung der hexaplarischen Zeugnisse edierte.<sup>6</sup> Diese Sammlung wurde die Grundlage der bekannten *Fragmenta quae supersunt* von Frederic Field von 1875.<sup>7</sup>

Die andere Person ist Heinrich Wilhelm Josias Thiersch, der 1839 in Erlangen eine Dissertation veröffentlichte, in der er sich mit den damals vorhandenen Septuagintausgaben, insbesondere der Ausgabe des *Codex Alexandrinus* durch Grabe und auch mit den hexaplarischen Fragmenten von Montfaucon auseinander setzte. Die Regel, die er als Ergebnis seiner Studien aufstellte, lautete – damals noch gut lateinisch:

*Quo alienior sit lectio a Masoretica, quo immunior sermo ab Hebraismis, quo liberior versio et dissimilior eius facies textui originali, eo sinceriores esse et prisco τῶν ο´ stylo propinquiores.*<sup>8</sup>

3 Rahlfs, „Abhängigkeit“.

4 Grabe, *Epistola*.

5 Brooke/McLean/Thackeray, *Old Testament*.

6 Montfaucon, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt*.

7 Field, *Fragmenta*.

8 Thiersch, *Pentateuchi*, 17.

Je weiter eine Lesart vom Masoretischen Text entfernt, je unberührter die Sprache von Hebraïsmen, je freier eine Version und unähnlicher dem originalen [hebräischen] Text, desto reiner und der ursprünglichen Schreibweise der Septuaginta näher ist sie.

Der Hintergrund dieser Regel ist deutlich: Die ursprüngliche Septuaginta stimmt vielfach nicht mit dem masoretischen Text überein, sondern wurde im Lauf der Überlieferung an den hebräischen Text angepasst, wie es nicht zuletzt auch durch die jüngeren jüdischen Übersetzungen geschah und insbesondere an der Arbeit des Origenes deutlich wurde. Die Bewegung zum ältesten Text der Septuaginta ist damit zugleich eine Bewegung weg vom hebräischen Text.

Dieses Statement erinnert natürlich an die berühmten Axiome von Paul Anton de Lagarde, die dieser in der Vorrede zur Edition des Sprüchebuches von 1863 formulierte.<sup>9</sup> Diese sog. Axiome haben bekanntlich folgenden Wortlaut:

- I die manuscripte der griechischen übersetzung des alten testaments sind alle entweder unmittelbar oder mittelbar das resultat eines eklektischen verfahrens: darum muss, wer den echten text wiederfinden will, ebenfalls eklektiker sein. sein maassstab kann nur die kenntniss des styles der einzelnen übersetzer, sein haupthilfsmittel muss die fähigkeit sein, die ihm vorkommenden lesarten auf ihr semitisches original zurückzuführen oder aber als original-griechische verderbnisse zu erkennen.
- II wenn ein vers oder verstheil in einer freien und in einer sklavisch treuen übertragung vorliegt, gilt die erstere als die echte.
- III wenn sich zwei lesarten nebeneinander finden, von denen die eine den masoretischen text ausdrückt, die andre nur aus einer von ihm abweichenden urschrift erklärt werden kann, so ist die letztere für ursprünglich zu halten.

Während das erste Axiom die Notwendigkeit textkritischer Überlegungen begründet, nennen die beiden weiteren Axiome die grundlegenden Erwägungen: nämlich dass jener Text der älteste ist, der am weitesten vom – in der Antike gültigen – hebräischen Text entfernt ist, und andererseits, dass jener Text der älteste ist, der sich am besten durch eine abweichende hebräische Vorlage erklären lässt.

Diese vielfach hoch gelobten Regeln haben zweifellos bleibende Bedeutung und waren wohl auch von Lagarde selbst nicht nur für die textkritische Arbeit am Sprüchebuch, sondern an der Septuaginta insgesamt (jedenfalls für die Schriften mit hebräischer bzw. aramäischer Grundlage) gedacht.

Schon Alfred Rahlfs bezeichnete diese Axiome als epochemachend für die Septuagintaforschung.<sup>10</sup> Ein Urteil, das Bernhard Neuschäfer, „*Alteri saeculo*“, zustimmend

9 Lagarde, *Anmerkungen*, 3 (Lagarde war, so wie seine Göttinger Kollegen, die Brüder Grimm, ein Anhänger der konsequenten Kleinschreibung).

10 Rahlfs, *de Lagardes*, 60.

aufgriff: „Die darin vorgetragenen methodischen Grundsätze für die Textkritik der Septuaginta erwiesen sich als so wegweisend, dass Alfred Rahlfs später mit Recht behaupten konnte, von diesem schmalen Band datiere ‚eine neue Epoche der Septuagintaforchung‘.“<sup>11</sup>

Konkret setzt das zweite Axiom (so wie bei Thiersch) voraus, dass die freiere Übersetzung der Septuaginta im Lauf der Zeit an den hebräisch[-protomasoretisch]en Text angepasst wurde.<sup>12</sup> Das dritte Axiom ergänzt: Wenn eine vom bekannten hebräischen Text abweichende Vorlage angenommen werden kann, so spricht auch das für eine ursprünglich andere Lesart. Solche Lesarten konnte man schon zu Lagarde's Zeiten erschließen.<sup>13</sup> Die Annahme der Pluriformität des hebräischen Textes wurde aber bekanntlich durch die Qumranfunde bestätigt, worauf u. a. auch Christian Schäfer in seiner Erörterung der Axiome hinweist.<sup>14</sup>

## 1.2 Die Psalmenstudien von Friedrich Baethgen

Was Lagarde formulierte, war offensichtlich weithin akzeptiertes Verständnis bzw. wurde auch von diversen Studien bestätigt. So z. B. auch bei Friedrich Baethgen in einer umfangreichen Studie zum griechischen Text der Psalmen von 1882.<sup>15</sup> Abgesehen von Schreibfehlern kam Baethgen zu einer Zweistufigkeit der Entstehung und Überlieferung der Psalmen. In der Fülle der bei Holmes/Parsons<sup>16</sup> bezeugten Überlieferung fand er im Wesentlichen zwei große Texttypen, die er als O<sup>1</sup> und O unterschied. Dabei bezeichnet O<sup>1</sup> die erste, ältere Phase der Überlieferung, während O die spätere, an den hebräischen Text herangeführte Textform bezeichnete.

Entgegen der auch damals verbreiteten Meinung repräsentierte der *Codex Vaticanus* nicht die älteste Textform, sondern gehörte er nach Baethgen zur hebraisierend überarbeiteten Textform, während der Mehrheitstext einschließlich des sog. byzantinischen Textes im Wesentlichen die ältere Textform repräsentierte, wenn auch natürlich mit diversen Textverderbnissen, die im Zuge der Überlieferung entstanden waren.

11 Neuschäfer, „*Alteri saeculo*“, 246.

12 Der hebräische Bezugstext war nicht immer genau der proto-masoretische Text (so z. B. in 2 Kön gegenüber 2 Sam). Die Revision ist aber an ihren semantischen und grammatischen Eigenheiten und etwa auch in der Anpassung an die hebräische Wortfolge klar erkennbar.

13 Ein Hinweis auf eine solche abweichende Vorlage ist insbesondere, wenn sich die griechische Variante durch einen Fehler im Hebräischen, z. B. Verwechslung von Buchstaben, die im Hebräischen ähnlich sind, erklären lässt.

14 Schäfer, *Rahlfs*, 138.

15 Baethgen, „*Werth*“.

16 Holmes/Parsons, *Vetus Testamentum*.

### 1.3 Die Psalmenstudien und die Psalmenedition von Alfred Rahlfs

Alfred Rahlfs griff die Arbeit von Baethgen einerseits auf, andererseits modifizierte er sie bzw. er stellte sie letzten Endes auf den Kopf. In seiner Untersuchung zu den Psalmen von 1907 bezeichnete er das Modell von Baethgen zu Recht als bipolar, er differenzierte aber den einen Pol, nämlich O, und drehte die Reihenfolge um. Es war für Rahlfs offensichtlich schlicht undenkbar, dass die mit dem späteren byzantinischen Text übereinstimmende Textform die ältere sein könnte.

Dagegen war für ihn der *Codex Vaticanus* der älteste und darum auch wichtigste Text. Da Rahlfs den Vaticanus in Ägypten verortete, sprach er von der ägyptischen Textform, wobei er eine unterägyptische (Uä) und eine oberägyptische Textform (Oä) unterschied, der er eine abendländische Textform (Ab) zur Seite stellte.

Rahlfs erkannte zwar, dass diese Textgruppe, d. h. insbesondere der *Codex Vaticanus* und der meistens übereinstimmende *Codex Sinaiticus* häufig dem masoretischen Text nahe standen, aber er konnte sich eine frühe, also vororigeneische Anpassung des griechischen Textes an den protomasoretischen Text nicht vorstellen. Insbesondere mit dem Argument des Alters von *Vaticanus* und *Sinaiticus* erklärte er, dass sich Baethgens Annahme der häufigen Ursprünglichkeit des antiochenischen Textes nicht damit verträgt. Das wesentliche Argument lautet: „denn wenn die genau mit  $\mathfrak{M}$  übereinstimmenden Lesarten erst durch Korrektur nach  $\mathfrak{M}$  entstanden wären, so müssten UäOäAb schon in ältester Zeit nach  $\mathfrak{M}$  korrigiert sein. Also können wir in jenen ‚freieren Übersetzungen‘ nur ein Werk der Rezensorentätigkeit Lucians erblicken.“<sup>17</sup> – Die daraus sich ergebenden Regeln hat Rahlfs dann in seiner Ausgabe der Psalmen formuliert.<sup>18</sup>

- (1) Wenn die drei alten Textformen, die unteräg., oberäg. und abendländ. (§ 3–5), zusammengehn, ist ihre Lesart in der Regel aufgenommen.
- (2) Da die alten Zeugen sehr oft gegen die jüngeren mit  $\mathfrak{M}$  zusammengehn, habe ich in Fällen, wo sie voneinander abweichen, in der Regel diejenige Lesart bevorzugt, die mit  $\mathfrak{M}$  übereinstimmt.
- (3) Wenn die alten Textformen von  $\mathfrak{M}$  abweichen, aber die jüngeren (...) mit  $\mathfrak{M}$  zusammengehn, folge ich den alten Zeugen, da Origenes und Lukian sicher nach  $\mathfrak{M}$  korrigiert haben.
- (4) In zweifelhaften Fällen schließe ich mich an B' an. Wenn aber B' alleinstehen, stelle ich sie hinter den übrigen zurück.

17 Rahlfs, *Text*, 231. Dieses Votum ist insofern merkwürdig, als die sog. jüngeren jüdischen Übersetzungen bzw. Rezensionen des 2. Jhs. n. Chr. eine solche Korrektur nach MT für die vororigeneische Zeit präsentieren.

18 Rahlfs, *Psalmi*, 71 f.

Außer Punkt drei bevorzugen alle Regeln einen Text, der MT nahe steht. Freilich muss man zugeben, dass Rahlfs seine Regeln durchaus differenziert handhabte, was ja auch schon in den Regeln selbst angedeutet wird. Aber sie laufen doch im Wesentlichen auf die schon in der Studie von 1907 formulierte Ansicht hinaus, dass die MT nahe stehende Textform die älteste ist und dass in abweichenden, freieren Lesarten nur ein Werk der Rezensorentätigkeit des Lukian († 312) zu erblicken ist. Damit sind wir aber nicht nur beim genauen Gegenteil von Baethgen angelangt, sondern auch beim Gegenteil der Lagardeschen Axiome.

Entscheidend für diese ganz andere Sicht ist, dass sich um 1890 Lagarde – ganz im Gegensatz zu seiner früheren Meinung,<sup>19</sup> aber wohl unter dem Einfluss der „Fragmenta“ von Frederic Field – die berühmte Bemerkung des Hieronymus über die *trifaria varietas* zu eigen gemacht hatte, und zwar nicht nur die Bemerkung sondern auch eine spezifische Interpretation. Dabei wurde die zunächst nur deskriptive Bemerkung über die drei Textformen in Analogie zur rezensionellen Tätigkeit des Origenes bzw. noch weit darüber hinaus,<sup>20</sup> im Sinn einer umfangreichen rezensionellen Tätigkeit auch durch Lukian für Syrien und Hesychius für Ägypten interpretiert.

Freilich stand dieser Annahme – neben dem Problem der scheinbaren Unregelmäßigkeit und Widersprüchlichkeit der lukianischen Revision<sup>21</sup> – ein großes Pro-

19 Noch 1881 schrieb Lagarde im Rückblick über seine Skepsis gegenüber Hieronymus: „Für die Septuaginta öffentlich an Hesych, Lucian und die palaestinische κοινὴ zu denken, verbot mir mein in den Clementina 19 xxvii unverholten ausgesprochenes misstrauen gegen den eigentlich einzigen gewürmann jener drei recensionen, Hieronymus.“ Lagarde, Göttingen 19. November 1881, zitiert bei Neuschäfer, „*Alteri saeculo*“, 258, Fn. 91. Gemeint ist Lagarde's Edition der *Clementina* von 1865. Es ist offensichtlich, dass Lagarde in seinen früheren Studien und bei seiner Edition des lukianischen Textes diesen für besonders wichtig hielt, und dass er diese früheren Arbeiten erst sekundär in das neue Modell integrierte. Seine Septuagintastudien von 1891 beginnen mit dem – die Vergangenheit offensichtlich vereinnahmenden – Satz: „Es ist Jahre hindurch meine Absicht gewesen, die drei durch Hieronymus uns bezeugten amtlichen Recensionen der Septuaginta herzustellen, sie in Parallel-Columnen drucken zu heißen, und aus der Vergleichung dieser drei Texte Weiteres zu erschließen.“ Lagarde, *Septuagintastudien*, 3.

20 Origenes notierte nur die Differenzen zum (proto)masoretischen Text und er übersetzte nicht selbst, sondern ergänzte Fehlendes aus vorhandenen Übersetzungen. Dagegen hätte Lukian nach Rahlfs' Theorie in erheblichem Maß in den Text eingegriffen, Wörter ergänzt, geändert oder auch gestrichen.

21 Insbesondere in seiner Untersuchung Rahlfs, *Rezension*, stellte Rahlfs fest, dass Lukian unregelmäßig gearbeitet habe, d. h. Lukian habe nicht nur oft den Artikel oder erklärende Wörter hinzugefügt, sondern er habe diese Elemente auch häufig getilgt. Rahlfs deklarierte diese Unregelmäßigkeit sogar als das Hauptkennzeichen der lukianischen Rezension („Der Hauptcharakterzug dieser Rezension ist das Fehlen eines klaren Prinzips“; 293). Auf Grund der gleichen Voraussetzungen kam z. B. Ziegler, *Beiträge*, 163, zu einem ähnlichen Urteil: „Konsequenz war nicht seine Stärke“. – Demgegenüber lässt sich bei umgekehrter Zuordnung der Textformen die scheinbare Unregelmäßigkeit und Widersprüchlichkeit aus den Prinzipien der kaige-Revision konsistent erklären.

blem gegenüber, nämlich dass es sog. lukianische Lesarten schon in vorlukianischer Zeit gab, und zwar bei Josephus, in der Vetus Latina und auch im Neuen Testament. Rahlfs schob dieses Problem beiseite, indem er all diese Übereinstimmungen mit späteren Quereinflüssen zwischen den Handschriften erklärte. D. h. die Josephushandschriften und die Vetus Latina seien nachlukianisch vom antiochenischen Text beeinflusst worden, während andererseits das Neue Testament die lukianischen bzw. antiochenischen Handschriften beeinflusst haben soll. – Allerdings ist diese These schon insofern fraglich, als in den großen Handschriften zwar die Zitate häufig markiert sind, aber trotzdem die Differenzen zwischen Septuagintatext und neutestamentlichem Zitat belassen wurden.<sup>22</sup>

Heute ist diese These durch die Qumranfunde widerlegt. Die Qumranfunde haben vielfach gezeigt, dass entsprechende Lesarten bereits in frühe Zeit zurückgehen und häufig eine hebräische Vorlage haben. – Freilich wird auch heute vielfach versucht, an einer lukianischen Redaktion festzuhalten, und zwar in der Form, dass man zwischen lukianischem und protolukianischem Text unterscheidet: Dort, wo man wegen Qumran oder etwa einem Beleg in der Vetus Latina nicht umhinkommt, gilt der Text als vorlukianisch, der Rest aber gilt als lukianisch bearbeitet. Das führt dazu, dass der Text entlang der zufälligen Grenzen der Qumrantexte oder der Vetus Latina fragmentiert wird, was äußerst unwahrscheinlich ist und wofür es am Text selbst keine Anhaltspunkte gibt

#### 1.4 Voraussetzungen und Konsequenzen der Textbewertung

Die These der Querverbeeinflussung hatte eine gravierende Konsequenz in der Psalmenedition von 1931 (und generell für die Handausgabe von 1935), nämlich, dass jene Lesarten, die auch im Neuen Testament zitiert werden, *eo ipso* als sekundär gelten, selbst wenn sie sehr gut und auch geographisch weit verbreitet bezeugt sind. Es gibt an die zwanzig solcher Stellen, an denen sich die Bemerkung „ex Matt[heo]“ oder „ex Rom“ oder „ex Hebr“ findet. Manchmal steht auch nur =, aber die Konsequenz ist dieselbe, nämlich dass diese Lesart *eo ipso* als sekundär gilt.

Folgende Stellen sind in Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, auf diese Weise markiert: 13:2 ex Rom. 3:11; 13:3 ex Rom. 3:13–18; 21:9 ex Matth. 27:43; 39:7 = Hebr. 10:5; 39:7 ex Hebr. 10:6; 39:9 = Hebr. 10:7; 52:3 ex Rom. 3:11; 67:19 ex Eph. 4:8 (4 ×); 68:10 ex Ioh. 2:17; 68:23 ex Rom. 11:9; 90:12 ex Matth. 4:6; 94:10 ex Hebr. 3:10 (2 ×);

Siehe dazu u. a. die Textanalysen in Kreuzer, „B or not B?“; Kreuzer, „Old Greek“, und Kreuzer, „Rezensionen“.

<sup>22</sup> Siehe dazu: Karrer/DeVries, „Schriftzitate“.



103:4 ex Hebr. 1:7; 105:20 ex Rom. 1:23 (2×); 106:29 ex Matth. 8:26 Marc. 4:39 Luc. 8:24; 108:8 ex Act. 1:20; 109:4 ex Hebr. 5:10; 6:20 etc.; 131:11 ex Act. 2:30.<sup>23</sup>

Als Beispiel sei das Zitat aus Ps 103:4 in Hebr. 1:7 genannt:

BHS:

עֲשֵׂה מִלְאָכָיו רִחוּת מִשְׁרָתָיו אֵשׁ לֶהֱטֹ:

Q לוהט, ὁ πῦρ φλέγον, prb l

4QPs<sup>1</sup>: להט (und 4QPs<sup>d?</sup>) 11QPs<sup>a</sup>: לוהט

Gö-Psalmen

ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα  
καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πῦρ φλέγον.

πυρ φλεγον] πυρος φλογα Bo Sa L<sup>b</sup>

A<sup>c</sup> (φλεγα!): ex Hebr. 1:7

Ra 2110: πυρος φλογα

Beide Textformen der LXX sind gut bezeugt: *πυρὸς φλόγα*, also die Lesart von Hebr 1:7, ist in den Septuagintahandschriften geographisch breit belegt: für Ägypten (Sa, Bo), für Syrien (L<sup>b</sup>) und durch den bedeutenden Korrektor <sup>c</sup> in A; dazu kommt jetzt auch (der Rahlfs noch nicht bekannte) pBodmer XXIV (Ra 2110) (3. [oder schon 2.?] Jh.<sup>24</sup>

Beide griechischen Lesarten gehen auf den denselben Konsonantentext zurück, bei unterschiedlicher Vokalisierung. 11QPs<sup>a</sup> verdeutlicht die masoretische Vokalisation als Partizip. 4QPs<sup>1</sup> erlaubt, so wie auch MT, beide Lesetraditionen.

Innerhalb des Griechischen gibt es keinen semantischen Grund, den Text in die eine oder andere Richtung zu ändern.<sup>25</sup> So bleibt nur die Erklärung, dass die Form mit Partizip eine Anpassung an die masoretische Lesetradition, also eine hebraisierende Korrektur, darstellt, womit die nominale Form die ursprüngliche Lesart, also Old Greek, präsentiert.<sup>26</sup>

Hebr 1:7 ist der älteste Zeuge für diese auch sonst gut bezeugte Lesart.

Methodisch sind wir damit beim 3. Axiom von Lagarde: „wenn sich zwei lesarten nebeneinander finden, von denen die eine den masoretischen text ausdrückt, die andre nur aus einer von ihm abweichenden urschrift erklärt werden kann, so ist die letztere für ursprünglich zu halten.“

Weitere Beispiele sind etwa Ps 21:9b, zitiert in Matth 27:43, oder Ps 68:10a, zitiert in Joh 2:17.

23 Angesichts der zahlreichen Zitate im Neuen Testament aus den Psalmen sind offensichtlich viele Stellen gar nicht aufgeführt. In der sog. Handausgabe Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*, von 1935 sind nur zwei der hier genannten Stellen erwähnt.

24 Siehe Kasser/Testuz, *Papyrus*, 204; (Rahlfs-Nummer 2110).

25 So auch Rüsen-Weinhold, *Septuagintapсалter*, 179: „Ein redaktionelles Interesse ist beim Hebr nicht zu suchen, zumal er in Hebr 12:29 ebenfalls die Konstruktion mit πῦρ + Ptz benutzt.“

26 Rüsen-Weinhold, *Septuagintapсалter*, 179, nennt 1. Clem 36:3 als weiteren Beleg für diese Form und stellt fest: „Hebr und 1. Clem haben die Lesart πυρὸς φλόγα in ihrer Vorlage gefunden, wie es auch der Papyrus 2110 bezeugt.“

## Psalm 21:9b in Matth 27:43

BHS:

בְּיָמָיו בְּיָמָיו בְּיָמָיו

Gö-Psalmen

Ἦλπισεν ἐπὶ κύριον. ῥυσάσθω αὐτόν.

Σωσάτω αὐτόν, ὅτι θέλει αὐτόν.

σι] ει Bo U'(U ε pro ει, cf. S.-St. 2.

p. 149. 154 n. 6)-1221(οι) L<sup>psu</sup>; ex Matth. 27:43

Qumran: —

2110: σωσατω [αυτον ει εθε

λησεν αὐτόν

Matth 27:43: εἰ θέλει αὐτόν

BHS hat keine Notiz im Apparat, weil der griechische Text keinen Unterschied für das Hebräische macht. Es gibt auch kein Qumranfragment mit dieser Stelle. Ra 2110 ist an dieser Stelle beschädigt, setzt aber mit – λησεν in der nächsten Zeile eine Perfektform voraus.<sup>27</sup>

U' ist die mit dem Codex U zusammenhängende Gruppe, die oft auch der sahidischen Textform nahe steht. Interessanter Weise bieten auch einige lukianische/antiochenische Texte diese Lesart, sie ist also graphisch breit gestreut.

Interessant ist, dass mit Ra 2110 eine weitere Lesart vorliegt. Diese scheint dem Hebräischen noch näher zu stehen, weil mit der perfektischen Form die masoretische Vokalisation als Perfekt formal noch genauer wiedergegeben ist, während die präsentischen Lesarten durchaus gut dem Hebräischen Zustandsverbum entsprechen.

Insgesamt ist somit die Lesart mit εἰ durchaus gut bezeugt. Allerdings zeigt gerade diese Stelle auch, wie dringend nötig eine neue *editio critica maior* mit einer umfangreichen Belegsammlung ist.

An dieser Stelle wäre es möglich, einen neutestamentlichen Einfluss anzunehmen. Allerdings bieten sowohl ὅτι als auch εἰ eine gute Wiedergabe des polysemen כִּי. In beiden Lesarten kommt der Spott der Gegner gut zum Ausdruck. Die Annahme einer matthäischen Korrektur, die sich von da aus verbreitet habe, erscheint daher nicht wirklich nötig. Meines Erachtens liegt auch hier eine hebraisierende Korrektur innerhalb der Septuaginta vor, durch die das Hebräische genau und standardmäßig (d. h. im Sinn einer konkordanten Übersetzung) mit ὅτι wiedergegeben wird.

27 Kasser/Testuz, *Papyrus*, 51 ergänzen offensichtlich aus Platzgründen das etwas schmalere εἰ.

## Psalm 68 [69]:10a in Joh 2:17

BHS:

בִּיתְךָ אֶכְלֶנִי  
:חֲרוֹפוֹת חוֹרְפִיךָ נָפְלוּ עָלַי

Qumran: —

Gö-Psalmen

ὅτι ὁ ζῆλος τοῦ οἴκου σου κατέφαγεν με,  
καὶ οἱ ὀνειδισμοὶ τῶν ὀνειδιζόντων σε ἐπέπεσαν  
ἐπ' ἐμέ.

κατέφαγεν = M] καταφάγεται B': ex Joh 2:17 |  
επέπεσαν B' R<sup>lau</sup>He\* 1219] -σον L': cf. 19:9

Ra 2110: κατεφαγε[ν με

Auch hier ist die Lesart, die mit dem neutestamentlichen Zitat ὁ ζῆλος τοῦ οἴκου σου καταφάγεται με übereinstimmt, durchaus gut bezeugt, nämlich von der ganzen Gruppe um Codex Vaticanus (einschließlich Codex Sinaiticus), dem sonst hohes Gewicht beigemessen wird (siehe die oben zitierten Regeln). Die Form καταφάγεται wird im Neuen Testament in der Regel futurisch übersetzt, was aber nicht in dieser Weise festgelegt ist. Das gilt auch schon für die Septuaginta, denn φάγειν wie auch καταφάγειν ist zunächst die Aoristform, auch wenn φάγομαι offensichtlich in der hellenistischen Zeit in Analogie zu ἔδομαι auch präsentisch verwendet wurde.<sup>28</sup> Andererseits gibt es für den neutestamentlichen Text keinen Grund, diese Form zu schaffen (wenn sie „ex Joh 2:17“ wäre, müsste sie für diese Stelle geschaffen worden sein und sich von da aus verbreitet haben), denn das Zitat steht als abschließende Reflexion und würde mit dem Perfekt genauso gut passen. Der eigentliche Grund ist wohl, dass κατέφαγε als gegenüber καταφάγεται eindeutig aktive Form die an die hebräische Vorlage angepasste Lesart darstellt. Insofern ergibt sich, dass es sich bei καταφάγεται um eine Form handelt, die am Ende des 1. Jh. vorhanden und verbreitet war, während κατέφαγε die hebraisierend angepasste (semi-)kaige Form ist (die, entsprechend dem Alter der kaige-Revision vermutlich ebenfalls bereits um diese Zeit existierte).

Das passt auch zu dem für Rahlfs noch unbekannten Papyrus Bodmer XXIV (Ra 2110), zu dessen Entstehungszeit um 200 n. Chr. sowohl Old Greek als auch (semi-)kaige Textformen existierten, und der auch sonst weithin eine hebraisierende Textform bezeugt.<sup>29</sup>

Mit diesen Beobachtungen sind wir wieder bei der Regel von Thiersch bzw. dem zweiten Axiom von Lagarde: „wenn ein vers oder verstheil in einer freien und in einer sklavisch treuen übertragung vorliegt, gilt die erstere als die echte.“<sup>30</sup>

28 Pape, *Wörterbuch*, 1249, erklärt „φαγεῖν, *inf.* aor. II. zu ἐσθίω; – dazu giebt es auch ein späteres hellenistisches *fut.* φάγομαι, nach ἔδομαι gebildet, das auch als *praes.* gebraucht wurde, LXX.“

29 Für weitere Analysen siehe Rösen-Weinhold, *Septuagintapsalter*, und Hong, *Septuaginta-Psalter*.

30 Lagarde, *Anmerkungen*, 3.

## 2. Die neueren Erkenntnisse zur Textgeschichte

### 2.1 Die isomorph-hebraisierende Revision der Septuaginta (kaige und semi-kaige)

Ein wesentliches Argument für Rahlfs war, dass er sich, wie oben zitiert, eine frühe, d. h. vor der Zeit des Codex Vaticanus und vor Origenes liegende Anpassung an den masoretischen Text nicht vorstellen konnte. Diese Einschätzung ist zwar angesichts der hebraisierenden Übersetzungen von Aquila und Theodotion erstaunlich, aber offensichtlich war es eben so.

Jedenfalls hat sich diese Situation durch die Entdeckung der Naḥal Ḥever Rolle und die Identifikation der kaige-Rezension durch Dominique Barthélemy grundlegend geändert.<sup>31</sup> Die kaige-Rezension ist heute in der Septuagintaforchung generell anerkannt. Das ist an dieser Stelle nicht weiter auszuführen.<sup>32</sup>

Dass es über die kaige-Abschnitte und Texte hinaus auch weitere und weniger massive hebraisierende Überarbeitungen gibt, wurde in den letzten Jahrzehnten vielfach aufgezeigt, so etwa von Anneli Aemelaus bezüglich 1 Samuel;<sup>33</sup> von Innocent Himbaza für Leviticus,<sup>34</sup> von Johann Lust für Ezechiel.<sup>35</sup> Auch das oben gezeigte kleine Beispiel von Ps 103,4 zeigt m. E. diese Anpassung an den masoretischen Text. Auch im Vergleich zwischen kaige- und nicht-kaige-Abschnitten in 2 Samuel zeigt sich diese Abstufung.<sup>36</sup>

Ein illustratives Beispiel für diese mildere Form der hebraisierenden Revision – für die ich die Bezeichnung semi-kaige vorgeschlagen habe – ist die Wiedergabe von הָטוֹב בְּעֵינַי:

31 Barthélemy, *Devanciers*.

32 Tov, *Criticism*, 142–145: „Pre-Hexaplaric Revisions“; Kreuzer, „Kaige“; ders., „Relevanz“.

33 Aemelaus, „Kingdom“, 366: „this kind of recensional development, typical of the so-called καίγε sections is clearly not absent in the non-καίγε sections either, but can be sporadically detected in the B-text“. Ähnlich bereits in Aemelaus, „Septuagint“, 127: „One must be ready to accept corruption or correction towards the Hebrew in the main line [= B-text and related manuscripts; S. K.] of textual transmission.“

34 Himbaza, „Consequences“.

35 Lust, *Ezekiel*. Hier finden sich im Apparat zahlreiche Beispiele dafür, dass ein Teil der griechischen Überlieferungen vom (proto)masoretischen Text abweicht und ein Teil mit M übereinstimmt, also offensichtlich an diesen angepasst wurde.

36 Kreuzer, „B or not B?“, (mit einer Analyse von 2 Sam 4:2–5); Kreuzer, „Old Greek“, (mit einer Analyse von 2Sam 6:10–16).

|                |                                            |                                       |
|----------------|--------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
|                | 1 Sam – 2 Sam 9<br>(nicht-kaige-Abschnitt) | 2 Sam 10–1Kön 2:11<br>Kaige-Abschnitt |
| Hebräisch      | הטוב בעיניך                                | הטוב בעיניך                           |
| Antioch. Text  | τὸ ἀρεστὸν ἐνώπιόν σου                     | τὸ ἀρεστὸν ἐνώπιόν σου                |
| B (semi-kaige) | τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐνώπιόν σου                      |                                       |
| B (kaige)      |                                            | τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου            |

הטוב בעיניך wurde in der Old Greek (hier repräsentiert vom Antiochenischen Text) mit τὸ ἀρεστὸν ἐνώπιόν σου wiedergegeben. Im kaige-Abschnitt (des *Codex Vaticanus*) findet sich eine genau wörtliche Entsprechung zum hebräischen Text: τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου. Im nicht-kaige-Abschnitt findet sich eine Mittelstufe: ἀρεστὸν ist durch das wörtlich entsprechende ἀγαθόν ersetzt, aber ἐνώπιόν σου ist noch beibehalten.

2.2 Die Zweiphasigkeit der Entstehung und der Verbreitung der Septuaginta

Seit der Entdeckung der kaige-Rezension ist deutlich geworden, dass die Entstehung und Verbreitung der Septuaginta in zwei Phasen erfolgte: Die Entstehung der Septuaginta bzw. die Übersetzung der hebräischen heiligen Schriften erfolgte – jedenfalls in großer Mehrheit – in Ägypten und die Septuaginta verbreitete sich von dort aus in die Diaspora.

Dem folgte eine zweite Phase mit einer hebraisierenden Überarbeitung, in der die Septuaginta dem inzwischen normativ gewordenen protomasoretischen Text angenähert wurde. Diese kaige und semi-kaige Rezension begann – wie die Naḥal Ḥever Rolle zeigt – bereits im 1. Jh. v. Chr. und erfolgte im Wesentlichen in Palästina. Barthélemy sprach m. E. zu Recht von der palästinischen Rezension. Auch diese verbreitete sich, diesmal allerdings von Palästina ausgehend. Diese zweite Phase überlagerte sukzessive die ursprüngliche Septuaginta. Das führte dazu, dass ab dem 1. Jh. n. Chr. zwei Textformen existierten, nämlich die ursprüngliche Septuaginta bzw. die Old Greek und die hebraisierende Überarbeitung. Die sukzessive Verbreitung der überarbeiteten Textformen führte auch dazu, dass die alte Septuaginta in den Randgebieten am längsten erhalten blieb. Deswegen sind diese Texte dort am besten bezeugt, d. h. im Norden in Antiochien bzw. Syrien bis hin nach Konstantinopel, im Süden, also in Ägypten, durch Papyri und die Sahidische Übersetzung und im Westen durch die Vetus Latina.

Dieser Feststellung ist allerdings ein methodisches *caveat* hinzuzufügen: Hier wie auch in anderen Bereichen gilt, dass das Vorhandensein einer bestimmten Textform nur das Vorhandensein dieser Textform bezeugt, und nicht das Fehlen der anderen.

Das bedeutet z. B. im Blick auf die Vetus Latina oder im Blick auf die sahidische Übersetzung dass, wenn sie mit Old Greek übereinstimmt, damit Old Greek

bestätigt wird, dass das aber kein Beweis gegen die gleichzeitige Existenz des kaige-Textes ist. Das gilt natürlich auch umgekehrt: Eine Übereinstimmung etwa der Vetus Latina mit kaige erweist die Existenz der kaige-Textform, bedeutet aber nicht, dass nicht auch die andere Textform existierte.

### 3. Schlussfolgerungen

Was ergibt sich aus diesen Beobachtungen für eine aktuelle Edition der Psalmen?

- 1) Zunächst ergibt sich aus den aktuellen Erkenntnissen zur Textgeschichte des hebräischen und des griechischen Textes, dass wir im Wesentlichen mit zwei autoritativen Phasen der Entstehung und Überlieferung der Septuaginta zu rechnen haben, nämlich mit Old Greek und der hebraisierenden Überarbeitung. Weitere Bearbeitungen sind nachzuweisen und nicht einfach zu postulieren.
- 2) Die einzige nachgewiesene spätere Bearbeitung der Septuaginta ist die hexaplarische Rezension des Origenes. *De facto* ist auch die Bearbeitung des Origenes eine Bearbeitung in Richtung auf den hebräisch-masoretischen Text. Dabei fällt auf, dass Origenes sehr zurückhaltend war und den Text nicht selbst veränderte, sondern seine Ergänzungen aus vorhandenen Übersetzungen übernahm und dass er die Veränderungen kennzeichnete.
- 3) Insgesamt bestätigen die neueren Erkenntnisse zur Textgeschichte, dass die ursprüngliche Septuaginta oft auf Basis eines anderen hebräischen Textes und insbesondere mit größerer sprachlicher Freiheit übersetzte, während die hebraisierende Revision formal-isomorph an den protomasoretischen Text anpasste.
- 4) Daraus ergibt sich, was Lagarde in seinen drei Axiomen in klassischer Weise und zugleich repräsentativ für die damalige Zeit formuliert hat, nämlich, dass der ursprüngliche Septuagintatext jener ist, der weiter vom protomasoretischen Text entfernt ist.
- 5) Daraus ergibt sich weiter, dass das Postulat einer nachhexaplarischen, traditionell mit Lukian verbundenen Bearbeitung aufzugeben ist. Vielmehr sind die klassischen textkritischen Regeln anzuwenden, wie sie sich aus den Axiomen von Lagarde bzw. aus der real vorfindlichen Textgeschichte ergeben.
- 6) Dabei geht es nicht um den lukianischen Text an sich, sondern um die Textgeschichte insgesamt. Das Problem besteht allerdings darin, dass die ganze textgeschichtliche Diskussion im Wesentlichen am lukianischen Text bzw. am Postulat einer lukianischen Rezension aufgehängt wurde und wird. Das Problem ist dabei nicht, dass offensichtlich in der Antike die in Syrien bzw. Antiochien verbreitete Textform als lukianisch bezeichnet wurde,<sup>37</sup> sondern in der Annahme einer weitreichenden lukianischen Revision des Septuagintatextes.

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37 Siehe dazu Kreuzer, „nunc lukianeios dicitur“.

- 7) Für eine moderne eklektische Edition der Septuaginta ergibt sich, dass für die Frage nach dem ältesten Text nach den klassischen textkritischen Regeln zu verfahren ist, wobei die sog. Axiome Lagardes (bzw. die Regel von Thiersch) den neueren Erkenntnissen entsprechen und damit die auch heute anzuwendenden Leitlinien zum Ausdruck bringen.
- 8) Schließlich wäre zu überlegen, ob nicht die Zweiphasigkeit der Entstehung und Überlieferung des griechischen Textes in der Wiedergabe von zwei Textformen ihre Entsprechung finden sollte. Eine solche Wiedergabe von zwei Textformen gibt es bei der Wiedergabe des Richterbuches in der Handausgabe von Rahlfs und in den Ausgaben des Danieltextes. Konkret wäre das einerseits ein eklektisch rekonstruierter Old-Greek Text und andererseits ein hebraisierter Text (vermutlich am besten in Form einer diplomatischen Wiedergabe des *Codex Vaticanus*).

Eine solche Wiedergabe von zwei Textformen würde m. E. die textgeschichtlichen Gegebenheiten zum Ausdruck bringen und vielleicht auch die Gestaltung des Apparates einfacher machen.

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## The Aid of the Septuagint in Establishing the Original Text of the Psalter

This study deals with the relations between the textual witnesses in the book of Psalms. While we cannot exhaust all the material, we will share some insights, based on samples and intuition.

The book of Psalms is unique within the Hebrew Bible in that it is composed of 150 small compositions. The default assumption is that each of them was created by a different poet and was preceded by an earlier form that scholars often name “the original text.” It is very difficult to separate between the original status of the individual psalms, that of the small collections from which the Psalter was compiled, and the original status of the Psalter as a whole. In this study we deal with the text of the individual psalms and not the collection(s) of psalms or the canon, but sometimes the issues are related.

Our major task is to study the relation between the major players in this area, the Masoretic Text (MT) and the Septuagint (LXX). I could add to these two sources the Peshitta, Targum, and Vulgate, but they do not add much to the discussion, since they usually agree with MT.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, there exists relatively much evidence from Qumran, deviating from MT and the LXX in both small details and in the sequence and canonical structure of the Psalter, but I disregard that evidence for the moment. In my view, almost all the Qumran Psalters are no biblical Psalters but liturgical compositions.

### 1. The Oral Background of the Psalter

When contemplating about the background of the book of Psalms, we need to take into consideration the factor of orality as well. The written text of several books of the Hebrew Bible was preceded by oral stages, but the existence of that stage cannot be proven beyond doubt.

Textual criticism is usually applied to written documents starting with the moment they were written down. Previous oral stages, while occasionally relevant to textual criticism, are beyond the horizon of textual analysis, although they are recognized as relevant behind the scenes. We realise that several differences were created during the stages of oral transmission, but usually they become relevant for textual analysis only when they are evidenced in textual sources. Further-

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1 See Stec, “Targum”, 88–93; Carbajosa, “Peshitta”, 93–98; Rogers, “Vulgate”, 104–110.

more, were we to find an audio recording (!) of Moses's Song at the Sea (Exod 15:1 "Then Moses and the Israelites sang this song to the Lord ..."), even it would not be considered the original text of Exodus 15, since the determinative form of that song is the literary composition that was at the base of that chapter. After all, the scribe who recorded that song may have altered its initial form.

In one case, however, the oral background of variants plays a role in understanding textual variants. The written parallel versions of the same psalm in MT do preserve variants that may go back to oral differences.<sup>2</sup> Many written variants involve words that serve a similar or identical function on the literary level, although their meanings are not necessarily identical. These interchangeable words entered the manuscript tradition at different stages of the transmission, both consciously and unconsciously. They occur both in parallel sources of the same text and in different manuscripts of a single text.<sup>3</sup> For example, the basic meanings of כַּף "palm of the hand" and יָד "hand" (2 Sam 22:2 // Ps 18:1) differ slightly, yet they were interchanged at the compositional level as oral or written variations or during the textual transmission.<sup>4</sup> What exactly happened in the (oral) compositional or transmission stage of the psalm is unclear. Probably the original poet used one word, while a synonymous one entered the tradition subsequently. Even if we often do not succeed in identifying the original item among a pair of synonymous readings, one of them must have originated with the initial poet. However, others claim that in these cases both parallel readings make an equal claim to originality.<sup>5</sup>

The argument developed so far runs as follows. In examining the relation between MT and the LXX, we take into consideration that the texts were preceded by an oral stage. Different oral versions of the same psalm entered the canon in different places. Subsequently, these versions continued to develop as written compositions when different authors and scribes inserted their changes. It is therefore not desirable to reconstruct the common original form of two different versions of the same psalm<sup>6</sup> since there was no such common source.

2 Psalm 18 // 2 Samuel 22; Psalm 14 // Psalm 53; Ps 40:14–18 // Ps 70:2–6; Ps 57:8–12 + 60:8–14 // Ps 108:2–14.

3 Cf. the foundational studies of Talmon, "Synonymous Readings", 171–216, and "Double Readings", 217–67; likewise, Person, "Scribe", 601–609, emphasized the importance of synonymous variants for understanding oral developments.

4 Further examples in Ps 18 // 2 Sam 22 are: 18:3 אֱלֹהֵי "my God" // 2 Sam 22:3 אֱלֹהֵי "my God"; 18:5 הַבְּלִימָוֶת "snares of death" // 2 Sam 22:5 מַשְׁבְּרֵי־מָוֶת "waves of death"; 18:7 אָשׁוּנָה "I cried for" // 2 Sam 22:7 אָקְרָא "I called upon".

5 Thus Talmon, "Synonymous Readings". Likewise, Hendel accepted the notion of synonymous readings for the *Hebrew Bible Critical Edition* project and therefore does not decide on the preference of one of a pair of such readings: Hendel, "Bible", 346.

6 Several such reconstructions have been prepared: Torrey, "Archetype", 186–192; Budde, "Psalm", 160–183; Cross, Jr./Freedman, "Song", 15–34. On the other hand, Dahood, *Psalms*, 1, 81, would not "emend one on the basis of the other".

*Canon?* The relation between the text of the MT and the LXX can be examined without involving canonical issues. The two texts differ in a relatively small number of issues that are related to matters of canon: only four psalms are divided differently in the two collections,<sup>7</sup> and the LXX includes Psalm 151, as does 11QPs<sup>a</sup>.<sup>8</sup> Thus, in 146 of the 150 psalms, the MT and LXX share the same tradition.

## 2. The Shared Text of the MT and LXX Reflects a Unified Textual Tradition

We now turn our attention to the relation between MT and the LXX, a topic that has not received much attention in the past except for general statements about their proximity. Instead, the main scholarly interest in the LXX of the Psalms to scholarship was directed to the theology (including messianism), ideology, and the superscriptions to the psalms.<sup>9</sup>

While LXX-Ps deviates rarely from MT, it is not without interest in the text-critical area, as may be expected for such a large book, and it is relatively easy to extract variants from that translation thanks to its literal translation style. This has been known ever since the penetrating studies of Flashar in 1912 who spoke about the “stereotyped” character of this version.<sup>10</sup> The translation may even be related somehow to the literal translation style of the *kaige*-Th group. This was first suggested by Barthélemy in 1963, and the suggestion was followed by Herrman-Josef Venetz, Arie van der Kooij, and Olivier Munnich,<sup>11</sup> but was cautioned by a more sober approach by Peter J. Gentry,<sup>12</sup> who asserted that “the Greek Psalter is not necessarily the only or even the main source” of *kaige*. Rajja Sollamo placed LXX-Ps among the books that were “slavishly translated,”<sup>13</sup> while Tov and Wright placed the

7 Psalm 9 of the LXX is divided into two psalms in MT (LXX 9:1–21 = MT 9; LXX 9:22–39 = MT 10) and Psalm 113 of the LXX is divided into two psalms in MT (LXX 113:1–8 = MT 114; LXX 113:9–26 = MT 115). On the other hand, Psalm 116 of MT is divided into two psalms in the LXX (MT 116:1–9 = Psalm 114 of the LXX and MT 116:10–19 = Psalm 115 of the LXX) and Psalm 147 of MT is divided into two psalms in the LXX (MT 147:1–11 = Psalm 146 of the LXX and MT 147:12–20 = Psalm 147 of the LXX).

8 The LXX calls this psalm ἔξωθεν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ (“outside the number”), but that part of the heading may have been added to the LXX in the later tradition.

9 For summaries and references, see Aitken, “Psalms”, 320–34; Smith, “Septuagint”, 82–88; Olofsson, “Psalter”, 337–352. See further the bibliography in Brock et al., *Bibliography*; Dogniez, *Bibliography*.

10 Flashar, “Studien”, 81–116, 161–189, 241–268.

11 Barthélemy, *Les devanciers*, 47; Venetz, *Quinta*, 52–57; van der Kooij, “Place”, 67–74; Munnich, “La Septante”, 75–89.

12 Gentry, “Translations”, 221.

13 Sollamo, *Renderings*, 304. Likewise, Soisalon Soininen, *Infinitive*, 176–196.

book among the “relatively literal, but inconsistent” translation units.<sup>14</sup> Sailhamer reached a similar conclusion in his study of the verb in LXX-Ps, claiming that the translator “sought for a literal translation,” although he also observed openness to context exegesis.<sup>15</sup> In his study of a group of psalms, Smith reached the same conclusion.<sup>16</sup> Approaching this issue from another angle, Albert Pietersma often used Psalms as an illustration for the so-called “interlinear paradigm” characterizing the approach of the LXX translators.<sup>17</sup>

These characterizations of LXX-Ps enable the convenient reconstruction of its Hebrew parent text. We can now turn to the variants in vocalization and consonants in the LXX recorded in the critical text editions *BH* and *BHS* and elsewhere. On the other hand, Wellhausen’s edition of Psalms in the series of Paul Haupt<sup>18</sup> focuses less on the evidence of the versions than on his own emendations. For example, in Psalm 68, Wellhausen corrected sixteen details in MT, twice (0.5%) with the versions and fourteen times in free emendations = 4.5 percent (together 5 % of the text words).<sup>19</sup> Barthélemy’s very extensive list of deviations from MT in ancient sources recorded in CTAT is very helpful,<sup>20</sup> but his committee usually preferred the reading of MT. Brief lists of the LXX’s deviations from MT are also found in the summaries of Olofsson and Smith.<sup>21</sup>

Beyond the analyses of Barthélemy, I am not aware of text-critical commentaries comparing the Greek and Hebrew books of the Psalter<sup>22</sup> such as was done, for example, by Driver for Samuel,<sup>23</sup> but there are a few studies of individual psalms.<sup>24</sup> A helpful study by Rendall X. Gauthier records the different types of pluses of LXX-Ps (without refined text-critical conclusions concerning their textual background).<sup>25</sup> In Gauthier’s work, an interesting small group of pluses is formed by readings in the Psalter that may have been added in the wake of another psalm, e.g., the addition of τὴν ψυχὴν μου (“my soul”) and μὴ συναπολέσης με (“do not

14 Tov/Wright, “Study”, 219–237.

15 Sailhamer, *Technique*, 208.

16 Smith, *Hallelujahs*, 3–8.

17 Pietersma/Wright (ed.), *Translation*, xiii–xx (xiv); Pietersma, “Translating a Translation”, 169–182.

18 Wellhausen, *Book*.

19 These statistics resemble the data in *BH1*: For fifteen words corrections were suggested (3 corrections with the versions = 1 %, and 12 emendations = 4 %, together 5 % of the text words in addition to the words indicated as “corrupt” not included here). Cf. also twenty suggested corrections in *BHS* (6.5%).

20 Barthélemy, *Critique*.

21 Olofsson, “Psalter”, 339–340; Smith, “Septuagint”, 87.

22 The study of Scott, *Discoveries*, does not provide a thorough engagement with the issues. For example, there is no remark on Psalm 18.

23 Driver, *Notes*.

24 Le Mat, *Criticism*; Schmuttermayr, *Psalm*.

25 Gauthier, “Pluses”, 45–76.

destroy me”) in Ps 28 (27):3 in the wake of the occurrence of these phrases in similar contexts in Ps 26 (25):9.

By the same token, commentaries usually do not pay much attention to text-critical issues in the Psalter. An extreme case of such disregard of the versions is the commentary of Dahood who said: “In the present study the ancient versions are cited infrequently, not because they have not been consulted, but because they have relatively little to offer toward a better understanding of the difficult texts.”<sup>26</sup> Hermann Gunkel,<sup>27</sup> Arthur Weiser,<sup>28</sup> and Hans-Joachim Kraus,<sup>29</sup> present very few or no textual notes. On the other hand, serious engagement with textual criticism is presented by Briggs and Briggs<sup>30</sup> who engaged seriously in textual criticism in introductory remarks on the ancient versions and in their ICC commentary. Their introduction to the text and versions provides the longest analysis in any commentary.<sup>31</sup> The introduction is a little naïve and simple yet contains important insights. Likewise, Frank-Lothar Hossfeld and Erich Zenger provided a detailed commentary of a high quality.<sup>32</sup> This commentary gives much attention to the LXX, as the meaning and background of each psalm is followed by a lengthy description dealing with the LXX. These commentators realise that the LXX “has attempted to render even difficult passages as literally as possible.”<sup>33</sup> The commentary pays attention to matters of exegesis, etymology, and *Vorlage*, without emphasizing anyone aspect. By doing so, the authors indicate that the commentary refers mainly to MT, while the LXX is discussed under the different heading “Context, Reception, and Significance.” For these scholars, the LXX is not a textual source of “the biblical text” of the psalms that stands at the same level as MT, but forms part of its reception history.

I now present my own thoughts on the relation between the MT and the LXX. I suggest that in the book of Psalms, the MT and the LXX represent the same tex-

26 Dahood, *Psalms*, I.xxiv. continued: “For such texts, the critic who seeks succor from the ancient translations will usually be disappointed. A significant corollary of Ugaritic studies will be the devaluation of the ancient versions. My consistent experience in studying Psalms (as well as Job and Proverbs) has been that Ugaritic embarrassingly exposes – at least in the poetic books – the shortcomings of the versions and seriously undermines their authority as witnesses to the original text. The *Bible de Jérusalem* can be taxed with a serious error in method when, in the poetic books in particular, it detours to the LXX whenever the Hebrew text throws up an obstacle”.

27 Gunkel, *Psalmen*.

28 Weiser, *Psalms*.

29 Kraus, *Psalms*. This commentary does not delve into the intricacies of the relations between the LXX and the MT as the author admits on p. 15.

30 Briggs/Briggs, *Psalms*.

31 Briggs/Briggs, *Psalms*, xxii–lii.

32 Hossfeld/Zenger, *Psalms* 2; Iid., *Psalms* 3, = translation of Hossfeld/Zenger, *Psalmen* 51–100 and *Psalmen* 101–150.

33 Hossfeld in Hossfeld/Zenger, *Psalms* 2, 169.

tual tradition.<sup>34</sup> This can be shown by demonstrating a very low level of discrepancy between these two witnesses, in contrast with a larger amount of variation between other witnesses, namely, inner-Masoretic parallel psalms and the Qumran evidence as distinct from MT (Tables 2 and 3).

Using the recording of reconstructed consonantal variants in CATSS<sup>35</sup> as a guide, I found very few deviations from MT in the LXX. By way of comparison, I also record the deviations of the LXX from MT as recorded by *BHS*. I list both the number of reconstructed textual variants and of literary variants. Textual variants refer to phenomena that are part and parcel of the textual transmission such as instances of added/omitted *vav* and interchanges of similar letters. Literary variations pertain to details that were added or changed as part of the literary development of the composition in large and small details, e.g., the plus (against the parallel Psalm 2 Sam 22:2) in Ps 18:2 יהוה חֲזָקִי יְהוָה חֲזָקִי אֶרְחֶמֶךָ which may also be named a minus in 2 Sam 22:2.<sup>36</sup> Not included in the counting are cases of assumed etymology by the translators since they do not reflect variants, as in v. 13 יִדְּוֹן יִדְּוֹן (“shall flee, shall flee”) rendered as if from יָדִיד “beloved one” (τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ). I also exclude variants included in the headings since the LXX headings are often secondary.<sup>37</sup>

I record variants from five sample psalms: Psalm 68 offering lexical challenges, Psalm 18 with a possible oral background, offering textual challenges, the parallel Psalms 14 // 53, and the historical Psalm 78 that contains many unusual expressions.

I do not know whether we can be specific about the types of the variation between the LXX and the MT, for example, a preference in the LXX for interchanged letters or omitted or added elements.<sup>38</sup>

34 Thus also Olofsson, “Psalter”, 339; Ulrich, “Dead Sea”, 324.

35 Tov, Emanuel/Polak, Frank H., *The Parallel Aligned Text of the Greek and Hebrew Bible* (division of the CATSS database, directed by R. A. Kraft/E.Tov), module in the *Accordance* or *Logos* computer programs.

36 An example of a (possible) literary variant of the LXX in Psalm 68 (67) is the added ψάλατε τῷ θεῷ (“make music to God” = שִׁירוּ לַיהוָה) in v. 34 echoing the similar ψάλατε τῷ κυρίῳ (“make music to the Lord”) of the previous verse. Another example is the added παραχθήσονται ἀπὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ (“They shall be troubled from before him”) at the end of v. 5, possibly reflecting נִבְהָלוּ מִפְנֵי (cf. Gen 45:3). An example of a possible textual interchange is v. 15 MT יְשֻׁ, LXX τὸν ἐπουράνιον (“the Heavenly One”) = שָׁמַי?

37 Thus Pietersma, “Exegesis”, 99–138; Id., “Septuagintal Exegesis”, 443–75.

38 On the other hand, Olofsson, “Psalter”, 339 claims that most of the variants of the LXX are in the interchange of consonants.

Table 1 *Variants Reflected in Select Psalms in the LXX*

|                | Number of verses | Textual variants | Literary variations | Possible variants |
|----------------|------------------|------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| Psalm 68 CATSS | 36               | 1                | 2                   | 5                 |
| Psalm 68 BHS   | 36               | 10               |                     | 3                 |
| Psalm 18 CATSS | 51               | 3                | 4                   |                   |
| Psalm 18 BHS   | 51               | 7                |                     |                   |
| Psalm 14 CATSS | 7                | 1                | 3 (2 = parallel)    |                   |
| Psalm 14 BHS   | 7                | 2                | 2                   |                   |
| Psalm 53 CATSS | 7                | 4                |                     |                   |
| Psalm 53 BHS   | 7                | 4                |                     |                   |
| Psalm 78 CATSS | 72               | 0                |                     | 2                 |
| Psalm 78 BHS   | 72               | 3                |                     | 1                 |

In all instances, the number of the reconstructed variants of the LXX in Table 1 is extremely *low*. These data should be contrasted with the larger numbers of discrepancies between Hebrew texts to be recorded in Tables 2 and 3.<sup>39</sup> The few recorded variants between the LXX and MT are remarkable in the case of the parallel Psalms 14 and 53 since the Hebrew texts themselves in MT differ internally in numerous details.<sup>40</sup>

While remarking on the high degree of agreement between MT and the LXX, I note that our analysis is based on the only critical text of the Greek Psalms that is available in 2024, namely Rahlfs' *Psalmi cum Odis*.<sup>41</sup> At the same time, it is unlikely that the expected final critical edition will be less close to MT, since there does not seem to be much manuscript evidence for such a contention.<sup>42</sup> Our working

39 The data recorded in the CATSS database were reviewed critically, but usually I agreed with our suggestions of forty years ago.

40 The Greek translations of these two psalms were thus not coordinated, although in the LXX of Psalm 14 two pluses equal the parallel Psalm 53. These pluses may have been added in the course of the transmission of the Greek text.

41 Rahlfs, *Psalmi*. Rahlfs' volume carries the date of 1979 in the third edition, but the main work had been carried out before the publication of the first edition in 1931.

42 For example, the Bodmer papyrus 2110 does not share all the pluses and minuses with Rahlfs' edition of LXX-Ps: Kasser/Testuz, *Papyrus*. Other significant post-Rahlfs major texts are the Chester Beatty Papyri XIII and XIV. However, these differences do not move the Greek text away from MT.



hypothesis thus remains the assumption that the Old Greek was close to Rahlfs' edition, and not that the present Greek text presents a revision of an earlier deviating Greek text towards MT, as suggested by Ulrich and Rösen-Weinhold.<sup>43</sup> Several criticisms against Rahlfs have been voiced by Pietersma<sup>44</sup> and Cordes,<sup>45</sup> but at the moment it is unclear whether they pertain to the question of the *Vorlage* of the Greek translation.

### 3. Inner-Hebrew Variants in the Psalter

It does not suffice to show a small amount of variation between the MT and LXX, as shown in Table 1. This observation is now contrasted with a much larger amount of inner-Hebrew variation between psalm texts: Inner-Masoretic parallels (§ 3a) and MT psalms compared with the Qumran evidence (§ 3b).

In listing the differences between two Hebrew texts in Tables 2 and 3, we disregard various types of differences that have not been included in the comparison of Hebrew and Greek texts above: (1) discrepancies in Hebrew spelling, (2) differences in Hebrew linguistic forms, (3) synonymous Hebrew words or forms.

#### 3.1 Inner-Masoretic Parallels

Parallel psalms were probably created orally, at which stage differences were easily inserted in the different formulations; subsequently, when the original psalms were inserted in different places in the canon or in different psalm collections, additional differences were inserted by their different scribes. The separate transmission of these psalms thus allows us insights into the development of the text in pre-Christian times.<sup>46</sup> Table 2 shows that the amount of differentiation between the parallel Hebrew psalms is much *larger* than between the psalms of MT and the LXX (Table 1). Text-critical gems are found in the comparison of Psalms 31:1–3 // 71:1–3.

43 Ulrich, "Dead Sea", 333–334. Thanks are due to Gene Ulrich for providing me with an offprint of this innovating paper. Rösen-Weinhold, "Septuaginta-Psalter", 61–87. No real proof for any revisional activity has been provided in these two studies.

44 Pietersma, *Question*, 57–86, 109–138.

45 Cordes, "Septuaginta-Psalter?", 49–60.

46 Two British scholars were the first to recognize the contribution of the parallel passages to textual criticism: Kennicott, *Dissertation*; Owen, *Critica Sacra*.

Table 2 *Inner-Masoretic Variants in Select Parallel Psalms*

| MT                                  | Number of verses | Textual interchanges | literary variations                     |
|-------------------------------------|------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| Ps 18 // 2 Sam 22                   | 51               | 45                   | 11                                      |
| Ps 14 // Ps 53                      | 7                | 10                   | 8 (includ. 4 changes of Elohistic name) |
| Ps 40:14–18 // Ps 70:2–6            | 5                | 5                    | 6 (includ. 4 changes of Elohistic name) |
| Ps 57:8–12 + 60:8–14 // Ps 108:2–14 | 12               | 8                    | 2                                       |

### 3.2 Comparison of MT with Qumran Psalters

Comparison of MT with Qumran psalters likewise supports our contention about the closeness of LXX-Ps to MT-Ps.<sup>47</sup> Table 3 shows that non-Masoretic Qumran Psalters differ much more from MT than the LXX. This pertains to all the Qumran psalm scrolls except for 4QPs<sup>c</sup>. I hasten to add that there is an unrealistic aspect to this comparison since in my view almost all Qumran psalters do not represent biblical scrolls but are part of a liturgical collection that was copied with more freedom than the biblical scrolls.<sup>48</sup> All the same, the large number of deviations from MT is apparent and they can be contrasted with the much smaller number of LXX variants on the last column.

47 For a summary of the Qumran evidence of these variants, see Ulrich, *Qumran*; Flint, *Psalms*.

48 The major argument pertains to 11QPs<sup>a</sup> that should be regarded as a liturgical and not a regular Scripture scroll. See Talmon, “Pisqah”, 11–21; Goshen-Gottstein, “Psalms Scroll”, 22–33; Skehan, “Complex”, 195–205. The Qumran corpus preserves evidence of five different liturgical collections, especially in the last two books of the Psalter (Psalms 90–150) (1) 11QPs<sup>a</sup> is also reflected in the more fragmentary 4QPs<sup>c</sup> and 11QPs<sup>b</sup>; (2) 4QPs<sup>a</sup> and 4QPs<sup>q</sup>; (3) 4QPs<sup>b</sup>; (4) 4QPs<sup>d</sup>; (5) 4QPs<sup>f</sup>. For details on all these, see Flint, *Psalms*. The sequence of the psalms was changed in these collections (note, for example, the unusual sequence Psalm 38 → Psalm 71 in 4QPs<sup>a</sup>), and a refrain was added to the text of Psalm 145. This psalm created a liturgical version of the text based on a previous text form (as in MT) by adding a refrain **ועד לעולם שמו לברוך** ועד **יהוה וברוך שמו לעולם ועד** “blessed is the Lord and blessed is his name forever” to each half-verse.

Table 3 *Variants in Select Non-Masoretic Qumran Psalms*

|                                                                                                                                  | Number of verses             | variants     | LXX variants in these verses |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------|------------------------------|
| MT // 11QPs <sup>a</sup><br>Ps <b>119</b> :15–24,<br>37–49, 59–72,<br>82–96, 105–120,<br>128–42, 150–64,<br>171–76 <sup>49</sup> | 110                          | 60           | 10                           |
| MT // 4QPs <sup>a</sup><br>frg 9 ii Ps <b>38</b> :<br>16–23, <b>71</b> :1–14 <sup>50</sup>                                       | 7 (fragmentary)<br>+ 14 = 21 | 13 + 10 = 23 | 0 + 2 = 2 <sup>51</sup>      |

3.3 Comparison with “Masoretic” Psalms from Qumran

As an appendix to the discussion in § 4b, I submit an analysis of three Masoretic psalms from the Judean Desert. In contrast with the data presented in Table 3, Table 4 presents an MT-like psalm (4QPs<sup>c</sup>) and two proto-MT psalms that are very close to the medieval text. The number of the deviations from MT in these psalms is minimal, as expected.

Table 4 *Variants Found in “Masoretic” Psalms from Qumran*

|                                                                                                     | Number of verses | variants | LXX variants in these verses |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|----------|------------------------------|
| MT // 4QPs <sup>c</sup><br>cols. I and II Ps <b>49</b> :<br>1–17, 50:13–23,<br>51:1–5 <sup>52</sup> | 31 (fragmentary) | 3        | 3                            |
| MT // 5/6HēvPs<br>col. IX Ps <b>18</b> :20–43 <sup>53</sup>                                         | 24 (fragmentary) | 0        | 2                            |
| MT // MasPs <sup>a</sup><br>Ps <b>82</b> :1–85:6 <sup>54</sup>                                      | 46               | 5        | 5                            |

49 According to Sanders, *Psalms*.  
50 According to Skehan/Ulrich/Flint, *Qumran*, 7–22.  
51 A variant of the LXX in Ps 38:17 is excluded since the scroll is fragmentary at this point.  
52 See Skehan/Ulrich/Flint, *Qumran*, 49–62.  
53 See Flint, “Naḥal Ḥever”, 144–166.  
54 See Talmon, *Masada*, 76–90.

#### 4. The Larger Picture: A Unified Textual Tradition in the Psalter

If I see the picture correctly, the collection of 150 (151) psalms displays a rather unified textual picture (Table 1). While the Septuagint usually is a source of significant variants in most books, in the Psalter it reflects a text close to the MT. So do the Peshitta, Targum, and Vulgate in the Psalms. This picture is paralleled by the proto-MT psalms from the Judean Desert and resembles the situation in the MT-like Psalm 4QPs<sup>c</sup>, all recorded in Table 4.

This idyllic unity was not created by scribal revision or by stabilization. It resulted, first of all, from the lack of an overall ideological revision of the text such as a Deuteronomistic revision known from other books.<sup>55</sup> (One very limited ideological revision of the second and third books of the Psalter is known, that of the “Elohlist,” but that took place before the splitting of the known textual evidence. As far as we know, it was limited to the change of the divine name *YHWH* to *’elohim*.<sup>56</sup> Hence this revision is shared by all textual sources.) Secondly, the translations were made from a Hebrew text close to the proto-MT. Probably this means that there were no other textual branches. All texts thus reflect the stable text tradition of the proto-MT, which may, however, have been preceded by a period of some scribal activity such as is visible between parallel psalms (Table 2).

An interesting side aspect of this unity is that the text of the Septuagint and the MT remained very close also when these two *collections* drifted apart when slight changes were inserted in them. Psalm 9 of the Septuagint, an imperfect acrostychon in which not all the letters are represented, was divided into two psalms in MT. In the other cases it is unclear in which direction the change was made: Psalm 113 of the Septuagint was separated into two psalms in MT, MT 116 was separated into two parts in the Septuagint, and MT Psalm 147 was separated into two parts in the Septuagint.<sup>57</sup>

55 The introductions to the critical commentaries to the Psalter do not mention any revisional layers. Nor do the introductions to the Biblical literature of Driver, *Introduction*, 359–91; Eissfeldt, *Old Testament*, 444–454; Childs, *Introduction*, 504–525; Zenger et al., *Einleitung*, 348–370; Rofé, *Introduction*, 413–509.

56 The background of the revision limited to the second (Psalms 42–72) and the greater part of the third book of Psalms (Psalms 73–89) has not been clarified. In these two Psalter books, *’elohim* is the dominant divine name, while in the other three Psalter books *YHWH* is the main appellation for God. The differences between the two systems are most clearly visible in the parallel Psalms 14 and 53 where the formulation of Ps 53:3–7 strongly suggests that the Elohistic Psalter replaced the earlier *YHWH* in its text with *’elohim*. The usual explanation given for the wording of the Elohistic Psalter is the shunning away from the use of the Tetragrammaton, a feature that is also noticeable in various scribal practices in the Qumran scrolls. See Tov, *Practices*, 218–221.

57 See the commentary of Zenger in Hossfeld/Zenger, *Psalms* 3, 188–192; Hossfeld, *ibidem*, 214–216; Zenger, *ibidem*, 620–621.

I do not think that that it has been recognized in the past that the book of Psalms has a unified text tradition. Scholars did remark that MT is in stable/fair condition,<sup>58</sup> but that characterization is rather meaningless because we have no means of comparison to other versions of the Psalter.

The presumed unified tradition of psalms is not unique. The same lack of variation has been noticed for Ruth,<sup>59</sup> Ecclesiastes,<sup>60</sup> and probably also for Judges<sup>61</sup> and Canticles.<sup>62</sup>

## 5. Summary and the Early Text of the Psalter

In sum, the main witnesses of the text of the Psalter are MT, the Septuagint that needs to be retroverted into Hebrew, and the Qumran texts. Since the translation technique of the Septuagint in this book is very literal, it is relatively easy to reconstruct the source of Septuagint Psalms. At the micro level the Septuagint differs very little from MT as can be seen from an investigation of five sample psalms. This agreement is contrasted with the discrepancy between the inner-Masoretic psalms and the differences between MT and the Qumran scrolls. The two texts agree also in the evidence for the Elohist Psalter that must go back to an early stage in the development of the Hebrew text before the Greek translation. The result is a unified textual tradition reflecting the intentions of the poets, and no revision is visible. The Septuagint is of sporadic use in the reconstruction of the early text, but it helps in many small details as well as in the unification of the separated MT Psalms 9–10 as Psalm 9 in the Septuagint. On the other hand, in the case of Psalm 113 of the Septuagint separated into two psalms in MT, of MT 116 separated into two parts in the Septuagint, and MT Psalm 147 separated into two parts in the Septuagint it is unclear which form is original.<sup>63</sup>

If the textual tradition of the Psalter is unified, can we make a next step and claim that we have the original written text of the Psalms in our hands? In a similar case, that of the unified tradition of Ruth, Bachmann and Lange make such a step when claiming: “Given the general agreement that MT-Ruth is close, if not iden-

58 Sarna, “Psalms”, VIII/437–462 (443) (Hebr.); McCarter, *Criticism*, 92.

59 See Köhlmoos, “Ruth”, 304.

60 See Fox, “Qohelet”, 340: “The book is in the view of the present writer, basically a textual unity that has reached us in a form that is probably close to the original. This does not exclude the possibility of minor changes, including additions, in the Hebrew transmission”.

61 See Ausloos, “Judges”, 277–280.

62 See Lemmelyn, “Canticles”, 321–326.

63 See the commentary of Zenger in Hossfeld/Zenger, *Psalms* 3, 188–192; Hossfeld, *ibidem*, 214–216; Zenger, *ibidem*, 620–621.

tical, to the original text of the book [...]”<sup>64</sup> In this area, we find ourselves fully in the sphere of speculation, but I cannot make any statement about the original text. I do have a *feeling* that in the common text of the MT and the Septuagint we may have something like the original text in our hands, but this feeling is based more on exegetical than textual arguments. My teacher Meir Weiss<sup>65</sup> who advanced the theory of the so-called “total interpretation” that takes each biblical composition in MT as an independent unit unrelated to its textual traditions and the historical conditions of its creation showed that the MT of the Psalter presents such a text that makes perfect sense as a piece of art created by the original poets. If that view is accepted, the common text of the MT and the Septuagint may well represent the early or original text of the Psalter, with many reservations of course.

We will never know how close the combined text of the Psalter common to the MT and the Septuagint represents the last formulation of the written text of the Psalter/the early text of the Psalter, whatever term we use. My general feeling is that we do have that text in our hands. I also feel that the few variants of the Septuagint are usually secondary rather than primary, but that topic requires further research.<sup>66</sup>

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64 Bachmann/Lange, “Texts”, 307.

65 Weiss, *Bible*; id., *The Method*.

66 On the other hand, Briggs/Briggs, *Psalms*, li–lii and Rofé, *Introduction*, 431–440 independently make the point that MT-Ps displays textual errors, but their number is very limited.

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## Der elohistische Psalter im Licht der Textgeschichte

Im Buch der Psalmen gibt es ein stilistisches Phänomen, das schon bei einer *lectio continua* auffällt: Während im ersten und im letzten Drittel des Buches der alt-hebräische Gottesname יהוה „Jahwe“ fortlaufend begegnet, findet sich in einem mittleren Teil ab Ps 42 das Wort אלהים „Gott“ als bevorzugte Weise der Anrede an die Gottheit und der Rede über sie. Die durchgängige Verwendung des Tetragramms entspricht weiten Teilen der übrigen alttestamentlichen Literatur, während das indeterminierte *nomen appellativum* אלהים im *status absolutus* viel seltener vorkommt.<sup>1</sup> Das auffällige אלהים begegnet im sogenannten zweiten Psalmenbuch der Psalmen 42–72 sowie im größeren Teil des dritten Psalmenbuches, nämlich in den Psalmen 73–83 und 84,<sup>2</sup> während es im übrigen Psalter nur ganz selten zu finden ist<sup>3</sup> und in den meisten Psalmen schlicht fehlt. Franz Delitzsch stellte seiner Leipziger Dissertation eine hilfreiche Tabelle voran, in der die Belege im Wesentlichen korrekt erfasst sind.<sup>4</sup> Die Tabelle zeigt auf einen Blick, wie groß die Zahl der Psalmen ist, in denen das absolute אלהים nicht zu finden ist, während es in den Psalmen 42–83(84) durchgängig begegnet.<sup>5</sup>

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1 Vgl. neben den P-Texten Gen 1:1ff; 5:1; 6:12ff; 17:3 etc. z. B. Gen 4:25; 19:29; 20:3, 11, 13; 21:12, 17, 19f; 22:8; 30:2, 6, 8; 32:2f; 35:1, 5; 41:16; 46:2; 48:9; 50:19f, 25; Ex 1:20; 3:4, 14f; 9:28; 13:18f; 18:1; 20:1, 19; Num 22:9, 12, 20, 22; 23:4; 24:2; Ri 1:7; 4:23; 6:40; 8:3; 9:7, 23, 56f; 13:5, 22; 15:19; 1Sam 3:3; 4:11; 9:6; 10:9; 11:6; 14:44; 16:15f; 18:10; 22:3; 23:7; 25:22; 26:8; 29:9; 2Sam 3:9; 23:3; 1Kön 3:11; 5:9; 11:23; 13:1; 2Kön 4:9; 19:4; Jes 13:9; Ez 28:13; 40:2; Hos 6:6; 12:4; Am 4:11; Jona 4:9; Mal 3:14f; Ijob 1:16; 2:9; 5:8; 28:23; 34:9; Prov 2:5; 3:4; 25:2; Koh 3:10; 7:18; 8:2, 13; Neh 6:12; 1Chr 4:10; 21:30; 28:20; 2Chr 13:16; 15:1, 6; 20:29; 22:7; 24:20; 26:5; 32:29; 34:27; 35:22.

2 Ps 84:8, 10 sowie יהוה אלהים in 84:9, 12; vgl. Gese, „Entstehung“, 162, der den Korachitenpsalm 84 zum elohistischen Psalter hinzurechnet. Zu den Belegen von אלהים in Ps 84 s. u. § 2.

3 Ps 3:3; 5:11; 7:10–12; (8:6); 9:18; 10:4, 13; 14:1f, 5; 25:22; 36:2, (8); 84:8–10, 12 (s. Anm. 2); 86:8, 10, 14; 87:3; 90:1; 100:3; 108:2, 6, 8, 12; 144:9.

4 Vgl. Rösel, *Redaktion*, 21–26, zu den unterschiedlichen Auswahlkriterien und Zählweisen, die in der Forschung angewendet werden.

5 Delitzsch, *Symbolae*, 2f.

## 1. Zur Forschungsgeschichte

Schon Wilhelm Gesenius hatte das Phänomen in seinem *Thesaurus linguae Hebraeae* als bemerkenswerten Befund für den alttestamentlichen Gebrauch des Wortes אֱלֹהִים hervorgehoben.<sup>6</sup> Wenig später formulierte Heinrich Ewald eine Hypothese, die als Auftakt zur text- und literargeschichtlichen Erklärung des Phänomens gelten kann.<sup>7</sup> Diese Hypothese ist, wie im Folgenden gezeigt werden soll, bis heute der beste Weg, um die elohistische Prägung der Psalmen 42–83 zu verstehen – namentlich gegenüber einem Alternativmodell, das auch in der jüngeren Psalmenforschung Anhänger findet. Die textgeschichtlichen Evidenzen, die sich aus dem Vergleich mit der griechischen Überlieferung ergeben, könnten Ewalds Erklärung indirekt stützen. In der Einleitung in „die Hebräische Dichtung“ und „das Psalmenbuch“ schrieb Ewald:

... im zweiten theile [scil. des Psalters] herrscht gerade von seinem anfangе Ψ. 42 an bis Ψ. 83 umgekehrt der name *Elôhim* dergestalt durchaus vor, daß Jahve weit seltener und nur wie hie und da von einer verändernden hand übersehen erscheint. Wie nun ist eine so auffallende erscheinung zu denken? Daß mit dem wechsel derselben Gottesnamen im Pentateuche dieser hier nichts gemein habe leidet keinen zweifel: die dichter jener jahrhunderte [gemeint sind offenbar die Dichter der Psalmen] gebrauchten zunächst und gewöhnlich den namen Jahve. Sollen wir nun meinen die dichter dieses theiles machten eine absichtliche ausnahme davon? und alle hier vereinigten sehr verschiedenen dichter auf dieselbe art? Das wäre schon an sich undenkbar, wenn es nicht noch dazu dadurch widerlegt würde daß dieselben lieder sobald sie nur in andern theilen erscheinen diese farbe nicht tragen vgl. Ps. 53 mit Ps. 14, Ps. 70 mit Ps. 40, oder auch Ps. 71 mit Ps. 22. Dazu kommt noch daß diese farbe seltsamerweise schon mit Ps. 83 aufhört und kaum in Ψ. 84 (bei v. 9) noch einmahl etwas einspielt, während doch Ps. 84–89 mit ausnahme von Ps. 86 übrigens nach den überschritten sowohl als nach ihrer ganzen art und weise sehr wohl mit Ps. 42–83 zusammenhängend gedacht werden können. Hier bleibt nichts als die annahme daß nicht sowohl der sammler dieses buches von liedern Ψ. 42–89 (denn der würde sich bis zum ende wohl eher gleichgeblieben seyn) als vielmehr nur einer der ältesten abschreiber desselben nach eigenem gutdünken jenen wechsel der Gottesnamen einführte, vielleicht durch einen ähnlichen glauben geleitet wie der ist durch den die spätern Juden überall יהוה zu sprechen vermieden ... Und so muß der zweite theil durch eines ältesten schreibers hand gegangen seyn der überall lieber *Elôhim* als Jahve setzte, hie und da jedoch diesen namen stehen ließ und gegen das ende hin in dem

6 Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, 97–98.

7 Ewald, *Bücher*, 190–192; vgl. Smend, „Heinrich Ewald“, 269.

auch nach andern gründen sich etwas unterscheidenden anhang Ps. 84–89 aus irgend einer ursache von seiner sitte wieder abließ.<sup>8</sup>

Das häufige אלהים, das in den Psalmen 42–83 immer wieder dort zu finden ist, wo man den Gottesnamen Jahwe erwartet, geht nach Ewald also nicht auf den genuinen Text zurück. Vielmehr wurde es bei einer Abschrift dieser Psalmen an den meisten Stellen statt des ursprünglichen יהוה eingesetzt. Anders gesagt: Der älteste Schreiber, von dem Ewald spricht, war zugleich als Redaktor tätig, indem er das ursprüngliche Jahwe in den Psalmen 42–83 durch das Wort אלהים ersetzte.

Ewald begründet das Modell im Wesentlichen mit zwei Argumenten: Zum einen sei undenkbar, dass die sehr verschiedenen Dichter der Psalmen 42–83 allesamt den Gottesnamen יהוה vermieden und dafür den Begriff אלהים „Gott“ gebraucht haben sollten. Diese Weise des Sprachgebrauchs sei sonst nur in späten Büchern wie Qohelet und Nehemia zu finden.<sup>9</sup> Zum zweiten verweist Ewald auf die Parallelüberlieferungen der Psalmen 53 und 14 sowie 70 und 40, die jeweils in einer elohistischen und einer nicht-elohistischen Fassung überliefert sind (die Psalmen 71 und 22 bieten freilich keinen gleichen Text; sie ähneln einander allenfalls in ihrer Diktion).

Neben diesen Hauptargumenten hat Ewalds Modell noch einige Seitenaspekte, die zum Teil problematisch wirken, auch wenn sie nicht tragend sind: So verweist Ewald eingangs darauf, dass im fraglichen Teil des Psalters, dem „elohistischen Psalter“, ab und zu auch der Gottesname Jahwe begegnet. Er wirke „nur wie hie und da von einer verändernden hand übersehen“.<sup>10</sup> Das lässt sich hinterfragen. Zu Anlass und Sinn der elohistischen Redaktion erwägt Ewald, dass sie mit der um die Zeitenwende greifbaren Tendenz zusammenhänge, die Aussprache des Gottesnamens zu vermeiden. Das erscheint schon deshalb als zweifelhaft, weil der Name Jahwe auch im elohistischen Psalter vorkommt.<sup>11</sup> Schließlich verknüpft Ewald das Phänomen des elohistischen Psalters mit der Frage nach Entstehung und Überlieferung einzelner Psalmensammlungen, die in den protomasoretischen Psalter eingegangen sind. Das ist eine wichtige Spur, auch wenn Ewalds Überlegungen tastend geblieben sind.<sup>12</sup>

Ewalds Hypothese fand Eingang in zahlreiche Kommentare zum Psalmenbuch seit dem späten 19. Jahrhundert. Die angenommene Ersetzung des Jahwenamens

8 Hier zitiert nach der zweiten Auflage: Ewald, *Dichter*, 245 f.

9 Ewald, *Dichter*, 246.

10 So etwa auch Duhm, *Psalmen*, 176.

11 Im masoretischen Text der Psalmen 42–83 zähle ich 45 Belege, die in 25 Psalmen begegnen: Ps 42:9; 46:8, 9, 12; 47:3, 6; 48:2, 9; 50:1; 54:8; 55:17, 23; 56:11; 58:7; 59:4, 6, 9; 64:11; 68:17, 21, 27; 69:7, 14, 17, 32, 34; 70:2, 6; 71:1, 5, 16; 72:18; 73:28; 74:18; 75:9; 76:12; 78:4, 21; 79: 5; 80:5, 20; 81:11, 16; 83:17, 19.

12 Vgl. v. a. Rösel, *Redaktion*, 21–68.

durch das Wort **אלהים** wurde vielfach rückredigiert. Klassische Beispiele sind die Kommentare von Friedrich Baethgen, Bernhard Duhm, Charles Augustus und Emily Grace Briggs und Hermann Gunkel.<sup>13</sup>

Die umgekehrte Erklärung wurde bereits 1846 von Franz Delitzsch in seiner Dissertation vorgetragen. Demnach sind die Texte der Psalmen 42–83 *ab ovo* elohistisch.<sup>14</sup> Das appellative **אלהים** verdankt sich – wie Delitzsch in seinem Psalmenkommentar schreibt – „einer eigentümlichen Dichtungsweise“ und „nicht der Willkür eines Überarbeiters“. <sup>15</sup> In ähnlicher Weise äußerte sich Benno Jacob in einem Beitrag zur ZAW von 1898, indem er den von Ewald nur beiläufig genannten Eindruck aufspießte, dass der Gottesname Jahwe im elohistischen Psalter „nur wie hie und da von einer verändernden hand übersehen erscheint“. Jacob schrieb:

... wenn wirklich der ‚Redactor‘ die Absicht hatte, den einen Gottesnamen gänzlich zu vermeiden, so hätte er dies auch – da es wahrlich keine große Kunst ist – fertig gebracht und ihn nicht 43 mal stehen gelassen. Man stelle sich doch die Redaktoren nicht immer als so sträflich einsichtslos, ungeschickt und lüderlich arbeitend vor, wie sie darnach hätten sein müssen. Man traue ihnen doch wenigstens die Akribie und Gewissenhaftigkeit der späteren Masoreten zu.<sup>16</sup>

In der neueren Psalmenforschung wurde Ewalds Ersetzungshypothese namentlich durch Frank-Lothar Hossfeld und Erich Zenger widersprochen. Angelehnt an knappe Bemerkungen Hermann Spieckermanns, der in seiner Studie zur „Heilsgegenwart“ Ewalds Modell übernahm,<sup>17</sup> aber anhand von Ps 78 auf eine gewisse Inkonsistenz in seiner Anwendung verwies,<sup>18</sup> stellten Hossfeld und Zenger die postulierte Ersetzung von יהוה durch **אלהים** *a limine* infrage:<sup>19</sup> Die Psalmen des elohistischen Psalters bezeugten vielmehr eine in dem Begriff **אלהים** enthaltene

13 Baethgen, *Psalmen*, 120–260; Duhm, *Psalmen*, 176–321; Briggs/Briggs, *Psalms*, I/365–II/224; Gunkel, *Psalmen*, 176–367; vgl. zuletzt Spieckermann, *Psalmen*, 68 mit Anm. 22 und 424–473. Seybold, *Psalmen*, verzichtete auf die Rückredaktion, vermerkte aber zum ersten Beleg von **אלהים** in 42:2: „Beginn des elohistisch redigierten Psalters (42–83), ursprünglich wohl JHWH.“ (174; vgl. 8).

14 Delitzsch, *Symbolae*, 9.

15 Delitzsch, *Psalmen*, 16 f.

16 Jacob, „Beiträge“, 100 Anm. 1.

17 Spieckermann, *Heilsgegenwart*, 122–126 (zu Ps 74) und 186–188 (zu Ps 48). Vgl. Spieckermanns jüngst erschienenen Psalmenkommentar (s. Anm. 13).

18 Spieckermann, *Heilsgegenwart*, 133 Anm. 1: „Es ist natürlich nicht auszuschließen, daß die Elohim-Stellen [in Ps 78] auf redaktionellen Einfluß zurückgehen ...; doch wäre dann nur schwer zu erklären, wieso der Jahwe-name gerade an prominenter Stelle in V. 4, der Themaangabe mit erstmaliger Nennung des Gottesnamens überhaupt, stehengeblieben wäre.“

19 Neben Jacob und Spieckermann verwiesen Hossfeld und Zenger namentlich auf Wilson, *Editing*, 196f, der erwog, dass der ältere Gottesbegriff **אלהים** in den Psalmen durch den Gottesnamen יהוה

universalistisch-monotheistische Tendenz, die sich mit den sogenannten elohistischen (also weder priesterschriftlichen noch jahwistischen) Texten des Pentateuchs berühre und sich bis in die Königszeit einschließlich der Traditionen des Nordreiches zurückverfolgen lasse.<sup>20</sup> Zahlreiche Beiträge zur Psalmenforschung setzen voraus, dass die elohistische Gestalt auf den ursprünglichen Text der Psalmen zurückgeht.<sup>21</sup>

## 2. Elohistisch-nicht-elohistische Paralleltexte

Ewald hatte seine These auf zwei ganz unterschiedliche Argumente gestützt: zum einen die Parallelen, die einzelne Psalmen und Psalmstücke aus dem elohistischen Psalter in anderen Teilen des Psalters haben, zum zweiten den eigentümlichen Gebrauch des Wortes **אלהים**, der sich sperrig zur Diktion dieser Psalmen verhält.

Zunächst ein Blick auf die Parallelüberlieferungen. Die Psalmen 14 und 53 geben denselben Psalm wieder, weichen aber in textlichen Details voneinander ab. Dasselbe gilt für Ps 70 und den letzten Teil von Ps 40 (V. 14–18). Hinzu kommen Einzelverse und Teilpsalmen, die außerhalb des elohistischen Psalters zitiert zu sein scheinen.

Ps 14 enthält vier Belege für das Tetragramm (V. 2, 4, 6, 7). Allerdings finden sich in Ps 14 auch drei Belege für **אלהים** (V. 1f, 5), was außerhalb des elohistischen Psalters ungewöhnlich ist.<sup>22</sup> Sie dürften sich dem Gegenstand des Psalms verdanken: Jahwe hält in der ganzen Welt Ausschau nach Gottesfürchtigen (V. 2). Der universalistisch-monotheistische Horizont des Begriffs **אלהים** fügt sich organisch in diesen Zusammenhang ein.<sup>23</sup> In Ps 53, der im Wesentlichen denselben Psalm bezeugt, ist nach dem Masoretischen Text<sup>24</sup> statt den vier Belegen des Tetragramms in Ps 14 jeweils das Wort **אלהים** zu finden. Ps 53 MT bietet also ausschließlich den Begriff **אלהים**, nicht den Gottesnamen.

Allerdings sind zwei Einschränkungen zu machen: Zum einen weicht Ps 53:6 auch in anderer Hinsicht von Ps 14:5f ab.

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verdrängt wurde, was außerhalb des elohistischen Psalters nahezu vollständig gelang, während sich diese Tendenz hier nur ansatzweise zeigt.

20 Hossfeld/Zenger, „Elohistic Psalter“, 35–51; vgl. dies., *Psalmen 51–100*, 31 f. und 38–507.

21 Vgl. z. B. Boling, „Parallelism“, 253–255; Dahood, *Psalms*, I/254–II/277 und I/256; Millard, *Composition*, 171; Machinist, „Gods“, 231 f. Anm. 99; Böhler, *Psalmen*, 36 und 769–924. Süssenbach, *Psalter*, 56, grenzt sich zwar von der These einer elohistischen Redaktion ab, will aber umgekehrt nicht behaupten, „dass die Bevorzugung von Elohim in allen Fällen bereits auf die Verfasser der Psalmen zurückgeht.“

22 S. Anm. 3.

23 Vgl. Rösel, *Redaktion*, 58.

24 Zur Bezeugung durch LXX s. u. § 4.



Ps 14:5–6

5 שם פחדו פחד  
כי אלהים בדור צדיק  
6 עצת עני תבישו  
כי יהוה מחסו

5 Da erschrecken sie voller Schrecken,  
denn Gott ist bei dem gerechten Geschlecht.

6 Den Plan des Gedrückten mögt ihr  
zuschanden machen,  
denn Jahwe ist seine Zuflucht!

Ps 53:6

6 שם פחדו פחד  
לא היה פחד  
כי אלהים פזר עצמות חנך  
הבשתה  
כי אלהים מאסם

6 Da erschrecken sie voller Schrecken,  
ohne dass es Schrecken gab,  
denn Gott hat zerstreut die Gebeine  
deines Belagerers!

Du hast (sie) zu Schanden gemacht,  
denn Gott hat sie verworfen.

Ps 53:6 bietet gegenüber Ps 14:5f eine *lectio longior* und lautet in der zweiten Hälfte deutlich anders.<sup>25</sup> Zum anderen liest die Septuaginta in Ps 53:7 für אלהים κύριος, was angesichts der – wie wir sehen werden – weitgehend präzisen Abbildung der elohistischen Diktion im Griechischen (s. u. § 3) überrascht und eine wichtige textliche Divergenz bietet.

Bei den Psalmen 40 und 70 ist der textliche und literarische Befund etwas komplizierter, zumal der parallele Text in Ps 40 nur einen Teil des Psalms umfasst (V. 14–18), während er in Ps 70 (abgesehen von der Überschrift in V. 1) den ganzen Psalm bildet. Das Grundphänomen ähnelt aber den Psalmen 14 und 53. Nach dem masoretischen Text enthält der parallele Teil in Ps 40 drei Belege des Gottesnamens יהוה (V. 14, 17) und einen weiteren Beleg für das hebräische אדני „(mein) Herr“ (V. 18). Der Paralleltext in Ps 70 bietet hier drei Mal אלהים (V. 2a, 5, 6), enthält aber auch an zwei Stellen den Jahwenamen, nämlich im ersten und letzten Vers des Psalms (V. 2, 6). In Ps 70,2 verbindet sich das mit der stilistisch eigentümlichen Erscheinung, dass im *Parallelismus membrorum* im ersten Glied אלהים steht, im zweiten יהוה. Dieses stilistische Phänomen, das im elohistischen Psalter auch an anderer Stelle zu finden ist (s. u.), ist ein wichtiges Indiz, das grundsätzlich für Ewalds Ersetzungshypothese spricht. Zugleich deutet der synonyme Gebrauch von אלהים und יהוה im *Parallelismus membrorum* aber darauf, dass der Gottesname Jahwe in den Psalmen 42–83 keineswegs „von einer verändernden Hand übersehen“, vielmehr ganz bewusst an bestimmten Stellen stehengelassen wurde.

25 Vgl. Hossfeld/Zenger, *Psalmen 51–100*, 78f, die die Differenzen zwischen Ps 14 und 53 „redaktionsgeschichtlich“ „als für Ps 53 geschaffene Veränderungen von Ps 14“ interpretieren. Nach Rösel, *Redaktion* (s. Anm. 4), 60, lassen sich die Divergenzen dagegen nicht mit direkter Abhängigkeit erklären, sondern damit, dass beide Psalmen „auf dieselbe Vorlage zurückgehen“.

Sehr bemerkenswert und schwer zu erklären ist allerdings, dass die griechische Übersetzung zu Beginn von Ps 70 (= 69 LXX) genau die umgekehrte Anordnung von Gottesname und Gottesbegriff bezeugt, wobei der erste Teil von V. 2 noch zur Überschrift gezogen wird:

Ps 70:1–2 MT

למנצח לדוד להזכיר  
אלהים להצילני  
יהוה לעזרתי חושב

1 Für den Chorleiter. Von David, um in  
Erinnerung zu rufen.  
2 Gott, mich zu retten,  
Jahwe, zu meiner Hilfe eile herbei!

Ps 69:1–2 LXX

1 Εἰς τὸ τέλος· τῷ Δαυιδ εἰς ἀνάμνησιν,  
2 εἰς τὸ σῶσαί με κύριον.  
Ὁ θεός, εἰς τὴν βοήθειάν μου πρόσχες.

1 Zum Ende hin; dem David, zur Erin-  
nerung,  
2 damit mich der Herr rettet.  
Gott, achte auf meine Hilfe!

Hinzu kommt, dass Ps 40:14–18 und Ps 70 auch an anderen Stellen textlich auseinandergehen, wobei Ps 40 mehrfach einen gegenüber Ps 70 leicht erweiterten Text hat.<sup>26</sup> Der nicht-elohistische Paralleltext zu Ps 70, der in Ps 40 zu einem größeren Kompositpsalm gehört, dürfte also nicht einfach eine ältere Fassung des Psalms bieten, vielmehr scheint Ps 70 unbeschadet seiner teilweise elohistischen Gestalt der ältesten Fassung näher zu stehen.<sup>27</sup>

Ein anderes Phänomen sind die elohistischen Psalmteile und Einzelverse, die außerhalb des elohistischen Psalters erscheinen. Der wichtigste Fall ist der Kompositpsalm 108: Abgesehen von der Überschrift (V. 1) ist Ps 108 aus Ps 57:8–12 (108:2–6) und Ps 60:7–14 (108:7–14) gebildet.<sup>28</sup> Die Textblöcke, die Ps 108 zugrundeliegen, sind mit einer Ausnahme elohistisch geprägt (אלהים in V. 2, 6, 8, 12, 14); in 108:4 ersetzt יהוה die Gottesbezeichnung אדני in 57:10.<sup>29</sup> Da אלהים in den umgebenden Psalmen nicht vorkommt (im fünften Psalmenbuch Ps 107–150 sonst nur in Ps 144:9), ist die elohistische Gestalt von Ps 108 ein starkes Argument dafür, dass der Psalm aus Stücken gebildet ist, die von den elohistischen Psalmen 57 und 60 entlehnt wurden.

Ps 86:14 entspricht fast wörtlich Ps 54:5 und dürfte von dort zitiert sein:<sup>30</sup>

26 V.a. in Ps 40:14 // 70:2; 40:15a // 70:3a; 40:16 // 70:4.

27 Rösel, *Redaktion*, 63f; Hossfeld/Zenger, *Psalmen 51–100*, 284f; ähnlich Mulzer, „Dublette“, 117, nach dem „die Textform von Ps 70 einen gewissen Vorzug“ gegenüber Ps 40:14–18 besitzt, während den „Gottesbezeichnungen“ in Ps 40 Priorität zukommt.

28 Vgl. Rösel, *Redaktion*, 66f; Müller/Pakkala/Romeny, *Evidence*, 159–177.

29 In Ps 57:10 bieten statt אדני zahlreiche Handschriften nach Kennicott und de Rossi יהוה (BHS).

30 So schon Ewald, *Dichter*, 246; vgl. Rösel, *Redaktion*, 24.

Ps 54:5

כי זרים קמו עלי  
ועריצים בקשו נפשי  
לא שמו אלהים לנגדם

Denn Fremde haben sich gegen mich erhoben,  
und Gewalttäter suchen mein Leben.

Sie haben Gott nicht vor sich gestellt.

Ps 86:14

אלהים זדים קמו עלי  
ועדת עריצים בקשו נפשי  
ולא שמוך לנגדם

Gott, Vermessene sind aufgestanden gegen mich,  
und eine Versammlung von Gewalttätern,  
sie suchen mein Leben,  
und sie haben dich nicht vor sich gestellt.

Zwar wird Ps 86:14 durch vokativisches **אלהים** eröffnet, was in Ps 54:5 fehlt, und ist in der Anrede an Gott formuliert; in Ps 54:4 steht **אלהים** dafür als Objekt der Wendung „sie haben ... nicht vor sich gestellt“. Jedoch dürfte das eröffnende **אלהים** in Ps 86:14 aus Ps 54 entlehnt sein, zumal es dort auch in V. 3f in der Anrede an Gott gebraucht ist.

In dem anthologischen Ps 144 begegnet mit V. 9 ein im Kontext der umgebenden Psalmen völlig isolierter elohistischer Vers. In der Substanz erweist er sich als von Ps 33:2f her entlehnt. Die elohistische Gestalt aber dürfte durch Ps 57:8 inspiriert sein, da sich diese Passage mit Ps 33:2–3 berührt:<sup>31</sup>

Ps 33:2–3

... בנבל עשור זמרו לו  
... שירו לו שיר חדש

... mit der zehnsaitigen Leier spielt ihm auf!  
Singt ihm ein neues Lied ...!

Ps 144:9

אלהים שיר חדש אשירה לך  
בנבל עשור אזמרה לך

Gott, ein neues Lied will ich dir singen,  
mit der zehnsaitigen Leier dir aufspielen!

Ps 57:8

... נכון לבי אלהים  
אשירה ואזמרה

Befestigt ist mein Herz, Gott, ...  
ich will singen und aufspielen!

Schließlich dürfte die elohistische Wendung **אלהים שופט צדיק** „Gott ist ein gerechter Richter“ in Ps 7:12 von **שפט** **אלהים** „denn Gott ist Richter“ in Ps 75:8 her entlehnt sein,<sup>32</sup> und **מגני על אלהים** „mein Schild ist bei Gott“ in Ps 7:11 ist wahrscheinlich durch **על אלהים ישעי וכבודי** „Bei Gott ist meine Hilfe und meine Ehre“ in Ps 62:8 beeinflusst.<sup>33</sup>

31 Vgl. Rösel, *Redaktion*, 23 f.

32 Vgl. Rösel, *Redaktion*, 24.

33 Vgl. Delitzsch, *Psalmen*, 104, der auf die Parallele verweist, freilich ohne eine Entlehnung zu postulieren.

### 3. Zum Gebrauch von אלהים im elohistischen Psalter

Der Gebrauch des hebräischen אלהים im *status absolutus*, der im elohistischen Psalter vorherrscht, hat einige stilistische Eigentümlichkeiten erzeugt. Dazu zählen namentlich Wendungen wie אלהים אלהי „Gott, mein Gott“ (Ps 43:4), אלהים אלהיך „Gott, dein Gott“ (Ps 45:8; 50:7) und אלהים אלהינו „Gott, unser Gott“ (Ps 48:15; 67:7). In der griechischen Überlieferung wird diese Diktion – soweit bislang erkennbar – weitestgehend präzise abgebildet: Für אלהים אלהי „Gott, mein Gott“ (Ps 43:4) etwa findet sich ὁ θεὸς ὁ θεός μου. Die Tatsache, dass derartige Wendungen in den übrigen Psalmen und im übrigen Alten Testament fast überhaupt nicht zu finden sind,<sup>34</sup> ist ein starkes Argument, das für die gezielte und fortlaufende Ersetzung von יהוה durch אלהים im elohistischen Psalter spricht.

Sehr auffällig ist auch die Wendung יהוה אלהים צבאות, die ausschließlich in Ps 59:6 sowie in Ps 80:5, 20 und 84:9 belegt ist. Ps 84 wird üblicherweise nicht zum elohistischen Psalter gerechnet, da hier eine kleine Gruppe von Korachpsalmen beginnt, in denen wieder der übliche Gebrauch des Jahwenamens zu finden ist (Ps 84f; 87f). Da in Ps 84 sieben Belege von יהוה (V. 2, 3, 4, 9, 12, 13) vier Belegen von אלהים (V. 8, 9, 10, 12), gegenüberstehen, von denen zwei mit יהוה verbunden sind (יהוה אלהים צבאות in V. 9; יהוה אלהים in V. 12), legt es sich nahe, dass der „elohistische Stil ... in ... Ps 84 nachgeahmt“ wird.<sup>35</sup> In der Wortfolge יהוה אלהים צבאות ist יהוה ungrammatisch und gleicht einem Eigennamen.<sup>36</sup> Im übrigen Alten Testament ist dagegen nur יהוה אלהי צבאות belegt. Neben יהוה אלהים צבאות findet sich in Ps 80 auch zwei Mal das kürzere אלהים צבאות (V. 8, 15) was schon aus stilistischen Gründen kaum als Argument für eine genuine elohistische Gestalt des Psalms zu werten ist, vielmehr als ein weiteres starkes Indiz für die Ersetzung von יהוה durch אלהים. Bei יהוה אלהים צבאות legt sich dagegen eine glossierende Hinzufügung von אלהים zu dem älteren Gottesnamen יהוה צבאות nahe. Die so entstandene Wendung in Ps 80:5, 20 könnte wiederum in Ps 84:9, 12 übernommen worden sein. In der griechischen Überlieferung ist das eigentümliche יהוה אלהים צבאות fast immer durch κύριε ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων abgebildet. An einer Stelle, in Ps 80:8, erscheint allerdings κύριε ὁ θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων auch für das kürzere אלהים צבאות. Sofern sich dies nicht einer innergriechischen Variantenbildung verdankt, wäre eine vom Masoretischen Text abweichende Vorlage zu erwägen (s. u. § 4).

Ein drittes stilistisches Phänomen, das schon bei Ps 70 begegnet ist, ist der abwechselnde Gebrauch von יהוה und אלהים im *parallelismus membrorum*. Ein Beispiel ist Ps 47:6:

34 Vgl. lediglich 1Chr 28:20 (יהוה אלהים אלהי „Jahwe, Gott, mein Gott“).

35 Rösel, *Redaktion*, 24.

36 Wie künstlich dieser Sprachgebrauch ist, geht daraus hervor, dass אלהים grundsätzlich nicht als Eigenname gebraucht wird; vgl. Blum, „Gottesname“, 133–154.

עלה אלהים בתרועה

יהוה בקול שופר

Emporgestiegen ist Gott unter Jauchzen,  
Jahwe beim Klang des Widderhorns.

Dieses Phänomen ist an einigen Stellen im elohistischen Psalter zu finden (vgl. Ps 55:17; 56:11; 58:7; 68:17, 27; 69:14; 70:2, 6; 73:28), jedoch nie außerhalb und auch nicht in anderen Teilen des Alten Testaments. Dass dagegen in zwei parallelen Kola jeweils der Gottesname Jahwe steht, ist eine sehr häufig belegte stilistische Erscheinung.<sup>37</sup> Der synonyme Parallelismus von אלהים und יהוה ist in der Septuaginta stets getreu abgebildet – mit der einen bereits genannten Ausnahme in Ps 70:2 (LXX 69:2), wo κύριον und ὁ θεός in umgekehrter Reihenfolge erscheinen. Auch das lässt auf eine abweichende Vorlage schließen.

Im Blick auf den eigentümlichen Gebrauch von אלהים im elohistischen Psalter hatte Ewald zu Recht darauf verwiesen, dass die hier gesammelten Psalmen ganz unterschiedlichen Charakters sind, was verschiedenste Verfasser vermuten lässt. Dass all diese Texte *ab ovo* elohistisch seien, wie Hossfeld und Zenger postuliert haben, ist gerade in traditionsgeschichtlicher Perspektive kaum vorstellbar: Vieles, was in den Psalmen 42–83 begegnet, hat nahe formale, poetische und motivliche Parallelen außerhalb des elohistischen Psalters, das heißt in Texten, wo ganz selbstverständlich der Jahwe-name gebraucht wird, fast nie aber das absolute אלהים.

Das lässt sich namentlich an den geprägten Wendungen festmachen, die Delitzsch in seiner Dissertation einander gegenübergestellt hatte:<sup>38</sup>

|                    |                |                     |                        |
|--------------------|----------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| הוחילי לאלהים      | 42:6           | לך יהוה הוחלתי      | 38:16                  |
| שפטני אלהים        | 43:1           | שפטני יהוה          | 26:1; 7:9; 35:24       |
| מזבח אלהים         | 43:4           | את־מזבחך יהוה       | 26:6                   |
| באלהים הללנו       | 44:9; 56:5     | ביהוה תתהלל נפשי    | 34:3                   |
| עיר אלהים          | 46:5           | עיר יהוה            | 101:8                  |
|                    | cf. 48:9; 87:3 |                     |                        |
| זמרו אלהים         | 47:7           | זמרו ליהוה          | 9:12                   |
| מלך אלהים          | 47:8; 74:12    | ליהוה המלוכה        | 22:29                  |
| אך אלהים יפדה נפשי | 49:16          | פודה יהוה נפש עבדיו | 34:23                  |
| אלהים הופיע        | 50:2           | יהוה ... הופיע      | 94:1                   |
| חנני אלהים         | 51:3; 57:2     | חנני יהוה           | 6:3 9:14; 31:10; 41:5; |
|                    |                | אדני                | 86:3                   |
| הצילני אלהים       | 50:16          | הצילני יהוה         | 143:9                  |

37 Vgl. z. B. Ps 4:4; 6:3, 10; 7:9, 18; 11:4.

38 Delitzsch, *Symbolae*, 7 f.

|                    |                |                    |                                   |
|--------------------|----------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|
| בית אלהים          | 52:10; 55:15   | בית יהוה           | 27:4                              |
| אלהים בשמך הושיעני | 54:3; 69:1     | הושיעני יהוה       | 6:5; 7:2; etc.                    |
|                    |                | למען שמך יהוה      | 25:11                             |
| אלהים שמע תפלתי    | 54:4; 55:2     | יהוה שמע תפלתי     | 143:1; 39:13;                     |
|                    | 61:2; cf. 84:9 |                    | 102:2; 17:1; 130:2                |
| אלהים עזר לי       | 54:6           | יהוה ... עזר לי    | 30:11                             |
| אל־אלהים אקרא      | 55:17; 57:3    | אל יהוה אקרא       | 3:5; 142:2; 18:4, 7;              |
|                    |                |                    | 28:1; 30:9                        |
| אלהים לי           | 56:10          | יהוה לי            | 108:6                             |
| באלהים בטחתי       | 56:5, 12       | ביהוה בטחתי        | 26:1; 31:7                        |
| להתהלך לפני אלהים  | 56:14;         | אתהלך לפני יהוה    | 116:9; cf. 95:6; 96:13;           |
|                    | cf. 61:8; 68:4 |                    | 98:6, 9                           |
| רומה ... אלהים     | 57:6, 12;      | רומה ... יהוה      | 21:14                             |
|                    | (108:6)        |                    |                                   |
| אלהים אלי אתה      | 63:2           | יהוה אלי אתה       | 140:7                             |
| יראי אלהים         | 66:16          | יראי יהוה          | 15:4; 22:24; 115:11, 13;          |
|                    |                |                    | 118:4; 135:20                     |
| ברוך אלהים         | 66:29; 68:36;  | ברוך יהוה אדני     | 28:6; 31:22; 119:12; 124:6;       |
|                    | 68:20          |                    | 135:21; 144:1                     |
| שירו לאלהים        | 68:5           | שירו ליהוה         | 96:1, 2; 98:1; 105:2;             |
|                    |                |                    | 137:3; 149:1                      |
| במקהלות ברכו אלהים | 68:27          | במקהלים אברך יהוה  | 26:12                             |
| תנו עז לאלהים      | 68:35          | הבו ליהוה כבוד ועז | 29:1                              |
| ישועתך אלהים       | 69:30          | ישועתך יהוה        | 119:166; 98:2                     |
| אהללה שם אלהים     | 69:31          | הללו את־שם יהוה    | 135:1; 146:2                      |
|                    |                | שם יהוה            | cf. 7:18; 102:16, 22; 113:1, 2, 3 |
|                    |                |                    | 148:5, 13                         |
| צדקתך אלהים        | 71:19          | יהוה ... צדקתך     | 36:6, 7                           |
| טוב ... אלהים      | 73:1           | טוב יהוה           | 25:8; 34:9; 100:5 etc.            |
| חלקי אלהים         | 73:26          | חלקי יהוה          | 16:5; 119:57                      |
| קומה אלהים         | 74:22; 82:8;   | קומה יהוה          | 3:8; 7:7; 9:20; 10:12; 17:13;     |
|                    | cf. 76:10      |                    | 132:8                             |
| קולי אל־אלהים      | 77:2           | קולי אל־יהוה       | 3:5; 142:2                        |
| אלהים ... אל־תחרש  | 83:2           | יהוה אל־תחרש       | 35:22; cf. 39:13                  |

Anders als Delitzsch meinte, legt die eindrucksvolle Übersicht nahe, dass die ungewöhnliche elohistische Fassung dieser Wendungen auf eine jahwistische Textform der Psalmen 42–83 zurückgeht, die Parallelen außerhalb des elohistischen Psalters hat.

In einem Aspekt könnten Hossfeld und Zenger aber richtig liegen: Der Gebrauch von Elohim im elohistischen Psalter hat ein monotheistisch-universalistisches

Gepräge.<sup>39</sup> Das Wort אֱלֹהִים „Gott“ erscheint mehrfach als eine Bezeichnung, die nicht nur in Israel sondern auch in der Völkerwelt verstanden werden kann. Das erinnert an den Gebrauch von אֱלֹהִים sowohl in den priesterschriftlichen Texten der Urgeschichte (vgl. etwa Gen 9:1) als auch in den elohistischen Kapiteln Gen 20–22, namentlich Gen 20, wo erzählt wird, wie der Philisterkönig Abimelech durch die Begegnung mit Abraham befähigt wurde, Gott und sein Wirken zu erkennen (vgl. Gen 20:3, 6, 11).

Tatsächlich gibt es eine kleine Zahl von Texten im elohistischen Psalter, die in auffallender Weise von einer Gotteserkenntnis der Völker sprechen. Dieser Gedanke ist vor allem in den Psalmen 46, 59 und 83 zu finden, wo er wahrscheinlich jeweils durch Fortschreibungen eingetragen wurde. Ps 46:11 dürfte zu einem Anhang gehören, mit dem der ältere Psalm in einen eschatologischen Horizont gestellt wurde (V. 9–12).<sup>40</sup> In diesem Abschnitt, der ein prophetisches Gepräge aufweist, steht ein kurzer Gottesspruch, der an die Völkerwelt gerichtet ist:

הֲרָפוּ וּדְעוּ כִּי אֲנִי אֱלֹהִים  
אֲרוּם בְּגוֹיִם אֲרוּם בָּאָרֶץ

Lasst ab und erkennt, dass ich Gott bin!

Ich erhebe mich unter den Völkern, ich erhebe mich auf der Erde.

In Ps 59:14 wurde in ein altes Königsgebet, das auf die Rettung vor feindlichen Kriegern zielt, das Motiv der weltweiten Gotteserkenntnis eingetragen; zu dem alten Gebet gehört der Teilvers (V. 14a):

כֹּלָה בַּחֲמָה כֹּלָה וְאֵינָמוּ

Vertilge im Zorn, vertilge, dass sie nicht mehr sind!

Eine zweite Hand fügte unvermittelt einen völlig anderen Gedanken hinzu (V. 14b):<sup>41</sup>

כֹּלָה בַּחֲמָה כֹּלָה וְאֵינָמוּ  
וַיִּדְעוּ כִּי אֱלֹהִים מִשַּׁל בִּיעֶקֶב לֹאֲפָסִי הָאָרֶץ

Vertilge im Zorn, vertilge, dass sie nicht mehr sind,

dass sie erkennen, dass Gott in Jakob herrscht, bis zu den Enden der Erde!

39 Hossfeld/Zenger, „Elohistic Psalter“, 51; dies., *Psalmen 51–100*, 32. So etwa auch Rösler, *Redaktion*, 36; Davies, „God“, 188 f.

40 Vgl. Zenger, „Hilfe“, 311; anders z. B. Böhrer, *Psalmen*, 839; Spieckermann, *Psalmen*, I/450 f.

41 Vgl. Seybold, *Psalmen*, 235; Hossfeld/Zenger, *Psalmen 51–100*, 142.

Am Ende von Ps 83 wurde das Motiv der weltweiten Gotteserkenntnis mit der Anerkennung des Gottesnamens Jahwe verknüpft. Der ältere Psalm endete mit einer Bitte gegen feindliche Völker, die Israel vernichten wollen (V. 17a, 18):

מלא פניהם קלון  
יבשו ויבהלו עדי עד  
ויחפרו ויאבדו

Erfülle ihr Antlitz mit Schande,  
sie sollen beschämt und geängstigt werden für immer  
und zuschanden werden und zugrunde gehen!

Eine zweite Hand fügte hinzu (V. 17b, 19):

מלא פניהם קלון  
ויבקשו שמך יהוה  
יבשו ויבהלו עדי עד  
ויחפרו ויאבדו  
וידעו כי אתה [שמך] יהוה  
לבדך עליון על כל הארץ

Erfülle ihr Antlitz mit Schande,  
dass sie deinen Namen suchen, Jahwe,<sup>42</sup>  
sie sollen beschämt und geängstigt werden für immer  
und zuschanden werden und zugrunde gehen  
und erkennen, dass du [dein Name] Jahwe bist,  
du allein der Höchste über der ganzen Erde!<sup>43</sup>

Die redigierende Ersetzung von יהוה durch אלהים in Ps 42–83 muss nicht von derselben Hand geleistet worden sein, die die drei Psalmen fortgeschrieben hat. Wegen der andersgearteten Bearbeitungstechnik ist eher zu vermuten, dass es sich um verschiedene Prozesse gehandelt hat: zunächst die Fortschreibung der drei Psalmen – auch diese nicht zwingend durch denselben Bearbeiter, und in einem zweiten Schritt die elohistische Redaktion im Sinne Ewalds, also die Ersetzung des Gottesnamens Jahwe an der überwiegenden Zahl der Stellen. Sie aber könnte durch die genannten pointiert universalistischen Bearbeitungen angestoßen worden sein.

42 Mit Gunkel, *Psalmen*, 367, streicht Rösel, *Redaktion*, 33, das Tetragramm in V. 17b als Zusatz. Das erscheint nicht als zwingend und notwendig.

43 Der Vers ist durch das aus V. 17b wiederholte שמך „dein Name“ syntaktisch und poetisch überladen. Mit Baethgen, *Psalmen*, 260, lässt sich annehmen, dass שמך als Glosse in den Text kam. Die poetische Einteilung folgt LXX und Hieronymus gegen die Masoreten.



In diesem Zusammenhang könnte sich die scheinbare Inkonsistenz im Umgang mit dem Jahwenamen erklären lassen. Auch im elohistischen Psalter begegnet ja der Gottesname Jahwe regelmäßig, wenn auch viel seltener als in den übrigen Psalmen.<sup>44</sup> Immer wieder wirkt es so, als ob der Jahwename inmitten von Nennungen des Begriffes אלהים bewusst stehengelassen wurde (vgl. z. B. Ps 42:9; 46:8, 9; 47:3, 6; 48:2, 9; 50:1; 58:7; 59:6; 68:17; 69:7; 70:2, 6; 71:1; 73:28; 74:18; 75:9; 76:12; 78:4; 79:5; 80:5; 81:11).<sup>45</sup> Am Ende des letzten elohistischen Psalms, in Ps 83:17, 19, bildet die Enthüllung des Gottesnamens geradezu eine Klimax, die sich als theologischer Zielpunkt der elohistischen Redaktion lesen lässt: Der Text dieser Psalmensammlung wird darauf ausgerichtet, dass die Völker in dem universalen und einzigen Gott der Welt Jahwe, den Gott Israels, erkennen sollen.

#### 4. Der elohistische Psalter in der Septuaginta

Die Bezeugung des elohistischen Psalters durch die Septuaginta erweist sich beim Gottesnamen und dem Begriff „Gott“ als bemerkenswert stabil. Soweit es Rahlfs' Ausgabe erkennen lässt,<sup>46</sup> wird die eigentümliche Verteilung von אלהים und יהוה an den allermeisten Stellen genau abgebildet. Umso auffälliger sind die wenigen Stellen, wo die griechische und die hebräische Version abweichen. Abgesehen von Ps 70:2 (s. o. § 2) sind vier Stellen zu nennen, wo sich für אלהים eine Form von κύριος oder umgekehrt für יהוה eine Form von ὁ θεός findet; hinzu kommt Ps 80:8, wo der griechische Text zusätzlich das Tetragramm zu bezeugen scheint (s. o. § 3).

|          |       |          |         |             |                                 |
|----------|-------|----------|---------|-------------|---------------------------------|
| Ps 53:7  | אלהים | κύριος   | Ps 56:2 | אלהים       | κύριε                           |
| Ps 69:32 | ליהוה | τῷ θεῷ   | Ps 80:8 | אלהים צבאות | κύριε ὁ<br>θεὸς τῶν<br>δυνάμεων |
| Ps 77:2  | אלהים | κύριος   |         |             |                                 |
|          | אלהים | τὸν θεόν |         |             |                                 |

Hier ist jeweils eine vom masoretischen Text abweichende hebräische Vorlage zu vermuten. Dies deutet darauf, dass punktuell יהוה durch אלהים ersetzt werden konnte und umgekehrt. Man mag in der Vorlage der Septuaginta auch eine leichte

44 S. Anm. 11.

45 Anders Rösel, *Redaktion*, 26–34, der sämtliche Belege von יהוה im elohistischen Psalter „auf verschiedene nach-elohistische Bearbeitungen“ (ebd. 34) zurückführt; im Einzelfall mag das zutreffen (z. B. für 54:8, vgl. ebd. 30), für das Gros der 45 Belege des Tetragramms (s. Anm. 11) erweist sich dieses Modell aber nicht als zwingend und nicht durch literarkritische Indizien gestützt.

46 Rahlfs, *Psalmi*.

Tendenz erkennen, die Zahl der Nennungen des Gottesnamens in elohistischem Kontext zu vergrößern. In jedem Fall beweisen die kleinteiligen Ersetzungen, dass man den Text auf solche Weise verändern konnte.<sup>47</sup> Das kann indirekt die Annahme einer großflächigen Ersetzung von Jahwe durch Elohim stützen.

Ein weiteres Bündel indirekter textgeschichtlicher Evidenz für diese These bieten die innergriechischen Varianten, die an einigen Stellen bezeugt sind. Abschließend seien vier Fälle beispielhaft hervorgehoben.

In Ps 46:9 ist die markante Erkenntnisaussage *יְהוָה מַפְעֵלוֹת* „Kommt, schaut die Taten Jahwes!“, die hier in das Tetragramm mündet, in den von Rahlfs präferierten Hauptzeugen klar abgebildet. Für *κύριος* findet sich aber die *varia lectio* τοῦ θεοῦ.<sup>48</sup> Sie ist offenbar durch die elohistische Parallelstelle Ps 66:5 (LXX 65:5) beeinflusst.

In Ps 47:9 ist die Wendung *מֶלֶךְ אֱלֹהִים עַל גּוֹיִם* „König ward Gott über die Völker“ in einem Teil der Überlieferung mit *ὁ θεός* wiedergegeben, in einem anderen mit *ὁ κύριος* oder *κύριος*.<sup>49</sup> Offenbar wurde hier durch innergriechische Variantenbildung – vermutlich im Blick auf V. 3, 6 – der Gebrauch von *κύριος* vermehrt.

In Ps 54:8 ist in der Wendung *אֱוֹדָה שִׁמְךָ יְהוָה כִּי טוֹב* das Tetragramm nicht in der gesamten griechischen Überlieferung wiedergegeben; unter anderem im *Vaticanus* fehlt das *κύριε*.<sup>50</sup> Das deckt sich mit einigen mittelalterlichen hebräischen *Codices*.<sup>51</sup> Ob man hier aber mit einer älteren *lectio brevior* rechnen kann, bleibt unsicher, da der Halbvers überfüllt wirkt und das *κύριε* als verzichtbar erscheint.

In Ps 72:18 schließlich, der Schlussdoxologie des Zweiten Psalmenbuchs, ist die Sequenz *יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל* „Jahwe, Gott, der Gott Israels“ offenbar nur in einem kleineren Teil der griechischen Überlieferung abgebildet; in der Mehrzahl der Zeugen erscheint das im Griechischen doppelte *ὁ θεός* nur einmal.<sup>52</sup> Diese Variante lässt sich als stilistische Vereinfachung erklären, zu der es innerhalb der griechischen Überlieferung gekommen ist.

47 Die textgeschichtliche Evidenz für die Ersetzung eines Wortes durch ein anderes erweist sich in der alttestamentlichen Überlieferung insgesamt als sehr groß, vgl. Müller/Pakkala, *Techniques*, 371–463.

48 *κύριος* B' 2013 R' 1098-Ga (S R pr. τοῦ: cf. 2:12) = MT] τοῦ θεοῦ Sa L' A': ex 65:5.

49 *θεός* B' La<sup>G</sup> Ga L' A' = MT] *κύριος* Bo 2013' R' Aug (R om. ὁ praec.).

50 *κύριε* > B Ga\*(non Ga\*Uulg). Vgl. Anm. 45.

51 Nach BHS.

52 *ὁ θεός* 1° Sa GaHi = MT] > rel. (etiam Uulg.).

## 5. Ausblick

Von der *Editio critica maior* ist auf diesem Feld umfassende Aufklärung zu erhoffen: Wie groß ist die Varianz bei den Gottesbegriffen κύριος und ὁ θεός im Ganzen? Lassen sich Tendenzen bei der Ersetzung oder stilistischen Glättung beobachten? Und wie belastbar ist die Annahme, dass die hebräische Vorlage des griechischen Psalmenbuchs an den genannten wenigen Stellen von der masoretischen Textform abwich? Lassen sich Argumente finden, die diese Abweichungen erklären? Wird sich der Eindruck bestätigen, dass die griechische Überlieferung keine unmittelbaren Hinweise auf eine Textfassung enthält, die zumindest punktuell hinter die elohistisch redigierte masoretische Fassung zurückreicht?

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## On the Relationship Between Psalm 113 (LXX 112) and Hannah's Song (1Sam 2:1–10 || Odes 3)

This study suggests a new textual model for understanding the well-known *crux* regarding the relationship between Psalm 113 and 1Sam 2:1–10, which share common language and themes. Both of these poetic units will appear in the new Göttingen edition of Psalms, which will also include the Odes. The analysis presented here to answer this question is not dependent on the Septuagint alone, but will integrate its textual data within a broader literary and philological investigation.

The current study continues the discussion from a Hebrew article on the Song of Hannah that I published almost two decades ago.<sup>1</sup> The arguments and conclusions there are fundamental to the model of textual development which will be posited below, and therefore I will first review them in detail.

### 1. The Song of Hannah as an Anti-Wisdom Polemic

The Song of Hannah (1 Sam 2:1–10) is presented in the book of Samuel as a hymn recited by Hannah, as she brought her son Samuel to the temple in Shilo, dedicating him to the service of the Lord. Scholars have long noted that this poem is secondary to its surrounding prose context and that from the perspectives of style and terminology, it is closely related to the genre of the Psalms. According to most interpreters, this song is a psalm of praise and thanksgiving recited by an individual saved by the Lord from distress. This is suggested by the use of singular constructions in v. 1: “my heart exults ... my horn is high ... my mouth is wide ...”, ending with a declaration of his salvation at the hands of the Lord: “I rejoice in your deliverance.” The poem contains general praise for the Lord: “There is no holy one like the Lord,” “The Lord is an (all-)knowing God.” He can change the fortunes of men: He strengthens the powerless and weakens warriors; He feeds the hungry, enriches and makes poor, kills and brings life. The poet emphasizes the Lord’s unique ability to change the fortunes of individuals, both for better and for worse. The poem appears to have been included in this narrative due to the reference to the barren woman in v. 5 who is blessed with a child, as in Hannah’s situation.<sup>2</sup>

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1 Segal, “1 Samuel”, 83–96.

2 Most modern scholars assume the secondary insertion of the Song into the text of Samuel as a matter of fact. See, e.g., the following commentaries (in alphabetic order): Bar-Efrat, *1 Samuel*, 59; transl. as *Das Erste Buch Samuel: Ein narratologisch-philologischer Kommentar* (BWANT; Stutt-

This interpretation of the psalm, which is the consensus among scholars, is based upon a specific reading of verse 3, in which MT preserves both *ketib* and *qere* readings:

אֱלֹהֵינוּ תִּדְבְּרוּ גְבוּהָהּ גְבוּהָהּ יֵצֵא עֲתָק מִפִּיכֶם  
כִּי אֵל יָדוּעַת יְהוָה וְלֹא (קִרְיָ וְלֹא) נִתְכַּנְּנוּ עַל־לִוְתָּ:

This NJPS translation here reflects the general consensus as to its meaning:

“Talk no more with lofty pride, let no arrogance cross your lips,  
for the Lord is an all-knowing God, *by Him* actions are measured.”

This translation is based upon the *qere* reading of v. 3bβ, וְלֹא, which is written with a *waw*, in contrast to the *ketib* וְלֹא.<sup>3</sup> According to this common approach, v. 3b is the argument for v. 3a – the poet’s enemies should not speak haughtily, because God is aware of their actions. The common meaning of this preposition and pronominal suffix would be “(and) to Him,” but based upon the context here needs to be interpreted as “(and) *by* Him.” The verb נִתְכַּנְּנוּ, formed from the verbal stem נ-כ-נ, “measure, estimate” (e.g. Isa 40:13; Prov 16:2),<sup>4</sup> in the *niphal* conjugation, indicates a passive usage – “measured, estimated.” Commentators have thus understood the second half of the verse as a warning against those who speak haughtily, that the Lord knows all that they have done, and that He measures those actions. Syntactically, although it is possible in Biblical Hebrew, the use of the preposition with a *niphal* verb to mark the one who performed the action, “*by* him,” is rare.<sup>5</sup>

gart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 1996); Driver, *Notes*, 22–23, 27–28; Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel*, 29; McCarter, *Samuel*, I/74–76; Segal, *Books*, 15\* (Heb.); Smith, *Commentary*, 14. Recent text-critical studies of the poem and the variant forms of its surrounding verses (1:28; 2:11) have arrived at a similar conclusion; see Tov, “Editions”, 149–170; rev. version in id., *Bible*, 433–455 (references below to Tov’s study are according to the revised version); Aejmelaeus, “Hannah’s Psalm”, 23–37; Kratz, “Supplementation”, 21–50; and the rich bibliography quoted in these studies.

3 Almost all interpreters have read the verse according to the *qere* reading, and essentially ignored the *ketib*, וְלֹא. Among the ancient witnesses, the Peshitta appears to have a double reading of both the *qere* and *ketib*: סְלֵא אִתְּךָ וְתַחֲלֵא מִנְדָּחֵס, “and cunning tricks (underhanded actions) have no place *before him*” (translation according to HALOT, 1734). One exception among moderns is C. F. Keil, who addresses the meaning of the *ketib*, but ultimately rejects it for the religious-theological reasons; cf. Keil/Delitzsch, *Commentary*, 31.

4 See BDB, 1067; see also the extended treatment in HALOT, 1733–1734.

5 Joüon-Muraoka, § 132f adduce a number of examples of this usage of the preposition לְ, but other than the expression בְּרוּךְ לְ “blessed to/by,” it is a “rather infrequent” syntactical structure; see also GKC § 121f for additional examples. Neither of them refers in this context to the verse under discussion here.

Regarding the meaning of the verse, it is odd that the content of those who speak arrogantly is not recorded. Moreover, the verse itself appears to be inappropriate to its context. If the enemies of the poet have been vanquished in v. 1, about what can they now speak arrogantly in v. 3? Furthermore, the verses which follow v. 3, a description of mighty divine acts, do not appear to be a direct continuation of this thought.

As noted, almost all commentators interpret according to the *qere* reading, וְלוֹ. In light of the questions just raised, I would like to examine the plausibility of the *ketib* reading, וְלֹא, and in fact suggest that it is the more original reading of the two. The analysis of the *ketib* reading presented here will lead to a new interpretation of the psalm as a whole.

The verb תִּכְנֶנּוּ occurs in the *niphal* conjugation in only one other context in the entire Hebrew Bible, the discussion of reward and punishment in Ezek 18 (and its parallel in Ezek 33).<sup>6</sup> The context of Ezekiel 18 is the prophet's claim that people are rewarded based upon their most recent actions; prior conduct or the acts of ancestors do not influence this result. If a man was previously a sinner, and later repented, he is considered righteous. Conversely, if a righteous man turns to sin, he is punished for his transgressions. Ezekiel quotes the people's complaint: לֹא יִתֵּן דֶּרֶךְ אָדָמִי (Ezek 18:25, 29; 33:17). If one interprets the *niphal* of תִּכְנֶנּוּ as passive, then one should translate "The way of the Lord is not measured." According to the people, all actions in a person's life have to be taken into account to arrive at the full picture by which one can be judged. Ezekiel angrily answers them: הֲדַרְכֵּי לֹא הִדְרִכִּי לֹא, "Is my way not measured? It is your ways which are not measured!" (18:25, 29; 33:17). The ways of the Lord are based upon clear rules – the righteous are rewarded and the evil are punished. His criteria are correct, His judgment is fair. The people are inconsistent – they alternate between proper and sinful behavior.<sup>7</sup>

Returning to the Song of Hannah, if one adopts the *ketib* reading, וְלֹא, then one notices a striking linguistic resemblance between v. 3 in this psalm and the claim of

6 Blau, "t-Form", 387, suggests that the form יִתֵּן in Ezekiel might in fact be a passive *t*-stem form of the *hiphil* כִּי-וָיִתֵּן. However, he allows for the possibility ("wohl möglich") that it is based upon the root, כִּי-וָיִתֵּן, a denominative verb from תִּכְנֶנּוּ which itself derives from כִּי-וָיִתֵּן. After noting that it is in fact the same form as 1Sam 2:3, he concluded that the first option is still preferable, because the two passages have very different meanings (387, n. 2). However, in light of the proposal in this study, according to which the meaning of the expression is in fact the same in 1Sam 2 and Ezek 18 and 33, the second option should be preferred. I thank Steven Fassberg for providing me with this reference.

7 Greenberg, *Ezekiel*, 333–334, translated "does not conform to rule." Brownlee, *Ezekiel*, 289–290, noted that the verb תִּכְנֶנּוּ employs the image of a scale. If so, the people claim that their positive and negative behavior should be placed on opposite sides of the scale, in order to determine the balance of their behavior (as suggested to me by Baruch J. Schwartz).



the people in Ezekiel 18.<sup>8</sup> Both employ the verb תָּכַן in the *niphal* negated by the adverb לֹא. In addition, the subjects of the two sentences דָּרַךְ in Ezekiel and עָלִילָה in 1 Samuel form a word-pair in numerous biblical passages (Jer 4:18; 7:5; Ezek 14:22, 23; 20:43, 44; 24:14; 36: 17, 19, 31; Zech 1:4, 6; Ps 103:7).<sup>9</sup> If so, the phrase in 1 Samuel according to the *ketib* reading, וְלֹא נִתְכַּנּוּ עַל־לִוִּית, should be interpreted similarly to Ezekiel 18. Just as the people complain to Ezekiel that the ways of the Lord are not measured, so too the verse in the Song of Hannah should be interpreted as an accusation against the Lord, that His actions do not conform to measure, that He does not behave according to set rules. Is this interpretation, which is pointedly critical towards God, possible in the context of this poem?

Verses 4–5 are generally interpreted as a description of acts demonstrating the Lord's power: He weakens the powerful and strengthens the feeble; He feeds the hungry and brings those sated to famine; He gives the barren women many children, and takes them from the mother many. However, in contrast to that reading, what is actually most striking in these verses is the **absence** of the divine name throughout.<sup>10</sup> Syntactically, the subject of these lines is **not** the Lord.

“(4) The bows of the mighty are broken, and the faltering are girded with strength.

(5) Men once sated must hire out for bread; men once hungry hunger no more.

While the barren woman bears seven, the mother of many is forlorn.”<sup>11</sup>

This observation is strengthened by a comparison with vv. 6–10. There, four lines open with the divine name, all describing the power of the Lord to change the fortunes of men. I suggest that this contrast emphasizes that vv. 4–5 contain a description of events that on the surface occur *without* the intervention of the Lord. Each of the three scenarios describe sudden upheavals in an individual's life: one day a man is a powerful warrior, and the next moment he is weakened; a barren woman suddenly has multiple children; a wealthy man unexpectedly lacks food. All of these

8 Keil/Delitzsch, *Commentary*, 31, also noted the linguistic connection to Ezek 18 and 33, but ultimately discounted the relationship between those contexts and the Song of Hannah. Their primary argument against reading them together was theological, since this would lead to an accusation against God, which they deemed impossible within the Bible (“the acts of God are always just, or weighed”).

9 See also 1QS IV:1, 17.

10 Some scholars have noted the absence of the Tetragrammaton from vv. 4–5, but did not consider the possibility that God is not the agent responsible for these transformations; cf. Bar-Efrat, *1 Samuel*, 59; Fokkelman, *Narrative Art*, 88 ff.

11 The translation here and throughout the article is based upon the NJPS, unless noted otherwise. The Hebrew text חָדְלוּ עַד עֵקֶרָה in vv. 4–5 has perplexed exegetes (see the numerous commentaries and studies in n. 2 above). NJPS translates these words according to the MT vocalization and sense division, and I have adopted it here (and below) for convenience, because it does not affect the larger argument.

cases describe social upheavals that seem illogical, and that lead people to think that the ways of God do not conform to measure. If the suggestion for understanding *ולא נתכנו עללות* as “His actions do not conform to measure” is correct, then vv. 4–5 contain examples or proofs for this claim against God.

Similar complaints regarding social upheavals are found elsewhere in the Bible, and specifically in Wisdom literature:

“Here is an evil I have seen under the sun as (great as) an error committed by a ruler.  
Folly was placed on lofty heights, while rich men sat in low estate.  
I have seen slaves on horseback, and nobles walking on the ground like slaves.”  
(Qoh 10:5–7)

Qohelet laments the social upheaval that he observes: his wealthy friends have fallen upon hard times, while the poor have taken their place. This claim parallels the example cited in the Song of Hannah, “Men once sated must hire out for bread; men once hungry hunger no more.” He views this as fundamentally problematic, as “an evil ... under the sun as (great as) an error committed by a ruler.”

A similar complaint is found in Prov 30:21–23, within the context of a list of wisdom sayings structured according to the pattern “three ... four”:<sup>12</sup>

“The earth shudders at three things, at four which it cannot bear.  
A slave who becomes king, a scoundrel sated with food.  
A loathsome woman who gets married, a slave-girl who supplants her mistress.”

In this passage, one finds reference to all three scenarios mentioned in the Song of Hannah: “a slave becomes a king” in Proverbs parallels “the faltering are girded with strength” in 1 Samuel; “a scoundrel sated with food” conveys the same idea as “men once hungry hunger no more” in the Song of Hannah; and a case of a loathsome woman or a slave girl supplanting her mistress for the purpose of producing children corresponds to “the barren woman bears seven, the mother of many is forlorn.” In this Proverbs passage, the author emphasizes his great displeasure with these events: “The earth shudders” and “cannot bear” them.<sup>13</sup>

A similar objection can be found in Ancient Near Eastern wisdom literature. *The Babylonian Theodicy* presents a dialogue between the sufferer and his interlocutor, similar to that found in the biblical book of Job. In § XVII (lines 181–187),

12 For an analysis of this pattern, see Zakovitch, *Pattern*.

13 See van Leeuwen, “Proverbs”, 599–610, who noted a certain connection between these verses in Proverbs and the Song of Hannah regarding social upheavals. Fox, *Qohelet*, 267, pointed out the parallel between Qoh 10:5–7 and Prov 30:21–23, but does not note the similarity to 1Sam 2:4–5.

the sufferer raises questions to his friend regarding upheavals, which bear a strong resemblance to the biblical passages quoted above:<sup>14</sup>

“The son of the king is clad in [rags?],  
the son of the destitute and naked is dressed in [fine raiment?].  
The maltster [can pay in] finest gold,  
while he who had counted red gold bears a [debt?].  
He who made do with vegetables [sates himself] at a princely banquet,  
while the son of the eminent and wealthy (has only) carob to eat.  
The man of substance is fallen, [his income] is removed.”

If so, both in the Bible and in the Ancient Near East, wisdom compositions raise the same question: how to explain the upheavals in the status and fortunes of men?<sup>15</sup>

In light of these parallels, I suggest that vv. 4–5 in the Song of Hannah articulate the same argument as in these wisdom passages, regarding the existence of radical reversals of fortune and social status, and the relationship of these changes to divine providence.

Is this interpretation offered for **ולא נתכנו עללות** compatible with that which precedes it, **כי אל דעות יהוה**?<sup>16</sup> The title **אל דעות**,<sup>17</sup> presented above following the NJPS

14 The translation is taken from Foster, “Theodicy”, 494. Shifra/Klein, *Days*, 571, note the connection between this passage and Qoh 10:5–7.

15 This question seemingly arises specifically from the approach to reward and punishment reflected in wisdom compositions. In a highly influential essay on the biblical doctrine of retribution, Klaus Koch has suggested that according to classic didactic wisdom literature in the Bible, there is no direct divine intervention in reward and punishment. Instead, actions and results are linearly related: a good deed produces a positive result; a transgression produces a negative one (Koch, “Vergeltungsdogma”, 1–42; translated as “Is there a Doctrine of Retribution in the Old Testament?”, in James L. Crenshaw [ed.], *Theodicy in the Old Testament* [Issues in Religion and Theology 4; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983] 57–87). As has been emphasized by many scholars, this correspondence between action and consequence, which can be found both in the Bible and in Ancient Near Eastern, and in particular Egyptian, literature, is part of the “world order,” or *ma’at* in Egyptian, an impersonal and universal law which forms the basis for the theology of wisdom literature. The will of God is equal to the world order, obviating the need for His intervention in specific historic events or a special relationship with certain individuals. This background explains the complaint presented in wisdom literature in response to social upheavals. Sudden, drastic changes in an individual’s fortunes contradict the existence of such order, a basic tenet of wisdom texts; see Fox, “Concept”, 162–170, although he presents a much more cautious view of both the analysis of the concept in its Egyptian context, and its comparative relevance for biblical studies in id., “World Order”, 37–48.

16 Brownlee, “Name”, 39–46, raised the possibility that the Tetragrammaton here is in fact a causative conjugation of the verb **ה-י-ה**, “(the all-knowing God) makes things happen” (p. 44). But this interpretation seems unlikely in light of the repeated usage of the divine name in vv. 6–10, with its regular meaning, as already noted by Lewis, “History”, 24, n. 23.

17 4QSamuel<sup>a</sup>, col. II, 20 reads **דעת** the singular, instead of **דעות**. LXX<sup>b</sup> and LXX<sup>c</sup> (**γνώσεως**) and the Peshitta (**ܡܠܟܐ**) translate using a singular form. But, as already noted by GKC, § 124e, the plural

translation as “all-knowing God” is unparalleled in the Hebrew Bible. I suggest, however, that one does find an analogous appellation in Akkadian, *bēl nēmeqi*, “lord of wisdom,” a common title for the gods Ea and Marduk, in addition to other divinities.<sup>18</sup> In the wisdom composition *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* (“I will praise the lord of wisdom”), the first-person speaker describes his troubles and salvation by the god Marduk, and discusses general issues of theodicy. The opening lines of that composition read:<sup>19</sup>

“I will praise the lord of wisdom, solicitous god,  
[fur]ious in the night, growing in the day.  
Marduk! lord of wisdom, solicitous god,  
[fur]ious in the night, growing in the day.”

The author establishes from the beginning of his work that Marduk is the lord of wisdom (*bēl nēmeqi*). This assumption is necessary for his discussion of theodicy; he cannot assess the morality of the actions of a god unless he first determines that Marduk functions according to accepted moral standards, especially with regard to reward and punishment.<sup>20</sup> I would like to suggest that this is the meaning of אֱלֹהֵי דָעוּת in the Song of Hannah, “the god of wisdom.” Verse 3b, can be understood as follows: The Lord is the god of wisdom – who is supposed to act in accordance with accepted rules of wisdom – yet<sup>21</sup> his actions do not conform to measure.

The word כִּי at the beginning of v. 3b is understood by all commentators in a causal sense, according to which v. 3b is the justification for v. 3a.<sup>22</sup> However there is another interpretive possibility: in biblical Hebrew syntax, direct speech can be indicated by a verb of speech followed by the particle כִּי similar to the use of the Aramaic ܕܝ, Hebrew -שׁ in the Dead Sea Scrolls and tannaitic literature, and Greek ὅτι (*recitativum*) for the same purpose.<sup>23</sup> In these instances, the word כִּי essentially functions as a colon or quotation mark, demarcating the beginning of the words

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form here is the *pluralis intensivus*, which is not distinct in meaning from the singular. The ancient translations therefore do not provide positive evidence for either reading.

18 See the many examples adduced in *CAD*, XI (N), 2, 161–162, s.v. *nēmequ* (c).

19 *Ludlul*, I, 1–4. The translation is taken from Foster, “Poem”, 487.

20 Lambert, *Literature*, 27, explains the fundamental question of *Ludlul bēl nēmeqi* thus: “Under the surface, however, the writer is perplexed by the same problem as Job. The world is ruled by the lord Marduk, from whom justice is expected by his servants. Yet Marduk allows even the most devoted to suffer. The author of *Ludlul* finds no answer adequate to solve this mystery.”

21 For the use of copulative *waw* to connect a contrastive idea, see the many examples quoted in BDB, 252, s.v. -וּ, § 1e.

22 This is true for all early and modern commentators and translators. Lewis, “History”, 24, n. 22, translated “for,” but raised the possibility of interpreting it in an emphatic sense, “indeed.”

23 See GKC, 491, § 157b; Esh, “Words”, 48–53, who lists and assesses numerous examples of this phenomenon; Joüon-Muraoka, 555, § 157c.

of the speaker. This usage opens up the possibility to also interpret the כִּי at the beginning of v. 3b as a direct speech marker following the verbs of speech of those who speak arrogantly, תִּדְבְּרוּ גְבוּהָה גְבוּהָה and יֵצֵא עֵתֶק מִפִּיכֶם. The content of their words is the passage found in vv. 3b–5 questioning the justice of events in the world.

If so, why is this passage present in a psalm whose beginning and end are clearly praise to the Lord for his actions? The psalmist warns against those who speak arrogance, עֵתֶק. This term appears three other times in the Bible, all of them in the book of Psalms (31:19; 75:6; 94:4). Of the three, the most revealing analogue for the Song of Hannah is Psalm 94. There the psalmist laments (vv. 3–4):

“How long shall the wicked, O Lord, how long shall the wicked exult;  
shall they utter insolent speech (עֵתֶק), shall all evildoers vaunt themselves?”

He continues with a quotation of those who speak עֵתֶק: “They say: ‘The Lord does not see it, the God of Jacob does not pay heed’” (v. 7). According to that psalm, these people allow themselves to act wickedly because they do not believe in divine providence. They accuse God of being detached from the world, unable to see their actions, and thus unable to punish. The psalmist responds to these claims:

“Shall He who implants the ear not hear, He who forms the eye not see?  
Shall He who disciplines the nations not punish, he who instructs men in knowledge?  
The Lord knows the designs of men to be futile.” (vv. 9–11)

The Psalmist provides the response to their claims – God is omniscient. He is the creator of all and thus logically more powerful than human beings. There is no justification for their claims or for their actions.

I would like to suggest that the literary model of accusation and response found in Psalm 94 is the same pattern present in the Song of Hannah. According to the analysis suggested here, just as the poet in that psalm quoted the words of his opponents before he refuted them, so too the author of the Song of Hannah cited his adversaries in vv. 3b–5, whose position reflects an idea found in wisdom literature, before he proceeded to refute their claims in vv. 6–10.

I have divided the psalm into four parts: introduction, allegation, refutation, and conclusion (Figure 1). In response to each of the claims raised in the allegation, the author of the psalm replies with a sentence that opens with or contains the Tetragrammaton. The responses are ordered chiastically, a technique in biblical literature for the quotation and reworking of earlier material. Against the allegation that “the barren woman bears seven, the mother of many is forlorn,” the psalmist responds, “The Lord deals death and gives life.” Contra the claim that “men once sated must hire out for bread,” the psalmist declares “The Lord makes poor and makes rich.” To respond to the assertion that (חֲתָה) קֶשֶׁת גְּבוּרִים חֲתִים “The bow(s)

of the mighty is/are broken”,<sup>24</sup> the psalmist employs a *casus pendens*, constructing his response with the Tetragrammaton at the beginning, “The Lord, his foes shall be shattered” – יהוה יחתו מריבו.<sup>25</sup> Finally, against the claim that the ways of the Lord do not conform to measure, the psalm resoundingly responds, יהוה ידין אפסי, “The Lord will judge the ends of the earth.” His actions are based upon justice. Sudden upheavals in the fortunes of men, which raise a theological problem according to the doctrine of “world order” in wisdom literature, are not problematic if the Lord is directly responsible for meting out this reward and punishment. The fourfold repetition of the divine name emphasizes just that: the Lord controls all events in the world; his considerations are those of justice.

Figure 1: Proposed Structure (1Sam 2:1–10)<sup>26</sup>

<sup>1</sup>And Hannah prayed and said:

1 וַתִּתְפַּלֵּל חַנָּה וַתֹּאמֶר

### Introduction

My heart exults in the LORD;  
I have triumphed through the LORD.  
I gloat over my enemies;  
I rejoice in Your deliverance.

עֲלָץ לִבִּי בַיהוָה  
רָמָה קִרְנִי בַיהוָה  
רָחַב פִּי עַל־אֹיְבֵי  
כִּי שָׁמַחֲתִי בִישׁוּעָתְךָ:

<sup>2</sup>There is no holy one like the LORD  
(for there is none beside You);  
there is no rock like our God.

2 אֵין־קָדוֹשׁ כַּיהוָה  
(כִּי אֵין בְּלִתֶּךָ)  
וְאֵין צוּר כַּאֱלֹהֵינוּ:

### Allegation

<sup>3</sup>Talk no more with lofty pride,  
Let no arrogance cross your lips!  
[saying]:

3 אֶל־תִּרְבוּ וּתְדַבְּרוּ גְבוּהָה גְבוּהָה  
יֵצֵא עֲתָק מִפִּיכֶם  
כִּי:

A “The LORD is the god of Wisdom;  
yet (His) actions are not measured.

A אֵל יְדֹעוֹת יְהוָה  
וְלֹא נִתְקְנוּ עֲלֵלוֹת:

24 4QSama (חתה) and LXX (ἡσθένησεν) read (feminine) singular forms, in agreement with the *nomen regens* (קשת); MT reads חתים in the masculine plural, in agreement with the *nomen rectum* (גברים). The former conform with the general grammatic rule, but note the exceptions adduced by GKC § 146a and Joüon-Muraoka § 150n (describing 1Sam 2:4 as “poetic and odd”). Therefore, it is difficult to know whether 4QSama and LXX reflect the original text and the MT a scribal error due to the attraction to the *nomen rectum*, or instead that they are a hypercorrection of the original text as reflected in MT.

25 Note also that in the structure proposed below, line B' opens with איש בכח יגבר איש “for not by strength shall man prevail.” This too serves as a contrast to the גברים of v. 4.

26 The basis for the translation here is the NJPS version, with changes inserted according to the argument put forth in this study (in addition to other minor corrections).

- B <sup>4</sup>The bows of the mighty are broken,  
and the faltering are girded with strength.
- C <sup>5</sup>Men once sated must hire out for bread;  
men once hungry hunger no more.
- D While the barren woman bears seven,  
the mother of many is forlorn.”
- 4 B קִשְׁתֵּי גִבּוֹרִים חֲתִים  
וְנִכְשָׁלִים אֲזָרוּ חֵיל:  
5 C שְׂבָעִים בִּלְחֶם נִשְׁכְּרוּ  
וְרַעֲבִים חֲדָלוּ  
D עַד־תֵּקַחְרָה יֶלְדָּה שְׁבָעָה  
וְרַבַּת בָּנִים אִמָּלְלָה:

### Refutation

- D' <sup>6</sup>The LORD deals death and gives life,  
casts down into Sheol and raises up.
- C' <sup>7</sup>The LORD makes poor and makes rich;  
He casts down, He also lifts high.
- <sup>8</sup>He raises the poor from the dust,  
lifts up the needy from the ash heap,  
Setting them with nobles,  
granting them seats of honor.
- For the pillars of the earth are the LORD's;  
He has set the world upon them.
- <sup>9</sup>He guards the steps of His faithful,  
but the wicked perish in darkness
- B' for not by strength shall man prevail.  
<sup>10</sup>The foes of the LORD shall be shattered;
- A' The Most High will thunder in the heavens.  
The LORD will judge the ends of the earth.
- 6 D' יְהוָה מָמִית וּמְחִיֵּה  
מוֹרִיד שְׂאוֹל וְעֹלֵ:  
7 C' יְהוָה מוֹרִישׁ וּמַעֲשִׂיר  
מַשְׁפִּיל אֶף־מְרוֹמָם:  
8 מְקִים מֵעָפָר דָּל  
מֵאֲשָׁפַת יָרִים אֲבִיוֹן  
לְהוֹשִׁיב עִם־גְּדִיָּים  
וְכֶסֶד כְּבוֹד יִנְחָלָם  
כִּי־יְהוָה מַצְקִי אֶרֶץ  
וַיִּשֶׁת עֲלֵיהֶם תָּבַל:  
9 רִגְלֵי חֲסִידוֹ יִשְׁמֹר  
וְרָשָׁעִים בְּחֹשֶׁךְ יִדָּמוּ  
B' כִּי־לֹא בִכְחַי יִגְבֹּר אִישׁ:  
10 יְהוָה יַתְחוּ מְרִיבָיו<sup>27</sup>  
A' עָלוּ בַשָּׁמַיִם יְרַעַם  
יְהוָה יִדְּיוֹן אֶפְסֵי־אֶרֶץ

### Conclusion

- He will give power to His king,  
and triumph to His anointed one.
- וַיִּתֵּן־עֹז לְמֶלְכוֹ  
וַיִּרְם גִּבּוֹר מְשִׁיחוֹ:

27 The structure here is slightly different than that proposed in Segal, “1Samuel” (n. 1 above); in that study I suggested that lines B' and A' each opened with the Tetragrammaton: יהוה ויהוה יתחו, which allowed for all the lines of the refutation to open with the same key term. However, this led to two uneven rows – “for not by strength shall man prevail” was a single line with no parallel, and the final line of the poem consisted of an odd number of stichs. The suggestion here has an additional advantage of the inner parallel of each B' and A'. In line B' it is emphasized that men's strength is pointless against that of God; in A' the word-pair שמים/ארץ “heavens/earth” is divided between the two parallel stichs. Note also the improved parallel of lines B and B' (n. 25). I thank Menahem Kister for this improvement to my argument.

If the original reading in verse 3 is **וְלֹא** with an *aleph*, how was the variant **וְלוֹ** created? This could possibly be a simple interchange due to the fact that the two readings are homonyms. An unintentional error on the part of the scribe led to the new reading. I prefer, however, in this case to suggest the possibility of a theological correction. A scribe who understood this poem as praise for the Lord felt that it was not possible to include criticism of God in such a psalm.<sup>28</sup> This led to the correction of the original reading, **וְלֹא**, to the *qere* reading, **וְלוֹ**, which transformed the entire passage into words of praise of God.<sup>29</sup>

## 2. Supplementation in the Song

The chiasmic structure delineated above provides an elegant structure for the poem, but is interrupted by four lines, vv. 8–9a. I would like to suggest that these four lines are secondary, and did not belong to the original form of the poem. The structure proposed above is not sufficient on its own to make this claim, but there is clear textual evidence for the secondary status of some of these lines, as has been noted previously by scholars:<sup>30</sup>

a. First, regarding lines 8c and 9a, LXX and MT preserve completely different texts:

|     | LXX                                                       | MT                                                           | 4QSam <sup>a</sup>                       |
|-----|-----------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| 8c  | ----                                                      | כִּי לִיהוָה מִצּוֹקֵי אֶרֶץ וַיִּשֶׁת<br>עֲלֵיהֶם תִּבְלָה: | [כי ליהוה מצוקי ארץ וישת]<br>עליהם תב[ל] |
| 9a  | ---                                                       | רַגְלֵי חֲסִידוֹ יִשְׁמָר וְרִשְׁעִים<br>בַּחֲשָׁד יִדְמוּ   | [ודרך ח[סידיו ישמור<br>ורשעים בחשך ידמו] |
| 9a' | διδοὺς εὐχὴν τῷ<br>εὐχομένῳ καὶ εὐλόγησεν<br>ἐπὶ δικαίου· | ---                                                          | נתן נד[ר] [לנווד] ויברך<br>ש[נות צדיק]   |

28 Keil/Delitzsch, *Commentary*, 31 offered this theological argument as a reason to prefer the *qere* reading. Similarly, Lewis, “History”, 31, n. 44, argued that “MT Ketib’s ‘(violent) actions are not weighed/measured might make sense in another context wrestling with theodicy or protesting injustice (e.g. Job), but it hardly makes sense in the present context which celebrates the acts of God.”

29 The LXX preserves a third reading of this word, which will be discussed below (in an Appendix at the end of the article).

30 See the discussions of these verses in the commentaries, and in the text-critical studies of Lewis, “History”, 36–40; Tov, “Editions”, 442–448; Aejmelaeus, “Hannah’s Psalm”, 31–33; Driesbach, *4QSamuel*, 285–286; Kratz, “Supplementation”, 38–40.



(i) MT v. 8c: “For the pillars of the earth are the Lord’s; He has set the world upon them” is attested in MT and partially preserved in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, but is absent from LXX. This line attests to God’s cosmic powers, an idea found throughout the Bible in verses such as Jer 10:12 (|| 51:15); Ps 89:10; Job 34:13, and its presence here is related to the idea of His ability to change fortunes. As scholars have previously noted, all of the instances of upheavals in the Song of Hannah (through v. 9) describe the reversal of an individual’s fortunes, and therefore this stich, which expands this to cosmic proportions, seems out of place. When coupled with its absence from the Septuagint, it can be confidently determined to be a secondary addition.<sup>31</sup>

(ii) MT v. 9a: “He guards the steps of His faithful, but the wicked perish in darkness”

This stich is found in MT and in a slightly different form in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, generally reconstructed as: [וּדְרָךְ חַסִּידוֹ יִשְׁמֹר], harmonizing with the parallel formulation of Prov 2:8.<sup>32</sup> The LXX does not preserve this line either, and this is almost certainly evidence that this too is a supplementary addition. In this case, we can identify the background of the plus as a religious-theological justification of God’s intervention into the social order; He does so in order to reward the righteous and to punish the sinners.<sup>33</sup> Moreover, the following expression, “כִּי לֹא בִכְחַיִּיבֵר אִישׁ” “for not by strength shall man prevail,” suggests that the secret to success is through spiritual means (reminiscent of other biblical verses, such as, e.g. Zech 4:6). This too potentially contributed to the secondary addition. Following the addition of this line, as attested in MT, it was secondarily reformulated under the parallel of Prov 2:8, as evidenced in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>.<sup>34</sup>

(iii) LXX v. 9a’ preserves in this same location a line that is absent from MT:

διδούς εὐχὴν τῷ εὐχομένῳ καὶ εὐλόγησεν ἔτη δικαίου·

Granting the prayer/vow to the one who prays/vows,

And he has blessed the years of the righteous.

31 This was first noted by Wellhausen, *Text*, 43; cf. also Tov, “Editions”, 443–444; Aejmelaeus, “Hannah’s Psalm”, 31; Kratz, “Supplementation”, 38; Driesbach, *4QSamuel<sup>a</sup>*, 253. In contrast, Lewis, “History”, 22–25, posits that this line is part of the original text of the psalm (see also n. 33).

32 Cf. Tov, “Editions”, 445, n. 34; Aejmelaeus, “Hannah’s Psalm”, 32; Kratz, “Supplementation”, 32; Driesbach, *4QSamuel<sup>a</sup>*, 132.

33 Tov, “Editions”, 445–446; Aejmelaeus, “Hannah’s Psalm”, 31–32; Kratz, “Supplementation”, 39. In contrast, Lewis, “History”, 22–25, posits that this line is part of the original text of the psalm (see also n. 31).

34 If one accepts the reading proposed (see below) by Tov, “Editions”, 451–452, for 4QSam<sup>a</sup> col. II, line 31: [וְאֵלֵהוּ] (instead of [וְאֵלֵהוּ] [הַגְּבוּרָה]) (as proposed by Cross, and published in the DJD edition of the scroll), then it would reflect a gloss or correction towards the proto-MT reading, creating a textual doublet of that expression.

In this instance we are fortunate to have the Hebrew *Vorlage* (or a reading which is very close to this *Vorlage*) of the Greek translation partially preserved in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>:

נתן נדר [ל]ג[נוד] ויברך ש[נות צדיק]

This addition is most easily explained as an attempt to integrate the song into the narrative of the birth of Samuel in chapter 1, in which Hannah vows to consecrate her newborn child to service in the Shiloh Temple if she is granted this pregnancy. But this too is obviously secondary, and the original version of the psalm had no connection with this story.<sup>35</sup>

In each of these three readings, MT and LXX are completely different from one another, and therefore provide evidence for the processes of supplementation to an original version of the psalm. 4QSam<sup>a</sup> preserves all of these secondary endings, and conflates them into a longer text, demonstrating that it reflects a later textual stage than either MT or LXX, despite the Qumran manuscript being chronologically older than their preserved evidence.<sup>36</sup>

- b. In this same location, the Septuagint contains a further secondary expansion, nearly identical to Jer 9:22–23a.

+ μὴ καυχάσθω ὁ φρόνιμος ἐν τῇ φρονήσει αὐτοῦ, καὶ μὴ καυχάσθω ὁ δυνατὸς ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ, καὶ μὴ καυχάσθω ὁ πλούσιος ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἡ ἐν τούτῳ καυχάσθω ὁ καυχώμενος, συνείναι καὶ γινώσκειν τὸν κύριον καὶ ποιεῖν κρίμα καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς. ≈ Jer 9:22–23a

Let not the clever boast in his cleverness, and let not the mighty boast in his might, and let not the wealthy boast in his wealth, but let him who boasts boast in this: to understand and know the Lord and to execute justice and righteousness in the midst of the land. (NETS)

35 See Wellhausen, *Text*, 44; Lewis, “History”, 25 (n. 27), 38–39; Tov, “Editions”, 443–444; Kratz, “Supplementation”, 38–39; Driesbach, *4QSamuel*<sup>l</sup>, 322. In contrast, Aejmelaeus, “Hannah’s Psalm”, 32–33, suggests that the *Vorlage* is a natural continuation of vv. 8a–b, employing a participial form, and “forming a stanza” with them. This approach, however, does not give appropriate weight to the evidence of MT, and she herself notes that “It must be admitted that it is difficult to explain how the MT, which I regard as secondary, would have come about.”

36 My approach to these lines therefore follows that of Tov, “Different Editions”; and Kratz, “Textual Supplementation” (see the notes above). In contrast, McCarter, *Samuel*, 69–70, suggests that 4QSam<sup>a</sup> in fact preserves the original reading here, and the shorter texts in both MT and LXX are the result of independent scribal errors. This in and of itself would be an impressive coincidence (without leaving any trace of overlap between the missing lines), but also does not take into account the differences in emphases between these lines and the rest of the poem.

The only difference between the passage here and that in Jer 9 is that it has been reformulated in the context of LXX 1Sam 2 with the Lord in the 3rd person as opposed to the 1st person speaker.<sup>37</sup> This addition expresses the same idea as “for not by strength shall man prevail,” associating it with a more developed formulation from a well-known passage.

Cross and his fellow editors identified this expansion in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> as well, in line with his general tendency to reconstruct along the contours of LXX. They therefore read 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, col. II, line 31 as:

[וְאֵל יִתְּ[ה]ל[ל הַגְּבוּר]

This reading has been accepted by almost all scholars. However, an examination of the image of the fragment<sup>38</sup> renders this reconstruction impossible – while the *lamed* is clear, the following letter which is barely preserved, can be almost any letter except for a second *lamed*, because there is no sign of the vertical stroke at its top.

Furthermore, the tops of the letters immediately prior to the *lamed* are in fact partially preserved, and cannot be reconstructed as a *heh*. Tov’s suggested reconstruction for these lines:

[רְגֵלִי חָ[סִידוֹ יִשְׁמַר]

is in my opinion a much more convincing reading of the material remains, likely a textual doublet for the reading וּדְרֹךְ חֲסִידָיו found above in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, corrected according to the proto-MT text of v. 9a.<sup>39</sup> There is room to reconstruct an extended expansion in the Qumran scroll, but this should not be automatically equated with the reading of LXX.<sup>40</sup>

37 Kratz, “Supplementation”, 40–43 (following the suggestion of the editors of DJD XVII, 37; also accepted by Aejmelaeus, “Hannah’s Psalm,” 33–34), discusses the theoretical possibility that this is a “free-floating” “sapiential tradition” that was added secondarily to both 1Sam 2 and Jer 9 (due to its poor fit into the latter context as well). However, based upon his identification of similarities to other verses in Jer 8–10, and the “inappropriate” placement in the Song of Hannah (based upon Tov, “Editions”, 451–452), ultimately concludes that it was copied from Jeremiah into the Song of Hannah.

38 See the following images on the website of The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library: B-480676/7 (pl. 998, frag. 5 = 4Q51, col. II, lines 26–31): <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-480676> and <https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive/image/B-480677>

39 Tov, “Editions”, 451–452.

40 The expression κύριος ἅγιος (“the Lord is holy”) in LXX v. 10, immediately prior to the long addition, has frequently been identified with the reading and reconstruction of 4QSam<sup>a</sup> col. II, line 29 as: [דְּרוֹשׁ בִּיהוָה] מִי קָ[ (reconstructed with v. 2 in mind). While this is possible, the reading of *qof* is highly questionable from the images that we currently have at our disposal. Without that letter,

Whether or not this text should be reconstructed in the Qumran scroll, this instance provides another example in which poetic line(s) are attested in at least one primary textual witness, and absent in another. Taken together, these cases attest to multiple scribal additions and expansions at this point, towards the end of this psalm, each of which is intended to highlight and develop specific ideological and theological notions. Due to the extent of the differences between them, Tov refers to the different versions as different editions of the psalm.<sup>41</sup> He is probably correct to consider each of the currently preserved versions (MT, 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, LXX) in their current forms as distinct enough from one another to qualify as different editions. However, it seems to me that each of these secondary expansions was added independently, in a gradual progression, and I am uncertain whether each individual scribal insertion would qualify as a new “edition.”

### 3. The Relationship between the Song of Hannah and Psalm 113

Based upon the analysis until this point, we can now address the relationship between the Song of Hannah and Psalm 113, and in particular 1Sam 2:8a–b and Ps 113:7–8. These are variant forms of the same poetic lines, which are clearly related to one another.

1Sam 2:8a–b

מְקִימֵי מַעֲרָךְ דָּל מְאַשְׁפֹּת יָרִים אֲבִיוֹן  
לְהוֹשִׁיב עַם־נְדִיבִים וְכֶסֶף כְּבוֹד יִנְחָלֶם

Ps 113:7–8

מְקִימֵי מַעֲרָךְ דָּל מְאַשְׁפֹּת יָרִים אֲבִיוֹן  
לְהוֹשִׁיבֵי עַם־נְדִיבִים עַם־נְדִיבֵי עַמּוֹ:

Freedman argued for the overall primacy of Psalm 113 over the Song of Hannah due to prosodic, literary, and theological arguments,<sup>42</sup> but most of his highly complex arguments are ultimately based upon theories about what is early or late, without philological or textual evidence to support his claims. Most recent studies follow Avi Hurvitz's argument for Psalm 113 as later than the Song of Hannah due to the

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then there is no preserved connection between the readings. I do not have an alternate proposal for reading and reconstructing the Qumran scroll, but caution should be exercised. This detail does not impact upon the broader claims put forth here.

41 See Tov, “Editions”. His claim also takes into account the verses that frame the poem (1:28 and 2:11), which are beyond the boundaries of the discussion here.

42 Freedman, “Psalm 113”, 56\*–69\*.

unique grammatical forms in the former.<sup>43</sup> In particular, he pointed to the combination of both the relatively archaic *hireq compaginis*,<sup>44</sup> alongside the relatively later usage of the definite article -ה, in the words המגביהי (v. 5) and המשפילי (v. 6), alongside the use of the former alone in מוקמי, מושיבי (vv. 7–9). Hurvitz argued that these *forma mixta* betray that these are later, archaizing forms, and should be viewed as pseudo-classicisms (cf. similarly the *ketib* of Ez 27:3 הישבתי; also Ps 114:8 והפכתי and Ps 123:1 הישבי).<sup>45</sup> Based upon this linguistic insight and his conclusion that Ps 113 in its current form is therefore late, he suggested that it therefore was almost certainly later than 1Sam 2:1–10, which does not exhibit late linguistic forms. Brettler, building on Hurvitz's linguistic arguments for the later date of the second half of Psalm 113, added that the expression בשמים ובארץ “in heaven and on earth” (v. 6) is attested in LBH, in addition to other typologically late expressions.<sup>46</sup>

However, this should not lead us to automatically conclude that Ps 113:7–8 is based upon 1Sam 2:8a–b. Returning to the proposed chiasmic structure of the Song of Hannah outlined above, and having already demonstrated that vv. 8c–9a are secondary, we can see that the only two lines of the poem that disturb this elegant edifice are the same two lines that preserve the direct parallel with Psalm 113, 1Sam 2:8a–b. And having established that this point in the Song is a locus for additions, it seems to me a reasonable argument that these two lines in the 1Samuel passage were similarly added by a scribe. The natural source for this secondary addition to the Song of Hannah is Psalm 113, which preserves two almost identical poetic lines.<sup>47</sup>

43 Hurvitz, “Originals”, 115–21.

44 For an extensive discussion of the *hireq compaginis* in biblical Hebrew, see GKC § 90 k–n; Joüon-Muraoka, § 93l–p.

45 Hurvitz, “Originals”, 121, esp. n. 24, makes a similar suggestion regarding the unique infinitive construct + *hireq compaginis* להושיבי (Ps 113:8).

46 Brettler, “Woman’s Voice”, 155–170, at 161. In the title of his article, Hurvitz limits his argument to vv. 5–9 of Psalm 113, because those are the verses in which these pseudo-archaisms appear. However, he subsequently refers to the date of the psalm as a whole. Brettler, “Woman’s Voice,” 161–162 provides additional linguistic evidence to support a late date for vv. 1–3, which in his opinion have been supplemented to an original core of the psalm (vv. 4–9). The arguments for the late date of Psalm 113 are independent of his identification of two layers.

47 The argument here accepts Hurvitz’s dating of Psalm 113 as later than the Song of Hannah, and his conclusion that the former belongs to the corpus of (post-)exilic psalms is convincing. The suggested direction of development is unrelated to the dating of composition of the Song of Hannah as a whole, because these two lines are secondary additions to the Song. In this model, the copying and pasting of the two lines from Psalm 113 to 1Sam 2 is analogous to the addition of Jer 9:22–23 into the LXX version of 1Sam 2, discussed above, in which the direction of borrowing is accepted by all. And similar to that case, the later stage at which these two lines were copied from one psalm to the other is unrelated to their respective dates of composition.

The model proposed here raises the question of the absence of the late, mixed forms in the secondary verses in 1Samuel 2. Two possible solutions present themselves: (1) they were corrected by the scribe who copied them in to the Song of Hannah, in order to harmonize these aber-

The two lines appear in the Song of Hannah immediately following v. 7b – מרומם משפיל אף “He casts down, He also lifts high,” which describes God’s ability to raise or lower the fortunes of individuals. Note that in Psalm 113, the two parallel verses appear immediately after vv. 5–6, which are worded similarly, but with different meaning:<sup>48</sup>

“(5) Who is like the Lord our God, who is seated on high,

(6) who looks far down (המשפיל לראות) on the heavens and the earth?”

In the context of that psalm, God Himself descends (or looks down) from on high, in order to help the poorest of people. Although these verses each refer to very different actions, God casting down individuals in the Song of Hannah and God looking downwards or lowering Himself in Psalms, they both employ the same Hebrew *hiphil* verb להשפיל, which was the likely linguistic hook that led to their insertion in the Song of Hannah.

This insight allows us to address the question of the overall relationship between 1Sam 2:1–10 and Psalm 113. If vv. 8a–b are not included in the original form of the former, then the connection between the two poems consists of:

- (a) the shared usage of משפיל/המשפיל (albeit with different meaning) discussed above, and
- (b) the references to the opposite cases of the barren woman and the mother of children in 1Sam 2:5 and Psalm 113:9:<sup>49</sup>

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rant forms with the classical language found in the earlier text; (2) the lines in question were not copied from Psalm 113, but from a shared third source or poetic tradition, from which they each borrowed independently. The second option is different than the “boomerang” effect discussed below, but it too demonstrates the complex dynamics of textual and literary development in antiquity. I thank Steven Fassberg for this insight.

48 See Hurvitz, “Originals”, 120, n. 22, who noted and emphasized the difference between the seemingly similar linguistic expressions. The English translation of Psalm 113 is taken from NRSV.

49 I am assuming that עקרת (הבית) in Ps 113:9 is equivalent to עקרה (1Sam 2:5), referring to a barren woman; this is the interpretation shared by all of the ancient translations to Ps 113:9 (LXX: στειραν; Vulg: *sterilem*; Pesh: ܥܩܪܬ; Targ: עקרא). Each of these translators transform the construct expression into two nouns connected by the dative preposition “in (the house).” Based on the identification of syntactical difficulties in the verse, Blau, “Expressions”, 105–107, posited that the meaning of the expression was unrelated to the barren woman, but instead parallels בירכתי ביתך “within your house” (Ps 128:3), and describes the location of the mother of children. However, despite the sophistication of his suggestion, the poetics of the verse seems to point to the standard interpretation, based on the transformation of the barren woman into a joyous mother of children.

1Sam 2:5: עַד-עֲקָרָהּ יִלְדָּה שְׁבַעָה וְרַבַּת בָּנִים אִמְלִלָּהּ:

“While the barren woman bears seven, the mother of many is forlorn.”

Ps 113:9: מְוֹשִׁיבִי | עֲקָרָת תְּבִית אִם-הַבָּנִים שְׂמֵחָהּ

“He gives the barren woman a home, making her the joyous mother of children.”

In addition to the topical and linguistic parallels between the verses, note also the contrastive parallelism between the emotions of the mother in each context – forlorn // joyous.

In light of these linguistic connections, we can posit the following process to explain the relationship between the two poems:

*Stage 1:* In the earlier Song of Hannah, the example of the barren woman suddenly having offspring, and the tragic contrast of the death of a woman’s children, were intended to demonstrate the seeming absence of order in the world, as part of a theological allegation. Similarly, the poor man who suddenly becomes rich was an additional example of this phenomenon. The poet’s response in this earlier text is that the Lord is in fact responsible for all of these changes, and that these transformations are justified.

*Stage 2:* Psalm 113 describes these same events, but only as a sign of God’s greatness, and without any suggestion of these potentially being a reason to question divine justice. I suggest that Psalm 113 was in fact an early reading of the Song of Hannah (without vv. 8–9a), which did not understand the accusation-refutation structure, and read the entire psalm as praise of God. As in other cases, an early interpretation, and in particular an inner-biblical reading, set the tone for almost all subsequent readers of the Song of Hannah.

*Stage 3:* After the reuse of the Song of Hannah in Psalm 113, the later composition subsequently influenced the earlier one, a “boomerang” effect, when Ps 113:7–8 were copied back into the Song of Hannah. This dynamic of multi-directional textual development was not uncommon in biblical texts from antiquity, as I have attempted to show in a number of other cases, and was part and parcel of the processes of composition, interpretation, and transmission of biblical literature.<sup>50</sup>

50 This process was described and labelled by Zakovitch, “Book”, 59\*–64\*. In a series of recent studies, I have identified a number of cases of this phenomenon: Segal, “Old Greek”, 404–428; id., “Daniel 5”, 251–284; id., “Harmonization”, 265–279; id., “Reconsidering”, 213–233.

#### 4. Appendix: LXX 1Samuel 2:3b: A Third Reading<sup>51</sup>

In this section, I will analyze the Septuagint version of v. 3b, in which a third reading of this phrase is offered:

ὅτι θεὸς γνῶσεων κύριος καὶ θεὸς ἐτοιμάζων ἐπιτηδεύματα αὐτοῦ,

which can be retroverted into Hebrew as:

כי אל דע(ו)ת ה' ואל מכין(הכין) עלילותיו<sup>52</sup>

Instead of the *ketib* reading וּלֵא, LXX provides evidence for a new reading, וְאֵל, “and God,” possibly the result of metathesis vis-à-vis the *ketib* reading וּלֵא, determined above to reflect the original reading of the verse. Additionally, as opposed to the reading of the MT, נַחֲנֹנִי, the LXX reads ἐτοιμάζων, “prepares.”<sup>53</sup> The vast majority of instances of this Greek verb in the LXX translate the Hebrew root נ-כ-ו, and most often in the *hiphil* conjugation.<sup>54</sup> However, instead of reconstructing the *Vorlage* of the LXX as וְאֵל מִ/הַכִּין, almost all modern commentators posit that this translation is an etymological rendering of a hypothetical Hebrew text: וְאֵל תּוֹכֵן

51 The argument was presented first in Segal, “1 Samuel”; it was subsequently discussed in depth by Bakker, “God”, 361–74, who demonstrated the importance of the interpretation of this reading in the sectarian worldview.

52 In Segal, “1 Samuel”, 92–94, I retroverted the 3rd person singular masculine perfect verb הִכִּין, in light of the Qumran parallels noted below. As correctly noted by Bakker, “God”, 365, the Greek form is the participle, and therefore would seem to reflect the singular masculine participle מִכִּין. This is supported by his further observation that the same morphological form is used in biblical passages that describe God’s acts of creation (p. 365, nn. 19–20, based upon the examples in Segal, “1 Samuel”, 94 – Ps 65:7; 147:8; Jer 10:12; 51:15). Both reconstructions are possible, and do not affect the line of argument here.

He further suggested that the possessive pronoun at the end of the stich was not present in the *Vorlage* of the LXX, but was rather added by the translator, and therefore retroverted עֲלֵילֹת. Although this is possible, it is not in fact necessary for his subsequent analysis, because the pronoun could have been interpreted as referring to the actions of any individual or creature, and not reflexively as seems to be the meaning in LXX (note the translation of the stich in NETS: “and a god who prepares *his own* ways”). Moreover, the presence of the alternative reading in LXX<sup>a</sup> of the 3pl masculine pronoun αὐτῶν “*their ways*,” which Bakker takes as potential evidence for the lack of a pronoun, in fact brings the text of 1Sam 2:3 even closer to that of the Qumran evidence, and in particular IQS III:15 (see below). The reconstruction here follows the text of LXX<sup>b</sup>.

53 See LSJ: “get ready, prepare”; similarly Muraoka, *Lexicon*, 296.

54 The three Greek forms ἐτοιμάζω, ἔτοιμος, and ἐτοιμασία overwhelmingly translate forms of the Hebrew root נ-כ-ו, and therefore can be described as its translational equivalent throughout the LXX. The only instances in which this verb ostensibly translates Hebrew ת-כ-ו (according to the readings of MT) are our verse and 2Kgs 12:12.



עלילותיו, “and God measures (his) actions,” an expression similar to Prov 16:2.<sup>55</sup> According to this theory, the translator did not understand the root ת-כ-ן, and thus interpreted the verb as if it was from the more common Hebrew ו-כ-ן. It should be noted that throughout the LXX, the Greek translators suggested a number of different translations for the Hebrew verb תכן, often seemingly based upon the context of the specific passage under question, suggesting that they had difficulty in identifying its meaning.<sup>56</sup>

This evidence regarding the use of the Greek verb ἐτοιμάζω is therefore not sufficient on its own in order to posit a reading מ/הכין, instead of תוכן or נתכנו. However, I suggest that there is external supporting evidence for the existence of a Hebrew *Vorlage* ואל ה/מכין, provided by the Hebrew sectarian compositions discovered at Qumran.<sup>57</sup>

In each of the following three sources, the title אל הדעות, unique in the Bible to the Song of Hannah, is juxtaposed to the verb הכין, prepared:<sup>58</sup>

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- 55 Driver, *Notes*, 25, suggests that this could be the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX here, but instead prefers the possibility of a free translation. Smith, *Commentary*, 16; McCarter, *Samuel*, 69; Lewis, “History”, 30–31, all reconstruct the *Vorlage* as in the Proverbs passage, and even go as far to accept it as the original reading of the verse. Note that Blau, “Über die *t*-Form,” 387 argues that the verb נתכנו itself is a passive *t*-stem form of the *hiphil* ו-כ-ן, although he does not address the LXX in his study; see the discussion in n. 6 above.
- 56 The root ת-כ-ן appears 18 times in the Hebrew Bible and once in Ben Sira, all together 19 cases. In three instances there is no translation of the verb: in two of these cases this might be the result of translation technique (Isa 40:12; Job 28:25), and in the third the entire verse is absent in LXX (Prov 16:2; note that the verse is almost identical to Prov 21:2, and was perhaps copied secondarily into chapter 16 in MT). In the 16 remaining passages, the Hebrew text was translated using different Greek terms, generally determined by context: γινώσκω (Isa 40:13 – note that this verse follows 40:12 in which the verb was not translated; Prov 24:12); κατεστύλω (Ezek 18:25 [3x]; Prov 21:2); εὐθύς (Ezek 33:17 [2x], 20); καταρθόω (Ez 18:25,29 [3x]); στερεόω (Ps 75[74]:4). The equivalents ἐτοιμάζω (1Sam 2:3; 2Kgs 12:12) and κοσμέω (Sir 42:21) both suggest that the translator understood the verb in their *Vorlage* as based on the Hebrew root ו-כ-ן.
- 57 For a similar argument, using parabiblical texts from Qumran as supporting evidence for the retroversion of Hebrew/Aramaic readings from the Septuagint, see my article: “Text of Daniel”, 182–192; and the discussions of Rofé, “Paraphrases”, 163–174; id., “End”, 17–36.
- 58 The texts are quoted according the edition of Qimron, *Scrolls*; the translations are my own. The epithet אל (ה)דעות appears elsewhere in the Qumran corpus, although without an accompanying *hiphil* verb ו-כ-ן (or at least it is not preserved); see: 1QH<sup>a</sup> IX, 28 (although note line 30); XXI, 32; 4QMysteries<sup>a</sup> (4Q299) frags. 35:1, 73:3; 4QApocryphon of Joshua<sup>b</sup> (4Q379), frag. 22, col. i, line 6; 4QInstruction<sup>c</sup> (4Q417), frag. 1, col. i, line 8 || 4QInstruction<sup>d</sup> (4Q418), frags. 43–45, col. i, line 6; 4Q418, frag. 55, line 5; 4QWords of the Luminaries<sup>a</sup> (4Q504), frag. 4, line 4. Note also the plural אלוהי דעות in *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* and *Songs of the Maskil*; see the discussions of Bakker, “God”, 372; Mizrahi, “God”, 169–172. I have limited the discussion here to those passages which juxtapose the epithet with הכין, and which fit the sectarian worldview. The mention of אל (ה)דעות alone is not sufficient grounds by which to determine that a composition is sectarian, because it

## (1) 1QS III, 15:

מֵאל־הַדְּעוֹת כּוֹל הַיְּהִי וְנִהְיָה וּלְפָנֵי הַיּוֹתֵם הַכֵּן כּוֹל מִחֲשַׁבְתָּם

“From the God of knowledge is all there is and all there shall be, and before they existed, he prepared all their thoughts/plans.”

This sentence opens a well-known passage, frequently referred to as the Treatise of the Two Spirits, that describes the doctrine of determinism promoted by the sect.<sup>59</sup> The title אל הדעות has been reinterpreted in this context as an omniscient god, who knows all the designs of men *before their creation*. The author of 1QS has juxtaposed two verses to create this sentence: the *Vorlage* of the LXX of 1 Sam 2:3 and Ps 94:11: “The Lord knows the designs of men.”

(2) 1QH<sup>a</sup> XX, 10–11:

כִּי אֵל הַיְּדִיעוֹת / הַכִּינָה וְאֵין אֲחֵר עִמּוֹ

“For the God of knowledge has established it, and there is no other beside Him.”<sup>60</sup>

Here too, one notes the juxtaposition of אל הדעות and הכין. This *hodaya* praises God for the establishment of the celestial bodies and chronological periods. The periodization of history is indicative both of God’s control over the earth and the sect’s deterministic outlook. This line emphasizes God’s unique, singular status. He alone is responsible for the creation and determination of times and creation.

(3) 1QH<sup>a</sup>, frag. 4, line 15 (XXII, 34):

בְּרוּךְ אַתָּה אֵל הַדְּעוֹת אֲשֶׁר הַכִּינוֹתָ[ה]

“Blessed are you, God of knowledge, who has established ...”

The context of this blessing formula is unclear, but the juxtaposition of the two elements, אל הדעות and הכין is apparent.

These three examples provide textual support to the suggested reconstruction of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX as ואל מ/הכין עללו. This reading appears to be

could simply reflect borrowing from 1Sam 2:3 according to any of its versions (as emphasized by Chazon, *Document*, 162–163).

59 Some scholars are of the opinion that the Treatise of the Two Spirits is in fact pre-sectarian. Whether this passage is “pre-sectarian” or “sectarian”, it certainly fits the dualistic worldview of the sect, and therefore can be considered foundational for their writings. This question does not fundamentally affect the discussion here.

60 The text is partially preserved in 4Q427 (4QH<sup>a</sup>) f8ii:16: הדעות הַכִּינָה. Scholars disagree as to the reading of the original text of 1QH<sup>a</sup>, from which two letters were erased. However, there is general agreement that the corrected reading is הדעות. See the discussion of this passage in Bakker, “God”, 371.

another theological correction of the original “problematic” text preserved in the *ketib*: ולא נתכנו. This new reading, employing the verb הכין, paints a picture similar to descriptions of creation found elsewhere in the Bible, such as Jer 10:12, 51:15, Ps 65:7, 147:8.<sup>61</sup> This alteration transformed the psalm into a poem praising the cosmic power of the Lord, who has established all his works, i.e. the created world. The Qumran community adopted this secondary reading and further reinterpreted and extended its meaning in accordance with their deterministic outlook so that it referred to the actions of individuals and creatures. As part of this transformation, the title אל (ה)דעות was transferred from its original wisdom setting into a new theological context.

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61 These verses all employ the participle מכין, and Bakker has posited that this supports a reconstruction of that form, instead of the perfect verb הכין (see above, n. 52).

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## Textual and Literary History in Psalm 151

“Editing the Greek Psalter”, which is the subject of this conference volume, is a multilingual and interdisciplinary project and, beyond the actual edition of the Greek text, also shows manifold interconnections with other fields of research and perspectives for other, more far-reaching questions. This interconnectedness is already institutionally visible in the fact that the Göttingen Academy of Sciences and Humanities in Lower Saxony hosts three long-term projects that deal with different versions of the Septuagint and its *Vorlage*, the Hebrew Bible: the Greek Psalter, the Coptic Septuagint and the Qumran Dictionary project, which also offers the biblical manuscripts from Qumran in its database.

In this article I would like to address a topic that touches on at least two of the Academy’s two long-term projects. I will deal with the significance of the textual history and edition of the Greek Psalter for literary and redactional history, taking Psalm 151 as an example.<sup>1</sup>

### 1. The Text

Psalm 151 is one of the apocryphal psalms not preserved in the Masoretic Text of the Hebrew Bible. It is the last psalm to survive in the manuscripts of the Septuagint and various daughter versions (Vetus Latina, Peshitta and Syrohexapla, and the Sahidic and Bohairic translations), as well as in the collection of the so-called five Syriac psalms together with four other apocryphal psalms in some Syriac manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> There is consensus in research that the daughter versions are dependent on the Greek translation.

For three of the five Syriac Psalms, including Ps 151, a Hebrew version is also preserved in the great Psalm Scroll of Qumran 11Q5 (11QP<sup>a</sup>).<sup>3</sup> While in two cases (Syriac II and III = Ps 154–155) the Hebrew text roughly corresponds to the

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1 This article is based on a longer treatment of Psalms 151–153 (Syriac I, IV–V) and the Davidic superscriptions in the Masoretic Psalter, see Kratz, “Anfänge”, 173–209; and on a shorter version of this contribution in Hebrew, see Kratz, “Composition”, 263–272.

2 See Wright, “Apocryphal Psalms”, 257–266; Noth, “Psalmen”, 1–23; Baars, *Apocryphal Psalms*. On the discussion, see van Rooy, *Studies*.

3 Sanders, “Psalms Scroll”, 53–76, Pl. XVIII, XXIV, XXVIII; Id./Charlesworth/Rietz, “Psalms”, 162–185. On the discussion, see Magne, “Recherches”, 503–508; Reymond, *Idioms*; Mroczek, “Psalms”, 286–292.

Syriac version, the Hebrew version of Ps 151 deviates considerably from the Greek and its dependent daughter translations.<sup>4</sup>

Psalm 151 LXX

11Q5 XXVIII 3–14

1 οὗτος ὁ ψαλμὸς ιδιόγραφος εἰς Δαυίδ

3 הללויה לדויד בן ישי

καὶ ἔξωθεν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ ὅτε ἐμονομάχησεν τῷ Γολιάδ

μικρὸς ἦμην ἐν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου

καὶ νεώτερος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ πατρός μου

קטן הייתי מן אחי

ἐποίμεινον τὰ πρόβατα τοῦ πατρός μου

וצעיר מבני אבי

ושימני 4 רועה לצונו

ומושל בגדיותי

2 αἱ χεῖρές μου ἐποίησαν ὄργανον

ידי עשו עוגב

οἱ δάκτυλοί μου ἤρμωσαν ψαλτήριον

ואצבעותי כנור

5 ואשימה ליהוה כבוד

אמרתי אני בנפשי

ההרים לוא יעידו 6 ל/י

והגבעות לוא יגידו על/י

העצים את דברי/י

והצואן את מעשי/י

3 καὶ τίς ἀναγγελεῖ τῷ κυρίῳ μου

7 כי מי יגיד

ומי ידבר

ומי יספר את מעשי/י

αὐτὸς κύριος

אדון הכול ראה

αὐτὸς εἰσακούει

{{}}אלוה 8 הכול הוא שמע

והוא האזין

4 αὐτὸς ἐξἀπέστειλεν τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ

שלח נביאו למושחני

את שמואל 9 לגדלני

יצאו אחי לקראתו

יפי התור ויפי המראה

הגבהים בקומת 10 היפים בשערם

לוא בחר יהוה אלוהים בם

וישלח ויקחני 11 מאחר הצואן

καὶ ἤρην με ἐκ τῶν προβάτων τοῦ πατρός μου

וימשחני בשמן הקודש

καὶ ἔχρισέν με ἐν τῷ ἐλαίῳ τῆς χρίσεως αὐτοῦ

וישימני נגיד לעמו

ומושל בבני 12 בריתו

4 On the discussion, see Magne, "Les texts", 584–564; Smith, "Poem", 182–208; Dimant, "David's Youth", 97–114.

5 οἱ ἀδελφοί μου καλοὶ καὶ μεγάλοι  
καὶ οὐκ εὐδόκησεν ἐν αὐτοῖς κύριος

13 תחלת גב[ו]רה ל[דו]י משמשחו נביא  
אלוהים

6 ἐξῆλθον εἰς συνάντησιν τῷ ἀλλοφύλῳ

אזי רָא[ו]תי פלשתי

14 מחרף ממ[ערכות]-- אנוכי [ - ] את  
[ - ]

καὶ ἐπικατηράσατό με ἐν τοῖς εἰδώλοις αὐτοῦ

7 ἐγὼ δὲ σπασάμενος τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ μάχαιραν ἀπεκεφάλισα  
αὐτὸν καὶ ἦρα ὄνειδος ἐξ υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ

### English Translation of Psalm 151 LXX and 11Q5 XXVIII 3–14

1 This Psalm is autographical. Regarding David

when he singlehandedly fought Goliath.

I was small among my brothers

and the youngest in the house of my father;

I would shepherd the sheep of my father.

2 My hands made an instrument;

my fingers tuned a harp.

3 And who will report to my lord?

The Lord himself

it is he who listens,

4 It was he who sent his messenger

3 Hallelujah, for/from David, son of Jesse

Smaller was I than my brothers

and the youngest of the sons of my father.

And he made me 4 shepherd of his flock  
and ruler over his kids.

My hands have made an (musical) instru-  
ment

and my fingers a lyre.

5 And I have rendered glory to the Lord.

I said to myself

The mountains do not witness 6 to me/  
him

nor do the hills report about me/him,

(nor) the trees my/his words

and the flock my/his works.

7 Who then will report

and who will speak

and who will recount my/his works  
(the works of ...)?

The Lord of all has seen

The God 8 of all, he is it who heard

and he is it who heeded.

He sent his prophet to anoint me,

Samuel 9 to make me great.



My brothers went out to meet him,  
handsome of figure and handsome of  
appearance.  
They were tall of stature **10** and handsome  
by their hair.  
God the Lord did not chose them,  
and he sent and took me **11** from behind  
the flock  
and anointed me with the holy oil,  
and made me leader to his people  
and ruler over the sons **12** of his covenant.

**5** My brothers were handsome and tall  
and the Lord did not take delight in them.

**6** I went out to meet the allophyle  
and he cursed me by his idols.

**7** But I, having drawn the dagger from him,  
I beheaded him and removed reproach from Israel's sons.

**13** At the beginning of David's power after  
the prophet of God had anointed him.  
Then I saw a Philistine  
**14** uttering defiances from the ra[nks of ...]

Intra-Greek variants, differences in the daughter translations and not least the differences to the Hebrew version in the Scroll of Qumran bear witness to the complicated textual history and must, of course, be taken into account for the edition of the Greek Psalter. According to the apparatus and the Göttingen collation books, the three text types postulated by Alfred Rahlfs are attested: Lower Egyptian (B, S, boh.), Upper Egyptian (sah.), and Occidental (R, La<sup>G</sup>). Among the variants, the Lucianic textual witnesses are dominating, but there is no specific example of the Lucianic recension; a hexaplaric recension is missing.<sup>5</sup> The variants must therefore be considered and weighted individually. I will pick out just a few examples which are significant for the textual history but also for the literary history of the psalm.

5 See Albrecht, "Psalms (Greek)", 293–295 and id., "Psalms (Latin)", 302–305; on the inner-Syriac variants, see van Rooy, *Studies*.

As far as the title is concerned, the Septuagint reads:

Οὗτος ὁ ψαλμὸς ἰδιόγραφος εἰς Δαυὶδ καὶ ἔξωθεν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, ὅτε ἐμονομάχησεν τῷ Γολιάδ.

This Psalm is autographical, concerning (from) David and outside the number, when he singlehandedly fought Goliath.

1 οὗτος > Sa | ἰδιόγραφος] + εστι  $L^{\text{pau}}$  | εἰς δαυιδ  $B' La^R$ ] του δ.  $R L^d$  TSy A, τω δ.  $L^b$  55 | ἔξωθεν] ἔξω  $L^{\text{pau}}$  | ἀριθμου] + των ρν' ψαλμων  $L^d$ , + των ρν'  $La^G L^{\text{pau}}$ ; + ουδε εν πασι τοις αντιγραφοις ευρισκεται Sy | τω γολ.  $B'$ ] προς τον γ.  $R L^a A'$  | γολιαδ  $B' R L^{d(\text{sil})}$  55] -αθ  $L^dT A'$ : cf. 143:1 | fin.] + *et inueni leonem atque lupum, et occidi eos et discerpsi eos* collectio quinque psalmorum apocryphorum Syriacorum postremo ab A. Mingana in Woodbrooke Studies 1 (1927), p. 289 et a M. Noth in Ztschr. f. d. alttest. Wiss. 48 (1930), p. 4 edita; cf. Reg. I 17:34–36

Subscriptio est ψαλμοι δᾱα(cf. proleg. § 31) ρνα' in S, βιβλος ψαλμων in Sa, ψαλμοι ρν' και ιδιογραφος α' in A, *expl. psalterium* in  $La^R$ ; nullam subscriptionem hab. B R' Ga TSy 55; cf. 150fin.

In the manuscripts εἰς Δαυίδ (like εἰς Σαλωμών in Ps 71 LXX) varies with τῷ or τοῦ Δαυίδ, some adding “outside the number of the 150 psalms”. The special position of the psalm is also visible in the *subscriptio* of the oldest manuscripts: B ends after Ps 150 with “books of 150 psalms” and adds Ps 151 as an appendix; S ends with “151 psalms of David”, A with “150 psalms and one autographical”.

The original title, perhaps, was only “From David” or “From David ... when he singlehandedly fought Goliath”, which, unlike in the historical headings of the Masoretic Psalter, is genuinely related to the psalm itself, which reports precisely this. This form – without the interpolated καὶ ἔξωθεν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ “and outside the number” – is, however, as far as I can see, not attested in any Greek, but only in the Syriac manuscript 12t4; different the E-group: “A Thanksgiving of David”. The Syriac tradition too offers an introduction of varying length to the five apocryphal psalms, noting that the psalms are written out of order.<sup>6</sup>

The Hebrew version in 11Q5 differs completely. The Psalm is in the same position, it concludes the Scroll as Ps 151 concludes the Greek Psalter, but is divided in two parts with two individual headings: one for Ps 151A (vv. 1–5 in the LXX) ישי הללויה לדוד בן ישי “Hallelujah, for/from David, son of Jesse”, and one for Ps 151B (vv. 6–7 in the LXX) תחלת גב[ו]ר[ה] ל[ד]וי[ו] משמשחו נביא אלהים “At the beginning of David’s power after the prophet of God had anointed him.” Whether this variant, apart from the usual לדוד, is of text-critical value is more than doubtful. The heading of Part A (with the filiation ישי בן דוד) reflects 1Sam 16:1 as well as 17:12 and

6 On the introduction in manuscript 12 t4, see van Rooy, *Studies*, 4 f., 10 and 26–32; on the variants ibidem 57–80, 104–107.

recalls the final verse of Ps 72:20 (71 LXX). Furthermore, it corresponds to “David’s Compositions” which immediately precedes in 11Q5 (etc. **ישי חכם**); this fits quite well, since in the corpus of Psalm 151 David’s instruments and perhaps also his musical “words” and “works” (or “compositions”)<sup>7</sup> are mentioned. The second part is set off not only by its own heading, but also by a *vacat* with a line change. Thus, the two headings are the result of a literary-historical process rather than textual variants. The most probable explanation is that the one heading in the Septuagint pointing to the Goliath episode at the end of the psalm was secondarily divided into two individual superscriptions in the Qumran version, one pointing to the anointing of David, the other to the Goliath episode, expressly referring back to the first part (“after he was anointed”). The direction of this literary-historical development applies to the whole Psalm, as I will try to show in the following.

Some other variants in the main text also belong to literary rather than textual history and point in the same direction. For example, in the collection the five Syriac Psalms (E-group), the following addition is found at the end of v. 1: “Then I met a lion and a bear, and I killed them and tore them apart”.<sup>8</sup> The addition refers to 1Sam 17:34–37, but also establishes a connection with Syriac IV and V (Ps 152–153), which also speaks of “(two) wild beasts” (*heywātā*, *tarteyn heywān*), identified as “lion” (*’arye*) and “wolf” (*di’bā*) or “bear” (*de’bā*; the consonants are the same). The addition shows a tendency towards literary expansion of the psalm and harmonization with the biblical reference text in the book of Samuel. We will find the same tendency in the Hebrew version.

Other variants are due to the difficulties of the Greek text in v. 3:

καὶ τίς ἀναγγελεῖ τῷ κυρίῳ μου αὐτὸς κύριος αὐτὸς εἰσακούει

And who will report to my Lord? The Lord himself, it is he who listens.

3<sup>1</sup> > Ga | αναγγελει | -γελλει S R | μου > Sa L<sup>pau</sup> | εισακουει B Sa<sup>1</sup> RL 1219<sup>s</sup>] pr. παντων S La<sup>G</sup> Ga; + παντων των επικαλουμενων αυτον Bo: cf. 144:18; + μου Sa<sup>B</sup> La<sup>R</sup> A(-κουσεται pro -κουει); *deus meus* Sy (diuidit 3<sup>2</sup> in duo stichos: αυτος κυριος, αυτος *deus meus*

In Syriac ἀναγγελεῖ is rendered with the root *ḥw’* in hafel (“Who will show the Lord”), and one group of manuscripts (E) adds “who will show me the Lord” and also renders the second κύριος as “my Lord” (*māriy*). Codex S and some versions add παντων before εἰσακούει (“he who listens to all”), others add “to me” or “to all who call to him”. All these additions aim to characterize ὁ κύριος in more detail, thinking of God. Thus, they are in harmony with the Hebrew text in 11Q5, which at this point speaks of **אֱלֹהֵי הַכּוֹל** and in parallel of **אֱלֹהֵי הַכּוֹל** and thus clearly means

7 For the translation “my compositions”, see Skehan, “Apocryphal Psalm”, 407–409, with reference to Ps 45:2 and Sir 48:8 (Ms B).

8 See van Rooy, *Studies*, 4, 85 f., 103, 131.

God who sees and hears; הַכּוֹל is here, however, unlike the variants of the versions, not an object of seeing and hearing, but an epitheton of God: “the Lord has seen, the God of all he is it who heard”. The Greek text can or must be understood differently as we will see in a moment.

In short, many variants in the Greek tradition and the daughter translations are not only of textual but also of literary historical significance. They give us an idea of what to expect in the textual history of Psalm 151, not only in the transmission of the text, but also in the literary development of its composition. And this also gives the direction for the comparison between the shorter Greek version in the Septuagint and the longer Hebrew version in 11Q5.

## 2. The Composition

Both versions of the Psalm, the Greek and the Hebrew one, are a sort of Midrash on 1Sam 16–17. The Septuagint version, however, is not only shorter but consists of one single poem whereas the Qumran version is divided into two separate pieces with two individual superscriptions, one dealing with the election and anointing of David according to 1Sam 16, the other dealing with the fight between David and Goliath according to 1Sam 17.

It is a matter of debate which of the two versions is the original. Sanders, the editor of 11Q5, postulated that the Greek text makes no sense and, therefore, is an abbreviation of the Hebrew original attested in Qumran.<sup>9</sup> Haran, to the contrary, argued that the Septuagint represents the original version and was supplemented and modified in the Qumran version.<sup>10</sup> He and others, however, did not explain the Greek text of the Septuagint (or its Hebrew *Vorlage*) in detail. This gap was filled by Segal.<sup>11</sup>

Following Haran and Segal I think that the Qumran version of Psalm 151, indeed, shows clearly signs of supplementation and therefore is secondary. Still, I would like to add another argument for this evaluation, which, as far as I can see, has not yet been noticed. Closer inspection reveals that most of these supplementations were added in order to adjust the older Septuagint version of the Psalm to its biblical source, the account in 1Sam 16–17. This, I think is also a clear evidence for the secondary character of the Qumran version of Psalm 151.

Very little can be said about the relationship between vv. 6–7 in the Septuagint and Ps 151B in 11Q5:

<sup>9</sup> Sanders, “Psalms Scroll”, 60–61, 63.

<sup>10</sup> Haran, “Text-Forms”, 171–182.

<sup>11</sup> Segal, “Development”, 139–158.

Ps 151:6–7

6 ἐξῆλθον εἰς συνάντησιν τῷ ἀλλοφύλῳ καὶ ἐπικατηράσατό με ἐν τοῖς εἰδώλοις αὐτοῦ  
 7 ἐγὼ δὲ σπασάμενος τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ μάχαιραν ἀπεκεφάλισα αὐτὸν καὶ ἦρα ὄνειδος  
 ἐξ υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ.

6 I went out to meet the allophyle and he cursed me by his idols. 7 But I, having drawn the dagger from him, I beheaded him and removed reproach from Israel's sons.

11Q5 XXVIII 13b–14

13 אזי ראיתי פלשתי

14 מחרף ממ[ערכות] [אנוכי] [את]

13 Then I saw a Philistine

14 uttering defiance from the ra[nks of ...]

In both versions the episode begins with the meeting of David and Goliath. In the Qumran version, however, it is not Goliath who sees David (thus 1Sam 17:42), but David who “sees” the Philistine, which might reflect the first contact in 1Sam 17:23 (Goliath spoke, and David heard it). In both versions the meeting is characterised by the mockery of Goliath; again, the terminology of the Qumran version does not refer to 1Sam 17:42–43 (as in the LXX v. 6) but to the beginning of the narrative in 1Sam 17.<sup>12</sup> In the Septuagint the meeting is immediately followed by the outcome of the story according to 1Sam 17:51. My feeling is that the Qumran version told a bit more but this is pure speculation. In any case, the beginning with אזי “Then” is a strong argument for the assumption that the text originally continued the first part in Ps 151A as it is the case in the Septuagint and was secondarily separated by a superscription.

So let's turn to the first part (vv. 1–5 or Ps 151A respectively) which is fully preserved in both versions and refers to the two episodes in 1Sam 16:6–13 and vv. 14–23. The two episodes which are rather loosely connected in 1Sam 16 were brought in a coherent narrative in Ps 151: The young shepherd first construed musical instruments, before he was anointed as the coming king and reached the court of Saul. This narrative wants to explain how it came to be that David in 1Sam 16:14–23, although already anointed, reached the court of Saul first as a musician before he went from the flock of his father into the fight with Goliath to prove himself also as a strong warrior. The poem, thus, wants to inform us about the background of the biblical account.

A further aspect of this new narrative in the Psalm is that the musical activity of David is expressively connected with God: In the Septuagint it is God who is listening to the musician, in the Qumran version the music is for the glory of the Lord, and again, it is He who has seen and heard David and sent his messenger in

12 See l. 14 חרף Pi. in 1Sam 17:10, 25 f., 36, 45; מערכה in 1Sam 17:8, 10, 20–23.

order to anoint him. It seems that the psalm is reflecting and interpreting the verse 1Sam 16:7: יְרָאָה לְעֵינַיִם וַיְהוָה יְרָאָה לְלֵבָב “Man sees only what is visible, but the Lord sees into the heart.” However, it is not easy to say, what this interpretation is all about. Its meaning depends on the understanding of the difficult passage in question and the reconstruction of the textual and literary history of the psalm. To anticipate the result: my impression is that the Qumran version is an exaggeration of the older version of the Septuagint in order to adjust the psalm to the biblical account in 1Sam 16 and to strengthen the theological aspects.

Let's begin with vv. 1–2 in the LXX, l. 3–4 in 11Q5:

Ps 151:1–2

1 Μικρὸς ἦμην ἐν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου καὶ νεώτερος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ πατρὸς μου ἐποίμαινον τὰ πρόβατα τοῦ πατρὸς μου 2 αἱ χεῖρές μου ἐποίησαν ὄργανον οἱ δάκτυλοί μου ἤρμωσαν ψαλτήριον.

1 I was small among my brothers and the youngest in the house of my father; I would shepherd the sheep of my father. 2 My hands made an instrument; my fingers tuned a harp.

11Q5 XXVIII 3–4

3 קטן הייתי מן אחי וצעיר מבני אבי וישימני

4 רועה לצונו ומושל בגדיותי ידי עשו עוגב ואצבעותי כנור

3 Smaller was I than my brothers and the youngest of the sons of my father. And he made me

4 shepherd of his flock and ruler over his kids. 3 My hands have made an (musical) instrument and my fingers a lyre.

Here we find in the Qumran version the plus בגדיותי „and ruler over his kids“. This addition is clearly connected with the plus in lines 11–12 of 11Q5 which forms an *inclusio* and connects the pastoral ministry (David as shepherd) with the anointing and the kingship over Israel: בָּרִיתוֹ „and he made me leader to his people and ruler over the sons of his covenant“.

Another supplement we find in lines 5–8a of 11Q5 which has a much longer text than v. 3 in the Septuagint. The latter reads:

Ps 151:3

καὶ τίς ἀναγγελεῖ τῷ κυρίῳ μου αὐτὸς κύριος αὐτὸς εἰσακούει

And who will report to my lord? The Lord himself, it is He who listens.

S La<sup>G</sup> Ga pr. παντων; Sa<sup>B</sup> La<sup>R</sup> A + μου

Most scholars agree with Sanders who stated that the text of the Septuagint “makes no sense” and, therefore, is an abbreviation and corruption of its Hebrew *Vorlage* attested in Qumran.<sup>13</sup> In the light of 1Sam 16:7, however (כִּי הָאָדָם יִרְאֶה לְעֵינָיו וַיהוָה), the verse, in fact, makes good sense, especially when we take the proposal of Segal into account, that τῷ κυρίῳ μου in v. 3 does not mean “to my Lord (God)” (*ladonaj*) but “to my master (king Saul)” (*ladoni*).<sup>14</sup> With this interpretation of v. 3 the meaning is absolutely clear: David made some musical instruments and is asking: who will report this to my master, king Saul? This question and its answer in V. 3–4 turn out to be a midrashic exegesis of the passage in 1Sam 16:14–23: it is not the servants of the king (as in 1Sam 16:16) but the Lord (He) who heard David and brought him to the knowledge of Saul and his servants. Vv. 3–4 of the Greek version are an interpretation of the statement in 1Sam 16:18: וַיהוָה עִמּוֹ “and the Lord is with him”.

The Qumran version in lines 5–8 of 11Q5 goes even further:

11Q5 XXVIII 5–8

5 ואשימה ליהוה כבוד אמרתי אני בנפשי ההרים לוא יעידו  
6 לִי/ו והגבעות לוא יגידו עלי/ו העצים את דברי/ו והצואן את מעשי/ו  
7 כי מי יגיד ומי ידבר ומי יספר את מעשי/ו אדון הכול ראה {{{י}}} אלוה  
8 הכול הוא שמע והוא האזין

5 And I have rendered glory to the Lord. I said to myself: The mountains do not witness  
6 to me/him nor do the hills report about me/him, (nor) the trees my/his words and  
the flock my/his works.

7 Who then will report and who will speak and who will recount my/his works (the  
works of ...)? The Lord of all has seen, the God

8 of all, he is it who heard and he is it who heeded.

This version obviously reads *ladoni* in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint version of v. 3 (τῷ κυρίῳ μου) as *ladonaj* and thus introduced the idea that David’s music was originally for the glory of the Lord ואשימה ליהוה כבוד. In connection with this, the original (shorter) text underwent an extensive supplementation.

13 Sanders, “Psalms Scroll”, 59: “LXX 151<sup>1-5</sup> makes little or no sense at all. V. 1 establishes that David was young and a shepherd. V. 2 says he made musical instruments, but he does nothing with them. V. 3 is so cryptic that it is very nearly meaningless. V. 4 then, is the climax but it is followed by the very anticlimactic V. 5.” Against this view see already Rabinowitz, “Orphism”, 198 n. 10; 177 n. 17.

14 Segal, “Development”, 148 f.

The analysis of this lengthy passage in the Qumran version is, however, very difficult.<sup>15</sup> Especially in lines 5b–6 there are many philological problems.<sup>16</sup> The most crucial question, however, is the reading of the suffixes in l. 6–7 (first or third pers.). In regard to this, and also to many other questions, I think that among those mentioned in n. 15, Rabinowitz presented a convincing solution: According to him l. 5–7a (with suffix of the 1. Pers. sg.) are speaking of David and are intended to say that nature does not tell of David's words and deeds in glory of the Lord; in contrast to this, l. 7b–8 – alluding to 1Sam 16:7 – state that it is “the Lord of all” and the “God of all” who “saw” and “heard” him.<sup>17</sup> So the Qumran version is, in fact, very similar to the Septuagint version, with one important difference: the music is (expressly) for the glory of God and no longer (as in v. 3 of the Septuagint) just for the sake of his master's Saul sanity.

Actually, we can even observe the process of the textual growth in l. 5–8 of the Qumran version. Closer inspection reveals that at least l. 5b–6 (אמרתי אני בנפשי) until (והצואן את מעשי) which have no equivalent in the Greek text are a secondary addition. They were added in order to emphasize David's humility: in contrast to the praise of the Lord in Ps 148 nature does not tell of David's words and deeds. l. 5a מי יגיד ומי ידבר ומי יספר את 7–8 ואשימה ליהוה כבוד מעשי originally continued in l. 7–8 “And I have rendered glory to the Lord ... But who will report, and who will speak, and who will recount my works?”

A different case is l. 5a and 7–8 which have a parallel in v. 3 of the Greek text. Sanders suggested a loss of text in the Septuagint or a misunderstanding.<sup>18</sup> According to him, a scribe has jumped from מעשי אדון in l. 7 to l. 8 and would have read והוא האדון instead of והוא האזין – a case of homoioteleuton which also could explain the rendering with αὐτὸς κύριος. This solution, however, does not explain the abbreviation of the rhetorical questions and the dative τῷ κυρίῳ μου, nor does it explain the position of the sentence αὐτὸς εἰσακούει “it is He who listens” which comes later and would have been added secondarily. Conversely, I do not see any reason for a deliberate abbreviation.

15 Sanders, “Psalms Scroll”, 55, 57; Id./Charlesworth/Rietz, “Psalms”, 166f; Skehan, “Apocryphal Psalm”, 407–409; Rabinowitz, “Orphism”; Dupont-Sommer, “Le Psaume”, 25–62; Strugnell, “Notes”, 257–281; Cross, “David”, 69–71; Haran, “Text-Forms”; on the discussion, see Smith, “Poem”, 189–192; Dimant, “David's Youth”.

16 לוא in l. 5f negation or precativ; עלי in l. 6 preposition or verbal form *illū* from the root עלה Pi. or *status constructus* עלי העצים “the leaves of the trees”; verb governing the accusativ „my/his words“ and „my/his works“ in l. 6; epitheton אדון הכול „Lord of all“ par. אלוה הכול „God of all“. On the latter see Hurvitz, “Epithet”, 224–227; Id., “Observations”, 225–232.

17 See also Smith, “Poem”, 191–194 with reference to an oral communication with Èmile Puech who thinks that the suffixes in l. 6–7 only can be read as *yod*.

18 Sanders, “Psalms Scroll”, 59: “A gross case of haplography (and misunderstanding) has taken place.”



Thus, the more probable solution is that the Septuagint in v. 3 represents a shorter Hebrew *Vorlage* which was modified and supplemented in the Qumran version. Lines 5a and 7 reflect the question of v. 3a in the Greek text and add the theological nuance “for the Lord”. Thus לאדוני מי יגיד “Who will report to my master (Saul)?” (*ladoni*) was changed into ... מי יגיד כבוד ואשימה ליהוה כבוד (*ladonaj*). The rest fills out the question and the answer with additional phrases which emphasize the confession to the Lord (“The Lord himself” becomes “the Lord of all” and “the God of all”) and adjusts the text to the biblical account in 1Sam 16:7: The Lord does not only “hear” (thus the Greek version in v. 3), but he also “sees”.

A similar case is the relationship between V. 4–5 of the Septuagint and l. 8b–12 of the Qumran version:

Ps 151:4–5

4 αὐτὸς ἐξαπέστειλεν τὸν ἄγγελον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἤρén με ἐκ τῶν προβάτων τοῦ πατρός μου καὶ ἔχρισέν με ἐν τῷ ἑλαίῳ τῆς χρίσεως αὐτοῦ 5 οἱ ἀδελφοί μου καλοὶ καὶ μεγάλοι καὶ οὐκ εὐδόκησεν ἐν αὐτοῖς κύριος

4 It was He who sent his messenger and took me from the sheep of my father and anointed me with the oil of his anointing. 5 My brothers were handsome and tall and the Lord did not take delight in them.

11Q5 XXVIII 8–12

8 שלח נביאו למושחני את שמואל

9 לגדלני יצאו אחי לקראתו יפי התור ויפי המראה הגבהים בקומתם

10 היפים בשערם לוא בחר יהוה אלוהים בם וישלח ויקחני

11 מאחר הצואן וימשחני בשמן הקודש וישימני נגיד לעמו ומושל בבני

12 בריתו

8 He sent his prophet to anoint me, Samuel

9 to make me great. My brothers went out to meet him, handsome of figure and handsome of appearance. They were tall of stature

10 and handsome by their hair. God the Lord did not chose them, and he sent and took me

11 from behind the flock and anointed me with the holy oil, and made me leader to his people and ruler over the sons

12 of his covenant.

Here, not only the text is different but also the sequence of the sentences: In the Septuagint the comparison with the brothers follows the anointing by the messenger, in the Qumran version the comparison is integrated between the sending of the prophet Samuel and the anointing.

Again, the assumption of a textual error in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint (the eye of the scribe jumping from שלח in l. 8 to וישלח in l. 10b), is a possible explanation, but this assumption does not explain why the text of l. 9b–10, the comparison with the brothers, which was skipped by the textual error, comes later in v. 5 of the Septuagint version. And thus again, the other possibility is more likely, that both versions are based on a common *Vorlage* and represent two different stages of the gradual development of the text.

In the Qumran version וישלח in l. 10b looks like a *Wiederaufnahme* of שלח in l. 8. However, the second passage in l. 10–12 (without the addition וישמיני נגיד לעמו in l. 10b–11a) seems to be closer to v. 4 in the Septuagint (in both passages God is the subject of sending and anointing according to 1Sam 16:1, not Saul according to 1Sam 16:19); l. 8–9 look like an extension which introduces the name of Samuel the prophet as the one who is sent to anoint David and to make him great. It seems to me to be significant (and, as far as I can see, not yet noticed in the scholarly literature) that the Qumran version with l. 8–9 and the different sequence of the events pretty much follows – in contrast to the Septuagint – the biblical account in 1Sam 16. Here, too, we find the sequence of “sending” (of God) for “anointing” in V. 1 (אֶשְׁלַחְךָ אֶל-יְשִׁי) and 3 (וּמִשְׁחָתָהּ לִי אֶת אֲשֶׁר-אָמַר אֱלֹהִים), then the meeting with the brothers in V. 5ff, and finally a second sending (in 1Sam 16:11–12 by Samuel, in 11Q5 by God) in order to bring David to Samuel (וְיִשְׁלַח ... וְיִקְחֵנוּ) and anointing him (וְיִמְשַׁח אֹתוֹ) in V. 11–13.

After all, the differences between the two versions can be explained quite easily with the assumption that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint version in Ps 151:4–5 was secondarily supplemented and reformulated in l. 8–10a (and 11b–12) of the Qumran version in order to adjust the earlier, freer *Vorlage* to the biblical reference text in 1Sam 16. It is the same tendency we already observed with V. 3 in l. 7–8a and with V. 6–7 (the Goliath episode) in Ps 151B (l. 13–14).

### 3. A Possible Reconstruction

If we substract all the pluses (additions) in the Qumran version we reach the original poem which is preserved in the Septuagint version and – with some modifications – also in 11Q5. It consists of the following elements:

- a. the introduction vv. 1–2/l. 3–5a
- b. the question “Who will report ...” and the answer “God listens” v. 3/l. 7–8a\* (+ *ladoni* changed in *ladonay* v. 5)
- c. the sending and anointing v. 4/l. 10b–11a
- d. the comparison with the brothers v. 5/l. 9–10a\*

All the pluses of the Qumran version (l. 5b–6, additions in l. 7–12) and the modifications of the sequence of events which are connected with these pluses are secondary. It is significant that these pluses or additions fall out also linguistically as has been demonstrated by Hurvitz and others.<sup>19</sup> Also this linguistic evidence confirms the literary and redaction-historical analysis.

If our observations are correct, the aim of the pluses and modifications in the Qumran version is to adjust the original poem to the biblical account. Whereas the older version (preserved in the Septuagint and also in the kernel of the Qumran text) wants to connect and bring the two episodes of 1Sam 16 (David's anointing and his musical activity at the court of Saul) into the right order, the Qumran version re-shaped this poem according to the biblical narrative in 1Sam 16, followed by the Goliath episode in 1Sam 17 as the first powerful deed of David. This tendency continued in following textual transmission:<sup>20</sup> in the addition of the superscriptions (which also emphasize the Goliath episode), in the textual history of the Septuagint and the Syriac version (adding the fight against lion and bear from 1Sam 17 and Psalm 152–153 into Psalm 151), as well as in Ben Sira (47,1–11) where the fight against lion and bear and the fight against Goliath also play the major role, whereas the musical activities of David were adopted and developed in Chronicles.

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19 See Hurvitz, "Language", 82–87, and his other contributions mentioned above n. 12; for the redaction-critical consequences of the linguistic evidence, see Haran, "Text-Forms", 172–178, esp. 176: "Now all the indications of Late Hebrew and all expressions suggesting artificial and forced language—all of them appear in those portions of the psalm which are not found in the LXX."

20 See Marcos, "David", 204–217.

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## **II. Daughter Versions and Translations of the Greek Psalter**



## Die älteste erreichbare Vetus Latina-Version des Psalters Alte Fragen neu beleuchtet

Die erfreuliche Tatsache, dass die *Editio critica maior* des LXX-Psalters in Angriff genommen werden kann, gibt den geeigneten Anlass, auch bisher ungenügend beantwortete Fragen bezüglich des Vetus-Latina-Psalters und seiner Vorlage neu zu beleuchten. Seit der bewundernswert akribischen Arbeit Paul Capelles zum afrikanischen Psalmentext<sup>1</sup> aus dem Jahr 1913 sind in der Folgezeit besonders diese Themen mit unterschiedlichen Ergebnissen untersucht worden:

1. die Rolle der Bibelzitate Tertullians und ihr Wert
2. der Charakter der ersten lateinischen Übersetzung
3. die Frage nach den Übersetzern und ihrer LXX-Vorlage

Hier soll versucht werden, zur Lösung dieser Fragen beizutragen und zwar im Hinblick auf den Text der Psalmen.<sup>2</sup>

### 1. Grundlagen aus der Vetus Latina-Forschung

Zu den genannten Fragen bietet die Arbeit an den Vetus Latina-Editionen folgendes Material:

Tertullian ist mit seinen Schriftziten, die innerhalb seiner Schaffenszeit (ca. 197–215) in seine Werke eingeflossen sind, der erste Zeuge für einen lateinischen Bibeltext. Handschriften, die diesen Text mehr oder weniger vollständig bieten, sind nicht erhalten. Spuren sind jedoch sowohl in den zahlreichen Psaltermanuskripten als auch bei anderen Autoren zu finden.<sup>3</sup>

Der von Tertullian benutzte Bibeltext ist sehr bald – vielleicht sogar schon während seiner Schaffenszeit<sup>4</sup> – korrigiert worden, wie die Zitate Cyprians ca. 35 Jahre

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1 Capelle, *Texte*.

2 In diesem Rahmen ist es nicht möglich, den gesamten LXX-Text zu berücksichtigen; nur zwei Beispiele (aus Ct und Sap) werden herangezogen.

3 Grundsätzlich können sich auch sehr alte Lesarten bis in die Vulgata hinein durchsetzen; die Zahl der lateinischen Psalterhandschriften mit VL-Texten beträgt ca. 190 (vgl. Gryson, *Altlateinische Handschriften*, 2), der größte Teil enthält das sog. *Gallicanum* des Hieronymus, das jedoch keine vollständig neue Übersetzung ist und so auch altes Gut bewahrt. Ebenso zitieren auch spätere Autoren ältere Texte.

4 Das könnte eine weitere Erklärung dafür sein, dass in Tertullians Spätwerken häufig ein Bibeltext mit „modernerem“ Vokabular erscheint, vgl. dazu auch Anm. 56.



später zeigen.<sup>5</sup> Die Qualität der Erstübersetzung ist durchweg negativ beurteilt worden<sup>6</sup>, entsprechend auch die unbekannten Autoren. Wir kennen weder ihre Namen noch eine wie die für die LXX bekannte Entstehungsgeschichte. Bisher lässt sich keine weitere Erstübersetzung neben dem Text Tertullians nachweisen;<sup>7</sup> dass dieser das Substrat aller folgenden lateinischen Bibeltexte bildet, lässt sich allen bisher erschienenen Editionen ablesen.<sup>8</sup>

## 2. Die Schriftzitate Tertullians

Tertullian scheint der ideale Zeuge zu sein: er berücksichtigt fast alle biblischen Bücher, die Zahl seiner Zitate beträgt rund 2000, für den Psalter 152, darunter auch Mehrfachzitate, die Werke selbst sind – zumindest grob – datierbar, allgemein ein Vorzug vor den in Handschriften gebotenen Texten. Allerdings lässt eine Reihe von Schwierigkeiten an der Verlässlichkeit Tertullians als Zeugen zweifeln.

Die Mehrfachzitate zeigen öfter unterschiedliches Vokabular; teilweise bieten die Zitate einen offenbar „modernerem“ Text, manchmal auch eine Nähe zum Hebräischen. Das betrifft besonders die Lesarten, die der oben erwähnten ersten Korrektur zum Opfer fielen. Deren Charakter erscheint ebenso „unlateinisch“ wie zum Teil mit der griechischen Vorlage eher unvereinbar. Zu diesen Problemen kommt eine desaströse Überlieferungsgeschichte fast aller Werke.<sup>9</sup>

Capelle hat alle diese Probleme bemerkt<sup>10</sup> und bietet dafür folgende Erklärungen:<sup>11</sup> Tertullian bedient sich eines schriftlich fixierten Textes, benutzt aber auch weitere,

5 In der VL-Edition sind die afrikanischen Texttypen mit X, K und C unterschieden. Cyprians Text (C) enthält noch viel altes Material, vgl. Capelle, *Texte*, 7–10, der auf Übereinstimmungen und Unterschiede der beiden Psalmentexte aufmerksam macht.

6 Typisch ist das Urteil Augustins: *ut enim cuique primis fidei temporibus in manus venit codex graecus et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguae habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari* (do 2,16).

7 Soweit es aus den Vetus Latina-Ausgaben sichtbar ist, wird – für die afrikanischen Texte – keine von X, C und K unabhängige Version erkennbar. Auch die Untersuchung des Novatian-Textes, geschrieben vor 251 in Rom, ergab keine unabhängige Übersetzung, vgl. dazu Mattei, „Recherches“; Capelle, *Texte*, vermutete dagegen „l'emploi de plusieurs versions latines“ durch Tertullian (ebd., 20, Abs. III).

8 Die in der VL-Edition in chronologischer Reihenfolge untereinander gebotenen Texttypen zeigen deutlich, dass ihre Unterschiede zum größten Teil nur in der Änderung des synonymen Vokabulars bestehen, die weniger dem Inhalt als einer Modernisierung und Glättung der lateinischen Version galt.

9 Vgl. dazu die Übersicht in *Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina* 1, VI–VIII, und die jeweiligen Monita zu den einzelnen Werken.

10 Capelle, *Texte*, 1–3.

11 Capelle, *Texte*, 20f.; 180f. Dabei betont Capelle: „Les variations ... peuvent s'expliquer ... le plus souvent par la négligence propre aux citations de mémoire“ (ebd., 20).

die zu seiner Zeit existierten. Dazu zitiert er häufig frei und aus dem Gedächtnis. Als Doppelsprachler greift er ab und zu auch auf die griechische Vorlage zurück und übersetzt selbst. Aber auch die schlechte Überlieferung ist für eventuelle spätere Modernisierungen verantwortlich.

Diese Lösungsvorschläge sind von der folgenden Forschung – vielleicht allzu bereitwillig – übernommen worden. Das betrifft auch die Editionen der Vetus Latina-Ausgabe.<sup>12</sup>

Gegen die Mehrzahl dieser Lösungsvorschläge sprechen allerdings Argumente, die Arbeiten an Vetus Latina-Texten zu verdanken sind:

- Eine Vielzahl von lateinischen Bibelübersetzungen zur Zeit Tertullians konnte bisher nicht nachgewiesen werden.<sup>13</sup>
- Die angebliche Ungenauigkeit von Zitaten „aus dem Gedächtnis“ verkennt die Gedächtnisleistungen unserer Vorfahren.
- Der Gedanke, dass ein Autor, der sogar eigene Werke in griechischer Sprache verfasste, auch eigenständig aus der LXX übersetzte, liegt natürlich nahe; und die Fantasie, mit der Tertullian mit der lateinischen Sprache umging und sich auch vor gewagten Neologismen nicht scheute<sup>14</sup>, lässt Vermutungen zu, dass sein Bibeltext mit eigenen originellen Elementen durchsetzt ist. Dagegen sprechen meine Untersuchungen.<sup>15</sup> Tertullians Wortschatz umfasst ca. 9000 Lexeme; davon kommt etwa ein Drittel ausschließlich in den Schriftzitaten vor. Diese Wörter werden von Tertullian in den eigenen Teilen seiner Werke nie benutzt, mit anderen Worten: die Sprache der Bibelzitate ist nicht die Sprache Tertullians. Vielmehr zeigen etliche Stellen, dass er den ihm vorliegenden Bibeltext unkontrolliert benutzt, bzw. ein unbekanntes Wort zwar erklärt, aber trotzdem den Bibeltext unverändert stehen lässt.<sup>16</sup> Das betrifft auch Begriffe, die er diskutiert; auch hier bleibt er in Zitaten bei der kritisierten Lesart.<sup>17</sup>

12 So z. B. auch Thiele, *Wortschatzuntersuchungen*: „Tertullian ist weithin von der lateinischen Bibelübersetzung unabhängig und hat ihre Geschichte nicht beeinflusst“ (ebd., 35 f.). Vgl. auch Wellstein, *Nova verba*, 44 f.

13 Vgl. Anm. 7 und 8.

14 Zu Tertullian als Schöpfer von Neologismen vgl. Wellstein, *Nova verba*, mit einem Forschungsüberblick S. 14 ff. Wellstein trennt die Neuschöpfungen Tertullians von denjenigen, die augenscheinlich aus vorhandenen Bibelübersetzungen stammen.

15 Die Zahlen beruhen auf Hochrechnungen, die sich aus Zählungen eines Drittels des Materials ergaben, das der *Index Tertullianus* enthält (Claesson, *Index*). Darin sind alle Wortvorkommen in Bibelzitaten gekennzeichnet.

16 Unkontrolliert und ohne Rücksicht auf den Kontext benutzt und kommentiert Tertullian z. B. *phoenix* (Ps 91,18 in res 13,5) als ‚Vogel‘ anstatt als ‚Palme‘; ebenso *resignaculum* (Ez 28,12) anstatt *signaculum*. Dass er vorhandenen Bibeltext benutzt, beweisen z. B. Stellen wie *zibinas, quod genus venabulorum est* (Marc IV 1,5); *arundinem contusam, id est quassam* (Marc III 17,4); *sophia sapientia est* (Scorp 7,1.2).

17 So z. B. Prax 5,1–6,3, wo die Übersetzung von λόγος (später *verbum*) in Jo 1,3 mit *sermo* oder besser mit *ratio* diskutiert wird; ähnlich die Versionen von πνοή (Gn 2,7) mit *flatus, adflatus* oder

Das wirkliche Problem liegt jedoch bei der schlechten Überlieferung der Werke Tertullians.<sup>18</sup> Die fehlende zuverlässige Grundlage verführte offensichtlich in späteren Abschriften und Editionen zu Konjekturen und Modernisierungen. Eine mögliche Ursache für abweichendes Vokabular in den Mehrfachzitaten ist, dass die erste Korrektur des biblischen Vokabulars bereits zu Lebzeiten Tertullians stattfand und er in seinen Spätwerken die neuen Lesarten bereits benutzte. Diese Möglichkeit muss jedoch in einer eigenen Studie untersucht werden.

Als Fazit ergibt sich: Tertullian bleibt notwendigerweise als ältester Zeuge auch der entscheidende Zeuge für die erste uns zugängliche lateinische Bibelübersetzung – und unter Berücksichtigung der genannten Schwierigkeiten – auch ein verlässlicher.<sup>19</sup>

### 3. Der Charakter der von Tertullian bezeugten Version

Die Urteile über die Qualität dieser Übersetzung sind denkbar schlecht; stellvertretend hier eine Charakterisierung G. Quispels:<sup>20</sup>

„The Language, style and syntax of the VL is so clumsy, literalistic, folksy and outlandish that it must have been made by people who knew neither Greek nor Latin.“

P. Capelle betont besonders die Volkstümlichkeit, Grobheit und mangelnde Literaturfähigkeit.<sup>21</sup> Daneben gab es Versuche, hier den Anfang einer christlichen Sondersprache oder Ausdruck eines „afrikanischen Lateins“ zu sehen.<sup>22</sup> Sie sind inzwischen aufgegeben worden.

Eine Analyse gerade der eher ungewöhnlichen „unlateinischen“ Wörter, die teilweise schon in der ersten Korrektur durch „elegantere“ Synonyme ersetzt worden sind, ergab, dass die Übersetzungsmethode und die Motivation ihrer Urheber anders beurteilt werden muss.

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*spiritus* (Marc II 9,1–2), vgl. dazu auch Wellstein, *Nova verba*, der allerdings *adflatus* für den vorhandenen Bibeltext hält und nicht das dem Simplex entsprechende *flatus* (ebd., 48–50).

18 Vgl. dazu die Angaben in den jeweiligen Editionen sowie die textkritischen Apparate.

19 Auch hier gilt, die *lectio difficilior* zu bevorzugen, aber besonders die nur von Tertullian oder gemeinsam mit Cyprian und anderen afrikanischen Texten bezeugten Lesarten. Von Lesarten aus der Schicht der ersten Korrekturen (vgl. Anm. 4 und 56) sind eventuelle spätere Angleichungen an modernere Texttypen zu unterscheiden.

20 Quispel, „African Christianity“, 261.

21 Capelle, *Texte*, 183.

22 Vgl. den Forschungsüberblick in Wellstein, *Nova verba*, 42–48.

Hier einige besonders aufschlussreiche Beispiele:<sup>23</sup>

- Ps 44,3–5 (LXX) (TE Marc III 7, 5. 14,1. 17,2; Jud 9,17. 14,5) wird die körperliche Schönheit des Bräutigams gepriesen: er ist *ὡραῖος*, *speciosus*, bzw. *decorus*, wie es in späteren Vet Lat-Versionen heißt. Tertullian dagegen bezeugt *tempestivus*. Damit wird offensichtlich versucht, der Vorlage, d. h. einer Ableitung von *ὡρα* mit einer ebensolchen von *tempus* zu entsprechen<sup>24</sup>
- Ps 21,7 (TE Marc III 7,2. 17,3; IV 21,12): *ὄνειδος ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἐξουδένημα λαοῦ*. Für *ἐξουδένημα* bietet Tertullian *nullificamen*, auch hier ein Bemühen um Genauigkeit der Übersetzung. Dem *οὐδέν* entspricht *nullum*, während Ga *abiectio* bietet, Hebr *despectio*. Ebenso lautet die frühe Vet Lat in der Handschrift 136 bezüglich des Verbs *ἐξουδενώω* (Ps 118,118) *nullificasti omnes discedentes a mandatis tuis* (Ga *sprevisti*; Hebr *abiecisti*).<sup>25</sup> Wie sehr *nullificare* als „schlechtes“ Latein empfunden wurde, beweist Hieronymus, der solche Bildungen als *portenta*, als „Wortungetüme“ bezeichnet.<sup>26</sup>
- Ps 2,1 (TE Marc I 21,1; III 22,3; IV 42,2; V 3,8.res 20,4): *ἵνα τί ἐφρῦάξαν ἔθνη*, *qua re fremuerunt gentes* bietet Ga, *qua re turbabuntur gentes* Hebr, üblicherweise ins Deutsche übersetzt: „warum murren die Heiden“, aber Tertullian – und auch Cyprian – zitieren ... *tumultuatae sunt gentes*. Dies scheint eine eher freie Übersetzung zu sein, spricht jedoch von genauerer Kenntnis der Herkunft von *tumultuor*, nämlich von *tumor* (Schwellung)/*tumeo* (aufgeblasen, aufgebracht sein). Damit kommt *tumultuari* *φρυάσσω* (sich brüsten, stolz sein, schnauben) bedeutend näher; der Sinn des Verses ist ja nicht, dass die Völker murren oder toben, sondern den Aufstand gegen Jahwe planen.
- Ps 18,8 (TE Marc IV 1,5; pud 6,4): *ὁ νόμος τοῦ κυρίου ἄμωμος*. Auch hier hat die frühe Vet Lat die formal, inhaltlich und etymologisch genauere Übersetzung: *lex* (scil. *domini*) *invituperabilis* gegenüber Ga und Hebr *lex domini immaculata*, wobei *invituperabilis* – bei Tertullian im Schriftzitat zum ersten Mal bezeugt – von Hieronymus gewiss auch als *portentum* empfunden wurde.
- Ps 21,8 (TE Marc 42,4): *ἐξεμυκτήρισάν με* „verlachten/verspotteten mich“. Hier führt der Wille zur Genauigkeit zu der skurrilen Übersetzung *naso inridebant*

23 Die Sigla für biblische Bücher und lateinische Autoren sowie ihrer Werke folgen der Vetus Latina-Edition. Dazu bezeichnet Ga das *Psalterium Gallicanum* des Hieronymus (die hexaplarische Rezension, nach 385), die zur sog. Vulgata wurde; mit Hebr ist seine Psalmenübersetzung aus dem Hebräischen, ca. anno 390, bezeichnet. Die Zählung der Psalmen folgt der LXX.

24 Vgl. auch Is 52,7: *ὡς ὡρα ... πόδες*. TE Marc III 22,1, Marc V 2,5 *quam tempestivi pedes*.

25 Die Handschrift 136 (Monte Cassino, Archivio della Badia 557 A), obwohl erst nach 1150 geschrieben, enthält vermutlich einiges sehr altes Material. TE zitiert Ps 118,118 nicht.

26 HI ep 106,57: ... *adnihilasti vel adnullasti vel nullificasti et si qua alia possunt inveniri apud inperitos portenta verborum*.

me, die Nase (μυκτῆρ) der Vorlage durfte nicht unberücksichtigt bleiben;<sup>27</sup> Ga begnügt sich mit *deridere*, Hebr mit *subsannare*.

Hypergenauigkeit lässt sich auch in der vermutlich ersten lateinischen Übersetzung anderer biblischer Bücher beobachten, wo Tertullian als Zeuge leider ausfällt. Hier zwei besonders deutliche Beispiele (eine Untersuchung aller Bücher der hebräischen Bibel bzw. ihrer Septuagintafassung hinsichtlich der ersten lateinischen Übersetzung ist ein Desiderat).

1. Sap 4,3 (vgl. AU do 2,18): ἐκ νόθων μοσχευμάτων οὐ δώσει ρίζαν εἰς βάθος. Das Hapaxlegomenon μόσχευμα bereitet Schwierigkeiten bei der Übersetzung; man orientierte sich nicht am Kontext, wie Augustin es empfiehlt und *plantaria* wählt, sondern erfindet, der Etymologie folgend, nach μόσχος = *vitulus* den Neologismus *vitulamen*: *spuria vitulamina non dabunt radices altas*. So wird aus der unehelichen Nachkommenschaft „eine uneheliche Kälberei, die keine tiefen Wurzeln treibt“.<sup>28</sup>
2. Ct 1,3 (vgl. Greg. Elib. S. 74): μύρον ἐκκενωθὲν ὀνομά σου. Auch Unpassendes gerät auf diese Weise in einen hochpoetischen Text „dein Name ist eine ausgegossene Salbe“. Das κενός ist in die erste lateinische Übersetzung mit *exinanitum* getreulich aufgenommen.<sup>29</sup> Allerdings ist *exinanire* ein ausgesprochen unpoetisches Wort und wird eher für körperliche Entleerungen benutzt. Schon die erste Korrektur ändert in *unguentum effusum nomen tuum*.
  - Ps 18,9 (TE pud 6,4): ἡ ἐντολὴ κυρίου τηλαυγὴς φωτίζουσα ὀφθαλμούς. Auch hier findet sich eine Hypergenauigkeit: *praeceptum domini longe lucens inluminans oculos*. Spätere Versionen begnügen sich mit *lucidum*.
  - Ps 17,26 (LXX) (TE Marc V 18,6): μετὰ ὁσίου ὁσιωθήσῃ.
  - Ps 115,6 (LXX) (TE Marc IV 39,18): τίμιος ἐναντίον κυρίου ὁ θάνατος τῶν ὁσίων αὐτοῦ.

ὁσίος, gewöhnlich mit „fromm“ übersetzt, wird in Tertullians und Cyprians Bibeltext jedoch nicht durch *pious* wiedergegeben. Nach der ersten Korrektur<sup>30</sup> finden wir *sanctus*, so auch noch in Ga und Hebr. Das klingt vertraut, auch im Neugriechischen entspricht ὁσίος unserem „heilig“. Tertullian, Cyprian und hier und

27 Auch im Lateinischen spielt die Nase im Kontext von Spott eine Rolle – z. B. *nares suspendere* –, aber nicht mit *ridere*. Die scheinbare Parallele bei Martial 5,19,17 kann nicht zum Vergleich herangezogen werden.

28 Vgl. AU do 2,18; Tertullian zitiert die Stelle nicht.

29 Vgl. Schulz-Flügel, *Gregorius Eliberritanus*, 74 mit textkritischem Apparat. Tertullian zitiert die Stelle nicht.

30 Die Korrektur von *iustus* zu *sanctus* ist nicht aus stilistischen Gründen zu erklären, sondern eher theologischen, d. h. Anzeichen einer ‚Christianisierung‘. Ob die erste Korrektur auch an anderen Stellen Zeichen dafür aufweist, bedarf einer eigenen Untersuchung.

da auch Spätere<sup>31</sup> bieten jedoch *iustus*: Ps 17,26 *cum iusto iustus eris*; Ps 115,6 *honorabilis mors iustorum (eius)*.

Abgesehen davon, dass *iustus* ὁσῖος klanglich näherkommt als *pious* oder *sanc-tus*<sup>32</sup>, ist die Wahl von *iustus* vielmehr der Kenntnis des theologischen Hintergrunds geschuldet. Im hebräischen Text findet man an den entsprechenden Stellen חסיד (*chasid*), ein Wort, das fast ausschließlich in den Psalmen erscheint, ein Adjektiv bzw. eine Handlungsweise, die sowohl Gott als auch den Seinen, d. h. seinen Bündnispartnern zukommt. Der Bundesgedanke bildet den kontextlichen Hintergrund der Zitate, d. h. das Einhalten Jahwes seiner Zusagen einerseits und das dafür eingeforderte Einhalten der Gesetze durch den Menschen andererseits. Der Mensch spiegelt in seinem Verhalten dasjenige Gottes, das ist die Gerechtigkeit (צדקה), die Inhalt des Bundes ist. So wäre חסיד weder mit dem profan geprägten δίκαιος angemessen wiedergegeben und ebensowenig mit εὐσεβής,<sup>33</sup> sondern mit ὁσῖος, das auch im klassischen Griechisch die Bedeutung von göttlichem Recht im Gegensatz zum profanen mitbringt. Im Lateinischen existiert kein Wort, das die aktive menschliche Antwort auf das göttliche *fas* beinhalten könnte.<sup>34</sup> So bleibt nur das „gerechtes“ Handeln umfassende *iustus*, das aber jedem Kundigen die Bedeutung von „gerecht“ als Beziehung zu Gott deutlich macht.<sup>35</sup>

#### 4. Die Methode der ersten lateinischen Übersetzer

Wie diese Beispiele zeigen, waren die Autoren der ersten Vetus Latina-Version keinesfalls „people who knew neither Greek nor Latin“. Im Gegenteil verfügten sie über Kenntnisse etymologischer Zusammenhänge in beiden Sprachen, nach denen sie ihr Vokabular einsetzten und teilweise neu formten. Ein deutliches Motiv ist das Bemühen um äußerste Genauigkeit in Hinsicht auf die Quellsprache bis hin zur Einhaltung der Wortfolge, wenn möglich, und sogar zum Verstoß gegen Stil und Regeln der Zielsprache. Dazu gehört auch, dass alle Elemente der Quellsprache vollständig in der Übersetzung erhalten werden sollten, auch gegen lateinischen Sprachgebrauch. Gelegentlich unterstützt auch Klangähnlichkeit die Überein-

31 Eine umfassende Übersicht über dieses Phänomen, die auch die neutestamentlichen Bücher berücksichtigt, kann hier nicht geboten werden.

32 Neben etymologischen und formalen Kriterien spielt auch eine Klangähnlichkeit bei der Wortwahl von Fall zu Fall eine Rolle.

33 Zwar beinhaltet auch εὐσεβής pflichtgemäßes Handeln gegenüber einer Gottheit, aber nicht die Einbindung in ein Vertragsverhältnis, das über die Gesinnung hinaus die aktive Tat verlangt; d. h. die Erfüllung des Gesetzes.

34 Den Hinweis darauf verdanke ich Peter Lauk, Tübingen.

35 Es sei hier an die noch heute gültige ehrende Bezeichnung als „Gerechter unter den Völkern“ erinnert.

stimmung mit der Quellsprache. Darüber hinaus ist als Hintergrund die Bindung an jüdische Theologie erkennbar.

Diese Übersetzungsmethode entspricht derjenigen eines Aqiba und eines Aquila. Es sei hier an das Wort des Hieronymus erinnert, der im Zusammenhang mit der Verteidigung seiner Bibelübersetzung aus dem Hebräischen sagt, dass eben diese Sprache die *matrix* aller anderen Sprachen sei.<sup>36</sup>

Das entspricht vorderasiatischer und damit auch jüdischer Sprachphilosophie, die dem Wort eine konkrete Wirkmächtigkeit zuspricht, die teilweise magische Züge aufweist. Genau diese Wertschätzung von Sprache verlangt die penible Genauigkeit einer Übersetzung, die bei den Verfassern der ersten lateinischen Bibelübersetzung zu beobachten ist.

So kann man diese Version auch nicht als mündliche Interpretation während des Gottesdienstes ansehen, wie man lange die Entstehung dieser Übersetzung erklären wollte.<sup>37</sup> Ebenso wenig sind die Unebenheiten in der lateinischen Sprache ein Zeichen für Volkssprache oder „afrikanisches“ Latein, sondern der Charakter der frühen Vetus Latina spricht für eine überlegte „wissenschaftliche“ Arbeit auf jüdischem Hintergrund.

## 5. „Jüdischer Ursprung“ der Vetus Latina in der bisherigen Forschung

Nun ist die Vermutung, die erste Schicht der Vetus Latina stamme aus jüdischem Umfeld, alles andere als neu. Bereits 1925 legte D. S. Blondheim seine These von der Entstehung der lateinischen Bibel aus jüdischen Wurzeln vor.<sup>38</sup> Seine Argumente konnten jedoch bisher nicht überzeugen.<sup>39</sup> Er vermutete, jüdische Lehrer hätten die – offenbar als Christen gedachte – Verfasser der lateinischen Übersetzung beeinflusst und argumentierte weniger mit dem Bibeltext selbst als mit

36 HI So 3,14,18 „*nosse possimus linguam hebraicam omnium linguarum esse matricem*“. Auch Hieronymus war offensichtlich von der jüdischen Übersetzungsmethode beeinflusst (vgl. Schulz-Flügel, *Gottes Wort*, 753–758). Die *matrix* ist mehr als *mater*, d. h. direkte Erzeugerin, sondern Ausgangspunkt der οὐσία/*proprietas*/des Wesens einer Sache/eines Begriffs/einer Person. Dieses „Wesen“ bleibt in allen Ableitungen erhalten und prägt auch Elemente der äußeren Erscheinung. So ist für Tertullian *praeordialis lex data Adae et Evae in paradiso quasi matrix omnium praeceptorum dei* (Iud 2,22).

37 Diese Erklärung hielt ich selbst einmal für plausibel, vgl. Schulz-Flügel, *Latin Old Testament*, 645.

38 Blondheim, *Les Parlers Judéo-Romans*, passim, besonders „Chapitre premier, Rapports entre les Juifs et le christianisme occidental primitif“ (ebd., IX–LXIX). Für eine Würdigung der Arbeit Blondheims ist hier nicht der Ort; mit einer Fülle von Beobachtungen und Material hat er späteren Untersuchungen den Weg bereitet.

39 Eventuell waren seine Ergebnisse zur Zeit des Erscheinens seiner Arbeit (1925) auch nicht erwünscht; allerdings vermisst man klarere Aussagen, wie eine Einflussnahme von Juden auf die Bibel der christlichen Gemeinde sich vollzogen haben soll.

Beispielen aus späteren romanischen Sprachen.<sup>40</sup> Die Grundidee der Verbindung von Vetus Latina und Judentum wurde jedoch weiterhin in Betracht gezogen.<sup>41</sup> In einer ausführlichen und materialreichen Studie hat besonders G. Quispel die jüdische Gemeinde Karthagos als Quelle der Vetus Latina und Tertullian als genauen Kenner der Juden seiner Stadt dargestellt.<sup>42</sup> Allerdings betrachtet er den lateinischen Text als „den Targum von Karthago“ und hält offenbar an einer mündlichen Entstehung fest.<sup>43</sup> Dagegen spricht jedoch besonders die sorgfältig eingehaltene Wortfolge, die in einer ad-hoc erfolgten Übersetzung kaum möglich ist. Dass jedoch die Vetus Latina ohne jüdischen Hintergrund nicht zu denken ist, beweist die Übersetzungsmethode, wie sie aus den obigen Exempeln deutlich wird, und der daraus erwachsene Charakter der ersten Vetus Latina.

## 6. Die Frage nach der griechischen Vorlage

Es bleibt die Frage, welchen griechischen Text die Juden Karthagos als Vorlage für ihre Übersetzung benutzten. Leider wissen wir viel zu wenig vom jüdischen Leben im lateinisch sprechenden Nordafrika<sup>44</sup> und ebensowenig über die Christianisierung dieser Weltgegend.

Dass es Juden in Karthago gab, bezeugt bereits Tertullian, zeigen aber auch jüdische Grabsteine mit fast ausnahmslos lateinischen Inschriften, leider ohne eindeutige Schriftzitate.<sup>45</sup> Auch Quispel trägt Fakten zur Existenz jüdischer Gemeinden im westlichen Nordafrika bei; so vermutet er ihre Herkunft aus Syrien und Palästina.<sup>46</sup>

Wie es scheint, weisen die zahlreichen archäologischen Mosaikfunde bisher nicht auf die Herkunft aus einer karthagischen Synagoge hin. Es ist zu hoffen, dass weitere Funde ein Exemplar mit dem eindeutigen Bruchstück des Vetus Latina-Textes zutage fördern.<sup>47</sup>

40 Blondheim vermutete lediglich einen „Einfluss“; „Certaines considérations m’ont porté à croire que la cause des accords entre la langue des Juifs et le latin ecclésiastique est surtout une influence exercée par les Juifs sur les chrétiens .... Les premiers traducteurs chrétiens étaient peut-être ou des Juifs convertis, ou des élèves de maîtres juifs“ (Blondheim, *Les Parlers Judéo-Romans*, X).

41 Vgl., z. B. Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 14 und 555.

42 Quispel, „African Christianity“, 251–335.

43 Quispel, „African Christianity“, 261.

44 Vgl. Quispel, „African Christianity“, 257–260.

45 Braun, *Deus Christianorum*, 555, Anm. 1, fasst die 1977 bekannten Ergebnisse zu den nordafrikanischen Inschriften zusammen: die Mehrzahl der jüdischen Grabsteine trägt lateinische Texte, zwar mit biblischem Vokabular, aber ohne ganze Zitate.

46 Quispel, „African Christianity“, 257; Müller, *Grundzüge*, 89 f.

47 Es ist durchaus möglich, dass entsprechende Stücke in Depots der Museen auf eine Entdeckung warten. Nach Quispel, „African Christianity“, 270, und Blondheim, *Les Parlers Judéo-Romans*,



Zurück zu der Frage, welchen LXX-Text die jüdischen Gemeinden nach Nordafrika mitbrachten und als Vorlage für die Übersetzung benutzten, die sicher dann notwendig wurde, als der überwiegende Teil der Gemeinde die Sprache der Umwelt, d. h. Latein sprach.

Schon Capelle ging der Frage nach der Vorlage nach,<sup>48</sup> ebenso versucht Rahlfs eine Zuordnung.<sup>49</sup> Irritieren muss, dass Tertullians Bibeltext nicht nur jüdischen Ursprung vermuten lässt, sondern auch Nähe zu dem Text zeigt, den Rahlfs als den oberägyptischen bezeichnet.<sup>50</sup> Aus ihm stammt z. B. der christliche Zusatz in Ps 95,10: ὁ κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν + ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου. Tertullian kommentiert diesen sehr ausführlich,<sup>51</sup> sodass feststeht, dass er nicht nachträglich eingeflossen sein kann.

Aus diesen Beobachtungen ergibt sich folgende These:

Falls die Herkunft der jüdischen Gemeinde aus dem syrisch-palästinensischen Raum zutrifft, ist anzunehmen, dass auch ihr LXX-Text von dort stammt, nämlich der antiochenische,<sup>52</sup> der – fälschlich oder nicht – als Lukiantext in die Forschung eingegangen ist.

Capelle konnte zeigen, dass sowohl Tertullians Bibeltext als auch derjenige Cyprians Übereinstimmungen mit diesem sog. Lukiantext aufweisen, ebenso aber auch mit der Handschrift B, nach Rahlfs dem unterägyptischen Text zuzuordnen.<sup>53</sup> Mit der neuen LXX-Edition der Psalmen wird vermutlich eine präzisere Einordnung der Überlieferungsstränge der LXX so nötig wie möglich werden; das jedoch steht schon heute fest, dass die Vorlage der ersten Vetus Latina sowohl antiochenische wie auch ägyptische, d. h. alexandrinische Einflüsse erkennbar sind. So kam schon Capelle zu dem Schluss, dass die Vetus Latina aus zwei Quellen gespeist wurde.<sup>54</sup>

Die vorsichtige These zur Frage nach der LXX-Vorlage könnte lauten: das Substrat der ersten Vetus Latina beruht auf dem Bibeltext der jüdischen Gemeinden im westlichen Nordafrika. Mit der christlichen Missionierung, die in Analogieschluss zur griechischen Welt offenbar in den jüdischen Gemeinden ihren Anfang nahm, kam der Einfluss eines „ägyptischen“ Textes zum Tragen. Mit der Abspaltung eines

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XXXIX und LXIII, enthalten auch die Inschriften aus der Synagoge in Hamman Lif – auf die mich auch S. Kreuzer aufmerksam machte –, keine längeren Schriftzitate, die der ältesten fassbaren Vetus Latina zuzuordnen wären.

48 Capelle, *Texte*, 195–211 (Supplément I).

49 Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, 32–52.

50 Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, 28–31.

51 Tertullian, Marc III 19, 1–4. Auch wenn eventuell eine Beeinflussung durch Justin möglich ist, so muss Tertullian den Zusatz in seinem Bibeltext vorgefunden haben.

52 Auf die Problematik, die die Beurteilung und Benennung des sog. Lukiantextes und des antiochenischen betrifft, kann hier nicht eingegangen werden.

53 Capelle, *Texte*, 200–207; Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*, 26–28. Die von Capelle und Rahlfs vorgenommenen Zuordnungen werden für die zukünftige kritische Psalmenedition neu erarbeitet werden müssen.

54 Capelle, *Texte*, 203 f. und 207.

christlichen Teils der jüdischen Gemeinde wurde eine zweite griechische Vorlage notwendig, auch um neutestamentliche Bücher zu berücksichtigen.<sup>55</sup> Mit der Distanzierung vom jüdischen Gemeindeteil erfolgte möglicherweise auch die erste Korrektur;<sup>56</sup> ebenso beeinflusste die offenbar aus Ägypten stammende zweite Vorlage den „alten“ Bibeltext.

Daraus folgt, dass der erste uns zugängliche Vetus Latina-Text bereits ein Mischtext war aus der antiochenischen und alexandrinischen Überlieferung.<sup>57</sup>

## 7. Fazit

Als Bausteine für die künftige Editio critica maior des LXX-Psalters sollten in Hinsicht auf die oben genannten Fragen berücksichtigt werden:

1. Tertullians Bibeltext enthält wichtige Anteile der ersten Vetus Latina-Version.
2. Der Text beruht auf zwei Vorlagen; die Übersetzer folgten mit ihrer Arbeit jüdischer Methode.<sup>58</sup>
3. Als Mischtext aus zwei Vorlagen verschiedener Provenienz bietet die erste Vetus Latina Material aus antiochenischer sowie ägyptischer (alexandrinischer?) LXX-Texttradition.

## 8. Abkürzungen

- AU do** Martin, Josef, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini, De doctrina christiana. De vera religione. Aurelii Augustini opera, Pars IV,1. CC.L 32* (Turhout: Brepols, 1962).
- HI ep** Hilberg, Isidor, *Sancti Eusebii Hieronymi epistulae. CSEL 55* (Wien, Leipzig: Tempsky u. a., 1912).
- HI So** Adriaen, Marc, „Hieronymi commentariorum in Sophoniam prophetam liber“, in *S. Hieronymi presbyteri opera 1,6. Commentarii in prophetas minores*, hg. von demselben. CC.L 76A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1970), 665–711.

55 Ob die Ergebnisse zur Gestalt des ältesten lateinischen Psalmentextes sich auch für neutestamentliche Texte feststellen lassen, muss überprüft werden.

56 Eventuell war mit den ersten Korrekturen auch – oder hauptsächlich – eine ‚Christianisierung‘ verbunden, wie sie z. B. nach der Zeit Cyprians am Austausch von *iustus* durch *sanctus* zu beobachten ist (s. o. zu ὁσῖος in Ps 17,26 LXX und 115,6). Eine dementsprechende Untersuchung steht noch aus.

57 Zur Bezeichnung von ‚antiochenisch‘ und ‚alexandrinisch‘ vgl. Anm. 52.

58 Die hier aufgeführten Ergebnisse betreffen, wie erwähnt, nur den Psalter. Ob sie sich für andere Teile der Bibel ganz oder teilweise bestätigen lassen, kann nur durch weitere Untersuchungen beantwortet werden.

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## The Quadripartite Psalter Manuscripts, Witnesses and New Findings

This paper deals with the so-called “quadripartite Psalters”, namely the Psalter manuscripts, which contain four different versions of the Psalms. It presents the content of these Psalters focusing on their Greek texts, their witnesses, and their affinities, as well as aspects of the cultural and historical context, in which they were produced and transmitted.

### 1. The First Quadripartite Psalter: Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Bibl. 44 (A I 14) = Ra 1037<sup>1</sup>

At the beginning of the 10th century Solomon III, the powerful bishop of Constance and abbot of the Monastery of St. Gall in Switzerland, commissioned a Psalter manuscript in a large format, which contains four different versions of the Psalms (see fig. 1). This “quadripartite Psalter” or “*psalterium quadruplex*” is currently preserved in the Staatsbibliothek in Bamberg. The first three columns include the Latin versions of the Psalms by Jerome. The first column contains the so-called “*Psalterium Gallicanum*”, namely Jerome’s revision of the Old Latin Psalms according to Origen’s hexaplaric recension. The second one consists of the “*Psalterium Romanum*”, Jerome’s revision of the Old Latin Psalter, which includes improvements made after the comparison with the Greek text of the Septuagint. The third column includes the “*Psalterium Hebraicum*”, Jerome’s translation of the Psalms from Hebrew.<sup>2</sup> The last column provides the Greek text of the Septuagint transliterated into Latin. With regard to the textual tradition of the Psalms, this Psalter is significant because it transmits some of the oldest versions of the Psalms. In particular, the *Psalterium Gallicanum* (often called “*Gallicum*” in the manuscripts) is an important indirect witness to Origen’s hexaplaric recension, which is today preserved only in fragments.<sup>3</sup>

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1 For the description of the manuscript see Leitschuh/Fischer, *Katalog*, 36–39, Gryson, *Manuscripts*, 47–49, Hoffmann, *Handschriften*, 109–110 and the Göttinger Septuaginta: [https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra\\_1037](https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra_1037) (last access: 15.08.2023).

2 On the Latin versions of Jerome see Charzyńska-Wójcik, *Text*, 10 and Goins, “Jerome’s Psalters”, 185–198.

3 On Origen’s hexaplaric recension see Albrecht, “Origen’s Fifth Column”.

At the beginning of the manuscript, there are several Latin prefaces to the Psalms, including Jerome's letter on the translation of the Psalms (letter to Sunnias and Fretela) and poems dedicated to the Psalter and David, while in the last part of the manuscript, after the Psalms and the Odes, there are several prayers and hymns written in Latin and in Greek script, such as the Lord's Prayer, the Nicene Creed, the Gloria, the Apostles' Creed and the Athanasian Creed. The Latin script employed here is the Carolingian minuscule. The Greek script is a majuscule, which has been executed in an archaizing western style and clearly indicates that it has been written by a western hand.<sup>4</sup> It is worth noting that at the time, the minuscule script was common in the Byzantine empire.<sup>5</sup> These liturgical texts include a litany of saints in Greek and Latin containing invocations to many male and female saints, mostly Western ones (e.g., St. Clement, St. Victor, St. Felix). It seems that a western scribe, who had little knowledge of Greek, made an effort to render the Latin names into Greek, but not always successfully, since he made many orthographical errors and he produced names that are totally unknown in Greek (e.g., Φιλικιανος-Feliciane, Κιντινος-Quintine, Συμφοριάνε-Symphoriane). At the end of the litany, there is a reference to an unspecified 'king Louis'. Berschin believes this to be referring to the emperor Louis the Child, who was ruling at the time of Solomon III (900–911).<sup>6</sup> Since Solomon had good relations with the Carolingian court, this reference comes as no surprise.

The holdings of the medieval library of the monastery of St. Gall include numerous bilingual biblical and grammatical manuscripts (in Greek and Latin) or manuscripts containing the Greek alphabet tables and Greek words, which display a special interest in the Greek language. These Greek elements are related to the scholarly interests of the Irish monks who lived in the monastery during that era and had some sort of knowledge in the Greek language.<sup>7</sup> For instance, the Benedictine monk and well-known scholar Notker Balbulus knew Greek, and he was the teacher of Solomon.<sup>8</sup>

Ekkehard IV (c. 980–1057), a chronicler from St. Gall, records that Otto II (955–983) once visited the monastery and that he took this particular manuscript from there.<sup>9</sup> This codex could have been a useful textbook for Otto II, for it could assist

4 The style of this ogival majuscule is similar to the Greek script found in the bilingual Psalter St. Gall 17 (9th century). For an analysis of the script of the Psalter St. Gall 17 see Rollo, "Il Greco", 7. For its description see the Göttinger Septuaginta: [https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra\\_1053](https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra_1053) (last access: 15.08.2023).

5 Radiciotti, "Manoscritti", 53.

6 Berschin, "Psalteria quadrupartita", 206, footnote 8.

7 See Kaczynski, *Greek*. Especially for the presence of Irish monks and books at St. Gall see Meeder, *Scholarly Presence*, 39–62.

8 Cf. the activity of Moengal-Marcellus, who was the teacher of Balbulus.

9 McKitterick, "Culture", 175. Cf. Erdmann, *Fragmente*, 64 and Kaczynski, *Greek*, 87.

him to learn Greek. It was important for Otto II to learn Greek because of his wife Theophano, a Byzantine aristocrat and niece of the Byzantine emperor John Tzimiskes (ca. 925–976). This was a diplomatic wedding arranged by his father, the emperor Otto the Great. Theophano played an important role in the politics of her time: along with her young son Otto III, she ruled the Holy Roman Empire from 983 until her death in 991.<sup>10</sup> She has been credited with arousing in the West an interest in the Greek language and in the Byzantine art. Theophano brought beautiful Byzantine textiles, ivories, and ornamented religious objects from Constantinople to the West and she also commissioned many artistic objects during her time at the German court. Traces of her commissions can be still admired in German museums.<sup>11</sup>

## 2. Quadripartite Psalters From the 11th–12th Centuries

More Psalters with a similar format and content to the Bamberg one were produced during the following two centuries.<sup>12</sup>

- Cologne, Dombibliothek Ms. 8, (**Ra 1077**), s. XI.
- Essen, Archiv der Münsterpfarre, Domschatz, Ms. 4, (**Ra 1049**), s. XI.
- Paris, BNF, Nouvelles acquisitions latines 2195, (**Ra 1143**), a. 1105, patron: Odo of Tournai.
- Valenciennes (France), Bibliothèque municipale 14, (**Ra 1210**), s. XII.
- Graz, University of Graz, UBG Ms. 86, s. XII, (**Ra 1268**).

A collation of their content shows that the manuscript from Cologne is an apograph of the Bamberg one, while the manuscript from Essen is an apograph of the manuscript from Cologne.<sup>13</sup> Notably, all three manuscripts were derived from centers of the Ottonian dynasty. The Cologne manuscript was produced at the Benedic-

<sup>10</sup> She had the title of “co-imperatrix”.

<sup>11</sup> See indicatively Lafontaine-Dosogne, “Art”, 211–230.

<sup>12</sup> One more quadripartite Psalter, which is not included in the list, because it is very different in style from the Bamberg one is the codex Leiden BPG 49 A. This manuscript is dated to the 12th century and contains the Psalms in four columns; one column is written in Hebrew, another in Greek and two columns are in Latin (*Psalterium Hebraicum*, *Psalterium Gallicanum*). The four columns are placed in two folios and not in one as in the Bamberg manuscript. For a detailed description of this Psalter see Olszowy-Schlanger/Stirnemann, “Trilingual Psalter”, 103–112. A digital reproduction of the manuscript is available at: <https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/878785> (last access: 15.08.2023).

<sup>13</sup> Berschin came to similar conclusions, see Berschin, “Salomons III. Psalterium”, 329. For the descriptions of the Cologne and the Essen Psalter see Gryson, *Manuscripts*, 54–56 and the Göttinger Septuaginta: [https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra\\_1077](https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra_1077); [https://septuaginta.unip-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra\\_1049](https://septuaginta.unip-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra_1049) (last access: 15.08.2023).

tine Abbey of Michelsberg, which was located close to Bamberg. This abbey was founded by Henry II (973–1024), the last ruler of the Ottonian dynasty.

It is also significant that the manuscript from Essen originates from the Abbey of Essen, which underwent a cultural flourishing during the first half of the eleventh century under the guidance of the abbess Theophano (d. 5 March 1058), the granddaughter of Otto II and the Greek princess Theophano.<sup>14</sup> Theophano of Essen was the patron of several artefacts, as well as the commissioner of a beautiful illuminated Gospel manuscript, the so-called “Gospel Book of Theophano”.<sup>15</sup> We could therefore assume that Theophano of Essen, had a special interest in the Greek language thanks to her grandmother, and that she used this particular manuscript in order to keep alive some elements of the Greek tradition in the liturgical practices of the monastery. This hypothesis is also supported by the fact that the texts that are transmitted on the last folios (e.g., The Apostles’ Creed, the Lord’s Prayer, and the litany) clearly have a liturgical character, and were transmitted both in Greek and Latin.<sup>16</sup> It is, however, remarkable that the nuns of Essen did not add a new text in their quadripartite Psalter, but instead faithfully reproduced the content and the style of the Cologne manuscript.<sup>17</sup> The scribe of the Essen manuscript even kept the old invocation to the emperor Louis. Only some corrections in the Greek version of the litany can be noticed, which are not always successful. They may have been added by a learned scribe at the monastery of Essen. In any case, these emendations, as well as the content of the manuscript, do not demonstrate a good knowledge of Greek. Since there is evidence of the existence of a school at the Essen Abbey in the eleventh century, we could hypothesize that the manuscript was also used by the nuns of the monastery for studying the Holy Scriptures.<sup>18</sup>

Three more quadripartite Psalters, almost complete, have survived from the twelfth century. The first one, the codex *Graz*, *University of Graz*, *UBG 86* (Ra 1268), originates from the Seskau Abbey, a Benedictine monastery in Austria, and is closely related to the Bamberg manuscript.<sup>19</sup> It is not, however, one of the Bam-

14 On Theophano of Essen, see Fremer, *Äbtissin*.

15 The manuscript is known as “Theophanu-Evangeliar” and is currently preserved in Essen Cathedral Treasury. For more information about it see Fremer, *Äbtissin*, 96–100, and Hoffmann, “Skriptorium”, 116, 126, 129, 132, 147.

16 Only the litany was written in Greek letters. The other ordinary chants from the same manuscript are both in Latin and in Greek, but their Greek text is written with Latin characters.

17 The manuscript is defective at the beginning and at the end. It may have had a possession note from Essen on the lost folios.

18 A similar view has been expressed by Röckelein, “Studentinnen”, 152. On the scriptorium and school of the Abbey of Essen, see Hoffmann, “Skriptorium”, 113–153. Hoffmann states that the Essen Psalter may possibly have been written in the Werden Abbey rather than in the Essen Abbey, see Hoffmann, “Skriptorium”, 116.

19 Cf. Berschin, “Psalteria quadrupartita”, 210. For a description of the manuscript, see Kern, *Handschriften*, 44–45, Renhart, “Spuren”, 101–111 and the Göttinger Septuaginta: <https://septuaginta.>

berg manuscript's apographs, because it displays some differences in decoration, as well as in the prefaces of the Psalms.<sup>20</sup> For instance, it contains more elaborated decorated initials (e.g., the anthropomorphic one on f. 8v), headings to the fourth columns in every folio and more prefaces to the Psalms on ff. 9v–14v.<sup>21</sup>

The other two quadripartite Psalters from the twelfth century originate from monastic communities that were not far away. The oldest one, dated to 1105, is the codex *Paris, BNF, Nouvelles acquisitions latines 2195* (Ra 1143), which originates from the Benedictine Abbey of St. Martin in Tournai, in Belgium. The manuscript was in the possession of the abbot of the monastery, Odo of Tournai (1092–1105), who was a theologian and an important scholar.<sup>22</sup> The other manuscript, the codex *Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale 14*, comes from the nearby Abbey of St. Amand in northern France and bears strong affinities to the manuscript from Tournai.<sup>23</sup> According to Leopold Delisle, the manuscript from St. Amand Abbey is an apograph of the Psalter from Tournai.<sup>24</sup> Although these two manuscripts are very similar with regard to their content and format, I do not believe that the manuscript from St. Amand Abbey is a direct copy of the Tournai Psalter, because it contains some Greek words at the prefaces to the Psalms and it differs from it in the decoration of its initials.<sup>25</sup> Both manuscripts are related to the famous Bamberg Psalter, but their scribes did not employ Greek characters for writing the Greek liturgical texts at the end of the manuscript. The scribes' preference for the Latin script even for the Greek texts might indicate that the knowledge of Greek was very poor at these monastic communities in the twelfth century. Most likely, the scribes were interested in an acoustic reproduction of Greek rather than in presenting an accurate and meaningful Greek text.

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uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra\_1268 (last access: 15.08.2023).

20 For instance, it contains decorated initials (see the anthropomorphic one on f. 8v), and headings to the columns in every folio.

21 The first prefaces of the Graz manuscript include some interlinear notes added by a later hand. Many of these notes are Latin translations of Greek words.

22 See the possession note on ff. 118v–119r. For a description of the manuscript, see Leroquais, *Psautiers*, 142–143. A digital reproduction of the manuscript is available at: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b100841109#> (last access: 15.08.2023).

23 For a description of the manuscript, see Leroquais, *Psautiers*, 254–257. Digital images of the manuscript have been consulted.

24 Delisle, *Mélanges*, 154.

25 In the last part, the manuscript from St. Amand Abbey includes some more exegetical texts on the Psalms.



### 3. Fragments

There are also several fragments of quadripartite Psalters, which are currently preserved in different libraries, in Bamberg, in Coburg, in Freiburg, in Düsseldorf, in Leipzig and in the Vatican. The majority of the fragments have already been recorded by Erdmann and Berschin with the exception of the fragments from Leipzig and the Bible Collection of Dr. Charles Caldwell Ryrie, which I was recently able to trace thanks to their digitalization by the Manuscripta Medievalia and the Sotheby's Manuscript Department, and with the exception of the fragment from Nürnberg, which was recently traced by Jonathan Groß.<sup>26</sup> All of the fragments date from the twelfth century, apart from the fragment which is incorporated into the *Codex Vaticanus, Pal. lat.* 39 and the one from Düsseldorf, both of which are dated to the eleventh century.

- Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Pal. lat.* 39, (s. XI), Fragm. ff. 43r–43v, Ra 8002: Ps 1:1.<sup>27</sup>
- Düsseldorf, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Fragm. K 16: Z1/2a (s. XI), Ra 8003: Ps 78:9a–79:11a; 82:5a–83:5a.<sup>28</sup>
- Bamberg, Staatsarchiv A 246, Nr. 20 I, Nr. 20 II, Nr. 20 III (s. XII), Ra 8004: Ps 104:16b–25a; 104:28–37b, 40a; 117:9a–22a; 117:22b–118:5b.<sup>29</sup>
- Freiburg im Breisgau, Universitätsbibliothek, MS. 629 (s. XII), Ra 8004: Ps 106:15b–27a, 27b–38b; 106:38b–108:5b.<sup>30</sup>
- Coburg, Staatsarchiv, Fragmentensammlung Nr. 2.40–2.44 (s. XII), Ra 8005: Ps 50:14a–52:5b; 64:11c–66:2a; 118:78a–100b; 141:4a–142:11a; Isaiah 12:2c–6b; Ode 11:10a–19c.<sup>31</sup>
- Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig, Ms 1610, ff. 19r–20v (s. XII), Ra 8006: Ps 149:2a–7a; 150:5a–151:3a.<sup>32</sup>
- Fragment from the Bible collection of Dr. Charles Caldwell Ryrie, New Haven Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, without no. (s. XII), Ra 8007: Ps 31:11a–32:11b; 38:12b–39:7a.<sup>33</sup>

26 See Erdmann, *Fragmente*, 63–80 and Berschin, “Salomons III. Psalterium”, 334. Especially on the fragment from Düsseldorf see Berschin, “Psalteria quadripartita”, 207.

27 Cf. [https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra\\_8002](https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra_8002) (last access: 15.08.2023).

28 Cf. [https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra\\_8003](https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra_8003) (last access: 15.08.2023).

29 The fragments of Bamberg originate from the Benedictine Abbey of Banz, which is not far from Bamberg, see Berschin, “Salomons III. Psalterium”, 334. For their description see the Göttinger Septuaginta: [https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra\\_8004](https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra_8004) (last access: 15.08.2023).

30 Cf. [https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra\\_8004](https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra_8004) (last access: 15.08.2023).

31 Cf. [https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra\\_8005](https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra_8005) (last access: 15.08.2023).

32 Cf. [https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra\\_8006](https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra_8006) (last access: 15.08.2023).

33 Cf. [https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra\\_8007](https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra_8007) (last access: 15.08.2023).

- Nürnberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Graphische Sammlung SuD 305, Kapsel 536, s. XII: Ode 3:1–4b.<sup>34</sup>

According to Berschin, the fragment from the Vatican comes from Heiligenberg (Michelskloster) in Heidelberg and the Psalter fragments from Bamberg, Coburg, and Freiburg derive from one lost Quadruplex Psalter.<sup>35</sup> The images from Coburg, however, display some differences from the other fragments, especially in the color of the initials,<sup>36</sup> and this prevents me from stating that they belonged to one and the same manuscript.<sup>37</sup> The fragment from Leipzig (ff. 19v–20r) contains the same line breaks as the original Bamberg Psalter, as well as the same lacuna in Ps 151.<sup>38</sup> The fragment from Düsseldorf is distinguished by its colourful initials, and it also originates from the Essen Abbey, where Theophano, the granddaughter of Otto II and Theophano, was the abbess. It displays, however, some differences from the other quadripartite Psalter from Essen, especially in its line breaks, and for this reason, we cannot support the idea that it is one of its apographs.<sup>39</sup> The fragment from the private collection of Dr. Caldwell Ryrie does not contain the Greek text, and its initials (especially G) bear some similarity to the initials of the Tournai Psalter.<sup>40</sup> However, with regard to its line breaks and the number of its lines per column, it has affinities with the Cologne Psalter. Lastly, it is worth adding that the Monastery of St. Michael in Heidelberg, from which the Vatican fragment originated, was also associated with the Ottonian dynasty. According to historical sources, Otto III approved a special privilege concerning the taxes of this monastery upon the recommendation of his mother Theophano.<sup>41</sup> To sum up, the list of the preserved fragments indicates that the quadripartite Psalters had a notable transmission in areas of Southwest Germany during the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries.

34 On this fragment see Hoffmann, *Handschriften*, 15, footnote 35. I am grateful to Dr. Jonathan Groß for informing me about the existence of this fragment and to Prof. Christof Rolker for pointing out Hoffmann's reference to it.

35 Berschin, "Salomons III. Psalterium", 329. Cf. Berschin, *Psalteria quadripartita*, 207.

36 See also the shape of the initials A, G and L.

37 On the fragments, see also Erdmann, *Fragmente*, 63–80. Erdmann argued that the fragments from Coburg and Bamberg are strongly related.

38 In both Psalters, the Greek text is missing.

39 On this fragment see Röcklein, "Studentinnen", 152, and the Göttinger Septuaginta: [https://septaaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra\\_8003](https://septaaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra_8003) (last access: 13.04.2023).

40 Cf. [https://septaaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra\\_8007](https://septaaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra_8007) (last access: 15.08.2023).

41 Wehl, *Reichsabtei*, 118.

#### 4. The Fourth Column

The fourth column of the quadripartite manuscripts, which includes the Greek text of the Psalms transliterated in Latin characters, deserves special mention. It seems to be a phonetic transcription of Greek produced in the West, and it could have been used by religious communities, which were more familiar with the Latin script rather than the Greek one. The commissioners of such a Psalter were interested in having an acoustic reproduction of the Psalms in Greek, a text that could be recited by someone with little or no knowledge of Greek.

As Heinrich Schneider has pointed out, the fourth column of the Bamberg manuscript is close to the text of the bilingual Psalter Berlin, Hamilton 552, which was copied by a monk named Symeon at the monastery of St. Ambrose in Milan (Mediolanum) during the second half of the ninth century.<sup>42</sup> After a collation of the fourth column of the Bamberg manuscript with the transliterated Greek version of the codex Hamilton 552, we can conclude that the text is identical. The only difference is that the Greek version of Ps 151 is not included in the Bamberg manuscript.

An interesting question arises regarding this fourth column of the Bamberg Psalter: what textual tradition does it follow? After a collation of its text with Rahlfs' critical edition of the Psalms, we can assume that it is closely related to the text offered by the oldest Greek and Latin Psalter, the sixth-century codex Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare 1 (Ra R).<sup>43</sup> Interestingly, in this codex the Greek text is also written in Latin script, as in the Bamberg manuscript. Although the two manuscripts have many similarities as regards their content, they display several differences in the way the Greek is transliterated. For instance, in the Bamberg manuscript almost all of the sounds of [i] are transliterated into iota, whereas in the Verona manuscript the  $\eta$  letter is rendered into e. The word κύριε (Lord) is also written in a different way from the Verona manuscript (Kyrios B: quirios V).

Furthermore, the textual tradition of the Bamberg's fourth column Psalter is close to the Lucianic tradition, since it transmits many Lucianic readings. The Lucianic recension of the Psalms was prepared by the learned scholar Lucian of Antioch during the third and the fourth centuries, and it was highly influential. In fact, the Lucianic recension became the main standard text during the Byzantine period.<sup>44</sup> The Lucianic textual tradition and that of the Verona manuscript are the main textual types that could be attributed to the fourth column. For all these rea-

42 See Schneider, *Cantica*, 115 and Erdmann, *Fragmente*, 73. Cf. Radiciotti, "Manoscritti", 68 and Berschin, "Psalteria quadrupartita", 204 (footnote 4). For a description of the manuscript, see: [https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra\\_1040](https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra_1040) (last access: 15.08.2023).

43 For a description of the manuscript, see: [https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra\\_R](https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra_R) (last access: 15.08.2023). Berschin refers briefly to this manuscript as the oldest extant bilingual Psalter. He does not specify its textual tradition, see Berschin, "Greek Script", 116.

44 On the Lucianic recension, see Albrecht, "*hebraica veritas*".

sons, we can conclude that the exemplar of this westernized Greek version of the Psalms originates from Italy, where both Byzantine and Latin sources were available during the Middle Ages.<sup>45</sup> It is also clear from the content of this version and the errors it contains that its compiler did not have an advanced knowledge of Greek.<sup>46</sup>

## 5. Odes and Liturgical Texts in the Quadripartite Psalters

The arrangement of the Odes in the Bamberg manuscript is strikingly similar to that found in the Greek and Latin Psalter St. Gall 17 (9th century). This is in fact a Western sequence favoured by the Roman church, and it differs from the order of the Odes found in the Byzantine Psalters.<sup>47</sup> In addition, the litany of the saints in the same manuscript (St. Gall 17), entitled “Letania Graeca”, has the same beginning as the litany of saints in the Bamberg manuscript. It is, therefore, very likely that the litany of saints of the Bamberg manuscript was composed in St. Gall following western examples, since it invokes local western saints (e.g., St. Gallus) rather than Byzantine ones.<sup>48</sup> In any case, litanies of this kind are not common in the Byzantine manuscripts, nor in the Byzantine liturgy.

With regard to the Greek-Latin liturgical texts included in the quadripartite Psalters (the Nicene Creed, the Apostle’s Creed, the Lord’s Prayer, the hymns Gloria and Te Deum), it is difficult to identify their origin, but most scholars agree that they have a Western origin and reached St. Gall through exemplars from Rome, Southern Italy and from St. Denis in Paris, namely from religious centres that included some Greek elements in their masses.<sup>49</sup> These texts are part of the so-called “missa graeca” and have also been transmitted in several manuscripts in the St. Gall monastery.<sup>50</sup>

It is interesting to note that the only quadripartite Psalter that transmits the Nicene Creed is the Bamberg one.<sup>51</sup> A closer look at its text reveals that it contains

45 Ševčenko has also favoured an Italian origin. According to Ševčenko, “Salomons Vorhaben speiste aus folgenden Quellen: Für Spalte drei aus der Sammlung von Sankt Gallens Nachbar, dem Kloster Reichenau: aus Sankt Gallens eigener Bibliothek; und für die „griechische“ vierte Spalte aus dem Mailänder Raum”, see Ševčenko, “Byzanz”, 16.

46 For instance, the word division is not always correct, especially when short words are combined and are presented as one unit.

47 For the Roman origin of this sequence see Erdmann, *Fragmente*, 73 and Kaczynski, *Greek*, 90–91. Other Latin Psalters from St. Gall contain also the Odes in the same sequence; see, for instance, the cod. Sang. 23.

48 On this argument see also Kaczynski, *Greek*, 107.

49 See Kaczynski, *Greek*, 99–113, where the relevant bibliography is included.

50 For the content and the different theories about the origin of the “missa graeca” see Wanek, “Missa graeca”, 41–74.

51 See ff. 167r–168r. F. 167v preserves several Latin hymns (e.g., the “Aurea luce et decore roseo”), which have been added to the manuscript by a later hand.

the controversial phrase of the *filioque*.<sup>52</sup> At the time the Bamberg Psalter was produced, only a few decades had passed since the controversy between the pope Nicholas I and Photios, the educated patriarch of Constantinople. It is well known that their controversy was also about the *filioque* and lasted for several years (863–867).<sup>53</sup> It seems, therefore, that the monks of St. Gall, although they were transcribing texts in the Greek language, were totally observing the Western dogmatic rules. As far as the Apostles' Creed is concerned, the Bamberg manuscript represents one of the oldest Greek versions. The oldest bilingual Psalter that transmits it seems to be the cod. St. Gall 17 (9th century), which, along with Bamberg one, is also among the oldest witnesses of the Greek version of the Latin "Te Deum" – a hymn that looks like a translation of the Latin text and not an actual hymn performed in the liturgy.<sup>54</sup>

One may wonder why Greek texts occur in manuscripts originating from Western monastic centres. There are several factors that fostered the interest in the Greek language between the tenth and twelfth centuries in the West and contributed to the transmission of the quadripartite Psalters. First, one can consider the specific scholarly interests of Irish and Frankish scholars, for instance of Solomon III, who commissioned the first quadripartite manuscript (Bamberg 44). Second, the Byzantine-Ottonian relations, reinforced by the wedding of Otto II to the Byzantine princess Theophano and her arrival in the West. Third, the general prestige that the Greek language had in the Latin West, since it was considered one of the sacred languages (Greek, Latin, Hebrew).<sup>55</sup> Greek is the language of the Septuagint and of the New Testament, and its sounds and melodies had a "magical effect" especially during the liturgy.<sup>56</sup> An additional reason is that Greek was admired throughout the centuries as the language of Homer, of the ancient tragedians and philosophers and as a kind of language that transmits ancient wisdom.

It is known that in medieval times there was a scholarly interest in the bilingual Bibles, which were used as didactic textbooks for the study of one of the sacred languages. Many bilingual Psalter manuscripts survive from the Byzantine era, which also transmit liturgical hymns (especially Greek and Latin ones), confirming the hypothesis that many of them were also serving liturgical practices of congregations who used both languages. One should take into account that many Greek-speaking communities existed in Italy, also because of the Byzantine occupation throughout the Middle Ages, and that they were in need of bilingual reli-

52 Older important Western witnesses of it, such as the cod. Par. Lat. 2290 (9th c.) and the cod. St. Gall 17 (9th c.) do not include it.

53 On the dispute over the *filioque* in Photios' times, see Gemeinhardt, "Kontroverse", 166–289.

54 It is worth also mentioning that it is unknown in the Byzantine liturgy. I could not find an edition of its Greek version; it is likely that it still remains unpublished.

55 See Berschin, "Sprachen", 31–38. Cf. Bischoff, "Element", 27–55.

56 On the "magical effect" see Radiciotti, "Manoscritti", 71–72.

gious texts.<sup>57</sup> Even today, congregations in Sicily, in Calabria, in Grottaferrata, in the church of Saint Athanasius and in Saint Maria in Cosmedin in Rome all still make an effort to build a connection with the past and to preserve the old tradition by using Greek in their liturgy.<sup>58</sup>

## 6. Epilogue

Although the Byzantine princess Theophano lived only for 19 years in the Ottonian court (972–991), she kindled the Westerners' interest in the Greek language and the Byzantine culture, and she left traces of her influence in the western art and the book production of the tenth and eleventh centuries.<sup>59</sup> The quadripartite manuscripts are also witnesses to this interest in the Greek language in the medieval West. As the dedicatory poem of the Bamberg manuscript informs us, Solomon III collected the texts of the first quadripartite Psalter and he addressed a potential audience of keen readers who want to understand the deep meanings of the included authors.<sup>60</sup> His primary aim was thus the manuscript to serve educational, biblical or theological purposes by compiling a Psalter that contains elements of different languages and traditions (e.g., Jeromes' versions of Hebrew and Latin, the transliterated Greek version). No mention is made in the poem about the liturgical texts in the last part of the manuscript. This offers an indication that these were added to the manuscript at a later stage, but in the same monastery of St. Gall. In the subsequent centuries, more Psalters with a similar content and format were produced in Southern Germany and Northern France in monastic centres, which were often related to the Ottonian dynasty. As they include liturgical texts derived from the "missa graeca", we may assume that apart from scholarly and didactic purposes, they also served liturgical practices. Since almost all of the monastic communities from which the manuscripts originate are Benedictine (e.g., The Abbey of St. Gall in Switzerland, the Abbeys of Banz and of Michelsberg in Bamberg, the Abbey of Tournai in Belgium),<sup>61</sup> we could suppose that anonymous Benedictine monks and monastic centres related to the Ottonian dynasty, had an

57 Cf. Kaczynski, *Greek*, 95. She states that the bilingual scriptures in St. Gall served the needs of the monastery's scholars, and not necessarily liturgical purposes.

58 An indicative example is the Congregation of Oriental Churches, the so-called "Chiesa bizantina cattolica in Italia", which is quite popular in contemporary Italy, see Elli, *Storia*.

59 See von Euw/Sporbeck, *Jahr 1000*. For some Latin manuscripts with Greek elements, which probably derive from Theophano's circle see Hoffmann, *Buchkunst*, 12–14, 469 and 488.

60 For an edition and a German translation of the poem see Berschin, "Psalteria quadrupartita", 210–213.

61 Apart from the Essen Abbey. Cf. the possible origin of the Essen Psalter from the Benedictine monastery of Werden.

interest in the Greek language and played an important role in the production and transmission of the quadripartite manuscripts. Besides, the eighteenth chapter of Benedict's monastic rule indicates the particular interest of the Benedictines in the Psalms, for it outlines in detail their appropriate usage in the liturgy stressing that "at Vespers, four psalms should be sung every day with inflection".<sup>62</sup>

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62 The Chapter 18 of the Rule of Saint Benedict is devoted exclusively to the Psalms and particularly to the order in which they should be said/sung during the church services. On the edition and the English translation of the Rule of Saint Benedict see Venarde, *Rule*, 87.

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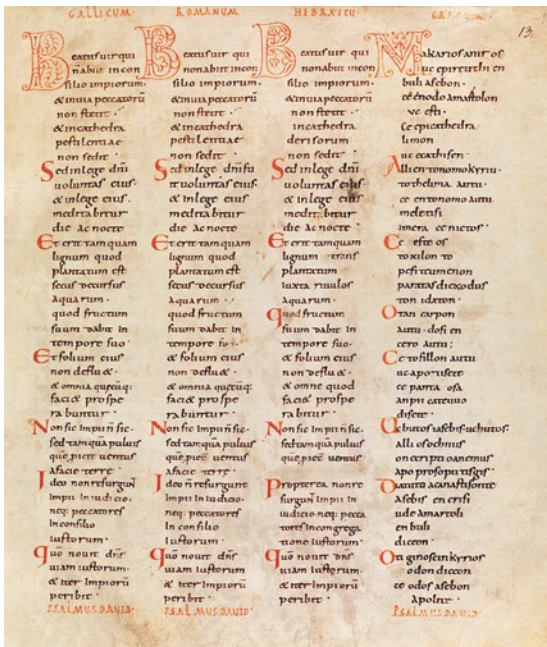


Fig. 1: Staatsbibliothek Bamberg, Bibl. 44 (A I 14), Ra 1037, f.13r. Photo: Gerald Raab

## The Coptic Psalter – Its Transmission and Its Importance for the Earliest Septuagint Psalter

The Coptic Psalter is the most widespread book of the Bible in the Coptic churches and monasteries, widely used in liturgy, monastic teaching, magic, and meditation as well as in writing exercises.<sup>1</sup> Psalter manuscripts form a particular category, standing at the crossroads between biblical and liturgical service books, with a more varied use, circulation, and readership. The attestation of the Psalms in the various dialects of Coptic is quite unevenly distributed: while manuscripts of the Sahidic translation are among the Old Testament books attested most frequently,<sup>2</sup> and while complete codices transmitting the Psalms are also found in Bohairic and Mesokemic, only fragments are attested in Fayyumic and, possibly, in Akhmimic.<sup>3</sup> Recently, a fragmentary papyrus manuscript in Lycopolitan also surfaced<sup>4</sup> so that at least vestiges of a psalm tradition are extant in all Coptic dialects. According to Nagel, the Sahidic translation is an important witness to the Upper Egyptian recension of the Greek Psalter, of which it is a close translation, whereas the Bohairic version represents the Lower Egyptian recension, while the Fayyumic seems to be another representative of this recension, but independent of the Bohairic.<sup>5</sup> However, the division of the Greek Psalter transmission in an Upper and a Lower Egyptian recension by Rahlfs<sup>6</sup> has been challenged by new manuscript finds such as P.Bodmer XXIV (Ra 2110),<sup>7</sup> and seems to be problematic for the Coptic tradition.<sup>8</sup> The Bohairic Psalter is extant only in medieval (mostly 13th century or later) and younger manuscripts so that it remains unclear if it was an original translation, or a later recension, or re-translation.

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1 Cf. e.g. Horn, “Überlieferung”.

2 Horn, “Überlieferung”; Nagel, “Der sahidische Psalter”; Id., “Psalms”; Albrecht, “Wirkungsgeschichte”; Feder, “Psalms”.

3 Nagel, “Psalms”.

4 Utrecht University Library, Collection of Coptic manuscripts, acquisition number as part of a box: B4.15.1-11 (35), and B.5.11.1-11 (35). The catalogue is available under: <https://repertorium.library.uu.nl/wp-content/uploads/sites/650/2020/09/Catalogue-Coptic-Manuscripts-def.-versie-30-4-2018.pdf> (last access: 15.08.2023). While the author of the catalog, Roelof van den Broek, identified the dialect as Lycopolitan, Nathan Carlig addressed the Utrecht Ps fragments in his paper at the 12th International Congress of Coptic Studies (Brussels, July 11–16, 2022) as Akhmimic. A more detailed study will clarify this certainly.

5 Nagel, “Psalms”.

6 Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien*; Id., *Psalmi*.

7 Kasser/Testuz, *Papyrus*.

8 Emmenegger, *Text*; Feder, “Coptic Translations”; Albrecht, “Wirkungsgeschichte”.

In his important overview article, Horn<sup>9</sup> classifies the transmission of the Sahidic Psalms into four main categories: (A) manuscripts containing only the Psalms, i. e. Psalters or fragments thereof, (B) Psalm texts used for liturgical purposes, e. g. in lectionaries, (C) quotations from and allusions to the Psalms, mainly in patristic literature, but also in, e. g. Christian Gnostic texts, and (D) texts for “occasional” use, i. e. personal piety or writing exercises (sometimes difficult to distinguish) or as protective spells.

The omnipresence of the Psalms in Coptic Christianity is mirrored in the number of preserved Psalter manuscripts (Horn’s category A), which is higher than for any other Sahidic OT book and matched only by the witnesses to the Gospel of John. According to the still most comprehensive manuscript catalogue *Biblia Coptica*<sup>10</sup> we possess at least 46 Sahidic Psalter manuscripts, i. e. manuscripts that originally contained the Psalms 1–151. Not included in this count are the other dialects and witnesses representing Horn’s categories B and D: liturgical manuscripts (Lectionaries or *Katameroi*) with psalm verses, and the numerous psalm excerpts for different purposes (personal or communal piety, magic, including amulets, and writing exercises) written on different materials (papyrus, ostraca, wooden panels etc.).

## 1. The State of Preservation and Edition of the Coptic Psalm Manuscripts

However, the extreme dispersal and fragmentation of the extant Sahidic manuscripts<sup>11</sup> has particularly affected the Psalter codices.<sup>12</sup> Of the 46 actually known Sahidic Psalter manuscripts, only three (!) are still complete (sa 6, sa 2010, and sa 2031).<sup>13</sup> The size, layout, and material of these three manuscripts are strikingly different and demonstrate the diversity of the Coptic Psalter manuscripts over their period of production. While sa 2031 is a papyrus manuscript in an average book format (30 × 21 cm), sa 6 and sa 2010 are miniature parchment manuscripts of pocket-book size. Although sa 6 and sa 2010 are from the same find context and contain each one half of the complete Psalter (Ps 1:1–50:21 and 51:1–151:7 respectively) they are two individual manuscripts. Coincidentally, both sa 2031 and sa 6/sa 2010 can be dated to the 6th to (early) 7th century and represent, therefore,

9 Horn, “Überlieferung”.

10 Schüssler, *Biblia*; Feder/Förster, *Biblia*.

11 Cf. Orlandi, “Library”; Feder, “Reconstruction”, 61–66.

12 Feder, “Psalms”.

13 The manuscript numbers follow the *List of Coptic Biblical Manuscripts* (cf. Feder/Richter, “Collaboration”). These manuscripts are already included in the Göttingen Old Testament project’s online manuscript database and catalogue: <https://coptot.manuscriptroom.com/manuscript-cat/> (last access: 15.08.2023).

some of the oldest extant manuscripts. Unlike other OT books,<sup>14</sup> no preserved Psalter manuscript can be safely dated to 4th century with the best candidate being sa 2019, a papyrus manuscript with an oblong page format quite typical for earlier manuscripts.<sup>15</sup> Though the papyrus codex seems to have been generally replaced by the parchment codex in the course of the 5th century, Psalter manuscripts in particular are still being made of papyrus as late as the 8th–9th centuries (e.g., sa 2035). Other papyrus manuscripts of a slightly earlier date can be easily added (e.g., sa 2022, sa 2073, 6th–7th century).

A major source for Psalter manuscripts is the library of the Monastery of Apa Shenoute near Sohag in Upper Egypt, also known as the “White Monastery,” which must have possessed more than 15 codices. All of them are notoriously incomplete and their leaves are widely dispersed over several collections in Egypt, Europe, and the US. The sometimes lavishly decorated large-format parchment manuscripts (e.g., sa 2033, sa 2034, sa 2036, sa 2054, sa 2055, or sa 2065) can be dated approximately from the 7th–8th to the 9th–10th centuries. That the Sahidic Psalter tradition was alive until the Middle Ages – at least in the White Monastery when most other Christian manuscript repositories had long been abandoned – is shown by the Sahidic-Arabic paper manuscript sa 2032 dated to the 14th century.

An important feature of the Psalter manuscripts is the long-lasting tradition of Greek-Sahidic bilingual manuscripts which is unique among the Sahidic OT books.<sup>16</sup> This tradition is found in older papyrus manuscripts (e.g., sa 2022, sa 2098) and, particularly, in high quality parchment manuscripts (e.g., sa 2036) datable from the 7th–8th to the 9th–10th centuries. The tradition must have ended after the 10th century and was replaced partly by a limited number of Sahidic-Arabic manuscripts (until the 14th century), and generally by Bohairic-Arabic manuscripts from the 11th century onwards.

A typical feature of all Psalter manuscripts (also of the psalm verses in liturgical manuscripts) is their one-column layout and the stichic disposition of the verses, typical for the poetical and wisdom books. This often makes even single leaves immediately recognizable as psalm manuscripts. On the other hand, pandects or comprehensive collections of biblical books in one volume seem to have been unknown or at least unusual in the Coptic manuscript tradition.<sup>17</sup>

Moreover, the above-mentioned dispersal and fragmentation of the extant manuscript leaves (of which sa 2033 and sa 2034 are extreme examples) has so far prevented a reconstruction and edition of the Sahidic Psalter text and its important manuscript tradition as well as hampered further studies. The old printed edition

14 Feder, “Textzeugen”.

15 Nongbri, *Library*, 21–46.

16 Nagel, “Bilinguen”; Albrecht, “Wirkungsgeschichte”.

17 Cf. Feder, “Coptic Canon”.

by Budge (1898) was recently replaced by an *editio minor* with a critical text of sa 2031, and sa 6/sa 2010.<sup>18</sup> In addition to sa 2031 and in spite of a promising start to editing Sahidic psalm fragments,<sup>19</sup> only two other editions have since published Sahidic Psalter manuscripts. It is not surprising that these manuscripts are kept in only one collection each, in Washington<sup>20</sup> and Berlin. Rahlfs' edition of the old (5th-6th century) but extremely fragmented Berlin parchment manuscript sa 2018<sup>21</sup> can still be regarded as an exemplary achievement.

Many (often random) publications of individual Sahidic psalm fragments, whether from new identifications in collections or from excavations, can only be kept track of by means of special repertories, which also help to identify complementary leaves and fragments in other collections. These have been provided by scholars since the early 20th century<sup>22</sup> but are not able to completely cover the gaps in our knowledge.

## 2. Other Sources of Psalm Texts (not from Psalter Manuscripts)

### 2.1 Psalms in Coptic Liturgy

The Psalms are omnipresent in the Coptic Liturgy so that the Sahidic and Bohairic liturgical books form, after the Psalter manuscripts, the most important source for the Coptic psalms. Psalm verses, however, never appear as pericopes but represent instead hymns and sung prayers with a widespread distribution in the liturgical services. For example, some psalm verses always introduce readings from the Gospels or the Pauline Epistles. Also, Greek psalm verses are recited at certain occasions.<sup>23</sup> Since the Sahidic liturgical manuscripts have equally suffered from fragmentation and dispersal, there is, of course, still a lot of research necessary to better understand the important role of the psalms in the liturgical books. Nevertheless, the liturgical manuscripts transmit a significant portion of the Sahidic Psalter text.

### 2.2 Psalms in the Daily Life of Coptic Christian Communities

Similar problems of undocumented provenance, a fragmentary state of preservation and a fragmented state of publication affect the psalm excerpts found mainly

18 Nagel, *Der sahidische Psalter: Editio Minor*.

19 Lagarde, *Psalterii*.

20 Worrell, *Coptic Psalter*.

21 Rahlfs, *Handschrift*.

22 Vaschalde, "Coptes"; Till, "Texts"; Nagel, "Editionen"; Bosson, "Research".

23 For more details cf. Atanassova, "Erkenntnisse", 16–17.

in Upper Egypt, not infrequently in monastic settlements.<sup>24</sup> Because of their provenance and dating (with the majority after the year 500, but pre-mediaeval), these excerpts are in Sahidic Coptic. They were frequently used for magical purposes<sup>25</sup> and are preserved on papyrus, parchment and paper, limestone and pottery ostraca, wood and bone. In several of these, psalm excerpts appear together with other Biblical excerpts, and often, their use cannot be determined unequivocally.<sup>26</sup> Texts are alternatively (tentatively) identified as school exercises or documentary texts such as contracts, or classified as having been used for liturgical or general religious purposes. These excerpts, while in some cases well published,<sup>27</sup> are still understudied in view of their contribution to the transmission and reception of the psalms. Especially with the progress of the Coptic Old Testament edition project (s. below), and further research, questions of textual communities and interaction with psalm manuscripts proper will be able to be examined on a solid basis.

Finally, the outstanding importance of the Psalms for Egyptian Christian religious life can be exemplified by their use in monastic milieus.<sup>28</sup> Both the milieus of anchoritic (or semi-anchoritic) monasticism whose literature is embodied by the so-called *Apophthegmata Patrum*, Sayings of the Fathers,<sup>29</sup> as well as that of the cenobitic monasticism of a Pachomius or Shenoute see their way of life as Bible-based, and as implementing the model of the Bible.<sup>30</sup> The Psalms play a particularly prominent role in this.

In addition to the communal worship on weekends, Bible verses, especially Psalms, were recited during daily tasks such as basket weaving or rope making.<sup>31</sup> Sections could be repeated *ad infinitum* or different verses could be strung together.<sup>32</sup> Many ascetics knew large parts of the Bible by heart, and physical contact with books was frequent, for example through copying, where the text was usually read aloud. The possession of books was also not uncommon, even if some fathers considered them a problematic luxury. The frequent use of Psalter quotations as

24 An unpublished list which we could preview due to the kindness of its creator, Alain Delattre, lists 152 ostraca with psalm excerpts.

25 The Kyprianos Database of Coptic Magical Papyri (<https://www.coptic-magic.phil.uni-wuerzburg.de/index.php/the-database/> (last access: 15.08.2023) yields 98 items for a search with the keyword “psalm,” 35 of which are in Coptic (with a small number containing Coptic/Greek or Coptic/Arabic texts respectively). The rest of them are in Greek (exceptionally in Arabic). The use of psalm incipits in magical texts from Egypt has recently been studied in depth by Joseph Sanzo (Sanzo, *Incipits*).

26 Kupreyev, “Psalms”.

27 Delattre, “Fragments”; Id., “Textes”; Id., “Ostraca”.

28 E. g. Behlmer, “Bibel”.

29 Cf. Burton-Christie, *Word*.

30 Timbie, “Rules”.

31 Cf. Regnault, *La vie*, 114–116.

32 Sheridan, “Il mondo”, 200–221.

well reflects its importance. In the *Apophthegmata*, the most frequently cited Old Testament books are Psalms, Genesis and Isaiah,<sup>33</sup> and a similar distribution can be found in the letters of St Anthony.<sup>34</sup> Unfortunately, there has been no systematic approach yet to collect the psalm quotations in the Coptic Christian Literature, let alone to collect the quotations of other OT books in general.<sup>35</sup>

### 3. Actual Research and Development to Reconstruct and Edit the Coptic Psalm Tradition

In spite of its traditional conception, Peter Nagel's *editio minor*<sup>36</sup> of three of the best preserved Sahidic Psalter manuscripts (sa 6, sa 2010, and sa 2031) is an important step on the way to an *editio maior* of the Sahidic Psalter and to an evaluation of the Coptic Psalter tradition in general that can only be conceived of and achieved in a digital edition. Though it is very likely that the transmission of the text of the Sahidic psalms is quite stable and shows very little variation in the manuscripts, as it is the case for the three manuscripts of the *editio minor*, we cannot take this for granted given the many still unexplored (mostly fragmentary) manuscripts. And, a systematic comparison of the Sahidic with the Bohairic and Mesokemic psalm traditions must be undertaken too, to evaluate properly the text-historical position of the Sahidic version of the psalms within the LXX textual history. Nagel's *editio minor* not only, ultimately, replaces the notorious "Budge Psalter"<sup>37</sup> of 1898 which had to be consulted until today as the only publication of a complete Sahidic psalm manuscript (sa 2031). Nagel also provides a complete German translation and a systematic comparison with the Greek Psalter division marking all places where the Coptic chapter and verse division deviates from the Greek. Thus, the *editio minor* will be, for some time, the authoritative reference work for the reconstruction of the fragmentary Sahidic manuscript tradition itself, and for the comparison with the LXX Psalter tradition. With the ongoing work of the Göttingen Coptic Old Testament project a significant progress in the reconstruction and edition of the Sahidic Psalter manuscripts can be expected soon and will allow a new critical evaluation of the transmission of the Sahidic psalms that will bring us closer to an *editio maior*. This includes the exploration of the rich transmission of the psalms in the Sahidic and Bohairic liturgical manuscripts which is part of the Göttingen

33 Burton-Christie, *Word*, 82–83.

34 Rubenson, *Letters*, 111.

35 For a recent evaluation, cf. Boudhors, "Coptic Church".

36 Nagel, *Der sahidische Psalter: Editio Minor*.

37 Budge, *Coptic Psalter*.

Coptic Old Testament project, and also the objective of a new DFG-project equally based at the Göttingen Academy.<sup>38</sup>

#### 4. Most Relevant Lines of Actual Research

With a growing number of fully reconstructed and edited Sahidic psalm manuscripts, and psalm verses in the liturgical manuscripts, despite their frequently fragmentary state of preservation, not only an *editio maior* of the Sahidic Psalter becomes possible. In addition, the comparison with the psalm tradition in other dialects of Coptic is an unavoidable line of research. Significant manuscripts for the comparison are extant only in the Mesokemic dialect,<sup>39</sup> and above all, the Bohairic dialect. As already mentioned above, the Bohairic psalms are extant in numerous manuscripts which are, however, all late (the earliest date to the 12th–13th century). Though the Bohairic manuscripts are very well preserved and mostly complete we do not possess a modern edition of the Bohairic Psalter yet, the reference work being still Lagarde's edition of 1875<sup>40</sup> (it should be consulted in its revised form with Coptic characters<sup>41</sup>). The fragmented vestiges of the psalms in the other literary dialects of Coptic (Fayyumic, Akhmimic, and Lycopolitan) are scarce, but new witnesses keep appearing. Yet, the question if they all depend originally on the Sahidic tradition, or represent their own tradition, remains unanswered so far.

Since Rahlfs' Göttingen edition of the Greek Psalms<sup>42</sup> (1931) new Greek and Coptic manuscripts have surfaced which profoundly challenge, at least for the Coptic tradition, the division in a Lower and Upper Egyptian recension. As we have to take into account that the earliest (extant) biblical manuscripts in Greek and Coptic, from the 4th century and before, stem from the *same* context of manuscript production<sup>43</sup> the shared variant readings of the Greek Psalter text of pBodmer XXIV (Ra 2110)<sup>44</sup> and the Sahidic manuscripts should not surprise. We need a detailed comparison of the Sahidic psalm manuscripts with the early and seemingly mostly Upper Egyptian Greek psalm manuscripts. There might have been an early

38 <https://coptot.manuscriptroom.com/blog/-/blogs/new-dfg-project-at-the-gottingen-academy-digital-edition-and-critical-evaluation-of-the-coptic-holy-week-lectionary-01-04-2022-31-03-2025-> (last access: 15.08.2023).

39 Ġabra, *Psalter*; Emmenegger, *Text*.

40 Lagarde, *Psalterii*.

41 Burmester/Dévaud, *Psalterii*.

42 Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien*; Id., *Psalmi*.

43 Cf. Nongbri, *Library*, and Feder, "Textzeugen".

44 On Ra 2110 and its significance, see Pietersma, "Ra 2110" and Baucom, *Relation*. See also the manuscript description at [https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra\\_2110](https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra_2110) (last access 15.08.2023).



(Upper Egyptian?) version of the Septuagint Psalter (as in other Greek OT books, probably the OG text of the psalms) much closer – in chapter and verse division, and as text model – to the Sahidic Psalter (and the *Vetus Latina*?) than the later Greek (revised?) Psalter. A close comparison with the Bohairic Psalter will define its position in the textual history of the Septuagint Psalter, as a revised version of the Sahidic Psalter, or a new translation from a text type of Rahlfs' Lower Egyptian recension. What is more, the Greek-Sahidic bilingual Psalter manuscripts have not been studied yet systematically, particularly as for their textual character. This should urgently be undertaken.

It can only be warmly welcomed that, in 2020, a new initiative for a comprehensive edition of the Greek Psalter, *Die Editio critica maior des griechischen Psalters*,<sup>45</sup> received funding within the German Academy program at the Göttingen Academy. Both projects, the Coptic Old Testament and the Greek Psalter, share the same office building in Göttingen. The close cooperation on a daily basis will profoundly help to answer not only the above formulated open research questions, it will also provide a completely new view on the textual history of the earliest Septuagint Psalter and its oldest and most important version in Egypt.

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45 <https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de> (last access: 15.08.2023).

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## The Peshitta Psalter and Its Relevance to the Study of the Septuagint Psalter\*

In this contribution we will investigate some aspects of the Syriac Peshitta version of the Psalter. We will look at their relevance to the study of the Septuagint, as is proper in a volume that celebrates the launch of the *Editio critica maior* project for the Septuagint Psalter.

The Peshitta Psalter has received quite some scholarly attention and it is impossible to give a comprehensive overview of this research in the current article. Therefore, we will focus on those aspects of the Peshitta Psalter that are relevant to Septuagint studies: where do the two translations meet, where are they similar, and where do they differ? This may relate to influence from the Greek text on the Syriac translation and transmission, or to parallel developments and tendencies in the textual transmission and reception of the Psalter.

The question of the relationship between the Peshitta and the Septuagint and parallels in translation and transmission is part of a larger picture in which other Syriac translations play a role as well.<sup>1</sup> Various Syriac translations from the Greek were produced in the sixth to the early eighth century, most notably that of Paul of Tella from the first decades of the seventh century.<sup>2</sup> A blend of Peshitta and Syro-Hexaplaric readings is found in Jacob of Edessa's version from the early eighth century.<sup>3</sup> These versions were copied, cited and used in liturgy, and they even entered the transmission of the Peshitta text (see below, § 2). However, the Peshitta remained the most popular version.<sup>4</sup> Because those other translations were based on the Greek they are highly relevant to Septuagint studies, although their text-critical value for reconstructing the textual history of the Greek Psalter is disputed.<sup>5</sup>

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1 For the various Syriac translations and their relations to the Greek versions see, in addition to the literature mentioned in the following footnotes: Hiebert, "The Place".

2 For the possible existence of other Syriac versions based on the Greek, such as a Philoxenian version, see Hiebert, "Syriac Translations", 125–128.

3 Cf. Hiebert, "Syriac Translations" 128–129. As Hiebert indicates, Jacob's version has survived only in fragments and citations.

4 Cf. Hiebert, "Syriac Translations", 129.

5 In this context we should mention the contributions by Robert J. V. Hiebert and Konrad D. Jenner to a previous Psalms conference held in Göttingen: Hiebert, "'Syrohexaplaric' Psalter"; Jenner, "Zitate". See also Hiebert, *The "Syrohexaplaric" Psalter*; id., "Syriac Translations".

## 1. Greek Influence on the Peshitta Translator?

The Old Testament Peshitta probably originates from the second century CE. Its exact date of origin and the religious milieu in which it was created is shrouded in mystery. Even the question as to whether the translators were Jews or Christians, Jewish-Christians, or Jews converted to Christianity, is debated. In the nineteenth century there seemed to be a consensus that the translation had been made by Christians (thus, e.g., Th. Nöldeke), in the twentieth century various authors argued for a Jewish origin (thus, e.g., A. Baumstark and P. E. Kahle), but since the last decades of the twentieth century the pendulum has swung again to a Christian origin. Milestones are Weitzman's ground-breaking study on the Peshitta Psalter in the 1970s<sup>6</sup> and Ignacio Carbajosa's more recent study (2008) on the character of the Peshitta version of the Psalms.<sup>7</sup> Among the various arguments put forward by Weitzman is the usage of the word ܡܨܝܗ 'saviour' in cases where the Hebrew text has an abstract noun as in Psalm 18:47 where the Peshitta has ܡܢ ܡܨܝܗ, ܐܠܗܝ ܕܝܫܘܥ "my God and Saviour" corresponding to ܐܠܗܝ ܝܫܘܥ "God of my salvation" in the Hebrew text. There are good grounds that the Peshitta translators intended ܡܨܝܗ to be a reference to Jesus.<sup>8</sup> One of the translation features that Carbajosa examines is the use of the Syriac words ܥܡܬܐ and ܥܡܬܐܬܐ. Both words mean "assembly", but their distribution over the Psalms suggests that the translators tried to avoid any negative reference to ܥܡܬܐ, because this had become a designation of the Christian church. Moreover, the combination ܥܡܬܐ ܕܥܡܬܐ, "assembly of the peoples", (Ps 7:8; 107:32) deviating from the Hebrew text, seems to be a Christian reference to the "Church of the gentiles".<sup>9</sup>

The Peshitta was translated from a Hebrew text, and the influence of the Septuagint on the Peshitta is another debated issue. At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, scholars such as F. Baethgen,<sup>10</sup> B. Oppenheim<sup>11</sup> and W. E. Barnes<sup>12</sup> made a strong argument for Septuagint influence on the Peshitta. In the middle of the twentieth century this claim was attenuated by A. Vogel.<sup>13</sup> Vogel saw the influence of the Septuagint in the textual transmission of the Peshitta, rather than in the original translation. Different nuanced positions were taken by other scholars such as Weitzman.<sup>14</sup> In the last decades of the twen-

6 Weitzman, *Approach*, chapters 7–11.

7 Carbajosa, "Peshitta"; id., *Character*.

8 Weitzman, *Approach*, 9:13–18.

9 Carbajosa, *Character*, 154–173; id., "Peshitta", 95–96.

10 Baethgen, "Werth".

11 Oppenheim, *Übersetzung*.

12 Barnes, "Influence".

13 Vogel, "Studien".

14 Cf. Weitzman, "Peshitta Psalter".

tieth century, a consensus emerged that the original translation does not reflect influence from the Septuagint. It was rather assumed that Greek readings had entered the text in the course of the Peshitta's textual transmission. This view was advocated by, among others, Jerome Lund<sup>15</sup> and Ignacio Carbajosa.<sup>16</sup> As we shall see below (§ 2), variant readings in the manuscript tradition suggest that agreements with the Septuagint replaced earlier readings which were closer to the MT.

## 2. Textual Transmission

The earliest Syriac manuscripts containing the Psalms are from the sixth to eighth centuries CE. In the Leiden Peshitta edition<sup>17</sup> they receive the labels 6t1, 7a1, 8a1, 8t1. In these sigla the first number indicates the presumed century of origin and the following letter the type of manuscript, followed by a sequence number. As to the type of manuscript, an "a" indicates a pandect, a manuscript containing the complete Bible, and a "t" marks a Psalms manuscript, usually also containing the Odes (see below, § 3). Another important witness is the ninth-century manuscript 9a1,<sup>18</sup> which shows many agreements with the Hebrew text compared with the other textual witnesses.<sup>19</sup> It has been argued that this manuscript is a copy of a manuscript from the sixth or seventh century.<sup>20</sup>

Valuable as these textual witnesses are, they do not document the textual transmission from the translation's presumed date of origin in the second century to the earliest witnesses in the sixth century. If, however, the available manuscript evidence is compared with quotations by the fourth-century Syriac authors Aphrahat and Ephrem and other Syriac texts, it appears that these authors basically used the Peshitta as their source text, even though contextual adaptations or acquaintance with other traditions account for some variants vis-à-vis the transmitted Peshitta text.<sup>21</sup>

The textual witnesses to the Peshitta Psalter reveal a remarkable similarity between the Greek and the Syriac transmission of the Psalms: Just as is the case with the Septuagint,<sup>22</sup> the Peshitta Psalms manuscripts outnumber all other biblical

15 Lund, "Grecisms".

16 Carbajosa, *Character*, 188–272; id., "Peshitta", 95.

17 Walter, *Book of Psalms*.

18 Florence, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana, Orient. 58.

19 See, e.g., Weitzman, "Readings"; on the 9a1 text of the Psalms see also Weitzman, *Approach*, chapter 7; Carbajosa, "Division", 171.

20 Van Vliet, *Deuteronomy*, xii–xiii.

21 Weitzman, *Approach*, chapter 8; for similar studies on other books of the Bible see, e.g., Owens, *Genesis*; id., "Aphrahat"; id., "Ben Sira"; Janson, *De Abrahamcyclis*, 23–89.

22 Cf. Pietersma, "Present State", 25.



manuscripts. In the Leiden Peshitta edition, 21 t-manuscripts up to the 12<sup>th</sup> century have been used, as well as 16 from the 13<sup>th</sup> century onwards. These manuscripts outnumber the other categories of manuscripts used – except for h-manuscripts, which contain only one book or part of a book.<sup>23</sup> However, in addition to the manuscripts used in the critical apparatus, the *List of Peshitta manuscripts* (Preliminary Issue, 1961) includes an appendix with another 200 manuscripts containing the Psalms and Odes.

The manuscript evidence from the sixth century onwards reflects a development in which the text gradually moves away from the Hebrew text.<sup>24</sup> Since the sixth century is also the period in which we see an increased prestige of the Greek tradition emerging,<sup>25</sup> it does not come as a surprise that in this textual development readings from the Greek entered the Syriac tradition (cf. above, § 2). An example is Ps 2:12, where the reading ܠܗܝܬ ܕܥܠܡܐ “lay hold of correction” in 7a1<sup>26</sup> and later manuscripts (cf. LXX δρᾶξασθε παιδείας), seems to have replaced an earlier reading ܠܗܝܬ ܕܥܠܡܐ “kiss the son” which is found, among others, in 6t1 and 9a1<sup>27</sup> (cf. MT: נִשְׁקוּ-בֶרֶךְ).<sup>27</sup>

Carbajosa has demonstrated that there is a group of manuscripts in which the influence of the Septuagint is particularly visible, namely, the manuscripts 10t1, 12t2, 12t5, 12t7. In addition to readings from the Greek that entered the Syriac Peshitta text, there is another phenomenon that reflects influence from the Greek tradition: the occurrence of Syro-Hexaplaric readings in the margins of Peshitta manuscripts. We find them especially in 9a1, 9t3, and 12a1.<sup>28</sup> 9a1 and 9t3 have an almost identical selection of marginal readings.<sup>29</sup> In 9a1 these readings are marked with a ܐ (abbreviation of ܐܬܝܚܝܬ “seventy, Septuagint”), in 12a1 with ܐܬܝܚܝܬ “Greek”.

Just like the Septuagint, the Peshitta was read and written in a Christian environment,<sup>30</sup> and it seems that at some points this has affected the textual transmission.

23 For an overview of the different types of manuscripts and their distribution, see Van Peursen, “La diffusion”.

24 Cf. Carbajosa, *Character*, 270–272; id., “Peshitta”, 94–5.

25 This led, for example, to the production of Syriac versions that were based on a Greek text (such as the Syro-Hexapla) or that were greatly influenced by readings from the Greek (such as Jacob of Edessa’s version).

26 Milan, Ambrosian Library, B. 21. Inf. This is the oldest complete Bible manuscript and the base text for the Leiden Peshitta edition.

27 Cf. Taylor, *Psalms*, 9; Weitzman, *Syriac Version*, 85. Note that 6t1 is one of the earliest manuscripts of the Peshitta Psalter and that 9a1 is well-known for having preserved original readings and agreements with the Hebrew text; see above, § 2 (first paragraph).

28 See Jenner, “Zitate”.

29 Jenner, “Zitate”, 151.

30 For the early transmission and reception of the Psalter in Syriac Christianity, see Van Rooy, “The Psalms”.

Thus Carbajosa argues that in Ps 110:4, the more original text, which is reflected in the manuscripts 6t1\*, 8a1\*, and 9a1, reads *ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ* “according to the word (command, cause, reason) of Melchizedek” (cf. MT: *עַל-דִּבְרֵי מֶלֶכִּי-צֶדֶק*),<sup>31</sup> and that the reading *ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ* “according to the image (type, way, similarity) of Melchizedek”, which is found in manuscript 7a1 and later manuscripts, has entered the text due to the influence of the expression *ܠܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ* in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where it is found in 5:6, 10; 6:20; and 7:11, 17.<sup>32</sup>

In another verse quoted in the New Testament, Ps 68:19, we find in 8a1<sup>c</sup>, 9a1, 12t1, and 12t4 and others the original reading *ܘܢܩܠܬ ܥܡܪܐ* “and you received (gifts for human beings)”, which agrees with the MT, whereas the other witnesses have *ܘܢܩܠܬ* “and you gave”, which agrees with the citation in Eph 4:8. Weitzman argues that the latter reading is due to influence from the quotation in Ephesians, rather than a theological correction because “God does not ‘receive.’”<sup>33</sup> Although the influence from New Testament readings seems not as pervasive in the Syriac textual transmission as it is in the Greek textual tradition, these examples strongly suggest that the Syriac scribes were at least at some points influenced by the Syriac New Testament.<sup>34</sup>

In addition to possible influence from New Testament passages, there are other indications of the Christian transmission of the text. In Ps 51:20 the variant reading *ܠܥܒܕܐ* “(do good in your will) to Your church” in 10t2 and 12a1 instead of *ܠܥܒܕܐ* “to Zion” reflects an adaptation to Christian usage.<sup>35</sup> The same applies to the use of *ܡܫܥܒܐ* “sacrifices, eucharists” (17t1; Urmia) instead of *ܥܒܕܐ* “bulls” in Ps 51:21.<sup>36</sup> Barnes suggests that also the reading *ܡܫܥܒܐ* “(you are splendid) and anointed” in Ps 76:5 may be “an ecclesiastical interpretation” of *ܡܫܥܒܐ* “and glorious”.<sup>37</sup> Obviously, the number of examples increases if a Christian background of the original translation is denied and it is argued that Christian elements in the text, even those that are found in all available manuscripts (such as the use of *ܡܫܥܒܐ* ‘saviour’ mentioned in § 1), entered the text in the textual transmission. Likewise, there are passages for which either influence from the Septuagint or influence from the New Testament can account for certain Peshitta readings.<sup>38</sup>

31 Cf. Walter, *Book of Psalms*, 135.

32 Carbajosa, *Character*, 364–366. For the argument that even the Peshitta translation of Psalm 110 itself reveals Christian origins see Weitzman, *Approach*, 9:8.

33 Weitzman, “Readings”, 249.

34 For other books of the Peshitta it has been argued that such influence from New Testament passages can even be found in the translation itself, rather than only in later textual witnesses; cf. the discussion in Van Peursen, “Ben Sira”, 254–255.

35 Barnes, *Peshitta Psalter*, xxxv–xxxvi; cf. Weitzman, *Syriac Version*, 272; on *ܥܒܕܐ* see above, § 1.

36 Barnes, *ibidem*; Weitzman, *Peshitta*, 272.

37 Barnes, *Peshitta Psalter*, xxxvi.

38 Cf. Barnes, *Peshitta Psalter*, xxxv.

The influence from New Testament passages and other traces of the Christian transmission is another point of agreement between the Greek and the Syriac traditions.<sup>39</sup>

### 3. The Odes and Other Additional Materials

The manuscripts with the t-siglum usually contain the Psalms together with the Odes. The Odes are some poetic passages taken from other Old Testament books, and usually also with New Testament passages like the *Magnificat* (Luke 1:46–55) and the *Benedictus* (Luke 1:68–79). The selection of Odes and the practice of adding them to the Psalms arose in the Greek tradition and was adopted in the Syriac tradition.

In the course of time, a series of nine odes became dominant. Before that, however, there existed an alternative series of fourteen odes, which is found in Greek witnesses (including *Codex Alexandrinus*<sup>40</sup> and *Codex Turicensis*), and is also found in the Peshitta manuscript 9a1. In addition to the *Magnificat* and the *Benedictus* (which in the nine odes series came to be counted as one ode), this longer series included the *Nunc dimittis* (Luke 2:29–32) and the *Gloria* (Luke 2:14).<sup>41</sup> It also contained the Prayer of Manasseh.<sup>42</sup> That the latter did not survive in the nine odes series may be due to its apocryphal status, because it was the only ode that did not recur elsewhere in the canonical scriptures.<sup>43</sup>

The selection of the poetic passages to be included in the Odes is another point of contact between the Greek and the Syriac transmission of the Psalms. Since the Psalters containing these Odes functioned as liturgical manuscripts, this selection also provides information about the various Greek and Syriac liturgical traditions. According to H. Schneider, the addition of nine odes, which is for example found in the Leiden Peshitta edition (basic manuscript: 9t3), is modelled on the Greek tradition, although there are some differences between the Greek and the Syriac collections as well as some inner-Syriac variation.<sup>44</sup> Some odes occur across all traditions and series, such as Exod 15 and Deut 32. Some others, such as the combination of Isaiah 42:10–14 and 45:8, are unique to the Syriac tradition. And just as

39 Rahlfs, *Psalmi*, 30–32, for the Christian influence on the textual transmission of the Greek Psalter, see also § 2.4 of Siegfried Kreuzer's paper in the present volume.

40 Schneider, "Oden im christlichen Altertum", 52–57; Coogan, "Odes", 543–544.

41 Cf. Schneider, "Oden seit dem sechsten Jahrhundert", 245–252; cf. Rahlfs, *Psalmi*, 78–80; see also Van Peursen, "Text of Isaiah", 341–342.

42 For details see Gutman and Van Peursen, *Prayer of Manasseh*, 17–18.

43 Schneider, "Die biblischen Oden im christlichen Altertum", 54; Gutman and Van Peursen, *Prayer of Manasseh*, 19; on the place of the Prayer of Manasseh in the Syriac tradition see also Van Rompay, "The Syriac Tradition".

44 For details see Schneider, "Oden seit dem sechsten Jahrhundert", 253–266.

in the Greek tradition, both the fourteen odes series and the nine odes series are attested in the Syriac tradition.<sup>45</sup>

Adding passages from other books of the Bible to the odes gave rise to various textual interactions. Thus, in a study on Isaiah 26:9–19 we concluded that the inclusion of this passage in the Odes came from the Greek tradition, but that the text was taken from the Peshitta. The textual witnesses to the Syriac Odes reflect various tendencies, including an increasing Greek influence.<sup>46</sup>

As we can observe in the Greek tradition as well,<sup>47</sup> sometimes other foundational liturgical texts such as the Nicene Creed or the Lord's Prayer and the Beatitudes, were added to the Psalter. In the Greek tradition this happens often in Psalters from the ninth century onwards.<sup>48</sup> In the Syriac tradition the earliest witnesses to this usage are 9a1<sup>49</sup> and 9t2.<sup>50</sup> A certain version of the Nicene Creed is found in the Syriac Masoretic manuscripts 10 m1, 10 m3, 11 m1, 11 m2, 11 m4, 11 m5, 11 m6, and 13 m1. W. E. Barnes and W. Baars have devoted studies to the text of the Creed in these manuscripts, which according to Barnes "is neither the original nor the 'enlarged' Nicene [Creed]". They studied its relation to the West-Syriac and East-Syriac traditions and its textual development.<sup>51</sup> Another example of the addition of the Nicene Creed and the Lord's Prayer is found in a sixteenth-century bilingual Garshuni-Syriac manuscript.<sup>52</sup>

Unfortunately, this type of information is not included in the 1961 Preliminary Version of the *List of Peshitta Manuscripts*,<sup>53</sup> nor in the Leiden Peshitta edition in the volumes of the Psalms or the Odes.<sup>54</sup> Here we are faced with the fact that

45 Cf. Van Peursen, "Text of Isaiah", 342–343.

46 See Van Peursen, "Text of Isaiah", especially table 3 (differences between Pesh-Isaiah 26:19–29 and the text of this passage in Pesh-Odes – the latter sometimes closer to the Septuagint); table 5 (variants to Pesh-Isaiah agreeing with Pesh-Odes); table 6 (variants to Pesh-Isaiah agreeing with variants to Pesh-Odes); table 7 (variants to Pesh-Odes agreeing with Pesh-Isaiah); table 8 (variants to Pesh-Odes agreeing with the Septuagint). Only the captions of these tables may suffice to illustrate the complex interaction between the two Syriac versions and their textual transmission as well as the Greek tradition.

47 See, e.g., Parpulov, *History*, 60 and Appendix B1 (in this appendix all occurrences of the Creeds are marked with ΣΠ (*Symbolon tes Pysteos*). (Georgi Parpulov, personal communication).

48 Coogan, "Odes", 544.

49 Coogan, "Odes", 558, 560.

50 Wright, *Catalogue*, 1.120; cf. Coogan "Odes", 559.

51 Cf. Barnes, "Nicene' Creed"; Baars, "Nicene' Creed".

52 Saint Mark's Monastery, Jerusalem MS 8 (SMMJ 00008). Cf. Baumstark, "Handschriften", 104.

53 The above-mentioned manuscript from Saint Mark's Monastery is listed as no. 1 on p. 57 of the Appendix, where the addition of Psalm 151 is mentioned, but not the inclusion other non-biblical texts, nor the fact that this is a bilingual manuscript.

54 An exception is the description of manuscript 16 t4 (Schneider, "Canticles or Odes", xii), where it is mentioned that each half-verse of the Odes I, III and IV is followed by a ⲱ, indicating the Hal-lulujah that was added in reciting these odes and a doxology at the end of Ode III.

the Peshitta project was initiated in a time when the focus of Peshitta scholarship was on the text-critical value of the Syriac translation for a reconstruction of the Hebrew Bible<sup>55</sup> and hence does not include information about the New Testament passages or other liturgical additions such as the Creed.<sup>56</sup> Nevertheless, even without undertaking a systematic analysis of the Syriac and the Greek material, we can observe the parallel tendencies of including other important liturgical texts such as the Lord's Prayer and the Nicene Creed.

The additional materials added to the Psalter were added not only at the end of the Psalter, but also in the Psalter prefaces. At some point the Greek preface to the Palestinian catena on the Psalms, usually associated with Prokopios of Gaza (c. 465–528 CE) was translated into Syriac (but not the catena itself). The Syriac version was used in three distinct ways: as a preface to the Syro-Hexaplaric Psalter, as a preface to the Peshitta Psalter and as an independent collection of writings about the Psalms. As a preface to the Peshitta Psalter it occurs in the manuscripts 10t1, 12t3 and 12t4. In 12t3 an interlinear Syro-Hexaplaric text is added to the Peshitta wherever the two differ.<sup>57</sup>

#### 4. Additional Psalms

In addition to the 150 Psalms found in the Masoretic Text, both the Greek and the Syriac traditions bear witness to additional psalms. In the Greek tradition, Psalm 151 was considered such an integral part of the Septuagint Psalter that it is included in Rahlfs' edition of the Septuagint Psalter immediately following Psalm 150,<sup>58</sup> even though the superscription to this psalm reflects an awareness that it was "outside the number" (ἐξωθεν τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ). In the Syriac tradition, too, we find additional Psalms, but the situation is more complex. Here we find five additional psalms, conventionally designated Psalm 151–155.

55 Jenner, "Nominal Clauses", describes the opposite views of P. A. H. de Boer, the director of the Peshitta project from its start in 1959 and Wim Baars, who was also involved in the edition project from the very start and played an important role in the preparation of the first volumes that were published. De Boer "aimed at giving a reliable basis for the reconstruction of the Hebrew text of [the Peshitta] with which MT could be compared." (ibidem 49–50). It was De Boer's policy that was followed in the edition project.

56 In the light of current insights about manuscript studies, this is a shortcoming of the Preliminary Issue of the *List*, that we intend to repair in a revised version in preparation at the Peshitta Institute; cf. Van Peursen, "La diffusion", 205; Coogan, "Odes", 362. Admittedly, the 1961 *List* was explicitly published as a "Preliminary Issue", and even in the 1960s, its authors planned to provide additional information in a revised version when the Peshitta edition project would reach its completion (K. D. Jenner, personal communication).

57 For details see Stewart, "Psalms".

58 Rahlfs, *Psalms*, 339.

In the wake of the discovery of the Psalms Scroll of Qumran (11QPs<sup>a</sup>), new scholarly attention for these apocryphal psalms was aroused. This scroll contained, in addition to the psalms known from the Hebrew Bible, other compositions which were labelled as “The Apostrophe to Zion” and “Plea for Deliverance”, as well as Psalm 151, 154, and 155. It was argued “that 11QPs<sup>a</sup> contains the latter part of a true scriptural Psalter or edition of the Psalter” rather than “a secondary liturgical compilation”.<sup>59</sup> This new evidence seemed to require a reappraisal of the arrangement and contents of the Psalter and a fresh comparison between 11QPs<sup>a</sup> and the Syriac because “many readings and even entire compositions (e. g. Psalms 151, 154, 155) are common to both”.<sup>60</sup>

However, the initial excitement following the discovery of the Qumran Psalms scroll has since been tempered. The idea that 11QPs<sup>a</sup> contained an alternative version of the biblical Psalter omitting part of the well-known 150 Psalms and adding some other liturgical compositions, is countered by the view that this Qumran scroll is a liturgical rather than biblical manuscript.<sup>61</sup> One may even argue that the label 11QPs<sup>a</sup>, which marks this scroll as a biblical manuscript, is a misnomer. Likewise, the excitement about the text-critical evidence provided in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> could not stand the test of time. Thus, whereas in the *editio princeps* of 1967 J. A. Sanders argued that this scroll had preserved an original version of Psalm 151, which was abbreviated by the Greek translator,<sup>62</sup> a closer investigation reveals the Qumran version, rather than the Septuagint version to be secondary.<sup>63</sup>

As far as the Syriac evidence is concerned, there is no indication that the Apocryphal Psalms were originally part of the Syriac Psalter. The manuscript evidence is sparse and late. The five apocryphal Psalms occur in the twelfth-century manuscript 12t4 (the base text for the Leiden Peshitta edition), where it occurs at the end of the Psalter, and in the nineteenth-century manuscript 19d1, where it follows the prophetic books. They are further found in some manuscripts of Elias of Al-Anbar’s *Book of Exercise*,<sup>64</sup> where they seem to function as filler material between two tractates. They are absent from the printed editions of Urmia, Lee and Mosul. Only Psalm 151 occurs in an earlier manuscript (6h22), but this is not a bib-

59 Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 240.

60 See the overview in Carbajosa, “11QPs<sup>a</sup>”, with references to several publications by P. W. Flint. The quotation given above (also quoted by Carbajosa), comes from Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms*, 241.

61 See Emanuel Tov’s contribution to this volume, § 4b (“In my view almost all Qumran psalters do not represent biblical scrolls but are part of a liturgical collection”) and footnote 49, with further references.

62 Sanders, *Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 94.

63 On the secondary character of Ps 151 in 11QPs<sup>a</sup> compared with the Greek versions see Kratz, “Anfänge”, 189–200. See also Reinhard Kratz’s contribution to this volume, § 2.

64 In the Leiden Peshitta edition they receive the following labels: 14E1, 17E1, 17E2, 17E3, 18E1, 18E2, 19E1, 19E2; cf. Butts, “Psalms”, 296–297.

lical manuscript, but a Syriac translation of Athanasius' Psalms commentary.<sup>65</sup> As mentioned above, the heading to Psalm 151 in the Septuagint notes that this psalm occurs "outside the number" of the 150 psalms. Likewise, the headings in the Syriac witnesses reflect awareness that they do not belong to the "proper" Psalter. Nevertheless, the additional Psalms are presented as "authentic" Davidic compositions.<sup>66</sup>

Consequently, whereas in Rahlfs' edition of the Greek Psalter Psalm 151 was simply added after Psalm 150, in the Leiden Peshitta edition the Apocryphal Psalms were treated differently. They are not included in the Psalms volume (II/3),<sup>67</sup> but in another volume (IV/6),<sup>68</sup> which also includes the Odes, the Prayer of Manasseh, and some other small books. This reflects the peculiar secondary status of the additional Psalms and their absence in the base manuscript for the Psalms edition. In the case of Psalm 151, the Leiden edition gives two versions: the text as it is found in 6h22 and other liturgical Psalters and the text of 12t4 and other witnesses to the Apocryphal Psalms.<sup>69</sup>

It is generally accepted that the Syriac version of Ps 151 is dependent on the Septuagint and entered the Syriac tradition through the Syro-Hexapla.<sup>70</sup> It is thus another reflection of the influence of the Septuagint on the transmission of the Syriac Psalter and of the increased prestige of the Greek tradition.

The reasons for the addition of the other Psalms (152–155) are more enigmatic, especially since Psalms 154 and 155 were translated from Hebrew. A possible historical context for the translation of these compositions and their addition to the Psalter in some manuscripts may be the discovery of Hebrew manuscripts near Jericho as reported in a letter by Timothy I. Timothy's reference to a Psalter that contained "more than two-hundred Psalms", may suggest that among the discovered manuscripts there was a Psalms manuscript that included a Hebrew version of Psalms 154–155, and possibly also 152–153.<sup>71</sup> The same event has played a role in scholarly discussions about the authenticity of the Ben Sira manuscripts found in the Cairo Genizah and has been taken as the historical missing link between the Genizah version of the Damascus Document and the Dead Sea Scrolls.<sup>72</sup> In the case of these apocryphal psalms, too, it gives a plausible explanation for Syr-

65 Carbajosa, "11QPs<sup>a</sup> and the Hebrew Vorlage of the Peshitta Psalter", 4, note 6.

66 See the discussion in Mroczek, "The End of the Psalms", 314–19.

67 Walter, *The Book of Psalms*.

68 Baars, "Apocryphal Psalms".

69 See Baars, "Apocryphal Psalms", vii; on the different text forms of Ps 151 see also Van Rooy, *Studies*, chapters 6–8.

70 See, e.g., Strawn, "Textual History", 14; Carbajosa, "11QPs<sup>a</sup>", 4; id., "Peshitta", 97; Van Rooy "Marginal Notes"; id., "The Psalms", 548–549.

71 Butts, "Psalms", 296–297.

72 Cf. Di Lella, *Hebrew Text*, 78–105.

iac Psalms that are translated from Hebrew, shows similarity with a text found among the Dead Sea Scrolls, and appear for the first time in a Syriac manuscript in the twelfth century.

## 5. Conclusion

In this contribution we observed various points of agreement between the Greek and the Syriac transmission of the Psalter. The most interesting points of agreement do not relate to the alleged influence of the Septuagint on the Syriac Peshitta translator, which is at least doubtful, but rather in parallel tendencies in the transmission. Both the Septuagint and the Peshitta were transmitted in a Christian context, which left its traces in the textual history (e.g., variant readings that reflect influence from New Testament passages). Both also share the inclusion of the series of odes (both the Fourteen Odes and the Nine Odes series are attested in both traditions) as they crystallized in the Christian tradition. Both witness to the addition of other foundational liturgical texts, such as the Lord's Prayer and the Nicene Creed, and both traditions show some variation at the borders of the Psalter, in the Greek tradition by the inclusion of Psalm 151 and, from there, through the Syro-Hexaplaric version, also in some Syriac manuscripts.

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## The Relevance of the Gə'əz Psalter for the Editing of the Greek Psalms

For some time, Old Testament text critics have recognized the importance of the Gə'əz (classical Ethiopic) version for textual criticism, especially as a witness to an early Greek text. Nevertheless, most studies have merely mined the version for kernels of Greek evidence, either treating the versional evidence as monolithic or citing Gə'əz variants indiscriminately with little to no discernment of their place in Ethiopian transmission history. Retroversion into Greek, however, can only take place after completing the requisite work of establishing the earliest Gə'əz text, understanding the version's own transmission history, and paying attention to translation technique. Even then, retroversion is methodologically tenuous. We survey here the current knowledge of the Gə'əz Psalter in order to provide a foundation for future work. Despite the limitations, the Gə'əz version offers important testimony to an early Greek form of Psalms.

### 1. History of Research

It is surprising that of the books in the Ethiopian Orthodox canon, the Gə'əz Psalter has received so little attention in the West, for it was the first book printed in that language.<sup>1</sup> Consulting one or more available Psalters, Johannes Potken published two editions of Psalms, one with the Gə'əz text in 1513 and one with Hebrew, Greek, and Latin added. Unfortunately, the passable Gə'əz text was reworked based on one of Pococke's manuscripts for Brian Walton's polyglot, which appeared in 1657.<sup>2</sup> Half a century later Hiob Ludolf produced the first scholarly edition by collating Potken's two editions with three additional manuscripts.<sup>3</sup> He noted that the Gə'əz text was undoubtedly translated from the Greek.<sup>4</sup> He also identified the Pococke manuscript, now in the Bodleian (Poc. ms. 3), as a witness of a later form of the

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1 For the history of indigenous investigation of Psalms, see Stoffregen Pedersen, *Exegesis*, 1–18.

2 Walton, *Bibliorum Sacrorum*, 3/88–319. Pococke was one of Walton's coworkers, so reliance upon his own manuscript was understandable. Notes about the version by Edmund Castell appear in the Appendix, "Variantes Lectiones in Aethiopica Psalmorum Versione", 6/34–43.

3 On the manuscripts consulted by Ludolf, see his *Psalterium*, "Praefatio," 2b–3a; Dorn, *Psalterio*, 13–14, and Knibb, "Translation", 108–22.

4 Ludolf, *Psalterium*, "Praefatio," 3b–4a.

text.<sup>5</sup> In his notes at the end of the volume, he commented on Gəʾəz variants and Greek and Hebrew readings.<sup>6</sup> Boris Dorn, in his dissertation (1825), noted that the earlier of Ludolf's manuscripts aligned well with LXX B and S and that the Pococke manuscript was related to the Roman Arabic edition.<sup>7</sup> Both conclusions were substantiated by Alfred Rahlfs about one hundred years later.<sup>8</sup>

Indeed, to date Rahlfs has provided the only substantive investigation of the Gəʾəz text of Psalms by a Septuagint scholar, even though he relies almost completely on Ludolf's edition. Obviously, his primary interest was the version's attestation of a Greek text rather than the transmission history of the book in Ethiopia, but his observations nevertheless remain quite astute and often nuanced.<sup>9</sup> His caution stands in sharp contrast to practices of some editors of the Göttingen *Septuaginta* series.<sup>10</sup>

With regard to the citation of Gəʾəz evidence, editors have frequently erred.<sup>11</sup> First, they often rely on questionable editions of the Gəʾəz Bible. Apart from the editions of Genesis, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, and Micah, publications of Old Testament books in Gəʾəz are severely limited.<sup>12</sup> The works of Esteves Pereira, for example, are particularly problematic, and yet are relied on in several volumes of

5 Ludolf, *Psalterium*, "Praefatio," 3b–4a. On the acquisition of the manuscript, see Williams, "Pococke", 69–85.

6 Ludolf, *Psalterium*, 345–422.

7 Dorn, *Psalterio*, 13–14 and 37.

8 Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien*, 166–167.

9 Unexpectedly, Rahlfs' treatment of the Gəʾəz is superior to his treatment of the Greek. For critiques of the latter, see Pietersma, "Present State", 12–32, and Boyd-Taylor et al., "Assessment", 98–124.

10 For example, Ziegler cites Ethiopic evidence for Ezekiel based on a single manuscript (*Ezechiel*, 17–19) and for Hosea and Micah he consults just three seventeenth to eighteenth century witnesses (*Duodecim Prophetae*, 23–26). On the other hand, he chooses not to cite Ethiopic evidence in Isaiah and consults Löfgren's *Daniel*, a first rate critical edition for *Susanna-Daniel-Bel et Draco*. Hanhart employs Pereira's methodologically deficient study of Esther, which is based on just four codices, none of which bears the earliest attested text (*Esther*, 29–32; see also *Esdrae liber I*, 19). Similarly, Quast depends upon two manuscripts (*Ruth*, 13). Also, see the note below about Wevers' edition of Deuteronomy. More recent efforts, notably those by Gentry and Seppänen, are more judicious.

11 Entries in *Textual History of the Bible* often note this frequent set of problems. For an example, see Niccum, "§ 1.2.7 Textual Histories", 416. See also the review of the history of scholarship behind all editions of Ethiopic Old Testament books by Brown/Delamarter/Lee, "§ 1.7 Theory". Editions of Ethiopic biblical texts fall into three categories: those based on few manuscripts and which show no coherent account of the textual history (see § 1.7.2), those based on more manuscripts but still with no coherent account of textual history (§ 1.7.3), and those based on sufficient numbers of manuscripts and which propose an account of textual history (§ 1.7.4). The only projects in the last category date from the twentieth century.

12 Edele, *Edition*; Knibb, *Ezekiel*; Id., "Commentary", 7–49; Löfgren, *Übersetzung*; Fuhs, *Hosea*; and Id., *Micha*. Other editions exist, but they are flawed. Cf. Pilkington, *Edition*.

the Göttingen *Septuaginta*.<sup>13</sup> Even when editors in the series examine additional Gəʾəz manuscripts, their selection of witnesses often depends upon date or convenience, neither of which necessarily provides clarity about the version's place in transmission history. Wevers' volume of Deuteronomy is a case in point. Not one of the Gəʾəz witnesses he cites transmits the earliest attested text.<sup>14</sup>

Second, inattention to transmission history has also created the idea that the Gəʾəz Old Testament was later revised against a Greek, typically Lucianic, manuscript.<sup>15</sup> Historically, this scenario is unlikely. Further, this later "Lucianic" revision is often the result of correction toward an Arabic exemplar.<sup>16</sup> Obviously, references to Gəʾəz manuscripts attesting demonstrably later stages of transmission should not be noted in the critical apparatus of a Greek book.

Third, because of inattention to translation technique, Gəʾəz readings are needlessly cited in support of both attested and unattested Greek readings.<sup>17</sup> Most notable among these are notes marking the presence of a conjunction.<sup>18</sup> Both in Ethiopian translation and transmission, conjunctions are added for sense without recourse to a Greek *Vorlage*. Undoubtedly, the Gəʾəz version offers invaluable testimony to a version of the Greek Bible circulating in the Horn of Africa in the late fourth century, but its attestation is only valuable if applied cautiously and judiciously.

Rahlf's avoided most of these pitfalls. Most importantly, he refused to cite Gəʾəz evidence in his critical edition because the only critical work available to him,

13 Esteves Pereira, "Livre d'Esther", 5–56; Id., "Livre de 'Ezra", 645–736, and Id., "Livre de Job", 565–688.

14 Wevers, *Deuteronomium*. Wevers relied on the four manuscripts collated by Dillmann, one of which was an Abschrift. Thankfully Wevers also collated the Martini manuscript (M), which transmits an earlier form of text, although modified towards later Ethiopic traditions. (A purer form is found in a fourteenth century manuscript recently discovered at Ura Masqal.) His witness M provides a connection to the earliest attested text, but does not fully represent it. For example, Wevers cites the Ethiopic version for the omission of τῷ θεῷ σου in Deut 23:21 (*Deuteronomium*, 264), but those words are found in the earliest attested Ethiopic text. This detail surfaced during research for The National Endowment for the Humanities and Abilene Christian University: *The Emerging Text: The Textual History of the Ethiopic Old Testament*.

15 This position is exemplified by Heider, *Bibelübersetzung*, 5–6 and 9–16. See also Hanhart, who argues for a later revision based on Greek but does not associate it specifically with the Lucianic text (*Esther*, 32).

16 See Schäfers, *Jeremias*, 1–13.

17 See, for example, the apparatus of Ziegler, *Duodecim Prophetæ*.

18 For example, Wevers cites the Ethiopic version for the presence of καί at Deut 1:17 (*Deuteronomium*, 58). Conjunctions are added frequently in translation and transmission, and therefore are rarely of text critical significance. Likewise, pronominal suffixes are frequently added to verbs and nouns, so the Ethiopic version should not be cited in support of the addition of μοι at Deut 1:41 (*Deuteronomium*, 66).

i. e., Ludolf's edition, relied on only three manuscripts.<sup>19</sup> Even though he argued cogently that Ludolf offered a valuable, early text, Rahlfs recognized that the study was insufficient for inclusion in a critical apparatus. As noted above, Rahlfs also discerned something of the transmission history of Psalms in Gə'əz. Although based merely on a comparison of three codices and consultation of editions of other Gə'əz books, he recognized that "Aeth ist direkt aus dem Griechischen übersetzt, aber nachträglich zuweilen nach Arab korrigiert," thus it completely lacked a "new revision" as found in other Old Testament books of the Gə'əz Bible.<sup>20</sup>

With regard to translation technique, Rahlfs' work again sets a high standard. Out of 129 variation units he examines, there are only a few places where he potentially errs. For the plus δι' αὐτήν at 9:36, he correctly notes that a similar construction appears transposed in the Gə'əz Psalm, but he reconstructs በእነጉረኡ ("on account of it/him") as δι' αὐτοῦ. Because only the Gə'əz antecedent must be masculine, δι' αὐτήν is just as likely, and since the latter is attested in Greek, δι' αὐτήν becomes the more probable reconstruction.<sup>21</sup> At 112:9, Rahlfs cites the Gə'əz version in support of μητέρα τέκνων εὐφραينوμένην, but ወያሕትራሥኣ ለእመ ውሉድ "and the children please the mother" could also translate μητέρα ἐπὶ τέκνοις εὐφραينوμένην.<sup>22</sup> To his credit, Rahlfs provides appropriate caveats when moving into speculation, as in his discussion of the singular δικαιοσύνην at 10:7.<sup>23</sup>

Michael Knibb also produced a study of the Gə'əz Psalms. He, too, only examined three manuscripts, two older and one younger, but his study resulted in similar conclusions.<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, he added important qualifications to Rahlfs' observations. Knibb recognized the methodological problem of looking only at variants where Gə'əz agrees or disagrees with LXX B. Working from Rahlfs' list of 129 variation units, Knibb highlighted the peculiar agreements with LXX A and Lucianic witnesses. He concluded that "it would appear that although the Ethiopic translation belongs with the B-text, it was influenced by a manuscript belonging to the

19 "Die anderen... Übersetzungen (Aeth., Pal., Arab., auch Arm.) habe ich beiseite gelassen, weil sie minder wichtig und zum Teil noch nicht genügend herausgegeben sind, also den Apparat zwecklos belasten würden," Rahlfs, *Psalmi*, 16–17. Because he argues for the importance of the Gə'əz version elsewhere, its omission from the apparatus is unlikely due to it being "minder wichtig."

20 Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien*, 235–236. Quote is from page 236.

21 Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien*, 42.

22 Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien*, 50.

23 Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien*, 215.

24 Knibb consulted Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Aeth. 4 (fourteenth century); British Library, Add. 18,994 (fifteenth century), and British Library, Or. 12467 (a. 1660), "Translation", 108.

A-text such as 55 or 1219.<sup>25</sup> Additionally, Knibb provides a valuable discussion of translation technique.<sup>26</sup>

As a result, if there were any book in the Gəʿəz Bible where caution could have been thrown to the wind, Psalms is it. Because of the unusually stable textual tradition, Ludolf's edition could have been employed in the critical apparatus with little harm, whereas for the other biblical books such a practice could be disastrous. Nevertheless, one should aim for a more scientific reconstruction of the Gəʿəz text, a task that has become much easier with access to many high quality images online.

## 2. The Origin of the Gəʿəz Psalter

Without a doubt the Psalms were translated into Gəʿəz from Greek.<sup>27</sup> The evidence is incontrovertible. First, evidence of the Psalms exists in the Aksumite period (fourth to seventh centuries), a time in which literature was translated only from Greek.<sup>28</sup> Second, where Greek diverges from Hebrew, Gəʿəz follows the Greek text. For example, Gəʿəz has “in the counsel” (= ἐν βουλῇ) instead of “in the assembly” at 1:5, and at 109:3 Gəʿəz parallels ἑωσφόρος “morning star” instead of the Hebrew “morning.” Greek plusses also appear in Gəʿəz.<sup>29</sup> A particularly telling instance is the lengthy Christian addition at 13:3.<sup>30</sup> There are also shared minuses; see especially 17:14; 76:9; 89:17; 91:10; 92:3; and 149:9.

Third, the translator occasionally misunderstood the Greek text or incorrectly divided a text written in *scriptio continua*. For example, the meaning of βᾶρις, “fortress” in Palestine or “boat” in Egypt, escapes the translator.<sup>31</sup> Instead he treats the word as a form of βάρος “weight” (44:9; 48:4, and 14).<sup>32</sup> See also 48:3 where the

25 Knibb, “Translation” 116–119. The quote is from page 119. It is unlikely that multiple Greek manuscripts were employed in the translation process or in the early period of transmission. Instead, the Gəʿəz version attests an early Greek witness that did not conform wholly to either LXX B or S, but is more akin to the former than the latter.

26 Knibb, “Translation” 119–122.

27 This statement should not be generalised for the entire Psalter. Odes for instance is an exception, as it was translated at a much later time. See Niccum, “Canonical Histories”, 393–395.

28 For the evidence of early inscriptions, see below. Myths of Syriac origins and influences, which Rahlfs and, to some extent, Knibb accept, are now to be discounted; see Niccum, “§ 1.2.7 Textual Histories”, 406–409. Cf. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien*, 37; and Knibb, “Translation”, 114–115.

29 See 12:6; 23:4; 27:3; 28:1; 32:10; 71:17; 129:6; 137:1; 144:13; 146:8; 148:5; and 151:1–7, among others.

30 Gəʿəz lacks the Christian plusses at 50:9 and 95:10.

31 For the peculiarities of this Greek word, see Venetz, *Quinta*, 81–83, and van der Kooij, “Place”, 70–71.

32 At 121:7, πύργος βαρις is rendered “tower of weight.”



Greek translator's creativity proved too difficult for the Ethiopian translator. Here οἱ τέ γηγενεῖς becomes "in each of your lands (are) the children."<sup>33</sup>

Fourth, the Greek enumeration of Psalms appears in Gəʿəz. Thus, Pss 9 and 113 each constitute one psalm, as in LXX, rather than two. Likewise, single psalms in the Hebrew Psalter are divided in Greek and Gəʿəz, with Ps 116 divided into Pss 114 and 115 and Ps 147 into Pss 146 and 147. The sections of Ps 118 also imitate the Greek. Note especially ዋው "waw" (= οὐαυ) at v. 41 and ዛይ "zay" (= ζαι) at v. 49. The superscriptions, as well, are of Greek origin.<sup>34</sup>

In addition to identifying the specific language of the Gəʿəz version's *Vorlage*, its textual affinity can also be generically determined. Rahlfs already drew attention to the version's close proximity to the text of *Codex Vaticanus* (B). In 129 variation units where B (or another aligned witness where B is lacunose) disagrees with the majority of Greek witnesses, the Gəʿəz text aligns with the B text 106 times. Although his calculations should be adjusted slightly, clearly the Gəʿəz Psalter attests an early text of considerable quality.<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, his focus on readings shared with B do not provide the entire picture, as Knibb observed.<sup>36</sup>

Although the *Textual History of the Ethiopic Old Testament Project* (THEOT) primarily traces the contours of Ethiopian transmission history, it also has an interest in the version's origins. Stages of textual development are identified by means of test passages.<sup>37</sup> Twenty-five of the verses used by the THEOT-project for test passages in Psalms were selected because of their value for probing the version's relationship to the Greek tradition.<sup>38</sup> Within these verses 43 textually significant variation units

33 On the nature of the Greek translation of 48:3, see Pietersma, "Psalms", 544, accessed online at <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/24-ps-nets.pdf> (last access: 15.08.2023). Rahlfs provides additional examples of incorrectly translated Greek readings in *Septuaginta-Studien*, 166.

34 See, for examples, 23:1; 47:1; 92:1; 93:1; and 95:1.

35 See Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien*, 40–54. Of the 129 variation units, some passages should not be taken into account, either because Gəʿəz could render either reading (49:10; 79:10; and 112:9) or Gəʿəz supports neither reading (66:2; 103:1; and 138:20). (Knibb worked from the same list of variants. In addition to 49:10 and 66:2, he omitted 26:9 and 65:4 from his study because the former concerns a transposition, which occurs frequently in Gəʿəz translation, and the support for the plus in the latter is divided according to Rahlfs' edition [but not in the nineteen manuscripts examined for this study; see below]. He did not exclude 79:10; 103:1; 112:9; or 138:20. See Knibb, "Translation", 116 n.53.) This leaves 123 variation units with 23 readings in common with the majority text. These 23 readings differ slightly from those identified by Rahlfs. First, the variant at 79:10 should be disregarded (see above), but, *contra* Rahlfs, Gəʿəz supports the majority text (δικα(ως) rather than the B text at 7:10. (See also Ludolf, *Psalterium*, 347–348.)

36 The same criticism is leveled against Rahlfs' evaluation of the Greek evidence by Boyd-Taylor, et al., "Assessment," 99–109.

37 On the value and methodology of using test passages, see Carroll Osburn's overview in *The Text of the Apostolos in Epiphanius of Salamis*, 169–184. For THEOT and the Book of Psalms, see below.

38 Sixteen of these test passages were also used by Rahlfs.

were identified based on the data provided in Rahlfs' apparatus. In six places, all but one witness transmitted the same reading, so these variants were removed from consideration. Where any other witness diverged from all others, the attestation of that witness was also removed, in order to sharpen textual kinship. With unique readings excluded, in the remaining 37 variation units the Gə'əz version agrees most frequently with B (76 %), Bo (76 %), and S (72 %). Nevertheless, S (90 %) and Bo (88 %) have a considerably higher agreement with B than Gə'əz (76 %). In contrast, agreements with A are much lower (48 %), but the related 55 and Ga score higher at 65 % and 57 % respectively. Codex R rates similarly (61 %). The lowest percentages of agreement occur with U (25 %) and L (27 %). See Table 1. These numbers confirm the significance of the Gə'əz version as a witness to an early form of the Greek text of Psalms, but also indicate that it is not a slavish copy of *Codex Vaticanus* or an exemplar like it. This latter point may even increase the value of the version as a witness, for Rahlfs overestimated the value of B.<sup>39</sup>

Table 1: Textual Alignment of Witnesses Cited by Rahlfs in Thirty-Five Variation Units<sup>40</sup>

|                 | Eth    | B      | S      | Bo     | U      | Sa     | R      | LaR    | LaG    | L      | A      | 55     | Ga     |
|-----------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Eth             | 100.0% | 74.1%  | 70.6%  | 74.2%  | 25.0%  | 71.4%  | 60.0%  | 62.5%  | 54.8%  | 29.0%  | 46.7%  | 63.3%  | 57.7%  |
| B               | 74.1%  | 100.0% | 88.9%  | 87.0%  | 57.1%  | 70.0%  | 63.0%  | 70.8%  | 62.5%  | 25.9%  | 41.7%  | 50.0%  | 75.0%  |
| S               | 70.6%  | 88.9%  | 100.0% | 70.6%  | 71.4%  | 81.5%  | 52.9%  | 61.3%  | 66.7%  | 26.5%  | 48.3%  | 55.2%  | 57.7%  |
| Bo              | 74.2%  | 87.0%  | 70.6%  | 100.0% | 42.9%  | 76.9%  | 61.3%  | 56.7%  | 65.5%  | 29.0%  | 44.4%  | 51.9%  | 51.9%  |
| U               | 25.0%  | 57.1%  | 71.4%  | 42.9%  | 100.0% | 71.4%  | 57.1%  | 28.6%  | 42.9%  | 28.6%  | 28.6%  | 33.3%  | 50.0%  |
| Sa              | 71.4%  | 70.0%  | 81.5%  | 76.9%  | 71.4%  | 100.0% | 46.4%  | 53.8%  | 53.8%  | 32.1%  | 37.5%  | 56.0%  | 57.1%  |
| R               | 60.0%  | 63.0%  | 52.9%  | 61.3%  | 57.1%  | 46.4%  | 100.0% | 81.3%  | 83.9%  | 37.1%  | 53.3%  | 46.7%  | 53.8%  |
| LaR             | 62.5%  | 70.8%  | 61.3%  | 56.7%  | 28.6%  | 53.8%  | 81.3%  | 100.0% | 83.9%  | 40.6%  | 37.0%  | 48.1%  | 57.7%  |
| La <sup>G</sup> | 54.8%  | 62.5%  | 66.7%  | 65.5%  | 42.9%  | 53.8%  | 83.9%  | 83.9%  | 100.0% | 28.1%  | 40.7%  | 34.6%  | 50.0%  |
| L               | 29.0%  | 25.9%  | 26.5%  | 29.0%  | 28.6%  | 32.1%  | 37.1%  | 40.6%  | 28.1%  | 100.0% | 63.3%  | 56.7%  | 65.4%  |
| A               | 46.7%  | 41.7%  | 48.3%  | 44.4%  | 28.6%  | 37.5%  | 53.3%  | 37.0%  | 40.7%  | 63.3%  | 100.0% | 73.1%  | 61.9%  |
| 55              | 63.3%  | 50.0%  | 55.2%  | 51.9%  | 33.3%  | 56.0%  | 46.7%  | 48.1%  | 34.6%  | 56.7%  | 73.1%  | 100.0% | 59.1%  |
| Ga              | 57.7%  | 75.0%  | 57.7%  | 51.9%  | 50.0%  | 57.1%  | 53.8%  | 57.7%  | 50.0%  | 65.4%  | 61.9%  | 59.1%  | 100.0% |

39 Knibb, "Translation", 116–119; and Boyd-Taylor, "Assessment", 99–109.

40 The variations appear in Pss 4:8 (2×); 9:33 (2×); 12:3 (2×); 26:4, 6 (2×); 36:28 (2×); 45:6 (2×); 62:6; 67:5; 73:14 (2×); 80:9; 88:43; 92:3; 94:4 (3×); 103:28; 111:8 (2×), 10; 115:5; 118:139 (3×); 134:17, 18; and 142:10 (2×).

### 3. The Material Evidence

On the other hand, these conclusions about the quality of the Gəʼəz version as a witness apply only to the state of the text preserved in the earliest manuscripts, which were copied nearly a millennium after the initial translation of Psalms. To what extent can knowledge of the fourth century text be extrapolated from that of the fourteenth century? There is reason to be cautiously optimistic.

Several Gəʼəz inscriptions from the fifth and sixth centuries cite passages from the Psalter.<sup>41</sup> Indeed, the number of Psalms citations far outnumber quotations from other biblical books. Although this imbalance possibly results from an accident of history, it is plausible that these monuments attest a Christian community already well-versed in the Psalter.<sup>42</sup> When the texts of the inscriptions are compared to those of the earliest extant manuscripts, variants are few and minor. Alternative prepositions and the presence or absence of conjunctions constitute the majority of differences, phenomena that are also common in later periods of Ethiopian transcription.<sup>43</sup>

For at least a handful of passages, therefore, a conservative transmission history can be demonstrated. Perhaps this fidelity extends to the entire Book of Psalms. Nevertheless, the book did not remain completely unchanged in the intervening centuries. Almost all of the early manuscripts divide the book into five sections of ten psalms each, with Ps 151 as an appendage, and they preserve *stichoi* counts running throughout the book. These paratextual phenomena do not appear to be remnants of Greek practice.<sup>44</sup> Also, in the vast majority of Gəʼəz manuscripts the Psalms are transmitted as part of the Ethiopian Psalter, which is unlike any other corpus.<sup>45</sup> It consists of five books: Psalms, Odes, Song of Songs, Praises of Mary, and Gate of Light. Even though this unique corpus developed not long before the earliest extant manuscripts, the transfer of Psalms from wisdom literature into a liturgical collection marks a moment in history in which the text could have been easily altered.

41 See Knibb, *Translating*, 46–54.

42 Michael Knibb writes, “The quotations from the Psalter predominate, almost certainly because the psalms were used so much in the liturgy” (Knibb, *Translating*, 46).

43 As Knibb illustrates, significant differences are illusory, “Translation” 110–112; and Id., *Translating*, 46–54. See also Drewes, *Inscriptions*, 29. In *Recueil des inscriptions de l’Éthiopie* 195, Ps 65:16 lacks an equivalent for πάντες οἱ φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν, but this reading almost certainly resulted from parablepsis (ጥል፡ጥል). Several variants are found in *Recueil des inscriptions de l’Éthiopie* 192, but most can be attributed to visual errors (i.e., ስሙጉሐቴየ for ስሙጉሐቴየ [17:8], ለይሱድ፡ዶሙ for ለይሱዳ፡ዶሙ [34:5], and ወላው-ደፋሙ for ወላዕዋጽኩሙ [17:40]), and the remaining variants are minor.

44 There is a total sum of stichoi transmitted in early manuscripts that likely was copied from a Greek exemplar.

45 Knibb, “Translation”, 107–108.

Although more study remains to be done, evidence of major editing over the centuries, outside of the superscriptions and Ps 151, is lacking.<sup>46</sup> As Rahlfs noted, two of the three manuscripts employed by Ludolf preserve an excellent text, at least based on his assumptions about fidelity towards an early Greek text.<sup>47</sup> Additional fourteenth and fifteenth century manuscripts transmit the same text.<sup>48</sup> This situation contrasts sharply with the transmission history of many other biblical books in Gə'əz, which exhibit multiple textual branches by the fourteenth century. Perhaps the liturgy cemented the text of the Psalms in the minds of Ethiopian Christians so that major changes were largely impossible.<sup>49</sup>

#### 4. A Textual History of the Ethiopic Old Testament as Known from the Extant Manuscripts

The textual history we outline from the fourteenth century until today is one that is based on a quantity of manuscripts sufficient to establish a representative sample, which, when subjected to statistical analysis reveals distinct clusters of manuscripts, each with its own chronological profile and set of distinctive readings.<sup>50</sup> If

46 For details about superscriptions and Ps 151, see below.

47 Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien*, 56. In the same paragraph, Rahlfs wonders if further evidence might create a closer bond between Gə'əz and B. Although this hope is more improbable now that other early manuscripts have been consulted that transmit basically the same text, it remains possible. Of the twenty-three variation units where Gə'əz agrees with the majority text against B, seven have been assimilated to other Psalmic texts. Elsewhere Ethiopian transmission shows a particular fondness towards parallel passages, so witnesses may eventually surface that prove one or more of these assimilations was due to scribal intervention. At this point in time, it is safer to state that the Book of Psalms in Gə'əz aligns closely with B, but it is not a slavish reproduction of that particular text. Indeed, it may preserve a higher quality text. See below.

48 For this study, nineteen fourteenth and fifteenth century manuscripts were examined: BnF Abb. 105; BnF éth. 9; éth. 10; éth.11; éth. 12; éth. 13; éth. 14; EMMML 2010; EMMML 2064; EMMML 2496; EMMML 4916; IES ms. 74; IES ms. 837; Leiden Or. 4734; St. Catherine's Monastery, Mt. Sinai, Eth 4; St. Catherine's Monastery, Mt. Sinai, Eth 6; Vat. Barb. or. 2; Vat. et. 14; and Vat. et. 15.

49 The Song of Songs and Revelation also played roles in Ethiopian liturgy, but their texts underwent considerable change. The Psalms, though, served (and still serve) a foundational role in Ethiopian religion and education, while the other two books were added to the liturgy much later in Ethiopia's history.

50 The current authors co-direct the *Textual History of the Ethiopic Old Testament* (THEOT) project. For ten years we and our team have executed extensive studies of more than eighteen books of the Ethiopic Old Testament. We have identified multiple (30+) manuscripts for each book, transcribed a sufficient percentage of the biblical book to provide the basis for relatively high degree of certainty, collated and aligned the transcriptions for computer analysis, determined clusters, distinctive readings of the clusters, and best representative manuscripts of each cluster. With the recent support of a three-year grant (2020–2023), The National Endowment for the Humanities

the sample size is sufficient, one can infer likely truths about the total population from the characteristics of the sample.

In the case of each book we have studied, we have identified at least three major stages in the history of the text: 1) Eth 1 – the earliest attested text of the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries; 2) Eth 2 – the standardized text of the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries; and 3) the modern *textus receptus* of the nineteenth to the twenty-first centuries. Each of these stages has a distinctive character, almost always with multiple subgroups, each with their own distinctive profiles.

Eth 1, which contains the “earliest attested” (EA) text form, is almost always a complex supercluster, as it were, usually attested with two substantial, tight clusters that we call EA1 and EA2. Sometimes there is a third, smaller, cluster we dub EA3. Usually these are distinguished from one another by at least one or two percent difference, but usually no more than four or five percent difference.<sup>51</sup> Occasionally, there is a single outlier among the Eth 1 manuscripts as, for example, EMM 1842 in the book of Judges. Not infrequently, there is also a large pseudo-cluster comprised of several early manuscripts, as in the case of Deuteronomy and of Judges.<sup>52</sup> In these we see a high degree of difference between the other members of the cluster and all the other sub-clusters that make up Eth 1.

The clusters designated EA1 and EA2 carry the *textus receptus* of the fourteenth through the sixteenth centuries. We designate as EA1 the cluster that carries the greater number of readings judged to be earlier. But EA2 also carries some number of earlier readings. It is possible that other manuscripts – especially those in the EA pseudo-clusters of the books of the Octateuch – carry readings from an earlier stage in transmission history.

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and Abilene Christian University: *The Emerging Text: The Textual History of the Ethiopic Old Testament*, the project is bringing a series of reports to publication. Alongside the publications, a website will make available the transcriptions and all manner of statistical analyses and visualizations that represent the bases for the claims we make about each cluster in the study.

- 51 Although such a low percentage of difference is not normally statistically significant, these numbers are based on shared readings, whereas typically shared variants are measured. When we calculate shared variants, the differences between the clusters are often 15 to 30 percent, and sometimes, as with the Latinized Version (see below), closer to 80 percent. Even the differences between the subgroups of a particular cluster are statistically significant.
- 52 The term “pseudo-cluster” makes sense within our project, but it may confuse outsiders. It is the designation we give to a collection of manuscripts, each of which have a unique or nearly unique history shaped significantly by scribal innovation, comparison to traditions outside of Ethiopia, or conflation of Ethiopic readings. For example, Cambridge Add. 1570, royally commissioned in 1588, was edited by Jacob the Israelite toward the Hebrew text. Obviously a manuscript with such a unique history does not fit well in a cluster, therefore warranting the label “pseudo.” Nevertheless, because these manuscripts belong in a supercluster, either reflecting the earlier stages or later stages of transmission, they also share a number of readings with each other, thus creating a “cluster” in some sense.

The greatest shift of text form in the textual history of the extant Ethiopic manuscripts, is encountered in the move from Eth 1 to Eth 2. Eth 2 is also a complex super cluster, comprised of subclusters with roots in the late-sixteenth century and flourishing in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The primary characteristics of this era are concerted efforts both to innovate on the one hand and to standardize on the other. The latter effort is demographically dominant in this era, and it is the one that ultimately gains hegemony. We call it the “standardized text”. But there are often one to three additional minor text forms in this era. These minor text forms are usually mixed texts showing an ever-increasing movement toward the standardized text. Two of these clusters appear to have been influenced by Arabic readings; we call these “slightly Arabicized” 1 and 2.

The final major text form in the tradition is the “modern *textus receptus*” (MTR), rising to dominance in the nineteenth century and continuing through the present. For most books of the Old Testament, the modern *textus receptus* is clearly based on the standardized text. Occasionally, as in the case of Deuteronomy, Hosea, and Judges, the modern *textus receptus* is barely distinguishable from the standardized. As we approach the modern day, we can see indications of how the tradition continues to develop and change. The so-called Haile Selassie Bible of 1934, a reproduction of the manuscript IES 77, was promulgated for decades by the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church under the title *Mahabere Hawariyat*. Sociologically speaking, it was clearly the authorized “received text.” From a text-historical standpoint, when one performs a statistical analysis of the cluster of manuscripts that carry the modern *textus receptus*, one occasionally finds manuscripts other than IES 77 that more consistently carry the reading of the cluster (the so-called “best representative” text). And now, after the publication of a new printed edition of the 81 books of the Ethiopian Bible in Gə'əz by the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church and the Ethiopian Bible Society, it will take some time to assess where and to what extent the modern *textus receptus*, as represented by this most recent published edition, might be changing from the previous modern *textus receptus* as represented by IES 77.

In the course of its work, the THEOT-project identified an interesting form of the text, currently known to us in only three manuscripts (EMIP 949, UNES 10.34, and EMM 7942). We refer to this text as the “Latinized Version” (LatV) because it represents a thorough revision of a Slightly Arabicized 1 witness based on the Latin Vulgate. The work appears to have been carried out by the Ethiopian Catholic Church in the late-nineteenth or early-twentieth centuries. This Latinized text form represents the form of the Gə'əz text that is furthest from the center of the Gə'əz tradition by about 45 percentage points.<sup>53</sup>

53 This percentage is based on shared readings. The difference based on shared variants is much higher. See note above.

Having provided a general outline of the last seven centuries of transmission history, several details within that history deserve attention because they both support and challenge *a priori* conclusions about liturgy and static textual traditions. Although the transmission of the Gəʾəz Psalms may have been protected by its quotidian recitation in the living community, we have concrete evidence that the transmission of the text was played out in two different social locations in Ethiopia's history. This evidence comes to us in the form of the fifteen biblical Odes, which, although translated not much earlier than our earliest extant manuscripts, are now part of the Gəʾəz Psalter, and without them the Psalms are almost never copied. These fifteen texts are known to us in two forms – the form we have in the Psalter and the forms we know in the manuscripts that carry the books from which the Odes are excerpted (Exodus, Deuteronomy, Samuel, Jonah, Habakkuk, etc.). In a study carried out by Delamarter and a team of students, we were able to show in the cases of the Song of Hannah, the Song of Jonah, and the Song of Habakkuk, that the textual history of the Odes text chanted from the Psalter was much more stable than the forms of the text found in the manuscripts of the books from which the individual Odes were excerpted.<sup>54</sup> There was much greater variation and clear evidence of recensional development in the biblical books than in the Odes contained in the Psalters.

In that study we concluded that there is a very different social location and social function for the Psalter than there is for the other manuscripts. The Psalter lives in the hands, and most especially, in the collective voice of the community. But the other manuscripts are a different thing in Ethiopian Christianity. These sorts of manuscripts are not owned by churches. They reside in monasteries and centers of government, where leaders of the community live and work and carry out their roles. Among these roles are the interpretation of the text and the contemplation of pastoral consequences of the text. These are processes in which rote memory is not enough. These call for memory but also for comprehension, interpretation, analysis, and creative thinking about application. In these processes, the monks and churchmen wrestle with not just the memory but the meaning of the text – the exegetical meaning and the hermeneutical meaning.

On the other hand, the Psalter is not wholly immune from the hands of ecclesiastical leaders, for monks and churchmen fully participate within the liturgically regulated faith community. Two fifteenth century Psalters, BFBS 176 and 177, preserve Psalms interspersed with various prayers and readings. When these are aligned with the accounts of the revision of an Ethiopic Horologium by Giyorgis of Sagla in the late fifteenth century, there is justification for asking whether there had been a prior arrangement of the Psalter in Ethiopia that functioned more like a horolo-

54 Delamarter/Aldridge/Brown/Jeanseu/Short, "Histories", 73–84.

gium.<sup>55</sup> Nevertheless, the vast majority of the extant Psalters from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries carry the Psalter with the same content and arrangement as is known from the later Psalters, with only a few variations we will discuss below.<sup>56</sup>

Psalm 151 has also been reshaped by scholars, creating new forms for liturgical recitation. The Psalm is indeed unique among the Psalms for the varieties of its text form. At the very least one can talk about a short form and a long form. But a closer look reveals that there are, in fact, four “hot spots” in the Psalm, three of which are single word plusses and four more are entire strophes that eventually constitute one long plus. The general movement from the sixteenth to the twentieth century is from the shorter text to the longer text, but that movement does not happen by a simultaneous addition of all of these hot spots into more and more manuscripts. Instead, each one of these hot spots has its own trajectory and epoch of adoption into the text.<sup>57</sup>

Ethiopian scribal practices around the superscriptions to the Psalms are remarkable for their fluidity, particularly in the face of the otherwise remarkable uniformity of the Psalmic text. In the Gə'əz Psalter, the superscriptions appear in a bewildering order which differ from manuscript to manuscript. Further, there is clear evidence of a wholesale transformation of the superscriptions at one point in Ethiopian Christianity.<sup>58</sup>

The superscriptions to the 22 sections of acrostic Psalm 118 (119) are a special case in point. We have identified at least three different systems of superscriptions beyond the simple notation of the Greek transliteration of the Hebrew letters (see above) for this one, exceptional psalm.<sup>59</sup> All three purport to explain the spiritual meaning of each of the Hebrew letters. The first of these is the common old system, i. e., appearing in many manuscripts of the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries.<sup>60</sup> They are twice to three times as long as the other systems of superscriptions and are dense theological formulations. We suspect that these may be translations from Syriac or some other tradition. It is not clear how the explanations are tied to the specific Hebrew letters. The second system is the Common Young System, which has brief superscriptions based on simple puns. These dominate the Psalters from the seventeenth century on.<sup>61</sup> The third system deals with two of the adjoining Hebrew Letters at a time, by finding a Gə'əz root with the two Hebrew

55 See Colin, “Giyorgis”, 812.

56 We estimate the number of extant Psalters from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to be in the range of 35 to 50.

57 For details, see Delamarter/Marvin, “12.6 Psalms”, 306–311, and Delamarter, “Cave”, 390–407.

58 See Stoffregen Pedersen, *Exegesis*, and the literature cited there.

59 These are described with some detail in Delamarter, “Then and There”, 23–54.

60 Delamarter, “Then and There,” 47.

61 Delamarter, “Then and There,” 47.



letter equivalents and making a theological point about that word.<sup>62</sup> In addition, there are another three or four systems that appear much less frequently than the first two common systems.

A similar phenomenon occurs with the subscriptions for the five traditional sections of the Song of Songs, another component of the Gə'əz Psalter. But the book itself has undergone significant change. The Song of Songs appears in three different forms over the course of the extant manuscript tradition. The vast majority of Psalters contain the standard edition, a straightforward translation of a Greek text. There is, however, another old recension that was probably produced by Giyorgis of Sagla.<sup>63</sup> It contains nearly 200 additional poetic strophes. The full text of this old recension is known in only a half dozen or so manuscripts with various readings found interlinearly in a dozen or so others. The third recension of the Song of Songs is an abbreviated form of the Old Giyorgis recension, known as “the Hebraic” edition, or, in some quarters, as the Scholars Edition. It is the Old Giyorgis recension but lacking all of the additional lines inserted from 1:1 through 2:15.

All of these changes are Christian, creating an interpretive frame that implies that the meaning of the Old Testament texts is to be found in the Christian message of the gospel. By this means, there is no need for the community to establish another hermeneutical basis for the Christological interpretation of the Old Testament. That foundation is laid already in the biblical text.

In light of the preceding, there are many reasons to suggest a conservative transmission history of the Psalms. First, although certain features of the Psalms attract variation, i. e., the superscriptions and the Greek/Syriac/Hebrew letters dividing Ps 118 (119), the recited portions resist change. Psalm 151 is an anomaly, but the identification of only 150 canonical psalms in the *Synodos* provided permission in a sense to engage its text more creatively. Second, the Odes offers a suitable comparandum. Soon after its translation, the Odes became as central to Ethiopian religious life as the Psalms, and its text resisted those forces, which we documented above, that shaped the transmission history of other biblical books. Nevertheless, other liturgical texts, such as the Song of Songs, which is also transmitted in the Psalter, have experienced revision to an extent far beyond the contours of general text history traced above. Thus, caution is called for, although perhaps a dose of optimistic caution is still warranted.

Finally, the Psalter also offers a rich account of the development and characteristics of Ethiopian Book culture and scribal practice and the insights it gives us into

62 Delamarter, “Then and There,” 48.

63 It was Roger Cowley who first identified and described the Scholars Edition and posited it as the work of Giyorgis, *Interpretation*, 96–101.

the role of the Psalter in Ethiopian Christianity.<sup>64</sup> There are standard secondary texts and opening and concluding prayers that accompany the main text. There are examples of specialized and esoteric scribal knowledge throughout the tradition involving such things as strophe counting and strophe audits, the use of red ink, and special practices aimed at the avoidance of line wrapping. There are a set of practices concerning paratextual features relating to sections and divisions in the text. These include a distinctive and artistic form of ornamental header known as the harag, which often marks every tenth set of Psalms. There is ample evidence in the manuscripts of the robust participation of the craft professions in the production of Psalters. These include wood working for the covers and leather working for the initial production of parchment for the text block, leather for covering the book, woven leather strips for head and tail bands, and an elaborate set of tools and practices around the tooling of leather.<sup>65</sup> There is also a long and marvelous history of pasting rich textiles to the inside front and back covers between the paste downs. These provide evidence of participation in a widespread international textile trade.<sup>66</sup> Along similar lines, there are mirror niches and the residues of glue on the inside covers of a small percentage of Psalters and occasionally the original mirrors that occupied the niches.<sup>67</sup> These also indicate participation in international trade routes and commerce. Art historians find rich evidence for analysis in the illuminations of Psalters, and they can show the relationships that exist between these illuminations and the standard iconography that adorns the walls and ceilings of churches. And there is direct evidence of book use in Ethiopia in the form of dirt patterns from fingers on the pages and wax droppings throughout.

Also, the Gə'əz Psalter tradition offers a glimpse into the complex Ethiopian poetic tradition of Qene. There are at least two other forms of the Psalter, The Psalter of the Virgin and the Psalter of the Christ, in which there is a five-line rhyming poem at the conclusion of each Psalm in which the substance of the Psalms is connected to and integrated with the veneration of Mary, on the one hand, and Christ, on the other.<sup>68</sup> The former edition of the Psalms is not infrequent, repre-

64 The best place to begin with the study of the Ethiopian book culture and practice is the work of Bausi et al., *Studies*, <http://dx.doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.46784>, last accessed April 18, 2022. Both Denis Notnitsin and Sophia Dege-Müller, of Hamburg, have carried out various and valuable studies on Ethiopian scribal practice.

65 See Sean Winslow's dissertation "Ethiopian Manuscript Culture: Practices and Contexts," completed at the University of Toronto with Michael Gervers in 2015 (available at <https://hdl.handle.net/1807/71392>).

66 Michael Gervers, assisted by Carolina Melis, has just received a major grant funding from the Canadian Research Council to create a database of the fabrics in evidence in Psalters and to identify locations of origin and the trade routes surrounding their distribution.

67 See Pankhurst, "History", 135–142, and Six, "Mirror", 7–16.

68 See Raineri, "Mäzmurä Dəngəl", 897, and Haile, "Mäzmurä Dəngəl", 897–898.

sending some few percent of all Psalters produced in the seventeenth through the twentieth centuries.

Taken together, these community practices around secondary texts and paratextual features in the Psalters reveal the truth of the fundamental insights of the so-called New Textual Criticism that the Christian scriptures are never disembodied texts. Instead, they come to us intertwined with a host of culture-specific features that are part of the very fabric of the canonical entity. In ways that are not yet fully evident, text, secondary texts, paratextual elements, and illuminations form an interconnected whole that cannot be dissected in order simply to extract the text. The Biblical text is not a theoretical abstraction but an embodied reality, one that exists not only as a text in a book, but as a remembered and chanted reality clothed in all the sociological trappings of a particular culture at a particular moment in time.

## 5. A Preliminary Account of the Textual History of the Gə'əz Psalter

Between 2013 and 2017, a team of scholars from the THEOT-project, namely Albert ten Kate, Marc Malavez, Steve Delamarter, Jeremy Brown, Curt Niccum, and Garry Jost, performed a study of the textual history of the Gə'əz Book of Psalms.<sup>69</sup> Curt Niccum identified 70 passages throughout the book of Psalms, each comprised of one to three verses.<sup>70</sup> These were selected based on known variants in Gə'əz, Hebrew, Greek, Syriac, and Coptic. We then selected 45 Psalters, attempting to create a relatively even chronological distribution but weighted toward the early part of the extant tradition.<sup>71</sup> In the end, we had twenty copies from the four-

69 For an orientation to the Ethiopic Psalter, particularly related to its art, see Heldman, "Psalter", 231–233 and the bibliography there.

70 LXX Pss 2:2; 4:8; 9:31–33, 35; 12:2–5; 13:12; 15:3–4, 11; 17:13–14, 21–23; 20:10–13; 21:15–16, 20; 26:2–6; 31:3–6; 34:17–20; 36:18–20, 27–28; 37:5–6, 21; 39:7–11, 17; 40:7–9; 45:6–7; 48:20; 50:3–4, 9–10; 54:10–12; 55:3–7; 59:4–6; 62:6; 64:1–2, 5; 66:5–7; 67:5–6, 9, 13, 18–19; 72:6; 73:13–17; 80:9–11; 88:40–51; 92:2–3; 94:4; 95:9–10; 96:8–9; 103:26–29; 111:7–10; 115:4, 6; 118:113–115, 136, 139; 120:3, 7; 128:8; 134:17–19; 142:9–12; 144:6–7, 9–10; 149:6–7, and 151:6.

71 Berlin Or. 172 (s. XV), BnF Abb 105 (s. XV), BnF éth. 10 (s. XV), Bodleian Dillmann 9, Pocock 3 (s. XVI), Davies Dabra Damo Reel 2 (s. XVI), Davies Dabra Libanos (s. XVI), Davies Kebran Reel 2 (s. XV), EMDL 112 (s. XVII), EMDL 274 (s. XVIII), EMDL 290 (s. XV), EMIP 1, Herron Codex, (s. XVII), EMIP 9, Marwick Codex 5 (s. XVIII), EMIP 12, Marwick Codex 8 (s. XVII), EMIP 24, Marwick 20 (s. XVIII), EMIP 30, Whisnant Codex 2 (s. XVIII), EMIP 60, Eliza Codex 30 (s. XVIII), EMIP 99, ACU Codex 2 (s. XVII), EMIP 110, Alwan Codex 5 (s. XIX), EMIP 161, Weiner Codex 56 (s. XIX), EMIP 242, Alwan Codex 32 (s. XIX), EMIP 243, Alwan Codex 33 (s. XVIII), EMIP 342, MacLennan Codex 1 (s. XVIII), EMIP 343, MacLennan Codex 2 (s. XVI–XVII), EMIP 395, Weiner Codex 162 (s. XVII), EMIP 2175, Codex Ten Kate (s. XX), EMML 2010 (s. XIV–XV), EMML 2064 (s. XIV), EMML 3071 (s. XVI), EMML 4415 (s. XV), EMML 4916

teenth through sixteenth centuries, fourteen copies from the seventeenth through eighteenth centuries, and eleven from the nineteenth through twentieth centuries.

The book of Ethiopic Psalms, based on the *Mahabire Hawariyat* Accordance module, has about 19,992 words of Gə'əz text. The words in our sample, based on IES 77 (the manuscript basis for the *Mahabire Hawariyat* edition<sup>72</sup>), were 1,498, or 7.49% of the book. When the transcriptions were aggregated and the words aligned into columns for every word (with all forms sharing the same root in the same column), the total number of columns for analysis were 1,650.<sup>73</sup> Thus, the total number of data points available for statistical analysis (number of the columns multiplied by the number of manuscripts) was 74,250.

When the aligned texts had been analyzed for shared readings, it generated the following dendrogram:

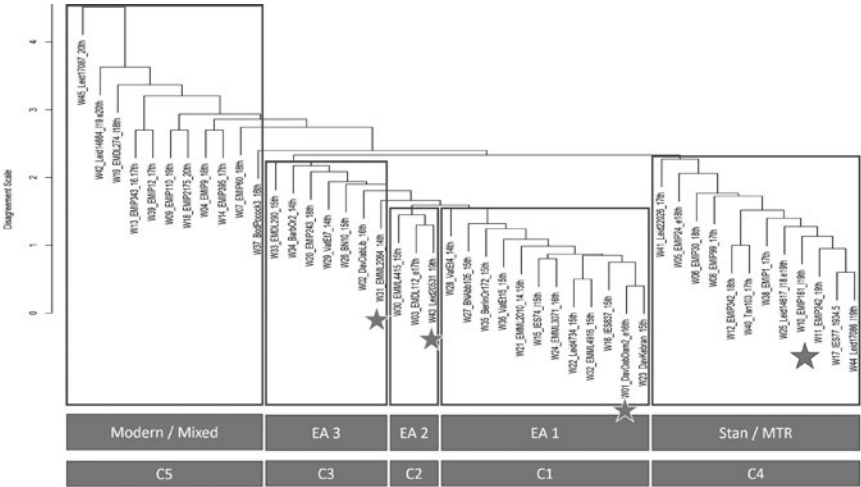


Figure 1: The dendrogram of 45 manuscripts of Ethiopic Psalms

(s. XV), IES 74 (s. XV), IES 77 (5/1/1934), IES 837 (s. XV), Leiden Or 14.664, EMIP 3403 (s. XX), Leiden Or 14.617, EMIP 3402 (s. XVIII–XIX), Leiden Or 17.086, EMIP 3405 (s. XIX), Leiden Or 17.087, EMIP 3406 (s. XX), Leiden Or 20.531, EMIP 3407 (s. XIX), Leiden Or 22.026, EMIP 3419 (s. XIX), Leiden Or 4734, EMIP 3396 (s. XV), Tanasee 103, EMIP 3496 (s. XVII), Vatican Barb. Or. 2 (s. XIV), Vatican Et 04 (s. XIV), Vatican Et 07 (s. XIV), and Vatican Et 15 (s. XV).

72 For an introduction to the group, see Kidane, “Maḥbārā ḥawaryat”, 651–652.  
73 Because the degree of difference was so small among the manuscripts when we ran calculations based solely on shared roots, we eventually refined the method to differentiate between nuanced and unnuanced words (i.e., those with differing prefixes, suffixes, etc.). When processing the text columns in this way, the resulting dendrogram provided a view of the data in which the chronological clustering was more pronounced.

We labeled the clusters in two ways, with generic C(luster) numbers, and with descriptive labels corresponding to the patterns we have documented throughout the Ethiopic biblical tradition. As in the case of all other books we have analyzed, the manuscripts fall into clusters whose origins are chronologically bounded.<sup>74</sup> “EA” is the earliest attested text form of the fourteenth through sixteenth centuries. “Stan” is the standardized text form of the seventeenth through eighteenth centuries. “MTR” is the modern *textus receptus* of the nineteenth through twentieth centuries. In the textual history of the Ethiopic Old Testament, the modern *textus receptus* is almost always based on the standardized text form, and in some cases there is no discernible difference between the two. Such is the case in the Gəʾəz Psalms.

In 2021, the Bible Society of Ethiopia published the Bible in Geʾez.<sup>75</sup> The current authors have only just received a copy of the Psalms portion of the new publication. It remains to be seen to what degree it follows the trajectory of the text of IES 77 (= *Mahabire Hawariyat* edition) which has, until now, been the exemplar of the modern *textus receptus* in Ethiopia. For the purposes of the data given below, we have included the readings of the new edition in order to gain a first impression.

The first and largest truth of the textual history of the Ethiopic Old Testament, generally, is its uniformity. In the vast majority of the tradition, eighty-six to ninety-two percent of all the words in all the manuscripts are uniform.<sup>76</sup> To say it the other way around, all differences among the manuscripts and clusters happen within an eight to twelve percent difference.<sup>77</sup> The first and largest truth about the textual history of the Ethiopic book of Psalms is that the degree of difference shown among the manuscripts and clusters is almost an entire order of magnitude smaller than in the rest of the biblical tradition. Almost all the variation among the manuscripts was played out in two percent difference or less.

Using another set of computer scripts developed for the THEOT-project, we generated the lists of distinctive readings that set off the clusters from one another. When we analyzed these distinctive readings, they boiled down to eleven variation units in our sample:

74 The beginnings of the clusters' date spans correspond to the earliest manuscripts that bear their text forms. The chronological end span of a cluster is less precise because it is always possible to create young copies of old text forms, though if the sample is of adequate size, it does give some idea of the range of time through which the text form was copied.

75 ቅዱሳን መጻሕፍት ዘብሉይ መዘሐዲስ ኪዳን (Addis Ababa: Bible Society of Ethiopia, 2021).

76 Orthographic and morphological difference are excluded from this claim. These areas show a much higher degree of latitude for the scribes. The Latinized Version is also excepted from this claim; see above.

77 Again, the percentages of difference are based on shared readings rather than shared variation, the latter always being statistically significant. See above.

1. Ps 20:12a, cols. 4–5.<sup>78</sup> Clusters 1 and 3 have ላዕሌከ “upon you.” Clusters 2, 4 (minus W12), and 5 (minus W39) have ላዕሌየ “upon me.” ላዕሌከ is the prior reading.
2. Ps 26:6a, cols. 4–5. Clusters 1 (minus W24), 2, and 3 (minus W02, W20) have a minus. Clusters 4 (minus W25, W12, W40) and 5 (minus W13, W19) have ርእሰየ “my head.” The minus is clearly earlier, but the origin of the reading is not easily explained from the Greek or Gəʿəz.
3. Ps 37:5a, cols. 5–7. Clusters 1 and 3 have እምሥዕርቲየ “than my hairs (implicit for hairs of my head).” Clusters 2 (minus W30), 4, and 5 (minus W37 and W42) have እምሥዕርተ ርእሰየ “than the hairs of my head.” The earlier reading is እምሥዕርቲየ, which was then changed to እምሥዕርተ ርእሰየ to make a reference to the head specific. The former is a dynamic equivalent to which a formal equivalent was added.
4. Ps 55:5b, cols. 1–3. Clusters 1, and 3 (minus W20), and 4 (minus W 08) have a minus. In Cluster 2 (minus W43) and certain manuscripts of Cluster 5 (W 45, W14, W07, W39, W19) a plus appears: በእግዚአብሔር ይኩብር ዘነበበኩ “in the Lord what I have said will be glorified,” which is a doublet of the first clause. (W42 is lacunose.) The missing ὁλην την ἡμέραν is not corrected, which suggests that the comparison text for revision aligned with the Hebrew or an affiliated version (i.e., SyrP or an Arabic translation of SyrP).
5. Ps 73:16a, col. 5. Clusters 1 (minus W32) and 3 (minus W31) have a minus. Clusters 2 (minus W43), 4, and 5 (minus W37, W07, W04, W09, W13, W19) have ይእቲ: “is.” The minus is prior.
6. Ps 95:9b, col. 5. Clusters 1, 2 (minus W43), 3 have ገጹ “his face.” W43, Cluster 4 (minus W38, W40, W12), and Cluster 5 (minus W07, W04, W42, W45) have ገጹ ለእግዚአብሔር “the Lord’s face.” “The Lord” is repeated from the previous clause.
7. Ps 96:9a, col. 5. Clusters 1 (minus W 15 and W22), 2, and 3 (minus W02) have a minus. Clusters 4 (minus W10, W40, W06) and 5 (minus W37, W14 W39, W13, W42) have ባሕቲትክ “alone.” The minus is prior.
8. Ps 118:136b, cols. 4–5. Clusters 1 (minus W01, W24, W15, W36, W35, W27) and 5 (minus W37) have ኢዐቀቡ “they did not keep.” W22 is lacunose. Clusters 2 (minus W30), 3 (minus W29 and W33), and 4 (minus W17, W11, W25, W38, W40, W12, W08, W05) have ኢዐቀብኩ “I did not keep.” The prior reading is difficult to determine. Both readings have early Greek attestation and either one can be explained as created through haplography or dittography in Gəʿəz.
9. Ps 134:17e, cols. 1–2. Clusters 1, 2 (minus W30), and 3 (minus W02, W20, W33) have ወአልበሙ “and there is not for them/and they do not have.” Clusters 4

78 The Psalm numbers are based on the Septuagint. The division of verses into parts and columns align with the data of our spreadsheet that will eventually be made available online.

- (minus W25) and 5 (minus W37, W39, W13, W19) have *ወአልበ* “and there is not for him/and he does not have.” *ወአልበሙ* is the prior reading.
10. Ps 134:18b, col. 4. Clusters 1 (minus W36), 2 (minus W03), 4 (minus W38), and 5 (minus W07, W18, W09) have *ይትአምኑ ስሙ* “trust in them.” W02, W28, W31, W36 and W03 have *ይትአምንዎሙ* “trust in them,” which produces a smoother reading by using a pronominal suffix instead of an independent pronoun. Cluster 3 (minus W26, W29, W34) and W20, W33, W38, W07, W18, and W09 has *ይትዌከሉ ስሙ* “hope in them.” This verb is often interchangeable with that found in the other readings and is likely assimilated toward other biblical passages.
11. Ps 149:6b, cols. 5–6. Clusters 1 (minus W15, W16, W24) and 3 (minus W31, W02, W20, W33) have *እደዊሆሙ* “their hands.” Clusters 2 (minus W30), 4 (minus W40 and W41), and 5 (minus W45) have *እደዊሁ* “his hands.” W30, W40, W41 and W45 have *እድሁ* “his hand.” The prior reading is *እደዊሆሙ*, which is then assimilated in various ways (singular suffix and/or singular noun) to the preceding *አፉሁ* “its/his mouth,” which in Gəʿəz refers to the sword rather than “the holy ones,” the true antecedent found in v.5.

The following chart sets forth the patterns of shared variation.

| Reference<br>(Edition of<br>2021) | Clus 1:<br>EA1                                 | Clus 2:<br>EA2                                                                      | Clus 3:<br>EA3                                 | Clus 4:<br>STAN/MTR                                                                                        | Clus 5:<br>Modern/<br>Mixed                                                                      | Edition of<br>2021                          |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| Ps 20:11                          | ላዕሊከ “upon<br>you”                             | ላዕሊየ “upon<br>me”                                                                   | ላዕሊከ “upon<br>you”                             | ላዕሊየ “upon<br>me”                                                                                          | ላዕሊየ “upon<br>me”                                                                                | ላዕሊየ “upon<br>me”                           |
| Ps 26:6                           | minus                                          | minus                                                                               | minus                                          | ርእስየ<br>“my head”                                                                                          | ርእስየ<br>“my head”                                                                                | ርእስየ<br>“my head”                           |
| Ps 37:4                           | እምሥዕርቲየ<br>“than the<br>hairs (of my<br>head)” | እምሥዕርተ<br>ርእስየ “than<br>the hairs of<br>my head”                                    | እምሥዕርቲየ<br>“than the<br>hairs (of my<br>head)” | እምሥዕርተ<br>ርእስየ “than<br>the hairs of<br>my head”<br>in some;<br>እምሥዕርተ<br>“than the<br>hairs” in<br>IES 77 | እምሥዕርተ<br>ርእስየ “than<br>the hairs of<br>my head”                                                 | እምሥዕርተ<br>“than the<br>hairs”               |
| Ps 55:4                           | minus                                          | በእግዚአብሔር<br>ይከብር ዘነበበኩ<br>“in the Lord<br>what I have<br>said will be<br>glorified” | minus                                          | minus                                                                                                      | some mss:<br>በእግዚአብሔር<br>ይከብር ዘነበበኩ<br>“in the Lord<br>what I have<br>said will be<br>glorified” | minus                                       |
| Ps 73:16                          | minus                                          | ይሉቴ “is”                                                                            | minus                                          | ይሉቴ “is”                                                                                                   | ይሉቴ “is”                                                                                         | minus                                       |
| Ps 95:9                           | ገጹ “his face”                                  | ገጹ “his face”                                                                       | ገጹ “his face”                                  | ገጹ<br>ለእግዚአብሔር<br>“the face of<br>the Lord”                                                                | ገጹ<br>ለእግዚአብሔር<br>“the face of<br>the Lord”                                                      | ገጹ<br>ለእግዚአብሔር<br>“the face of<br>the Lord” |

|            |                                    |                                    |                                    |                                   |                                   |                                   |
|------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Ps 96:9    | minus                              | minus                              | minus                              | ባሕተትክ<br>“alone”                  | ባሕተትክ<br>“alone”                  | ባሕተትክ<br>“alone”                  |
| Ps 118:136 | ኢዐቀቡ “they<br>did not<br>keep”     | ኢዐቀቡኩ “I did<br>not keep”          | ኢዐቀቡኩ<br>“I did not<br>keep”       | ኢዐቀቡኩ<br>“I did not<br>keep”      | ኢዐቀቡ “they<br>did not keep”       | ኢዐቀቡኩ<br>“I did not<br>keep”      |
| Ps 134:17  | ወአልበሙ<br>“and they do<br>not have” | ወአልበሙ “and<br>they do not<br>have” | ወአልበሙ<br>“and they do<br>not have” | ወአልበ “and<br>he does not<br>have” | ወአልበ “and<br>he does not<br>have” | ወአልበ “and<br>he does not<br>have” |
| Ps 134:18  | ይትእምኑ በሙ<br>“trust in<br>them”     | ይትእምኑ በሙ<br>“trust in<br>them”     | ይትዊከሉ በሙ<br>“hope in<br>them”      | ይትእምኑ በሙ<br>“trust in<br>them”    | ይትእምኑ በሙ<br>“trust in<br>them”    | ይትእምኑ በሙ<br>“trust in<br>them”    |
| Ps 149:6   | እደዊሆሙ<br>“their hands”             | እደዊሁ<br>“his hands”                | እደዊሆሙ<br>“their hands”             | እደዊሁ<br>“his hands”               | እደዊሁ<br>“his hands”               | እደዊሁ<br>“his hands”               |

6. What the Ethiopic Can Offer to the Task of Editing the Greek Psalter

Ethiopian Christianity is an example of a Psalter-centric Christian culture. Far and away, the Psalter was that portion of scripture that most often passed through both hands and lips of the members of the community. Therefore, there are good reasons for assuming greater continuity between the Aksumite Psalter and its fourteenth century iteration than in any other biblical book. Nevertheless, the earliest attested text of the Gə'əz Psalter offers a clear witness *only* to the late stages of transmission (fourteenth through sixteenth centuries) of an early translation of the Greek into Gə'əz (fourth century). Therefore, the challenge is in deciding what elements of the Gə'əz text are likely traceable to the original translation of the fourth century and which are more susceptible to alteration in the later stages of the transmission of the text.<sup>79</sup>

Where the Ge'ez aligns with a Greek reading against the MT, it is probably safe to accept the version as a reliable witness. After the Aksumite period, it is very difficult to imagine plausible geo-political and social conditions in which there was living contact with the Greek tradition.<sup>80</sup> Evidence of incorrectly translated Greek or majuscule Greek scripts incorrectly divided also point to an ancient form of text. These phenomena reveal more passages with roots in the Aksumite period than just those preserved in early inscriptions.

79 It is possible to find pre-fourteenth century attestation of the text in citations found in earlier literature such as the Kəbrä Nəgäst and other documents like those collected in EMMI 9004. Curt Niccum has been cataloging such quotations, but so far variations from Eth 1 are few and minor and only confirm the static nature of the Psalms, at least in its last millennium of transmission.

80 Off and on from the fifth century to the present evidence appears of Ethiopian interaction with the larger Christian community, especially in the Nitrian desert of Egypt and Jerusalem. One cannot completely discount, therefore, later Greek influence. At best we can only note there is not any unequivocal evidence of Greek influence outside of the Aksumite period.



Some aspects of the Gəʾəz text are clearly subject to later change and should not be considered reliable, direct witnesses to the early text form. For instance, we cannot expect the presence of the conjunction (ወ) in the extant tradition to indicate anything about the presence of a conjunction in the Greek Vorlage. This statement also extends to many aspects of prefixes, infixes, and suffixes, elements that, among other things, indicate gender, number, tense, and direct or indirect objects. Transmission history shows that individual scribes have wide latitude in these areas.<sup>81</sup>

In addition, evidence from Ethiopian transmission reveals a rich theological tradition of interpretation that relies heavily on intertextuality. In the 129 variants listed by Rahlfs, in most of the places where Gəʾəz diverges from *Codex Vaticanus*, the version follows a form paralleled elsewhere in Psalms or the Bible.<sup>82</sup> Do these parallels attest a particular Greek tradition also attracted to intertextual interplay, or are these remnants of indigenous interpretation accrued during the medieval period? As Rahlfs himself surmises, additional evidence might draw the version closer into the orbit of B.<sup>83</sup>

In practical terms, the fact that the earliest Gəʾəz manuscripts date about a millennium after the initial translation makes the practice of listing “Eth” as a witness in critical editions of the Greek text a little misleading – if, indeed, “Eth” was ever intended to support judgments about forms of the Greek text in existence in the fourth century. It is too optimistic to claim a direct line from our earliest manuscripts to the initial translation itself, even if some evidence points toward that conclusion. At a minimum, appropriate caveats should be noted in the introduction of any new Septuagint edition. With these cautions clearly articulated, the Gəʾəz evidence can take its rightful place in a critical apparatus of the Greek Psalms.

## 7. Manuscripts

Abilene, TX, Abilene Christian University Codex 2 (EMIP 99) (s. XVII)

Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies 74 (s. XV)

Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies 77 (dated 5/1/1934)

Addis Ababa, Institute of Ethiopian Studies 837 (s. XV)

Ambassal, Ethiopia, private library (EMML 2064) (s. XIV)

Ankobarr, Ethiopia, Dway Mikaʾel (EMML 2496) (s. XV/XVI)

Ankobarr, Ethiopia, Madhane Alam (EMML 3071) (s. XVI)

81 Unfortunately, studies of translation technique and Ethiopian scribal habits are still in their infancy. See especially, Knibb, “Translation” 119–122; Id., *Translating*, 55–86; Hofmann, *Johannes-Apokalypse*, 67–105, and Id., “Limitations”, 240–256.

82 For possible examples, see Pss 17:51; 24:2; 33:5; 36:23; 45:7; 47:5; and 55:14.

83 Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien*, 56.

- Ankobarr, Ethiopia, private library (EMML 4415) (s. XV)
- Belmont, MA, Alwan Codex 5 (EMIP 110) (s. XIX)
- Belmont, MA, Alwan Codex 32 (EMIP 242) (s. XIX)
- Belmont, MA, Alwan Codex 33 (EMIP 243) (s. XVIII)
- Bergin op Zoom, Netherlands, Codex Ten Kate (EMIP 2175) (s. XX)
- Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Or. 172 (s. XV)
- Cambridge, University of Cambridge Library, BFBS 176 (s. XV)
- Cambridge, University of Cambridge Library, BFBS 177 (s. XV)
- Cornelius, OR, Herron Codex (EMIP 1) (s. XVII)
- Dabra Damo, Ethiopia (Davies Dabra Damo microfilms reel 2) (s. XVI)
- Dabra Libanos, Ethiopia (Microfilmed by Davies) (s. XVI)
- Debre Berhan, Ethiopia, Church Codex (EMML 2010) (s. XIV–XV)
- Denver, CO, Eliza Codex 30 (s. XVIII)
- Kebran, Ethiopia (Davies Kebran microfilms, reel 2) (s. XV)
- Leiden, Universiteits Bibliotheek Or 14.664 (EMIP 3403) (s. XX)
- Leiden, Universiteits Bibliotheek Or 14.617 (EMIP 3402) (s. XVIII–XIX)
- Leiden, Universiteits Bibliotheek Or 17.086 (EMIP 3405) (s. XIX)
- Leiden, Universiteits Bibliotheek Or 17.087 (EMIP 3406) (s. XX)
- Leiden, Universiteits Bibliotheek Or 20.531 (EMIP 3407) (s. XIX)
- Leiden, Universiteits Bibliotheek Or 22.026 (EMIP 3419) (s. XIX)
- Leiden, Universiteits Bibliotheek Or 4734 (EMIP 3396) (s. XV)
- London, British Library, Add. 18,994 (s. XV)
- London, British Library, Or. 12467 (a. 1660)
- London, MacLennan Codex 1 (EMIP 342) (s. XVIII)
- London, MacLennan Codex 2 (EMIP 343) (s. XVI–XVII)
- Los Angeles, Young Research Library, UCLA, Weiner Codex 56 (EMIP 161) (s. XIX)
- Los Angeles, Young Research Library, UCLA, Weiner Codex 162 (EMIP 395) (s. XVII)
- Mek'elle, Ethiopia, Ende Eyesus Mekelle (EMDL 112) (s. XVII)
- Mek'elle, Ethiopia, Ende Eyesus Mekelle (EMDL 274) (s. XVIII)
- Mek'elle, Ethiopia, Ende Eyesus Mekelle (EMDL 290) (s. XV)
- Mount Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, Eth 4 (s. XV)
- Mount Sinai, Saint Catherine's Monastery, Eth 6 (s. XV)
- New Orleans, Whisnant Codex 2 (EMIP 30) (s. XVIII)
- Oxford, Bodleian Library, Dillmann 9, Pococke 3 (s. XVI)
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Abb 105 (s. XV)
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, éth. 9 (s. XV)
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, éth. 10 (s. XV)
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, éth. 11 (s. XV)
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, éth. 12 (s. XV)
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, éth. 13 (s. XV)
- Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, éth. 14 (s. XVII)

- Rema, Ethiopia, Tanasee 103 (EMIP 3496) (s. XVII)  
 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Or. 2 (s. XIV)  
 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Et 04 (s. XIV)  
 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Et 07 (s. XIV)  
 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Et 14 (s. XVI)  
 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Et 15 (s. XV)  
 Wallo, Ethiopia, Gannata Giyorgis Church (EMML 4916) (s. XV)  
 Williams, OR, Marwick Codex 5 (EMIP 9) (s. XVIII)  
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 Williams, OR, Marwick Codex 20 (EMIP 24) (s. XVIII)

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## The Arabic Version of the Book of Psalms Found in Sinai and Damascus

In 1876 Paul de Lagarde published his *Psalterium, Iob, Proverbia arabice*, which collected four editions of Arabic versions of the Psalms based on early prints.<sup>1</sup> The first (assigned the siglum  $\Psi$ ) consisted of the book of Psalms that was produced in 1614 under the patronage of F. Savary de Brèves (1560–1628).<sup>2</sup> It had been issued in two editions under the auspices of Stefano Paulino at the Typographia Savariana, de Brèves's publishing house.<sup>3</sup> The first offered the Arabic text alone, and the second (in 1619) added a Latin translation in a separate column facing the Arabic. The edition and translation were accomplished in collaboration with Gabriel Sionita (Jibrīl al-Ṣahyūnī, 1577–1648) and Vittorio Scialac Accurensis (Naṣrallāh Shalaq al-ʿAqūrī, d. 1635), both former students of the Maronite College.<sup>4</sup> The preface states that Savary de Brèves had secured the manuscript for this edition in Jerusalem during an expedition. The second of de Lagarde's editions (assigned the siglum  $\Psi$ ) consists of the version found in the Paris Polyglot and is thus based on MS Paris, BnF, Ar. 1.<sup>5</sup> The third (assigned the siglum  $\Theta$ ) is the so called Quḏḥayya Psalter. In 1610 the Psalms in Karshūnī and Syriac were printed at the Monastery of Mar Antonius, Quḏḥayya, supervised and sponsored by Sergius al-Rizzī (d. 1638), archbishop of Damascus and alumnus of the Maronite College in Rome.

- 1 De Lagarde, *Psalterium*. Prior to this, he had already edited Leiden, University Library, MS Or. 377, a manuscript that contains Saadiah's translation of the Pentateuch in a Christian recension; de Lagarde, *Materialien*, vol. 1. See Hughes, *Ausgabe*; Vollandt, *Arabic Versions*, 225. For a general survey on the history of research on Arabic versions of the Bible, see Vollandt, "The Status Quaestionis", 442–467. With regard to the Arabic Gospels, de Lagarde had previously announced that "Arabische übersetzungen der evangelien giebt es mehr, als der mit drängenden arbeiten überhäuften theologie lieb sein kann, ihr werth is verhältnissmässig gering [sic]" ('there are more Arabic translations of the Gospels than theologians pressed with more urgent priorities can care about; their value is comparatively limited'); de Lagarde, *Evangelien*, 1. This statement is in line with nineteenth- and twentieth-century biblical scholarship that was generally unfavourably disposed to the study of biblical versions in Arabic and doubted their value for textual criticism.
- 2 Savary de Brèves, *Liber*. On Savary de Brèves and his efforts in printing Arabic Bibles, see Vollandt, "Arabic Pentateuch", 19–35; and Vollandt, *Arabic Versions*, 118–128.
- 3 Stefano Paulino (Stephanus Paulinus) was a disciple of the famous Italian printer Raimondi; see Fück, *Studien*, 56–57. On the Typographia Savariana, see Duverdier, "Les caractères", 69–87; and Duverdier, "Les impressions", 157–279.
- 4 Further details on the alumni of the Maronite College can be found in Gemayel, *Les échanges*.
- 5 On the Arabic versions in the polyglots, see Vollandt, *Arabic Versions*, 118–129; and Vollandt, "Arabic Pentateuch".

This Psalter is considered the first book printed in the Near East. It seems that the press remained inactive after that, and it is not known from where the Syriac types came, nor which manuscript of the Arabic Psalms was used to provide the text. The fourth edition (assigned the siglum  $\pi$ ) is an Arabic Psalter produced in Aleppo in 1706, printed by the Greek patriarch of Antioch, Athanasius III Dabbās (1647–1724).<sup>6</sup> This Psalter can be considered the first print in Arabic types produced in the Near East. In this enterprise, Athanasius was aided by Constantin Brâncoveanu (r. 1688–1714), prince of Wallachia, who commissioned Antim Ivireanul (i.e., the Iberian; ca. 1650–1716) with the manufacture of Arabic types for Dabbās – Antim had previously supervised the printing press of the prince of Wallachia. The Arabic Psalter was reprinted and revised several times.<sup>7</sup>

These witnesses brought together by de Lagarde exhibit, with minor variations, the version of ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl, deacon of Antioch in the eleventh century, who had set out to provide a standardized and linguistically improved text of the book of Psalms.<sup>8</sup> His version may in many respects be seen as a revision and standardization of an earlier version – the focus of this contribution – that is found in a group of manuscripts. Such attempts to standardize the transmission of a particular biblical version in Arabic are not uncommon. Similar attempts to produce a linguistically more acceptable and textually less fluid edition were made by Saadiyah Gaon (882–942) for the Arabic version of the Pentateuch in use among the Rabbanite Jewish community, and by Abū Saʿīd, active in thirteenth-century Egypt, for the Samaritan Arabic version.<sup>9</sup> Prompted by the wish to establish a linguistically superior and textually reliable version, in 1252 al-Asʿad Abū al-Faraj Hibat Allāh b. al-ʿAssāl produced a critical edition of the Arabic Gospels that was in use among the Copts.<sup>10</sup>

The group of manuscripts containing the earlier version of the Psalms are among the earliest biblical manuscripts attested in Arabic. The manuscript sources, described in detail in the inventory below, contain the same text type, with minor deviations.<sup>11</sup> They consist of the following: (1) Sinai, MS Gr. 34 (Ra 1191); (2) Sinai, MS Gr. 35 (Ra 1192); (3) Sinai, MS Gr. 36 with Sinai, MS Gr. NF MΓ 9 (Ra 1193);

6 On Athanasius’s role in Arabic printing, see Feodorov, “Beginnings”, 231–260.

7 Feodorov, “Beginnings”, 248.

8 See Graf, *Geschichte*, I/116–119. In addition to his translation of the Psalter, ‘Abdallāh ibn al-Faḍl participated in the Antiochene translation movement of Greek Patristics into Arabic. See also Treiger, “Graeco-Arabica”, 188–227.

9 Vollandt, *Arabic Versions*, 80–84, 87–89.

10 See Abullif, “Al-Asʿad”, 47–120; Abullif, *Dirāsa*; Samir, “La version”, 441–551; Bailey, “Hibat Allah”, 11–26. A critical edition of al-Asʿad’s translation was furnished by Moawad, *Al-Asʿad*.

11 Due to the significant function of the book of Psalms in liturgy and monastic and personal devotion, the Arabic manuscript tradition, like others, has preserved a high number of manuscripts containing this book. Several surveys have been attempted, but none of them is exhaustive. See

(4) the Violet fragment, Ra 1046 (= Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, *Cod. Or. Sim.* 6, fols 31–32); (5) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, *Cod. Or. Sim.* 6, fol. 2, fragment C (Ra 1240); (6) Moscow, Russian State Library, MS 432 (Ra 1102); (7) Berlin, BBAW/GCS, Akz.-Nr. 481/136–137 (= Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, *Cod. Or. Sim.* 6, fols 15–16); (8) Sinai, MS Ar. NF Parch. 4; and (9) Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, MS Mingana Ch. Ar. Add. 137 with Bryn Mawr, College Library, MS BV 47. The translation seems to have been current among Melkite communities in the Bilād al-Shām in the ninth and tenth centuries, possibly earlier. Both Palestine and the Damascus area, which together constituted the province of Bilād al-Shām in first the Umayyad and later the Abbasid Caliphate, attest to the flourishing of Greek literacy after the Muslim conquests.<sup>12</sup> Despite that, there is evidence that from the end of the eighth century monks no longer had a sufficient command of the Greek language to read the Psalms.<sup>13</sup> For example, a monk at Mar Sabas is reported to have had difficulties in memorizing the Psalms in Greek.<sup>14</sup> Another monk, apparently facing a similar difficulty, astonished a Western pilgrim to Jerusalem at the beginning of the ninth century when he conducted his prayers by “singing the psalms in the language of the Saracens (*Sarracenica lingua psallit*)”.<sup>15</sup>

## 1. Inventory of Related Sources

The manuscripts, described below, belong to two different subgroups: bilingual/trilingual codices (with Moscow, RSL, MS 432 also containing Syriac in addition to Greek); and monolingual, Arabic, codices. The first subgroup, which contains the chronologically earlier witnesses to the Arabic versions of the Psalms, attest that the traditional liturgical languages – Greek (and Syriac) – continued to be primary in liturgy. In this context, it is important to stress that the introduction of Arabic was not intended to contest the status of these elevated languages of prestige, nor were the Arabic translations intended to displace or supplant the earlier texts. Arabic remained, in comparison to the traditional languages, of a secondary rank. This is also reflected in the *mise-en-page* of the bilingual manuscripts, where the translations occupy a much smaller space than the original texts. In the second subgroup

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Döderlein, “Von arabischen Psaltern”, (1778) 151–179; (1779) 57–96; Madros, *Arabic Translations*; and Monferrer-Sala, “Arabic Translations”, 143–151.

12 See Mango, “Greek Culture”, 149–160; Mavroudi, “Greek Language”, 295–342.

13 See the remarks by Ševčenko, “Constantinople”, 735–737; Blake, “La littérature”, 376–378; Vailhe, “Le monastère”, 22.

14 Bolland, *Acta*, III/176.

15 The visitor recorded the incident in his *Memorandum on the Houses of God and Monasteries in the Holy City*; see Tobler/Molinier, *Itinera*, 302.



the Greek source ceased being copied, whereas the Arabic translation started being transmitted independently and lost its dependence on the Greek.

Among the manuscripts, the Violet fragment (Ra 1046) has received the most attention so far. It was not only the first fragment from the Qubbat al-khazna that was presented to the scholarly public in Europe in 1901 as result of Bruno Violet's mission to Damascus, it became known even before Hermann von Soden gave his account and surveyed the major discoveries at the Prussian Academy of Sciences and Humanities, in 1903.<sup>16</sup> It contains the Greek text and an Arabic translation of Ps 77:20–31, 51–61. However, the Arabic column was written in Greek letters and therefore instigated not a little scholarly attention.<sup>17</sup> The same fragment in Arabic script would hardly have caused comparable consideration.

It is not only the same translational text type but also codicological and palaeographic features that place the Violet fragment in the same scribal context as the other, mostly Sinaitic, codices.<sup>18</sup> In all characteristics the Greek script conforms to the style that has been termed *maiuscula ogivalis inclinata*, an ogival inclined script for which many parallels in the corpus of ninth- and tenth-century Greek manuscripts from St Catherine's Monastery can be adduced.<sup>19</sup>

In addition, the particular arrangement of quires is further indication of their shared provenance. Most of the codices, including manuscripts Sinai, Gr. 34 and 35 (Ra 1191–92), and Sinai, Gr. 36 with Sinai, Gr. NF MT 9 (Ra 1193), as well as (most probably) the fragments from the Qubbat al-khazna, were made of quires with four bifolia. This codicological practice is what we expect with regard to

16 Violet, "Psalmsfragment", 384–403, 426–441, 475–488. See also von Soden, "Weihnachtsgeschenk", 1247–1249, which presented the cache of documents to a more general readership; and von Soden, "Bericht", 825–830, which introduced it to the Prussian Academy of Sciences and Humanities. For a survey on the manuscripts from the Qubbat al-khazna and their discovery, see D'Ottone Rambach/Hirschler/Vollandt, *The Damascus Fragments*.

17 See Graf, *Skizze*, 8–9; Graf, *Geschichte*, I/114. Having only had very limited access to manuscript collections in Sinai except through catalogues and edited manuscripts, Graf relied on the descriptions in Gardthausen, *Catalogus*. See also Mavroudi, "Arabic Words", 321–354; Hopkins, *Studies*, 1–2; Blau, *Handbook*, 68; Blau, *Grammar*, I/31 (this grammar generally excludes Bible translations); Haddad, "La phonétique", 159–164; Macdonald, *Literacy*, I/100–102, III/50, III/68 n. 62; Macdonald, "Old Arabic", III/464–477; Corriente, "The Psalter", 303–321. See also al-Jallad, *Damascus Psalm*, which includes Vollandt, "Beyond Arabic", 93–110.

18 It would be misleading to limit this context only to Sinai or the Palestinian monasteries, such as Mar Saba or Mar Chariton. In fact, it is not known whether St Catherine's housed a productive scribal workshop at all. At least for the Arabic collection, it is clear that the vast majority of codices were produced elsewhere; see Tarras, "Library"; Swanson, "Solomon", 91–111. Prominent examples, including Sinai, MSS Ar. 2 and 151, come from Damascus.

19 See Harlfinger, "Beispiele", II/461–477. The Violet fragment is mentioned there on p. 475. For further examples of this form of script, see Harlfinger/Reinsch/Sonderkamp, *Specimina*; Mavroudi, "Arabic Words", 327–328 n. 19. See also Orsini, "La maiuscola", 89–116. I refrain from a palaeographic description; that should be done by a Greek palaeographer.

Greek codices: the way the quires have been composed, while containing Arabic translations, is typical of the Greek manuscript tradition, as later Arabic codices as a rule show five bifolia per quire. Further, the quires usually open with the hair side. Although different from what was followed with other Byzantine manuscripts, this custom is characteristic of the Greek codices housed today at Sinai and other Greek fragments from the Qubba.<sup>20</sup>

### 1.1 Sinai, MS Gr. 34 (Ra 1191)<sup>21</sup>

**Content:** Blank (2r), Arabic introduction to the book of Psalms, ending with the Lord's Prayer (2v–4r), Greek text with Arabic translation (4v–232v), arranged in two columns with the Arabic to the right.

232 folios. Ruled parchment, 19 × 18.5 cm, Greek: 23–26 lines per page, Arabic: 13–16 lines per page, iron gall ink, four bifolia/quire, following the Gregory Rule and opening with the hair side, quire signatures on the opening folio in the upper right margins in the form of Greek numerals. More recent quire signatures on the last folio were added in Arabic *abjad*. It has pen trials on the inside cover, and on fol. 1r. The cardboard cover was made from discarded parchment folios that were glued together, with a layer of leather on the outside.

**Script:** *Maiuscula ogivalis inclinata* and Abbasid book hand.

**Date:** Copied in Mar Saba, December 929 or 930 CE.<sup>22</sup>

### 1.2 Sinai, MS Gr. 35 (Ra 1192)<sup>23</sup>

**Content:** Greek text with Arabic translation (1r–207v), arranged in two columns with the Arabic to the left.

207 folios. Ruled parchment, 24 × 16 cm, Greek: 30–31 lines per page, Arabic: 19–21 lines per page, iron gall ink. Fols 1–34 and 33–44 are later replacements and exhibit unskilled writing; on these, the Arabic faces inside, whereas in the rest of the codex it is always on the left. The original codex has four bifolia/quire, following the Gregory Rule and opening with the hair side. Quire signatures are found on the last folio, on the lower right margin, in Greek. New quires are marked by an asterisk on the upper left margin. The original wood cover is intact. Further folios of this manuscript, from the part that was later replaced, have been identi-

20 Again, one can compare the specimens discussed in Harlfinger, “Beispiele” and Harlfinger/Reinsch/Sonderkamp, *Specimina*.

21 Gardthausen, *Catalogus*, 11; Clark, *Checklist*, 1. Compare also Treiger, “Abū Qurra”, 21. See [https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra\\_1191](https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra_1191) (last access: 15.08.2023).

22 On the dating, see Treiger, “Abū Qurra”, 21 n. 42.

23 Gardthausen, *Catalogus*, 11; Clark, *Checklist*, 1. See [https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra\\_1192](https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra_1192) (last access: 15.08.2023).

fied by Binggeli as the undertext of Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, MS L 120 sup. (bifolia 125/132 and 139/134).<sup>24</sup>

**Script:** *Maiuscula ogivalis inclinata* and Abbasid book hand.

**Date:** Ninth century.<sup>25</sup>

### 1.3 Sinai, MS Gr. 36 and Sinai, MS Gr. NF 9 (Ra 1193)<sup>26</sup>

The contents preserved today under the two shelf marks constitute the *membra disiecta* of a formerly complete codex.

**Content:** Blank (1r–2v), Arabic introduction to the book of Psalms (3r–9v), Greek text with Arabic translation (10r–232v), arranged in two columns with the Arabic to the right. MS Gr. 36 exhibits the text to Ps 80:3; from there it is resumed in MS Gr. NF 9. The original manuscript also contained the Odes (MS Gr. 36, fols 195r–197r; MS Gr. NF 9, fols 105r–116v). Their order is in disarray and needs to be reconstructed.

316 folios. Ruled parchment, 20 × 15 cm, Greek: 22–23 lines per page, Arabic: 14–18 lines per page, iron gall ink, four bifolia/quire, following the Gregory Rule and opening with the hair side, quire signatures are found on the opening folio in the upper right margin in the form of Greek numerals.

**Script:** *Maiuscula ogivalis inclinata* and Abbasid book hand.

**Date:** Ninth century.

The manuscript contains an introduction, which I edit and translate here.<sup>27</sup> The first part seems to depend on Gregory of Nazianzus's Moral Homily (no. 30) and the latter on Eusebius's introduction to the Psalms.<sup>28</sup>

(6r) من قول القديس غريغوريوس المتكلم على اللاهوت. اجعل الله بدوء أمرك وكماله. ربح العمر العيش يوم بيوم. اعرف كل شيء واختار أفضله. ما أردى الفقر وأردى منه الغناء الردي. إذا كنت تحسن فاعلم أنك بالله متشبه. اطلب خير الأمر فتكون صالح. اضبط جسدك واثقه بالقيود.

(6r) From the sayings of Saint Gregory, the theologian. Make God the commencement and the end of your matter. The benefit of a lifetime is to live day by day. Know every-

24 Binggeli, "Les trois David", 79–117.

25 The dating of scripts, to which I arrived in consultation with Miriam L. Hjälms (who is preparing a palaeographic study on early Christian Arabic manuscripts), is mine.

26 See [https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra\\_1193](https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra_1193) (last access: 15.08.2023). On Sinai, MS Gr. 36, see Gardthausen, *Catalogus*, 11; and on Sinai, MS Gr. NF 9, see Ministry of Culture-Mount Sinai Foundation (ed.), *New Finds*, 142.

27 I give the orthography as found in the manuscripts. The *hamza*, which as a rule remains unmarked in the manuscript, has been added for the sake of clarity.

28 See Ullmann, "Carmen morale XXX", 74–80 and Bandt/Risch/Villani, *Prologtexte*, 38. I thank Zakka Labib for his assistance in the identification of these sources.

thing and choose the best. How bad is poverty! And the inferior richness is worse. If you give charity, know that you are an imitator of God. Seek for the best thing to be righteous. Restrain your body and tie it up with restrictions.

(6v) الجم غضبك لئلا تقع خارجاً من عقلك. ساو نظرك وليكن لسانك ميزاناً. اجعل غلقاً لاذنيك لئلا تكون ضحكة للزناة. اتخذ العلم سراجاً لعمرك كله. لا تظن بنفسك غير ما أنت فتهلك اعرف كل شيء واعمل الذي ينبغي. غربياً اجعل نفسك واكرم الغرباء. إذا طاب سير سفينتك (7r) عند ذلك اتق الغرق. ينبغي أن تقبل كل ما يأتي من الله بشكر. عصا الصديق أفضل من كرامة الشرير. ثابر <على> أبواب الحكماء وأما الأغنياء فلا. الصغير ليس بصغير إذا خرج إلى الأمر الكبير. شتيمة الممسك يسير أن ينتقم كثير. احفظ نفسك ولا تضحك بسقطة آخر. الموهبة أن لا تحسد والزلل لأن تكون حسود. اذبح نفسك لله افضل من كل شيء. من يحفظ هذا يخلص ناجياً.

(6v) Curb your anger, lest you fall out of your mind. Regulate your vision and let your tongue be a guide. Put a padlock over your ears, lest you become a laughing stock to adulterers. Take knowledge as a lamp for your whole life. Do not think of yourself as anything other than what you are, lest you perish. Know everything, and do what is fitting. Make yourself a stranger and dignify the strangers. If the moving of your ship is going well, (7r) be on your guard against sinking! You should accept everything that comes from God with gratitude. The friend's rod is better than the honour of the wicked. Persevere at the doors of the wise. But not for the riches. The small one is not small if it leads to a big thing. Endure a little insult and you will be greatly praised. Preserve yourself, and do not rejoice in another's fall. It is a gift not to be jealous, but it is a slip to be an envious one. Sacrifice yourself to God, this is better than anything. Anyone who pays attention to this will, saving himself, be redeemed.

(7v) القول لب[م]فيل. أن مصحف المزامير تفسيره في الكتب العجمة والمصحف العربي ليس كما يظن كل أحد. ليس المزامير كلها لداود ولكن لانبيا آخرين تنبوا بالتغنية. لذلك ليس ترسم (8r) كلها لداود عند العبرانيين، ولكن على غير صفه يسما مصحف المزامير. على خمسة اجزاء قسموا العبرانيين مصحف المزامير كله، الجزء الاول من الاول إلى الأربعين، الثاني هو واحد وأربعين إلى واحد وسبعين. والثالث من واحد وسبعين (8v) إلى ثمانية وثمانين. والرابع من تسعة وثمانين إلى مائة وخمسة. والخامس من ستة ومائة إلى آخر المصحف. غير مرسومة تسعة عشر ومرسومة مائة وواحد وثلثين. لداود إثنين وسبعين لبني قورح حد عشر لاصاف اثنا عشر لاثام الاسرائلي واحد لسليمن بن داود إثنين، لموسى واحد، غير مرسومة إثنين وثلثين، الليلوي تسعة عشر، (9r) وليس لكل [ا]لمز[ا]مير. التي لم ترسم تسعة عشر والمرسومة مائة واحد وثلثين. الجميع مائة وخمسين.

From the sayings of Pamphil. The meaning of the book of Psalms in the foreign books and the Hebrew book is not as some might suppose, as not all the psalms were written by David, but rather different prophets prophesied by singing. Therefore, not all (psalms) are ascribed (8r) to David by the Hebrews, but the book of Psalms is not ascribed to anyone without specification.

The Hebrews divided the entire book of Psalms into five parts, the first part is from one to forty, the second is (from) forty-one to seventy-one, the third is from seventy-one

(8v) to eighty-eight. The fourth is from eighty-nine to one hundred and five. The fifth is from one hundred and six to the end of the book. Nineteen psalms are unspecified (uninscribed), and one hundred are specified (have inscriptions). They are seventy-two to David, eleven to the Sons of Korah, twelve to Asaph, one to Aitham, the Israelite, two to Solomon, son of David, one to Moses, thirty-two are unnamed, nineteen contain a Halleluiah (9r), but not all psalms. The unspecified are nineteen and the specified are one hundred and thirty-one. All (psalms) are one hundred and fifty.

#### 1.4 The Violet Fragment, Ra 1046 (= Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, *Cod. Or. Sim.* 6, fols 31–32)<sup>29</sup>

**Content:** Ps 77:20–31, 51–61, Greek and Arabic.

It consists of a parchment bifolium, 23 × 18.5 cm, with 33 lines on each page. The text is laid out in two columns, with the Septuagint on the left and an Arabic translation on the right. Both columns are written in Greek majuscule in *scriptio continua*, with dots to separate words and between twelve and fourteen letters per line. Rough breathing signs are found, and these are rounded in shape. Only the second folio shows ruling by a hard point to accommodate and demarcate the texts (both the Septuagint and the Arabic translation) with a perpendicular grid of lines, horizontally marking the lines of text and vertically the two columns. Writing does not always respect the ruling. The fragment shows signs of reuse. There is a double fold in the inner part of the open bifolium, with a width of 1.5 cm, and several holes that cannot be understood as part of the original pricking. These seem to suggest a secondary use as a book binding, through which the spine of the wrapped book and additional stitching to attach it left their impression on the fragment.<sup>30</sup>

The absent part of the text, between the recto (verses 21–31) and the verso (verses 51–60), covered 20 verses. In the extant part, each folio page contains either five or six verses, so an entire bifolium must have fallen out. The present fragment in the quire can be reconstructed as the third bifolium of a quire.

**Script:** *Maiuscula ogivalis inclinata*.

**Date:** Ninth–tenth century.

29 See [https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra\\_1046](https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra_1046); and [https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN685013049&PHYSID=PHYS\\_0063&DMDID=DMD-LOG\\_0001&view=overview-toc](https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN685013049&PHYSID=PHYS_0063&DMDID=DMD-LOG_0001&view=overview-toc) (last access 15.08.2023). For a description and an Arabic transcription of the Greek transliteration, see Vollandt, “Beyond Arabic”.

30 As conjectured also by Violet, “Psalmsfragment”, col. 426.

1.5 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, *Cod. Or. Sim. 6*, fol. 2, fragment C (Ra 1240)<sup>31</sup>

From the Qubbat al-khazna.

**Content:** Ps 143:7–13; 145:8–146:6, Greek text and Arabic translation, arranged in two columns with the Arabic to the right.

Bifolium. Unruled parchment, 16 × 14 cm, Greek: 21 lines per page, Arabic: 20 lines per page, fourth bifolium in the quire, opening with the hair side.

**Script:** *Maiuscula ogivalis inclinata* and Abbasid book hand.

**Date:** Ninth century.

1.6 Moscow, RSL, MS 432 (Ra 1102)<sup>32</sup>

**Content:** Ps 70:7–16; 73:4–14; 77:28–38; 79:9–18, in Greek, Syriac, and Arabic (in this order both on recto and verso).

Four folios, parchment, partly damaged by water, ruled by lead pencil, 29 × 23 cm, three columns in Greek, Syriac, and Arabic, 35–36 lines per page. The columns were designed by the scribe to correspond with regard to the biblical text. An *ex libris* shows that the fragments belonged to Abraham Norov (1789–1869), who was Russian Minister of Education in 1854 and acquired the manuscript on his journeys in Palestine. It seems to have originated in the monastery of Mar Saba.

**Script:** *Maiuscula ogivalis inclinata*, Estrangelo, and Abbasid book hand.

**Date:** Ninth century.

1.7 Berlin, BBAW/GCS, Akz.-Nr. 481/136–137  
(= Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, *Cod. Or. Sim. 6*, fols 15–16)<sup>33</sup>

The fragment of the Arabic translation of the book of Psalms is found in the photographs BBAW/GCS, Akz.-Nr. 481/136–137, taken by Violet in Damascus in 1901. The fragment is also seen in the photographs taken in Berlin in 1909, now found as fols 15 and 16 of Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, *MSS simulata orientalia 6*.<sup>34</sup>

31 Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, I/64–55; see [https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra\\_1240](https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra_1240); and [http://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN685013049&PHYSID=PHYS\\_0005&DMDID=DMDLOG\\_0001](http://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN685013049&PHYSID=PHYS_0005&DMDID=DMDLOG_0001) (last access: 15.08.2023).

32 See [https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra\\_1102](https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra_1102) (last access: 15.08.2023). The manuscript is described in all details, with edition and facsimiles, in Pigulevskaya, “Manuscript”, 59–90. See also Treiger, “Abū Qurra”, 20.

33 An edition and discussion of this manuscript can be found in Vollandt, “The Qubba”, 181–221.

34 The photographs are available online at <https://bibelexegese.bbaw.de/handschriften/damaszener-handschriften/>; [https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN685013049&PHYSID=PHYS\\_0031&DMDID=DMDLOG\\_0001&view=overview-toc](https://digital.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/werkansicht?PPN=PPN685013049&PHYSID=PHYS_0031&DMDID=DMDLOG_0001&view=overview-toc) (last access: 15.08.2023) respectively.

**Content:** Ps 118:55–67, 69–78, 104–28; 119:1–7; 120:1–2, 5–8; 121:1–4; 123:8; 124:1–5; 125:1–6.

The fragment consists of two bifolia. They form part of an originally intact quire, in which they can be placed with one missing bifolium between them and one missing in the centre of the quire. This can be calculated on the basis of the missing text. Thus it can be reconstructed as the first and third bifolia, if the quire originally had four bifolia; or as the second and fourth bifolia, if the quire originally had five bifolia. If we compare the fragment's quire structure to the manuscripts mentioned above – Sinai, MSS Gr. 34 and 35 (Ra 1191–92) – the former appears more likely. The fragment is of parchment; ruling can be detected for the text block only; it measures 12.5 × 22 cm (one folio 11 cm),<sup>35</sup> and is mutilated (in particular in the upper corners of the fragment), with holes in places, and is stained. It contains 11–13 lines per page. The chapter rubrics are given in Greek, and consist of the first words of the psalm.

**Script:** Abbasid book hand (New Style).<sup>36</sup>

**Date:** Tenth century.

#### 1.8 Sinai, MS Ar. NF Parch. 4<sup>37</sup>

**Content:** Incomplete book of Psalms in Arabic.

83 folios, parchment, 134–150 × 92–98 cm, 15 lines per page. Copied by David of Ashkelon.

**Script:** Abbasid book hand.

**Date:** Tenth century.

#### 1.9 Birmingham, Cadbury Research Library, MS Mingana Ch. Ar. Add. 137<sup>38</sup> and Bryn Mawr, College Library, MS BV 47

The contents preserved today under the two shelf marks, in two different collections, constitute the *membra disiecta* of a formerly complete codex.

**Content:** Ps 1–3, consisting of one folio, in MS Mingana Ch. Ar. Add. 137 and the rest of the 150 psalms are extant and found on fols 1r–71v of MS BV 47. They are followed by a group of nine canticles (72r–79r), including the Song of Miriam,

35 The measurements are taken based on the ruler provided with the digital images by the Staatsbibliothek.

36 See Hjälms, “Palestine”, 245–264.

37 Meimarīs, *Katalogos*, Greek 23/Arabic 19 (pl. 6). See also Treiger, “Abū Qurra”, 21; Binggeli, “Les trois David”, 110; Géhin, “Manuscrits”, 29.

38 Mingana, *Catalogue*, III/5.

the Prayer of Moses, the Prayer of Simeon, the Prayer of Jonah, and the Magnificat of Mary. On fol. 79v there is a colophon by the scribe Buṭrus b. Yūsuf.

80 folios, ruled parchment, 19.7 × 13.4 cm, 19–22 lines per page.

**Script:** Abbasid book hand.

**Date:** 304 AH, corresponding to 916/917 CE.

MS BV 47 was originally part of the Arnold Mettler-Specker collection, on loan at Zurich library, MS Or. 94. It was featured in the famous Katalog Hiersemann 500 (as no. 39), auctioned in 1948, and eventually donated to Bryn Mawr College Library.<sup>39</sup>

## 2. Synopsis (Psalm 90)

| Sinai, MS Gr. 34<br>(Ra 1191)                                 | Sinai, MS Gr. 35<br>(Ra 1192)                                       | Sinai, MS Gr. NF<br>MT 9 (Ra 1193)                           | Bryn Mawr, College<br>Library, MS BV 47                       |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
| [144v] مزمو ر داود<br>تسعين تسبحة                             | [132r] مزمو ر تسعين<br>لداود                                        | [20v] مزمو ر داود تسعين<br>شكر                               | [44v] مزمو ر داود تسعين<br>نبوة المسيح يقال بالليل            |
| (1) الساكن بعون العلي: في<br>استار الله السماء يعتمر          | (1) الساكن في عون العلي:<br>في ستر الله السماء يأوي                 | (1) الساكن بعون العلي: في<br>ستر الله السماء يعتمر           | (1) الساكن في عون العلي:<br>الثابت ستر الله السماء            |
| (2) يقول للرب ناصري<br>أنت وملجأ. إلهي أتكلم<br>عليه          | (2) يقول للرب أنت<br>ناصري وملجأ. إلهي<br>أتكلم عليه                | (2) يقول للرب ناصري<br>أنت وملجأ. إلهي أتكلم<br>عليه         | (2) يقول للرب نصيري أنت<br>وملجأ. إلهي وعليه<br>أتكلم         |
| (3) لأنه هو ينجيني من<br>فخ الصيادين. ومن كلمة<br>العريسة     | (3) لأنه هو ينجيني من<br>فخ الصيادين. ومن كلمة<br>مكدرة             | [21r] (3) لأنه ينجيني من<br>فخ الصيادين. ومن كلمة<br>العريسة | (3) لأنه أنقذ من فخ<br>الصيادين. ومن كلمة<br>الارتجاف         |
| (4) بأجنحته يظلك.<br>وتحت أجنحته تتكل.<br>يحوطك حقه           | [132v] (4) بكفنه يظلك.<br>وتحت أجنحته اتوكل.<br>بالسلاح تحيط بك حقه | (4) بكفنه يظلك. وتحت<br>أجنحته تتكل. يحوطك<br>حقه            | (4) بريشته يظلك. وتحت<br>أجنحته تستتر. يحوطك<br>صدقة السلاح   |
| (5) لا تخشا من خشية<br>الليل [145r] ومن سهم<br>يطير في النهار | (5) لا تخشا من خوف<br>الليل ومن سهم يطير<br>بالنهار                 | (5) لا تخشا من فزع الليل<br>ومن سهم يطير في النهار           | (5) فلا تخشا من خشية<br>الليل ولا من سهم التي<br>يطير بالنهار |
| (6) من أمر ينفذ في ظلمة<br>من وقعة شيطان ظهري                 | (6) من شيء يجوز في<br>ظلمة من وقعة فجأة<br>شيطان ظهري               | (6) من أمري يجوز في<br>ظلمة من سقكة [21v]<br>وشيطان ظهري     | (6) ولا من كل شيء يجوز<br>في الظلمة من [om]                   |

39 Hiersemann, *Katalog 500*, 19. On this manuscript, see also Pollock, “Manuscripts”, 330–331; Treiger, “Abū Qurra”, 20; as well as Baumstark, “Minbar”, 193–195; Baumstark, “Text”, 55–66. Images can be seen at <http://archive.org/details/ArabicPsalterBV47BMCReduced> (last access: 15.08.2023).



| Sinai, MS Gr. 34<br>(Ra 1191)                                   | Sinai, MS Gr. 35<br>(Ra 1192)                                        | Sinai, MS Gr. NF<br>MT 9 (Ra 1193)                               | Bryn Mawr, College<br>Library, MS BV 47                              |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (7) يقع من جانبك آلاف<br>وربوات من يمينك وإليك<br>لا يدنون      | (7) يقع من شمالك ألف<br>وربوة من يمينك وإليك<br>لا تدنوا             | (7) يقع من جانبك آلاف<br>وربوات من يمينك لا<br>يتقرب إليك        | (7) [om] جانبك ألوف<br>وربوات عن يمينك لا<br>يتقربون إليك            |
| (8) بل بعينيك تتفرس<br>ومجازاة الخطاة تعالين                    | (8) بل بعينيك تتفكر<br>ومجازاة الخطاة تبصر                           | (8) بل بعينيك تتفرس<br>وجزى الخطاة تعالين                        | (8) لكنك تنظر إليهم<br>بعينيك وتعالين جزاء<br>الخطايي                |
| (9) إنيك أنت يا رب رجائي.<br>جعلت العلي ملجأ                    | (9) لإنيك أنت يا رب رجائي.<br>العلي وضعت ملجأ                        | (9) لإنيك أنت يا رب رجائي.<br>جعلت العلي ملجأ                    | (9) أنت يا ربي رجائي.<br>جعلت ملجأك في العلو                         |
| (10) لا يتقدم إليك شر<br>وسوط لا يدنوا مسكنك                    | (10) لا يقترب إليك شر<br>[133r] وضربة لا<br>تدنوا إلى مسكنك          | (10) لا يتقدم إليك سؤ<br>وضربة لا تقترب مسكنك<br>[22r]           | (10) فلا يدنوا إليك السؤ<br>ولا تقترب الضربة في<br>مسكنك             |
| (11) أنه يوصي ملائكته بك<br>لتحفظك في جميع طرقك                 | (11) لأنه ملائكته يوصي<br>بك لتحفظك في جميع<br>طرقك                  | (11) لأنه يأمر ملائكته<br>منجلك لتحفظك في جميع<br>طرقك           | (11) الا أنه يوصي ملائكته<br>بك ليحفظوك في جميع<br>سبلك كلها         |
| (12) على الأيدي يرفعوك لا<br>تنكب بحجر رجلك                     | (12) على الأيدي تحملك<br>لئلا تعثر بحجر رجلك                         | (12) على أيديهم تحملونك<br>لئلا تنكب بحجور جلك<br>[sic!]         | (12) يرفعوك على أيديهم<br>لكيلا تنكب بحجر رجلك                       |
| (13) [145v] على الافعا<br>وملك الحيات تركب تطأ<br>الأسد والتنين | (13) على الافعا وملك<br>الحيات تطأ وتدوس الأسد<br>والتنين            | (13) على الافعا وشجاع<br>تركب تطأ الأسد والتنين                  | (13) على الافعا والاجرد<br>تطأ وتدوس الأسد والتنين                   |
| (14) أنه علي ائكل فأنجييه.<br>استره لأنه عرف اسمي.              | (14) لأنه اباي رجا<br>فأخلصه، استره لأنه عرف<br>اسمي.                | (14) لأنه علي ائكل<br>فأنجييه، استره لأنه عرف<br>اسمي.           | (14) لأنه علي ائكل فأنجده<br>واستره إذ عرف اسمي.                     |
| (15) ويصرخ إلي فأجييه.<br>معه أنا في الحزن أنقده<br>وأمجده.     | (15) ويصرخ إلي<br>فأستجيب. أنا معه في<br>الشدة أنقده ومجدي<br>[sic!] | (15) ويصرخ إلي فأجييه.<br>[22v] معه أنا في الحزن<br>أنقده وأمجده | (15) وينادييني فأستجب<br>له. [45r] في الحزن أنا معه<br>فأخلصه وأمجده |
| (16) من طول الأيام أهنيه<br>وأريه خلاصي.                        | (16) [133v] من طول<br>الأيام أشعبه وأوريه<br>خلاصي                   | (16) وأمليه من طول الأيام<br>وأريه مخلصي.                        | (16) وأمليه من طول الأيام<br>وأريه خلاصي.                            |

### 3. Discussion of the Text

The manuscript sources edited above for Psalm 90 contain the same text type, with minor deviations. Variation can be observed on the lexical level, as is illustrated in v. 5, with *khawf* ‘fear, dread’ translating φόβου in MS Gr. 35 (Ra 1192), while MSS Gr. 34 (Ra 1191) and BV 47 exhibit *khashyah* ‘fear, apprehension’ and MS NF MΓ 9 (Ra 1193) has *faza* ‘fright, terror’. In the first stichos of v. 8, πλὴν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς σου κατανοήσεις ‘only with your eyes will you perceive’, Greek κατανοήσεις is featured as *tatafarris* ‘will you regard searchingly’ in MSS Gr. 34 (Ra 1191) and NF MΓ 9 (Ra 1193). In contrast, MS Gr. 35 (Ra 1192) reads *tata-fakkir* ‘will you contemplate’ and MS NF MΓ 9 (Ra 1193) has *tanzur* ‘will you see’. The second of these patterns is common; there is a tendency for MSS Gr. 34 (Ra 1191) and NF MΓ 9 (Ra 1193) to agree with each other. MSS Gr. 35 (Ra 1192) and BV 47 diverge, with the former exhibiting a higher degree of imitation towards the Greek text and the latter having undergone a secondary literary redaction to bring it closer to the rules of Classical Arabic, as we will see.

On the whole, the Arabic version represented in the sources above shows an uncompromising concern with remaining as close as possible to the formal structure of the Greek *Vorlage*, often at the expense of the stylistic and grammatical rules of Arabic. On the syntactic level, there is a close mirroring of the Greek word order, resulting in a strict word-by-word translation. A good illustration can be found in the translation of Ps 90:2, as found in MS Gr. 34 (Ra 1191). Each unit of the source text is reflected, in the same order, in the translation:

|                                                                                               |                                                   |                                                                                                        |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (2) ἔρεϊ τῷ κυρίῳ<br>'Ἀντιλήπτωρ μου εἶ καὶ<br>καταφυγή μου, ὁ θεός μου,<br>ἐλπιδὴ ἐπ' αὐτόν, | (2) يقول للرب ناصري أنت<br>وملجأى. إلهي اتكل عليه | (2) He will say to the Lord:<br>“My protector are you and<br>my refuge; my god I will<br>trust in him” |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

In MS Gr. 35 (Ra 1192), there is even a tendency to preserve the gender and number of the Greek *Vorlage*. In v. 1 of that manuscript, *fī sitrat Allah* ‘in a shelter of God’ as a translation of ἐν σκέπῃ τοῦ θεοῦ seems to prefer the rare feminine noun *sitra* over more common forms, such as *istār* in MS Gr. 34 (Ra 1191) or *sitr* in MS NF MΓ 9 (Ra 1193), because the Greek source exhibits a feminine noun. A good illustration of the adherence of MS Gr. 35 (Ra 1192) to the number of a noun in accordance with the Greek can be found in Ps 90:7:

|                                                                                                  |                                                       |                                                                                                                             |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (7) πεσεῖται ἐκ τοῦ κλίτους<br>σου χιλιάς καὶ μυριάς ἐκ<br>δεξιῶν σου, πρὸς σὲ δὲ οὐκ<br>ἐγγιεῖ· | (7) يقع من شمالك ألف وروبة من<br>يمينك وإليك لا تدنوا | (7) There will fall on your<br>left a thousand and a ten<br>thousand from your right<br>and near you they will not<br>come. |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

Both *alf* ‘a thousand’ (translating πεσεῖται) and *ribwah* ‘a ten thousand’ (translating μυριάς) are in the singular form, as in the Greek, whereas MSS Gr. 34 (Ra 1191) and NF MΓ 9 (Ra 1193) feature the more idiomatic *ālāf* ‘thousands’ and *ribwāt* ‘ten thousands’.

In Classical Arabic only nominal clauses are usually ordered subject – predicate. The most common word order in verbal clauses is verb – subject – object, although this sequence may be modified after certain conjunctions or particles. MSS Gr. 34 (Ra 1191) and NF MΓ 9 (Ra 1193) to a lesser extent, and MS BV 47 to a greater extent, adjust to these syntactic rules of Classical Arabic, thereby moving further from a strict adherence to the formal structure of the source text. There are several cases in Ps 90 in which this secondary linguistic adjustment can be seen. For example, in the second stichos of v. 8 – καὶ ἀνταπόδοσιν ἀμαρτωλῶν ὄψῃ ‘and the requital of sinners you will see’ – the verb comes before the object, and this is reflected in MS Gr. 35 (Ra 1192) (*wa-mujāzāt al-khuṭāh tabṣur* ‘and the requital of sinners you will see’), as well as in MSS Gr. 34 (Ra 1191) and NF MΓ 9 (Ra 1193) (*wa-mujāzāt/jazā’ al-khuṭāh ta’āyin* ‘and the requital of sinners you will observe by your eyes’). MS BV 47, in contrast, moves the verb to initial position, as required by Classical Arabic syntax (*wa-ta’āyin jazā’ al-khaṭāyā* ‘and you will observe by your eyes the requital of sins’). In v. 11, only MS Gr. 35 (Ra 1192) preserves the Greek syntax of ὅτι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ ἐντελεῖται ‘because his angels he will command’ (object – verb), exhibiting the reading *malā’ikatahu yuwaṣṣī*, whereas the other manuscripts have inverted the order to *yuwaṣṣī malā’ikatahu* ‘he will command his angels’.

These examples may suffice to show that the Arabic version of the book of Psalms found in Sinai and Damascus often preserves the word order, number, and the chiasmic arrangement of the Greek. Being highly literal, the translation facilitated the comprehension and memorization of the biblical text in Greek, which was found in the first subgroup of manuscripts alongside its translation. The translation appears to have complemented the Greek, not only on the page but possibly also in a liturgical setting, glossing it word by word. Of the four manuscripts edited here, MS Gr. 35 (Ra 1192) seems to reflect the Greek *Vorlage* in the most uncompromising way. On the opposite end of the scale is MS BV 47, exhibiting a secondary linguistic revision towards a register more akin to Classical Arabic. To a certain degree one can say that MS BV 47 moves further from the source text, and this movement is – as we have seen – also reflected in the materiality of the manuscript. It is a monolingual codex, in which the transmission of the Arabic translation had been detached from the Greek source.

Appendix: Chapter list

| Ps | Sinai, MS Gr. 34<br>(Ra 1191) | Sinai, MS Gr. 35<br>(Ra 1192) | Sinai, MSS Gr.<br>36 and Gr. NF<br>MΓ 9 (Ra 1193) | MS Mingana<br>Ch. Ar. Add. 137<br>and Bryn Mawr,<br>College Library,<br>MS BV 47 |
|----|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1  | Fol. 4r                       | Fol. 1r                       | Fol. 10r                                          | Fol. 1r                                                                          |
| 2  | Fol. 4v                       | Fol. 1v                       | Fol. 11r                                          | Fol. 1r                                                                          |
| 3  | Fol. 6r                       | Fol. 2r                       | Fol. 12v                                          | Fol. 1v                                                                          |
| 4  | Fol. 6v                       | Fol. 2v                       | Fol. 13v                                          | Fol. 1r                                                                          |
| 5  | Fol. 7v                       | Fol. 3v                       | Fol. 15r                                          | Fol. 1r                                                                          |
| 6  | Fol. 9v                       | Fol. 4v                       | Fol. 17v                                          | Fol. 1v                                                                          |
| 7  | Fol. 10r                      | Fol. 5r                       | Fol. 19r                                          | Fol. 2r                                                                          |
| 8  | Fol. 12r                      | Fol. 6r                       | Fol. 21v                                          | Fol. 2v                                                                          |
| 9  | Fol. 13r                      | Fol. 7r                       | Fol. 23r                                          | Fol. 2v                                                                          |
| 10 | Fol. 17r                      | Fol. 10r                      | Fol. 28v                                          | Fol. 4r                                                                          |
| 11 | Fol. 17v                      | Fol. 10v                      | Fol. 30r                                          | Fol. 4r                                                                          |
| 12 | Fol. 18v                      | Fol. 11r                      | Fol. 31v                                          | Fol. 4v                                                                          |
| 13 | Fol. 19r                      | Fol. 11v                      | Fol. 32v                                          | Fol. 4v                                                                          |
| 14 | Fol. 20r                      | Fol. 12v                      | Fol. 33v                                          | Fol. 5r                                                                          |
| 15 | Fol. 20v                      | Fol. 13r                      | Fol. 34v                                          | Fol. 5r                                                                          |
| 16 | Fol. 21v                      | Fol. 13v                      | Fol. 36r                                          | Fol. 5v                                                                          |
| 17 | Fol. 23v                      | Fol. 15r                      | Fol. 39r                                          | Fol. 6r                                                                          |
| 18 | Fol. 28v                      | Fol. 19r                      | Fol. 46r                                          | Fol. 7v                                                                          |
| 19 | Fol. 30v                      | Fol. 20r                      | Fol. 48r                                          | Fol. 8r                                                                          |
| 20 | Fol. 31v                      | Fol. 21r                      | Fol. 49v                                          | Fol. 8r                                                                          |
| 21 | Fol. 32v                      | Fol. 22r                      | Fol. 51v                                          | Fol. 8v                                                                          |
| 22 | Fol. 33v                      | Fol. 25v                      | Fol. 56r                                          | Fol. 9v                                                                          |
| 23 | Fol. 34r                      | Fol. 26r                      | Fol. 57r                                          | Fol. 10r                                                                         |
| 24 | Fol. 37r                      | Fol. 27r                      | Fol. 58r                                          | Fol. 10r                                                                         |
| 25 | Fol. 38v                      | Fol. 29r                      | Fol. 61r                                          | Fol. 11r                                                                         |
| 26 | Fol. 39v                      | Fol. 29v                      | Fol. 62v                                          | Fol. 11r                                                                         |
| 27 | Fol. 41r                      | Fol. 31r                      | Fol. 64v                                          | Fol. 11v                                                                         |
| 28 | Fol. 42v                      | Fol. 32v                      | Fol. 66v                                          | Fol. 12r                                                                         |
| 29 | Fol. 43r                      | Fol. 33r                      | Fol. 68r                                          | Fol. 12v                                                                         |
| 30 | Fol. 44r                      | Fol. 34v                      | Fol. 69v                                          | Fol. 12v                                                                         |
| 31 | Fol. 46v                      | Fol. 37r                      | Fol. 73v                                          | Fol. 13v                                                                         |
| 32 | Fol. 48r                      | Fol. 38r                      | Fol. 75v                                          | Fol. 14r                                                                         |
| 33 | Fol. 49v                      | Fol. 40r                      | Fol. 78r                                          | Fol. 14v                                                                         |
| 34 | Fol. 51r                      | Fol. 41v                      | Fol. 80v                                          | Fol. 15r                                                                         |
| 35 | Fol. 54v                      | Fol. 44v                      | Fol. 85r                                          | Fol. 15v                                                                         |
| 36 | Fol. 55v                      | Fol. 45v                      | Fol. 86v                                          | Fol. 16r                                                                         |
| 37 | Fol. 59r                      | Fol. 49r                      | Fol. 92r                                          | Fol. 17r                                                                         |
| 38 | Fol. 61r                      | Fol. 51r                      | Fol. 95r                                          | Fol. 17v                                                                         |
| 39 | Fol. 62v                      | Fol. 52r                      | Fol. 97r                                          | Fol. 18r                                                                         |

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| 41 | Fol. 65v  | Fol. 55v  | Fol. 101v | Fol. 19r |
| 42 | Fol. 67r  | Fol. 56v  | Fol. 103v | Fol. 19r |
| 43 | Fol. 67v  | Fol. 57r  | Fol. 104v | Fol. 19v |
| 44 | Fol. 70r  | Fol. 59v  | Fol. 108r | Fol. 20r |
| 45 | Fol. 72r  | Fol. 61v  | Fol. 111r | Fol. 20v |
| 46 | Fol. 73r  | Fol. 62v  | Fol. 112v | Fol. 21r |
| 47 | Fol. 73v  | Fol. 63r  | Fol. 113v | Fol. 21r |
| 48 | Fol. 74v  | Fol. 64v  | Fol. 115v | Fol. 21v |
| 49 | Fol. 76v  | Fol. 66r  | Fol. 118r | Fol. 22r |
| 50 | Fol. 78v  | Fol. 68r  | Fol. 121v | Fol. 23r |
| 51 | Fol. 80r  | Fol. 69v  | Fol. 124r | Fol. 23r |
| 52 | Fol. 81r  | Fol. 70v  | Fol. 125v | Fol. 23v |
| 53 | Fol. 81v  | Fol. 71v  | Fol. 126v | Fol. 23v |
| 54 | Fol. 82v  | Fol. 72r  | Fol. 127v | Fol. 24r |
| 55 | Fol. 84v  | Fol. 74r  | Fol. 130v | Fol. 24v |
| 56 | Fol. 85v  | Fol. 75r  | Fol. 132v | Fol. 25r |
| 57 | Fol. 86v  | Fol. 76v  | Fol. 134r | Fol. 25v |
| 58 | Fol. 88r  | Fol. 77v  | Fol. 136r | Fol. 26r |
| 59 | Fol. 90r  | Fol. 79r  | Fol. 138v | Fol. 26v |
| 60 | Fol. 91r  | Fol. 80v  | Fol. 140v | Fol. 27r |
| 61 | Fol. 92r  | Fol. 81r  | Fol. 141v | Fol. 27r |
| 62 | Fol. 93r  | Fol. 82r  | Fol. 143r | Fol. 27v |
| 63 | Fol. 94v  | Fol. 83r  | Fol. 144v | Fol. 27v |
| 64 | Fol. 95v  | Fol. 84r  | Fol. 146r | Fol. 28r |
| 65 | Fol. 97r  | Fol. 85v  | Fol. 148r | Fol. 28v |
| 66 | Fol. 98v  | Fol. 87r  | Fol. 150v | Fol. 29r |
| 67 | Fol. 99v  | Fol. 88r  | Fol. 151v | Fol. 29r |
| 68 | Fol. 103r | Fol. 91r  | Fol. 157r | Fol. 30v |
| 69 | Fol. 106v | Fol. 94v  | Fol. 162r | Fol. 31v |
| 70 | Fol. 107v | Fol. 95r  | Fol. 163r | Fol. 32r |
| 71 | Fol. 110r | Fol. 97v  | Fol. 166r | Fol. 32v |
| 72 | Fol. 112r | Fol. 99v  | Fol. 169r | Fol. 33r |
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| 74 | Fol. 116v | Fol. 104r | Fol. 175v | Fol. 34v |
| 75 | Fol. 117v | Fol. 104v | Fol. 177r | Fol. 35r |
| 76 | Fol. 118v | Fol. 105v | Fol. 178r | Fol. 35v |
| 77 | Fol. 120v | Fol. 107v | Fol. 180v | Fol. 36r |
| 78 | Fol. 127r | Fol. 114r | Fol. 190r | Fol. 38r |
| 79 | Fol. 128v | Fol. 115v | Fol. 192r | Fol. 38v |
| 80 | Fol. 130r | Fol. 117r | Fol. 194v | Fol. 39r |
| 81 | Fol. 131v | Fol. 118r | Fol. 2v   | Fol. 39v |
| 82 | Fol. 132r | Fol. 119r | Fol. 3v   | Fol. 40r |
| 83 | Fol. 133v | Fol. 120r | Fol. 5v   | Fol. 40v |
| 84 | Fol. 134v | Fol. 121v | Fol. 7r   | Fol. 40v |
| 85 | Fol. 135v | Fol. 122v | Fol. 8v   | Fol. 41r |
| 86 | Fol. 137r | Fol. 124r | Fol. 9v   | Fol. 41v |

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| 87  | Fol. 137v | Fol. 124v | Fol. 10v  | Fol. 42r |
| 88  | Fol. 139r | Fol. 126r | Fol. 12v  | Fol. 42v |
| 89  | Fol. 143r | Fol. 130v | Fol. 18r  | Fol. 44r |
| 90  | Fol. 144v | Fol. 132r | Fol. 20v  | Fol. 44v |
| 91  | Fol. 145v | Fol. 133v | Fol. 23v  | Fol. 45r |
| 92  | Fol. 146v | Fol. 134v | Fol. 24v  | Fol. 45r |
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| 97  | Fol. 151r | Fol. 140r | Fol. 32r  | Fol. 47r |
| 98  | Fol. 151v | Fol. 141r | Fol. 33v  | Fol. 47v |
| 99  | Fol. 152v | Fol. 142r | Fol. 34v  | Fol. 47v |
| 100 | Fol. 153r | Fol. 142v | Fol. 35v  | Fol. 48r |
| 101 | Fol. 153v | Fol. 143v | Fol. 36v  | Fol. 48r |
| 102 | Fol. 156r | Fol. 145v | Fol. 40r  | Fol. 49r |
| 103 | Fol. 157v | Fol. 147v | Fol. 43r  | Fol. 49v |
| 104 | Fol. 160v | Fol. 151r | Fol. 47r  | Fol. 50v |
| 105 | Fol. 164r | Fol. 154r | Fol. 52r  | Fol. 51v |
| 106 | Fol. 168v | Fol. 158v | Fol. 58r  | Fol. 53r |
| 107 | Fol. 172r | Fol. 162r | Fol. 63v  | Fol. 54r |
| 108 | Fol. 173r | Fol. 163r | Fol. 65r  | Fol. 54v |
| 109 | Fol. 175v | Fol. 165v | Fol. 69r  | Fol. 55v |
| 110 | Fol. 176r | Fol. 166v | Fol. 70r  | Fol. 55v |
| 111 | Fol. 177r | Fol. 167v | Fol. 71v  | Fol. 56r |
| 112 | Fol. 178r | Fol. 168r | Fol. 73r  | Fol. 56r |
| 113 | Fol. 178v | Fol. 168v | Fol. 73v  | Fol. 56v |
| 114 | Fol. 180r | Fol. 170v | Fol. 76r  | Fol. 57r |
| 115 | Fol. 180v | Fol. 171r | Fol. 77r  | Fol. 57r |
| 116 | Fol. 181r | Fol. 172r | Fol. 78r  | Fol. 57v |
| 117 | Fol. 181v | Fol. 172r | Fol. 78r  | Fol. 57v |
| 118 | Fol. 183r | Fol. 174r | Fol. 81r  | Fol. 58r |
| 119 | Fol. 193v | Fol. 186r | Fol. 90v  | Fol. 62v |
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| 121 | Fol. 194v | Fol. 187r | Fol. 92r  | Fol. 63r |
| 122 | Fol. 195r | Fol. 188r | Fol. 92v  | Fol. 63v |
| 123 | Fol. 195v | Fol. 188v | Fol. 93v  | Fol. 63v |
| 124 | Fol. 196r | Fol. 189r | Fol. 94r  | Fol. 64r |
| 125 | Fol. 196v | Fol. 189v | Fol. 95r  | Fol. 64r |
| 126 | Fol. 197r | Fol. 190r | Fol. 95v  | Fol. 64r |
| 127 | Fol. 197v | Fol. 190v | Fol. 96r  | Fol. 64v |
| 128 | Fol. 198r | Fol. 191r | Fol. 96v  | Fol. 64v |
| 129 | Fol. 198v | Fol. 191v | Fol. 97v  | Fol. 65r |
| 130 | Fol. 199r | Fol. 192r | Fol. 98r  | Fol. 65r |
| 131 | Fol. 199v | Fol. 192v | Fol. 99r  | Fol. 65r |
| 132 | Fol. 200v | Fol. 193v | Fol. 101r | Fol. 65v |
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| 134 | Fol. 201r | Fol. 194v | Fol. 101v | Fol. 66r |
| 135 | Fol. 202v | Fol. 196r | Fol. 104r | Fol. 66v |
| 136 | Fol. 203v | Fol. 197r | Fol. 104v | Fol. 67r |
| 137 | Fol. 204v | Fol. 198r | -----     | Fol. 67r |
| 138 | Fol. 205r | Fol. 199r | -----     | Fol. 67v |
| 139 | Fol. 207r | Fol. 200v | -----     | Fol. 68r |
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| 142 | Fol. 209v | Fol. 203v | -----     | Fol. 69r |
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| 149 | Fol. 217r | -----     | -----     | Fol. 71v |
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## An Assessment of the Place of the Armenian Version in the New Göttingen Edition of the Greek Psalter

The purpose of this article is to set the stage for the collation of the Armenian version in the new critical edition of the Greek Psalter being prepared by the Göttingen Academy of Sciences and Humanities in Lower Saxony. Research undertaken a hundred years ago, and more recently, has revealed that the extant translation of Psalms in classical Armenian represents a mixed text. This mixed text consists of a type of Greek text and certain Peshitta-based elements that have been regarded as residual remnants of an earlier translation based on the Peshitta (Arm 1), which, in turn, has been completely revised toward a form of the Greek text (Arm 2). Both elements of the translation belong to the fifth century, the age of *Codex Alexandrinus*. The challenges of collating the Armenian Psalter include establishing its text, identifying and separating off the Peshitta-based elements, taking into account the inability of Armenian to duplicate Greek precisely, and then differentiating between what is really the translator's style and technique from what are genuine variant readings. The collator is on a quest for the text – with its variant readings – of the underlying Greek source. Differences between the Armenian translation and the Septuagint but attributable to these other factors that affected its production do not qualify as textual variants. The secondary versions are witnesses to the Greek text, but finding original OG readings not preserved in Greek witnesses is possible but unlikely. The attestation of the Armenian Psalter is likely to confirm a more developed type of Greek text which, at the same time, may reveal that variant readings in much later Greek manuscripts existed earlier; further, its witness reveals the geographical spread of the Greek text underlying the Armenian version of the Psalter.

### 1. Brief Synopsis of Data Presented at the Symposium in 1997<sup>1</sup>

The extensive collation of the Armenian version of Pss 10–20 had as its objective to determine whether Zohrapian's edition<sup>2</sup> would suffice as text for the collation of the Armenian in the new edition of the Greek Psalter. It included summations of the foundational studies of A. Baumstark (1922–1927) and L. Ter Petrosyan (1975), both of whom demonstrate convincingly that there is a Peshitta-based element in

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1 Cox, "The Armenian Version", 174–247.

2 Zohrapian, *Աստուածաշունչ* (*Astuacšunč*).

the Armenian translation of Psalms.<sup>3</sup> They believe that the original source text of the Armenian Psalter was the Peshitta (Arm 1) and that this was later completely revised on the basis of a “Lucianic” Greek text (so, to produce Arm 2). Further, since the Psalms in Syriac were used in liturgical settings – where the Psalter occupies an important role – as long as scribes were bilingual in Syriac, the secondary introduction of set phrases into the Armenian Psalter was quite possible, for example, the frequently occurring phrase *لحلمر حلمر* “to ages of ages” > յաւիտեանս յաւիտեանից, “to ages of ages,” with its plurals (cf. εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος).<sup>4</sup> Baumstark worked out some principles for the use of the Armenian version of Psalms in the textual criticism of the OG: The Armenian as a witness to the Septuagint only comes into view when agreement with the Peshitta does not exist; further, there are mixed readings that can produce agreement with a Greek variant that differs from what was the Old Greek source text of the Armenian version of Psalms. The Greek source text of the Armenian Psalter was not hexaplaric; it does betray a strong connection with Rahlfs’ “Western” text. Ter Petrosyan suggests that, in the revision based on a “Lucianic” type of Greek text (to produce Arm 2), the earlier Peshitta-based translation (Arm 1) was left intact where it was in agreement with the Greek text to which it was being revised.<sup>5</sup>

The analysis which was really the subject of that paper revealed, unexpectedly, that Zohrapian’s base manuscript (Venice 1508, dated 1319) preserves a form of text that is as pure as that of Jerusalem 1925 (i. e., J1925) and Matenadaran 1500 (i. e., M1500), two manuscripts that elsewhere in the Bible have proven to be outstanding exemplars. So, Zohrapian’s edition, text and apparatus, together with J1925 are suitable for representing the Armenian Psalter in the new Göttingen edition of the Greek Psalter. The study identified a handful of Arm 1 readings that must be excluded for that project. Agreements with the Peshitta – some fifty-three – were gathered but, in most cases, half (27), there were Greek witnesses with the same variants. The highest number of agreements among Greek-based variant readings

3 Baumstark, “Psaltertext”, *Or Chr* 22 180–213; 23, 158–169, 319–333; 24 (1927), 146–159; Ter Petrosyan, “Սաղմունքի (*Salmosneri*)”, I/41–51; IV/31–45; VI/58–64; IX/49–57. Baumstark used the best resources of the day, namely, the 1895 reprint of Zohrapian, compared with the text and apparatus of Zohrapian 1805; Barnes for the Syriac (1904); and Holmes-Parson, Swete, and Rahlfs (his collations and text groupings, in advance of the publication of Rahlfs’ edition: Rahlfs, *Psalms*). Ter Petrosyan used Zohrapian’s edition, but also drew on a number of old manuscripts that preserve variant readings differing from Zohrapian, in particular manuscripts M142 and M195; for the OG, Rahlfs; and for the Peshitta the Syriac of the London Polyglot, since the Leiden critical edition was not yet in print. Baumstark says that his research involved Pss 1–40 but he sweeps across the entire Psalter. As for Ter Petrosyan – who does not seem to have had access to Baumstark – he limits his collations to Pss 10–20 but, like Baumstark, draws examples for his analysis from Psalms as a whole.

4 Baumstark, “Psaltertext”, 1922–1924 (1925), 198. See Ps 9:37; 20:7; 44:7, 18 et al.

5 Ter Petrosyan, “Սաղմունքի (*Salmosneri*)”, IX/54.

in Arm Pss 10–20 were found to be with *L* and the R (“Western”) text, fifteen in each case out of a total of twenty-seven. The strength of agreement with the “Western” type of text is especially intriguing.

## 2. The Study of the Armenian Psalter since 1997

In 2002, in the article “The ‘Songs of Zion’ in Armenian”, I collated the Armenian translation against the Greek and the Peshitta for LXX Psalms 45, 47, 75, 83, 86, 121, 131, and 136.<sup>6</sup> In the light of the 1997 Göttingen paper, Zohrapian was used for the Armenian, Rahlfs for the Septuagint, and the Leiden edition for the Peshitta.<sup>7</sup> The following observations are offered about the Armenian translation generally.

The translation strikes us as quite literal, usually following the word order of the OG. Frequently particles like *ὅτι* or *ὅγ* are disregarded. Circumstantial participial constructions are rendered by relative clauses. We may note the greater specification possible in the Armenian text by the language’s wider variety of pronouns and demonstrative markers. Personal pronouns are freely added. There are some fascinating, unique readings. Variation among Armenian MSS is especially notable in the titles. Here and there the translator’s choice has initiated a new exegetical insight (see 45:6). There are occasional striking agreements with the Peshitta in the Armenian MS tradition. Noteworthy are the rather frequent differences in number (i. e. singular/plural) between the Armenian translation and the OG. Finally, one is struck by the differences in the tense of verbs between the two translations. Altogether the Armenian rendering of the Songs of Zion is literal, but not slavishly so.<sup>8</sup>

A comparison of the Armenian textual variations from the Septuagint which equal readings in the Peshitta in these psalms produced a list of twenty-three agreements: Ps 45 (4); 47 (0); 75 (3); 83 (2); 86 (2); 121 (2); 131 (6); 136 (4). Three types of agreement among these, taken together, may offer proof of the presence of a residual Syriac-based element in the Armenian version, namely, transpositions, shared readings, and variations in number. None of the examples is more striking than the shared reading at 86:5. It is presented as follows; the lemma to the left of the square bracket is Rahlfs:

6 Cox, “Songs of Zion”, 33–59.

7 Walter, *Book of Psalms*.

8 Cox, “Songs of Zion”, 45.

Μήτηρ Σιών, ἐρεῖ ἄνθρωπος] Սիոնի մայր և մայր *ad Sion dicetur mater* “to Zion it is said, ‘Mother’” Arm<sup>txt</sup> (= Իսրայել ևս ասաց) “[and] to Zion it was said” Peshitta) sed hab Arm<sup>app9</sup>

Where else could “to Zion it was said” have come from, other than the Peshitta? The Septuagint is entirely different. It is clear that the verse in Arm<sup>txt</sup> is composite.

The study of the ‘Songs of Zion’ takes up next the issue of the Old Greek text base of the Armenian version of Psalms. Considerations include the necessity of excluding Syriac-based translations; the observation that the Armenian translator is rather free in re-ordering the text, against both Peshitta and Septuagint; the fact that the Armenian frequently adjusts the tenses of verbs. Though the amount of text collated is not extensive, the following numbers of agreements emerge with Rahlfs’ groups: B–9; U–3; R–7; O–8; A–13; L–13. If one removes agreements shared with the majority text, i. e., L, the numbers are: B–4; U–1; R–3; O–2; and A–4. The conclusion drawn is that the Armenian text is derived from a rather developed text, a conclusion already drawn by Baumstark and Ter Petrosyan.

Next, the Zion psalms analysis takes up the issue of Arm 1 and Arm 2 as it applies to these psalms in Arm. It begins by assuming that Arm 1 was based on the Peshitta. The major difference between the two forms of text is the addition of the superscriptions, since the Peshitta lacked these. In addition, the revisor added words lacking in Arm 1 but found in the more developed manuscripts of the Greek majority text, now represented in Rahlfs’ edition by the siglum L.

Finally, the ‘Songs of Zion’ provides an exegetical treatment of Ps 45, beginning with a translation of the Armenian, followed by a section by section commentary that includes a comparison of the Armenian with the Septuagint and the Peshitta. The Armenian translation contains an exegetical shift in v.6, where God is said to be in the midst of the *inhabitants* of the city, “in the midst of them,” rather than the city itself (so Peshitta and Septuagint).<sup>10</sup>

In 2017 the *Textual History of the Bible* volume that includes Psalms appeared. The entry for the Armenian version of Psalms briefly summarizes what has been presented here.<sup>11</sup>

9 That is, Մայր զՍիոնի մայր և մայր “Mother Zion, a man says” = LXX.

10 Cox, “Songs of Zion”, 59.

11 Cox, “10.4.5 Armenian Translations”, 130–132.

### 3. Assessment of the Armenian Version of Psalms for Collation in the New Göttingen Edition: Sample Passage, LXX Ps 90 (MT 91)

The reconstruction of the Greek source text of the Armenian version of Psalms involves more than the choice of suitable Armenian manuscript resources, in the absence of a critical edition. There are two essential preliminary considerations that affect the collation of a secondary version, in this case, the Armenian. They are: the adequacy of classical Armenian to represent Koiné Greek and, second, the translation strategies chosen by the translator, including matters of style. Each consideration affects an accurate collation, since it affects the ability to determine the source text precisely. Both were treated in an earlier analysis of the issues; remarks here extrapolate some details from there, while for the most part building upon them in the light of many years of collating since that time.<sup>12</sup>

#### 3.1 Preliminary Considerations

##### 3.1.1 *The Armenian Language Versus Koiné Greek*

These citations from the earlier article provide some basic information.

(Finally), in Armenian the subjunctive forms are used to express future tense ... Greek is richer than Armenian in grammatical forms to express mood. To a certain extent this is true also of the indicative. The Armenian translators had fewer grammatical forms among which to choose. For the textual criticism of the LXX this means that the use of the Armenian version is limited since one grammatical form in Armenian could represent a Greek verb that is in the future indicative or in the present or aorist subjunctive mood, and active or middle or passive in voice.<sup>13</sup>

Greek inflects nouns for three genders, masculine, feminine, and neuter. In Armenian, however, there is no grammatical distinction to express gender. In this respect Armenian is less inflected than Greek. Translators rendering a text from Greek into Armenian were putting the text into a less specific coding system.<sup>14</sup>

Armenian possesses no separate grammatical form to represent the (definite) article. Rather, Armenian has a threefold series of demonstrative suffixes, *-s -d -n*, which indicate, respectively, “this,” “that,” and “that over there.” There is a corresponding threefold series of demonstrative adjectives and pronouns where Greek has only a twofold series, “this” and “that.” The Armenian demonstrative suffixes often serve to indicate definiteness. The use of and confusion of these suffixes creates a major frustration in using the Armenian version in LXX text criticism ... (2) The “farther” demonstrative

12 See Cox, “The Use”, 25–35.

13 Cox, “The Use”, 28.

14 Cox, “The Use”, 32.



suffix, *-n*, may be used for the nearer demonstrative in Greek, οὗτος. This means that from the Armenian one cannot be sure whether the source text had οὗτος or ἐκεῖνος.<sup>15</sup>

These remain significant challenges after years of collating the Armenian version, specifically, Deuteronomy, Job, and Psalms: expression of the future tense by the subjunctive; lack of marking for gender, usually; and the threefold demonstrative forms used to mark definiteness, the confusion among them, and the use of “farther” for “nearer.” Another difference between Armenian and Greek involves the greater productivity in the use of participles in Armenian, especially the aorist, which can be employed as a finite verb by itself, used to form a paraphrastic perfect tense, and declined like a noun or adjective.<sup>16</sup>

Now, a few more remarks on the demonstrative markers, relative to their use in marking definiteness, the function of the definite article in Greek. Jensen offers these observations: in the case of a demonstrative standing before a noun, a preposition is not repeated with the noun (e.g., զայդ ամենայն շինուածս “all those buildings” – the *q-* is not put on the noun շինուածս); in the case of two coordinated nouns, often only the first has a definite marker (e.g., οἱ γραμματεῖς καὶ οἱ Φαρισαῖοι > դպիրքն եւ փարիսեցիք “the scribes and (the) Pharisees” Luke 6:7); if a substantive has an adjective, only the substantive has the article (e.g., ὁ οἶνος ὁ νέος > զինին նոր “the new wine” Luke 5:37); and if there is more than one prepositioned adjective, only the first has the definite marker; if a substantive has a demonstrative pronoun with it, the preposed substantive has the definite marker, *not* the demonstrative (e.g., ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταύταις > յառաջս յայսուիկ “in these days” Luke 24.18), but the substantive in posterior position is not so marked (e.g., εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦτον τῆς βασιλείας > յայս տեղի տանջանաց “to this place of torments” Luke 16:28).<sup>17</sup> These seem like small details, but they come into play when trying to determine what had the article and what did not in the Greek source text. Confusion among the markers easily occurs in the transmission of the Armenian text: –u and –ն look alike in both uncial and minuscule script. These details are a challenge in textual criticism, as we shall see in the Armenian text of Ps 90.

More crucial for collation of the Armenian version against the Greek is Armenian preferred word order in some situations. An awareness of these preferences avoids mis-collations and, with them, the mis-identification of the Greek source text. Here are two related situations where Armenian has a preferred word order. First, in nominal sentences, the copula verb comes right after the predicate adjective or noun. For example, բաւական էր իրեանց անմտութիւնն “*sufficient was their misunderstanding*” (Eznik 116). Second, similarly, in a relative clause the

15 Cox, “The Use”, 32.

16 See Thomson, *Introduction*, 69–72.

17 See Jensen, § 440, 444, 445, 446. I have indicated the issue in question with italics.

copula verb stands immediately after the relative pronoun; for example, ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ὢν εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς > րիդի րի է ր ծոց հաւր “(the) son *who is* in the bosom of the father” (John 1:18).<sup>18</sup>

### 3.1.2 Translation Strategies of the Translator; Style

The reconstruction of the source text beneath a secondary translation requires identifying in the translation those elements that belong to the translator. These do not belong among variant readings or in the apparatus of the edition; otherwise, it will be cluttered with information that may well be fascinating – but belong to a discussion of translation technique. Elements that are the translator’s unique contribution do not have equivalency in the source text.

Armenian Psalms is not the same as Armenian Deuteronomy or Armenian Job with respect to translation technique. A quick comparison of the Armenian version of Psalms with the Greek text reveals that, on the one hand, the translator passes over connecting particles, like καί, ὅτι, and δέ, but, on the other, frequently adds personal pronouns.<sup>19</sup> The Armenian translation frequently attests the plural number where the Greek source text is singular. This could be the result of the translator’s use of a Syriac text that poorly transmitted the marker of plurality, namely, the S<sup>c</sup>yāmē (i. e., “”).<sup>20</sup> I am not sure this is so in the majority of cases. Rather, I am inclined to follow Baumstark’s suggestion that the many plurals represent the translator’s use of *pluralia tantum*, a use of the plural for emphasis. He also observed that the translator harmonizes lines: if there is a singular in one line and a plural in its parallel, both are made plural. This also applies to the tense of verbs, in a text whose verbs often differ in tense or aspect from both Septuagint and Peshitta.<sup>21</sup> Harmonization affects word order.<sup>22</sup>

Ter Petrosyan notes that the translator may use only one possessive pronoun in a compound expression. In the first example the possessive appears only after the first noun: ἡ ῥάβδος σου καὶ ἡ βακτηρία σου “your rod and your staff” > Յուսք րի քուսքս “your rod and (your) staff” (LXX Ps 22:4 [MT 23:4]). In another case the possessive is used only after the second element: τὴν διαθήκην αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ μαρτύρια αὐτοῦ “his covenant and his testimonies” > զվխս րի քվլխյութիւն իւրս “(his) covenant and his testimony” (Ps 24:10). Obviously this observation

18 Jensen, § 373 and 556, respectively.

19 Baumstark, “Psaltertext”, 1922–1924 (1925), 186.

20 Arthur Vööbus advanced this suggestion in 1954 (Vööbus, *Versions*, 118); Louis Leloir in 1972 (Leloir, “Version”, 303); and I myself repeated the suggestion in 2002, see Cox, “Songs of Zion”, 49 and note 36.

21 Baumstark, “Psaltertext”, 1922–1924 (1925), 186–187, citing 5:6; 10:4; 11:6. For a list of cases comparing the tense of verbs among Arm, OG, and P for the Songs of Zion, see Cox, “Songs of Zion”, 50.

22 See Baumstark, “Psaltertext”, 1922–1924 (1925), 186–188.

is really important for a collator, who might well record the loss of a possessive pronoun, whereas the use of the single possessive is part of the translator's style.<sup>23</sup>

#### 4. A Comparison of Arm Ps 90 with LXX Ps 90

##### 4.1 English Translations of the Two Texts

The following translations are based on Rahlfs' edition of the Septuagint and Zohrapian's edition of the Armenian. An effort has been made to establish the text of the Armenian. The English translation of the Septuagint is dependent upon NETS; the English translation of the Armenian uses the vocabulary of NETS for ease of comparison. Differences between the Armenian and the Greek are highlighted by the use of italics. Where the Armenian attests the addition of an explicit personal pronoun, the pronoun is italicized (vv.2b, 5a, 8a, 13a,15a). Notes on the Armenian translation appear in footnotes. A collation of all differences between the Armenian (Arm) and the Septuagint (LXX) follows the comparison set out below.

##### LXX

1 A laudation. Of an ode. Pertaining to David.

He who lives by the help of the Most High,  
in a shelter of the God of the sky he will lodge.

2 He will say to the Lord, "My supporter you are *and* my refuge;  
*my* God, I will hope in him,"

##### Arm

A laudation, *a praise* to David'.

The one who lives with<sup>24</sup> the help of the Most High,  
in the shelter<sup>25</sup> of God *in* the sky<sup>26</sup> he will lodge.

He will say to the Lord, "My *acceptor* you are,  
my refuge, O God, and *I hope* in him."

23 See Ter Petrosyan, "Սաղմոսների (Salmosneri)", IV/37–38. This may not simply be a matter of this individual's choice, since we saw Jensen's observations concerning the non-repetition of a preposition and the non-repetition of the demonstrative marker. Rather, it may represent a commitment to good style in classical Armenian, as the translator understood it to be applicable. A commitment to better style does not require that it always replace what does not adhere to good style in the target language.

24 *êv* + dat. (instr.) > *h* + acc. On *h* to express "use of," see Jensen, § 344.β. This same translation equivalence is used in v.4a.

25 ընդ հովանեւս, lit., "in the shade, under the shadow of." See Bedrossian, *Dictionary*, s.v. հովանի.

26 յերկինս "in the sky, in heaven," consisting of the prep. *h* and the noun երկինք, a noun that is morphologically plural. (The prep. *h* becomes *j*- before a vowel.) The point of this note is to call attention to such morphologically plural nouns. They are not uncommon in Armenian and, as such, can pose an issue in collations because the source text attests a singular noun. Further, in a verbless clause one does not have the help of a finite verb to resolve the question of number.

- 3 *because it is he who* will rescue me      He will rescue me  
     from a trap of hunters      from a trap of *the hunter*  
     and from a troublesome word;      and *from trouble of words*.
- 4 with the broad of his back he will      With *his own*<sup>27</sup> back he will  
     shade you,      *protect* you,  
     and under his wings you will find      *in the shelter of* his wings you will find  
     hope;      hope;  
     with a shield his truth will      as armour his truth will  
     surround you.      surround<sup>28</sup> you.
- 5 You will not fear from a nocturnal fear,      You will not fear from a fear at night,  
     from an arrow that flies by day,      nor from an arrow that flies by day,  
     from a deed that travels      from *anything that goes about*  
     in darkness,      in darkness,  
     from a mishap and noonday demon.      from an obstacle *of a demon* at  
     noontime.
- 7 At your side a thousand will fall,      At your side *thousands* will fall,  
     and ten thousand at your right,      and *myriads* at your right,  
     but near you it will not come.      *that* near you will not come *at all*.<sup>29</sup>
- 8 Only with your eyes will you      But only with your eyes will you  
     perceive,      perceive;  
     and the requital of sinners you      the requital of sinners you  
     will see.      will see.
- 9 Because you, O Lord, are my hope,      Because you, O Lord, are my hope,  
     the Most High you made your refuge.      the Most High you made your refuge.
- 10 Evil shall not come to you,      *Evils* shall not come to you,  
     and a scourge shall not come near      and *scourges* shall not come near  
     your tent,      your dwelling.<sup>30</sup>
- 11 *because* he will command his angels      His *own* angels he has commanded  
     concerning you,      concerning you,  
     to guard you in all your ways;      to guard you in all your ways;

27 The translator employs the reflexive pronoun իւր (cf. նրաւ in v.4b) here and in vv.11a, 12a. The English translation uses “his own” to distinguish the reflexive.

28 κυκλώσει > շուրջ եղիցին, a compound verb with the demonstrative post-positive -ն “article” attached to the third sg. եղիցի, a stylistic device unknown to Greek. It may introduce emphasis. See Jensen, § 214 (with examples), 441–443.

29 I.e., ինչ “any, at all.” This particle may add a nuance of indefiniteness; negated, as here, perhaps “not at all, in no way.” See Jensen, § 232.

30 ի յարկս քն. The use of the nearer demonstrative marker –u lends the nuance “This dwelling of yours.” յարկ means “roof,” then the dwelling under the roof.

- |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <p>12 upon hands they will bear you<br/>up<br/>so that you will not dash your foot<br/>against a stone.</p> <p>13 On asp and cobra you will tread,<br/>and you will trample lion and<br/>dragon under foot.</p> <p>14 Because in me he hoped, I will also<br/>rescue him;<br/>I will shelter him, because<br/>he knew my name.</p> <p>15 He will call upon me, and I will listen<br/>to him;<br/>with him I am in trouble;<br/>I will set him free and I will<br/>glorify him.</p> <p>16 With length of days I will satisfy him<br/>and show him my deliverance.</p> | <p><i>in their own arms</i><sup>31</sup> they will bear you<br/>up<br/>so that you will <i>never</i> dash your foot<br/><i>on</i><sup>32</sup> a stone.</p> <p>On <i>asps</i> and <i>adders</i><sup>33</sup> you will go;<br/>you will trample <i>the</i> lion and <i>the</i><br/>dragon under foot.</p> <p>Because in me he hoped <i>and</i> I will<br/>rescue him;<br/>I will be a shelter for him, because<br/>he knew my name.</p> <p>He will call <i>to</i> me,<sup>34</sup> and <i>I</i> will listen<br/>to him;<br/><i>I will be</i> with him in trouble;<br/>I will <i>rescue</i>, I will<br/>glorify him.</p> <p><i>With long days</i> I will satisfy him<br/>and show him my deliverance.</p> |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

#### 4.2 Collation of Arm Ps 90 against the Septuagint (Rahlfs)<sup>35</sup>

##### 90:1

1. inscr] + ανεπιγραφος παρ εβραιουσ L<sup>d</sup> He Arm<sup>app36</sup>
2. τοῦ οὐρανοῦ] *in caelis* “in the sky”

##### 90:2

3. ἐρεῖ J1925 M1500] *dic* “say!” Arm<sup>app</sup>
4. καί] > Arm (= GCB manuscript Ra 1017)<sup>37</sup>

31 ἡ παρῶν ἡμῶν, i. e., ἡ + loc.: see Jensen, § 345.

32 πρὸς + acc. > q + loc. Jensen cites this collocation in an example, according to the citation of Ps 90:12 at Matt 4:6 (§ 342).

33 βασιλίσκον > (ἡ ὑληται ἡδὴγ ἐκ) παρρηγ. What type of snake is meant by παρρη (k'arb) is not clear; the same holds true for the underlying Greek word. The point is that Arm attests the plural.

34 Reading v.l. (κεκραξεται) προς με > (կարդացէ) առ իս “to me.”

35 Manuscripts J1925 and M1500 were collated in addition to Zohrapian's text and apparatus. Cox, “The Armenian Version”, concluded that, alongside Zohrapian, collating J1925 would be useful. M1500 was also collated for that study. In Psalms it preserves the same kind of text as Zohrapian's base manuscript and J1925.

36 Neither J1925 nor M1500 attest the addition. The titles were not carefully transmitted in the Armenian version of Psalms. See Cox, “The Armenian Version”, 199–200.

37 GCB = Göttingen collation book, as of Oct., 2021.

5. μου 3<sup>o</sup>] > Arm<sup>38</sup>  
 6. ἐλπῶ] pr και (+ ego Arm) R' L' 2019' 2031 2048: ex 17.3; *spero* "I hope"

**90:3**

7. ὅτι] >  
 8. θηρευτῶν] pr των R Arm (sg.)  
 9. ἀπὸ λόγου ταραχώδους] *ab verbis* (+ *ab* Arm<sup>app</sup>) *afflictatione* "from trouble of words (= verbal abuse?)"

**90:4**

10. αὐτοῦ] *sui* "his own"  
 11. ἐπισκιάσει] *proteget* "he will protect"  
 12. καί] >  
 13. ὑπὸ (τὰς πτέρυγας αὐτοῦ)] *in refugio*<sup>39</sup> "in the shelter"  
 14. ὅπλῳ] pr *tanquam* "as"

**90:5**

15. οὐ φοβηθήσῃ] + *tu* "you"  
 16. νυκτερινοῦ] *noctis* "of the night"  
 17. ἀπὸ βέλους] pr *et non* "and not, nor"  
 18. πετομένου] *id volat* "that flies"

**90:6**

19. διαπορευομένου] *id circumducet* "that goes about"  
 20. καί] > (= GCB manuscripts Ra 203 Ra 1530\* Ra 164)

**90:7**

21. πεσεῖται ... χιλίας] *cadent ... millia* "thousands will fall"  
 22. (πεσεῖται) μυριάς] (*cadent*) ... *decies millia* "myriads (will fall)"  
 23. πρὸς σε] pr *id*<sup>40</sup> "that"  
 24. δέ] > Arm<sup>txt</sup>  
 25. ἐγγιεῖ] pr *aliquid; propinquabint* "at all"; "they will (not) come near"

38 According to Ter Petrosyan, "Սաղմոսների (*Salmosneri*)," IX/53, some manuscripts attest the pronoun. It appears that v.2aβ was read with v.2b, which led to the shorter text. See Rahlfs' apparatus.

39 Ter Petrosyan, "Սաղմոսների (*Salmosneri*)," IX/50 points out this is lacking in other manuscripts, so it seems likely it is a corruption, *ex par* (compare 16:8; 35:8; 56:2; 62:8).

40 The relative pronoun ηῖ can be used with either a sg. or pl. referent, as here; the verb in the rel. clause is πληθυντικῶς "come near," 3 pl. (ἐγγιεῖ).

**90:8**26. πλήν] *sed solum*<sup>41</sup> but only”27. κατανοήσεις] + *tu* “you”28. καί] > Arm<sup>txt</sup>**90:9**29. συ] + ει R = *es* “are” La Ga Arm (post μου)30. σου] *tibi* “for you” > “your” Arm (et prae καταφυγήν tr Arm<sup>txt</sup> M1500)<sup>42</sup>**90:10**31. προσελεύσεται ... κακά] *accedent ... mala* “bad things ... come (pl.)”

La Ga Vulg Arm

32. καί] > Arm<sup>txt</sup>33. μάστιξ ... ἐγγιεῖ] *flagella ... adpropinquabint* “scourges come near”34. τῷ σκηνώματί σου] pr εν L<sup>a</sup> (non THe) Arm = MT**90:11**

35. ὅτι] &gt;

36. αὐτοῦ] *sui* “his own”37. ἐντελεῖται] *imperatus est* “has commanded”**90:12**38. ἐπὶ χειρῶν] *in brachiis sui* “in their own arms”39. μήποτε] + *unquam* “at all”

41 Compare πλήν > բայց սակայն (40:16), one example among numerous cited by Ter Petrosyan, “Սաղմոսների (Salmosneri),” IV/38–39 where the translator uses two words to render one Greek word. This is a stylistic device in Armenian Psalms.

42 It seems to me that the transposition is original with the translator. Zoh<sup>text</sup> has the support of M1500, but not J1925. The scribe of J1925 made a mistake and squeezes զբեզ in place in such a way that the –q is above the line, so it’s just possible that its source manuscript read like Zoh<sup>text</sup>-M1500. The change of word order was stylistically driven in the interest of balancing the poss. (dat.) pronoun բեզ with its counterpart in v.9a:

զի դու Տէր յոյս իմ ես:

*zi du Tēr yuys im es;*

ԶԲարձրեալն արարեր քեզ ապաւիճ:

*ZBarjrealn ararer k'ez apawēn.*

Because you, O Lord, are my hope;

the Most High you made your refuge.

Further, the transposition avoids having the two lines both end in the poss. pronouns. Later scribes accommodated the word order of v.9b to that of v.9a, putting the possessive after the noun. The translator is not a slave to the word order of the source text, and reveals a fine sensitivity to style.

**90:13**

40. (ἐπ') ἀσπίδα] *aspides* “asps”<sup>43</sup>  
 41. βασιλίσκον] *basiliscos* “adders”<sup>44</sup>  
 42. ἐπιβήσῃ] + *tu* “you”  
 43. καὶ 2°] > Arm<sup>45</sup>  
 44. λέοντα] *pr* τον<sup>46</sup>

**90:15**

45. ἐπικαλέσεταιί με] κεκραξεται προς με G L' A' Arm(vid)  
 46. εἰσακούσομαι] *pr ego* La Vulg Arm  
 47. μετ' αὐτοῦ] *pr et* “and”  
 48. καὶ (ἐξελοῦμαι)] > R' L' 1219' 2020 Arm = MT  
 49. καὶ (δοξάσω)] > Arm<sup>txt47</sup>

**90:16**

50. μακρότητα<sup>48</sup> ἡμερῶν] *longis diebus* “with long days”

- 43 Manuscript J1925 attests the sg. for both “asps” and “adders,” but manuscript M1500 has the plural. The plural is almost certainly original.
- 44 In the apparatus, Zoh says that one of his exemplars attests ἡ վերայ ի ժի թագաւորականի instead of ἡ վերայ ի ժից եւ քարից “on asps and adders,” i.e., two words, plural in number, joined together by the conjunction “and.” The former prepositional phrase says, “on a royal asp,” i.e., the conjunction has been passed over and the second word represented by an adjective, even though *ἀσπίς* is fem. and *βασιλίσκον* is masculine. The adj. *թագաւորական* “kingly” derives from reading the noun *βασιλίσκον* – with a second *sigma* – as the adj. *βασιλικός*, *ή, όν*. The Armenian word for “king” is *թագաւոր* (*t'agavor*) and its cognate adj. is *t'agavorakan*. This minority reading can only have come from a Greek text (cf. Syriac ܬܐܕܝܐ), and the suggestion that it represents Arm 1 is understandable. M1500 attests ἡ վերայ ի ժից թագաւորականի, a corruption that has the plural ի ժից (genitive, after the prep. *ի վերայ*) and then the gen. sg. *թագաւորականի*. Since Armenian does not usually mark for gender, a mixing of genders does not occur, but the clash of number remains. The scribe of M1500 is not all that careful sometimes, but perhaps the reading ἡ վերայ ի ժից թագաւորականի occurred when he found the old word *թագաւորականի*; either that or the scribe erroneously made ի ժի\* plural. In any case, this minority reading is most interesting. A differing Greek source text does not come into view.
- 45 Manuscript J1925 lacks the conjunction, like Zoh, but M1500 attests it, secondarily. The translator of Psalms often chooses not to represent the parataxis of the Greek source text.
- 46 Latin has no def. art.; no article is attested in Greek manuscripts of the source text (GCB, i.e., Göttingen collation book). The article on “lion” in Armenian is intended to make its coordinated word “dragon” definite as well. See Jensen, § 444. Both J1925 and M1500 add the definite marker (*-n*) to “dragon,” an assimilation.
- 47 Manuscripts J1925-M1500 attest the conjunction, but the Psalms translator seems to eschew conjunctions, so the shorter text may be original.
- 48 Rahlfs' lemma sees ἐπιτίλημι used with a double acc.; variants attest acc. and instr. dat. or acc. and genitive (classical: LSJ). See Muraoka for examples of each (*Syntax*, 511). The Armenian represents all three collocations with իննւմ + instr., so it is not possible to determine the source text



#### 4.3 Summation of the Data Collected in a Comparison of the Armenian Translation against LXX Ps 90 (ed. Rahlfs)

This overview consists of the following parts: plusses and minuses, differences in number (i. e., sg./pl.), transpositions, and various changes in collocations and expression. Unless otherwise indicated, all these differences are unique to Arm. Apart from the addition to the superscription and instances where a participle is rendered with a relative pronoun and finite verb, differences consist of only one word. Items that have support in Greek witnesses are in bold. Cases where Zohrapian's text and apparatus disagree are so marked.

##### *Plusses and minuses*

###### *Adverbs*

plusses ## 14, 25, 26, 39

###### *Articles*

plusses ## 8, 44

###### *Conjunctions*

καί

plusses ## 6, 17, 47

minuses ## 4, 12, **20**, 28<sup>txt</sup>, 32<sup>txt</sup>, **43**, **48**, 49<sup>txt</sup>

δέ

minus # 24<sup>txt</sup>

ὅτι

minuses # 7, 35

###### *Negative particle*

plus # 17

###### *Noun, descriptive*

plus # 13

###### *Preposition*

plus # 34

###### *Pronouns, personal*

plusses ## 6, 15, 27, 38 (reflex.), 42, 46

minus # 5

###### *Pronouns, relative*

plus # 23

###### *Verb, copula*

plus # 29

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in this instance. Its likely source text in this case may be suggested by its dominant Old Greek textual affiliations across the Armenian Psalter.

*Differences in number, sg. versus pl.*

Greek sg./Arm pl.

# 9, 21, 22, 25, 31, 33 (subj. and verb), 40, 41

Greek pl./Arm sg.

# 8

*Differences in tense of verbs*

Greek present indic./Arm future # 6

Greek future indic./Arm perfect paraphrastic # 37

*Differences of various kinds, e.g., syntax, translation technique*

- Greek genitive/Arm prep. “in” + dat. # 2
- Greek prep. + noun + adj./Arm prep. + noun + noun # 9
- Greek “overshadow”/Arm “protect” # 11
- Greek adj./Arm noun # 16
- Greek participle/Arm relative clause # 18, 19
- Greek possessive gen./Arm dat. of possession # 30<sup>app</sup>
- Greek “hand”/Arm “arms”
- Greek “length of days”/Arm “long days” # 50

*Transpositions*# 30<sup>ext</sup>*Variant readings in Arm with Greek support, not already noted*

plus # 1: + ανεπιγραφος παρ εβραιους

variant reading, # 45: κεκραξεται προς με

The general conclusions that one draws from these data are as follows: Armenian attests the same word order as the Septuagint; the translation has numerous personal pronouns and adverbs that have no equal in the Septuagint; Armenian omits conjunctions often (11× in the lists above); frequently Armenian has the plural number where the Septuagint is singular, some 8 times, whereas the reverse is true only once; there are few major differences: once a descriptive noun is added (if not secondary, #13) and once the Septuagint reads “hands” and the Armenian “arms” (#38). Almost without exception the differences between Armenian and Septuagint are unique to the Armenian.

The following is a list of instances where differences between the Armenian and the Septuagint (Rahlfs) have support among Greek and versional witnesses.

90:1 [inscr] + ανεπιγραφος παρ εβραιους L<sup>d</sup> He Arm<sup>app</sup>

90:2 καί] &gt; Arm (= GCB manuscript Ra 1017)

90:2 ἐλπιδῶ] pr και (+ ego Arm) R<sup>o</sup> L<sup>a</sup> 2019<sup>o</sup> 2031 2048

90:3 θηρευτῶν] pr των R Arm (sg.)

90:6 καί] &gt; Arm (= GCB manuscripts Ra 203 Ra 1530\* Ra 164)

90:9 συ] + ει R = es “are” La Ga Arm (post μου)

90:10 τῷ σκηνώματί σου] pr εν L<sup>a</sup> (non THe) Arm = MT

90:10 προσελεύσεται ... κακά] *accedent ... mala* “bad things ...  
come (pl.)” La Ga Vulg Arm

90:15 ἐπικαλέσεται με] κεκραξεται προς με G L<sup>o</sup> A<sup>o</sup> Arm(vid)

90:15 καὶ (ἐξελοῦμαι)] > R<sup>o</sup> L<sup>o</sup> 1219<sup>o</sup> 2020 Arm = MT

This is not an impressive list – ten variants. Three involve the omission of the conjunction καί and in two of these cases the omission is shared with but one (90:2) or three Greek manuscripts (90:6); that in v.15 (2<sup>o</sup>) is of interest because of its widespread attestation. One variant involves the addition of a definite article (90:3); another the addition of a preposition (90:10). More interest lies in the addition to the superscription, attested in some Armenian manuscripts in agreement with some Lucianic manuscripts (*L*<sup>d</sup> = Greek manuscripts 36–55 in Holmes-Parsons<sup>49</sup>) and the textual variant in v.15. This limited survey is consistent with earlier studies, which saw the Armenian version sharing the most agreements with the *L* and Western texts in Rahlfs nomenclature.<sup>50</sup> There are so many unique differences between the Armenian and the Septuagint that, for the purposes of the new edition of the oldest attainable Greek text, only readings with Greek support should usually be cited in its apparatus. The exception is the variant reading unique to the Armenian but which the editor believes represents a reading in the now-lost Greek source text.

## 5. The “Peshitta Question” in the Collation of the Armenian Psalter

The Peshitta is an early version whose source texts were in Hebrew, some of them resembling the MT. It was made in Syria, likely in Edessa, a city with which the Armenian church had close ties. Before the invention of the Armenian alphabet at the beginning of the fifth century, it was natural that Syriac supplied the texts used in church, alongside Greek when those texts became available. There is evidence of the use of Syriac at times in the translation of the Armenian Bible. For example, Cowe determined that the translator of the book of Daniel used both a Lucianic Greek text and the Syriac Peshitta.<sup>51</sup> This mixture of texts might one day prove to be a treasure trove for early Peshitta readings but, for the purposes of using the Armenian version for textual criticism of the Septuagint, it is a complicating factor.

49 Rahlfs, *Psalmi*, 62. Ter Petrosyan notes that these words are part of the superscription in Pss 32:1; 70:1; 90:1; 92:1; 93:1; 94:1; 95:1; 96:1. 136:1. More precisely, at 32:1; 70:1; 90:1; 136:1 the evidence is cited in Zohrapian as “some witnesses,” but in the remaining cases it is Oskan’s edition and his base manuscript. These words are evidence, he says, that the translation was edited on the basis of a Lucianic text. See Ter Petrosyan, “Սաղմունքի (Salmosneri)”, VI/63.

50 See Cox, “The Armenian Version”, 180, 244; Cox, “Songs of Zion”, 52.

51 Cowe, *Armenian Version*, 420–421.

The complex textual situation is made all the more precarious if, as some believe, the Septuagint was involved somehow in the preparation or transmission of the Peshitta translation!<sup>52</sup> In the collation of the Armenian version of the Psalms for an edition of the Greek Psalter, it is necessary to identify and set aside readings that derive from the Peshitta.

The sample passage for the Göttingen Colloquium (2021) is LXX Psalm 90 (MT 91). Baumstark, Ter Petrosyan et al. presumed that the Armenian Psalter was first translated from the Peshitta. As a result, unless specified otherwise, the general rule for the Psalms is that the Armenian version corresponds to the Peshitta: Arm = Peshitta. It was easy to overestimate the extent of the textual relationship between the Armenian and the Peshitta because there is, after all, a great deal of common material. The comparison that follows depends on the earlier comparison of the Armenian version with the Greek, where all the differences from the Greek were identified. Now that text, so marked, is compared with the Peshitta to see if the differences from the Septuagint in the Armenian find a source in the Syriac.

## 5.1 A Comparison of the Armenian version of Ps 90 with the Peshitta (Ps 91)

### 5.1.1 *English Translations of the Two Texts*

The following translations are based on Zohrapian's edition of the Armenian and the Leiden edition of the Peshitta. Agreements between the Armenian and the Peshitta when the Armenian version differs from the Septuagint are in bold.

#### Armenian

#### Peshitta

#### 1 A laudation, a praise to David<sup>4</sup>.

|                                                                    |                                                    |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| The one who lives <sup>53</sup> with the help of the<br>Most High, | One who dwells in the shelter of the<br>Most High, |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|

52 See Mulder, "The Use", 37–53. Mulder offers a useful overview; for Psalms, see 46. Brock: "in some books there are links mentioned above with the Targum translations, and in others the translators may have made occasional use of LXX", in "Versions", 794. And now, Carbajosa, "1.3.4 Peshitta", 262–278; and Carbajosa, "10.3.4 Peshitta", 93–98. According to Carbajosa, earlier generations tended to overplay the influence of the LXX on the Peshitta (so, "1.3.4 Peshitta", 274); in Psalms, Peshitta manuscripts were corrupted by readings from the LXX ("1.3.4 Peshitta", 275; "10.3.4 Peshitta", 95). There are characteristics of the Peshitta that may have influenced the Armenian version of Psalms: the Peshitta omits particles peculiar to Hebrew, which helps explain a lack of particles in the Peshitta, perhaps establishing a style; the Peshitta attests internal harmonization and assimilation ("1.3.4 Peshitta", 272), which is true of the Armenian translation of Psalms.

53 Or, "the one who dwells."

- in the shelter of God in the sky he will lodge.
- 2 He will say to the Lord, “My *acceptor* you are, my refuge, O God, and *I hope* in him.”
- 3 He will rescue me from a trap of the hunter and *from trouble of words*.<sup>58</sup>
- 4 With *his own* back he will protect you, in the shelter of his wings you will find hope; as armour his way will surround you.
- 5 You will not fear from a fear at night, nor from an arrow that flies by day,
- 6 from *anything that* goes around in darkness, from an obstacle of a demon at noonday.
- 7 At your side *thousands* will fall, and myriads at your right, that near you will not come *at all*.
- 8 But only with your eyes will you perceive;
- and<sup>54</sup> in the shadow of God is found,<sup>55</sup>
- Says to the Lord, “My confidence, my refuge,<sup>56</sup> O God, in whom I trust,”
- that<sup>57</sup> he who will rescue you from the snare of scandal, and from a word of foolish speech.
- With his pinions he will rescue you, and under his wings you will be sheltered; armour, his truth will surround you.
- You will not fear from a fear of the night, nor<sup>59</sup> from an arrow that flies<sup>60</sup> in the daytime.
- nor<sup>61</sup> from a thing that goes (about) in darkness, nor from a spirit that devastates at noonday.
- At your side **thousands** will fall, and **myriads** at your right; and near you they will not come. But with your eyes alone you will perceive;

54 Om *waw* manuscript 12a1.

55 BHS<sup>app</sup>: S *mštbh* = יתרונ? (i.e., “rejoice”), but surely S is *mškḥ*.

56 Pr *waw* manuscripts 9a1 12 t5.8.

57 Om *dalath* manuscript 12a1.

58 The LXX and the Peshitta reflect the same variation in the reading of the source text. “In Ps 91:3, the variant readings of S (مح محله) and LXX (ἀπὸ λόγου) can be traced back to the same consonantal reading as MT (מִדְבָּר ‘from the pestilence’) but with a different vocalization: מִדְבָּר ‘from the word.’” See Carbajosa, “1.3.4 Peshitta”, 276.

59 Om *dalath* manuscript 11 t1 12a1: *l.n.* 12 t9.

60 Ptcp.; Arm attests a finite verb.

61 Om *dalath* manuscript 12a1; also at 6b.

- the requital of sinners you  
will see.
- 9 Because you, O Lord, are my hope,  
the Most High you made your  
refuge.
- 10 *Evils* shall not come to you,  
and *scourges* shall not come near  
your shelter.
- 11 *His own* angels he has commanded  
concerning you,  
to guard you in all your ways.
- 12 *In their own arms* they will bear you  
up,  
so that you will *never* dash your foot  
on a stone.
- 13 On *asps* and *adders* you will go;  
you will trample on *the* lion and  
*the* dragon under foot.
- 14 Because in me he hoped *and* I will  
rescue him;  
I will be a shelter for him, because he  
knew my name.
- 15 He will call *to me*, and *I* will  
listen to him;  
*I will be* with him in trouble;  
I will rescue and I will  
glorify him.
- 16 *With long days* I will satisfy him,  
and show him my deliverance.
- upon<sup>62</sup> the requital of their wrongs  
you  
will perceive.
- because you, Lord, are my confidence,  
that on high you set your  
dwelling.
- Evil shall not come near you,  
and a scourge shall not come near  
your tent,  
because his angels he will command<sup>63</sup>  
concerning you,  
that he may guard you in all your  
ways.
- And<sup>64</sup> on **their arms** they will bear  
you  
up,  
that you not stumble with your foot.
- On asp and on basilisk you will tread,  
and you will trample on lion and  
dragon under foot.
- Because me he sought, I will  
rescue him,  
and I will strengthen him, because  
he  
knew my name.
- He will call me and I will  
listen to<sup>65</sup> him;  
with him I will be in trouble;  
I will strengthen him and I will  
glorify him.
- With length of days I will satisfy him,  
and show him my deliverance.

62 Om *beth* 9 t3 10 t3.6 11 t1.

63 Imperfect aspect; manuscript 11 t1 attests perfect. LXX is fut. indic.; the Armenian version attests paraphrastic perfect.

64 Om *waw* manuscript 11 t1.

65 Or, "answer."

## 5.2 Summation of the Data Collected in a Comparison of the Armenian Translation against the Peshitta (i. e., Leiden Edition) for LXX Ps 90

The results are meagre but straightforward:

- 90:7 “a thousand ... ten thousand” (LXX) vs. “thousands ... myriads” (Peshitta Arm)  
 90:12 “hands” (LXX) vs. “arms” (Peshitta Arm).

The comparison of the Armenian with the Septuagint revealed numerous cases where the Septuagint attested the singular and the Armenian the plural (eight). Given this propensity for the plural in the Armenian translation, there is no certainty that the plurals in v.7 are rooted in the Peshitta. Further, the suggestion that a failure to transmit the S<sup>y</sup>āmē properly is responsible for the abundance of plurals in the Armenian version is unlikely to be adequate. In the second case, “arms” versus “hands” (= MT) (v.12) may be the result of a common exegetical approach, *ad sensum* reading, or memory. Baumstark said that Armenian translations rooted in the Peshitta are scattered across the Psalter;<sup>66</sup> this could account for the almost complete lack of such readings in Ps 90. The collation of Armenian Ps 90 is almost completely free of the need to deal with a Syriac presence at odds with a later revision. In the case of “arms” at 90:12, since there is no Greek witness that attests that reading, it need not be entered into the collations.

There is one more observation to make from the comparison of the Armenian and the Peshitta as presented in the Leiden edition, text and apparatus. It is this: the 12th century manuscript 12a1 lacks a *waw* once (v.1b) and *dalath* four times in Ps 90 (vv. 3, 5b, 6a, 6b).<sup>67</sup> The translator of the Armenian Ps 90 frequently passes over conjunctions, an element of the style of translation. Naturally one wonders where this important aspect of the translation’s style may have come from. That it finds an echo in this Syriac manuscript is suggestive.

66 Baumstark, “Psaltertext”, 1922–1924 (1925), 204. Baumstark cites the following list as evidence of such a dispersion: 5:7–10; 21:2, 19 ff.; 23:1; 26:9 ff.; 34:17 ff.; 40:9–14; 49:11–21; 64:9 ff.; 67:23 ff.; 88:3–16; 93:1; 102:11 f.; 103:19–35; 105:29 f.

67 For details about this manuscript – Cambridge, University Library, Ms Oo. 1.1, 2 – see Walter, *Book of Psalms*, xviii–ix.

## 6. Summative Conclusion

The investigative assessment of the Armenian version with respect to its incorporation in a critical edition of the Greek Psalter can be summarized briefly as follows.

1. Rahlfs' decision not to collate the Armenian version – defensible at the time – makes it all the more desirable to do so in a new, critical edition of the Greek Psalter.
2. Zohrapian's edition of 1805, inclusive of its text and apparatus, has been demonstrated to be an excellent resource for this purpose. Where questions remain about original readings, manuscripts J1925–M1500 prove useful. Ideally a proper critical edition of the Armenian would be in place for the Göttingen edition of the Greek Psalter but, lacking that, Zohrapian + J1925 + M1500 will be adequate.
3. Differences between the Armenian translation and the Septuagint are rooted in three aspects of the translation.
  - 3a. First, Armenian as a language differs from Koiné Greek in several decisive ways. For example, Armenian does not usually mark for gender; it has no precise equivalent for the future indicative tense but, rather, expresses the future with the use of the subjunctive mood; Armenian uses demonstratives (“near, there, over there”) to express definiteness; in some situations Armenian has a preferred word order.
  - 3b. Second, the translation of the Armenian Psalter can be characterized as “free,” whatever one means by that term. The translation often omits particles and conjunctions; it adds personal pronouns, adverbs, and other little words that produce nuance; there is a widespread use of the plural number, which likely represents *pluralis tantum*; there are harmonizations of one kind or another; the translator employs verb tenses that are unique.
  - 3c. The translation is composite: it is clearly a translation of a form of the Greek text, but occasionally contains Peshitta-sourced readings. How the latter have come to be there (residual; introduced on the basis of memory, either at the time of the translation or later?) is not clear at present. The relationship of the Armenian Psalter is doubly complex if, as some suggest, the Peshitta in some way drew on the Septuagint at the time of its translation – second century? – or later. In Ps 90, an example of a Peshitta-based translation exists in v.12 (“arms,” versus “hands”). Readings like this that have no equivalent in the Greek tradition may have come from the Peshitta, or represent a similar exegetical tradition, textual or not. Such readings, without support in Greek manuscripts, may be set aside when the Armenian is employed as a textual witness for the Old Greek.
4. It is highly unlikely that any “original” Greek readings are to be found in the Armenian version exclusive of other witnesses, especially the Old Greek tradition as it exists in Greek manuscripts. The evidence of the Armenian Psalter can



be expected to be corroborative. Studies so far (e.g., Baumstark, Ter Petrosyan, Cox) tie the Armenian version of Psalms to Rahlfs' *L* and *R* types of text. A full collation against the Greek tradition will clarify these relationships. The retroversion of the Armenian translation back into Greek can draw on its presumed and emerging source text group to fill in the gaps in reconstruction. That is, retroversion is a circular activity, from Armenian to Greek to Armenian and back again.

5. The importance of the Armenian version lies in its relatively early date; as such it may serve to identify readings as "early" that are known now only in medieval Greek manuscripts. Second, the presence of its text type in Armenia is a witness to the geographical spread of that type of text. Third, the Armenian translation reveals how the text was read. This may not be essential for the purpose of textual criticism, but it is of intrinsic interest.

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# The Georgian Psalter (Translation Technique in Psalm 90 and Beyond)

It has been almost a quarter of a century since the Göttingen *Psalter Symposium* in 1997 and the subsequent publication of its proceedings in 2000.<sup>1</sup> That was the first time the Georgian translation, wholly ignored in Septuagint studies before, was presented on the international stage.<sup>2</sup> The introduction of the Georgian translation to a wider audience was a pivotal moment. Besides, it was a significant event for me as it marked my debut on the international stage, presenting in front of the leading figures in Septuagint studies. For this privilege, I am still grateful to Anneli Aejmelaesus, the then-director of the Septuaginta-Unternehmen, an open-minded, curious, and courageous scholar and person. I composed the paper mainly in Göttingen under the supervision of Udo Quast and Detlef Fraenkel. Those who had the opportunity to work with them in Göttingen knows what a great experience it must have been for a young scholar.

## 1. Status Quaestionis

Unfortunately, since that time, research on the Georgian Psalms has seen limited progress. Only a few articles (mainly by young scholars) have been published in Georgian. These studies have primarily focused on the character and language of the translation.<sup>3</sup> Notably, an overview article by B. Outtier was included in the *Textual History of the Bible*.<sup>4</sup> It is also worth mentioning Mzekala Shanidze's contribution on the superscriptions of the Georgian Psalms<sup>5</sup> and, especially,

1 Aejmelaesus/Quast, *Septuaginta-Psalter*.

2 See Kharanauli, "Questions", 113–141; ead., "Chanmeti-Fragment"; Outtier, "Ancien Testament", 215–220; id., "Translations".

3 Kharanauli [ხარანაული], "ფსალმუნთა ქართული თარგმანის ლექსიკა" ["Vocabulary"]; ead. [ხარანაული], "ფსალმუნთა წიგნის ძველი ქართული თარგმანის ხასიათის შესახებ (ძიძრა და რჩევა-თი ნაწარმოები გრამატიკული კონსტრუქციებისა და შესიტყვებების გადმოცემის მაგალითზე ქართულ ფსალმუნში" ["Characteristics"], 83–92; Dundua [დუნდუა], "ლექსიკური კალკები ფსალმუნთა წიგნის ქართულ თარგმანებში" ["Lexical Calques"], 27–33; ead., "Rules", 91–98; Mirotdze [მიროტაძე], "κατά წინდებულის ეკვივალენტები ფსალმუნთა წიგნის ძველ ქართულ რეცენზიებში" ["Preposition κατά"], 205–214; ead. [მიროტაძე], "παρά და διὰ წინდებულთა ეკვივალენტები ფსალმუნთა წიგნის ძველ ქართულ რეცენზიებში" ["Prepositions παρά and διὰ"], 72–82.

4 Outtier, "Translations", 132–135.

5 Shanidze, "Old Georgian Psalter", 19–41.

her Psalms concordance, which, although prepared much earlier, was published in 2010.<sup>6</sup> E. Chelidze completed a new edition of the Georgian Vulgate Psalms (Giorgi Mtatsmindeli's Revision).<sup>7</sup> An essential step for the future studies of the Georgian Psalms was the discovery of new sources. In "Catalogue of Georgian Manuscripts from the New Finds of Sinai", for the first-time appeared information about newly discovered Georgian *Psalterions*.<sup>8</sup> According to the brief descriptions presented in the catalogue, most of these manuscripts preserve the pre-Athonite version of the Georgian Psalms. They are invaluable for proving the oldest stratum of the Georgian translation:<sup>9</sup>

- Sin.Geo.N.15:** parchment, 115 ff., s. X–XI, contains Pss 30:19–144:20 with *lacunae*, Odes 2:17–9:12, scribe Iovane Oshkeli.
- Sin.Geo.N.21:** parchment, 113 ff., s. X, contains Pss 1:1–80:8.
- Sin.Geo.N.51:** parchment, 199 ff., s. X, contains Pss 1–150, Odes 1–9, scribe Giorgi Diaconi.
- Sin.Geo.N.82:** parchment, 18 ff., s. XI–XII, contains Pss 118–149 very fragmentary.
- Sin.Geo.N.85:** parchment, 3 ff., s. XII–XIII, contains Ps 118:75–100.

Several manuscripts of this collection also contain the text revised by Giorgi Mtatsmindeli:<sup>10</sup>

- Sin.Geo.N.2 p.:** paper, 135 ff., s. XII–XIII, contains Pss 1–135 with gaps.
- Sin.Geo.N.18 p.:** paper, 20 ff., s. XII–XIII, contains Pss 65:1–7; 70:11–73:15; 74:9–78:3; 95:10–98:4; 102:16–103:9.
- Sin.Geo.N.20 p.:** paper, 2 ff., s. XIII, contains Ps 118:61–75.
- Sin.Geo.N.44:** parchment, s. X–XI, contains Ps 24:5–20 and Odes 2:4–16; 5:4–5; 6:1–4; 7:13–23.<sup>11</sup>

6 Shanidze [შანიძე], ქართული ფსალმუნის სიმფონია [*Symphonie*].

7 Chelidze [ჭელიძე], ფსალმუნნი: ახალი, შესწორებული გამოცემა [*Psalms*] and the commentaries: Chelidze [ჭელიძე], ფსალმუნთა ახალი გამოცემის გამო [*New Edition*].

8 Aleksidze/Shanidze/Khevsuriani/Kavtaria, *New Finds*.

9 For the textual forms, see below, on the descriptions of Type 1–4.

10 Giorgi Mtatsmindeli (George the Hagiorite, 1009–1065), the *hegumen* of the Iviron monastery of Mount Athos. On this revision, see below.

11 The Attribution of the text-type to the Giorgi Mtatsmindeli revision is not certain, see Aleksidze et al., *New Finds*, 407.

The Sinai palimpsests project<sup>12</sup> also promises novelty. Among the palimpsests analyzed till today, the Psalms are revealed in the following manuscripts:

**Sin. georg. N. 84:** ff. 6, 7.

**Sin. georg. N. 90:** ff. 1–18, 23, 24, 26, 27. The lower layer of these two manuscripts, which supposedly belonged to the one and the same codex,<sup>13</sup> preserves the fragments of the oldest Georgian Psalter manuscript containing Ps 20:10–140:4.<sup>14</sup> The text is significant because of its linguistic peculiarity (*khanmeti* and *haemeti* forms) and because of its textual type (see below on Types 1–4).

**Sin. georg. N. 61:** ff. 35–36, Ps 73:11–74:9<sup>15</sup>.

**Sin. georg. N. 7<sup>16</sup>.**

According to the catalogue “Georgian Palimpsests”<sup>17</sup> and the article of B. Outtier,<sup>18</sup> the Psalms are attested in the palimpsests kept at the Georgian National Centre of Manuscripts (NCM) as well. The following palimpsests are likely fragments of the *Psalteria*:

#### Pre-Athonite type

- H 526–1: Ps 135:13–21; also, remnants of Pss 5, 6, 17, 39, 50, 87, 88, 108, 137.
- H 526–2: Ps 5:5–6.
- H 528–1: Ps 104:36–44.
- H 528–2: Ps 108:28–109:3.
- H 1397: Ps 49:16–22; also, remnants of Pss 30, 31, 41, 44, 48, 54.
- H 2090–1: Ps 84:12–85; 88:6–9.
- Svan 3–1: Ps 118:160–169.
- Svan 3–2: Ps 36:33–37.
- Svan 10: Ps 70:3–7.
- Svan 23–5: Ps 103:23–104:1.

12 See [www.sinai.library.ucla.edu](http://www.sinai.library.ucla.edu) (last access: 15.08.2023).

13 Aleksidze et al., *New Finds*, 430.

14 Gippert/Outtier, “Georgian Psalter”, 44, 46–47.

15 Gippert/Outtier, “Georgian Psalter”, 42–43, n.10.

16 The text is not analyzed yet, Gippert/Outtier, “Georgian Psalter”, 43, n.10.

17 Kajaia et al., *Georgian Palimpsests*.

18 Outtier, “Georgian Palimpsests”.

## Athonite vulgate

|            |                             |
|------------|-----------------------------|
| A 146:     | Ps 43:2–11.                 |
| H 2091–1:  | Pss 70:22–71:11.            |
| H 1866a–2: | Pss 36:1–6; 2:6–?; 5:10–12. |

Besides, the Psalm fragments are extant in the palimpsests of liturgical manuscripts:

|            |                      |
|------------|----------------------|
| A 136:     | Ps 64:2–3.           |
| H 523–3:   | Ps 138:8.            |
| H 1332–1:  | Ps 129:3–7; 116:1–2. |
| H 1332–4:  | Ps 118:109; 118:143. |
| Svan 22–6: | Ps 88:43(?).         |

There are other interesting sources for the text history of the Georgian Psalms, which are still to be studied. Such are: Psalms pericopes in the form of incipit, preserved in the sixth- to eleventh-century Lectionary manuscripts, and the quotations in the original or translated literary texts.

At this stage, based on the available and analyzed sources, one can roughly distinguish the following textual forms of the Georgian Psalms:

**Type 1:** As its representative can be regarded undertext of Sin. georg. N. 84 and 90, newly deciphered by J. Gippert and B. Outtier. As far as the textual analysis provided by the authors allows, this ‘Hellenoid’<sup>19</sup> textual form should be considered the closest to the original Georgian translation of the Psalms. The reading წყალობა (*c’q’alobaj*, ‘mercy’) instead of ზეთი (*zeti*, ‘oil’) in Ps 140:5 emerging due to confusion of ἔλαιον and ἔλεος<sup>20</sup> must indicate direct dependence on the Greek *Vorlage*. Some of the readings of the palimpsest are closer to the Greek than those transmitted in the later manuscripts. According to B. Outtier and J. Gippert, readings of Giorgi Mtatsmindeli’s revision often coincide with the palimpsest<sup>21</sup> indicating that this type of text served as one of the Georgian *Vorlagen* for Giorgi Mtatsmindeli. Therefore, it was in circulation till the tenth to eleventh century.

**Type 2:** is represented mainly in the manuscripts of the old Sinai collection: Sin Geo 29(6), Sin Geo 42(12), Sin Geo 22(5),<sup>22</sup> Ms 2058/2 (Georg. 2, Graz University library, originated from Sinai).<sup>23</sup> This textual type, or tradition,<sup>24</sup> reflects the exact translation as type 1. Differences between the two are of various kinds; some bear

19 Gippert/Outtier, “Georgian Psalter”, 59.

20 See also Gippert/Outtier, “Georgian Psalter”, 57.

21 Gippert/Outtier, “Georgian Psalter”, 50–54.

22 Garitte, *Catalogue*, 58–59, 66–69, 156–158; Kamil, *Catalogue*, 56–57.

23 Characteristics and grouping of the manuscript Kharanauli, “Einführung”, 258–270.

24 The manuscripts and mss fragments diverge from each other from different points of view.

traces of philological activities.<sup>25</sup> Lexical parallels, although irregular, to the Armenian can also be noted as one of the characteristics.

**Type 3:** is preserved in a single manuscript A-38 (NCM) copied in 974 or 1016.<sup>26</sup> The distinguishing feature of the manuscript lies in its parallel with Armenian. The *de visu* study of the manuscript by E. Chelidze revealed that its single readings, mainly Armenisms, are interpolations *supra rasuram*.<sup>27</sup>

This rough, preliminary picture of the pre-Athonian text history of the Georgian Psalms will be specified or altered by the comparative study of the papyrus Psalterion (Sin. Georg. 98 and Petersburg Georg. 10) and other sources mentioned above.

**Type 4:** is a revision according to the Greek, accomplished by Giorgi Mtatsmindeli in the middle of the 11th century.<sup>28</sup> The corrections mainly concerned the vocabulary, the pluses and minuses of the base text, and especially verbal forms.<sup>29</sup>

Giorgi's revision was used unchanged as a *keimenon* in the translations of the Psalm Catenae, made by Ephrem Mtsire.<sup>30</sup> In his colophon, Ephrem praises Giorgi's translation because of its adequacy with the Greek.<sup>31</sup> Ephrem's evaluation of Giorgi's translation is somehow confusing considering his verbatim translation tech-

25 Gippert/Outtier, "Georgian Psalter", 50–54.

26 Shanidze, ფსალმუნის ძველი ქართული რედაქციები [*Old Georgian Redactions*], 015–017.

27 Chelidze, ფსალმუნთა ახალი გამოცემის გამო [*New Edition*], 59–72.

28 The history of this revision is witnessed in Ephrem Mtsire's (see below, n.31) colophons: [გიორგის] ...დიდი ღუაწლი (და შრომა) [თავს-ედვა] განა(ხ)ლებისა[თვს და უცთომე]ლად თარგმანებისა წიგნისა მის ფსალმუნთადას და არა ხოლო ერთგვის, არამედ ორგვისცა ეთარგმნა იგი ბერძულის(ა)გან ("[Giorgi] had initiated and worked tirelessly to renew the translation of the Psalms, he translated (compared?) it from (with) the Greek not once, but twice") (Colophon of the translation of Psalm Catenae, Tvaltvadze, ეფრემ მცირის კოლოფონები [*Colophons*], 173); Otkhmezuri, *Medieval Georgian*, 242; რამეთუ პირველნი დავითნიცა, რომელ ახლად ეთარგმნეს, მრავალი სიტყუაჲ ძუელისა ჩუეულებისადა მიეყვანა, ვიდრემდის უკანასკნელ დიდისა მის მოღუაწისა გიორგი დაყუდებულისა იძულებით ზრმანებითა კუალად უსრულესად და უწმიდესად ეთარგმნეს ("in the Psalms which he translated again, he left many things unchanged, until by order of Giorgi Daqudebuli he translated again entirely and purely") (Colophon of the commentaries on the translation of Acts, Tvaltvadze, ეფრემ მცირის კოლოფონები [*Colophons*], 206). On the translation methods of Giorgi Mtatsmindeli see Otkhmezuri, *Medieval Georgian*, 242–248.

29 Kharanauli, "Einführung", 269–270.

30 Ephrem Mtsire (the Lesser), the 11th-century translator from the Black Mountain monastery (Syria).

31 ხოლო ბერძენთა და ქართველთა წიგნი ფსალმუნთაჲ ყოველივე სწორ არს ... მოსწრაფედ მოღუაწებითა დიდისა მის მნათობისა გიორგი მთაწმიდელისათა [...] ყოველსავე ამაჲს დავითისა თარგმანსა შინა არცა ერთსა მუხლსა სადა ეხმარა ცვალებად, არამედ მისივე თარგმნილი მუხლი დავწერეთ (Whereas the books of Psalms in Greek and Georgian are equal [...] There was no need for change in the whole Psalm translation. Instead, we have written down the verses according to his translation (Colophon of the translation of the Psalm Catenae, Tvaltvadze, ეფრემ მცირის კოლოფონები [*Colophons*]198).



nique: renderings of Greek lexical and grammatical structures in Ephrem's translations are much more exact than those of Giorgi's revision.<sup>32</sup> On the one hand, Ephrem's assessment of Giorgi's Psalms should be explained because of his piety towards his famous predecessor. Besides, Ephrem may take into account different demands of the target audience: his hellenophile translations (including the comments on the Psalms) are intended for "inquisitive" readers, whereas the Psalms, intended for the ordinary reader/listener, do not require formal accuracy, which creates artificial language. Perhaps precisely because of Giorgi's balanced textual form, which considered both the original and the native language,<sup>33</sup> it became the Vulgate for the Georgian Church and remains as such till today.

Concerning Ephrem's translation of the Psalm Catenae, two long-term scientific projects should be mentioned: the first one, provided by M. Shanidze, implies the edition of a large Psalm catenae, which includes 72 Psalms and their commentaries. The second project aims at the edition of the 'excerpted' Psalm Catenae by N. Doborjginidze, containing the entire Psalms and Odes and their comments. These collections of commentaries are also interesting because of the notes concerning the language and style of the Psalms, Hebrew and Greek idioms, and their translation problems.<sup>34</sup>

**Type 4:** It seems that the text history of the Georgian Psalms was also continued after Giorgi's revision became the text of the Church. The piety, which Ephraim had exposed towards his predecessors, is no longer visible in case of the 12th-13th centuries so-called hellenophile translators. For instance, quotations from Psalms given in the translation of Theodoret's commentaries on Micah<sup>35</sup> quite differ from Giorgi's Vulgate: the translator specifies the vocabulary,<sup>36</sup> eliminates plusses and

32 Ephrem's formal translation assumes making calques of Greek lexical and grammatical models, see Otkhmezuri, *Medieval Georgian*, 299–330.

33 ჩუენ, რომელი ჯერ იყო, ჩაგვრთავს და, რომელი ჯერ იყო, დაგვკლია, ვითა ჩუენსა ენასა მოჰვიდოდა და წესი საქმისაი ეძიებდა (We have added that, which was proper while having omitted that, which was improper, as befitted our language and required by the order of the matter), see Shanidze, ფსალმუნის ძველი ქართული რედაქციები [Old Georgian Redactions], 027.

34 Ephrem's observations about the Hebrew and Greek idioms and translations language are well documented in his colophons, see Doborjginidze, *Sprache*, 77–78; Doborjginidze, ლინგვისტურ-ჰერმენევტიკული პარადიგმები [Metatexts], 83–91.

35 For the Georgian translation of commentaries see Jugheli, ნეტარი თეოდორიტე კვირელი [Theodoret], 432–446.

36 E.g. instead of semantic translation he make an etymological one: Ps 49:14 ὁμῶς τῷ θεῷ μισῶν] უმსხუერპლე ღმერთსა მსხუერპლი (*umsxuērp'le ymertsa msxuērp'li*) (cf. შეწირე ღმერთისა მსხუერპლი (*šec'ire ymrtisa msxuērp'li*) Geo; renders the word segments: Ps 49:14 ἀπό-δος] უკუნ-სცენ (*uk'un-scen*) (cf. მიუსრულე(ნ) (*miusrule(n)*) Geo); Ps 102:10 ἀντ-ἀπεδάκρυ] ნაცვალ-მაგო (*nacval-mago*) (cf. მომაგო (*momago*) Geo)); makes literary translation: 50:18 μισῶν ἔδωκα] მსხუერპლი მო-მცა-მე-ცა (*msxuērp'li mo-mca-me-ca*) (cf. contextual transla-

minuses of the previous textual form according to the Greek *Vorlage*, makes changes of verbal forms, etc. Especially notable are the syntactic modifications.

It is assumed that Ioane Petritsi<sup>37</sup> translated the Psalms. Although this translation has not come down to us, its existence is indicated by quotations given in Petritsi's commentaries and the fragment considered to be its introduction.<sup>38</sup> The text of quotes is carried out in hellenophile style, where the rendering of each detail of the Greek original is based on thorough semantical, grammatical and theological analysis.

## 2. The Character of the Georgian Translation of the Psalms

Textual criticism is well known as a tool for studying translation techniques. Conversely, understanding the translation technique is required to use the translation for the textual criticism of its original.

The Psalms and the Gospels were among the first Christian texts written in the Georgian language. Therefore, even if previous oral translations existed, we have to suppose that the translator, while writing down the text, was confronted with the complexity of rendering new concepts, new lexical and grammatical structures, new idioms and figures of speech into his vernacular language. In evaluating the translation, besides the translator's methods and techniques, we must also consider the potential of the Georgian language to implement these methods. Therefore, in the present article, I will approach the translation techniques of the Georgian Psalms in the following way: I will identify phenomena in the Greek Psalms, which were unusual for Georgian and, therefore, should have been problematic to be reflected in the translation. I will observe how the translator sought solutions to these challenges. I will focus primarily on the Georgian translation of Psalm 90 and, in addition, look at the problems encountered there throughout the Psalms.

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tion მსხუერპლი შე-მცა-მეწირა (*msxuerp'li še-mca-mec'ira*) Geo<sup>6</sup>). The translator corrects even the preposition: Ps 109:3 πρὸ ἐωσφορού] პირველ მთიებისა (*p'irvel mtiebisa*) (cf. მთიებისა წინა (*mtiebisa c'ina*) Geo).

37 Ioane Petritsi, the Philosopher of the twelfth century, translator and commentator of Proclus Diadochus's "Elements of Theology", is famous for his highly elaborated theological language.

38 See, e.g., Gigineishvili, *Platonic Theology*, 20–21.

### 3. Vocabulary: Selecting the Lexical Equivalents

#### 3.1 Names of God and Heavenly Beings

If the Georgian Psalms were among the earliest Christian literary texts composed in Georgian, this implies that the new religious terms, even if they were already adapted in the oral tradition, would likely be documented and legitimized in these texts for the first time. As far as we know, in the first centuries CE. on the territory of the Georgian states Iberia and Kolchis (Lazika), there were various religious traditions and beliefs. These ranged from local practices like astral cults and idolatries to foreign influences like Greek polytheism and Iranian Zoroastrianism.<sup>39</sup> Therefore, it must have been the biggest challenge for the Bible translator to depict the unfamiliar monotheistic idea in the vernacular language. The most crucial aspect would likely have been the rendering of the names of God and heavenly beings.

#### Θεός – ღმერთი (*ymerti*)

90:1 ἔν σκέπη τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἀνλισθήσεται] საფარველსა ღმრთისასა ზეცას განისვენოს (*saparvelsa ymrtisasa zecas ganisuenos*, ‘in the shelter of God will rest in the sky’) Geo<sup>40</sup>, cf. საფარველსა ქვეშე ღმრთისა ზეცათასა განისვენოს (*saparvelsa kveše ymrtisa zecatasa ganisvenos*, ‘under the shelter of God of the sky will rest’) Geo<sup>c</sup>.

ღმერთი (*ymerti*) is an equivalent of Θεός in the Psalms – a term that is firmly adapted in the old and modern Georgian language. The etymology of this Kartvelian word is not determined; therefore, it is impossible to know what notion was replaced by the Christian concept of one God.

In Psalm 90, attention must be drawn to the fact that the genitive attribute of Θεός – τοῦ οὐρανοῦ – does not refer to God in the Georgian translation.<sup>41</sup> But this deviation from the Greek has more to do with the interpretation of the text than with the translator’s difficulty in understanding and rendering Θεός τοῦ οὐρανοῦ (see Ps 135:26).

#### κύριος – უფალი (*upali*)

90:2 ἔρεϊ τῷ κυρίῳ] ჰრქუას უფალსა (*hrkuas upalsa*)

90:9 σὺ κύριε] შენ, უფალი (*šen, upali*)

39 Lortkipanidze/Asatiani, საქართველოს ისტორია [History], 97–101.

40 The Georgian sources are presented by following abbreviations: Geo<sup>A</sup>=A-38 (Tbilisi, NCM); Geo<sup>B</sup>=Sin.42; Geo<sup>C</sup>=Sin.29; Geo<sup>D</sup>=Sin.22; Geo<sup>E</sup>=Georg.2, Bibl. Uni Graz; Geo<sup>F</sup>=A+B+C+D+E+G; Geo<sup>G</sup>=A+B+C+D+E. See Kharanauli, “Einführung”, 249–253.

41 See the same understanding in the Armenian translation.

This pair constitutes a standard equivalence in the Psalms as well as in the Bible in general. The root უფ (*up*) which is of Kartvelian provenance, is interpreted as ‘who rules’, ‘who possesses a power’<sup>42</sup> or – ‘who doesn’t obey a power’.<sup>43</sup> უფალი (*upali*) derived from this very root means hierarchically superior and addresses both God and human (social status); accordingly, it represents an exact semantical equivalent of κύριος. This equivalency remains even when κύριος is used in both meanings in the same context:

122:2 ὁφθαλμοὶ δούλων εἰς χεῖρας τῶν κυρίων αὐτῶν ὡς ὁφθαλμοὶ παιδίσκης εἰς χεῖρας τῆς κυρίας αὐτῆς οὕτως οἱ ὁφθαλμοὶ ἡμῶν πρὸς κύριον τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν] თუალნი მონათანი კელთამი (კელთა მიმართ Geo<sup>G</sup>) უფალთა მათთადას და ვითარცა თუალნი მკველისანი კელთა მიმართ დედოფლისა თჳსისათა, ეგრეცა თუალნი ჩუენნი შენდამი, უფალო ღმერთო ჩემო (ჩუენო Geo<sup>G</sup>) (უფლისა მიმართ ღმრთისა ჩუენისა Geo<sup>A</sup>) (*tualni monatani qeltami (qelta mimart Geo<sup>G</sup>) upalta mattajsa da vitarca tualni mqevlisani qelta mimart dedoplisa twsisata, egreca tualni čuenni šendami, upalo γμerto čemo (čueno Geo<sup>G</sup>) (uplisa mimart γmrtisa čuenisa Geo<sup>A</sup>) Geo.*

The same root უფ (*up*) is used to render other Greek words deriving from κυρ in the Psalms: დედუფალი (*dedupali*) – κυρία;<sup>44</sup> უფლება (*upleba*) – (κατα)κυριεύω, as well as for the rendering of other Greek words with the same meaning: უფლება (*upleba*) – δεσπόζω, δεσποτεία; სუფევა (*supeva*) v. – βασιλεύω; სუფევა (*supeva*) n. – βασιλεία; მეფე (*mepe*), მეუფე (*meupe*) – βασιλεύς; მეფენი (*mepeni*) – βασιλεία.

ὁ ὑψιστος – მაღალი (*mayali*)

90:1 ἐν βοῇ τοῦ ὑψίστου] შეწევნითა (-ასა Geo<sup>A</sup>) მაღლისათა (-ისასა Geo<sup>A</sup>) (šec’evnita (-asa Geo<sup>A</sup>) *maylisajta* (-isasa Geo<sup>A</sup>)) Geo.

90:9 τὸν ὑψιστον ἔθου καταφυγῆν] მაღალი გიყოფიეს შესავედრებელად (*mayali giq’opies šesavedrebelad*) Geo.

The Greek superlative nominalized by an article and used as a name of God – ὁ ὑψιστος, is rendered by an adjective in positive degree – მაღალი (*mayali*) in other instances too (e.g., 9:3; 45:5; 77:56; 81:6; 91:2). On the other hand, მაღალი (*mayali*) as an ordinary adjective is often employed in the Psalms for the ὑψιστος

42 Fährnich, *Kartwelisches*, 421.

43 Soselia, “\*ფალ-/ფლ ძირის” [“\*pal/pl”], 59–64.

44 There is no morphological marker of gender in Georgian, here the Greek feminine suffix is reflected as დედ- (*ded-* ‘mother’).

attributed to things or places (7:8; 11:9; 17:17; 101:20; 102:11 etc.) as well as for the adjectives in positive degree – ὑψος and ὑψηλός.

ἄγγελος – ანგელოზი (*angelози*)

90:11 τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ] ანგელოზთა მისთა (*angelozta mista*) Geo.

Greek ἄγγελος, in the sense of ‘God’s messenger’, ‘angel’, remains always (in 13 cases) untranslated in the Georgian Psalms and is represented according to pronunciation (i.e. γγ as *ng*). At the same time, the words derived from the root αγγελ are rendered by their semantic counterparts:

55:9 τὴν ζώην μου ἐξήγγειλά σοι ... καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπαγγελίᾳ σου] ცხორებდა ჩემი ზენ გოთხრა, ... ვითარცა აღმოთქუ მე (*cxorebaj čemi šen gitxra, ... vitarca aymitku me*, ‘I tell you my life, ... as you command me’) Geo.

39:10 εὐηγγελισάμην δικαιοσύνην] ვახარე სიმართლე (*vaxare simartle*, ‘I rejoiced righteousness’) Geo.<sup>45</sup>

χερουβὶν – ქერობინი (*kerobini*)

This Hebrew borrowing, like other Hebrew loanwords in the Septuagint, remains untranslated in the Georgian Bible, including the Psalms, e.g.:

17:11 ἐπέβη ἐπὶ χερουβιν] აჴდა ქერობინთა (*aqda kerobinta*) Geo.<sup>46</sup>

δαიმόνιον – ეშმაკი (*ešmak’i*)

90:6 δαίμονιός με εσημῆρινού] ეშმაკისა შუვადლისა (*ešmak’isa šuvadyisa*) Geo.

An Iranian borrowing ეშმაკი (*ešmak’i*), denoting an evil spirit, besides δαიმόνιον (95:5; 105:37), also corresponds to διάβολος (108: 6).<sup>47</sup> This loan word apparently belonged to the Georgian vocabulary by the time translation was made.

Thus, in the Georgian Psalms, the names of God and heavenly beings are rendered by lexica of different types and provenance: by the word obtained from the Georgian religious vocabulary (ღმერთი (*ymerti*)), by the semantic equivalent (უფალი (*upali*), მალალი (*mayali*)), by the word borrowed from the language

45 Further examples: Ps 67:12; 95:2.

46 Further examples: Ps 79:2; 98:1.

47 In the New Testament, ეშმაკი (*ešmak’i*) corresponds to σατανᾱ. It should also be noted that in the only case in Greek (3 Kings 11:14) when σατάν is used with the Hebrew meaning (שטן) and not as of an evil spirit, it is translated in Georgian adequately, by მჯდომი (*mqdomi*, ‘attacker’).

of original (ანგელოზი (*angelozi*), კერობიმი (*kerobimi*)), by the Iranian loan-word (ეშმაკი (*ešmak'i*)).

### 3.2 Lexems of Related Meanings

One of the translator's challenges is reflecting synonyms and near-synonyms of the *Vorlage*. The task becomes even more complicated when they are all within the same context. Probably for the first time, this circumstance forced the translator's mind to focus on the translation method.

#### 3.2.1 Attributes of God

For understanding the translator's approach towards transmitting the lexical units, the observations of the vocabulary depicting various characteristics of God are especially interesting. The attributes of God in the Psalms constitute especially multifarious material often represented by synonyms and near-synonyms. Therefore, the translator had to reflect on this diversity and find correspondences between Greek and Georgian lexical units.

In the Georgian translation of Psalm 90, each attribute of God in the original has its Georgian counterpart:

90:2 **ἀντιλήμπτωρ** μου εἶ καὶ **καταφυγή** μου] ჯელისამცერობელი ჩემი ხარი შენ, შესავედრებელი ჩემი (*gelisamp'q'robeli čemi xari šen, šesavedrebeli čemi*) Geo.

90:9 ἢ **ἐλπὶς** μου τὸν ὑψιστον ἔθου **καταφυγὴν** σου] სასო ჩემდა, მაღალი გიგოფიეს შესავედრებელად შენდა (*saso čemda, mayali giq'opies šesavedrebelad šenda*) Geo.

In the same Ps 90 the rendering of verbs, derived from the same root, as the attributes of God, is also to be noted:

90:14 **ἤλπισεν** καὶ **ῥύσομαι** αὐτόν **σκεπάσω** αὐτόν] მესავს (მესვიდა Geo<sup>G</sup>), და (> Geo<sup>A</sup>) ვიჟსნა იგი და (>Geo<sup>G</sup>) მფარველ ვეყო (დავიფარო Geo<sup>G</sup>) მას (იგი Geo<sup>G</sup>) (*mesavs (mesvida Geo<sup>G</sup>), da (>Geo<sup>A</sup>) viqsna igi da (>Geo<sup>G</sup>) mparvel veq'o (daviparo Geo<sup>G</sup>) mas (igi Geo<sup>G</sup>)*) Geo.

Besides Ps 90, there are other instances where the translator is challenged by the synonyms gathered in one context. Here also, the translator uses different lexical units for different Greek words however does not try to create regular lexical equivalents:

17:3 κύριος **στερέωμά** μου καὶ **καταφυγή** μου καὶ **ῥύστης** μου. ὁ θεός μου **βοηθός** μου καὶ **ἐλπιδ** ἐπ' αὐτόν **ὑπερασπιστής** μου καὶ **κέρας** σωτηρίας μου

ἀντιλήπτωρ მოს] უფალო, დამამტკიცებელი ჩემო, შესავედრებელი ჩემო, შემწეო ჩემო (om შემწეო ჩემო Geo<sup>48</sup>) და მკსნელი ჩემო; ღმერთი ჩემი მწე ჩემდა არს და მე ვესავ მას; მფარველი ჩემი, რქა ცხორებისა ჩემისა და ჯელისამპრობელი ჩემი (upalo, damamt'k'icebelo čemo, šesavedrebelo čemo, šemc'eo čemo (om šemc'eo čemo Geo<sup>49</sup>) da mqsnelo čemo; γμerti čemi mc'e čemda ars da me vesav mas; mparveli čemi, rkaj cxorebisa čemisaj da qelisamp'q'robeli čemi) Geo.

- 143:2 ἔλεός მოს καὶ καταφυγὴ მოს ἀντιλήπτωρ მოს καὶ ῥύστης მოს ὑπερασπιστής მოს] წყალობაო ჩემო და შესავედრებელი ჩემო, შემწეო ჩემო და მკსნელი ჩემო ნუგეშინის-მცემელი (შესავედრებელი Geo<sup>49</sup>) ჩემი (c'q'alobao čemo da šesavedrebelo čemo, šemc'eo čemo da mqsnelo čemo, nugešinīs-mcemeli (šesavedrebeli Geo<sup>49</sup>) čemi) Geo.

The observation of the whole spectrum of Georgian-Greek and Greek-Georgian correspondences concerning the attributes of God reveals the existence of some regular equivalences. But, despite this, the translator's aim is not necessary to connect a certain Georgian word only with one Greek word and vice versa. Instead, his main goal is to reflect the diversity of the vocabulary of the original. The following list of correspondences demonstrates this especially clearly:

- a. One Greek word is related with only one Georgian equivalent:
  - ἔλεός – წყალობა (c'q'aloba); ἑλπίς – სასო, სასოება (saso, sasoeba); ἐλεήμων – მოწყალე (moc'q'ale); σωτήρ – მაცხოვარი (macxovari); βοήθός – (შე)მწე ((še)mc'e); κέρας – რქა (rka); ἀντιλήψις – (და/გან)მამტკიცებელი (da/gan) mamt'k'icebeli).
- b. One Greek word is related with two Georgian equivalents:<sup>49</sup>
  - καταφυγὴ – შესავედრებელი (šesavedrebeli); განმამლიერებელი (gan-mazlierebeli); στερῆσμά – სიმტკიცე (simt'k'ice); დამამტკიცებელი (damamt'k'icebeli); ῥύστης – მკსნელი (mqsneli), მწე (mc'e).
- c. One Greek word is related with several Georgian equivalents:
  - ὑπερασπιστής – შესავედრებელი (šesavedrebeli), მფარველი (mparveli), მკსნელი (mqsneli), მწე (mc'e), (შე)მწე ((še)mc'e); ἀντιλήπτωρ – ჯელისამპრობელი (qelis amp'q'robeli); შემწყნარებელი (šemc'q'narebeli), (შე)მწე ((še)mc'e), შესავედრებელი (šesavedrebeli), მფარველი (mparveli).<sup>50</sup>

48 შემწეო ჩემო (šemc'eo čemo) must be a secondary addition (see below, the list of equivalences) and is omitted by Giorgi Mtatsmindeli.

49 Equivalents are placed by frequency: the prevalent equivalent is presented first.

50 See also Kharanauli, "Einführung", 277.

Georgian-Greek correspondences are distributed as follows:

- a. One Georgian word corresponds to one Greek counterpart:

**ჯელისამპრობელი** (*qelisamp'q'robeli*) – ἀντιλήμπτωρ.

**შემწყნარებელი** (*šemc'q'narebeli*) – ἀντιλήμπτωρ.

- b. One Georgian word corresponds to two or several Greek words:

**მზარველი** (*mparveli*) – ὑπερασπιστής, ἀντιλήμπτωρ.

**სიმტკიცე** (*simt'k'ice*)/(და/გან)მამტკიცებელი (*da/gan)mamt'k'icebeli*) – στερέωμα, ἀντιληψις.

**შესავედრებელი** (*šesavedrebeli*) – καταφυγή, ὑπερασπιστής, ἀντιλήμπτωρ.

**მკსნელი** (*mqsneli*) – ῥύστης, λυτρωτής, ὑπερασπιστής.

**მწე** (*mc'e*) – ἀντιλήμπτωρ, βοηθός, ῥύστης, ὑπερασπιστής.

**(შე)მწე** (*(še)mc'e*) – ἀντιλήμπτωρ, βοηθός, ὑπερασπιστής.

### 3.2.2 Lexemes Belonging to the Same Semantical Field

Psalm 90 gives us the opportunity to observe another example of rendering semantically related words – ἀσλίζομαι and κατοικέω:

90:1 ὁ κατοικῶν ... ἀσλισθήσεται] რომელი დამკვდრებულ არს ... განისუენოს  
(*romeli damk'wdrebul ars ... ganisuenos*) Geo.

**ἀσλίζομαι:** Here, as well as elsewhere in the Psalms (24:13; 54:8) ἀσλίζομαι is rendered by განსვენება (*gansveneba*). Only in one case, it is substituted by the contextual equivalent ყოფნა (*q'opna*, 'to be'):

29:6 τὸ ἐσπέρας ἀσλισθήσεται κλαυθμὸς] მწუხრი იყოს ტირილი (*mc'uxri iq'os t'irili*) Geo<sup>5</sup>; cf. მწუხრსა განისუენოს ტირილმან (*mc'uxrsa gansisuenos t'ir-ilman*) Geo<sup>6</sup>.

The same root სუენ (*suen*) is applied for other lexical units in the Psalms, too: 38:14 [ἵνα ἀναψύξω] რადთა განვისუენო (*rajta ganvisueno*); 68:3 οὐκ ἔστιν ὑπόστασις] არა იყო განსუენება (*ara iq'o gansuenebaj*); 131:4 ἀνάπαυσιν] განსუენება (*gansuenebaj*).

**κατοικέω:** in Ps 90 it is rendered by დამკვიდრება (*damk'vidreba*). In other instances, however, this Georgian lexeme corresponds to different Greek verbs: κατασκηνόω and κληρονομέω. But when these Greek synonyms are employed in the same context, the translator of the Psalms uses დამკვიდრება (*damk'vidreba*) for κληρονομέω, whereas for the other two (κατασκηνόω and κατοικέω) – verbs derived from the root შენ (*šen*):

68:36 οἰκοδομηθήσονται αἱ πόλεις τῆς Ιουδαίας καὶ κατοικήσουσιν ἐκεῖ καὶ κληρονομήσουσιν αὐτήν] აღაშენოს (-ნენ Geo<sup>6</sup>) ქალაქები ჰუროასტანისად,



დაეშენნენ მუნ, დაიმკვდრონ იგი (*ayašenos* (-nen Geo<sup>G</sup>) *kalakebi huri-ast'anisaj*, *daešennen* mun, *daimk'wdrón* igi) Geo.

- 36:29 κληρονομήσουσι γῆν καὶ κατασκήνωσουσιν] დაიმკვდრონ ქუეყანად და დაეშენნენ (*daimk'wdrón* *kueq'anaj da daešennen*) Geo'; cf. Giorgi Mtatsmin-deli does not differentiate the Greek synonyms: დაიმკვდრონ ქუეყანად და დაემკვდრნენ (*daimk'wdrón* *kueq'anaj da daemk'wdrnen*) Geo<sup>G</sup>.

Very rarely, the old translator also may not distinguish the Greek synonyms:

- 73:2 ἐλπύρσω ῥάβδον κληρονομίας σου ὅρος Σιών τοῦτο δὲ κατεσκήνωσας ἐν αὐτῷ] იქსენ ნაწილი მკვდრობისა შენისად, მთად სიონი, რომელსაცა დაემკვდრე მას ზედა (*iqsen* *nac'ili mk'wdrobisa* *šenisaj*, *mtaj sioni*, *romel-saca daemk'wdre* *mas zeda*) Geo'; იქსენ კუერთხითა მკვდრობისა ... დაემკვდრე მას შინა (*iqsen* *k'uertxita mk'wdrobisa* ... *daemk'wdre* *mas šina*) Geo<sup>G</sup>.

### 3.3 Derivatives and Compounds

The rendering of Greek derivatives and compounds is particularly interesting to determine the translator's working style – to decide whether or not he is guided by elaborated preliminary methods of formal renderings or is focused on the semantics of the word or its contextual meaning.

The old Georgian language is rich in models of derivatives and compounds. Therefore, the translator who strives for the formal translation should not have difficulties finding Georgian correspondences formally equal to Greek lexical units, nor creating neologisms – lexical calques of Greek. Let's see how the translator applies such linguistic potential.

#### 3.3.1 Derivatives

(1) As a case example can serve above discussed Georgian renderings of the verbs with transparent etymology – ἀνλιζομαι and κατοικέω.

As it turned out while translating, the roots of verbs κατοικέω and ἀνλιζομαι are not reflected in the Georgian lexical correspondences: while the noun ἀνλή in the Psalms corresponds to ეზო (*ezo* 'yard') (28:2; 95:8,9; 64:5), the verb ἀνλιζομαι is translated with a verb of completely different root – სუენ (*suen* 'rest').

The same can be said about the rendering of κατοικέω: while οἰκός always corresponds to სახლი (*saxli* 'house'), κατοικέω and οἰκέω are rendered by the verb derived from მკვდრ (*mk'wdr*): დამკვდრება (*damk'wdreba* 'to settle down') and its participle – დამკვდრებული (*damk'wdrebuli* 'settled down').

At the same time, the lexemes derived from მკვდრ (*mk'wdr*), except κατοικέω, are used as a correspondence of other words as well:

- a. სამკვდრებელი (*samk'wdrebeli* 'place of settlement'), მკვდრობა (*mk'wdrobaj* 'settlement', 'dwell'), დამკვდრება (*damk'wdreba* 'to settle') are employed for (κατα)κληρονομέω, κληρονομία and κληροδοσία. While κληρος, in its turn, is rendered by წილი (*c'ili* 'lot' 'portion')<sup>51</sup> and ნაწილი (*nac'ili* 'part', 'portion').
- b. დამკვდრება (*damk'wdreba*) corresponds to κατασκηνώ, whereas σκηνή and σκήνωμα are translated either by საყოფელი (*saq'opeli* participial form of the verb 'to be' denoting the place where to be) or კარავი (*k'aravi* 'tent'). The translator does not apply the method of etymological translation even when the verbal and nominal forms derived from the same root are presented in one context:

77:60 καὶ ἀπόστατο τὴν σκηνὴν Σηλῶμ σκήνωμα αὐτοῦ ὃν κατεσκήνωσεν ἐν ἀνθρῳποῖς] განაგდო (განიშორა Geo<sup>G</sup>) მისგან კარავი სელომისად (-ისი Geo<sup>G</sup>), კარავი, რომელ დამკვდრებულ იყო შორის კაცთა (*ganagdo* (*ganišora* Geo<sup>G</sup>) *misgan k'aravi selomisa* (-*isi* Geo<sup>G</sup>), *k'aravi*, *romel damk'wdrebul iq'o šoris k'acta*) Geo.

77:55 ἐκκληροδότησεν αὐτοὺς ἐν σχοινίῳ κληροδοσίας καὶ κατεσκήνωσεν ἐν τοῖς σκηνώμασιν αὐτῶν] განუყო (განუწილა Geo<sup>G</sup>) მათ წილითა მკვდრობისადათა (საზომითა დამკვდრებისადათა Geo<sup>G</sup>), დააშენ(ნ)ა საყოფელთა მათთა (*ganuq'o* (*ganuc'ila* Geo<sup>G</sup>) *mat c'ilita mk'wdrobisajta* (*sazomita damk'wdrebisajta* Geo<sup>G</sup>), *daašen(n)a saq'opelta matta*) Geo.

(2) While observing the transmission of derivatives in the Georgian Psalms, the case of 90:4 ἐπισκιάσει – გფარვიდეს (*gparvides* 'to cover', 'to hide')<sup>52</sup> is worth mentioning. This Greek-Georgian correspondence occurs also in: 139:8 ἐπεσκίασας ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν μου] მფარველ (მ)ეყავ თავსა ჩემსა (*mparvel (m)eq'av tavsა čemsa*). The noun σκιά is only once (56:2) rendered by the derivant from ფარ (*par*):<sup>53</sup> საფარველ-ი (*saparvel-i* 'covering'). In other cases, σκιά is rendered by its semantic equivalents,<sup>54</sup> which are not used for creating verbal forms.

Despite the rich ability of Georgian to create derivatives, judging by the cited examples, the translator of Georgian Psalms is not focused on the etymological rendering of Greek lexica and, for this reason, he creates neologisms very seldom. Instead, he considers semantical and contextual relevance when choosing the Georgian counterpart.

51 Only once (Ps 77:55) Giorgi Mtatsmindeli creates a verbal form by წილი (*c'ili*): განუწილა (*ganuc'ila*), see below.

52 The same Georgian verb corresponds also to καλύπτω, κρύπτω.

53 \*ფარ (\**par*) – Proto-Kartvelian root meaning 'covering', see Fährnrich, *Kartwelisches*, 414–425.

54 ჩრდილი (*črdili* 'shadow'), აჩრდილი (*ačrdili* 'shadow', 'shade'), გრილი (*grili* 'cool shade'): Ps 79:11 ἐκάλυψεν ὁρὴ ἡ σκιά] დაფარნა მთანი გრილმან (ჩრდილმან Geo<sup>G</sup>) (*daparna mtani grilman* (*črdilman* Geo<sup>G</sup>) Geo).

### 3.3.2 Compounds<sup>55</sup>

The compound used in Psalm 90, an anatomical term **μετά-φρενον** is rendered formally – as a two-part compound: ბექთ-საშუალი (*beč't-sašuali*):

90:4 ἐν τοῖς μεταφρένοις] ბექთსაშუალითა (*beč'tsašvalita*).

The same equivalent also in:

67:14 τὰ μετάφρενα] ბექთსაშუალი (*beč'tsašuali*).

The Georgian compound renders the structure and semantic of the Greek word; however, it is difficult to say whether it is a neologism created by the translator himself. The Greek compound contains two segments: since the first part, **φρήν**, as an anatomical term (LSJ: *diaphragm, the midriff*) is not found elsewhere in the Old Testament, we cannot guess its Georgian equivalent. Whereas the Georgian counterpart ბექი (*beč'i* 'shoulder', 'back') is used for **νῶτον/νῶτος** ('back, back-side') in the Psalms: 128:3 ἐπὶ τοῦ **νῶτους** μου ἐτέκταινον] ბექთა ჩემთა მცემდეს (*beč'ta čemta mcemdes*); other examples: 65:11; 80:7.<sup>56</sup>

As for the second segment of the Georgian compound **საშუალი/შუა** (*sašuali/šua* 'middle/mid'), it is a regular equivalent of **μέσος** and is used as a part of other compounds as well, e.g.: 118:62 **μεσονύκτιον**] შუაღამე (*šuaɣame* 'midnight').

Generally speaking, in rendering the compounds, the translator of the Psalms is quite free in his choice:

(1) On a number of occasions, he divides the compound into segments and renders each individually with its own semantical equivalent used in the Psalms:

**νέο-φυτός** – **ახალ-ნერგი** (*axal-nergi*) (127:3; 143:12): **νέος** – **ახალი** (*axali*); **φυτεύω** – **დანერგვა** (*danergva* 'planted') (1:3; 91:14; 93:9; 103:16).

**ὀπωρο-φυλάκιον** – **ხილის-მცველი** (*xilis-mcveli*) Geo' (**ხილის-საცავად** (*xilis-sacavad*) Geo<sup>c</sup>) (78:1): **φυλακή** – **საცოფ** (*sacof*) (38:2).

**χειρο-πέδη** – **ჯელ-ბორკილი** (*qel-bork'ili*) (149:8 **ἐν πέδαις** ... **ἐν χειροπέδαις**] **ბორკილითა** ... **ჯელბორკილითა** რკინისაჲთა (*bork'ilita... qelbortk'ilita rk'in-isajta*)): **πέδη** – **ბორკილი** (*bork'ili*) (104:18); **χείρ** (often) – **ჯელი** (*qeli*).

**ἀνθρωπ-ἀρέσκων** – **კაცთ-მოთნე** (*k'act-motne*) (52:6): **ἀρέσει** – **სათნოყოფა** (*satnoq'opa*) (68:32; 131:13); **ἐσαρεστέω** – **სათნოყოფა** (*satnoq'opa*) (34:14; 25:3; 55:14; 114:9).

**κακ-συργία** – **ძვრის-საქმე** (*zwris-sakme*) (34:17).

55 Kharanauli, "Einführung" 271–272.

56 **νῶτον** is once (Ps 68:24) rendered by ზურგი (*zurgi*, 'back').

When calquing the Greek compound, the translator does not necessarily maintain the equivalents for the particular segments, instead, he uses different Georgian synonyms:

**ეზ-**: ქველი (*kveli*)/ კეთილი (*k'etili*); **-ერგეტა**: მყოფელი (*mq'opeli*)/ მოქმედი (*mokmedi*).

ეზ-ერგეტა – კეთილის-მყოფელი (*k'etilis-mq'opeli*) (12:6).

ეზ-ერგეტისანთა – ქველის-მოქმედი (*kvelis-mokmedi*) (56:3)<sup>57</sup>.

ეზ-ერგესია<sup>58</sup> – კეთილის-ყოფა (*k'etilis-q'opa*) (77:11).

**მონ-**: ერთი (*erti*)/ მხოლო (*mxolo*)/ მარტო (*mart'o*).

მონ-τροπος – ერთ-სახე (*ert-saxe*) (67:7).

μονο-γενής – მხოლოდ-შობილება (*mxolod-šobileba*) (21:21; 24:16; 34:17).

μονο-κερώτων – მარტო-რქა (*mart'o-rka*) (21:22; 28:6; 77:69; 91:11).

**πολυ-**: მრავლის (*mravlis*)/ დიდად (*didad*).

πολυ-τόκα – მრავლის-მშობელ (*mravlis-mšobel*) (143:13).

πολυ-έλεος – დიდად-მოწყალე (*didad-moc'q'ale*) (85:5,15; 102:8; 14:8).

(2) Individual segments of a Greek compound are rendered by two separate words in Georgian, e.g., 48:3 **γη-γενής**] ნაშობნი ქუეყანისანი (*našobni kueq'anisani* 'born of the earth').

(3) The Greek compound is translated with a simple word corresponding to one of the segments of the compound:

πολυ-αρῆα – განმრავლება (*ganmravleba* 'to plurify') (37:3)<sup>59</sup>.

καρπο-φόρος – ნაყოფიერი (*naq'opieri* 'fruitful') (καρπος – ნაყოფი (*naq'opi* 'fruit')) (106:34; 148:9).

(4) The Greek compound is translated with a semantically appropriate simple word:

κατ-ευ-οδόα – წარმართება (*c'aremarteba* 'to prosper') (1:3; 36:7; 44:5; 67:20).

εὐρύ-χωρος – ვრცელი (*vrcei* 'wide') (103:25).

ἰσθ-ψυχος – მოყუასი (*moq'uasi* 'friend') (54:14).

εὐ-ἰλατεύω, εὐ-ἰλατος – მოტევება (*mot'eveba* 'to forgive' 'forgiveness') (102:3);

მომტევებელ (*momt'evebel* 'forgiving') (98:8).

(5) The Greek compound is transmitted with a genuine Georgian compound of similar meaning:

πολυ-αρῆα – სულგრძელ-ქმნა (*sulgrzel-kmna* 'to make forbearance': *sul* ('soul') – *grzeli* ('large')) Geo<sup>6</sup>, cf. დაიცვენ (*daicven* 'protect') Geo<sup>6</sup> (11:9).

57 For different types of renderings of compounds with **ეზ-**, see below.

58 See Kharanauli, "Einführung", 272.

59 On another Georgian rendering see below Ps 11:9.

(6) The fact that the translator has not the preliminary elaborated, fixed approach towards the lexical rendering is obvious from the examples where one and the same compound is rendered in both ways – literally and semantically:

ὀλιγοψυχία- by the formal equivalent:

54:9 ὀλιγο-ψυχ[ας] სულ-მოკლებიან (sul-mok'lebisagan 'by anguish of spirit', 'by the diminish of the spirit')

and by the contextual equivalent, which enables to avoid the repetition of სული (suli) in context:

76:4 ὀλιγο-ψύχησεν τὸ πνεῦμά μου] მოაკლდა სულსა ჩემსა (moak'lda sulsa čemsa 'was diminished from my spirit') Geo'; cf. სულ-მოკლე იქმნა სული ჩემი (sul-mok'le ikmna sul i čemi) Geo<sup>G</sup>.<sup>60</sup>

ὁδο-ποιέω- by the formal equivalent:

67:5 გზა-ეცით (gza-ecit 'give a way') Geo'; გზა-უყავთ (gza-uq'avt 'make a way') Geo<sup>G</sup>;

77:50 გზა-უყო (gza-uq'o 'made a way').

and by semantic counterpart:

79:10 წარუძღელე (c'aruzeyu 'lead') Geo' which Giorgi Mtatsmindeli replaces again with a formal equivalent: გზა-უყავ (gza-uq'av) Geo<sup>G</sup>.

(7) There is an interesting case in Ps 90, where the genuine Georgian compound corresponds to two Greek words – noun and its gen. attribute:

90:16 μακρότητα ἡμερῶν] დღე-გრძელებითა (dye-grzelebita 'with longevity').

Examples of such type of rendering can be found also elsewhere, e.g.: 47:3 εἰς ῥίζαν] ძირ-მტკიცედ (zir-mt'k'iced 'with solid roots').

### 3.4 Semantical and Contextual Variations

After observing the translator's approach toward rendering the formal structure of the Greek lexica, I will move on to the rendering of the semantics of the Greek words. One of the factors for selecting the semantical equivalents is the context. But the contextual translation sometimes shifts the word's meaning, broadening or narrowing it. In some cases, contextual translation also leads to the interpretation of the text. Psalm 90 draws our attention in this respect, too.

60 The Georgian has difficulties to distinguish ψυχή and πνεῦμα.

As a lexical pair *πρᾶγμα* and *ლუწლი* (*yuac'li* 'war', 'fight', 'struggle')<sup>61</sup> appears only once:

90:5–6 ὁ φοβηθήσῃ ... ἀπὸ *πράγματος* διαπορευομένου ἐν σκότει] არა გეშინოდის ...  
*ლუწლისაგან*, რომელი ვალნ ბნელსა (*yuac'lisagan, romeli valn bnelsa*)  
Geo.

As it seems, in the given context by rendering *πρᾶγμα* as *ლუწლი* (*yuac'li*, here – 'struggle', 'trouble', 'ordeal') the translator tries to slightly overcome the ambiguity.<sup>62</sup> In other cases, *πρᾶγμα* is rendered literally, by its more appropriate, etymological equivalent *საქმე* (*sakme* 'affair'):

63:4 *πρᾶγμα* πικρόν] *საქმიტა* სიმწარისადთა (*sakmita simc'arisajta*) Geo.

In Ps 90 the translator narrows the meaning of *παγίς* (*a trap, snare*) by translating it with *საბრვე* (*sabrqe* 'trap made of iron'):

90:3 αὐτὸς ῥύσεται με ἐκ *παγίδος* θηρευτῶν] მივსნა მე *საბრვისა* მისგან  
მონადირეთადას (*miqsna me sabrqisa misgan monadiretajsas*) Geo.

The same *საბრვე* (*sabrqe*) is used elsewhere in the Psalms, where in contrast to 90:3 the sort of trap (i.e. the trap made by the hunter) is not specified by the context:

30:5 ἐκ *παγίδος* ταύτης ἧς ἔκρυψάν μοι] *საბრვისა* მისაგან, რომელ დამირწყეს  
მე (*sabrqisa misagan, romel damirc'q'es me*).

In a similar context to 30:5, the translator uses another, more appropriate rendering for *παγίς* – *მახვ* (*maxe*):

9:16 ἐν *παγίδι* ταύτῃ ἧς ἔκρυψαν] *მახითა* ამით, რომელ დაარწყუეს (*maxita amit, romel daarc'q'ues*) Geo.

The same rendering can be found also in other cases: 9:31; 10:6; 17:6; 24:15; 63:6; 65:11; 68:23; 118:110; 141:4.

61 In other places *ლუწლი* (*yuac'li* 'war', 'fight'), corresponds to 17:35 πόλεμον, 118:143 ἀνάγκη; see also 143:1 εἰς παράταξιν τοὺς δακτύλους μου εἰς πόλεμον] *ლუწლი* და თითთა ჩემთა – ბრძოლა (*yuac'li da titta čemta – brzolaj*).

62 Although *ლუწლისაგან*, რომელი ვალნ (*yuac'lisagan, romeli valn* 'by the struggle which walks') makes also no perfect sense in Georgian.

When **παγίς** is repeated in the context, the translator in one case does not hesitate to repeat its equivalent **მახე** (*maxē*) either:

139:6 ἔκρυσαν ὑπερήφανοι **παγίδα** μοι, καὶ σχοινία διέτειναν **παγίδας** τοῖς ποσὶν μου] დამირწყუს მე ამპარტავანთა **მახე**, საბელი განჰმზადეს **მახედ** ფერჯთა ჩემთა (*damirc'q'ues me amp'art'avanta maxē, sabeli ganhmzades maxed perqta čemta*) Geo.

But in another context, he uses two different lexical unites:

123:7 ἡ ψυχὴ ἡμῶν ὡς στρουθίον ἐρρύσθη ἐκ τῆς **παγίδος** τῶν θηρευόντων ἡ **παγίς** συνετριβη καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐρρύσθημεν] სული ჩუენი ვითარცა სირი განერა **მახესა** მას მონადირეთასა. **საბრვე** შეიმუსრა, და ჩუენ განვერენით (*suli čueni vitarca siri ganera maxesa mas monadiretasa. sabrve šeimusra, da čuen ganverenit*) Geo.

In conclusion, the context does not necessarily serve as a consistent criterion for the Georgian translator in the process of translation.

### 3.5 Rendering of the Vocabulary of *Animalia*

One of the translator's difficulties is rendering animal names, i. e., identifying individual species and selecting an appropriate equivalent. Overcoming these difficulties depends, on the one hand, on the translator's familiarity with the genera and species of living beings and, on the other, on the readiness of Georgian vocabulary to reproduce the Greek language of *Animalia*. Let us examine the translator's challenges when translating the names of living beings.

In addition to the tasks observed above, in Psalm 90, the Georgian translator has to distinguish different species of reptiles:

90:13 ἐπ' **ἀσπίδα** καὶ **βασιλίσκον** ἐπιβήσῃ] **ასპიტსა** და **იქედნესა** (**ვასილისკოსსა** Geo<sup>63</sup>) ზედა ხვდოდი (*asp'it'sa da ikednesa (vasilisk'ossa Geo<sup>63</sup>) zeda xwdodi*) Geo.

As one can see, the translator does not translate Greek names of serpents:

**ἀσπίς**, ἰδος is transliterated in form of the genitive stem (**ἀσπίδος**) – **ასპიტო** (*asp'it'i*) as it is also in the Psalms 57:5; 139:4.<sup>63</sup> While for **βασιλίσκος** the transla-

63 This word, meaning 'asp' remains untranslated in the old versions of other books of the Old Testament as well: Isa. 11:8; 14:29; 30:6; 59:5; Job 20:14; 41:7; Ode 2:33 (Deut. 32:33). But bearing the meaning 'shield', 'armour' it is translated: Job 15:26 **საჭურველი** (*sac'urveli*) Geo.

tor uses a loanword იქედნე (*ikedne*) borrowed from Greek ἰκεδνα and apparently already adapted in Georgian by the time of translation.<sup>64</sup> Meanwhile, the generic concept ὄφις is translated by the word of Kartvelian provenance გუელი (*gueli* ‘snake’)<sup>65</sup> (57:5; 139:4).

The next line of the same verse 13 is also to be mentioned:

90:13 καταπατήσεις **λέοντα** καὶ **δράκοντα**] დასთრგუნო შენ **ლომი** და **ვეშაპი**  
(*dastrguno šen lomi da vešap’i*) Geo.

It should not have been difficult for the translator to find a correspondent for λέων: ლომი (*lomi*)<sup>66</sup> is a regular equivalent for λέων in the Psalms (7:3; 9:30; 16:12; 21:14,22; 34:17; 57:7) as well as in the entire Georgian Bible.

A different issue is to find an equivalent for the mythological creature, δράκον: The translator uses an Iranian loanword<sup>67</sup> – ვეშაპი (*vešap’i*),<sup>68</sup> which seems to be a standard equivalent for δράκον: it is used also in contexts where it denotes an inhabitant of water (73:13,14; 103:26; 148:7).<sup>69</sup>

I won’t go into details about rendering the broad spectrum of animal names and will only conclude:

(1) Overall, the Greek-Georgian lexical equivalences are quite regular indicating that the translator has identified animals expressed by the monosemantic lexical units in Greek.

(2) The names of the endemic animalia are mostly translated:

- a. By vocabulary of Georgian or Kartvelian origin: მყუარი (*mq’uari*) – βάτραχος, მატლი (*mat’li*) – σκῆληξ, ბუვი/ბუი (*buvi/bui*) – νυκτι-κόραξ, ტრედი (*t’redi*) – περιστέρα, სირი (*siri*) – στρουθίον, დედაზარდლი (*dedazardli*) – ἀράχνη, ბუზი/ბუზუ (*buzi/buzw*) – βροῦχος, ფუტკარი (*put’k’ari*) –

64 იქედნე (*ikedne*) as the equivalent of ἰκεδνα is used in the 7<sup>th</sup> century manuscript fragment of the Gospel (Matt. 3:7; 12:34; 23:33; Luk. 3:7), see Kajaia, ხანმეტი ტექსტები [*Khanmeti Texts*].

65 See Gigineishvili, ქართული ენის ისტორიულ-ეტიმოლოგიური ლექსიკონი [*Dictionary*], 82.

66 The etymology of the Georgian ლომი (*lomi*) is difficult to determine (Gamkrelidze/Ivanov, *Indo-European*, 430–431). Some consider it to be a Georgian root, see Kerkadze, ცხოველების აღმნიშვნელი ლექსიკა, [*Vocabulary*] 76; Gigineishvili, ქართული ენის ისტორიულ-ეტიმოლოგიური ლექსიკონი, [*Dictionary*] 297–298.

67 \*všāp // \*višap (‘dragon’, ‘snake’). Gigineishvili, ქართული ენის ისტორიულ-ეტიმოლოგიური ლექსიკონი [*Dictionary*], 160; Gippert, *Iranica*, 65 (fn).

68 The same loan word – վիշապ (*višap*) – is attested in the classical Armenian, but doesn’t occur in the given context.

69 ვეშაპი (*vešap’i*) is used as the equivalent of δράκον even when it denotes a snake in the Greek OT (e.g. Exod 7:9–12, Deut 32:33). Besides, ვეშაპი (*vešap’i*) is mostly an equivalent of κῆτος – meaning a large sea animal (e.g. Gen 1:21, Job 3:8; 9:13; 26:12(13); Sir. 43:25<sup>o</sup>, Jon 2:1,2,11).



μέλισσα, მელი (*meli*) – ἀλώπηξ), ეშუ (*ešu*) – σὺς // ὄς, ცხენი (*cxeni*) – ἵππος, ჯორი (*žori*) – ἡμίονος, დიაკეული (*diak'euli*) – δάμαλις, ცხოვარი (*cxo-vari*) – προβάτων, ვერძი (*verzi*) – κρῖος, კრავი (*k'ravi*) – ἀρνίον, ვაცი (*vaci*) – χίμαρος, ზროხა (*zroxaj*) – βούς.

Among the nouns of Kartvelian or Georgian origin, one should note the use of the ambiguous word ბრანგი (*brangvi*)<sup>70</sup> for μονιός (ἄγριος) ('solitary'; 'solitary wild beast' (Lust, *A Greek-English*), 'solitary wild boar' (Muraoka, *A Greek-English*)) found only in the Psalms and its quotations in the Georgian written sources.

- b. The names of endemic animalia are translated by the lexica belonging to the oldest layer of the Georgian vocabulary, although their etymology remains undetermined: ორბი (*orbi*) – ἀετός, მკალი (*mk'ali*) – ἀκρίς, მუმლი (*mumli*) – σκνίψ, ლომი (*lomi*) – λέων, კანჯარი (*k'anžari*) – ὄναγρος = ὄνος ἄγριος, ირემი (*iremi*) – ἔλαφος.
- c. Some Georgian renderings of the endemic animalia belong to the onomatopoeic words: გურიტი (*gurit'i*) – τρυγών, ყარყადი (*q'arq'adi*) – ἐρωδιός, მყუარი (*mq'uari*) – βᾶτραχος, ყორანი (*q'orani*) – κόραξ. The last (ყორანი (*q'orani*)) can also be considered as an example of homophonic translation.
- d. The name given according to the appearance is also used: ყურგდელი (*q'urgdeli* 'ear-long') – λαγώς.<sup>71</sup>

(3) In cases when the meaning of the word to be translated is vague for the translator, or its Georgian equivalent cannot be found, he makes various choices:

- a. he uses either a Greek borrowing, already adapted in language, or transliterates it in the process of translation: ასპიტა (*asp'it'i*) – ἄσπις, იქედნე (*ikedne*) – βασιλίσκος. Giorgi Mtatsmindeli uses other Greek loanwords as well: ვასილისკოსი (*vasilisk'osi*) – βασιλίσκος, ჰეროდია (*herodiaj*) – ἐρωδιός, ჰუნე (*hune*) – ὄνος.<sup>72</sup>
- b. in some cases, the translator creates formal-semantic calques: ძალლის-მწერი (*zaylis-mc'eri*) – κυνά-μυια, მარტო-რქა (*mart'o-rka*) – μονό-κερας, მწყერ-მარჯილი (*mc'q'er-marqili*) seems to be a formal equivalent of ὀρτυγο-μήτρα, although the meaning of its second counterpart მარჯილი (*marqili*) is unknown and its semantic relevance with μήτρα ('queen-wasp' (L&S)) is not clear.

70 According to Sulxhan-Saba Orbeliani – 'young bear', see Orbeliani, *ლექსიკონი ქართული* [*Georgian Dictionary*]; Kerkadze, *ცხოველების აღმნიშვნელი ლექსიკა* [*Vocabulary*], 154.

71 Ear-long; Kerkadze, *ცხოველების აღმნიშვნელი ლექსიკა* [*Vocabulary*], 95–96. For the different opinion, see Gigineishvili, *ქართული ენის ისტორიულ-ეტიმოლოგიური ლექსიკონი* [*Dictionary*], 278.

72 Kerkadze, *ცხოველების აღმნიშვნელი ლექსიკა* [*Vocabulary*], 164.

(4) As the meaning of the compound is unambiguous, and its lexical counterpart can be found in Georgian, the translator refuses to render it formally, but translates it with a simple word: *νυκτι-κόραξ* – ბუვი/ბუჯ (*buvi / buj*), *ὄναγρος* // ὄνος ἄγριος – კანჯარი (*k'anžari*). There are also opposite cases when a simple Greek word is rendered with a Georgian compound: *ἀράχνη* – დედაზარდლი (*dedazardli*).

(5) The translator does not try to keep the standard equivalences while rendering segments of a compound: *ῥήϊονος*<sup>73</sup> – ჯორი (*žori*), *ὄναγρος* // ὄνος ἄγριος – კანჯარი (*k'anžari*); *νυκτι-κόραξ* – ბუვი/ბუჯ (*buvi/buj*) cf. *κόραξ* – ყორანი (*q'orani*).

(6) Words with a specific meaning (mythological, religious) are rendered by loanwords of different origins already adapted in the language: *δράκον*, as mentioned above, is rendered by Iranian borrowing ვეშაპი (*vešap'i*). When well-known animals (*κρίς* – ვერძი (*verzi*), *βοῦς* – ძროხა (*žroxa*)) used in the specific sense of sacrifice, they are rendered by Armenian loanword ზუარაკი (*zuarak'i*).

(7) The translator's knowledge of the animalia is evident in using of the different terms for particular species: *ἄκρις* – მკალი (*mk'ali*) and *βροῦχος* – ბუზი/ბუზ (*buzi/buzw*); *ἄσπις* – ასპიტი (*asp'it'i*) and *βασιλίσκος* – იქედნე/ვასილისკოსი (*ikedne//vasilisk'osi*); *ἐρωδιός* – ყარყადი (*q'arq'adi*) (ჰეროდიაჲ (*herodiaj*) Geo<sup>6</sup>) and *πελεκάν* – ვარხვ (*varxw*).

However, in some cases the translator does not distinguish the generic terms and the names of species: *νυκτι-κόραξ* ('long-eared owl' or 'horned owl' (Lust, *A Greek-English*)) is rendered by the name of genera – ბუვი/ბუჯ (*buvi/buj* 'owl') (*γλαυκός*). Moreover, in one instance (103:17) *στρουθιον* ('sparrow'), usually translated by სირი (*siri* 'sparrow'), is rendered by the general term – მფრინველი (*mprinveli* 'bird').

73 ὄνος does not occur in the Psalms. In the Old Testament its standard equivalent is ვირი ('donkey').

## Summary

If we look at the discussed examples as a whole, the following conclusion can be drawn:

While rendering the vocabulary, the translator is not guided by a pre-determined method: for some lexical units, he has established standard equivalents; for others, he has not; in some cases, he distinguishes the synonyms of the original; in others, he does not. His approaches are changing even in similar contexts.

The same irregularity can be seen in transmitting the word structures: the derivative and compositional models of the Georgian language allow the reflection of the formal-structural and etymological equivalents of Greek derivatives and composites. The translator owns and uses the potential of language. However, despite this, he does not follow the translation standards. Next to numerous formal renderings and lexical calques, there are many occasions when the translator relies on the semantics of the words or contexts.

## 4. Rendering of the Grammatical Constructions and Stylistic Devices of the Psalms

Most challenging task for the Georgian translator should have been rendering unfamiliar syntactic constructions of the Septuagint.

### 4.1 Rendering of τινεῖν τίνα (εἰς) acc.<sup>74</sup> and διδόναι τίνι τίνα (εἰς) acc.<sup>75</sup> Constructions<sup>76</sup>

One of such construction – a double accusative with **τίθημι** – occurs in the Ps 90:

90:9 τὸν ὑψιστον **ἔθου καταφυγήν** σου] მაღალი **გიყოფიეს შესავედრებელად**  
 ჩემდა (შენდა Geo<sup>CEG</sup> (*mayali giq'opies šesavedrebelad* čemda (šenda Geo<sup>CEG</sup>)  
 (the High made (for me (you Geo<sup>CEG</sup>) refuge) Geo.

The verse challenges the Georgian translator in two ways: he has to understand and reflect (a) the meaning of the verb in the given context, and (b) the functions of double accusative. The issue is solved in the following way: the verb **τίθημι** is rendered rather freely, with the auxiliary verb – ყოფა (*q'opa*, 'to do/to make') –

74 Helbing, *Kasussyntax*, 57–58.

75 Helbing, *Kasussyntax*, 51–53, 191–193.

76 The given analysis is a modified version of Kharanauli, “ფსალმუნთა წიგნის ძველი ქართული თარგმანის” [“Characteristics”], see also ead., “Einführung”, 303–305.

which usually corresponds to γίγνομαι and ποιέω. While accusative (καταφυγήν) is understood in an appropriate sense – as a predicative and is transmitted with the adverbial case, expressed by the suffix -ად (*ad*).<sup>77</sup>

In the following, by providing the respective examples I will closely observe the grammatical equivalences of the various constructions created by *διδόναι* and *τιθέναι* in the Georgian Psalms.

#### 4.1.1 *διδόναι and τιθέναι with a Double Accusative*

(1) While translating this construction, in most cases, the translator acts in favour of a formal translation: the verbs are rendered with their primary meaning, whereas predicative (with or without an article or preposition) – with its standard Georgian counterpart, adverbial case.<sup>78</sup> In addition is to be noted that the sequence of the verb and related accusatives are always preserved.

**διδόναι – მიცემა** (*micema* ‘give’):

2:8 *δῶσω σοι ἔθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σου καὶ τὴν κατάσχεσίν σου τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς* | მიცენე შენ წარმართნი (+ყოველნი Geo<sup>A</sup>) სამკვდრებელად შენდა, დაჰყრობად შენდა ყოველნი კიდენი ქუეყანისანი (*migcne šen c’arm-artni* (+*q’ovelni* Geo<sup>A</sup>) *samkwdrebelad šenda, dap’q’robad šenda q’ovelni k’ideni kueq’anisani*) Geo.

134:12 *ἔδωκεν τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν κληρονομίαν* | მისცა ქუეყანა მათი სამკვდრებელად Geo (*misca kueq’anaj mati samk’wdrebelad*) (= 135:21) Geo.

38:9 *ὄνειδος ἄφροσι ἔδωκάς με* | საყუდრელად უგუნურთა (-სა Geo<sup>C</sup>) მიმეც მე (*saq’uedrelad ugunurta* (-*sa* Geo<sup>C</sup>) *mimec me*) Geo.

56:4 *ἔδωκεν εἰς ὄνειδος τοὺς καταπατοῦντάς με* | მისცნა საყუდრელად დამტრუნველნი ჩემნი (*miscna saq’uedrelad damtrgunvelni čemni*) Geo.

73:14 *ἔδωκάς αὐτὸν βρώμα λαοῖς* | მიეც იგი საჭმლად ერსა მას (*miec igi sač’mlad ersa mas*) Geo<sup>79</sup>.

68:22 *ἔδωκαν εἰς τὸ βρώμα μου χολῆν* | მცეს მე საჭმელად ჩემდა ნავლელი (*mces me sač’melad čemda navyli*) Geo.

123:6 *οὐκ ἔδωκεν ἡμᾶς εἰς θήραν τοῖς ὀδοῦσιν αὐτῶν* | არა მიმცნა ჩუენ ნადირად კბილთა მათთა (*ara mimcna čuen nadirad k’bilta matta*) Geo.

77 *Adverbialis* is generally used in this function with verbs ყოფა (*q’opa* ‘to make’), ქმნა (*kmna* ‘to create’), გარდაქცევა (*gardakceva* ‘to turn to’ ‘to become’), see Imnaishvili, სახელთა ბრუნება, [Declination] 732.

78 Kharanauli, “Einführung”, 302.

79 See the same expression with *τιθέναι* below, Ps 78:2.

105:46 ἔδωκεν αὐτοὺς εἰς οἰκτιρμοὺς] მისცნა იგინი საწყალობელად (*miscna igini sac'q'alobelad*) Geo.

120:3 μὴ δῶς εἰς σάλον τὸν πόδα σου] ნუ მისცემ შეძრვად ფერჯთა (-სა Geo<sup>G</sup>) ჩემთა (ჩემსა Geo<sup>G</sup>) (*nu miscem šezrvad perqta* (-sa Geo<sup>G</sup>) *čemta* (čemsa Geo<sup>G</sup>)) Geo.

The infinitive, governed by διδόναι<sup>80</sup> as a predicative is rendered with adverbial case as well:

15:10 οὐδὲ δώσεις τὸν ὄσιόν σου ἰδεῖν διαφθοράν] არცა ვსცე (სცე Geo<sup>G</sup>) წმიდასა ჩემსა ხილვად განსახრწნელი (-სა Geo<sup>G</sup>) (*arca vsce* (*sce* Geo<sup>G</sup>) *c'midasa čemsa xilvad gansaxrc'neli* (-sa Geo<sup>G</sup>)) Geo<sup>A</sup>.<sup>81</sup>

### **τιθέναι – დადება (*dadeba*):**

17:33 ἔθετο ἄμαμον τὴν ὀδὸν μου] დასხნა უბიწოდ სლვანი ჩემნი (*dasxna ubic'od slvani čemni*) Geo', დადვა უბიწოდ გზად ჩემი (*dadva ubic'od gzej čemi*) Geo<sup>G</sup>.

84:14 θήσει εἰς ὁδὸν τὰ διαβήματα αὐτοῦ] დადვას სლვად გზად (გზად სლვად Geo<sup>G</sup>) თვსი (*dadvas slvad gzej* (*gzad slvaj* Geo<sup>G</sup>) *twsi*)) Geo.

73:4 ἔθεντο τὰ σημεῖα αὐτῶν σημεῖα] დასხნეს სასწაულნი მათნი სასწაულად (*dasxnes sasc'aulni matni sasc'aulad*) Geo.

80:6 μαρτύριον ἐν τῷ Ἰωσηφ ἔθετο αὐτόν] წამებად იოსების თანა დადვა ესე (*čamebad iosebis tana dadva ese*) Geo.

103:3 ὁ τιθεὶς νέφη τὴν ἐπίβασιν αὐτοῦ] რომელმან დასხნა ღრუბელნი აღსავალად თვსა (*romelman dasxna ḡrubelni aysavalad twsa*) Geo.

78:2 ἔθεντο τὰ θνησιμαῖα ... βρώματα τοῖς πετεινοῖς] და(ა)სხეს მძორები ... საჭმლად მფრინველთა (*da(a)sxes mžorebi... sač'mlad mprinvelta*) Geo.

65:9 τοῦ θεμένου τὴν ψυχὴν μου εἰς ζῶην] რომელმან დადვა სული ჩუენი (ჩემი Geo<sup>G</sup>) ცხორებად (*romelman dadva sulī čueni* (čemi Geo<sup>G</sup>) *cxorebad*) Geo.

106:33 ἔθετο ποταμοὺς εἰς ἔρημον] დასხნა მდინარენი კმელად (ოკრად Geo<sup>G</sup>) (*dasxna mdinareni qmelad* (*oqrad* Geo<sup>G</sup>)) Geo.

106:35 ἔθετο ἔρημον εἰς λίμνας ὑδάτων] დასხნა (დადვა Geo<sup>G</sup>) უდაბნონი ტბად (*dasxna* (*dadva* Geo<sup>G</sup>) *udabnoni f'bad*) Geo.

დადება (*dadeba*) can be replaced with its synonym დადგინება (*dadgineba* 'appointing, setting'):

88:28 πρωτότοκον θήσομαι αὐτόν] პირმშოდ დავადგინო იგი (*p'irmšod davadgino igi*) Geo.

80 Blass et al., *Grammatik*, § 390, 1; § 392, f.6.; Muraoka, *Syntax*, § 69c, 580.

81 Geo<sup>A</sup> simplifies the periphrastic expression: οἰδιλον κροცτα ჩემთა განსახრწნელი (*ixilon qorcta čemta gansaxrc'neli*) Geo<sup>A</sup>.

Thus, in all mentioned examples the translator imitates the expression of the Septuagint Psalms creating a formula foreign for Georgian.

(2) The translator changes the lexical equivalents for *διδόναι* // *τιθέναι*.

a. The exact semantical equivalents of *διδόναι* and *τιθέναι* – resp. მიცემა (*micema*) and დადება (*dadeba*) are on certain occasions substituted by ქმნა (*kmna* ‘to do’/ ‘to make’/ ‘to create’) and ყოფა (*q’opa* ‘to do’/ ‘to make’/ ‘to create’) creating more organic phrases for the Georgian language. The above-mentioned case from Ps 90:3 is one of the examples of such substitution. There are more:

51:9 ὃς οὐκ ἔθετο τὸν θεὸν βοηθὸν αὐτοῦ] რომელმან არა ყო ღმერთი მწე მისა (*romelman ara q’o ymerti mc’e misa*) Geo.

The fact that ყოფა (*q’opa*), შექმნა (*šekmna*) (especially in contexts related to creation) are more natural for the translator, is proven by applying verb შექმნა (*šekmna* ‘to create’) for the restored copula in context where ἔθετο-დასხნა (*das-xna*) equivalence is used:

106:33–35 ἔθετο ποταμοὺς εἰς ἔρημον καὶ διεξόδους ὑδάτων εἰς δίψαν 34 (+ ἐποίησεν Geo) γῆν καρποφόρον εἰς ἄλμην ἀπὸ κακίας τῶν κατοικούντων ἐν αὐτῇ 35 ἔθετο ἔρημον εἰς λίμνας ὑδάτων...] დასხნა მდინარეი ვმელად და გამოსავალნი წყალთანი წყურიელად. შექმნა ქუეყანა ნაყოფიერი ბიცად უკეთურებისა მკვდრთა მისთაჲსა 35. დასხნა უდაბნონი ტბად წყალთა... (*dasxna mdinareni qmelad da gamosavalni c’q’altani c’q’urielad. šekmna kueq’anaq naq’opieri bicad uk’eturebisa mk’wdrta mistajsa* 35. *dasxna udabnoni t’bad c’q’alta...*) Geo.

The rendering of *τιθέναι* with ყოფა (*q’opa*) // შექმნა (*šekmna*) instead of მიცემა (*micema* ‘to give’) and დადება (*dadeba* ‘to put’, ‘to place’) does not contradict the spirit of the Greek Psalms,<sup>82</sup> where *διδόναι*, *τιθέναι*, *ποιεῖν* and *γίγνεσθαι* substitute each other or are presented alongside one another in the same context as well:

68:11–12 καὶ ἐγενήθη εἰς ὀνειδισμόν ἐμοί<sup>12</sup> καὶ ἐθέμην τὸ ἔνδυμά μου σάκκον καὶ ἐγενόμην αὐτοῖς εἰς παραβολήν] იქმნა იგი ჩემდა საყუდრელ. ვყავ სამოსლად ჩემდა ძაძა და ვექმენ(ი) მე მათ იგავ (*ikmna igi čemda saq’uedrel. vq’av samoslada čemda zažaj da vekmen me mat igav*) Geo.

82 On the Hebrew counterpart of *διδόναι* (‘to be’, ‘to create’, ‘to make’) see Helbing, *Kasussyntax*, 52.

The interchangeable use of verbs in 68:11 occurs in following verses as well:

- 43:15 **ἔθου** ἡμᾶς εἰς παραβολήν | **მყვენ** ჩუენ იგავ (*mq'ven čuen igav*) Geo.  
 77:66 **ὄνειδος** αἰώνιον **ἔδωκεν** αὐτοῖς | საყუედრელად საუკუნოდ **შექმნა** (მისცნა Geo<sup>G</sup>) **იგინი** (*saq'uedrelad sauk'unod šekmna (miscna Geo<sup>G</sup>) igini*) Geo.<sup>83</sup>  
 43:14 **ἔθου** ἡμᾶς **ὄνειδος** τοῖς γείτοσιν ἡμῶν | **მყვენ** ჩუენ საყუედრელ მოძმეთა (მახლობელთა Geo<sup>G</sup>) ჩუენთა (*mq'ven čuen saq'uedrel mozmeta (maxlobelta Geo<sup>G</sup>) čuenta*) Geo.  
 79:7 **ἔθου** ἡμᾶς εἰς ἀντιλογίαν τοῖς γείτοσιν | **მყვენ** ჩუენ საყუედრელ (საჯდომელ Geo<sup>G</sup>) გარემოჲსთა (გარემოთა Geo<sup>AB</sup>) (*mq'ven čuen saq'uedrel (saqdomel Geo<sup>G</sup>) garemojsta (garemota Geo<sup>G</sup>) Geo.*  
 88:41 **ἔθου** τὰ ὀχυράματα αὐτοῦ δειλῖαν | **ჰყავ** სიმტკიცე მისი შემძრწუნებულ Geo', **ჰყვენ** სიმტკიცენი მისნი შემძრწუნებულ (*hq'av simt'k'ice misi šezrc'unebul*) *hq'ven simtk'iceni misni šezrc'unebul*) Geo<sup>G</sup>.  
 17:41 **ἐχθρούς** μου **ἔδωκάς** μοι νῶτον | მტერნი ჩემნი დევენულ **ყვენ** (*mt'erni čemni devnul q'ven* 'enemies of mine make them persecuted') Geo'; cf მტერნი ჩემნი **მომცენ** მე მელტად (*mt'erni čemni momcen me meot'ad*) Geo<sup>G</sup>.  
 20:13 **θήσεις** αὐτοὺς νῶτον | **ჰყვენ** შენ **იგინი** დევენულ (*hq'ven šen igini devnul* 'you make them persecuted') Geo'; cf. **დასხნე** იგინი ზურგიტ (*daxsne igini zurgit*) Geo<sup>G</sup>.<sup>84</sup>

Interestingly enough, the use of verbs ყოფა, ქმნა (*q'opa, kmna* 'to make') mostly evokes the change of the case of predicative: instead of the adverbial, absolute case<sup>85</sup> is used (see the above-listed cases, e.g., 43:14,15, 88:41, etc.). This fact can indicate that the translator does not consider the verbs დადება (*dadeba*) and მიცემა (*micema*) as auxiliary ones in contrast to ყოფა (*q'opa*) usually forming the compound verbs.<sup>86</sup>

b. The equivalents of **τιθέναι** are chosen considering the context:

- 104:32 **ἔθετο** τὰς βροχὰς αὐτῶν χάλαζαν | **გარდაქცია**<sup>87</sup> წჳმად მათი სეტყუად (*gar-daakcia c'wmaj mati set'q'uad* 'turned their rain into hail') Geo', cf. **დასხნა** წჳმანი მათნი სეტყუად (*daxsna c'wmani matni set'q'uad*) Geo<sup>G</sup>.

83 See above, the same context in Ps 38:9 and Ps 56:4, where მიცემა (*micema*) corresponds to **διδόναι**.

84 Helbing, *Kasussyntax*, 57. See also Ps 65:11 **ἔθου** θλίψεις ἐπὶ τὸν νῶτον ἡμῶν | **დაჰკრიბე** ჳირი ბეჳთა ჩუენთა (*dahk'ribe č'iri beč'ta čuenta*).

85 Absolute case is normally applied for nominal part of compound verbs.

86 Imnaishvili considers the alternation of the adverbial and absolute cases as a struggle between new (adv.) and old (abs.) norms, see Imnaishvili, *სახელთა ბრუნება [Declination]*, 734.

87 See above, the exact rendering in Ps 106:33,35. **გარდაქცევა** (*gardakceva*), usually, is equivalent to μεταστρέφειν, more seldom to ἰστάναι (Ps 106:29) and ποιεῖν (Ps 134:7).

87:9 **ἐθენტό** με **βδελυγμα** **ἐαυτοῖς**] **შემრაცხე** (-ეს Geo<sup>G</sup>)<sup>88</sup> მე **საკიცხელად** (საძაგელად Geo<sup>G</sup>) მათდა (მათა Geo<sup>B</sup>, მათა Geo<sup>CE</sup>) (**šemracxe** (-es Geo<sup>G</sup>) *me sak'icxelad* (*sazagelad* Geo<sup>G</sup>) *matda* (*matta* Geo<sup>B</sup>, *mata* Geo<sup>CE</sup>) 'consider me blameworthy (abominable Geo<sup>G</sup>) to them') Geo.

In conclusion, while rendering διδόναι // τιθέναι with double accusative, the translator reveals his conceiving of the expression as an idiomatic one. He creates this idiom, foreign to his language, primarily by the exact semantical rendering of verbs διδόναι // τιθέναι and secondly by applying the adverbial case for predicative. On the other hand, the translator is not fixed on the consistency of lexical equivalents and changes them even without particular desire – when he could stay with already approved exact lexical matches. But even these changes are in accordance with the language of Septuagint-Psalms and often agree with parallel places.

c. Likewise seldom are alteration of equivalents for Greek predicative in acc.

c.1. Instead of *adverbialis*, the predicative is represented by the case of the direct Object (here in nom.) in Georgian:

65:9 **μὴ** δόντος **εἰς** **σάλον** τοὺς πόδας μου] არა სცა **ძრვაჲ** (ძრვა Geo<sup>C</sup>) ფერჯთა ჩემთა (*ara sca zrvaj* (*zrva* Geo<sup>C</sup>) *perqta čemta*) Geo cf. above, 120:3.

Such a substitution of *adverbialis* and object-case may reveal the translator's uncertainty in the interpretation of (εἰς) accusative. This, in its turn, must be related with the double understanding of accusative in Greek in following verse:

54:23 **οὐ** δώσει **εἰς** τὸν αἰῶνα **σάλον** τῷ δικαίῳ] არა სცეს **შერყევად** უკუნისამდე მართალსა (*ara sces šerq'evaj* *uk'unisamde martalsa*) Geo.<sup>89</sup>

c.2. *Adverbialis* is substituted by instrumental case – having ist synonymous grammatical function in combination with certain verbs:<sup>90</sup>

147:3 **ὁ** **τιθεῖς** τὰ ὄρια σου **εἰρήνην**] რომელმან **დასხნა** საზღვარნი შენნი **მშვიდობით** (*romelman dasxna* *sazgvarni šenni mšwdobit*) Geo.

88 Equivalent of προστίθεναι (Ps 53:5 85:14) and γίνεσθαι (Ps 72:22 87:5 108:7 118:119).

89 Here – because of the absence of the second acc. – σάλον (acc.) governed by διδόναι, can be understood as a direct object, in opposite to Ps 65:9.

90 See Imnaishvili, სახელთა ბრუნება [*Declination*], 727, 735.



c.3. Although it must be considered that in the semantically similar phrase the same *instrumentalis* occurs for its regular counterpart *ἐν+dat.*:

75:3 *ἐγενήθη ἐν εἰρήνῃ ὁ τόπος αὐτοῦ* იყავნ მშვდობით ადგილი მისი (*iq'avn mšwdobit adgili misi*) Geo.<sup>91</sup>

The parallels like this may also influence the Georgian translator in 147:3.

c.4. Accusative with *τιθέναι* is rendered by a subordinate clause, which brings the translation closer to the natural Georgian:

17:35 *ἔθου τόξον χαλκοῦν τοὺς βραχίονάς μου* ყვნა მკლავნი ჩემნი ვითარცა მშვლდი მტკიცე (*q'vna mk'lavni čemni vitarca mšwldi mt'k'ice*) Geo': cf. ყვენ მშვლდ რვალისა მკლავნი ჩემნი (*q'ven mšwld rvalisa mk'lavni čemni*) Geo<sup>6</sup>.

78:1 *ἔθεντο Ἱερουσαλὴμ εἰς ὁπαροφυλάκιον* შექმნეს იერუსალემი ვითარცა ლოგინი ხილისმცველთაჲ (*šekmnes ierusalemi vitarca logini xilismcveltaj*) Geo', დადვეს იერუსალემი ვითარცა ხილისსაცავი (*dadves ierusalemi vitarca xilissacavi*) Geo<sup>6</sup>.

The use of the subordinate clause with *τιθέναι* does not contradict the original but rather is created by its analogy:<sup>92</sup>

20:10 *θήσεις αὐτοὺς ὡς κλίβανον πυρός* დაჰსენე იგინი ვითარცა საჯუმილი ცეცხლისაჲ (საჯუმილისა ცეცხლი Geo<sup>6</sup>) (*dahsxne igini vitarca saqumili cecxlisaj (saqumilisa cecxli Geo<sup>6</sup>)*).

These, though rare, alterations of the grammatical forms of predicative indicate that establishing the exact equivalent of the constructions with the double accusative was problematic for the translator or, moreover, for the Georgian language. To solve this problem, he either follows standard equivalence (adverbial/absolute case for predicative), or alters it considering parallels in the Septuagint Psalms.

#### 4.1.2 διδόναι and τιθέναι with One Accusative

In a range of cases, *διδόναι* // *τιθέναι* governs only one accusative or dative (rarely). In such occasions, the translator understands the acc. or dat. as a direct object and renders it accordingly with object-cases (nom. or dat.). As for the verbs, here he reveals more flexibility which I intend to explore below.

91 For the equivalences of *ἐν εἰρήνῃ* – *მშვდობით* (*mšwidobit*) see also Ps 4:9; 28:11; 54:19.

92 Helbing, *Kasussyntax*, 58.

**διδόναι** // **τιθέναι** with one accusative or (rarely) dative mostly creates periphrastic expressions.<sup>93</sup> The translator does not simplify such unfamiliar expressions for Georgian by providing the simple verb of the same meaning.<sup>94</sup> Instead, as in the instances observed below, he uses exact semantical equivalents of **διδόναι** and **τιθέναι**:

- 143:10 τῷ **διδόντι** τὴν σωτηρίαν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν] რომელმან **მიეც** (მისცა Geo<sup>6</sup>)  
ცხორებდა მეფეთა (*romelman miec (misca Geo<sup>6</sup>) cxorebaj mepeta*) Geo.  
117:18 τῷ θανάτῳ οὖν **παρέδωκεν** με] სიკუდილსა არა **მიმცა** მე (*sik'udilsa ara mimca me*) Geo<sup>95</sup>.  
88:20 **ἐθέμην** βροθίαιαν ἐπὶ δυσιν] **დავდეა** მე შეწევნად ძლიერისა ზედა (*davdva me šec'evnaj zlierisa zeda*) Geo.  
77:7 ἵνα **θῶνται** ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν τὴν ἐλπιδά] რადთა **დადვან** ღმრთისა მიმართ სასოებად (*rajta dadvan ymrtisa mimart sasoebaj*) Geo.  
72:28 **τίθεσθαι** ἐν τῷ κυρίῳ τὴν ἐλπίδα μου] **დადებად** უფლისა მიმართ სასოებად (*dadebad uplisa mimart sasoebaj*) Geo.

Moreover, there are cases where, in the periphrastic expressions, the literal and free renderings of **τιθέναι** are interchanged in the same contexts:

- 17:12 **ἔθετο** σκότος] **დადვა** ბნელი (*dadva bneli* 'set dark') Geo  
and  
103:20 **ἔθου** σκότος] **შექმნა** ბნელი (*šekmna bneli* 'created dark') Geo', cf. **დასდევ**  
ბნელი (*dasdev bneli* '(you) set dark') Geo<sup>6</sup>.

But by doing so, the translator imitates the flexibility of using the verbs in analogy to Greek phrases:

- 148:6 πρόσταγμα **ἔθετο**] ბრძანებდა **დასდვა** (*brzanebaj dasdva* 'set the order') Geo  
and  
104:10 **ἔστησεν** αὐτὴν τῷ Ἰακώβ εἰς πρόσταγμα] **დამტკიცა** ბრძანებდა მისი  
იაკობის თანა (*daamt'k'ica brzanebaj misi iak'obis tana* 'set his order with  
Iakob').  
103:9 ὄριον **ἔθου**] საზღვარი **დასდევ** (*sazyvari dasdev* '(you) set the border') Geo  
and  
73:17 **ἐποίησας** πάντα τὰ ὅρια] **დამტკიცენ** (შეჰქმნენ Geo<sup>6</sup>) ყოველნი საზღვარნი  
(*daamt'k'icen (šehkmen Geo<sup>6</sup>) q'ovelni sazyvarni* '(you) set all borders').

93 E.g. **διδόναι** τὴν σωτηρίαν instead of the simple form – σῶζειν. See Helbing, *Kasussyntax*, 191.

94 E.g. აცხოვნე (*acxovne*) for **მიეც** ცხორებდა (*miec cxorebaj* 'give live').

95 See Helbing, *Kasussyntax*, 193.

მიცემა (*micema*) – an equivalent of *διδόναι* is used instead of დადება (*dadeba*) in the old translations:

- 104:27 **ἔθετο** ἐν (> B<sup>L<sup>pau</sup>Th<sup>p</sup></sup>) αὐτοῖς τοὺς λόγους τῶν σημείων αὐτοῦ] **მისცნა** მათ (= B<sup>L<sup>pau</sup>Th<sup>p</sup></sup>) **სიტყუანი** სასწაულთა მისთანი (*miscna mat sit'q'uani* *sasc'aula mistani* '(he) gave them the words of the miracles') Geo<sup>7</sup>: cf. **დასხნა** მათ შორის **სიტყუანი** სასწაულთა მისთანი (*dasxna mat šoris sit'q'uani* *sasc'aula mistani* '(he) set among them the words of the miracles') Geo<sup>7</sup>.

#### 4.1.3 *διδόναι* and *τιθέναι* with *Dativus loci* and *Prepositions Denoting Location*

*τιθέναι* and *διδόναι* are often used with a *dativus loci* (its connotation can be literal or figurative), or with prepositions ἐνώπιον, ἐν, εἰς, ἐπι creating idiomatic expressions.<sup>96</sup> The Georgian translation reproduces this idiom very closely to the original:

- 140:3 **Θεὸς** κύριε φυλακῇν τῷ στόματί μου] **დასდევ**, უფალო, საცოთ პირსა ჩემსა (*dasdev, upalo, sacoj p'irsa čemsa*) Geo and the same;
- 38:2 **ἐθέμην** τῷ στόματί μου φυλακῇν] **დასდევ** (დავსდევ Geo<sup>7</sup>) საცოთ პირსა ჩემსა (*dasdev (davsdev Geo<sup>7</sup>) sacoj p'irsa čemsa*) Geo.
- 4:7 **ἔδωκα** εὐφροσύνην εἰς τὴν καρδίαν μου] **მოეც** სიხარული გულთა ჩუენთა (*moec sixaruli gulta čuenta*) Geo;
- 83:6 ἀναβάσεις ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ **διέθετο**] აღსლვაჲ გულსა თვსსა **დაიდვა** (*ayslvaj guls twssa daidva*) Geo.
- 12:3 ἔως τίνος **θήσομαι** βουλὰς ἐν ψυχῇ μου] ვიდრემდის (ვიდრე ვისთვის Geo<sup>7</sup>) **დავისხნე** ზრახვანი სულსა ჩემსა (*vidremdis (vidre vistws Geo<sup>7</sup>) davisxne zraxvani sulsa čemsa*) Geo.
- 48:15 ἐν ᾧ **ἔθεντο**] **ჯოჯოხეთსა მიეცნენ** (-ნეს Geo<sup>7</sup>) (*ჯოჯოხეთსა miecnen (-nes Geo<sup>7</sup>)*) Geo;
- 87:7 **ἔθεντό** με ἐν λάκκῳ κατωτάτῳ ἐν σκοτεινοῖς καὶ ἐν σκιᾷ θανάτου] **დამდვეს** მე მღვმესა ქუესენელსა, **ბნელსა** (-თა შინა Geo<sup>7</sup>) და აჩრდილთა სიკუდილისათა (*damdves me mywmesa kuesk'nelsa, bnelsa (-ta šina Geo<sup>7</sup>) da ačr-dilta*) Geo.
- 77:43 ὡς **ἔθετο** ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τὰ σημεία αὐτοῦ] **დაადგინა** (**დასხნა** Geo<sup>7</sup>) ეგვპტეს (>Geo<sup>E</sup>) (ეგვპტეს შინა Geo<sup>DFG</sup>) სასწაულნი მისნი (*daadgina (dasxna Geo<sup>7</sup>) egwp't'es (>Geo<sup>E</sup>) (egwp't'es šina Geo<sup>DFG</sup>) sasc'aulni misni*) Geo.
- 72:9 **ἔθεντο** εἰς οὐρανὸν τὸ στόμα αὐτῶν] **დასხნეს** (დადვეს Geo<sup>7</sup>) ცაათა შინა პირნი მათნი (პირი მათი Geo<sup>7</sup>) (*dasxnes (dadvēs Geo<sup>7</sup>) cata šina p'irni matni (p'iri mati Geo<sup>7</sup>)*) Geo.

96 For further examples, see above. Helbing, *Kasussyntax*, 193; Blass et al, *Grammatik*, § 218, 3.

- 47:14 **θέσθε** τὰς καρδίας ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς] **დასხენით** გულნი თქუენნი ძალსა შინა მისსა (მათსა Geo<sup>P</sup>) (*dasxenit gulni tkuenni zalsa šina missa (matsa Geo<sup>P</sup>)*) Geo.
- 88:26 καὶ **θήσομαι** ἐν θαλάσῃ χεῖρα αὐτοῦ] **დავდვა** მე (>Geo<sup>G</sup>) **ზღუასა ზედა** ჯელი მისი (*davdva me (>Geo<sup>G</sup>) zghusa zeda qeli misi*) Geo.
- 138:5 **ἔθηκας** ἐπ’ ἐμὲ τὴν χεῖρά σου] **დამდევე** ჩემ ზედა ჯელი შენი (*damdev čem zeda qeli šeni*) Geo.
- 55:9 **ἔθου** τὰ δάκρυά μου ἐνώπιόν σου] **დავსხნე** (დასხნე Geo<sup>E</sup>, დასხენ Geo<sup>G</sup>) ცრემლნი ჩემნი **შენ წინაშე** (*davsxne (dasxne Geo<sup>E</sup>, dasxen Geo<sup>G</sup>) cremlni čemni šen c’inaše*) Geo.

On certain occasions *τιθέναι* is rendered by the verb *მიცემა* (*micema*, ‘to give’) – i. e., a standard equivalent of *διδόναι*, indicating that the translator understands synonymous meaning of *τιθέναι* and *διδόναι* in particular phrases (cf. above):

- 77:5 νόμον **ἔθετο** ἐν Ἰσραὴλ] **სჯული** მისი **მისცა** ისრაელსა ზედა (*sžuli misi misca israelsa zeda* ‘his faith gave over Israel’) Geo: cf. **შჯული დავდა** ისრაელსა შოროს Geo<sup>G</sup> (*sžuli dadva israelsa šoris* ‘he put his faith among Israel’).

#### 4.1.4 Contextual Translation

Thus, in all the mentioned cases, the translator aims to introduce and maintain foreign expressions in the Georgian by rendering them with semantical and formal precision. There are only a small number of exceptions in which the translator bases his decision on the context:

- 108:5 **ἔθεντο** κατ’ ἐμοῦ κακὰ ἀντὶ ἀγαθῶν] **მომავეს** (=ἀνταποδιδόναι) მე ბოროტი კეთილისა წილ (*momages me borot’i k’etilisa c’il* ‘they gave me back evil for good’) Geo: ex 7:5; 34:12; 37:21.
- 72:18 **ἔθου** αὐτοῖς (+ *κακα L* 1219)] **დასთრგუნენ** (დაეთრგუნენ Geo<sup>G</sup>; დავთრგუნენ Geo<sup>E</sup>) (=καταπατεῖν) იგინი (*dastrgunen (daetrgunnen Geo<sup>G</sup>; davtrgunen Geo<sup>E</sup>) igini* ‘defeat them’) Geo, cf. **დასდევე** მათთვის ბოროტი (*dasdev mattws borot’i* ‘set for them evil’) Geo<sup>G</sup>.
- 88:30 **θήσομαι** εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος τὸ σπέρμα αὐτοῦ] **განამტკიცო** (=ὑπο/ἐπι) στηρίξειν, καταρτίξειν)<sup>97</sup> უკუნითი უკუნისამდე ნათესავი მისი (*ganamt’k’ico uk’uniti uk’unisamde natesavi misi* ‘you will strengthen his posterity for

97 Cf. The same equivalent for *ἐτοιμάζειν*: Ps 88:5 *ἐτοιμάσω* τὸ σπέρμα σου] **განვამტკიცო** (განვამზადო Geo<sup>G</sup>) ნათესავი მისი (შენი Geo<sup>G</sup>) (*ganvamt’k’ico (ganvhamzado Geo<sup>G</sup>) natesavi misi (šeni Geo<sup>G</sup>)*) Geo).

eternity’) Geo’, cf. ეგოს უკუნითი უკუნისამდე თესლი მისი (*egos uk’initi uk’unisamde tesli misi*) Geo<sup>6</sup>.

106:41 **ΞΗΕΤΟ** ὡς πρόβατα πατριάς] **უძღოდა** (=ὀδηγεῖν)<sup>98</sup> ვითარცა (სა)ცხოვარსა, ტომებსა (*uzyoda vitarca (sa)cxovarsa t’omebsa* ‘he led tribes like sheeps’) Geo.

118:110 **ΞΗΕΝΤΟ** ἁμαρτωλοὶ παγίδα μοι] **დამირწყეს** მე ცოდვილთა მახე (*damirc’q’es me codvilta maxe* ‘the sinners set a trap for me’) Geo.<sup>99</sup>

#### 4.2 Verbal Syntax (on the Example of Verbs of *Fearing*)

The next issue the translator of the Georgian Psalms is confronted with in Ps 90 is the rendering of the syntactic constructions with φοβέομαι.

(1) In Psalm 90 φοβέομαι governs the noun in gen. with preposition ἀπό.<sup>100</sup> This construction in Georgian is rendered by formal and semantic equivalents – by the verb შეშინება (*šesineba* ‘to be afraid’) and the noun in genitive with the postposition -გან (-*gan*, ‘from’):<sup>101</sup>

90:5 φοβηθήσῃ ἀπὸ φόβου νυκτερινῶν] არა **გეშინოდის** შენ (>Geo<sup>6</sup>) შიშისაგან ღამისა (*ara gešinodis šen (>Geo<sup>6</sup>) šišisagan γamisā*) Geo.

The same „ἀπό – გან“ equivalence appears with verbs of fearing (φοβέομαι, δειλιάω – შეშინება (*šesineba*), შეძრწუნება (*šezrc’uneba*)) in other instances as well:<sup>102</sup>

3:7 οὖν φοβηθήσομαι ἀπὸ κυριαδῶν λαῶν] არა **შემეშინოს** მე ბევრეულისაგან ერისა (*ara šemešinōs me bevreulisagan erisa*) Geo.

98 The free lexical rendering is not corrected by Giorgi Mtatsmindeli, nor by the translator of the ‘excerpted’ catenae, where the text is explained in the following way: ცხოვარნი წარმართები არიან, რომელთაც მწყემსი კეთილი უძღვით (*cxovarni c’armartebi arian, romeltac mc’q’emsi k’etili uzgvit* ‘the sheep are pagans, who are led by good shepherd’).

99 See above, § 2.2.

100 Johannessoohn, *Gebrauch der Präpositionen*, 276; Helbing, *Kasussyntax*, 29–30; Blass et al., *Grammatik*, § 149.1.

101 See Imnaishvili, სახელთა ბრუნება [*Declination*], 715–716.

102 See „ἀπό – გან (-*gan*)“ equivalence governed by other Greek and Georgian verbs: Ps 118:116 **καταίσχυγῃς** με ἀπὸ τῆς προσδοκίας μου] ნუ **მარცხუნ** მე სასოებისაგან ჩემისა (*nu marc-x-uen me sasoebisagan čemisā*); Ps 17:24 **φυσλάξομαι** ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπομίας μου] **ვევრძალო** (დავიცვა Geo<sup>6</sup>) მე უშჯულოებისა ჩემისაგან (*vek’rʒalo (davicva Geo<sup>6</sup>) me ušʒuloebisa čemisagan*) Geo.

- 111:7 **ἀπὸ ἀκοῆς πονηρᾶς οὖν φοβηθήσεται**] ჰამბავისაგან ბოროტისა მას არა ეშინოდის (*hambavisagan borot'isa mas ara ešinodis*) Geo.
- 64:9 **φοβηθήσονται οἱ κατοικοῦντες τὰ πέρατα ἀπὸ τῶν σιμείων σου**] ეშინოდენ მკვდრთა ქუეყანისათა სასწაულთა შენთაგან, უფალო (*ešinoden mk'wdrta kueq'anisata sasc'aulta šentagan, upalo*) Geo'; ეშინოდის მკვდრთა კიდეთასა სასწაულთა შენთაგან (*ešinodis mk'wdrta k'idetasa sasc'aulta šentagan*) Geo<sup>6</sup>
- 118:120 **ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν κριμάτων σου ἐφοβήθη**] საშჯელთა შენთაგან შემეშინა (*sašželta šentagan šemešina*) Geo.
- 118:161 **ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων σου ἐδειλίασεν ἡ καρδία μου**] სიტყუათა შენთაგან შეეშინა სულსა ჩემსა (*sit'q'uata šentagan šeešina sulsa čemsa*) Geo.
- 26:1 **ἀπὸ τίνος δειλιάσω**] ვისგან შევძრწუნდე (*visgan ševzrc'unde*) Geo.

The postposition -გან (-gan) retains also for bare acc. directed by φοβέομαι:

- 22:4 **οὖν φοβηθήσομαι κακὰ**] არა შემეშინოს მე ბოროტისაგან (*ara šemešinós me borot'isagan*) Geo.
- 66:8 **φοβηθήτωσαν αὐτὸν πάντα τὰ πέρατα τῆς γῆς**] ეშინოდენ მისგან ყოველთა კიდეთა ქუეყანისათა (*ešinoden misgan q'ovelta k'ideta kueq'anisata*) Geo.
- 101:16 **φοβηθήσονται τὰ ἔθνη τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τὰς σάρκας μου**] ეშინოდენ წარმართთა სახელისა შენისაგან (სახელისაგან უფლისა Geo<sup>6</sup>) (*ešinoden c'armartta saxelisa šenisagan (saxelisagan uplisa Geo<sup>6</sup>)*) Geo.

(2) For accusative directed by φοβέομαι, the Georgian also employs expanded genitive-form -ისა (-is-a). It is noticeable that this equivalence always appears in the context where the object of the fear – the Lord – is explicitly represented in the sentence:

- 32:8 **φοβηθήτω τὸν κύριον πᾶσα ἡ γῆ**] ეშინოდენ უფლისა ყოველსა ქუეყანასა (*ešinoden uplisa q'ovelsa kueq'anasa*) Geo, see also 33:10; 54:20.

The same -ისა (-isa) is used while rendering the Greek participial construction by subordinate clause, i. e., when the translator's choice is not conditioned by the original:

- 111:1 **ἀνὴρ ὁ φοβούμενος τὸν κύριον**] კაცი, რომელსა ეშინის უფლისა (*k'aci, romelsa ešinís uplisa* 'A man, who fears the Lord'), the same see also in 24:12; 127:4; 127:1.

All this considered, the postposition -გან (-gan) and the expanded genitive (-ისა (-isa)) like *ἀπὸ cum gen.* and bare acc. in combination with the Georgian and

Greek verbs of *fearing* constitute grammatical synonyms and alter each other in the Greek and Georgian manuscripts:

- 21:24 **φοβηθήτωσαν αὐτὸν** B' R' Ga 2005 A **გეშინოდენ უფლისა** (*gešinoden uplisa* Geo') **φοβηθήτωσαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ** U-1093 L' 1219'=MT; **ეშინოდენ მისგან** (*ešinoden misgan*) Geo<sup>G</sup>.  
 26:1 **τίνα φοβηθήσομαι** ვისა (ვისგან Geo<sup>A</sup>) **მეშინოდის** (*visa (visgan Geo<sup>A</sup>) mešinodis*) Geo.

(3) One more grammatical form directed by the Georgian verbs of *fearing* is expanded instrumental case (-ითა *ita*):

- 103:7 **ἀπὸ φωνῆς βροντῆς σου δειλιάσουσιν** ჳმითა ქუხილისა შენისაათა **შემრწუნდიან** (*qmita kuxilisa šenisajta šezrc'undian*).

It is notable, that in the Georgian noun in *instrumentalis* with the same verbs is used also when it is derivationally or semantically affiliated with the verb of *fearing*. In following section, I intend to observe exactly this kind of constructions in the Georgian Psalms.

### 4.3 Repetition as an Idiom in the Georgian Psalms

#### 4.3.1 Etymological and Semantical Pairs

The phrase in 90:5 with the verb **φοβείσθαι** is interesting from another point of view as well, namely because of the repetition of a root:

- 90:5 **φοβηθήσῃ ἀπὸ φόβου** νυκτερινῶν] არა **გეშინოდის** შენ (>Geo<sup>G</sup>) **შიშისაგან** ღამისა (*ara gešinodis šen (>Geo<sup>G</sup>) šišisagan ḡamisa*) Geo.

Various kinds of repetitions which build the syntactic constructions and figures of speeches are the most characteristic for the Psalms.<sup>103</sup> Particularly widespread are the so-called *figura etymologica* or *schema etymologicum*,<sup>104</sup> i.e., the combination of the derivationally or semantically related noun and the verb, which in fact constitute one member of the sentence – the predicate. However, the grammatical function of the noun cognate to the verb either in etymology or meaning is not always obvious. Accordingly, it is not always clear whether the syntagm should be qualified as *figura etymologica* or as simply grammatical construction.

103 About the Figures of repetition see for example, Fehling, *Wiederholungsfiguren*.

104 See e.g. Helbing, *Kasussyntax*, 88–92; Johannessohn, *Gebrauch der Kasus*, 72–74; Bons, “Devices”, 69–79; Tov, “Renderings”, 247–256; Sollamo, “Why translation technique?”, 1–20.

In the following, I will observe how the translator deals with this dilemma and begin with the syntagms composed by the roots connoting *fear*, already discussed in the previous section.

Besides the mentioned context 90:5, there are two more instances of the verb and noun with the same meaning:

- 52:6 ἔκεῖ φοβηθήσονται φόβον (φόβω L<sup>b</sup>THeS<sup>c</sup> 55)] მუნ შეეშინოს მათ შიშით  
(*mun šeešinós mat šišit*) Geo<sup>3</sup>; მუნ შეეშინა შიში (*mun šeešina šiši*) Geo<sup>G105</sup>.  
13:5 ἔκεῖ ἐδειλίασαν φόβω] მუნ შეეშინოს მათ შიშით (*mun šeešinós mat šišit*)  
Geo<sup>3</sup>; მუნ შეეშინა შიში (*mun šeešina šiši*) Geo<sup>G</sup>.

Thus, in all three examples the translator is confronted with rendering the syntagms where 1. the verb and the noun are related in two ways: etymologically (both have the same root φοβ) or semantically (φόβος and δειλιάω) and 2. the verb governs the noun in three different forms: in dative, in accusative and in ἀπό+acc. In 90:5, the translator reflects the repetition of the root as well as transmits the noun accompanied by a preposition ἀπό with its proper counterpart – -გან (-*gan* ‘from’). In two other instances though, he, again, repeats the root (even in 13:5, where in Greek the verb and noun represent semasiological pair), whereas while rendering the kindred noun in formally different but functionally identical cases (in acc. and nom.) he uses *instrumentalis*.

It seems to me that by the different method of translation of phrases with similar meaning the translator reveals his understanding of syntagm: by the formal rendering of prepositional case ἀπὸ φόβου he represents his perception of the syntagm as a grammatical construction – ἀπὸ connoting the cause of the fear.<sup>106</sup> Whereas by the rendering of the dat./acc. by instrumental case he underlines the figurative function of the expression. Through the following examples, I will try to prove this idea.

Generally, in the Greek Psalms, in syntagms composed by the derivationally or semantically affiliated noun and verb, the nominal part can be represented in dative, accusative (both with or without prepositions), as well as by a participle in nom., and the noun in the relative clause. Whereas in the Georgian Psalms the cognate noun in form of substantive and infinitive occurs in *instrumentalis* and cases of direct object (nom. and dat.).

105 On the use of nominative instead of the *instrumentalis* see below § 4.3.3.

106 See above, § 4.2 (1).



#### 4.3.2 The Rendering of the Cognate Noun by the Instrumental Case in Georgian

##### Verb + (ἐν) Dat<sup>107</sup>

In the Greek etymological figures cognate object often appears in bare dative or dative accompanied by the preposition ἐν. In Georgian both are mainly transmitted with expanded instrumental case (-it(a)) – a standard Georgian equivalent of *dativus instrumenti* or ἐν+dative. Therefore, one may suggest that exactly this, already existing equivalency of Greek (ἐν+) dative and Georgian *instrumentalis* were used by the translator for the rendering of the Greek cognate object in dat. or ἐν+dat in etymological figures.

For illustration, below I will provide etymological figures created by different lexical unites expressing similar meaning ('joy') in Greek:

- 131:16 ἀγαλλιάσει ἀγαλλιάσονται] სიხარულით იხარებდენ (*sixarulit ixarebden*) Geo.  
 105:5 τοῦ εὐφρανθῆναι ἐν τῇ εὐφροσύνῃ] ῥαδота...ვიხარებდეთ ჩუენ სიხარულითა (*rajta ... vixarebdet čuen sixarulita*) Geo.  
 20:7 εὐφρανεῖς αὐτὸν ἐν χαρᾷ] ახარე (ახარო Geo<sup>G</sup>) მას სიხარულითა (*axaro Geo<sup>G</sup>) mas sixarulita*) Geo.

In all three examples, the Georgian translator renders the Greek etymological figures using one root ხარ (*xar* 'joy') even when there is a semasiological pair in Greek (20:7).

Moreover, influenced by these parallels, the translator creates an etymological figure independently from the original. This stresses the special attention of the translator to the literary devices created by the repetition:

- 131:9 ἀγαλλιάσονται] სიხარულით (> Geo<sup>G</sup>) იხარებდენ (*sixarulit (> Geo<sup>G</sup>) ixarebden*) Geo.

In the mentioned cases, the noun directed by the verb of the same or synonymous root is an internal object, both in Greek and in Georgian. But on several occasions, it is difficult to strongly distinguish the functions of the Greek dative: whether it expresses the cognate object or the real *instrumentalis* (Muraoka, *Syntax*, 519). The Georgian translation using the instrumental case for Greek dative does not help clarify the issue either.

In the following contexts where the meaning of *dativus instrumenti* is more plausible, the Georgian translator does not repeat the root in contrast to the Greek,

107 Tov, "Renderings", 247–256.

apparently revealing his perception of the syntagm as a grammatical construction and not as a literary device. On the other hand, it cannot be ruled out that the translator simply can't manage to create the etymological pair.

73:7 ἐνεπύρισαν ἐν πυρὶ] დაწუეს ცეცხლითა (*dac'ues cecxlita*) Geo.

149:3 ἐν τυμπάνῳ καὶ ψαλτηρίῳ ψαλᾶτωσαν αὐτῷ] ქებითა და ფსალმუნითა უგალობდით მას (*kebita da psalmunita ugalobdit mas*) Geo.

However, there is the opposite case as well, when the translator uses *instrumentalis* in its genuine meaning and, at the same time, repeats the root **თუალ** (*tual*, 'eye') even though there is no repetition in Greek:

34:19 διανεύοντες ὁφθαλμοῖς] თუალ-ჰყოფდეს თუალითა (*tual-hq'opdes tual-ita*) Geo.

### Verb + Acc

In the etymological figures of the Septuagint the internal object often occurs in accusative,<sup>108</sup> which also is rendered by *instrumentalis* in Georgian:

138:22 τέλειον μῖσος ἐμίσους] სიძულილითა სრულითა მოვიბუღენ (*szulilita srulita movizulen*) and the same: 24:19.

In the cases with the cognate accusative, like the cognate dative, the challenge of the translator is to decide whether the noun is the internal or external, direct object.<sup>109</sup> The issue became especially difficult in the case of transitive verbs, which are not followed by the dir. object. In such ambiguous instances, the use of Georgian *instrumentalis* for the Greek accusative indicates in my view that the translator perceives the noun in accusative as an internal object:

32:3 ἄσατε αὐτῷ ἄσμα καινόν] აქებდით უფალსა ქებითა ახლითა (*akebdit upalsa kebita axlita*) Geo.

149:1; 97:1 ἄσατε τῷ κυρίῳ ἄσμα καινόν] უგალობდით უფალსა გალობითა ახლითა (*ugalobdit upalsa galobita axlita*) Geo.

It is also to be mentioned, that in the latter examples, even though the translator maintains the repetition, he changes the equivalents for the same Greek lexical units (ἄσατε ἄσμα – აქებდით ქებითა [*akebdit kebita*] // უგალობდით გალობითა [*ugalobdit galobita*]).

108 Muraoka, *Syntax*, 524.

109 Muraoka, *Syntax*, 527.

In the next case the translator again renders the cognate accusative by instrumental case and underlines the stylistic function of the phrase applying etymological pair instead of semantical one presented in Greek:

136:4 πᾶς ἔσωμεν τῇν φθῆν κυρίῳ] ვითარ-მე გაქებდეთ შენ გალობითა უფალისადთა (*vitar-me gakebdet šen galobita upalisajta*) Geo<sup>110</sup>; ვითარ-მე ვგალობდეთ გალობასა უფლისასა? (*vitar-me vgalobdet galobasa uplisasa?*) Geo<sup>G.110</sup>

### Verb + κατά cum Acc

In the following example, a noun derivationally akin to lead verb is represented in Greek by κατά+accusative, which again is rendered into Georgian by *instrumentalis*. Here too, the Georgian does not contribute to determining the function of the noun: *instrumentalis* often corresponds to κατά+accusative meaning ‘according to’, ‘corresponding to.’<sup>111</sup> On the other hand, the translator follows the original by repeating the root of the noun and the verb detached from each other:

50:3 ἐλέησόν με, ὁ θεός, κατὰ τὸ μέγα ἔλεός σου] მიწყალე მე, ღმერთო, დიდითა წყალობითა შენითა (*mic'q'ale me, γmerto, didita c'q'alobita šenita*) Geo.

### Part. in Nom. + finit. Verb<sup>112</sup>

The same syntactic model (i. e., lead verb and the cognate object in *instrumentalis*) is used in Georgian for the Greek etymological figure with a participle in nominative. That again, reveals that the translator perceives the cognate noun not as a subject of the kindred verb, but as its internal object, and, therefore, instead of participial forms uses infinitives in *instrumentalis*:

117:18 παιδεύων ἐπαίδευσέν με ὁ Κύριος] სწავლით განმსწავლა მე უფალმან (*sc'avlit ganmsc'avla me upalman*) Geo.

117:11 κυκλῶσαντες ἐκύκλωσάν] მოდგომით მომადგეს (*modgomit momadges*) Geo.

131:15 ἐὺλογῶν ἐὺλογῆσα] კურთხევით ვაკურთხნე (*k'urtxevit vak'urtxne*) Geo.

In sum, when the translator considers the combination of a semantically or derivationally affiliated noun and verb as an etymological figure, he employs the noun

110 Giorgi Mtatsmindeli instead of semasiological pair uses the etymological one, besides, cognate noun in accusative he renders by dat. and, therefore, understands it as a direct object.

111 Mirotdadze, “κατὰ წინდებულის ეკვივალენტები” [“Preposition κατά”]; Johannessohn, *Gebrauch der Präpositionen*, 255.

112 Muraoka, *Syntax*, 383–384; Tov, “Renderings”, 249–251.

in *instrumentalis* irrespectively of its grammatical form in Greek. In the examples mentioned above, except for 34:19, the Georgian instrumental case is never used in its actual function, and thus, the phrase must have been artificial for Georgian. This exotic nature, I believe, demonstrates the translator's understanding of the syntagm in a figurative sense. On the other hand, Georgian translation cannot help to determine the function of repetition: whether it reinforces the semantics, indicates modality, or creates a pleonastic expression.<sup>113</sup>

#### 4.3.3 The rendering of the Cognate Noun by the Object-Cases in Georgian

##### Verb + Acc

In the examples observed below the noun derivationally or semantically affiliated with the verb appears in accusative in Greek, whereas in Georgian it is represented in cases of a direct object (i.e., nominative or dative) – the traditional equivalent of the Greek accusative. These equivalents remain even with intransitive verbs and impersonal passive verbal forms. The artificial nature of the Georgian expression underlines its idiomatic character:

75:6 ὑπνωσαν ὑπνον αὐτῶν] დაიძინეს ძილი მათი (*daizines zili mati*) Geo.

138:12 σκότος οὐ σκοτισθήσεται ἀπὸ σοῦ] ბნელი შენ მიერ არა დაბნელდეს (*bneli šen mier ara dabneldes*) Geo.<sup>114</sup>

In contrast to the provided instances, in the following syntagms, formed by the etymologically related nouns and verbs, the cognate object in Greek and Georgian seems to be functioning as an ordinary direct object,<sup>115</sup> especially when in the sentence does not occur actual object(s) in dative or accusative. In these examples, the idiomatic character of the expression is evident not by the Georgian syntactic structure, but through the repetition of the root:

15:4 οὐ μὴ συναγάγω τὰς συναγωγὰς αὐτῶν] არა შევკრიბო კრებულები მათი (*ara ševk'ribo k'rebulebi mati*) Geo.

105:12 ἦσαν τῇ αἴνεσις αὐτοῦ] აქებდეს ქებულებასა მისსა (*akebdes kebulebasa missa*) Geo (see above, Ps 32:3).

27:24; 93:2 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνταπρόδοσις] მიაგე მისაგებელი (*miage misagebeli*) Geo.

42:1; 73:22 δικάσων τὴν δίκην μου] საჯე სჯად ჩემი (*saže s'aj čemi*) Geo.

113 For the debates see Sollamo, "Why translation technique?", 1–20.

114 In Georgian σκότος is transmitted as a cognate object of an impersonal passive verb which corresponds to σκοτισθήσεται, whereas the subject is შენ მიერ (*šen mier*) corresponding to ὑπὸ σοῦ. Muraoka, *Syntax*, 530.

115 Muraoka, *Syntax*, 526.

The translator reveals different approaches towards the use of repetition as a tool for creating an idiom. On some occasions, he prefers derivational affinity between the verb and the noun instead of the semantical one presented in Greek:

20:12 **διελογίσαντο βουλῇν** **იზრაახნეს ზრაახვანი** (*izraxnes zraxvani*) Geo.

88:21 **ἐν ἐλαίῳ ἀγίῳ μου ἔχρισα** **საცხებელი წმიდაჲ ჩემი ვსცხე** მას (*sacxebeli c'midaj čemi vscxe mas*) Geo.

And vice versa – he uses semasiological pair in contrast to Greek, where the etymological pair is employed:

49:14 **θῆσον τῷ θεῷ θυσίαν** **შეწირე ღმრთისა მსხუერპლი** (*šec'ire γmrtisa msxuerp'li*) Geo.<sup>116</sup>

4:6 **θύσαστε θυσίαν δικαιოსύνης** **შეწირეთ მსხუერპლი** სიმართლისაჲ (*šec'iret msxuerp'li simartlisaj*) Geo.

#### 4.3.4 *Varia*

Derivational or semantical pairs occur in various structural forms in the Greek Psalms. The Georgian translation reflects whole this variety as well.

(1) The verb detached from the cognate object appears in relative clause.<sup>117</sup> The Georgian translation reflects this structure close to the original:

136:8 **ὁς ἀνταποδώσει σοι τὸ ἀνταπόδομά** **σου ὁ ἀνταπέδωκας** ἡμῖν **რომელმან მიგაგოს მისაგებელი** შენი, რომელ შენ **მომაგე** ჩუენ! (*romelman migagos misagebeli šeni, romel šen momage čuen!*) Geo.

78:12 **ἀπόδος ... τὸν ὀνειδισμόν** αὐτῶν **ὃν ὀνειδίσαν** σε **მიαγε...** **ყუედრებაჲ** **მათი, რომელ გაყუედრეს** შენ (*miage... q'uedrebaj mati, romel gaq'uedres šen*) Geo.

108:19 **ὥσεί** **ζώνη, ἣν διὰ παντὸς περιζώννυται** **ვითარცა სარტყელი, რომელ შეირტყის** (*vitarka sart'q'eli, romel šeirtq'is*) Geo.

9:23 **σπλαγχνίζονται ἐν διαβουλίῳ** οἷς **διαλογίζονται** **დაიყენენ იგინი ზრაახვათა** მათთაგან, რომელცა **ზრაახეს** (*daiq'enen igini zraxvata mattagan, romelca zraxes*) Geo.

116 However, in Georgian there existed the potential to opt for the precise linguistic equivalent, which is activated in the so called hellenophile revision: **უმსხუერპლე ღმერთსა მსხუერპლი** (*umsxuerp'le γmertsა msxuerp'li*), see above, n. 37.

117 Both the noun and the verb are governed by the verb of the principal clause, Muraoka, *Syntax*, 528.

In contrast to the previous structure, the noun etymologically related to the lead verb is a subject (represented by a noun, an adjective or a participle) and appears in a subordinate clause with ὡσεῖ, whereas the verb is placed in the principal clause. The Georgian translation follows the Greek by repeating the root and by representing the subject in subject-case (here – in nominative):

- 102:15 ὡσεῖ ἄνθος τοῦ ἀγροῦ, οἷτως ἐξάνθησεν] ვითარცა ყუავილი ველისად,  
ეგრე ყუავენ (vitarca q'uavili velisaj, egre q'uavin) Geo.  
37:5 ὡσεῖ φορτίον βαρὺ, ἐβαρύνθησαν ἐπ' ἐμὲ] ვითარცა ტვრთი მძიმე,  
დამიმძიმდა ჩემ ზედა (vitarca t'vrti mzyme, damimzimda čem zeda) Geo.  
71:6 ὡσεῖ σταγόνες στᾶζουσai] ვითარცა ცუარი რაი ცურინ (vitarca cuari raj  
curin) Geo.

On very seldom occasions the translator seems not to be able to repeat the roots:

- 101:4 ὡσεῖ φρύγιον συεφρύγησαν] ვითარცა ქარქუეტნი განჭმეს (vitarca  
karkuet'ni ganqmes) Geo.

(2) An especially interesting case of structure with repetition is the Greek syntagm where the lead verb governs the semantically akin infinitive of purpose (*infinitivus finalis*). This infinitive in Georgian is rendered with its regular equivalent – the infinitive in the adverbial case, derived from the same root as the lead verb:

- 13:2; 52:3 κύριος (52:3 ὁ θεὸς) ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ διέκυψεν ἐπὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων  
τοῦ ἰδεῖν] უფალმან (ღმერთმან) ზეცით მოხედნა ყოველთა ძეთა ზედა  
კაცთასა ხილვად (upalman (ymertman) zecit *moxedna* q'ovelta zeta zeda  
kactasa *xilvad*) Geo.

(3) In another instance the infinitive of purpose governs the derivationally related noun in the Greek Psalms. This syntagm, again, is rendered with formal accuracy in Georgian – with an infinitive of purpose (in form of *adverbialis*), which, as usually, directs the noun in genitive:

- 140:4 μὴ ἐκκλίνῃς τὴν καρδίαν μου... τοῦ προφασίζεσθαι προφάσεις ἐν ἀμαρτίαις]  
რადთა არა მიდრკეს გული ჩემი ... მიზეზებად (მიზეზებად Geo<sup>BE</sup>) მიზეზთა  
ცოდვისათა (om Geo<sup>B</sup>) (rajta ara midrk'es guli čemi ... *mizezebad* (*mizezebaj* Geo<sup>BE</sup>)  
*mizezta* codvisata (om Geo<sup>B</sup>)).

(4) The syntagm in Greek consists of the verb and the noun with the preposition ἐν denoting location. The translation reflects the grammatical structure (using *dativus loci* for the noun) as well as the repetition:

16:8 *ἐν σκέπη* τῶν πτερύγων σου *σκεπάζεις* με] საფარველსა ფრთეთა შენთასა დამიფარო მე (*saparvelsa prteta šentasa damiparo me*) Geo.

Interestingly, the Georgian translator employs derivational repetition instead of semantical one while rendering the same structure with ἐν of locative:

140:10 *πесσύνται ἐν ἀμφιβλήστρω*] შეითხინედ სათხეველთა (*šeitxined satxevelta*) Geo.

The examples where the semasiological repetition is substituted by the derivational one proves the fact that the translator regards the repetition as a stylistic feature of Psalms and that he especially cares about its rendering (see above § 4.3.2–3.).

(5) In rare cases, when the translator does not or cannot reflect the repetition of the original, he tries to compensate such deviation by repeating the root in another part of the sentence – creating a paronomastic expression:

82:6 ὅτι ἐβουλεύσαντο *ἐν ὁμοσίᾳ* ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ κατὰ σοὺν *διαθήκην διέθεντο*] რამეთუ ზრახეს *შეტკუმით* ურთიერთას და შენთჳს *აღტკუმა*-ყვეს (*rametu zraxes šetkumit urtiertas da šentws aytkuma-q'ves*) Geo.

## Summary

I have attempted to examine the issue of transmitting expressions with etymological or semantic repetition from the standpoint of translation technique. It appeared that the translator fully acknowledges that he is dealing with idiomatic phrases and sees their specificity in two aspects: 1. in the derivational or semasiological repetition and 2. in the grammatical form of a noun akin to a verb. Formal reflection of one aspect in translation does not always mean the reflection of another one. It seems that the translator considers the etymological repetition to be the most significant attribute of the idiom and applies it even when there is only semantical repetition in Greek or there is no repetition at all (see above, 131:9; 88:21). Only on rare occasions is the root not repeated in Georgian, which may indicate that the translator does not consider the syntagm as an idiom (see below 73:7; 149:3). As for the grammatical model: the noun directed by the derivationally or semantically akin verb is rendered in two ways: with cases of direct object or with the *instrumentalis*. The selection of either one seems to depend on what function the translator assigns to it – that of the external (obj.-cases) or internal (instr.) object. All in all, it seems that, keeping in mind all the translation options, the Georgian translator of Psalms makes decisions about the individual cases in the translation process.

#### 4.3.5 Alliteration

Alliteration is one of the types of repetition that the translator pays special attention to. In some cases, he not only manages to reproduce this literary device but even reinforces it and makes more vibrant.

- 20:6 **μεγάλη ἡ δόξα** αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ σωτηρίῳ σου, **δόξαν** καὶ **μεγαλοπρέπειαν** ἐπιθήσεις ἐπ’ αὐτόν] **დიდ** არს **დიდებამ** მისი მაცხოვარებითა შენითა, **დიდებამ და დიდადშუენიერებამ** დაადგ მას ზედა (*did ars didebaj misi macxovarebita šenita, didebaj da didadšuenierebaj daadg mas zeda*) Geo.
- 17:17 **ἔλαβέν** με **προσελάβετό** με ἐξ ὑδάτων πολλῶν] **შემიწყალა** მე და **შემიწნარა** მე **წყალთაგან** მრავალთა (*šemic’q’ala me da šemic’nara me c’q’altagan mravalta*) Geo.

But reflection of alliteration in the translation is mostly impossible. In such instances, the translator simulates it and creates alliteration in the other part of the verse:

- 17:16 καὶ ὥφθησαν αἱ πηγαὶ τῶν ὑδάτων καὶ ἀνεκαλύφθη τὰ θεμέλια τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπὸ **ἐπιτιμῆσεώς** σου κύριε ἀπὸ **ἐμπνεύσεως** πνεύματος ὁργῆς σου] **აჩნდეს წყარონი წყალთანი** და **გამოჩნდეს საფუძველნი სოფლისანი** **სასტიკებითა** შენითა, უფალო, და ქარითა, სულითა რისხვისა შენისადთა (*ačndes c’q’aroni c’q’altani da gamočndes sapuzvelni soplisani sast’ik’ebita šenita, upalo, da karita, sulita risxvisa šenisajta*) Geo.

Or, creates alliteration even when it is not the case in the original:

- 90:8 πλὴν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς σου **κατανοήσεις** καὶ ἀνταπόδοσιν ἀμαρτανῶν **ᾔψῃ**] ხოლო შენ თუალითა შენითა **ხედვიდე** და მისაგებელი ცოდვილთა **იხილო** (*xolo šen tualita šenita xedvide da misagebeli codviltaj ixilo*) Geo.
- 105:17 ...καὶ κατέπτε Δαθὰν καὶ ἐκάλυψεν] **და დანთქა დათან და დაფარა** (*da dantka datan da dapara*) Geo.
- 18:8 ἡ μαρτυρία κυρίου πιστῇ, σοφίῳσσα νήπια] **წამებანი** უფლისანი **სარწმუნო** არიან და გონიერ **ყენიან ყრმანი** (*c’amebani uplisani sarc’muno arian da gonier q’vnian q’rmani*) Geo.

## 5. Conclusion

The translator of the Georgian Psalms is an example of the first generation of translators. He has a keen understanding of the spirit of the Psalms and seems anxious to convey it in the Georgian translation. For this reason, he does not generally avoid



the obscure phrases, pleonasms and idioms that are typical of the Greek Psalms but unnatural to Georgian; instead, he imitates Greek by using the lexical or grammatical structures and idioms that are artificial to his language. He is guided above all by the syntax and idiomatic expressions which, more than any other textual features, determine the style of the Psalms.

Despite having discovered a clue for formal transmission of the original, the translator does not always adhere to the same formal translation methods, nor does he necessarily maintain the same accepted equivalents. He oscillates between literal and free translation. However, even in cases of free renderings, he does not contradict the style of the original; the majority of deviations have a typological or exact parallel in Greek.

When evaluating the Georgian translation of the Psalms, one must also consider that it reflects the stage of language development in which syntactic models are still in the developmental phase. In addition, the Georgian language has challenges adopting foreign concepts (e.g., the termini denoting different types of sacrifice that have not yet been established) and grammatical structures. In contrast, the translator lacks the experience that comes from a tradition of literary translation.

In conclusion, the ancient Georgian translation of the Psalms shows the translator's struggle to find a balance between his goals and abilities. Amidst these struggles, a new literary Christian language emerges.

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## Übersetzung(en) und Edition(en) – Erfahrungen bei der Übersetzung der Septuaginta-Psalmen

Zu Beginn des Jahres 2000 begann die Arbeit am Übersetzungsprojekt „Septuaginta Deutsch“ (LXX.D), initiiert und herausgeberisch geleitet von Martin Karrer und Wolfgang Kraus. Für das Buch der Psalmen, für das als verantwortlicher Herausgeber Eberhard Bons zeichnete, konsolidierte sich eine Gruppe von Übersetzern, die nach einer gewissen Fluktuation am Anfang schließlich aus insgesamt sechs Personen (Alt- und Neutestamentlern) bestand: Eberhard Bons, Ralph Brucker, Michaela Bauks, Thomas J. Kraus, Stefan Seiler und Nathalie Siffer-Wiederhold. Um die Einheitlichkeit der Übersetzung zu gewährleisten, war eine enge Zusammenarbeit erforderlich: Die Entwürfe der Übersetzungen wurden in der Gruppe ausgetauscht und in zweimal jährlich stattfindenden Treffen diskutiert. Für wiederkehrende Schlüsselbegriffe (z. B. Namen für Musikinstrumente, Lobtermini oder Gottesprädikationen) sowie für formelhafte Wendungen (z. B. die in verschiedenen Variationen auftretende Ewigkeitsformel mit der Grundform εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα) wurden einheitliche deutsche Wiedergaben abgestimmt und in Listen festgehalten.<sup>1</sup> Die eigentliche Übersetzungsarbeit war 2006 abgeschlossen, es folgte die Drucklegung und eine Endredaktion mit letzten Feinabstimmungen, für die ich zuständig war. Das Erscheinen des Übersetzungsbandes war im Januar 2009; bereits im Sommer 2010 kam eine korrigierte 2. Auflage heraus.<sup>2</sup> Die parallel zur Übersetzung erarbeiteten „Erläuterungen und Kommentare“ folgten 2011 in zwei Teilbänden;<sup>3</sup> auch hierfür lag die Endredaktion zum Psalter in meinen Händen.

Eine Vorgabe von Septuaginta Deutsch war, daß die Übersetzung grundsätzlich die Göttinger Septuaginta (Gö) zugrunde legen sollte, soweit vorhanden, und sonst die Handausgabe von Alfred Rahlfs (1935) (Ra).<sup>4</sup> Im Falle der Psalmen war also die 1931 erstmals erschienene Göttinger Edition „Psalmi cum Odis“ von Alfred Rahlfs zu verwenden, die allerdings im Text nahezu identisch mit der Handausgabe ist.<sup>5</sup>

Eine weitere Vorgabe war, daß in den Fußnoten abweichende Lesetraditionen der orthodoxen Kirchen verzeichnet werden. Zu diesem Zweck wurde unsere Über-

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1 Zu den praktischen Aspekten der Arbeit sowie den dafür verwendeten Hilfsmitteln vgl. Brucker, „Schritte“, 247–258.

2 Kraus/Karrer, *Septuaginta Deutsch*.

3 Karrer/Kraus, *Erläuterungen*.

4 Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*.

5 Rahlfs, *Psalmi*.

setzung von einem orthodoxen Fachberater (Konstantin Nikolakopoulos) durchgesehen und mit entsprechenden Hinweisen versehen.

Neben den üblichen sprachlichen Hilfsmitteln wie Wörterbücher und Grammatiken<sup>6</sup> spielen bei einem solchen Projekt bereits vorhandene Übersetzungen eine wichtige Rolle zur Selbstkontrolle und als Anregung. Da uns die Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft für unsere Arbeit das Computerprogramm BibleWorks 4 (1999) zur Verfügung stellte, hatten wir damit auch bequemen Zugang zu einer englischen Übersetzung der Septuaginta, nämlich der von Lancelot C. L. Brenton (1844).<sup>7</sup> Eine deutsche Übersetzung des Psalters war damals gerade erschienen (Dorothea Schütz, 1999). Eberhard Bons, als Professor in Straßburg tätig und mit regen Kontakten nach Italien, brachte eine französische und eine italienische Übersetzung mit (Placide Deseille, 1979; Luciana Mortari, 1983). Durch die begleitenden Tagungen zu Septuaginta Deutsch standen wir im Kontakt mit anderen Übersetzungsprojekten wie etwa der "New English Translation of the Septuagint" (NETS), deren erste Teilpublikation die Übersetzung der Psalmen von Albert Pietersma war (2000), und dieser wiederum machte uns auf eine weitere englische Übersetzung aufmerksam (The Psalter According to the Seventy, 1974). Wir wußten zwar von der Existenz zweier weiterer Übersetzungen der Septuaginta ins Englische bzw. Französische aus dem 19. Jahrhundert (Thomson und Giguet),<sup>8</sup> sowie einer ins Italienische aus dem 20. Jahrhundert (Brunello);<sup>9</sup> diese waren uns aber damals nicht zugänglich.

Die einzelnen von uns benutzten Übersetzungen seien hier kurz vorgestellt: Die schon etwas betagte, aber durch mehrere neuere Nachdrucke sowie ihre Einfügung in BibleWorks sehr präsente englische Übersetzung von Sir Lancelot Charles Lee Brenton ist ursprünglich 1844 nur als englischer Text im Verlag Samuel Bagster and Sons, London, erschienen und berücksichtigt ausschließlich die kanonischen Bücher des Alten Testaments.<sup>10</sup> 1851 brachte der Verlag Samuel Bagster and Sons eine griechische Edition der Septuaginta heraus, die auch die Apokryphen enthält; ob Brenton an dieser Edition beteiligt war, ist nicht ersichtlich, aber unwahrscheinlich.<sup>11</sup> Jedenfalls wurde nach seinem Tod (1862), wahrscheinlich 1870, vom selben Verlag eine zweisprachige griechisch-englische Ausgabe vorgelegt, die seine Übersetzung verwendet, ohne den Namen des Übersetzers explizit zu nennen (Titel-

6 Dazu siehe Brucker, „Schritte“, 248–252.

7 BibleWorks 4. The Premier Biblical Exegesis and Research Program (Big Fork, MT: Hermeneutika, 1999); BibleWorks 10. Software for Biblical Exegesis and Research (Norfolk, VA: BibleWorks LLC, 2015).

8 Thomson, *Bible*; Giguet, *Bible*.

9 Brunello, *Bibbia*.

10 Brenton, *Septuagint*.

11 *The Greek Septuagint Version of the Old Testament, according to the Vatican Edition, together with the real Septuagint Version of Daniel and the Apocrypha, including the Fourth Book of Maccabees and an Historical Introduction*, London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1851.

blatt: “with an English translation”), zunächst ebenfalls ohne die Apokryphen.<sup>12</sup> 1871 folgte in gleicher Ausstattung eine Ausgabe der Apokryphen mit der Übersetzung der King James Version (das dritte und vierte Makkabäerbuch wurden eigens für diese Ausgabe übersetzt, aber auch hier wird der Name des Übersetzers nicht genannt).<sup>13</sup> Wahrscheinlich ab 1879 wurden beide Titel, unter Beibehaltung der separaten Paginierung, dann auch in einem Band angeboten.<sup>14</sup> In einer späteren Ausgabe (vermutlich 1900) wurde schließlich am Ende der Apokryphen noch das Gebet des Manasse hinzugefügt;<sup>15</sup> und diese letzte Fassung liegt den heutigen Nachdrucken zugrunde.<sup>16</sup> Brenton folgt dem *Codex Vaticanus* (nach der Edition von Valpy,<sup>17</sup> die ihrerseits letztlich auf der *Editio Sixtina*<sup>18</sup> von 1587 basiert), teilt aber wichtige Varianten aus dem *Codex Alexandrinus* in knappen Fußnoten mit. In den Fußnoten wird durchweg auch auf Übersetzungsalternativen hingewiesen, gelegentlich finden sich Hinweise auf den hebräischen Text oder die Vulgata. Den von Tischendorf 1844 entdeckten und 1862 veröffentlichten *Codex Sinaiticus* konnte Brenton also noch nicht kennen. Dies gilt es zu bedenken, wenn in BibleWorks die Übersetzung von Brenton nicht ganz zu dem Septuaginta-Text von Rahlfs passen will, und in diesen Fällen ist unbedingt die gedruckte zweisprachige Ausgabe zu konsultieren: Hier wird der von Brenton vorausgesetzte griechische Text geboten, so daß seine Übersetzung zumindest immer nachvollziehbar ist.

Die Übersetzung von Dorothea Schütz<sup>19</sup> war zu Beginn unserer Arbeit an Septuaginta Deutsch gerade herausgekommen (1999) und bis dahin die einzige deutsche Übersetzung des Septuaginta-Psalters.<sup>20</sup> Erschienen ist sie im Eigenverlag des russisch-orthodoxen Klosters des Heiligen Hiob von Potschajew (Počajev) in München. Schütz verwendet die Handausgabe von Alfred Rahlfs (1935), zieht aber

12 *The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament, with an English translation, and with various readings and critical notes*, London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1870[?] u.ö.

13 *The Apocrypha: Greek and English, in parallel columns*, London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1871.

14 Vgl. *A Reference Catalogue of Current Literature*, London: Whitaker, 1880, hier: Catalogue Samuel Bagster and Sons, 15. Im Internet zugänglich unter <https://archive.org/details/britishbooksinph02sonsgoog/page/n68/mode/2up> (letzter Zugriff: 15.08.2023).

15 *The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament and Apocrypha, with an English translation, and with various readings and critical notes*, London: Samuel Bagster and Sons/New York: Harper and Brothers, o.J. [1900?].

16 Brenton, *Septuagint with Apocrypha*. – Die Nachdrucke geben im „Preface“ sowie auf der Impressumseite fälschlich an, diese zweisprachige Ausgabe sei erstmals 1851 erschienen; daher ist diese falsche Jahreszahl in der Forschungsliteratur zur Septuaginta fast durchgängig zu finden.

17 Valpy, *Vetus Testamentum*.

18 *Vetus Testamentum iuxta Septuaginta, ex auctoritate Sixti V. Pont. Max. editum*, Rom: Zannetti, 1587.

19 Schütz, *Psalter*.

20 Abgesehen von einer zehn Jahre zuvor publizierten Ausgabe, die eine nach der Septuaginta redigierte Übersetzung der Vulgata-Version bietet: Tilmann, *Psalmen*.



zur Kontrolle den kirchenslawischen Psalter (1959) und das griechische Große Stundenbuch (1963, <sup>10</sup>1991) heran, nach deren Lesarten sie sich im Falle von Abweichungen richtet. – Der orthodoxen Tradition verpflichtet ist auch die 1979 erschienene französische Übersetzung von Placide Deseille.<sup>21</sup> Deseille (1926–2018) war ursprünglich römisch-katholisch und wurde zunächst Zisterziensermönch, gründete aber 1966 ein Kloster nach byzantinischem Ritus und trat 1977 offiziell zur griechisch-orthodoxen Kirche über; danach gründete er in Frankreich zwei griechisch-orthodoxe Klöster und wurde Archimandrit.

Luciana Mortari war Nonne in einer katholischen Kommunität (Comunità di Monteveglio, bei Bologna), und ihre 1983 erschienene italienische Übersetzung<sup>22</sup> entstand im Zusammenhang eines Projekts zur Kommentierung der Psalmen durch die Kirchenväter.<sup>23</sup> Sie verwendet die Handausgabe von Alfred Rahlfs (1935), allerdings mit der älteren Verszählung, und zieht durchgängig die Auslegungen der Kirchenväter heran (bes. Hieronymus, Augustinus), denen sie in zweifelhaften Fällen öfters folgt.

Im Dezember 2000 erschien als Vorbote der “New English Translation of the Septuagint” (NETS)<sup>24</sup> ein separates Bändchen mit den Psalmen (NETS-Ps), übersetzt von Albert Pietersma, also einem ausgewiesenen Experten der wissenschaftlichen Erforschung der Septuaginta-Psalmen.<sup>25</sup> Pietersmas Übersetzung folgt im Prinzip der kritischen Edition von Rahlfs (Gö), nimmt sich aber die Freiheit, aufgrund eigener textkritischer Einsichten an etlichen Stellen eine andere Lesart als Rahlfs vorzuziehen; die Lesart von Gö/Ra findet sich dann in einer kurzen Fußnote. Das ist für Nichteingeweihte z. T. nicht nachvollziehbar, da es nicht an Ort und Stelle begründet wird.<sup>26</sup> Auch Hinweise auf die Textzeugen unterbleiben. Eine weitere Freiheit der Übersetzung kommt dadurch zustande, daß die NETS grundsätzlich der New Revised Standard Version (1989) folgt, wenn der griechische Text mit dem hebräischen übereinstimmt; insofern bleibt gelegentlich ein griechisches καί unübersetzt, weil in der New Revised Standard Version das korrespondierende hebräische Waw unübersetzt geblieben ist.

Schließlich wurden wir durch die Literaturangaben bei Pietersma noch auf eine weitere orthodoxe Übersetzung aufmerksam, die damals noch frei im Internet zugänglich war: The Psalter According to the Seventy, übersetzt von den Mönchen der Holy Transfiguration Monastery in Boston (1974).<sup>27</sup>

21 Deseille, *Psaumes*.

22 Mortari, *Salterio*.

23 Vgl. den gleichzeitig erschienenen Komplementärband: Nesmy, *Salterio*.

24 Pietersma/Wright, *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*. Im Internet zugänglich unter <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/> (letzter Zugriff: 15.08.2023).

25 Pietersma, *Psalms*.

26 Hierzu siehe v. a. Pietersma, *Manuscripts*; ders., „Ra 2110“, 262–286.

27 Holy Transfiguration Monastery, *Psalter*.

So hatten wir letztendlich (d.h. ab 2003) drei englische Übersetzungen sowie je eine deutsche, französische und italienische Übersetzung zum ständigen Vergleich zur Verfügung. Ihre Abweichungen schärften einerseits den Blick für Interpretationsspielräume des griechischen Textes, waren aber andererseits oft auch Indiz für eine abweichende Textgrundlage: Bei Brenton war dies, wie schon gesagt, grundsätzlich der *Codex Vaticanus* nach der *Editio Sixtina*; bei den drei orthodoxen Übersetzungen zeichnete sich schnell ab, daß sie die Textfassung bevorzugten, die im Apparat von Rahlfs mit „L“ bezeichnet ist (in LXX.D: „Luk“); Mortari hat einen gewissen Hang zum sog. „abendländischen Text“, der durch Codex R, Hieronymus und Augustinus bezeugt wird. Und Pietersma geht zuweilen eigene Wege, die mit dem Apparat von Rahlfs nicht immer nachvollziehbar sind.

Allerdings gibt es auch Fälle, in denen der Apparat von Rahlfs nicht vollständig Auskunft zu geben scheint und wir das Bedürfnis hatten, ältere Septuaginta-Editionen zum Vergleich heranzuziehen.<sup>28</sup> Die wegen ihres umfangreichen textkritischen Apparats bedeutsame Referenz-Edition von Holmes/Parsons (1798–1827; Psalmen 1823) war uns damals nicht zugänglich.<sup>29</sup> Dasselbe gilt für die Ausgabe von Grabe (1707–1720, Psalmen 1709), die für Rahlfs insbesondere wegen ihrer scharfsinnigen Konjekturen wichtig war.<sup>30</sup> In den von uns genutzten Bibliotheken standen uns aber die Ausgaben von Konstantin von Tischendorf (1850, 1887)<sup>31</sup> und Henry Barclay Swete (1887–1894)<sup>32</sup> zur Verfügung. Tischendorf druckt den Text der *Editio Sixtina*<sup>33</sup> in revidierter Form und verzeichnet im Apparat die Lesarten der ältesten Handschriften, zu denen ab der dritten Auflage (1860) auch der von ihm entdeckte *Codex Sinaiticus* zählt. Die Ausgabe von Swete gibt den Text diplomatisch nach dem *Codex Vaticanus* (B) wieder und bietet beim Psalter im Apparat die Varianten der *Codices* S, A, R, T, U, einschließlich der Korrekturen innerhalb dieser Handschriften. Wo B im Psalter Lücken hat (bes. Ps 105:27–137:6a), werden diese durch S (als „the natural substitute“) geschlossen.<sup>34</sup>

An dieser Stelle scheint mir auch eine Bemerkung zu BibleWorks als Edition angebracht: Der im Programm gebotene Text ist der von Ra, aber ohne Inter-

28 So konnten wir z. B. in Ps 137:1 die Zuschreibung des Psalms an Haggai und Sacharja, die sich in der orthodoxen Lesetradition sowie in der Übersetzung von Brenton findet, bei Rahlfs nicht verifizieren (vgl. Karrer/Kraus, *Erläuterungen*, II/1857).

29 Holmes/Parsons, *Vetus Testamentum* (Psalmen in Bd. 3, 1823).

30 Grabe, *Septuaginta* (Psalmen in Bd. 4, 1709). – Von den dreizehn Konjekturen, die Rahlfs im Psalter vornimmt, gehen zehn auf Grabe zurück und nur drei stammen von ihm selbst (vgl. die Liste in Karrer/Kraus, *Erläuterungen*, II/1485).

31 Tischendorf, *Vetus Testamentum*.

32 Swete, *Old Testament* (Psalmen in Bd. 2, 1891, 1907).

33 Siehe oben Anm. 18.

34 Für den in B (und bis auf Reste von Gen 23–24 auch in S) verlorenen Anfang Gen 1:1–46:28 wird dagegen bei Swete der Text des Codex Alexandrinus (A) geboten.

punktion und als reiner Fließtext ohne Stichenumbruch, daher ergeben sich öfter Irritationen bei der Wortzuordnung, und es ist nicht auf den ersten Blick erkennbar, ob es sich bei einem Satz um eine Aussage oder eine Frage handelt. So gilt hier ähnlich wie oben zu Brenton gesagt: Es ist unbedingt die gedruckte Ausgabe zu konsultieren; der elektronische Text allein reicht als Referenztext nicht aus. Ebenso bietet BibleWorks, wenn man mit der Maus über ein Wort streicht, bequem eine morphologische Analyse desselben; die Formbestimmung ist allerdings nicht immer zuverlässig, da sie computergeneriert ist.<sup>35</sup> Eine Verbform, die rein formal Medium oder Passiv sein könnte, wird mechanisch als Medium bestimmt, auch wenn der Kontext ein Passiv erfordert;<sup>36</sup> Akzente werden nicht berücksichtigt, was manchmal zu Fehlern führt;<sup>37</sup> mehrdeutige Wortformen werden manchmal falsch bestimmt.<sup>38</sup>

2006, also kurz vor Beginn der Drucklegung von Septuaginta Deutsch, ist die Neubearbeitung von Ra durch Robert Hanhart (Ra<sup>Han</sup>) erschienen.<sup>39</sup> Wir konnten diese noch zum Vergleich heranziehen. Sie nimmt im Psalter allerdings keine Änderungen am Text von Rahlfs vor. Es wird lediglich in Ps 143:13 eine fehlerhafte Akzentsetzung korrigiert (ταμεία statt ταμίεια), und bei Ps 93:13; 105:25; 138:15 wird ein unklares Druckbild verbessert.

Die Konsequenzen aus der Arbeit mit den genannten Übersetzungen und Editionen waren folgende: Es war ja in Septuaginta Deutsch ohnehin schon vorgesehen, daß abweichende Lesarten der Handausgabe von Rahlfs gegenüber der Göttinger Septuaginta sowie abweichende Lesarten der orthodoxen Tradition in Fußnoten mitgeteilt werden, wobei ersteres im Psalter nicht vorkommt. Dies haben wir nun im Psalter dahingehend ausgeweitet, daß alle wichtigeren Varianten der Handschriften in den Fußnoten zur Übersetzung genannt werden. Somit kann die Übersetzung sowohl mit Brenton (entspricht B) als auch mit dem litur-

35 Verwendet wird die morphologische Datenbank von CATSS (s. <http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/rak/catss.html>, letzter Zugriff: 15.08.2023), von 1991, die 1999 für BibleWorks 4 adaptiert und korrigiert worden ist. In den späteren Auflagen des Programms (zuletzt BibleWorks 10, 2015) sind m. W. keine weiteren Korrekturen vorgenommen worden.

36 So z. B. in Ps 45:3 die Formen *ταράσσεσθαι* und *μετατίθεσθαι* (vgl. die eindeutigen Passivformen V.4ab, 7a) sowie in Ps 50:6 die Form *κρίνεσθαι* (in Ps 108:7 ist dieselbe Form hingegen korrekt als Passiv bestimmt).

37 So wird z. B. in Ps 44:5 die Form *κατευοδοῦ*, ein Imperativ Präsens Passiv (Passivbedeutung des Verbs: „guten Fortgang haben“), fälschlich als Imperativ Präsens Aktiv bestimmt, was aber *κατευόδου* wäre (vgl. Karrer/Kraus, *Erläuterungen*, II/1624, sowie Kraus/Karrer, *Septuaginta Deutsch*, Fußnote zur Übersetzung).

38 So z. B. in Ps 47:3 *ρίζων* als Genitiv Plural von *ρίζα* „Wurzel“ statt richtig als Partizip Präsens Aktiv Maskulinum von *ρίζω* „verwurzeln“ sowie in Ps 88:12 (vgl. 1 Chr 29:11) *σοί* als Dativ Singular von *σύ* statt richtig als Nominativ Plural von *σός* (vgl. Karrer/Kraus, *Erläuterungen*, II/1631 f. und 1752).

39 Rahlfs, *Septuaginta. Editio altera*.

gischen Psalter der orthodoxen Kirchen (entspricht meistens *L* in Gö) verglichen werden. Sogar eine Übersetzung des inzwischen im Internet zugänglichen Codex Sinaiticus kann aus den Fußnoten erhoben werden.<sup>40</sup> In den wissenschaftlich ausgerichteten „Erläuterungen und Kommentaren“ wird die Forschungsdiskussion und die entsprechende Literatur dokumentiert, und hier wird auch explizit auf die verschiedenen Übersetzungen hingewiesen.

Nach dem Abschluß der Übersetzungsarbeit von Septuaginta Deutsch sind einige neuere Übersetzungen der Septuaginta in moderne Sprachen erschienen – neben der bereits erwähnten „New English Translation of the Septuagint“ (NETS)<sup>41</sup> je eine ins Italienische,<sup>42</sup> Spanische<sup>43</sup> und Rumänische,<sup>44</sup> und sogar noch eine ins Englische, letztere erst 2020.<sup>45</sup> Da eines der Nachfolgeprojekte von Septuaginta Deutsch ein mehrbändiges „Handbuch zur Septuaginta“ (LXX.H) ist und ich zusammen mit Eberhard Bons für den 2016 erschienenen ersten Band „Einleitung in die Septuaginta“ den Artikel zu den Psalmen übernommen habe,<sup>46</sup> ergab sich noch einmal die Gelegenheit, neuere und bisher übersehene Literatur zu ermitteln. Dabei kamen auch mehrere separate Übersetzungen der Septuaginta-Psalmen, die zwischen 1966 und 2008 erschienen waren, zusammen – überwiegend englische,<sup>47</sup> aber auch noch zwei französische<sup>48</sup> sowie eine niederländische.<sup>49</sup> Für die aktualisierte englische Ausgabe der Einleitung (2019)<sup>50</sup> ist noch eine weitere englische Psalmenübersetzung hinzugekommen, die 2013 erschienen war.<sup>51</sup> Sogar bei der Erstellung der Druckfassung des vorliegenden Beitrags bin ich noch auf eine 2008 erschienene deutsche Übersetzung der Septuaginta-Psalmen gestoßen.<sup>52</sup> Grob gesehen sind

40 Psalmen: <https://codexsinaiticus.org/de/manuscript.aspx?book=26> (letzter Zugriff: 15.08.2023). Eine deutsche Übersetzung der Psalmen ist z. Z. noch nicht verfügbar (bisher nur Esther und Tobit; es laufen aber Verhandlungen mit der Deutschen Bibelgesellschaft bezüglich einer Adaption von Septuaginta Deutsch); die englische Übersetzung ist von Albert Pietersma selbst auf der Grundlage von NETS an den Codex Sinaiticus adaptiert worden.

41 Siehe oben Anm. 24.

42 Sacchi, *Bibbia*, Übersetzung der Psalmen: Andrea Nicolotti (in Bd. 3, 2013).

43 Fernández Marcos/Spottorno, *Biblia*, Übersetzung der Psalmen: María Victoria Spottorno Díaz-Caro (in Bd. 3, 2013).

44 Badiliță u. a., *Septuaginta*, Übersetzung der Psalmen: Francisca Băltăceanu, Monica Broșteanu (in Bd. 4.1, 2006).

45 Penner, *Septuagint*. Als Erscheinungsjahr ist im Impressum 2019 genannt, aber die Auslieferung erfolgte erst am 15.1.2020.

46 Bons/Brucker, „Psalmoi“, 333–353.

47 Moore, *Psalter*; Monks of New Skete, *Psalter*; de Vinck/Contos, *Psalms*; Saint Gregory Palamas Monastery/Asser, *Psalter*.

48 Guillaume, *Psaumes*; Abbaye Saint Michel de Bois-Aubry, *Psaumes*.

49 Wagenaar, *Psalmen*.

50 Bons/Brucker, „Psalms“, 297–316.

51 Sheehan, *Psalms*.

52 Deutsches Orthodoxes Dreifaltigkeitskloster, *Psalmen*.

die Übersetzungen der ganzen Septuaginta eher wissenschaftlich orientiert und folgen daher den kritischen Editionen Ra bzw. Gö, während die separaten Übersetzungen der Psalmen alle einen orthodoxen Hintergrund haben und in textkritischen Zweifelsfällen der orthodoxen Texttradition folgen, auch wenn sie Ra als Grundtext verwenden. Eine Ausnahme stellt die Anfang 2020 erschienene Lexham English Septuagint (LES)<sup>53</sup> dar, die zwar wissenschaftlich orientiert ist, aber den Text der Edition von Swete, also im Prinzip den Codex Vaticanus,<sup>54</sup> zugrunde legt. – Als bislang neueste, wissenschaftlich orientierte, Übersetzung ist im Sommer 2021 der erste Teilband zu den Psalmen in der französischen Reihe „La Bible d’Alexandrie“ erschienen, bearbeitet von Gilles Dorival; er enthält eine ausführliche Einleitung sowie die Psalmen 1–40.<sup>55</sup> Die weiteren Bände werden hoffentlich bald folgen.

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53 Siehe oben Anm. 45.

54 Siehe oben Anm. 32.

55 Dorival, *Psaumes*.

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<sup>56</sup> Aufgrund eines Versehens beim Verlag trägt der Band in der ersten Auflage die falsche Reihenzählung „20.1“ statt richtig „16.1“. Dies soll laut Auskunft des Verfassers in der nächsten Auflage korrigiert werden.

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### **III. Hexapla of Psalms, Antiochene Text and Catena Tradition**



## Kodikologische und paläographische Bemerkungen über den Psalmenpalimpsest der Biblioteca Ambrosiana (O 39 sup.)

Der Palimpsest *Ambrosianus* O 39 sup. (S.P.II.251; gr. 587), dessen obere Schrift einen im XV. Jahrhundert abgeschriebenen *Octoechos* enthält,<sup>1</sup> hat Überreste aus einem einzigartigen Psalmencodex (Rahlfs 1098) in der unteren Schrift bewahrt, in denen je ein Psalm Wort für Wort untereinander in fünf synoptischen Spalten angeordnet ist: die linke Spalte bietet den ins griechische Alphabet transkribierten hebräischen Text, die anderen Spalten enthalten Aquila, Symmachus, *Septuaginta* und *Quinta*. Einspaltig folgen der Septuagintatext in kontinuierlichem Fließtext und eine Katene, wobei der Text auf diese Weise von Psalm zu Psalm fortgesetzt wird.<sup>2</sup>

Mit mehr oder weniger umfangreichen Bruchstücken aus Ps 17, 27–31, 33–35, 44–45, 47–48, 88 sind 28 alte Blätter erhalten – zwei Blätter haben ein oberes Viertel verloren.<sup>3</sup> Die originalen Doppelblätter wurden in einfache Blätter zerschnitten, wobei zwei in der Mitte halb durchgeschnittene Blätter für den neuen Codex verwendet wurden, sodass aus einem alten Blatt zwei neue Doppelblätter entstanden.

Giovanni Mercati setzte die Psalmenblätter erneut zusammen und gruppierte sie nach dem inhaltlichen Zusammenhang in dreizehn *Fragmenta*, die er mit römischen Zahlen bezeichnete. Da diese aber mit Ausnahme der Blätter VII und X mehr als ein ursprüngliches Blatt umfassen, ergänze ich zu Mercatis römischer

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1 Pergament; 184 × 140 mm; ff. III (Papierschutzblätter), 110, I (Papierschutzblatt). Es gibt zwei Blattzählungen auf den Recto-Seiten in arabischen Ziffern. Die in der oberen rechten Ecke mit Bleistift geschriebene Zählung hat f. 45 ausgelassen und kommt auf insgesamt 109 Blätter; ich folge jedoch der anderen Zählung, die unten rechts mit schwarzer Tinte korrekt hinzugefügt wurde. Seit der 1929 in der Biblioteca Vaticana durchgeführten Restaurierung werden die losgebundenen Lagen zusammen mit den Papierschutzblättern und der Pergamentdecke in sechzehn Pappmappen aufbewahrt.

2 Bibliographie über O 39 sup. in Pasini, *Bibliografia*, 292. Mir ist kein nach 2006 erschienener Beitrag bekannt, der sich mit der kodikologischen oder paläographischen Beschreibung des Psalmencodex befasst. Eine Ausnahme bildet die (unveröffentlichte) Dissertation von Roberto Carrera; siehe dessen Beitrag im vorliegenden Band. Als Referenzpunkt dient vorerst weiterhin Giovanni Mercati mit seiner kommentierten Ausgabe: *Psalterii hexapli reliquiae* (2 Bde.; *Codices ex ecclesiasticis Italiae bybliothecis delecti phototypice expressi* 8; in *Bybliotheca Vaticana*, 1958–65); *Pars prima Codex rescriptus Bybliothecae Ambrosianae O 39 sup. phototypice expressus et transcriptus*; *Pars prima «Osservazioni» Commento critico al testo dei frammenti esaplatari*. Im Folgenden zitiert als Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*; *Commento critico*.

3 S. unten, *Fragm.* I.2 und IX.2.

Ziffer eine arabische, um das jeweilige Blatt zu spezifizieren. Mercatis Kolumnenbezeichnungen “a–f” behalte ich bei: “a” steht für den in seiner Ausgabe ergänzten hebräischen Text, “b” für die griechische Transkription, “c” für Aquila, “d” für Symmachus, “e” für die *Septuaginta* und “f” für die *Quinta*.

## 1. Beschreibung der *Fragmenta*

Beim Abschreiben des *Octoechos* wurden die oberen Hälften der Psalmenblätter um 180° gedreht, so dass der geschnittene Rand der neuen Doppelblätter oben lag. Um die ursprünglichen Psalmenblätter zu rekonstruieren, muss man diese Hälften erneut um 180° drehen. Ich kennzeichne dies mit einem nach unten zeigenden Pfeil (↓) neben den Nummerierungen der *Octoechos*-Doppelblätter.

Die mit trockener Spitze durchgeführte Linierung zeigt zwar Variationen zwischen den Typen, doch alle basieren auf demselben Schema und unterscheiden sich lediglich in der nicht immer leicht zu bestimmenden Länge der Leitlinien: Ein einspaltiger Schriftspiegel, begrenzt durch verdoppelte Linien, mit einer waagerechten Linie jeweils im oberen und unteren Freirand sowie einer senkrechten im äußeren Rand. Nur in *Fragm.* I.1-2 ist die Linie im unteren Freirand verdoppelt. Wenn die Leitlinien vom inneren Schnitt bis zur äußeren Randlinie verlaufen, haben wir einen B-Typus nach Leroy/Sautel.<sup>4</sup> Verlaufen sie vom inneren Schnitt bis zum äußeren Rahmen des Schriftspiegels, haben wir einen C-Typus; innerhalb des Schriftspiegels, einen D-Typus und vom inneren Rahmen des Schriftspiegels zur äußeren Randlinie einen G-Typus. In *Fragm.* XIII gibt es X-Typen, bei denen jede zweite Textzeile liniert ist. Eine Variation davon ist Xa7b3, das bedeutet, dass die ersten sieben und die letzten drei Zeilen liniert sind und dazwischen jeweils jede zweite. Die kleinen Löcher für die Leitlinien wurden jedoch stets im Abstand von 7 mm angebracht, welcher auch dem Zeilenabstand entspricht. Sie sind bei der Rekonstruktion des Linierungsschemas sehr hilfreich, und ihr Erhalt lässt darauf schließen, dass nur ein schmaler Streifen des Pergaments an den Rändern verloren ist. Auf ähnliche Weise kann man noch den Einschnitt am inneren Rand erkennen.

Textverluste durch die Wiederverwendung des Pergaments nehme ich in der Inhaltsbeschreibung nicht auf. Als die Blätter halbiert wurden, ging in der Regel eine ganze Zeile verloren. Weitere Verluste traten auf, als man die *Octoechos*-Doppelblätter im mittleren Psalmentext zum Binden einschnitt.

Wenn in der Inhaltsangabe Zeilen ausgelassen werden, sind diese durch einfache karminrote und braune Zier- und Auszeichnungsleisten ersetzt, die der Kopist zwischen den Teilen des Psalmencodex anbrachte.

4 Sautel, *Répertoire*.

## Fragmentum I.1

ff. 97↓ + 93↓, 92 + 98; Abmessungen: 367 × 281 mm. Die Linierung wurde auf der Haarseite (Recto-Seite) durchgeführt, wobei auf der Fleischseite die Linie im oberen Freirand liegt. Es handelt sich um den Typus 33D1d Leroy/Sautel. Die Anzahl der Leitlinien erkenne ich nicht.

|                     |         |         |
|---------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Fragm. I.1r:</i> | f. 97r↓ | f. 93v↓ |
|                     | f. 98v  | f. 92r  |

Haarseite; Schriftspiegel 275 × 188 mm;<sup>5</sup> 40 Zeilen; Ps 17:26b–31c πάντων *pentaplus*; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 2 (Tab. I)–3; *Commento critico*, 1–8.

|                     |         |         |
|---------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Fragm. I.1v:</i> | f. 93r↓ | f. 97v↓ |
|                     | f. 92v  | f. 98r  |

Fleischseite; Schriftspiegel 274 × 202 mm; 40 Zeilen; Ps 17:31c τῶν ἐπιζόντων–37a *pentaplus*; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 4 (Tab. II)–5; *Commento critico*, 8–17.

## Fragmentum I.2

ff. 95↓, 94 + 96; Abmessungen: 360 × 280 mm. Die Linierung wurde auf der Haarseite (Verso-Seite) durchgeführt; Typus 33D1d Leroy/Sautel; 40 Leitlinien. Das obere äußere Viertel des Blattes ist verloren.

|                     |         |        |
|---------------------|---------|--------|
| <i>Fragm. I.2r:</i> | f. 95r↓ | [...]  |
|                     | f. 94v  | f. 96r |

Fleischseite; Schriftspiegel 277 × 202 mm; 40 Zeilen; Ps 17:37b–43a πρόσωπον *pentaplus*. Der rechte Teil der Kolumne e und die ganze Kolumne f sind bis zu Ps 17:40a einschließlich (20 Zz.) verlorengegangen; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 6 (Tab. III)–7; *Commento critico*, 18–27.

|                     |        |         |
|---------------------|--------|---------|
| <i>Fragm. I.2v:</i> | [...]  | f. 95v↓ |
|                     | f. 96v | f. 94r  |

Haarseite; Schriftspiegel 275 × 180 mm; 40 Zeilen; Ps 17:43a ἀνέμου–48b λαοὺς *pentaplus*. Die Kolumnen b–c und ein Großteil der d sind bis zu Ps 17:45b ἀλλότριαι

5 Die Schriftspiegelbreite umfasst nicht die wahrscheinlich aus anderen Übersetzungen herkommenden Lesungen, die sich gelegentlich neben der letzten Kolumne finden.

einschließlich (20 Z.) verlorengegangen; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 8 (Tab. IV)–9; *Commento critico*, 27–34.

### Fragmentum II.1

ff. 100↓ + 105↓, 99 + 106; Abmessungen: 368 × 278 mm. Die Linierung wurde auf der Haarseite (Recto-Seite) durchgeführt; Typus 32C1 Leroy/Sautel; 40 Leitlinien.

|                      |          |          |
|----------------------|----------|----------|
| <i>Fragm.</i> II.1r: | f. 105r↓ | f. 100v↓ |
|                      | f. 106v  | f. 99r   |

Haarseite; Schriftspiegel 282 × 192 mm; 40 Zeilen; Ps 27:6a κύριος–9b ποιῶντων αὐτοὺς *pentaplus*; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 10 (Tab. V)–1; *Commento critico*, 35–44.

|                      |          |          |
|----------------------|----------|----------|
| <i>Fragm.</i> II.1v: | f. 100r↓ | f. 105v↓ |
|                      | f. 99v   | f. 106r  |

Fleischseite; Schriftspiegel 282 × 202 mm; 40 Zeilen; Ps 27:9b καὶ ἔπαρον αὐτοὺς ἕως τοῦ αἰῶνος *pentaplus* (Zz. 1–3); Ps 27 *textus continuus* (Zz. 5–17); Katene zu Ps 27:1 (Zz. 18–40); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 12 (Tab. VI)–3; *Commento critico*, 44–8.

### Fragmentum II.2

ff. 49↓ + 56↓, 50 + 55; Abmessungen: 371 × 278 mm. Die Linierung wurde auf der Haarseite (Verso-Seite) durchgeführt; Typus vielleicht 32C1 Leroy/Sautel. Die Anzahl der Leitlinien erkenne ich nicht.

|                      |         |         |
|----------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Fragm.</i> II.2r: | f. 56r↓ | f. 49v↓ |
|                      | f. 55v  | f. 50r  |

Fleischseite; Schriftspiegel 287 × 187 mm; 40 Zeilen; Katene zu Ps 27:1–4a; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 14 (Tab. VII)–5; *Commento critico*, 48–53.

|                      |         |         |
|----------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Fragm.</i> II.2v: | f. 49r↓ | f. 56v↓ |
|                      | f. 50v  | f. 55r  |

Haarseite; Schriftspiegel 287 × 183 mm; 40 Zeilen; Katene zu Ps 27:4–5 (Zz. 1–12); Ps 28:1–3c ἐπὶ *pentaplus* (Zz. 13–40); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 16 (Tab. VIII)–7; *Commento critico*, 53–65.

## Fragmentum III.1

ff. 52↓ + 53↓, 51 + 54; Abmessungen: 371 × 274 mm. Linierung auf der Haarseite (Recto-Seite) durchgeführt; Typus 32C1 Leroy/Sautel; 40 Leitlinien.

*Fragm.* III.1r:      f. 53r↓      f. 52v↓  
                         f. 54v      f. 51r

Haarseite; Schriftspiegel 287 × 187 mm; 40 Zeilen; Katene zu Ps 28:5–8, 5; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 18 (Tab. IX)–9; *Commento critico*, 68–70.

*Fragm.* III.1v:      f. 52r↓      f. 53v↓  
                         f. 51v      f. 54r

Fleischseite; Schriftspiegel 287 × 187 mm; 40 Zeilen; Katene zu Ps 28:5, 9–10 (Zz. 1–25); Ps 29:1–3 κύριε *pentaplus* (Zz. 26–40);<sup>6</sup> Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 20 (Tab. X)–1; *Commento critico*, 71–3.

## Fragmentum III.2

ff. 102↓ + 103↓, 101 + 104; Abmessungen: 368 × 274 mm. Linierung auf der Fleischseite (Recto-Seite) durchgeführt; Typus 32C1 Leroy/Sautel; 40 Leitlinien.

*Fragm.* III.2r:      f. 102r↓      f. 103v↓  
                         f. 101v      f. 104r

Fleischseite; Schriftspiegel 277 × 190 mm; 40 Zeilen; Ps 29:4a ἀνήγαγες–9a *pentaplus*; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 22 (Tab. XI)–3; *Commento critico*, 73–80.

*Fragm.* III.2v:      f. 103r↓      f. 102v↓  
                         f. 104v      f. 101r

Haarseite; Schriftspiegel 278 × 201 mm; 40 Zeilen; Ps 29:9b–13 (Zz. 1–36); Ps 29:1–4b καταβαινόντων *textus continuus* (Zz. 38–40); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 24 (Tab. XII)–5; *Commento critico*, 80–7.

6 Indem der Kopist von dieser zur nächsten Seite (*Fragm.* III.2r) übergang, ließ er Ps 29:3 ὁ θεός μου–4 κύριε (*saut du même au même*) aus.



## Fragmentum IV.1

ff. 41↓ + 48↓, 42 + 47; Abmessungen: 368 × 279 mm. Linierung auf der Haarseite (Verso-Seite) durchgeführt; Typus 32D1 Leroy/Sautel; 40 Leitlinien.

|                      |         |         |
|----------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Fragm.</i> IV.1r: | f. 48r↓ | f. 41v↓ |
|                      | f. 47v  | f. 42r  |

Fleischseite; Schriftspiegel 285 × 190 mm; 40 Zeilen; Katene zu Ps 29:6–10; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 26 (Tab. XIII)–7; *Commento critico*, 88–92.

|                      |         |         |
|----------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Fragm.</i> IV.1v: | f. 41r↓ | f. 48v↓ |
|                      | f. 42v  | f. 47r  |

Haarseite; Schriftspiegel 284 × 192 mm; 40 Zeilen; Katene zu Ps 29:10–13b; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 28 (Tab. XIV)–9; *Commento critico*, 92–4.

## Fragmentum IV.2

ff. 87↓ + 88↓, 86 + 89; Abmessungen: 371 × 276 mm. Linierung auf der Haarseite (Recto-Seite) durchgeführt; Typus 32D1 Leroy/Sautel; 40 Leitlinien.

|                      |         |         |
|----------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Fragm.</i> IV.2r: | f. 88r↓ | f. 87v↓ |
|                      | f. 89v  | f. 86r  |

Haarseite; Schriftspiegel 287 × 198 mm; 40 Zeilen; Katene zu Ps 29:13b (Z. 1); Ps 30:1–6a εἰς χεῖράς σου *pentaplus* (Zz. 3–40); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 30 (Tab. XV)–1; *Commento critico*, 94–114.

|                      |         |         |
|----------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Fragm.</i> IV.2v: | f. 87r↓ | f. 88v↓ |
|                      | f. 86v  | f. 89r  |

Fleischseite; Schriftspiegel 286 × 192 mm; 40 Zeilen; Ps 30:6a παραθήσομαι–10c ἡ ψυχὴ μου *pentaplus*; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 32 (Tab. XVI)–3; *Commento critico*, 114–25.

## Fragmentum V.1

ff. 60↓ + 61↓, 59 + 62; Abmessungen: 369 × 278 mm. Linierung auf der Haarseite (Recto-Seite) durchgeführt; Typus 32C1 oder 32D1 Leroy/Sautel. Die Anzahl der Leitlinien erkenne ich nicht.

|                     |         |         |
|---------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Fragm. V.1r:</i> | f. 61r↓ | f. 60v↓ |
|                     | f. 62v  | f. 59r  |

Haarseite; Schriftspiegel 283 × 185 mm; 40 Zeilen; Ps 30.20a τὸ πλῆθος–23 *pentaplus*; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 34 (Tab. XVII)–5; *Commento critico*, 126–38.

|                     |         |         |
|---------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Fragm. V.1v:</i> | f. 60r↓ | f. 61v↓ |
|                     | f. 59v  | f. 62r  |

Fleischseite; Schriftspiegel 282 × 187 mm; 40 Zeilen; Ps 30:24–5 *pentaplus* (Zz. 1–18); Ps 30:1–18 *textus continuus* (Zz. 20–40); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 36 (Tab. XVIII)–7; *Commento critico*, 138–46.

## Fragmentum V.2

ff. 57↓ + 64↓, 58 + 63; Abmessungen: 371 × 281 mm. Linierung auf der Haarseite (Verso-Seite) durchgeführt; Typus 32D1 Leroy/Sautel; 40 Leitlinien.

|                     |         |         |
|---------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Fragm. V.2r:</i> | f. 64r↓ | f. 57v↓ |
|                     | f. 63v  | f. 58r  |

Fleischseite; Schriftspiegel 282 × 186 mm; 40 Linien; Ps 30:19–25 *textus continuus* (Zz. 1–10); Katene zu Ps 30:1–10 (Zz. 12–40); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 38 (Tab. XIX)–9; *Commento critico*, 146–52.

|                     |         |         |
|---------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Fragm. V.2v:</i> | f. 57r↓ | f. 64v↓ |
|                     | f. 58v  | f. 63r  |

Haarseite; Schriftspiegel 282 × 180 mm; 40 Linien; Katene zu Ps 30:10–21b αὐτοῦς; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 40 (Tab. XX)–1; *Commento critico*, 152–60.

## Fragmentum VI.1

ff. 84↓ + 91↓, 85 + 90; Abmessungen: 370 × 280 mm. Linierung auf der Haarseite (Verso-Seite) durchgeführt; Typus 32D1 Leroy/Sautel. Die Anzahl der Leitlinien erkenne ich nicht.

|                      |         |         |
|----------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Fragm.</i> VI.1r: | f. 91r↓ | f. 84v↓ |
|                      | f. 90v  | f. 85r  |

Fleischseite; Schriftspiegel 282 × 171 mm; 40 Zeilen; Ps 31:6b–10b ἐπὶ κύριον *pentapulus*; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 42 (Tab. XXI)–3; *Commento critico*, 161–73.

|                      |         |         |
|----------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Fragm.</i> VI.1v: | f. 84r↓ | f. 91v↓ |
|                      | f. 85v  | f. 90r  |

Haarseite; Schriftspiegel 282 × 198 mm; 40 Zeilen; Ps 31:10b ἔλεος–11 *pentapulus* (Zz. 1–10); Ps 31 *textus continuus* (Zz. 12–24); Katene zu Ps 31:1 (Zz. 26–40); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 44 (Tab. XXII)–5; *Commento critico*, 173–8.

## Fragmentum VI.2

ff. 44↓ + 45↓, 43 + 46; Abmessungen: 370 × 280 mm. Linierung auf der Haarseite (Recto-Seite) für die senkrechten Linien, auf der Fleischseite für die waagerechten durchgeführt; Typus 32D1 Leroy/Sautel; 40 Leitlinien.

|                      |         |         |
|----------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Fragm.</i> VI.2r: | f. 45r↓ | f. 44v↓ |
|                      | f. 46v  | f. 43r  |

Haarseite; Schriftspiegel 278 × 187 mm; 39 Zeilen; Katene zu Ps 31:1–5; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 46 (Tab. XXIII)–7; *Commento critico*, 178–81.

|                      |         |         |
|----------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Fragm.</i> VI.2v: | f. 44r↓ | f. 45v↓ |
|                      | f. 43v  | f. 46r  |

Fleischseite; Schriftspiegel 280 × 193 mm; 39 Zeilen; Katene zu Ps 31:6–8; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 48 (Tab. XXIV)–9; *Commento critico*, 181–3.

## Fragmentum VII.1

ff. 79↓ + 80↓, 78 + 81; Abmessungen: 370 × 280 mm. Linierung auf der Haarseite (Verso-Seite) durchgeführt; Typus 32C1 Leroy/Sautel; 40 Leitlinien.

|                       |         |         |
|-----------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Fragm.</i> VII.1r: | f. 80r↓ | f. 79v↓ |
|                       | f. 81v  | f. 78r  |

Fleischseite; Schriftspiegel 276 × 194 mm; 40 Zeilen; Katene zu Ps 33:1–9a; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 50 (Tab. XXV)–1; *Commento critico*, 185–9.

|                       |         |         |
|-----------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Fragm.</i> VII.1v: | f. 79r↓ | f. 80v↓ |
|                       | f. 78v  | f. 81r  |

Haarseite; Schriftspiegel 277 × 200 mm; 40 Zeilen; Katene zu Ps 33:9a–22a (Zz. 1–26); Ps 34:1–2 *pentaplus* (Zz. 28–40); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 52 (Tab. XXVI)–3; *Commento critico*, 189–204.

## Fragmentum VIII.1

ff. 108↓ + 109↓, 107 + 110; Abmessungen: 366 × 275 mm. Die Linierung erkenne ich nicht.

|                        |          |          |
|------------------------|----------|----------|
| <i>Fragm.</i> VIII.1r: | f. 108r↓ | f. 109v↓ |
|                        | f. 107v  | f. 110r  |

Fleischseite; Schriftspiegel 280 × 205 mm; 40 Zeilen; Ps 34.13–18a ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ *pentaplus*; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 54 (Tab. XXVII)–5; *Commento critico*, 205–26.

|                        |          |          |
|------------------------|----------|----------|
| <i>Fragm.</i> VIII.1v: | f. 109r↓ | f. 108v↓ |
|                        | f. 110v  | f. 107r  |

Haarseite; Schriftspiegel 278 × 185 mm; 40 Zeilen; Ps 34:18a πολλῇ–23b ὁ κύριός μου *pentaplus*; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 56 (Tab. XXVIII)–7; *Commento critico*, 226–47.

## Fragmentum VIII.2

ff. 35↓ + 38↓, 36 + 37; Abmessungen: 361 × 281 mm. Linierung auf der Haarseite (Recto-Seite) durchgeführt; Typus 32C1 oder 32D1 Leroy/Sautel. Die Anzahl der Leitlinien erkenne ich nicht. Auf f. 36 ein Riss in der oberen äußeren Decke, d. h. im mittleren inneren Freirand des alten Blattes.

|                        |         |         |
|------------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Fragm. VIII.2r:</i> | f. 35r↓ | f. 38v↓ |
|                        | f. 36v  | f. 37r  |

Haarseite; Schriftspiegel 275 × 197 mm; 40 Zeilen; Ps 34:23b εἰς τὴν δίκην μου–28a *pentaplus*. Ps 34:26a τοῖς κακοῖς μου–b ist wegen des Risses in der Kol. b, Zz. 21–5 teilweise verloren; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 58 (Tab. XXIX)–9; *Commento critico*, 247–63.

|                        |         |         |
|------------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Fragm. VIII.2v:</i> | f. 38r↓ | f. 35v↓ |
|                        | f. 37v  | f. 36r  |

Fleischseite; Schriftspiegel 274 × 184 mm; 40 Zeilen; Ps 34:28b *pentaplus* (Zz. 1–3); Ps 34 *textus continuus* (Zz. 6–35); Katenenargumentum zu Ps 34 (Zz. 37–40). Einige Buchstaben sind wegen des Risses am Ende der Zz. 21–5 (Ps 34:16a–20a) verlorengegangen; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 60 (Tab. XXX)–1; *Commento critico*, 263–72.

## Fragmentum IX.1

ff. 33↓ + 40↓, 34 + 39; Abmessungen: 370 × 281 mm. Linierung auf der Haarseite (Verso-Seite) durchgeführt; der Typus wirkt 32C1 mehr als 32D1 Leroy/Sautel sein; 40 Leitlinien.

|                      |         |         |
|----------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Fragm. IX.1r:</i> | f. 40r↓ | f. 33v↓ |
|                      | f. 39v  | f. 34r  |

Fleischseite; Schriftspiegel 281 × 191 mm; 40 Zeilen; Katene zu Ps 34:11–12; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 62 (Tab. XXXI)–3; *Commento critico*, 273–5.

|                      |         |         |
|----------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Fragm. IX.1v:</i> | f. 33r↓ | f. 40v↓ |
|                      | f. 34v  | f. 39r  |

Haarseite; Schriftspiegel 278 × 197 mm; 40 Zeilen; Katene zu Ps 34:12–13; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 64 (Tab. XXXII)–5; *Commento critico*, 275–7.

## Fragmentum IX.2

ff. 66↓ + 67↓, 65; Abmessungen: 369 × 274 mm. Linierung auf der Haarseite (Recto-Seite) durchgeführt; der Typus wirkt 32C1 mehr als 32D1 Leroy/Sautel sein; 40 Leitlinien. Das untere äußere Viertel des Blattes ist verloren.

*Fragm. IX.2r:*      f. 66r↓      f. 67v↓  
                         f. 65v      [...]

Haarseite; Schriftspiegel 267 × 182 mm; 38 Zeilen; Katene zu Ps 34:17–27a. Die rechte Hälfte Zz. 22–38 ist mit dem unteren äußeren Viertel des Blattes verlorengegangen; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 66 (Tab. XXXIII)–7; *Commento critico*, 277–84.

*Fragm. IX.2v:*      f. 67r↓      f. 66v↓  
                         [...]      f. 65r

Fleischseite; Schriftspiegel 282 × 170 mm; 40 Zeilen; Ps 35:1–6a κύριε *pentaplus*. Die Kolumnen b–c und die ersten Buchstaben der Kolumne d sind mit dem unteren äußeren Viertel des Blattes auf Zz. 22–40 verlorengegangen; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 68 (Tab. XXXIV)–9; *Commento critico*, 284–99.

## Fragmentum X.1

ff. 77↓ + 82↓, 76 + 83; Abmessungen: 369 × 282 mm. Linierung auf der Haarseite (Recto-Seite) durchgeführt; Typus 32C1 Leroy/Sautel; 40 Leitlinien.

*Fragm. X.1r:*      f. 82r↓      f. 77v↓  
                         f. 83v      f. 76r

Haarseite; Schriftspiegel 280 × 195 mm; 40 Zeilen; Katene zu Ps 35:1–6; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 70 (Tab. XXXV)–1; *Commento critico*, 300–5.

*Fragm. X.1v:*      f. 77r↓      f. 82v↓  
                         f. 76v      f. 83r

Fleischseite; Schriftspiegel 280 × 200 mm; 40 Zeilen; Katene zu Ps 35:6–10; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 72 (Tab. XXXVI)–3; *Commento critico*, 305–12.

## Fragmentum XI.1

ff. 69↓ + 74↓, 68 + 75; Abmessungen: 370 × 278 mm. Linierung auf der Haarseite (Verso-Seite) durchgeführt; Typus 32C1 Leroy/Sautel; 40 Leitlinien.

|                      |         |         |
|----------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Fragm.</i> XI.1r: | f. 69r↓ | f. 74v↓ |
|                      | f. 68v  | f. 75r  |

Fleischseite; Schriftspiegel 280 × 210 mm; 40 Zeilen; Katene zu Ps 44:14–17 (Zz. 1–28); Ps 45:1–3a οὐ φοβηθήσόμεθα *pentaplus* (Zz. 30–40); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 74 (Tab. XXXVII)–5; *Commento critico*, 313–22.

|                      |         |         |
|----------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Fragm.</i> XI.1v: | f. 74r↓ | f. 69v↓ |
|                      | f. 75v  | f. 68r  |

Haarseite; Schriftspiegel 280 × 207 mm; 40 Zeilen; Ps 45:3a ἐν τῷ παράσσεσθαι–8 *pentaplus*; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 76 (Tab. XXXVIII)–7; *Commento critico*, 322–39.

## Fragmentum XI.2

ff. 25↓ + 32↓, 26 + 31; Abmessungen: 376 × 278 mm. Linierung auf der Haarseite (Recto-Seite) durchgeführt; Typus 32B1 Leroy/Sautel;<sup>7</sup> 40 Leitlinien.

|                      |         |         |
|----------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Fragm.</i> XI.2r: | f. 32r↓ | f. 25v↓ |
|                      | f. 31v  | f. 26r  |

Haarseite; Schriftspiegel 286 × 197 mm; 40 Zeilen; Ps 45:9–12 *pentaplus* (Zz. 1–22); Ps 45 *textus continuus* (Zz. 24–35); Katene zu Ps 45:1 (Zz. 37–40);<sup>8</sup> Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 78 (Tab. XXXIX)–9; *Commento critico*, 339–57.

|                      |         |         |
|----------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Fragm.</i> XI.2v: | f. 25r↓ | f. 32v↓ |
|                      | f. 26v  | f. 31r  |

Fleischseite; Schriftspiegel 285 × 190 mm; 40 Zeilen; Katene zu Ps 45:1–6; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 80 (Tab. XL)–1; *Commento critico*, 357–8.

7 Nicht alle Leitlinien reichen aber bis an den inneren Rand des Blattes und an die senkrechte Linie im äußeren Freirand.

8 Auf den leer wirkenden Zeilen 24 und 37–38 las man wahrscheinlich die Psalmen- und Katenen-Rubrik, da Z. 23 eine Auszeichnungsleere ist und das übliche Ziermotiv sich auf Z. 36 zieht.

## Fragmentum XII.1

ff. 71↓ + 72↓, 70 + 73; Abmessungen: 369 × 272 mm. Linierung auf der Fleischseite (Recto-Seite) durchgeführt; Typus 32B1 Leroy/Sautel; 40 Leitlinien.

*Fragm. XII.1r:*      f. 71r↓      f. 72v↓  
                         f. 70v      f. 73r

Fleischseite; Schriftspiegel 284 × 193 mm; 40 Zeilen; Katene zu Ps 47:7–8, 5–13; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 82 (Tab. XLI)–3; *Commento critico*, 359–62.

*Fragm. XII.1v:*      f. 72r↓      f. 71v↓  
                         f. 73v      f. 70r

Haarseite; Schriftspiegel 283 × 188 mm; 40 Zeilen; Katene zu Ps 47:13–15 (Zz. 1–33); Ps 48:1–2b πάντες *pentaplus* (Zz. 35–40); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 84 (Tab. XLII)–5; *Commento critico*, 361–72.

## Fragmentum XII.2

ff. 27↓ + 30↓, 28 + 29; Abmessungen: 370 × 276 mm. Weder den Linierungstypus und die Durchführungsseite noch die Anzahl der Leitlinien erkenne ich.

*Fragm. XII.2r:*      f. 30r↓      f. 27v↓  
                         f. 29v      f. 28r

Haarseite; Schriftspiegel 280 × 198 mm; 40 Zeilen; Ps 48:2b οἱ κατοικοῦντες–10b οὐκ ὄψεται *pentaplus*; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 86 (Tab. XLIII)–7; *Commento critico*, 371–95.

*Fragm. XII.2v:*      f. 27r↓      f. 30v↓  
                         f. 28v      f. 29r

Fleischseite; Schriftspiegel 280 × 205 mm; 40 Zeilen; Ps 48:10b καταφθοράν–15c ἐν τῷ ᾧ *pentaplus*; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 88 (Tab. XLIV)–9; *Commento critico*, 395–407.



## Fragmentum XIII.1

ff. 1↓ + 8↓, 17 + 24; Abmessungen: 363 × 280 mm. Linierung auf der Haarseite (Recto-Seite) durchgeführt; Typus X 32G1 Leroy/Sautel;<sup>9</sup> 20 Leitlinien.

|                        |        |        |
|------------------------|--------|--------|
| <i>Fragm.</i> XIII.1r: | f. 1r↓ | f. 8v↓ |
|                        | f. 17v | f. 24r |

Haarseite; Schriftspiegel 271 × 197 mm; 39 Zeilen; Ps 88:26a αὐτοῦ–34a τὸ δὲ ἔλεός μου *pentaplus*; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 90 (Tab. XLV)–1; *Commento critico*, 408–12.

|                        |        |        |
|------------------------|--------|--------|
| <i>Fragm.</i> XIII.1v: | f. 8r↓ | f. 1v↓ |
|                        | f. 24v | f. 17r |

Fleischseite; Schriftspiegel 271 × 198 mm; 39 Zeilen; Ps 88:34a οὐ μὴ διασκεδάσω–41a πάντα *pentaplus*; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 92 (Tab. XLVI)–3; *Commento critico*, 412–22.

## Fragmentum XIII.2

ff. 4↓ + 5↓, 3 + 6; Abmessungen: 360 × 275 mm. Linierung vielleicht auf der Haarseite (Verso-Seite) durchgeführt; Typus Xa7b3 32?1. Die Anzahl der Leitlinien erkenne ich nicht.

|                        |        |        |
|------------------------|--------|--------|
| <i>Fragm.</i> XIII.2r: | f. 4r↓ | f. 5v↓ |
|                        | f. 3v  | f. 6r  |

Fleischseite; Schriftspiegel 277 × 190 mm; 39 Zeilen; Ps 88:41a αὐτοῦ–47b ἐκκαυθήσεται *pentaplus*; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 94 (Tab. XLVII)–5; *Commento critico*, 422–33.

|                        |        |        |
|------------------------|--------|--------|
| <i>Fragm.</i> XIII.2v: | f. 5r↓ | f. 4v↓ |
|                        | f. 6v  | f. 3r  |

Haarseite; Schriftspiegel 276 × 200 mm; 39 Zeilen; Ps 88:47b πῦρ–53 *pentaplus*; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 96 (Tab. XLVIII)–7; *Commento critico*, 433–41.

9 Dieser Typus ist in Sautel, *Répertoire*, nicht aufgenommen.

## Fragmentum XIII.3

ff. 12↓ + 13↓, 11 + 14; Abmessungen: 368 × 275 mm. Linierung auf der Haarseite (Recto-Seite) durchgeführt; Typus Xa7b3 32B1/C1 Leroy/Sautel; Leitlinien für 41 Zeilen, die letzte außer der Reihe der Löchlein durchgeführt.

*Fragm. XIII.3r:*      f. 13r↓      f. 12v↓  
                         f. 14v      f. 11r

Haarseite; Schriftspiegel 277 × 193 mm; 41 Zeilen; Ps 88: [1]–41a τοὺς *textus continuus*;<sup>10</sup> Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 98 (Tab. XLIX)–9; *Commento critico*, 441–2.

*Fragm. XIII.3v:*      f. 12r↓      f. 13v↓  
                         f. 11v      f. 14r

Fleischseite; Schriftspiegel 293 × 193 mm; 41 Zeilen; Ps 88:41α φραγμοὺς–53 *textus continuus* (Zz. 1–12); Katene zu Ps 88:1–3 (Zz. 16–41);<sup>11</sup> Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 100 (Tab. L)–1; *Commento critico*, 441–3.

## Fragmentum XIII.4

ff. 10↓ + 15↓, 9 + 16; Abmessungen: 366 × 280 mm. Linierung auf der Haarseite (Verso-Seite) durchgeführt; Typus Xa7b3 32C1 Leroy/Sautel; Leitlinien für 41 Zeilen, die letzte außer der Reihe der Löchlein durchgeführt.

*Fragm. XIII.4r:*      f. 10r↓      f. 15v↓  
                         f. 9v      f. 16r

Fleischseite; Schriftspiegel 292 × 200 mm; 41 Zeilen; Katene zu Ps 88:3–5; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 102 (Tab. LI)–3; *Commento critico*, 443–5.

*Fragm. XIII.4v:*      f. 15r↓      f. 10v↓  
                         f. 16v      f. 9r

Haarseite; Schriftspiegel 293 × 192 mm; 41 Zeilen; Katene zu Ps 88:4b–7; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 104 (Tab. LII)–5; *Commento critico*, 445–7.

10 Auf den ersten beiden Zeilen ist die Rubrik verschwunden, so dass man ab Ps 88:2 (Z. 3) liest.

11 Auf den Zeilen 13–15 sind wahrscheinlich die karminrote Auszeichnungsleiste und die Katenenrubrik verschwunden.

## Fragmentum XIII.5

ff. 20↓ + 21↓, 2 + 7; Abmessungen: 370 × 278 mm. Linierung auf der Haarseite (Recto-Seite) durchgeführt; Typus vielleicht Xa7b3 32G1 Leroy/Sautel; Leitlinien für 41 Zeilen, die letzte außer der Reihe der Löchlein durchgeführt.

|                        |         |         |
|------------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Fragm. XIII.5r:</i> | f. 20r↓ | f. 21v↓ |
|                        | f. 2v   | f. 7r   |

Haarseite; Schriftspiegel 291 × 194 mm; 41 Zeilen; Katene zu Ps 88:7–13; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 106 (Tab. LIII)–7; *Commento critico*, 447–52.

|                        |         |         |
|------------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Fragm. XIII.5v:</i> | f. 21r↓ | f. 20v↓ |
|                        | f. 7v   | f. 2r   |

Fleischseite; Schriftspiegel 291 × 198 mm; 41 Zeilen; Katene zu Ps 88:13–20; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 108 (Tab. LIV)–9; *Commento critico*, 452–4.

## Fragmentum XIII.6

ff. 18↓ + 23↓, 19 + 22; Abmessungen: 375 × 280 mm. Linierung auf der Fleischseite (Recto-Seite) durchgeführt; Typus vielleicht Xa7b3 32B1 Leroy/Sautel. Die Anzahl der Leitlinien erkenne ich nicht.

|                        |         |         |
|------------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Fragm. XIII.6r:</i> | f. 23r↓ | f. 18v↓ |
|                        | f. 22v  | f. 19r  |

Fleischseite; Schriftspiegel 282 × 197 mm; 41 Zeilen; Katene zu Ps 88:20–28; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 110 (Tab. LV)–1; *Commento critico*, 454–7

|                        |         |         |
|------------------------|---------|---------|
| <i>Fragm. XIII.6v:</i> | f. 18r↓ | f. 23v↓ |
|                        | f. 19v  | f. 22r  |

Haarseite; Schriftspiegel 283 × 192 mm; 41 Zeilen; Katene zu Ps 88:26–46; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 112 (Tab. LVI)–3; *Commento critico*, 456–9.

Werden die Abweichungen von der vierzigzeiligen Seite in Betracht gezogen, wird das achtunddreißigzeilige *Fragm. IX.2r* verständlich. Hier verzichtete der Kopist darauf, mit Psalm 35 im minimal verfügbaren Raum unter Psalm 34 zu beginnen, wodurch die letzten zwei Linien leer blieben. Nachvollziehbar sind die neununddreißig Zeilen des *Fragm. XIII.1* auch dadurch, dass im Typus X 32G1 Leroy/Sautel keine vierzigste Linie vorhanden ist. Unklar bleibt jedoch, warum sich der Kopist

in *Fragm.* VI.2 und XIII.2 auf neununddreißig Zeilen beschränkte, während er in *Fragm.* XIII.3–5 zu einundvierzig Zeilen überging. Eine mögliche Erklärung könnte die Ehrfurcht vor der Vorlage sein: woraus aber wurde der *Ambrosianus* abgeschrieben?

## 2. Einiges über die Zusammensetzung der alten Lagen

Durch die inhaltlich-kodikologische Untersuchung und die direkte Beobachtung der Fragmente können die alten Doppelblätter rekonstruiert und innerhalb von sechs Lagen angeordnet werden. Allerdings sind diese Lagen in unterschiedlichem Maße unvollständig erhalten.

Die beiden Fragmente I.1–2 bildeten das mittlere Doppelblatt eines Quaternio. Dies wird ersichtlich, wenn man die Eigenschaften anderer Lagen betrachtet: regelmäßige Quaternionen und Quinionen, die mit der Fleischseite begannen und sich an die Gregory-Regel hielten. Bei beiden Blättern wurde die Linierung (Typus 33D1 Leroy/Sautel) auf der Haarseite vorgenommen, wohingegen die Linie am oberen Freirand des *Fragmentum* I.1 auf der Fleischseite durchgeführt wurde. Da die Seiten vierzig Zeilen enthalten und in *Fragmentum* I.2 vierzig Leitlinien gezählt werden, ist davon auszugehen, dass im *Fragmentum* I.1 ebenso viele vorhanden waren, wenngleich sie aktuell nicht mehr klar erkennbar sind. Aus derselben Lage gibt es keine weiteren Fragmente, und ich vermag nicht abzuschätzen, wieviel vor ihr und zwischen ihr und *Fragmentum* II fehlt.

Die *Fragmenta* II.1 + III.2 und II.2 + III.1 bildeten das zweite bzw. dritte Doppelblatt (ff. II + VII, III + VI) eines Quaternio. Das mittlere Doppelblatt (ff. IV + V) mag die fehlenden Teile zwischen diesen beiden Fragmenten enthalten haben, nämlich die Synopsis Ps 28:3c ὁδᾶτων–11, den LXX-Text desselben Psalms sowie die Katene bis V.5. Für Ps 29:4b εἰς λάκκον–13 und die Katene bis zu V.6, was zwischen *Fragmentum* III.2 und dem zu Beginn der unmittelbar darauf folgenden Lage stehenden *Fragmentum* IV.1 fehlt, hätte ein einzelnes Blatt ausgereicht. Im Gegensatz zu den anderen Blättern zeigt *Fragmentum* III.2 eine auf der Fleischseite durchgeführte Linierung. Dennoch ist allen vier Fragmenten der Typus 32C1 Leroy/Sautel mit vierzig Leitlinien gemeinsam.

Aus *Fragmenta* IV–VI und einem an dritter Stelle nicht erhaltenen Doppelblatt (ff. III + VI) bestand der anschließende Quaternio. Das äußere Doppelblatt (ff. I + VIII) wurde durch die *Fragmenta* IV.1 + VI.2 gebildet, während das zweite Doppelblatt (ff. II + VII) aus den *Fragmenta* IV.2 + VI.1 bestand. Das mittlere Doppelblatt (ff. IV + V) setzte sich aus den *Fragmenta* V.1–2 zusammen. Das zwischen den *Fragmenta* IV.2 und V.1 fehlende Blatt umfasste die Synopsis Ps 30:10c ἡ γαστήρ μου–20a ὥς, während das zwischen den *Fragmenta* V.2 und VI.1 fehlende Blatt die verlorene Katene zu Psalm 30 sowie die Synopsis zu Ps 31:1–6a umfasste. Alle

erhaltenen Blätter haben den Linierungstypus 32D1 Leroy/Sautel, wobei das *Fragmentum* V.1 zweifelhaft ist. Jedes Fragment weist vierzig Leitlinien auf, auch wenn sie in den *Fragmenta* V.1 und VI.1 nicht erkannt werden können. Die Linierung wurde auf der Haarseite durchgeführt, wohingegen im *Fragmentum* VI.2 die waagerechten Linien auf der Fleischseite zu finden sind.

Zwischen der letztgenannten und der mit *Fragmentum* VII beginnenden Lage ging vermutlich ein Quaternio verloren, der den zweiten Teil der Katene zu Psalm 31, den gesamten Psalm 32 (einschließlich Synopsis, LXX-Text und Katene) und Psalm 33 bis zum Anfang der Katene beinhaltete.

Die *Fragmenta* VII–X stammen aus einem Quinio, dessen zweites (ff. II + IX) und mittleres (ff. V + VI) Doppelblatt nicht erhalten geblieben sind. Das äußere Doppelblatt (ff. I + X) bestand aus den *Fragmenta* VII.1 + X.1, das dritte (ff. III + VIII) aus den *Fragmenta* VIII.1 + IX.2 und das vierte (ff. IV + VII) aus den *Fragmenta* VIII.2 + IX.1. Das nicht erhaltene Blatt zwischen *Fragmenta* VII.1 und VIII.1 dürfte die synoptischen Kolumnen Ps 34:3–12 umfasst haben. Die beiden mittleren, ebenfalls verloren gegangenen Blätter werden den fehlenden Abschnitt zwischen dem *Argumentum* und Exzerpten bis V.11 der Katene zu Psalm 34 abgedeckt haben. Das zwischen *Fragmentum* IX.2 und X.1 anzusetzende Blatt überlieferte dann Ps 35:6a ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ–13 *pentaplum*, den LXX-Text und den Anfang der Katene. Die Linierung erfolgte gemäß dem Typus 32C/D1 Leroy/Sautel mit 40 Leitlinien auf der Haarseite. Bei *Fragmentum* VIII.1 ist indes unsicher, welche Seite liniert wurde, und sowohl bei diesem Blatt als auch bei *Fragmentum* VIII.2 vermochte ich die Leitlinien nicht zu erkennen.

Zwischen *Fragmenta* X und XI lässt sich grob ein Verlust von vierundvierzig Blatt, bestehend aus drei Quaternionen und zwei Quinionen, überschlagen.

Die *Fragmenta* XI–XII waren Teil eines Quinio, von dem jedoch die dritten bis fünften Doppelblätter (ff. III–VIII) verloren gegangen sind. Dies würde bedeuten, dass die Katene zu Ps 45:7–12, der gesamte Psalm 46 sowie von Psalm 47 die Synopsis, der LXX-Text und die Katene bis zu V.7 fehlen. Das äußere Doppelblatt (ff. I + X) setzte sich aus den *Fragmenta* XI.1 + XII.2 zusammen, während *Fragmenta* XI.2 + XII.1 das zweite Doppelblatt (ff. II + IX) bildeten. Einzig bei *Fragmentum* XII.1 (f. IX) erfolgte die Linierung gemäß dem Typus 32C1 Leroy/Sautel auf der Fleischseite, wohingegen die Linierung der übrigen Blätter auf der Haarseite dem Typus 32B1 Leroy/Sautel folgte – stets mit vierzig Leitlinien.<sup>12</sup>

Die umfangreiche Lücke zwischen den *Fragmenta* XII und XIII lässt sich nicht einfach bestimmen. Aus *Fragmentum* XIII ergeben sich drei innere Doppelblätter einer Lage, vermutlich eines Quaternio. Dabei müssten die äußere und die mittlere Seite eine Fleischseite sein: Das zweite Doppelblatt (ff. II + VII) setzte sich aus den *Fragmenta* XIII.1 + XIII.6 zusammen, das dritte (ff. III + VI) aus den

12 Zweifelhaft aber sind der Typus und die Anzahl der Leitlinien in *Fragm.* XII.2.

*Fragmenta* XIII.2 + XIII.5, und das mittlere (ff. IV + V) aus den *Fragmenta* XIII.3 + XIII.4. Auf der Haarseite sind die Linien eingeprägt, auf der Fleischseite nur im Falle von *Fragmentum* XIII.6. Bestimmbar sind die Typen nicht immer, sie sind dennoch alle miteinander verwandt – jedoch gibt es keine Übereinstimmungen zwischen den *Fragmenta* XIII.1 (X 32G1 Leroy/Sautel) und XIII.6 (Xa7b3 32B[?])1 Leroy/Sautel), obwohl sie Hälften desselben Doppelblattes sind.

Angeichts des bruchstückhaften Zustands der Lagen, könnte es problematisch sein, Daten aus der scheinbar widersprüchlichen Linierung abzuleiten. Dennoch deuten alle Informationen darauf hin, dass die Linierung blattweise durchgeführt wurde. Ansonsten wäre es schwierig zu erklären, warum die Linierung auf der Fleischseite der *Fragmenta* III.2 (f. VII, d. h. das vorletzte Blatt eines Quaternio), XII.1 (f. IX, d. h. ebenfalls das vorletzte Blatt eines Quinio) und XIII.6 (f. VII, d. h. abermals das vorletzte Blatt eines Quaternio) gegenüber den anderen Blättern der jeweiligen Lagen ausgeführt wurde. Dies wird besonders deutlich, wenn man den aus den *Fragmenta* VII–X zusammengesetzten Quinio betrachtet, bei dem die Linien regelmäßig die gleiche Seite (Haarseite) aller erhaltenen Blätter prägen. Besonders aussagekräftig sind das *Fragmentum* VI.2, welches sowohl auf der Haar- (senkrechte Linien) als auch auf der Fleischseite (waagerechte Linien) Linierung aufweist, sowie das *Fragmentum* I.1, bei dem das Linierungsschema auf der Haarseite und die waagerechte Linierung im oberen Freirand auf der Fleischseite durchgeführt wurde. Würde man das Linierungsschema auf einem aufgeschlagenen Doppelblatt ausführen, wäre es schwierig, ein Blatt mit der oberen waagerechten Linie auszulassen, die durchgehend das ganze Doppelblatt durchzieht. Im Falle einer auf dem geschlossenen Doppelblatt durchgeführten Linierung wäre es selbstverständlich unmöglich gewesen, eines der beiden Blätter nicht zu berücksichtigen. Dass die Linierung blattweise durchgeführt wurde, lässt sich auch daraus schließen, dass die beiden Hälften desselben Doppelblatts, d. h. *Fragmentum* XIII.1 und 6, im Typus nicht übereinstimmen.

### 3. Paläographische Bemerkungen

Die synoptischen Kolumnen, der LXX-Psalmentext und die Katene sind allesamt in derselben senkrechten bis leicht rechtsgeneigten Minuskelschrift gehalten. Dabei verläuft die Schrift klein und hängt an der Linie.<sup>13</sup> Die Züge sind sehr fein und ohne Verdickungen. Sowohl die Majuskel- als auch die Minuskelformen sind in einer bemerkenswerten Vielfalt an Gestaltungsformen eines jeden Buchstabens eingesetzt. Den Gefallen an der Verschiedenartigkeit merkt man auch daran, dass dasselbe Wort manchmal auf graphisch verschiedene Weise geschrieben auf derselben Zeile

13 Der Buchstabenteil, der im Mittel des imaginären vierlinearen Minuskelsystems steht, ist (abgesehen von aufgeblähten und vergrößerten Gestalten) 1 mm hoch.

einer Kolumne steht.<sup>14</sup> Der Schriftspiegel wird durch einen geschickten Ausgleich von kleinen Rundungen, aufgeblähten Formen und verlängerten Zügen bestimmt, wobei Merkmale der Kanzleischrift durchschimmern. Zu den aufgeblähten Formen gehören das Majuskel-Epsilon und Theta sowie das Minuskelsigma und das unten flach geschlossene Omega. Besonders große Formen zeigen Majuskel-Kappa, Lambda und Ny sowie das alexandrinische My. Verlängerte Züge finden sich beim Unzialalpha mit sehr kleiner Rundung, beim Majuskel-Delta, Minuskel-Sigma (wenn es am Zeilen- und Perikopenende steht), bei den wellenförmigen oberen Strichen des Majuskel-Pi und ebenso beim niedrigen Tau. Gelegentlich gibt es hochgezogene Formen des Minuskel-Eta und Iota.<sup>15</sup> Auf der letzten Zeile schlängeln sich gekünstelt verlängerte Unterlängen in den breiten Freirand.<sup>16</sup> Die unregelmäßige Trennung von Buchstaben und Wörtern verleiht den Zeilen ein gelockertes und zerstreutes Erscheinungsbild.

Weitere Kennzeichen und Besonderheiten dieser Schrift:

- Ligaturen mit hochziehendem Minuskel-Alpha, wie [fig. 1] (απ)<sup>17</sup> und [fig. 2] (κατ);<sup>18</sup>
- mit einem vorhergehenden Buchstaben von unten verknüpfenden Minuskel-Alfa, Omikron und Omega, wie [fig. 3] (πα),<sup>19</sup> [fig. 4] (το)<sup>20</sup> und [fig. 5] (σω);<sup>21</sup>
- [fig. 6] (αζ)<sup>22</sup> und [fig. 7] (αξ);<sup>23</sup>

14 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* I.1v, Z. 4, Kol. c–f θεός (Ps 17:32a); ebd., Z. 10, Kol. c–f ἔθνων (Ps 17:44b); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 4 (Tab. II)–5. Hat der Kopist nach eigenem Ermessen verändert oder hat er treu und gewissenhaft aus seinem Exemplar abgeschrieben? Mercati hat einen nicht weit zurückliegenden Vorfahren des *Ambrosianus*, der in Minuskelschrift geschrieben war, vorausgesetzt (*Commento critico*, 33). An die Minuskelschrift dachte er auch, als er annahm, dass der Artikel ὁ und das tachygraphische καί miteinander verwechselt wurden (ebd., 33, 42, 45). Die Frage, ob der Vorfahre in Majuskel- oder Minuskelschrift verfasst war, sollte gründlich untersucht werden. Dabei sollten auch die Fehler der Kolumne b berücksichtigt werden, die durch die Verwechslung von Majuskelbuchstaben erklärbar sind. Solche Verwechslungen wie A/Δ/Λ, B/P und E/O/Σ könnten sowohl in der biblischen als auch in der spitzbogigen Majuskel vorkommen, besonders wenn der Kopist nicht verstand, was er abschrieb. Siehe auch Mercati, *Commento critico*, XI–XII, 30–1, 36.

15 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* II.1r, Z. 3, Kol. e εἰσῆκουσε (Ps 27:6); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 10 (Tab. V).

16 *Fragm.* XI.1r, XIII.2r; Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 74 (Tab. XXXVII), 94 (Tab. XLVII).

17 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* VI.2v, Z. 37 ἀποβλέπειν (Katene zu Ps 31:8); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 48 (Tab. XXIV).

18 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* I.2r, Z. 23, Kol. f ὑποκάτω μου (Ps 17:40b); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 6 (Tab. III).

19 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* VI.2v, Z. 22 παρα σοῦ (Katene zu Ps 31:6b); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 48 (Tab. XXIV).

20 Zum Beispiel ebenda αὐτόν.

21 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* I.1r, Z. 14, Kol. e σώσεις (Ps 17:28a); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 2 (Tab. I).

22 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* II.1v, Z. 9 ἐργαζομένων (Ps 27:3b *textus continuus*); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 12 (Tab. VI).

23 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* VI.2v, Z. 6 πᾶξεων (Katene zu Ps 31:6a); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 48 (Tab. XXIV).

- [fig. 8] (ασ);<sup>24</sup>
- hochgezogenes Gamma und Tau, recht häufig innerhalb der Textzeile;<sup>25</sup>
- durch einen sich oben krümmenden Zug mit vorhergehenden Buchstaben verbundenen Minuskel-Eta, verlängertes Iota und Majuskel-Kappa, wie [fig. 9] (αχι),<sup>26</sup> [fig. 10] (δη)<sup>27</sup> und [fig. 11] (ουκ);<sup>28</sup>
- Ligaturen mit zweigeteiltem Epsilon, wie [fig. 12] (πε),<sup>29</sup> [fig. 13] (σπε),<sup>30</sup> [fig. 14] (εξ),<sup>31</sup> [fig. 15] und [fig. 16] (δεη),<sup>32</sup> [fig. 17] (εξ),<sup>33</sup> [fig. 18] (γεν) und [fig. 19] (γε),<sup>34</sup> [fig. 20] (τελ);<sup>35</sup>
- andere Epsilon-Ligaturen, wie [fig. 21] und [fig. 22] (εξ),<sup>36</sup> [fig. 23] (εν);<sup>37</sup>
- zwei- und dreiförmiges Zeta;<sup>38</sup>
- hochgebogenes oder gerades, breites Lambda;<sup>39</sup>
- sowohl Majuskel- als auch Minuskel-Doppellambda;<sup>40</sup>

24 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* XIII.4r, Z. 19 διδάσκει (Katene zu Ps 88:4b–5); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 102 (Tab. LI).

25 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* II.2r, Z. 23 λέγεις (Katene zu Ps 27:3a); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 14 (Tab. VII) bzw. *Fragm.* VI.2v, Z. 28 εἴ ποτε (Katene zu Ps 31:6a); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 48 (Tab. XXIV).

26 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* I.1v, Z. 29, Kol. d–f βραχίονας (Ps 17:35b); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 4 (Tab. II).

27 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* VI.2v, Z. 35 εἰδῆσιν (Katene zu Ps 31:8); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 48 (Tab. XXIV).

28 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* VI.1v, Z. 19 οὐκ (Ps 31:6b *textus continuus*); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 44 (Tab. XXII).

29 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* I.2r, Z. 23, Kol. e ἐπ' ἐμὲ (Ps 17:40b); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 6 (Tab. III).

30 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* IV.2r, Z. 20, Kol. f στερεὸν (Ps 30:3c); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 30 (Tab. XV).

31 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* IV.1v, Z. 16 Ἐzekίας (Katene zu Ps 29:9–10); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 28 (Tab. XIV).

32 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* II.1r, Z. 5, Kol. e δεήσεώς μου (Ps 27:6); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 10 (Tab. V) bzw. *Fragm.* IV.2v, Z. 31 δέησιν (Katene zu Ps 31:8); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 48 (Tab. XXIV).

33 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* II.1r, Z. 16, Kol. e ἐξομολογήσομαι (Ps 27:7d); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 10 (Tab. V).

34 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* VI.2v, Z. 24 γενέσθαι (Katene zu Ps 31:6b); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 48 (Tab. XXIV) bzw. *Fragm.* IX.1r, Z. 20 ἔλεγεν (Katene zu Ps 34:13a–b); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 64 (Tab. XXXII).

35 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* I.1v, Z. 35, Kol. e ἀντελάβετό μου (Ps 17:36b); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 4 (Tab. II).

36 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* IV.2v, Zz. 21–2 παρῆξις (Katene zu Ps 31:6b); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 48 (Tab. XXIV) bzw. *Fragm.* I.1v, Z. 34, Kol. f δεξιά (Ps 17:36b); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 4 (Tab. II).

37 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* I.1v, Z. 2, Kol. d ἐν (Ps 17:31c); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 4 (Tab. II).

38 Zum Beispiel ebenda, Z. 12, Kol. e bzw. f περιζωννύων (Ps 17:33a); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 4 (Tab. II).

39 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* I.2v, Z. 4, Kol. e λεανῶ (Ps 17:43b); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 8 (Tab. IV) bzw. *Fragm.* VI.2v, Z. 34 πλάνην (Katene zu Ps 31:8); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 48 (Tab. XXIV).

40 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* I.2v, Z. 20, Kol. e bzw. f ἀλλότριοι (Ps 7:45b); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 8 (Tab. IV).



- alexandrinisches My;
- übergroßer, pilzförmiger Strich im Majuskel-Pi und sowohl im kleinen als auch im hochgezogenen Tau;<sup>41</sup>
- breites, nach links geöffnetes mit vorhergehenden Buchstaben verbundenes Rho, wie [fig. 24] (ηρ)<sup>42</sup> und [fig. 25] (υρ);<sup>43</sup>
- sowohl kleines spitzes als auch breites, mit Iota verbundenes Ypsilon;<sup>44</sup>
- Tau-Omega-Suprapositionen;<sup>45</sup>
- kursive Verbindung von Omikron-Ypsilon [fig. 26], sowohl klein über der Zeile als auch auf der Zeile bei unterschiedlicher Größe;<sup>46</sup>
- Chi in beiden Gestalten [fig. 27] und [fig. 28];
- nach rechts gewandtes Häkchen am Ende der Unterlängen, besonders in verbindendem Iota, Sigma-Tau (das sehr tief unter die Zeile fällt) und Phi;
- in der Kolumne b kommt ein kleines Phi mit einem Oval unregelmäßiger Gestalt und einer in beide Richtungen verlängerten Vertikalen vor;
- es mangelt nicht an kühnen Verbindungen mehrerer Buchstaben, wie [fig. 29] (εναι),<sup>47</sup> [fig. 30] (καταφ),<sup>48</sup> [fig. 31] und [fig. 32] (τοξ),<sup>49</sup> [fig. 33] (ψει),<sup>50</sup> und ebensowenig an Einschließungen eines Buchstabens in einen anderen, wie im Fall von [fig. 34] und [fig. 35] (επ).<sup>51</sup>

*Nomina sacra* werden auf übliche Weise abgekürzt. Der Kopist verwendet außerdem Tachygraphien des Alpha (z. B. [fig. 36] ματ),<sup>52</sup> αι (z. B. [fig. 37] ται),<sup>53</sup> αν [fig. 38],<sup>54</sup>

41 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* I.1v, Z. 29, Kol. d τούς (Ps 17:35b); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 4 (Tab. II).

42 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* IV.2r, Z. 21, Kol. f κατοικητήριον (Ps 30:3c); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 30 (Tab. XV).

43 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* I.1v, Z. 32, Kol. c θυρεόν (Ps 17:36a); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 4 (Tab. II).

44 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* I.2v, Z. 32, Kol. d ύψηλός (Ps 17:47b); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 8 (Tab. IV) bzw. ebenda, Z. 19, Kol. e-f υιοί (Ps 17:45b) und Z. 23, Kol. c-f υιοί (Ps 17:46a).

45 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* I.1r, Z. 29, Kol. e τῶ (Ps 17:30b); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 2 (Tab. I).

46 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* VI.1r, Z. 23, Kol. d μου (Ps 31:8b); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 42 (Tab. XXI) bzw. ebenda, Z. 27, Kol. f οὐκ (Ps 31:9a) und *Fragm.* VI.1v, Z. 13 οὐ, 14 οὐδὲ (Ps 31:2 *textus continuus*); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 44 (Tab. XXII).

47 *Fragm.* XIII.4r, Z. 7 ὁμωμοκέναι (Katene zu Ps 88:4); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 102 (Tab. LI).

48 *Fragm.* IV.2r, Z. 23, Kol. e καταφυγῆς (Ps 30:3d); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 30 (Tab. XV).

49 *Fragm.* I.1v, Z. 27, Kol. f τόξον (Ps 17:35b); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 4 (Tab. II) bzw. *Fragm.* XI.2r, Z. 9, Kol. e τόξον (Ps 45:10b); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 78 (Tab. XXXIX).

50 *Fragm.* XII.1r, Z. 1 συντρίψεις (Katene zu Ps 47:8); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 82 (Tab. XLI).

51 *Fragm.* V.1r, Z. 18, Kol. f σκέπη (Ps 30:21b); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 34 (Tab. XVII) bzw. *Fragm.* X.1v, Z. 24 σκέπη (Katene zu Ps 35:8b–9); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 72 (Tab. XXXVI).

52 *Fragm.* I.2v, Z. 27, Kol. d περιφραγμάτων (Ps 17:46b); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 8 (Tab. IV).

53 Ebenda, Z. 26, Kol. d ἐντρ[α]πήσονται (Ps 17:46b).

54 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* II.1v, Z. 12 συνῆκαν am Zeilenende (Ps 27:5a *textus continuus*); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 12 (Tab. VI).

δέ [fig. 39],<sup>55</sup> ἡς [fig. 40],<sup>56</sup> ἰν [fig. 41],<sup>57</sup> καί [fig. 42],<sup>58</sup> οἷς [fig. 43],<sup>59</sup> ον [fig. 44],<sup>60</sup> ος [fig. 45],<sup>61</sup> ους [fig. 46],<sup>62</sup> und ων [fig. 47],<sup>63</sup> die manchmal – wie auch der Zirkumflex – sehr breit sind. Kleine und meistens eckige Spiritus; *Iota adscriptum*; Trema über Iota in Kolumne b, selten und nur in Eigennamen in den übrigen Kolumnen

Die vorliegende Schrift zeigt eine bemerkenswerte, sich selbst auf ein und derselben Seite manifestierende Bandbreite: Sie variiert von kursiv zu kalligraphisch und von klein zu groß, ohne dass deutliche Trennlinien zwischen den verschiedenen Stilen zu erkennen wären. Dies führt zu der Annahme, dass alles von einer Hand geschrieben wurde. Die Schrift wechselt zwischen der kursiven Buch- und Urkundenschrift des 10. Jahrhunderts zur sogenannten „Perlschrift“ und zu ähnlichen Schriften des frühen 11. Jahrhunderts. Eine Datierung in das letzte Viertel des 10. Jahrhunderts erscheint wahrscheinlich.

Einige Merkmale, graphische Ansätze und fast alle Buchstabenformen des Psalmenkopisten finden sich beispielsweise auch in der eher kursiven und flüssigen Schrift des σιγίλλιον, das 975 von Θεόδωρος Κλάδων πρωτοσπαθάριος ἐπὶ τοῦ μαγκλαβίου καὶ ἐκ προσώπου erstellt und im Original im Iviron-Kloster aufbewahrt wurde.<sup>64</sup> Eine weitere Ähnlichkeit zeigt sich zu der Hand des Ἰωάννης μοναχὸς καὶ καθηγούμενος μονῆς τοῦ Ἀρχιστρατήγου ὁ γραμματικὸς, der sich durch den häufigen Gebrauch von Majuskelbuchstaben auszeichnet und in den Jahren 1015 und 1020 zwei Urkunden für dasselbe Archiv verfasste.<sup>65</sup>

55 Zum Beispiel ebenda, Z. 10 (Ps 27:3d).

56 Zum Beispiel ebenda, Z. 6 παρασιωπήσης, -ης am Zeilenende (Ps 27:1c).

57 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* I.2r, Z. 19, Kol. d δύναμιν (Ps 17:40a); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 6 (Tab. III).

58 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* I.1v, Z. 13, Kol. f (Ps 17:33a); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 4 (Tab. II). Hätte Mercati Recht, daß καὶ hier hinzugefügt wurde, ist es trotzdem derselben Hand; Mercati, ebenda, 5; *Commento critico*, 10.

59 Zum Beispiel ebenda, Z. 39, Kol. d τοῖς βαδίσμασί μου (Ps 17:37a).

60 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* I.2r, Z. 40, Kol. c πρόσωπον (Ps 17:43a); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 6 (Tab. III).

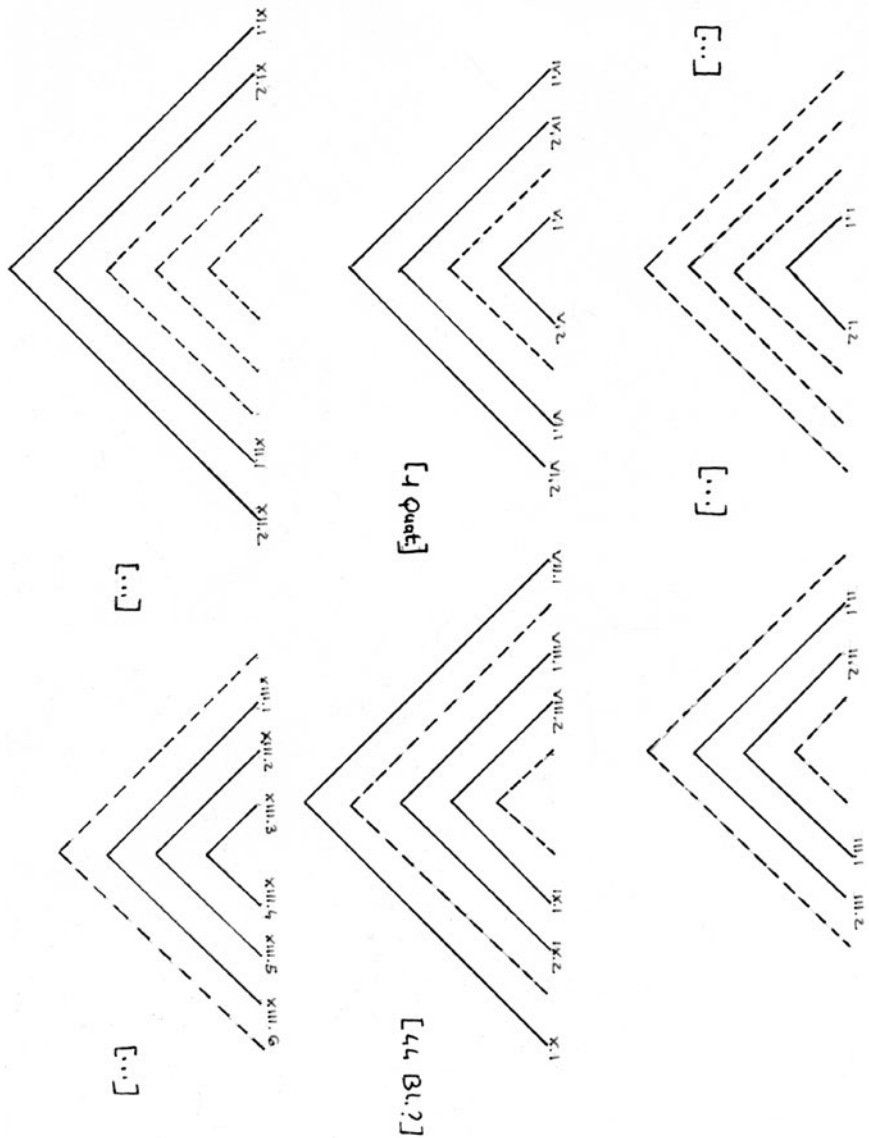
61 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* I.2v, Z. 30, Kol. c–f εὐλογητὸς (Ps 17:47a); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 8 (Tab. IV).

62 Zum Beispiel *Fragm.* I.2r, Z. 22, Kol. e–f ἐπανισταμένους (Ps 17:40b); Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 6 (Tab. III).

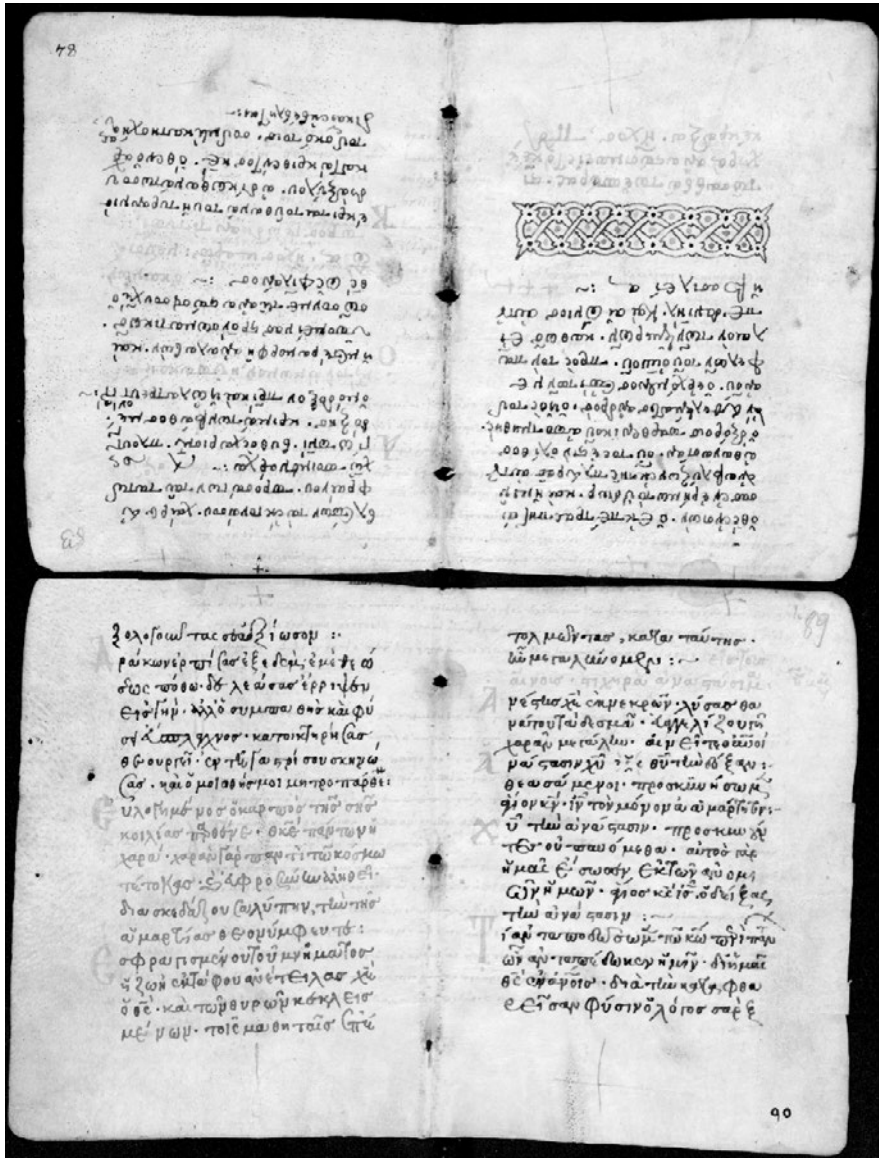
63 Zum Beispiel ebenda, Z. 36, Kol. e–f αὐτῶν (Ps 17:42b).

64 *Actes d'Iviron*, I. *Des origines au milieu du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, edd. Lefort, J./Oikonomidès, N./Papachrysanthou, D./Métrévéli, H. (Archives de l'Athos, 14; Paris: P. Lethielleux, 1985), 109–13, Pl. II. Daß Theodoros eigenhändig dieses Original verfaßt hat, erscheint es anhand des Vergleichs mit der Unterschrift möglich.

65 Ebenda, 216–21, Pl. XLII–XLIII bzw. 228–33, Pl. XLVI.



Taf. 1: Die *Fragmenta* und ihr Ort in den alten Lagen des Psalmencodex



Taf. 2: Ambr. O 39 sup., ff. 84r + 91v + 85v + 90r (Fragm. VI.1v)

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Fig. 1–47

#### 4. Bibliographie

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## Codex Ambrosianus O 39 sup. (Ra 1098) and Its Palaeographical Profile

The present article aims to provide some insights into the palaeographical character of the *scriptura inferior* of the famous Psalter palimpsest *Codex Ambrosianus* O 39 sup. (Ra 1098), which go beyond what Stefano Serventi has presented in the present volume. My observations are based on a new analysis of the manuscript within the framework of my dissertation, completed in 2022, which had as its subject a new edition of the *scriptura inferior*.<sup>1</sup>

I will first offer an overview of distinct features encountered in the hand: ligatures, letter axis, line spacing, word spacing, and letter size proportions. Next, I will discuss the general graphic features of the writing style. Lastly, I will put forth possible reasons for classifying the hand of the *scriptura inferior* of Ra 1098 as belonging to the Ephraim Type minuscule style.

### 1. An Overview of Distinct Palaeographical Features of Ra 1098

#### 1.1 Ligatures

The *scriptura inferior* of Ra 1098 frequently employs ligatures. The more common ligatures are shown in table 1. From this table, it is evident that one of the letters that frequently forms a ligature with the following letter is  $\epsilon$ . Though the pattern is typically  $\epsilon$  plus another letter, it can also be observed that  $\epsilon$  is preceded sometimes by the letters  $\theta$ ,  $\mu$ ,  $\pi$ , and  $\tau$ . Another letter that is frequently found in a ligature is  $\upsilon$ . This letter has only been found to be preceded by  $\epsilon$ , and  $o$ . It should be noted that both  $\epsilon$  and  $\upsilon$  show distinct preferences for which vowels they form a ligature with. In this case,  $\epsilon$  is only found in vowel ligatures with  $\eta$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $\upsilon$ , and  $\omega$  in second position. On the other hand,  $\upsilon$  is either preceded by  $\epsilon$  or  $o$  (as already noted) and followed only by  $\iota$ .

Ligatures in Ra 1098 are formed with a vowel, either in first or second position. A consonant-consonant ligature is also found but it is not as common. Sigma is the most frequent consonant to which another consonant is connected.

---

1 Carrera, *Mercati Fragments*.

Table 1. Ligatures in Ra 1098

|                                                                                                                                   |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| $\alpha + \gamma, \xi, \rho, \chi$                                                                                                |
| $\beta + \lambda$                                                                                                                 |
| $\gamma + \alpha, \iota,$                                                                                                         |
| $\delta + \iota$                                                                                                                  |
| $\varepsilon + \gamma, \zeta, \eta, \iota, \kappa, \lambda, \mu, \nu, \xi, \pi, \rho, \sigma, \tau, \upsilon, \chi, \psi, \omega$ |
| $\zeta + \text{—}$                                                                                                                |
| $\eta + \lambda, \nu, \rho, \varsigma$                                                                                            |
| $\theta + \varepsilon, \eta, \rho$                                                                                                |
| $\iota + \nu$                                                                                                                     |
| $\kappa + \alpha$                                                                                                                 |
| $\lambda + \omicron, \omega$                                                                                                      |
| $\mu + \varepsilon$                                                                                                               |
| $\nu + \text{—}$                                                                                                                  |
| $\xi + \text{—}$                                                                                                                  |
| $\omicron + \sigma, \upsilon$                                                                                                     |
| $\pi + \varepsilon, \iota, \omicron, \tau$                                                                                        |
| $\rho + \alpha, \varepsilon, \iota, \eta, \omicron, \omega$                                                                       |
| $\sigma + \omicron, \pi, \tau, \chi, \omega$                                                                                      |
| $\tau + \alpha, \varepsilon, \iota, \omicron, \omega^2$                                                                           |
| $\upsilon + \gamma, \delta, \iota, \lambda, \mu, \nu, \pi, \rho, \sigma, \varsigma, \tau, \chi$                                   |
| $\varphi + \alpha, \varepsilon$                                                                                                   |
| $\chi + \alpha, \iota, \omicron, \rho, \omega$                                                                                    |
| $\psi + \alpha, \iota, \omicron$                                                                                                  |
| $\omega + \text{—}$                                                                                                               |

Though the scribe can write ligatures, he is not limited or constrained to write only ligatures every time the right letter combinations appear. There is variation between spelling the same set of letters as a ligature or not. This is more readily apparent in the hexaplaric portions of the manuscript. For example, in figure 1 (line 5 of fol. 97) the word ἐκλεκτοῦ is written three times in columns 2, 4, and 5. In column 2, the middle syllable -λεκ- is written with a -εκ- ligature. In the other two instances, the ligature is not found.

2     $\tau + \omega$  ligature is rare. Occurs in fol. 50, line 6.



Figure 1. Ra 1098, f. 97r, line 6, cols 2–5, processed by SCHRIFT-BILDER.org

The scribe also displays versatility by combining letters that belong to two separate words. This feature is visible in figure 2 (fol. 98, line 15 col. 2): *συνεπίσχυσέ μου*. The final *ε* is forming a ligature with the *μ* of *μου*.



Figure 2. Ra 1098, f. 98r, line 15, col. 2, processed by SCHRIFT-BILDER.org

The last feature to be noted regarding ligatures in Ra 1098 is the fact that sometimes the scribe will form a ligature of three letters, rather than two. For example, in *ὡ ὁδὸς αὐτοῦ* in line 14 col. 5 of fol. 92, one can see a ligature with the three middle letters of the word *αὐτοῦ*, as shown in figure 3.



Figure 2. Ra 1098, f. 92r, line 14, col. 5, processed by SCHRIFT-BILDER.org

## 1.2 Letter Axis

In Ra 1098 it can be observed that the writing is a little slanted to the right. The slant, however, is not immediately apparent, still the overall look of the writing has a right-leaning tilt. See for example fol. 22 lines 9–11 in figure 4.

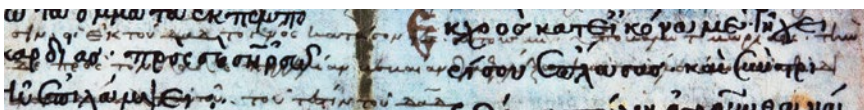


Figure 3. Ra 1098, f. 22r, lines 9–11, processed by SCHRIFT-BILDER.org



### 1.3 Line Spacing

The relative space between the lines is even. Each folio contains, in general, 20 rule lines, though they are not always filled with text. There are some folios that contain 21 rule lines and others 19. This discrepancy between 21 to 19 lines is due to how the Hexaplaric manuscript was severed in half. Originally, the manuscript consisted of 40 lines per folio. When the folios were bisected the distribution of the lines became unequal.

Some folios were severed in such a way that line 20 or 19 of the original sheet was lost. The even space between the lines of text and the rule lines show that the design and layout of the original manuscript was carefully planned. One can still spot the grooves on the surface where the original rule lines were traced, prior to the copying of the text. See for example fol. 53, lines 1–4, in figure 5.

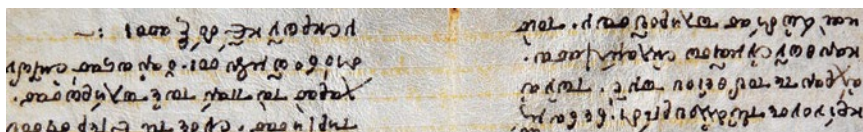


Figure 4. Ra 1098, f. 53r, lines 1–4, processed by SCHRIFT-BILDER.org

To be sure, the grooves are original to Rahlfs 1098, that is, the lower layer, not the later text of the Octoechos.

### 1.4 Word Spacing

Overall, the writing in Rahlfs 1098 enjoys ample space between letters and words. The letters are not too close together. This is noteworthy if we take into account that the writing surface, in an already small fragment, is further reduced by the use of rather wide margins. The resultant effect is that the letter shapes are clearly formed and the words clearly delineated in each line. Consequently, the module size is small.

### 1.5 Letter Proportion

In general, no letter is drawn bigger or smaller than the rest. However, there are exceptions. As noted earlier, there are letters with a tendency to form ligatures or connect to other letters, and this will sometimes alter the appearance or size of the letter in question. See, for example, the word *ἀγίαί* in figure 6 (fol. 55, line 11, col. 3).



Figure 5. Ra 1098, f. 55r, line 11, col. 3, processed by SCHRIFT-BILDER.org

In this instance, the first  $\alpha$  exhibits a ligature with the  $\gamma$ , whereas the second  $\alpha$  does not. This first  $\alpha$  is slightly smaller than the second one.

Another exception is found with letters at the beginning of words. Word-initial consonants can appear in a bigger font. See figure 7 (line 10, col. 3 in fol. 55).



Figure 6. Ra 1098, f. 55r, line 10, col. 3, processed by SCHRIFT-BILDER.org

The reading in figure 7 is ἐν εὐπρεπείᾳ, the second word exhibits a iota adscript. The preposition ἐν stands out as the letter  $\epsilon$  is slightly bigger in comparison with the rest of the prepositional phrase.

This brief survey simply proves that there is no hard and fast rule about the shape of consonants in word initial position. More importantly, it shows that the scribe of Ra 1098 had options regarding the graphic representation of the letters, both in shape and size.

## 2. General Appearance

It now seems appropriate to discuss some questions regarding the overall look of the writing.

First, the letters keep their distinct graphic proportions, no letter seems more laterally compressed or skinnier than it should be. This is not to say that they cannot change in size, but when one compares them in relation to the rest of the letters in the line there does not appear to be any graphic compromise. The size between letters, however, can change drastically. See for example the phrase ἐκ

χειρὸς in figure 8 (fol. 5, line 16, col. 3), where the second epsilon is considerably smaller than the epsilon in the preposition ἐκ.



Figure 7. Ra 1098, f. 5r, line 16, col. 3, processed by SCHRIFT-BILDER.org

Second, the hand or writing is clean looking. The lines or strokes are steady, not shaky. All in all, in terms of drawing or writing performance there are no mistakes. The few scribal errors noted by the author are of a textual or orthographical nature – and even these are minor.

Third, barring the letters that are inherently rounded, the overall aspect of the script is angular, with sharp turns and corners.

Fourth, the script is devoid of any noticeable shading. The areas where the strokes or lines are thicker are those areas where the line is traced over itself, either because the shape of the letter invites overlap or because one letter intercepts another letter at some point. See for example διάψαλμα in figure 9 (fol. 5, line 18, col. 3), where the bottom of the iota meets the bottom right corner of the delta.

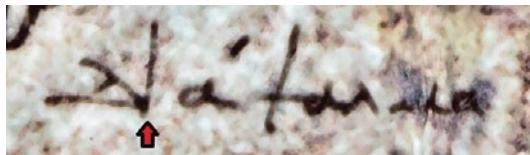


Figure 8. Ra 1098, f. 5r, line 18, col. 3, processed by SCHRIFT-BILDER.org

The script is bimodular. For the minuscule letters, there is a clear distinction between tall and narrow letters like τ, δ, and ψ, or wide letters like ω, and square letters like alpha. On the other hand, for majuscule shapes, omega and delta are rectangular. Alpha, epsilon (somewhat), mu, nu, lambda, kappa, omicron, pi (sometimes), sigma, gamma, beta, upsilon, and chi are rather square. Psi, tau, phi, rho, zeta, xi, iota, eta (somewhat) are tall and rectangular. The result is that the scribe has a range of options for graphically drawing the letters.

### 3. Stylistic Identification

In my dissertation, I studied the *scriptura inferior* of Ra1098 briefly and observed parallels to the Ephraim type minuscule. This style is named after the person who signed the manuscripts *Lavra* B 64 gr. 1739 (Diktyon N° 27116), *Vatop.* 747 (olim 949; Diktyon N° 18891), *Marc.* gr. 201 (Diktyon N° 69672), *Athen.* 1 (Diktyon N° 2297), and *Vat.* gr. 124 (Diktyon N° 66755).

These are not, however, the only manuscripts attributed to this Ephraim.

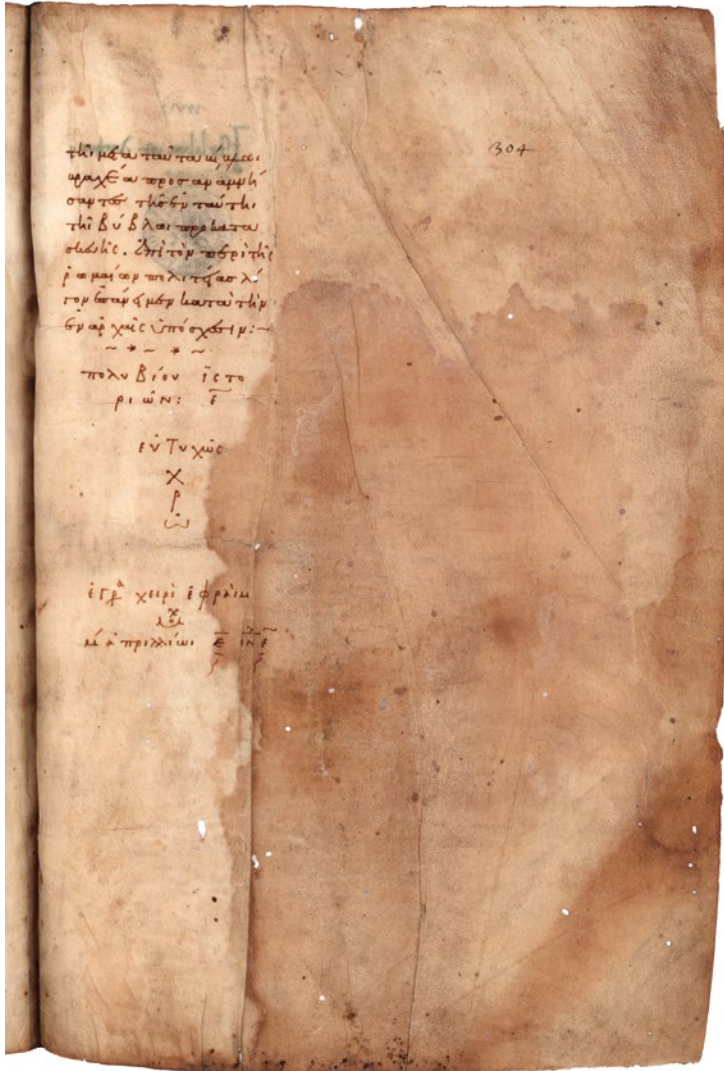


Figure 10. *Cod. Vat. gr. 124*, © BAV 2024

One can see points of contact between the hands in Vat. gr. 124 and Ra 1098. For example, the hand in Vat. gr. 124 majuscule letters for paratextual purposes (“titles and notes”). In the case of Ra 1098 the majuscule shapes are also used for paratext: like the abbreviations of Church Fathers in the margins, the transliteration column (*Secunda*), titles, and verses from the psalms.

Another feature regarding majuscules is that in Ra 1098 the text is sometimes written in majuscules near the end of the line. This feature finds parallels in Marc. gr. IV, 1. In Athen. EBE 1, capital letters (or even whole words) are also present.

Majuscule letters are also found within the line. Alpha, delta, epsilon, theta, omicron, sigma, and omega are the most common majuscule letters used in the text. See the word ἐπίδοσιν in figure 10.



Figure 10. Ra 1098, f. 14r, end of line 13, processed by SCHRIFT-BILDER.org

Though abbreviations for the names of Church Fathers in Ra 1098 are sporadic, one can draw points of contact with Vat. gr. 124. On the last line of Vat. gr. 124 one can see the following initials:

ε ε  
δ  
ιυ

I would like to draw attention to the use of horizontal lines above and below the epsilons and the vertical stroke under the lower horizontal line. This abbreviation along with the strokes finds parallels in Ra 1098 in the catena portions. See figure 11.

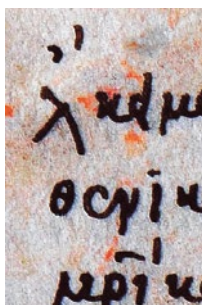


Figure 11. Ra 1098, f. 54r, left margin, processed by SCHRIFT-BILDER.org

From top to bottom we see delta, theta, a horizontal line below delta, and finally the right-leaning vertical stroke. This is the abbreviation for the name of Theodoret.

In figure 12 (fol. 52), one can see again the abbreviation for Theodoret, written with the same sequence of characters as above: delta, theta, horizontal line, and vertical stroke. In addition, there is an accent-like stroke above the delta.

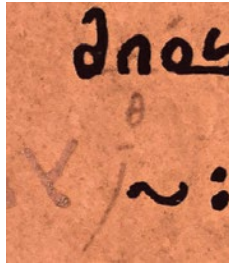


Figure 12. Ra 1098, f. 52r, left margin, processed by SCHRIFT-BILDER.org

Nonetheless, I cannot draw a hard and fast rule regarding this style of abbreviation in Ra 1098 since it is rather infrequent. Also, there are other types of abbreviations such as what is used for the name of Origen. Again, see figure 13, (fol. 47 line 12, left margin), displaying Origen's name in red ink.

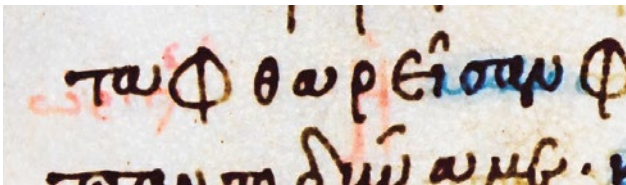


Figure 13. Ra 1098, f. 47r, left margin, processed by SCHRIFT-BILDER.org

Other points of contact between Ra 1098 and the Ephraim Type are as follows. First, a tendency for rhos and phis to connect to the following letter from the descender.<sup>3</sup> According to Diller, this is one of the “innovations—details of script not found before but fairly common later.”<sup>4</sup> See for example the word *θηρίων* in figure 14 (fol. 52 line 10).

3 Diller, “Age”, 311.

4 Diller, “Age”, 311.





Figure 14. Ra 1098, f. 52r, line 10, processed by SCHRIFT-BILDER.org

Second, the Ephraim style tends to lean ever so slightly to the right. This tendency is one of two essential features that Perria mentions.<sup>5</sup> This feature has already been pointed out by me for Ra 1098. Figure 15 displays Vat. gr. 124, fol. 1r, lines 8–24 in which one can see a similar tendency to lean to the right.<sup>6</sup>

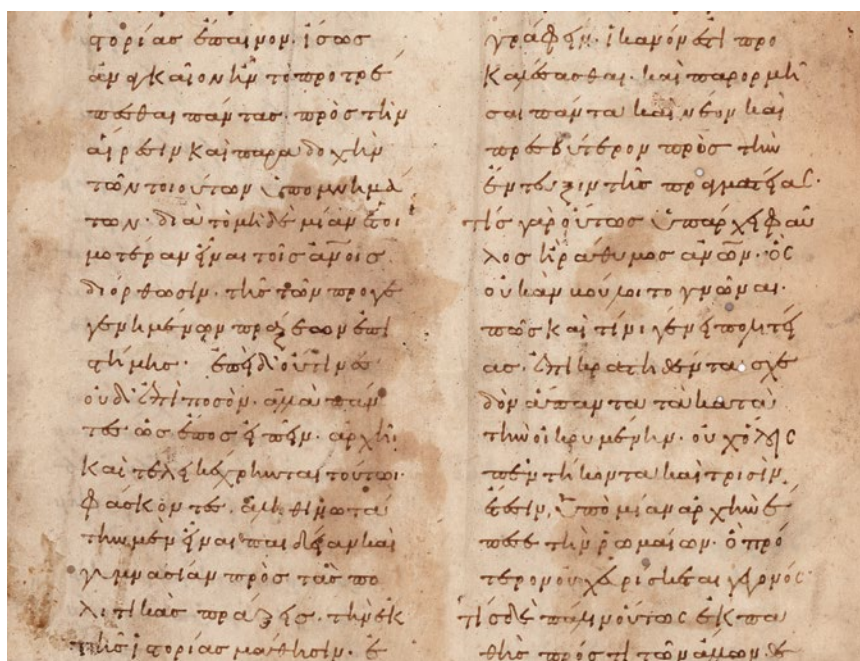


Figure 15. *Cod. Vat. gr. 124*, fol. 1r, lines 8–24, © BAV 2024

5 Perria, “Codice”, 33 observes, “La sua scrittura, infatti, contraddistinta essenzialmente da due aspetti, inclinazione a destra e tendenza corsiveggiante [...]”.

6 For *Cod. Vat. gr. 124*, Lidia Perria has observed an angle of inclination of 100°–105°. See Perria, “Codice”, 44.

A third characteristic adduced to by Perria is the regularity and sobriety with which some of these manuscripts are copied. The writing is “serene” and “small” with virtually no ornamentation,<sup>7</sup> and produced with “extreme balance and eurythmy.”<sup>8</sup> These are characteristics which prefigure or form a bridge to the later *Perlschrift* style.<sup>9</sup> These same characteristics are shared by the writing in Ra 1098. Figure 16 displays folio 14 of Ra 1098 in its entirety with the top layer removed in order to make the *scriptura inferior* more visible.

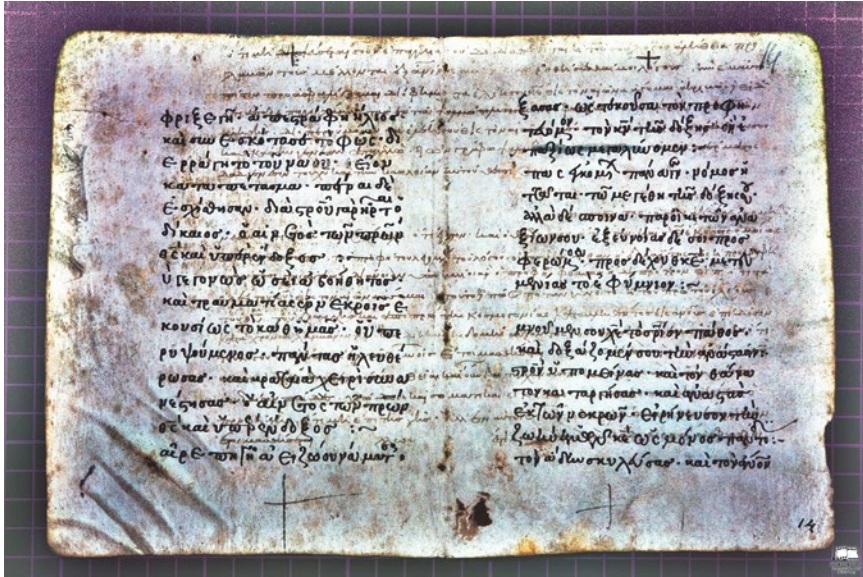


Figure 16. Ra 1098, fol. 14r, © Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana & SCHRIFT-BILDER.org

The point is that the Ephraim Type also displays even spacing both within the line (between words and letters) and from line to line. Regarding Ra 1098, it has already been pointed out how the scribe used rule lines in order to guide his writing. It has also been pointed out that the letters in their own graphic appearance are not compromised. Nevertheless, the evenness in the writing of Ra 1098 is not carried out to the extent that one sees in the *Perlschrift* style. See figure 17.

7 Perria, *Γραφίς*, 86.

8 Perria, “Codice”, 33.

9 Orsini, “Γράφειν”, 559. See also D’Agostino, “Perlschrift”, 84.



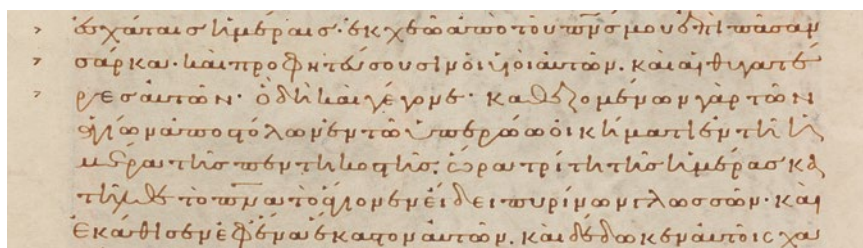


Figure 17. Perlschrift style, *Cod. Vat. gr. 1613*, p. 124, © BAV 2024

Fourth, Ra 1098 exhibits frequent use of ligatures sharing in most if not all the combinations studied for other Ephraim manuscripts.<sup>10</sup> Fifth, Diller points out that a feature of this style is to write “high τ and high majuscule γ.”<sup>11</sup> As an example of this feature, see the word λεγόμενον in figure 18.

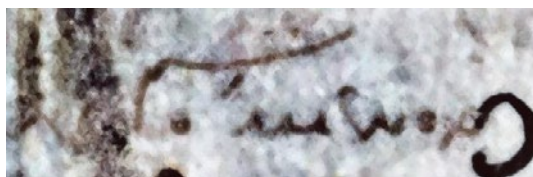


Figure 18. Ra 1098, f. 10r, line 9, processed by SCHRIFT-BILDER.org

In conclusion, this brief palaeographical survey offers points of contact between the writing in Ra 1098 and that found in Ephraim type minuscules. Thus, I would like to propose an attribution of the *scriptura inferior* of Ra 1098 to this minuscule style. One cannot know with certainty whether it was written by the monk Ephraim himself or a member of his workshop.<sup>12</sup> But in favor of this theory is the fact that Ephraim himself was familiar with Origen’s writings as Francesco D’Aiuto has demonstrated.<sup>13</sup> So, it should not surprise us that he might have at some point in his career copied this particular hexaplaric manuscript. I should concede that more work needs to be done on codicological grounds, using as point of departure Jean Irigoin’s important study.<sup>14</sup> If this analysis is correct, however, Ra 1098 would

10 Perria, “Codice”, 68–69.

11 Diller, “Notes”, 187.

12 The manuscript in question does not have a subscription, and only a portion of what was larger work is extant.

13 D’Aiuto, “Attività”, 74.

14 Irigoin, “Étude”.

fit within a date of early to mid-tenth century which would accord with Mercati's own thoughts on the matter.<sup>15</sup>

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15 Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, xvi, had expressed the view that the *scriptura inferior* of Ra 1098 was at the earliest from the late ninth century: "Un manoscritto adunque della fine del secolo IX al più presto [...]."

Lilie, Ralph-Johannes, Ludwig, Claudia, Zielke, Beate and Pratsch, Thomas, “Ephraim: Ἐφραίμ”, in *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online* (Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2013): <https://www.degruyter.com/database/PMBZ/entry/PMBZ23844/html> (last access: 15.08.2023).

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## Symmachus in the Psalter

The Jewish Greek revision of the Septuagint ascribed to Symmachus and dated to the end of the second century CE was included by Origen in his great synoptic work, the Hexapla, along with Aquila and Theodotion and some more minor versions. Like all of these, Symmachus' translation survives only in fragmentary readings, mostly through citation by Christian writers and scribes of Septuagint manuscripts.

Fortunately, what survives of Symmachus' version in the Psalter is more extensive than for many other books. Of course, as with other biblical books we have the material from Septuagint manuscripts, the Syrohexapla<sup>1</sup> and patristic commentaries that Frederick Field usefully assembled and presented, supplemented by more recent publications on the indirect transmission of readings from Symmachus' version.<sup>2</sup> But for Psalms there are also some particularly precious continuous texts.

(1) Two are derived from the Hexapla and retain some of its format:

- a. A seventh century palimpsest folio containing verses from the versions of Symmachus and Aquila to Psalm 21 (MT 22) in the Cairo Genizah, and given the Rahlfs Nummer (Ra) 2005. The column containing Symmachus covers vv. 15–24.<sup>3</sup>
- b. More extensive but later Hexaplaric fragments from the ninth or tenth century Milan palimpsest, Ra 1098.<sup>4</sup> These include Pss 18(17):26–48; 28(27):6–9; 29(28):1–3; 30(29):1–13; 31(30):1–25; 32(31):6–11; 35(34):1–28; 36(35):1–6;

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1 For Syriac-Greek equivalents in the rather complex Syrohexaplaric tradition for Psalms, see Hiebert, "Textual History", 178–204.

2 Field, *Fragmenta II*, 87–305. As in the case of other books, Field relied on the older collection of de Montfaucon, and added readings from the Milan Codex of the Syrohexapla, supplied by Ceriani, but also added other witnesses, and additionally indirectly transmitted readings. See Ceriani, *Codex*. See also Devreesse, *Commentaire*; Dorival, "L'apport", 45–74; Mercati, *Alla ricerca*; Schenker, *Psalmenbruchstücke*, giving readings from several Greek revisions, including that of Symmachus, from the eleventh and twelfth century catena manuscripts (Ra 1173 and 1122).

3 Taylor, *Palimpsests*, 1–50 and Plates I and II. In the case of Aquila, the same fragments cover vv. 20–28. See also <https://exhibitions.lib.cam.ac.uk/linesofthought/artifacts/hexapl/> (last access: 15.08.2023). Taylor's edition covers Ps 22(21):15–18, 20–24 in the version of Symmachus, but also Aquila for vv. 20–24, 25–28 of the same psalm.

4 Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*; id., *Commento critico*. See also the early edition of Klostermann, "Fragmente", including readings from Symmachus. On Ra 1098, see also Roberto Carrera's and Stefano Serventi's contributions to this volume.

46(45):1–12; 49(48):1–15; 89(88):26–53, covering five of the Hexaplaric columns, from the *Secunda*, through Aquila and Symmachus, to LXX and *Quinta*.<sup>5</sup>

(2) There are a couple of small papyrus scraps with parts of Symmachus' version of (LXX) Psalms 68:13–14, 30–33 and 80:11–14, perhaps from the Fayum region in Egypt. This text, *P. Vindob.* 39777, has been dated to the late third or early fourth century.<sup>6</sup> Crucially, this small fragment that has no Hexaplaric columnation, also has no *nomina sacra* that would indicate a Christian origin. Instead it bears the paleo-Hebrew Tetragrammaton. Therefore, unlike the Christian and Hexaplaric fragments Ra 2005 and 1098, this text was probably copied by a Jewish scribe. It is particularly significant in that it suggests that at least parts of Symmachus' version were circulating in Jewish circles in this period, and had not yet been completely superseded by that of Aquila.

The discovery of longer, more continuous texts from Symmachus' version enabled the analysis of their translation technique by José Ramon Busto Saiz.<sup>7</sup> Busto Saiz was mainly interested in Symmachus' translation technique, and also compiled useful Hebrew-Greek/Greek-Hebrew indices to the Symmachian material for Psalms.

The focus of the present essay is on the lexical and exegetical aspects of Symmachus' version.<sup>8</sup> It presents the material from Psalm 22 (MT)/21 (LXX) edited by Taylor, chosen because it is relatively old, being palaeographically dated to the seventh century, and relates to a psalm that held christological significance from the time of the gospel writers.<sup>9</sup> For that reason it potentially offered an opportunity for a later Jewish reviser such as Symmachus to make changes that moved the sense away from the Septuagint version used by the Church of his day. Also, a continuous text gives a better sense of the original context of the rendering than shorter excerpts cited by patristic commentators such as Eusebius of Caesarea.<sup>10</sup>

5 *Quinta*, not Theodotion, as demonstrated by Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, “La versione dell’ultima colonna del palinsesto – e di Teodozione o della Quinta? E di chi le lezioni adiacenti?”, XIX–XXXV.

6 Wessely, “Un nouveau fragment” [actually Symmachus], 224–229. The attribution was corrected by Mercati, “Frammenti”, 266–272, and Capelle, “Fragments”, 64–68. The corrected attribution appears in Wessely, *Studien*, 171. See also Tov, “P. Vindob. G 39777”.

7 Busto Saiz, *La traducción*.

8 For a preliminary study, see also Lust, “Lexicon”, with test case of ἀδελφονέω.

9 E.g. Matt 27:35, 46; Mk 15:24, 34; Lk 23:34; Jn 19:24. Justin Martyr declares in *Dial.* 99.1 to his (supposed) Jewish interlocutor, “I will demonstrate to you that the entire psalm was uttered concerning Christ”, which he proceeds to do over the following sections (§ 99–106).

10 Sadly, what would have been our best source, Origen's *Psalm Commentary*, only survives in indirect form (the Latin rendering of Rufinus; catena fragments). The recent exciting discovery of twenty-nine of Origen's *Homilies on the Psalms* in *Codex Monacensis Graecus* 314 has not produced much of direct interest for the Hexapla, since Origen seems to have avoided burdening his congregations with variant readings. See, however, his more indirect allusions to readings known

Charles Taylor provided a very useful discussion of the renderings of Aquila and Symmachus in this fragment in his publication. However, there are additional points that could be made in the light of other advances in the field of the study of the Greek lexicon and in Hexaplaric studies over the past century.

1. Psalm 22 MT/21 LXX in the Cairo Genizah Fragment  
(Cambridge, Taylor-Schechter Collection, T-S 12.182; Ra 2005)

| MT                                 | LXX                                                  | Symmachus                                                 | Symmachus                                                      | Aquila <sup>11</sup>        |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| בְּמִים נִשְׁפָּכְתִּי             | 15 ὕδωρ<br>ἐξεχύθην,                                 | ...ἐξεχύθην                                               | ... I was poured<br>out                                        | 12 ܐܠܗܝܡܐ                   |
| וְהַתְּפִירוּ כָּל-<br>עַצְמוֹתַי  | καὶ<br>διεσκορπίσθη<br>πάντα τὰ ὀστᾶ<br>μου,         | Καὶ διέστη<br>πάντα τὰ ὀστᾶ<br>μου,                       | and all my<br>bones were<br><b>separated</b>                   |                             |
| הָיָה לִבִּי כְדֹנָג               | ἐγενήθη ἡ<br>καρδία μου<br>ὡσεὶ κηρὸς                | ἐγένετο ἡ<br>καρδία μου<br>ὡσεὶ κηρὸς                     | My heart<br>became as wax                                      |                             |
| נִמְסַ בְּתוֹךְ מַעֵי:             | τηρόμενος<br>ἐν μέσῳ τῆς<br>κοιλίας μου·             | λελυμένος ἐν<br>τοῖς ἐγκατοῖς<br>μου                      | <b>loosened in<br/>my entrails</b>                             | ܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܡ<br>*κεκολλημένος |
| יָבֹשׁ כְּחֶרֶשׁ בְּחִי            | 16 ἐξηράνθη<br>ὡς ὄστρακον ἡ<br>ἰσχὺς μου,           | ἐξηράνθη ὡς<br>ὄστρακον ἡ<br>ἰσχὺς μου,                   | My strength<br>was dried up<br>like a potsherd                 |                             |
| וּלְשׁוֹנִי מִדְּבַק<br>מִלְקוֹתַי | καὶ ἡ<br>γλῶσσά μου<br>κεκόλληται τῷ<br>λάρυγγί μου, | καὶ ἡ<br>γλῶσσά μου<br>προσεκολλήθη<br>τῷ φάρυγγί<br>μου, | And my tongue<br>cleaved to my<br><b>throat</b>                |                             |
| וְלַעֲפָר-מִוֹת<br>תִּשְׁפָּתַי:   | καὶ εἰς χοῦν<br>θανάτου<br>κατήγαγές με.             | Καὶ εἰς χοῦν<br>θανάτου<br>κατήνεγκάς<br>με               | And you<br><b>brought me<br/>down to the<br/>dust of death</b> |                             |

from other sources, such as in Homily III on Ps 73, § 1, lines 8–9, where Origen gives some non-LXX readings to support his exegesis (παρὰ δὲ ἐτέροις): these are also attested in Eusebius’ *Commentary on Psalms* 73:15 along with their attributions (Perrone et al., *Psalmenhomilien*, 253 and note p.).

11 Verses 15–19 for Aquila are supplied from Field, mostly from the Syrohexapla. Verses 20–28 are preserved in Ra 2005.

12 Field, *Fragmenta II*, 119 n. 25, suggests \*ἐμερίσθη, \*διεμερίσθη, or \*διηρέθη may underlie this Syriac form.

| MT                                  | LXX                                        | Symmachus                                                                                          | Symmachus                                                       | Aquila <sup>11</sup>                                             |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| כִּי סָבְבוּנִי כְּלָבִים           | 17 ὅτι ἐκύκλωσάν με κύνες πολλοί,          | περιεκύκλω <σαν> γάρ με κύνες <sup>13</sup>                                                        | For dogs <b>encircled me around</b>                             | ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ *ἐκύκλωσαν με                                         |
| עֲדַת מְרַעִים הִקְיִפוּנִי         | συναγωγὴ πονηρευομένων                     | συναγωγὴ κακοῦργων                                                                                 | A gathering of <b>malefactors</b>                               |                                                                  |
| כְּאַרְיֵי יְדֵי וְרַגְלָי:         | περιέσχον με, ὥρυξαν χεῖράς μου καὶ πόδας. | περιήλθόν <sup>14</sup> με ὡς λέων τὰς χεῖράς μου καὶ τοὺς πόδας μου                               | <b>surrounded me like a lion</b> , my hands and my feet         | ܕܠܝܐ ܕܝܕܐ ܕܪܝܓܐ *ἐπέδησαν / συνεπόδισαν χεῖρας μου καὶ πόδας μου |
|                                     |                                            | ≠ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ ܕܝܕܐ ܕܪܝܓܐ <sup>15</sup> ܕܝܐ<br>*ὡς ζητούντες δῆσαι τὰς χεῖράς μου καὶ τοὺς πόδας μου | OR as those seeking to bind my hands and my feet                |                                                                  |
| אֶסְפֹּר כָּל-עֲצָמוֹתַי            | 18 ἐξηριθμήσα πάντα τὰ ὀστᾶ μου,           | ἐξαριθμοῦντός μου τὰ ὀστᾶ μου,                                                                     | <b>While I counted</b> my bones                                 | ܕܥܝܪܐ *ψηφίσω                                                    |
| הֵמָּה יִבִּיטוּ יְרֵאוּ-בִּי:      | αὐτοὶ δὲ κατενόησαν καὶ ἐπεῖδόν με.        | Αὐτοὶ κατενόουν ἐνέβλεπον εἰς ἐμέ <sup>16</sup>                                                    | they <b>were considering</b> , they <b>were looking at me</b> , |                                                                  |
| יַחְלִיקוּ בְּגָדֵי לְהֵם           | 19 διεμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτιά μου ἑαυτοῖς      | Διενέμοντο τὰ ἱμάτιά μου ἑαυτοῖς                                                                   | They were distributing my garments for themselves               | Μερίσουσιν ἱμάτιόν μου ἑαυτοῖς,                                  |
| וְעַל-לְבוּשִׁי יִפְלֹגוּ גִּזְלֵי: | καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμόν μου ἔβαλον κλήρον.   | Καὶ περὶ ἐσθῆτος μου ἐλάγχανον <sup>17</sup>                                                       | and <b>for my clothing they were drawing lots</b>               | καὶ ἐπὶ ἔνδυσίν μου βαλοῦσι κλήρον <sup>18</sup>                 |

13 Field records ᾿Α. Σ. ὅτι ἐκύκλωσαν με θηραταί from de Montfaucon, but he believes this is derived from Pseudo-Jerome (i. e. based on a retroversion from Latin).

14 Here is a case where the Cairo Genizah witness supersedes Field’s use of the Syrohexapla, since he retroverted ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ as \*ἐκύκλωσαν με (though he was correct in his retroversion of the rest of the Syriac reading).

15 Field gives the reading as ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ, following Barhebraeus, but Codex Ambrosianus of the Syrohexapla has ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܝܪܐ.

16 Field’s retroversion from the Syrohexapla was very close to the Cairo Genizah reading: \*ἀριθμοῦντός ἐμου τὰ ὀστᾶ μου, αὐτοὶ κατενόουν καὶ ἐνέβλεπον εἰς ἐμέ.

17 There is a lacuna in the Cairo Genizah text at this point. The reading is supplied from Eusebius, *Eclogae propheticae*, ed. Gaisford, *Eclogae propheticae*, 87. See Field’s Addenda to Psalms, *Fragmenta II*, 305.

18 See above note: Aquila’s reading in v. 19 is supplied from Eusebius, *Eclog. proph.* p. 87.

| MT                                                 | LXX                                             | Symmachus                                           | Symmachus                                                             | Aquila <sup>11</sup>                           |
|----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------|
| וְאַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ תִּרְחֹק אֵילָנוֹתֵינוּ | 20 σὺ δέ, κύριε, μὴ μακρύνῃς τὴν βοήθειάν μου,  | Συ δὲ ΠΙΠΠΙ μὴ μακρὰν γένῃ μου                      | But you, Y., do not be far from me                                    | Συ δὲ ΠΙΠΠΙ μὴ μακρύνῃς ἰσχυρότης μου          |
| לְעֹזְרֵתִי חֹשֶׁהָ:                               | εἰς τὴν ἀντίλημψίν μου πρόσχες.                 | Πρὸς τὴν <b>βοήθειάν</b> μου <b>σπεῦσον</b>         | Hurry to my aid,                                                      | Εἰς βοήθειάν μου σπεῦσον                       |
| הַצִּילָה מִתָּרֵב נַפְשִׁי                        | 21 ῥῦσαι ἀπὸ ῥομφαίας τὴν ψυχὴν μου             | <b>Ἐξελού</b> ἀπὸ <b>μαχαίρας</b> τὴν ψυχὴν μου     | deliver my soul from a sword,                                         | ῥῦσαι ἀπὸ μαχαίρας ψυχὴν μου                   |
| מִדֹּבֶלֶב יְחִידָתִי:                             | καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς κυνὸς τὴν μονογενῇ μου.           | ἐκ χειρὸς κυνὸς τὴν <b>μονότητά</b> μου             | from a dog's paw my <b>unity</b>                                      | ἀπὸ χειρὸς κυνὸς μοναχὴν μου                   |
| הוֹשִׁיעֵנִי מִפִּי אַרְיֵה                        | 22 σῶσόν με ἐκ στόματος λέοντος                 | σῶσόν με ἐκ στόματος λέοντος                        | Save me from a lion's mouth                                           | σῶσόν με ἀπὸ στόματος λέοντος                  |
| וּמִקֶּרְנֵי רִמִּים עֲנִיחֵנִי:                   | καὶ ἀπὸ κεράτων μονοκερώτων τὴν ταπεινώσιν μου. | Καὶ ἀπὸ κεράτων μονοκερώτων τὴν <b>κακωσίν</b> μου. | And (save) my <b>miserable state</b> from horns of one-horned beasts. | Καὶ ἀπὸ κεράτων ῥήμιμ εἰσάκουσον μου           |
| אֶסְפָּרָה שְׁמִי לְאָחֵי                          | 23 διηγῆσομαι τὸ ὄνομά σου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου,   | διηγῆσομαι τὸ ὄνομά σου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου,          | I will recount your name to my brothers                               | διηγῆσομαι ὄνομά σου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου,        |
| בְּתוֹךְ קָהָל אֲהַלְלֶךָ:                         | ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας ὑμνήσω σε                     | ἐν μέσῳ <b>πλήθους</b> ὑμνήσω σε                    | In the middle of a <b>multitude</b> I will sing praise to you         | ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας ὑμνήσω σε                    |
| יִרְאַי יְהוָה הַלְלוּהוּ                          | 24 Οἱ φοβούμενοι κύριον, αἰνέσατε αὐτόν         | Οἱ φοβούμενοι ΠΙΠΠΙ ὑμνήσατε αὐτόν                  | Those who fear Y., sing praise to him                                 | φοβούμενοι ΠΙΠΠΙ ὑμνήσατε αὐτόν                |
| כָּל־זֶרַע יַעֲקֹב כִּבְדּוּהוּ                    | ἅπαν τὸ σπέρμα Ἰακωβ, δοξάσατε αὐτόν,           | ἅπαν σπέρμα Ἰακωβ, δοξάσατε αὐτόν                   | All Jacob's seed, glorify him                                         | ἅπαν σπέρμα Ἰακωβ, δοξάσατε αὐτόν              |
| וְגִוְרוּ מִמֶּנּוּ כָל־זֶרַע יִשְׂרָאֵל:          | φοβηθῆτωσαν αὐτόν ἅπαν τὸ σπέρμα Ἰσραηλ,        | <b>εὐλαβηθῆτε</b> αὐτόν ἅπαν ...                    | <b>Revere</b> him all...                                              | καὶ ὑποστάλητε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἅπαν τὸ σπέρμα Ἰσραηλ |

Differences from the Septuagint are shown in bold type, and verses discussed below are indicated in the same way.



In Symmachus' revision, there is nothing obvious to either support or contradict Christian exegesis, except the apparent replacement in v. 17 of LXX's ὥρυσαν "they dug", a curious rendering that was often taken by Christian commentators as an allusion to (or prophecy of) the piercing of Christ's hands and feet at the Crucifixion.<sup>19</sup>

**v.17b:** The form in MT, כְּאַרִי, presents a notorious crux.<sup>20</sup> The Septuagint reading ὥρυσαν mentioned above suggests that either the *Vorlage* read כ(א)רִי (from כרה, "dig")<sup>21</sup> or the Greek translator interpreted the word in this way.<sup>22</sup> The separate Syriac readings of Symmachus and Aquila in the margin of the Syrohexapla suggest that these revisions understood the Hebrew as a verb meaning "bind" (cf. also Jerome's *iuxta Hebraeos* rendering *vinxerunt*), and Symmachus' אֶרֶץ/וֹס implies that he read it as כְּאַרִי\*, "like binders of (my hands and my feet)".<sup>23</sup>

However, Symmachus' Greek reading in the Cairo Genizah fragment Ra 2005 has a quite different interpretation: "like a lion", suggesting כְּאַרִי, and thus is rather closer to MT than even Aquila.

Busto Saiz is generally sceptical of the notion of a double edition of Symmachus. He prefers to consider such double readings as this as reflecting "predecessors" of the version, meaning revisers who aimed at the same kind of lexical and stylistic updating that preoccupied Symmachus.<sup>24</sup> However, this particular example in Ps 22:17 does raise the question of which of the two readings here is the "authentic"

19 E. g. Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 97.3; 98.4; 104.1; 140.2; *Apol.* 35.5, 7; 38.4; Eusebius of Caesarea, *Comm. Pss.* 23, pp. 209, 512, 856; *Dem. ev.* 10.8.11-13, 23, 79, 86; *Comm. Isa.* 2.37. Also in Eusebius' *Prophetic Eclogues*, where he discusses this psalm in detail in relation to the gospels' narratives of the crucifixion (ed. Gaisford, pp. 86–87). He does not cite either of Symmachus' readings for this verse, no doubt because they do not support his 'prophetic' reading of the psalm. He does cite Aquila's reading as ἡσχυσαν χεῖράς μου καὶ πόδας μου, "they disfigured my hands and my feet", which also does not match the reading given in the Syrohexapla for Aquila.

20 Vall, "Psalm 22:17B", 45–56 (giving a helpful summary of previous suggestions, and also a diagram of the relationship of the various versions, 55). See also the very thorough discussion of Barthélemy, *Critique*, 127–132. Rashi explains the verse by reference to Isa 38:13 כִּי כְּאַרִי כִּי יִשְׁכַּר (Gruber, *Commentary*, 257). Taylor, *Palimpsests*, 17–24, 39–47 has a full if necessarily rather dated discussion of the problematic reading in MT. For more recent discussions, including the rather unclear reading of the verb in the Qumran fragments, see DeClaissé-Walford/Jacobson/Tanner, *Book*, 230 n. 26, referencing a series of articles in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* from 1998 to 2005: Kaltner, "Psalm 22:17b", 503–506; Strawn, "Psalm 22:17b", 439–451; Swenson, "Psalm 22:17", 637–648; Linville, "Psalm 22:17b", 733–744. Vall, Linville, and Swenson refer to Symmachus' reading, Swenson suggesting that he deliberately avoided "an association with Jesus" (638).

21 E. g. BDB s.v. כרה I.

22 Similarly, both the Peshitta and the Syrohexapla have בִּחַס, "pierce, burst" (see Peshitta 2 Kings 18:21/Isa 36:6, Ezek 29:7 for the latter meaning in the context of a hand being pierced).

23 Cf. HALOT "כ.ר.ו" under IV כרה, citing G. R. Driver's suggestion "bind together" (citing LXX's use of ἔδεω to render כָּרַת in Ezek 16:3(4), in "Mistranslations", 192–193).

24 Busto Saiz, *Traducción*, 309–310.

Symmachian one, given that both are attested quite early: “like a lion” in a Greek seventh century fragment originating from the Hexapla itself, or “as those seeking to bind” in an eighth century manuscript of the Syrohexapla.<sup>25</sup>

As well as representing the reading of MT, *ὡς λέων* in Symmachus’ column of the Cairo Genizah fragment accords with several uses of the same phrase *ὡς λέων* in the Septuagint to render *כְּאַרְיֵה* or *כְּאַרְיֵהָ* (e.g. Gen 49:9; Num 23:24; 24:9; Ps 10:9[9:30]), especially in Ps 7:3 which presents a similar passage concerned about the threat to the speaker’s life from an enemy.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, *הַיָּד* appears earlier in Psalm 22, at v.14, and is rendered there by LXX as *ὡς λέων*, despite the absence of the preposition *כ* in this particular case. Thus the Symmachus reading in Ra 2005 *ὡς λέων* corresponds to the text reflected in MT and also with Septuagint renderings of the same phrase elsewhere.

In his edition Charles Taylor attempts an explanation of the discrepancy between the Greek Symmachus reading in Ra 2005 and the Symmachus reading in the margin of the Syrohexapla. He suggests corruption within the Greek majuscule manuscript tradition containing Symmachus’ reading, as follows: ΩCΔΕΩNTACXEIPACMOY > ΩCΔΕΩNTACXEIPACMOY > ΩCΔΕONTECXEIPACMOY. This last stage was subsequently paraphrased by the Syriac translator as ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܡ. This Syriac was then understandably retroverted in the modern period by Field as \*ὡς ζητοῦντες δῆσαι.<sup>27</sup>

Overall, Taylor’s suggestion has much to commend it, that the Syrohexaplaric reading for Symmachus, “like those seeking to bind”, is based on an early Greek corruption of his original rendering, rather than representing a Hebrew *Vorlage* that read *כְּאַרְיֵה\**. The only point against the explanation would be the Aquila reading in the Syrohexapla ܐܠܗܐ, since this also refers to binding: Taylor has also tried to explain this, but less convincingly.<sup>28</sup> Another issue is that the resulting sense from the Greek Symmachus reading is “A gathering of malefactors surrounded me like a lion, my hands and my feet”, thus giving a hanging accusative, unless “hands and feet” are meant to be a further object of περιῆλθον.

25 There is also a double reading for Aquila in the same place: Eusebius says that Aquila has ἵσχυραν (χεῖρας μου καὶ πόδας μου) (*Ecl. proph.* p. 86), which Taylor, Field and others have tried to relate to the Hebrew (Taylor, *Palimpsests*, 21–22; Field, *Fragmenta II*, 119, n. 33).

26 μήποτε ἀρπάσῃ ὡς λέων τὴν ψυχὴν μου < *כְּאַרְיֵהָ הַיָּד*

27 Taylor, *Palimpsests*, 22. Vall, “Psalm 22:17B”, 56, suggests that Symmachus’ Syriac rendering resulted from a conflation of two variants that may have co-existed, ܐܠܗܐ and ܐܠܗܐ.

28 Taylor, *Palimpsests*, 22, including the possibility that Aquila had ἵσχυραν (as in the Eusebian reading), which was rendered by the Syrohexapla as ܐܠܗܐ and then corrupted to ܐܠܗܐ.

Neither reading recorded for Symmachus in v. 17b would support Christian interpretations that linked this psalm to the crucifixion. However, neither is there any reason to think that he chose a rendering purposely in order to subvert contemporary Christian exegesis. The obscurity of the Hebrew form would have been challenge enough to translators to explain.

**v. 20:** In contrast to the accentuation in MT, the Septuagint breaks the line after the *hapax legomenon* אֱלֹהֵי, which it treats as the object of אֶל־תִּרְחֹק, the verb being understood here as a causative (perhaps Hiph'il, “do not make distant/delay my help”). Aquila takes the verb as intransitive, “do not *be* distant”, and אֱלֹהֵי as vocative, “O my strength!”, either belonging with the preceding or following phrase. However, Symmachus as represented in Ra 2005 does not appear to have anything corresponding to אֱלֹהֵי, unless the personal pronoun μου somehow represents it.<sup>29</sup>

An interesting feature of the Septuagint version of the Psalter is the prominence of the word group ἀντιλαμβάνομαι. There is now an excellent HTLS article on this word group in Greek as it pertains to the Septuagint corpus.<sup>30</sup> This explains that the verb originally meant “grasp, take hold of, take up”, and the derived sense of “help, assist” appears from Euripides onwards, especially in Hellenistic and Ptolemaic papyri and epigraphy. The verb appears 53 times in the Septuagint corpus, around 40 of which are in the translated books, and 13 times in Psalms, for a wide range of different Hebrew words. The noun ἀντιλή(μ)τωρ “helper, supporter” appears only in around a dozen papyri of the Ptolemaic and Roman period in Egypt. It is used in petitions, as a kind of “courtly language”, addressed to office holders. However it occurs 20 times in the Septuagint corpus, 16 of which are in Psalms, and it is normally used there to refer to God. The noun ἀντιλή(μ)ψις in the sense of “help, support” is used in papyri some 50 times, from the second century BCE. It occurs 17 times in the Septuagint, six of which are in Psalms, and the rest in books such as 2 Maccabees and 3 Maccabees, Sirach, and Psalms of Solomon; again, these are books whose lexicon Symmachus often shares. Once more the main referent is God as the help of Israel and of the individual praying. Thus the use of this ἀντιλαμβάνομαι group for a wide variety of Hebrew terms is a particular feature of the Septuagint Psalter.

In contrast, in what remains of his version Symmachus hardly uses any words from the ἀντιλαμβάνω group, in Psalms or elsewhere. This is in line with the practice of Philo and Josephus, who only employ the verb in its original sense of “take

29 As if related to the preposition אֶל plus 1<sup>st</sup> pers. sg. suffix? In MT the preposition following רָחַק to indicate distance *from* is normally מִן, and rendered by ἀπό, e.g. Pss 71(70):12; 88(87):19, 109(108):17; Isa 49:19, Lam 1:16; Eccl 3:5. Compare also Peshitta in 22:20, אֲלֵךְ אֲלֵךְ אֲלֵךְ אֲלֵךְ אֲלֵךְ “Do not be far from me, El, El!”.

Taylor, *Cairo-Genizah*, 27, believes that Symmachus rendered both אֶל־תִּרְחֹק and אֱלֹהֵי with πρὸς τὴν βοήθειάν μου.

30 Bons/Carminati/Passoni dell'Acqua/Scialabba, “ἀντιλαμβάνομαι (ἀντιλαμβάνω)”, 823–846.

hold of”; also the New Testament, which does not employ this word group except in allusions to older Scripture in LXX form.<sup>31</sup> ἀντιλαμβάνομαι and derived nouns, all with the sense of “help”, must have been seen as archaic or odd a century before Symmachus’ time; and so he avoids them.<sup>32</sup> In Ps 22(21):20 Symmachus prefers βοήθεια (a word also used by Aquila) to render הָיָה, over LXX’s ἀντίλημψις. But the renderings are switched in Ps 89(88):20, where the Septuagint has βοήθεια and Symmachus ἀντίληψις for הָיָה according to Eusebius.<sup>33</sup>

**v. 21b:** Symmachus’ reading for יְחִידִי, the term μονότης, is not found in the Septuagint corpus, the New Testament, Philo, or Josephus. Despite μονογενής being preceded by a feminine article, LXX μονογενής ‘only begotten’ in 22(21):21 was understood by Justin Martyr as a prophetic reference to the Passion of Christ.<sup>34</sup> Could Symmachus’ use of μονότης here and in Ps 35(34):17 be an attempt to avoid using μονογενής?<sup>35</sup> Or did Symmachus merely consider that “only-begotten” made no sense in the context of defining the unique life of an individual?

The earliest attestation of μονότης seems to be in Alexander of Aphrodisias in his commentary on Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*.<sup>36</sup> Alexander flourished around 200 CE, close to the time of Symmachus’ version. The lexeme μονότης also occurs in anti-heretical works by the early patristic writers Hippolytus and Irenaeus, who also lived at a similar period. Both define the term as synonymous with ένότης.<sup>37</sup> (Only in the late fourth century does the word μονότης become used to refer to [single-ness” in the sense of celibacy.<sup>38</sup>)

**v. 22:** The Septuagint and Symmachus both treat the form as a noun (הוֹנָה\* or הוֹנָה\*, cf. v. 25) with a possessive suffix. The Septuagint treats it as referring to

31 Lk 1:54 (in the “Magnificat”); Acts 20:35; 1 Cor 12:28; 1 Tim 6:2: probably all examples of a formal, “biblicizing” style.

32 In fact Eusebius needs to provide explanations for ἀντίληψις when used theologically (rather than in the sense of intellectual grasp): *Dem. ev.* 10.8.17, 22, and uses the gloss βοήθεια for it in *Dem. ev.* 10.8.89.

33 Eusebius of Caesarea, *Comm. Pss.* PG 23, 1097, citing LXX Ἐθέμην βοήθειαν ἐπὶ δυνάτον and contrasting it with Symmachus’ ἐπέθηκα ἀντίληψιν ἀνδρῶν, for MT הָיָה לְיָהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ. According to Field, citing Nobilius, in Ps 36(37):17 Symmachus employs ἀντιλαμβάνεται for הָיָה. However, in the absence of further details this cannot be proven.

34 Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 105.1–2, where he says that this part of Psalm 21(22) was prophetic of events to come, since Christ was the only-begotten of the Father of all (μονογενής γὰρ ὅτι ἦν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὅλων οὗτος).

35 Aquila has μοναχὴν μου in both instances.

36 οὕτως καὶ ἡ μονότης τοῦ καθ’ αὐτὸ ὑπάρχοντος δηλωτικῇ· ὁ γὰρ μόνω ὑπάρχει, καὶ καθ’ αὐτὸ ὑπάρχειν ἐκείνῳ δοκεῖ (ed. Hayduck, *Commentaria*, 416 [end]).

37 Hippolytus, *Philosophumena/Ref. haer.* 6.38.2 and 6.38.49; Irenaeus, *adv. Haer.* 1.5.2. “Ἔστι τις πρὸ πάντων προαρχή, προανεννόητος, ἀρρήτος τε καὶ ἀνονόμαστος, ἣν ἐγὼ μονότητα ἀριθμῶ [...]. Αὕτη ἡ ένότης, ἥ τε μονότης [...] ἥ τε μονότης καὶ ένότης [...].

38 Epiphanius, *Panarion*, ed. Holl, *Epiphanius* I, 445; II, 402; III, 521.

humility or a humbled state (ταπεινώσεις), a word used elsewhere in the corpus for עָנָה.<sup>39</sup> Symmachus prefers κάκωσις here, perhaps because although it is also used in LXX renderings for עָנָה as well as עָנָה, it better conveys in the context of this psalm the sense of suffering ill-treatment at the hands of another, as it does in LXX Exod 3:7, 17. The lexeme κάκωσις also appears in LXX Isaiah, Wisdom of Solomon, and Sirach;<sup>40</sup> it has been noted in the past that Sym.'s vocabulary often aligns with that of these books.<sup>41</sup>

In contrast Aquila's εἰσάκουσον μου reflects MT's interpretation of the form as verb plus object suffix, עֲנֵנִי "answer me", though for him, the rendering is unusually free: perhaps he deliberately chose a more respectful way of supplicating God?

v.23: Symmachus' rendering of לְקָהָל with πληθος is somewhat surprising. Septuagint translators frequently render words such as כָּל and מִן, both of which are often used in the Hebrew Bible of non-human subjects in large groups, or of non-Israelite nations, with πληθος, which like its Hebrew counterparts has neutral or rather negative connotations.<sup>42</sup> In contrast, לְקָהָל is normally positive, often used of a smaller and select gathering, especially in a context of praise such as this one. Here in 22(21):23 its Septuagint translation ἐκκλησία (also in Aquila) is in line with many other books of the translated corpus.<sup>43</sup> It is hard to see why Symmachus would revise this rendering to πληθος, with connotations from "multitude" to "rabble". However, 1 Esdras uses πληθος several times for the gathering of returned exiles in Jerusalem who assemble to hear the Law.<sup>44</sup> It also occurs in 1 Macc 8, and in 2 Macc and 3 Macc, of a gathering of Jewish people.<sup>45</sup> Symmachus' rendering here in Ps 22(21) reflects this later, more positive sense of πληθος also attested in later Jewish Greek usage.<sup>46</sup> It is just possible that the choice marks an avoidance of Septuagint wording that is cited in the New Testament, at Heb 2:12b (ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας ὑμνήσω σε), but Symmachus made no change to the preceding part of

39 Gen 16:11; 29:32; 31:42; 41:52; Deut 26:7; 1 Sam 1:11; 2 Kgs 14:26; Neh 9:9; Ps 9:14; 25(24):18; 31(30):8; 119(118):50, 92, 153; Lam 1:3, 7, 9.

40 LXX Isa 53:4 ἐν κακώσει for עָנָה; Wisd 3:2; Sir 11:27; 13:12, 29:12. Also in LXX Pss 17(18):19 (for 20:(44)43 ; אֲדָמָה (for תַּנִּים).

41 Fernández Marcos, *Septuagint*, 134–135.

42 Forms with prepositions such as בְּרַב, לְרַב, מִרַב are neutral and indicate a very large number.

43 LXX Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, 1–2 Kings, Jeremiah, Joel, Micah, Job, and in several other places in Psalms (22[21]:26; 26[25]:5; 35[34]:18; 40[39]:10; 89[88]:6; 107[106]:32; 149:1). The other regular Septuagint equivalent is of course συναγωγή, preferred by Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers, but also used for עֵדָה (e.g. in Joshua).

44 1 Esdras 8:88; 9:6, 10–12, 38, 40–41, 45, 47–49.

45 2 Macc 11:16; 12:42; 3 Macc 1:24; 7:13; cf. Sir 7:7 πληθος πολεως, NRSV "the general public". Symmachus also uses πληθος for לְקָהָל in Ps 34/35:18, in contrast to LXX, Aquila, and *Quinta* who each have ἐκκλησία (ed. Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 55).

46 See also Muraoka, *Lexicon*, 562, who identifies the later sense "4. organised body of members", citing Sir 7:7, 1 Esd 9:4, 2 Macc 11:16, 14:20.

Ps 21:23 which the author of Hebrews also placed in the mouth of Christ, speaking of “my brothers”. So alteration for theological reasons seems unlikely, and in v. 17 Symmachus does not avoid using the term συναγωγή in the negative context of a group of evil-doers.

Other lexical choices in this psalm that are shared with later books of the Septuagint corpus, both translated and non-translated include ἐσθής (contrasting with LXX ἱματισμός and Aquila ἔνδυσίς)<sup>47</sup> and λαγχάνω (LXX and Aquila βάλλω κλήρον, for גִּזְרֵי לַהֲפִיל), both in v. 19.<sup>48</sup> The verb λαγχάνω is used in John 19:24 of the soldiers casting lots for Jesus’ clothes, before the citation of LXX Ps 21:19, and this is a clear case where the avoidance of support for Christian interpretations plays no role in Symmachus’ revision.

Stylistic syntactical features in the psalm include the use of a genitive absolute construction in v. 18 (ἐξαριθμοῦντός μου τὰ ὀστᾶ μου).<sup>49</sup> We also find renderings of the Hebrew imperfect as Greek imperfects, narrating continuous action in the past in 22:18–19 (κατενόουν ἐνέβλεπον for יִרְיֹוּטִי; διενέμοντο for יִרְקִי; ἐλάγχανον for יִפְּלוּ); yet Symmachus uses an aorist (κατήνεγκάς με) in v. 16 for another Hebrew imperfect קָטַף, probably because the sense indicates a single action in the past.

## 2. Conclusion

To sum up, overall, there is no evidence that Symmachus made the changes he did in Psalm 21(22) to combat early Christian uses and interpretations of that text. It is possible to argue that he merely followed the emerging standard Hebrew text, improved on the style of Aquila, and avoided some of the older expressions of the Septuagint.

What function would Symmachus’ version of Psalms have had? Was it merely a study tool to access the Hebrew, as Aquila’s version seems to have been, or did it play a part in the liturgy of Greek-speaking synagogues, for instance in Caesarea Maritima,<sup>50</sup> as the stylistic focus might suggest? Without further finds from his version beyond those of the Cairo Genizah and Milan Hexaplaric palimpsests –

47 As in 1 Esd 8:68, 70, and 2 Macc 8:35, 11:8.

48 3 Macc 6:1, Wisd.8:19, though neither of these uses occurs in the sense of casting lots but of obtaining a good old age and a good soul, respectively (cf. 2 Pet 1:1). However, Lk 1:9 and Acts 1:17 use λαγχάνω to refer to the casting of lots.

49 Taylor, *Palimpsests*, 25, referencing Field’s *Prolegomena* III.4.1, p. xxxi, who gives other examples of the use of the gen. abs. by Symmachus in Psalms (28/27:1; 9:4; 30/29:10).

50 *J. Sotah* 71, 21b:

רבי לוי בר חזיה אזל לקיסרין שמע קלון קריין שמע אלוניסתין בעא מעכבתון. שמע רבי ייסי ואיקפד אמר כך  
אומר אני מי שאינו יודע לקרות אשורית לא יקרינה כל עיקר. אלא יוצא בכל לשון שהוא יודע.

such as a fragment from a clearly Jewish source that is more extensive than *P. Vindob.* 39777,<sup>51</sup> or a synagogue inscription<sup>52</sup> – we may never know.

## Appendix: Studies Covering Symmachus' Version of the Psalms

- Busto Saiz, José Ramón, *La traducción de Símaco en el libro de los Salmos* (TECC 22; Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1985).<sup>53</sup>
- Ceulemans, Reinhart, "Unknown Hexaplaric Readings of Ezekiel, Isaiah and Psalms, offered by Apollinaris of Laodicea", *ZAW* 123 (2011) 406–423.<sup>54</sup>
- Geiger, Abraham, "Symmachus, der Übersetzer der Bibel", *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben* 1 (1862) 39–64.<sup>55</sup>
- Lust, Johan, "A Lexicon of Symmachus' Special Vocabulary in his Translation of the Psalms", *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 5 (2000), online only, see <http://www.jbtc.org/v05/Lust2000.html> (last access: 15.08.2023).<sup>56</sup>
- Meer, Michaël N. van der, "Symmachus", in A. G. Salvesen/T. M. Law (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Septuagint* (Oxford Handbooks; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021) 469–480.
- Mulder, Stefan, "A conquering of animals': Symmachus' depoliticising translation re-examined", in W. Kraus/M. Meiser (ed.), *Die Septuaginta – Orte und Intentionen* (WUNT 361; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016) 437–447.<sup>57</sup>

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"R. Levi bar Hita went to Caesarea and heard people reciting the Shema in Greek [*Ellenisti*]. He tried to prevent them. Rabbi Jose heard and was angry. He said, 'I declare: whoever does not know how to recite in Hebrew [*Ashurit*], should he not recite it at all? Rather, he fulfills it in any language he knows'. The Shema appears in "Aquilanic" Greek on a sixth or seventh century amulet, along with Ps 90(91):1 and Deut 11:13–21, though its provenance is unknown: Benovitz, "Psalm 91:1", 143–172.

- 51 See Albrecht, "Bibelübersetzung", especially 227 and n. 80, where he notes the existence of references to manuscripts of Symmachus in a private library of the 16th century in Greece. It would be wonderful if these were ever recovered.
- 52 See Dimitrios Papanikolaou's contribution in the present volume, "The Psalms in Postclassical Greek Epigraphy", n. 16. However, Constantine Zuckerman's suggestion that an inscription from Nicea is from the version of Symmachus in Psalms is not convincing. In fact the inscription may derive from Aquila's version instead (Zuckerman, "Psalm 135:25"; see Salvesen, "Psalm 135(136).25").
- 53 Discusses the translation technique displayed by Symmachus in the continuous texts of his version in Psalms.
- 54 Ibidem pp. 420–421: Ps 39(40):6 attributed to Aquila by Apollinaris but perhaps conflated with that attributed to Symmachus in other sources.
- 55 Brief discussion of short phrases in Symmachus' renderings in Psalms pp. 43–44, 46–47, 53, 60–61, but these pre-date the extensive finds with fuller readings in the editions of Field, Taylor, and Wessely.
- 56 With test case of ἀδὴμονέω. NB: Uses pre-Unicode fonts.
- 57 On Symmachus' renderings of Pss 2:12; 69(68):3; 110(109):1–2, pp. 442–443.

- Schoeps, Hans-Joachim, “Die Spuren ebionitischer Theologie in der Bibelübersetzung des Symmachus” (Coniectanea Neotestamentica 6: Seminarium Neotestamenticum Upsaliense: Uppsala, 1942) 65–93; repr. in H.-J. Schoeps, “Symmachusstudien”, in: id., *Aus frühchristlicher Zeit. Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1950) 82–119.<sup>58</sup>
- , “Mythologisches bei Symmachus” *Biblica* 26 (1945) 100–111; repr. in H.-J. Schoeps, “Symmachusstudien”, in: id., *Aus frühchristlicher Zeit. Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1950) 82–119.<sup>59</sup>
- , “Symmachus und der Midrasch” *Biblica* 29 (1948) 31–51; repr. in H.-J. Schoeps, “Symmachusstudien”, in: id., *Aus frühchristlicher Zeit. Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1950) 82–119.<sup>60</sup>

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58 On renderings of Pss 7:12; 44(43):24; 63(62):3; 74(73):2; 78(77):36, 60; rendering of אֲבִיִּין by πένης Pss 72(71):12; 107(106):41 and elsewhere; of עַי by πτωχός Pss 88(87):16; 102(101):1.

59 Ibidem pp. 100–104; θεομάχοι as a rendering for רַפְּאִים in Ps 88(87):11; Job 26:5; Prov 9:18; 21:16; p. 108 on σύνδοξος θεοῦ for אֱלֹהֵי בְּעֵדָתָא in Ps 82(81):1.

60 Ibidem pp. 31–32 on προσάλλειν for חַי in Ps 27(26):7; pp. 47–48 on Ps 139(138):18 ἐξυπνώσω καὶ εἰς αἶψα ἔσομαι μετὰ σοῦ or παρὰ σοί.



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## Theodoret von Kyros und der Antiochenische Text des Psalters\*

„Gleichgewicht“ (ζυγός), „Weinpresse“ (ληνός) sowie der Unterschied zwischen „Stimme“ (φωνή) und „Schrei“ (κραυγή) sind Begriffe, die möglicherweise hinsichtlich ihrer konkreten Bedeutung Zweifel aufwerfen. Um diese auszuräumen, hätte der damalige Leser ebenso wie der heutige Hilfe in einem Lexikon gesucht. Ein byzantinischer Leser hätte beispielsweise das *Suda*-Lexikon konsultieren und umfassende Informationen finden können. Interessanterweise hätten diese Erklärungen oft ihren Ursprung im Psalmenkommentar des Theodoret von Kyros gehabt. Wohl bekannt ist, dass dieser umfangreiche Kommentar eine der Hauptquellen für die exegetischen Katenen darstellte.<sup>1</sup> Weniger bekannt ist, dass er auch Beispiele und sprachliche Definitionen für lexikographische Werke lieferte. In diesem Sinne kann etwa das *Suda*-Lexikon als ein indirektes Zeugnis des Theodoret-Kommentars gelten.<sup>2</sup> Durch ihn lernten die Byzantiner nicht nur die Psalmen auszulegen, sondern auch den richtigen sprachlichen Ausdruck. Jahrhunderte zuvor hätte man zu diesem Zweck andere Werke herangezogen. Die Definition von φωνή zum Beispiel war ein viel diskutiertes Thema in der stoischen Philosophie der hellenistischen Zeit.<sup>3</sup> In späterer Zeit vermochte jedoch Diogenes von Babylon nicht mit dem großen Bischof von Kyros zu konkurrieren.

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\* In der hier veröffentlichten schriftlichen Fassung wurde der mündliche Stil des am 2. Dezember 2021 in Göttingen gehaltenen Vortrags beibehalten. Herrn Prof. Reinhard Gregor Kratz und der Arbeitsstelle „Die *Editio critica maior* des griechischen Psalters“ der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen möchte ich für die Einladung und Gastfreundschaft meinen herzlichen Dank aussprechen: Die Erinnerung an meine unvergesslichen Jahre in Göttingen bestätigt die Richtigkeit des Spruches „Extra Gottingam non est vita, si est vita non est ita“. Ein besonderer Dank gilt Herrn Dr. Felix Albrecht nicht nur für die Korrektur des Deutschen, sondern und vor allem für die stetig erneuernde und unerschütterliche Freundschaft, die uns verbindet.

1 Derival, *Les chaînes*, tt. 1–5, (wertvolle Zusammenfassung über Theodoret: t. 5, 385–386). Vgl. auch Mühlberg, *Psalmenkommentare*, (insbesondere Bd. III); Rondeau, *Les commentaires*, (insbesondere vol. I, 134–137).

2 Vgl. Adler, „Suidas“, 711–712; Tosi, „Osservazioni“, 131–140, der auch auf die Unterschiede zwischen den Theodorets Zitaten im *Suda* und dem edierten Text in PG 80 eingeht. Für ζυγός: *Sud* ζ 188 ~ Theod. Cyr. in Ps. 2:3 (PG 80, 876); für ληνός: *Sud*. λ 461 ~ Theod. Cyr. in Ps. 8:1 (PG 80, 913); für φωνή καὶ κραυγή: *Sud*. φ 657 ~ Theod. Cyr. in Ps. 3:5 (PG 80, 885).

3 Vgl. Zenon von Kition, *SVF* I 148 (= Galen. *PHP* II 5, 8, 2–5 [p. 130, 2–5 De Lacy] = *FDS* 450, 11–4) und Chrysippos von Soloi, *SVF* II 894 (= Galen. *PHP* II 5, 15, 2–20, 3 [pp. 130, 22–132, 2 De Lacy] = *FDS* 450, 36–53): Ax, *Laut*, 145–148. Besonders einflussreich war bekanntlich der περὶ φωνῆς des Diogenes von Babylon: vgl. *SVF* III Diog. 17 (= Diog. Laert., VII 55 = *FDS* 476, 4 =

Theodorets Werk erfreute sich außerordentlichen Erfolgs, was zu einer besonders reichen und komplexen Textüberlieferung führte, die die Aufgabe eines kritischen Herausgebers wiederum erheblich erschwerte. Die direkte Überlieferung zählt etwa achtzig handschriftliche Zeugnisse;<sup>4</sup> außerdem durchlief der Text, gerade wegen seines praktischen Nutzens, Erweiterungs- und Reduzierungsprozesse.<sup>5</sup> Des Weiteren ist Theodoret einer der am häufigsten zitierten Autoren in exegetischen Katenen und hat die byzantinische Gelehrtentradition stark beeinflusst.<sup>6</sup> Sein Kommentar ist nicht nur in einer bedeutenden altkirchenslawischen<sup>7</sup> und einer armenischen<sup>8</sup> Übersetzung überliefert, sondern fand, wie bereits erwähnt, auch Verwendung in lexikographischen Werken.

Angesichts dieser gigantischen Materialfülle ist die derzeit verfügbare Edition völlig unzureichend. Die *editio princeps* der Schriften Theodorets entstand im 17. Jh. im jesuitischen Collège de Clermont: von Fronton du Duc begonnen, wurde sie 1642 von seinem Nachfolger Jacques Sirmond fertiggestellt.<sup>9</sup> Obwohl die Jesuiten hauptsächlich auf Pariser Handschriften zurückgriffen, suchten sie bei Bedarf auch an anderen Orten nach geeigneten Quellen: Für den Canticum-Kommentar beispielsweise stützten sie sich auf einen Codex der Vatikanischen Bibliothek.<sup>10</sup>

Beim Psalmenkommentar gestaltet sich die Ermittlung der Quellen als schwieriger. Sirmond macht keine Angaben zu den Quellen seiner Edition und erwähnt lediglich, dass einige Werke von Theodoret, darunter die „*Psalmorum interpretatio et Cantici canticorum*“ erstmals in seinen Ausgaben auf Griechisch veröffentlicht werden.<sup>11</sup> Die Identifizierung der handschriftlichen Grundlage von Sirmonds Ausgabe wäre für die Forschung von großer Bedeutung. Es liegt nahe, dass die Jesuiten auch für den Psalmenkommentar primär Pariser Handschriften verwendeten.<sup>12</sup> Doch muss daran erinnert werden, dass Fronton du Duc in engem Briefwechsel

fr. 8, 1, 3–4 Boeri-Salles), *SVF* III Diog. 21 (= Diog. Laert., VII 57 = *FDS* 536, 1–2 = fr. 8, 1, 27–8 Boeri-Salles), usw.: vgl. Bergamo, *Varietà*, 45–66.

4 Vgl. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis*, 405–406; Ceulemans, „Theodoret“, 149–164 (150–151).

5 Nützliche Beobachtungen, die die *opinio communis* korrigieren, in Tivelli, „Teodoreto“, (165–200).

6 Man denke nur an die anerkennenden Worte, die Photius ihm sowohl in Bezug auf seine historischen als auch seine theologischen und exegetischen Schriften zollte: Phot. *Bibl.* c. 31, 46, 56, 203–205, 273.

7 Pogorelov, *Čudovskaja Psaltyr'*; Lépassier, *Commentaires*; Alekseev, *Tekstologija*, 36.

8 Outtier, „Premier bilan“, 169–180; ders., „Nouveaux témoins“, 241–248; ders., „Une page“, 181–186 (hier wird auch berichtet, dass ein Auszug des Kommentars aus dem Armenischen ins Georgische übersetzt wurde: 182, n. 3).

9 Sirmondus, *Theodoret*. Vgl. Bossina, *Teodoreto*, 4–8; 89–96.

10 Ebenda. Für die Ausgabe des Canticumkommentars wurde der *Cod. Vat. gr.* 621 verwendet.

11 Vgl. *Sirmondi Praefatio*, in PG 80, 29–30.

12 Vgl. Ceulemans, „Theodoret“, 152, n. 13: „It is possible but not certain that the source manuscript was one that was kept in Paris at the time“.

mit Patrick Young (Patricius Junius) stand.<sup>13</sup> Junius hatte seinerseits in England begonnen, an einer Ausgabe von Theodorets Psalmenkommentar zu arbeiten und suchte nach Fördermitteln, um diese zu veröffentlichen.<sup>14</sup> Aus einem Brief an Abraham Schultheiß (Scultetus) geht hervor, dass Junius versuchte, durch David Hoeschel einen „Augustanus“-Codex des Psalmenkommentars zu erhalten, vermutlich einen der drei „Augustani“, die Johann Ludwig Schulze im folgenden Jahrhundert verwendete.

Im November 1614 erhielt Junius einen Hinweis von Cluverius, dass die Leidener Akademie bereits Pläne für die Veröffentlichung von Theodorets *opera omnia* hegte, zunächst in Zusammenarbeit mit Scaliger und später mit Daniel Heinsius.<sup>15</sup> In dieser Zeit gab es demnach mindestens zwei parallele Vorhaben einer Gesamtausgabe Theodorets: ein katholisches durch die Jesuiten in Paris und ein protestantisches durch die Leidener Akademie. Was den Psalmenkommentar betrifft, so gab es noch ein drittes Vorhaben von Junius in London. Im Jahr 1617 reiste Junius nach Paris, traf Fronton du Duc persönlich und beschloss, sein eigenes Projekt aufzugeben. Der schottische Philologe und der Jesuit begannen eine wichtige Korrespondenz und Junius schickte seine Materialien nach Paris: Ein bedeutender Brief

13 Kemke, *Patricius Junius*, insbesondere ep. 58 [02.09.1618: Ducaeus an Junius]; ep. 59 [13.04.1619: Ducaeus an Junius]; ep. 61 [August 1619: Junius an Ducaeus]; ep. 62 [01.09.1619: Ducaeus an Junius]; ep. 69 [01.08.1620: Junius an Ducaeus]; ep. 70 [05.09.1620: Ducaeus an Junius]; ep. 70a [05.09.1620: Ducaeus an Junius].

14 So schrieb er im Januar 1613 an Bischof Mountague (ep. 26): „Serenissima Majestas S<sup>a</sup>, cujus nomini Theodoretum in psalmos laborum meorum primitias, consecrare animus est, nullus dubito, quin sumptus suppeditura sit, si Reverendissima D. Vestra intercesserit“. Von der ep. 31 an Peter Goldman (September 1613) erfahren wir, dass Junius sein „Graecum Exemplar“ mit dem Lateinischen, also mit der lateinischen Übersetzung von Carafa, verglich und auf der Grundlage dieses Vergleichs eine Abschrift für den Druck anfertigte: „Theodoretus tuus belle procedit; nam ad eum iterum redii, neque ulla est dies, in qua lineam non duco. Cum escribo, Graecum cum Latino exemplar confero, et utrum ante oculos habeo, emendate et sine errore ullo me descripturum scito“. Kemke kannte Goldmans Identität nicht (p. 19: „Über den Dr. med. Goldman, Junius' Jugendfreund, weiss ich nicht viel mehr zu berichten, als was sich aus den beiderseitigen Briefen ergibt“). Jetzt wissen wir aber, dass sein Name Peter war und dass er auch mit Junius zusammengearbeitet hat, um griechische Manuskripte zu kopieren. Dies ergibt sich beispielsweise aus dem Kolophon von *Trinity College MS O.4.41*, in dem Junius und Goldman den Dialog des Adamantius gegen Marcion und andere Texte von Zacharias Scholasticus und Eusebius abschrieben. Vgl. Wright in <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-TRINITY-O-00004-00041/5> (letzter Zugriff: 14.04.2024). Vgl. auch ep. 33: „Theodoretum spatio octo horarum exscribam, volente Deo“.

15 Ep. 46 [09.11.1614], Philipp Clüver an Junius: „Sed ea de re cum nudius tertius Clar. Virum D. Heinsium consulere, dixit mihi Academiam Leidensem id jamdudum serio egisse, uti omnia Theodoreti opera, quae exstarent, graece ederentur: eamque curam quondam D. Scaligero, postea vero sibi impositam fuisse. Quod si igitur per te liceret ea habere, quae in Psalmos et de vitis Patrum [scil. *Historia Philotea*] scripserit, maximo cum tuo honore, ceu a tua manu profecta, se velle reliquis adungere“.

von Junius an Ducaeus enthüllt, dass Jacques de Billy die Handschrift vermittelte.<sup>16</sup> In den darauffolgenden Jahren erkundigte sich Junius regelmäßig nach dem Fortschritt der Theodoret-Ausgabe. Nach dem Tod von Ducaeus kam das Projekt jedoch zum Stillstand und wurde fast zwei Jahrzehnte später von Sirmond auf der Grundlage von Ducaeus' Vorarbeiten fertiggestellt.<sup>17</sup> Die gesamte Geschichte, die sich zwischen London, Paris und Leiden entfaltete, verdiente, eingehender untersucht zu werden. Hier genügt indes zu betonen, dass zur Identifikation der Handschriftenbasis von Sirmond auch die handschriftlichen Zeugen aus dem englischen Raum berücksichtigt werden müssen.

Zwischen 1769 und 1772 veröffentlichte Johann Ludwig Schulze eine zweite Ausgabe von Theodorets Werken.<sup>18</sup> Was den Psalmenkommentar betrifft, folgte Schulze dem von Sirmond herausgegebenen Text, überprüfte ihn aber an drei weiteren – damals in Augsburg und heute in München befindlichen – Handschriften: *Codices Monacenses* gr. 478 (von ihm als „1“ bezeichnet), gr. 527 („2“) und gr. 359 („3“). Bieten diese Handschriften nennenswerte Lesarten, weist Schulze in Fußnoten darauf hin. Wenngleich es sich nicht um einen kritischen Text handelte, bot dieser ausreichend Anhaltspunkte dafür, die Zuverlässigkeit der Sirmond-Ausgabe zu hinterfragen. Dennoch basierte die Ausgabe in Abt Mignes „*Patrologia graeca*“ (Band 80) noch auf Sirmonds Text, ergänzt durch Schulzes Anmerkungen.<sup>19</sup>

Noch schlimmer war die Lage für die anderen Autoren der Antiochenischen Tradition. Als Alfred Rahlfs sich mit der Überlieferung des Septuagintapsalters beschäftigte, galt der Kommentar des Diodor von Tarsus als verschollen und war nur durch Theodor in äußerst indirekter und bruchstückhafter Weise bekannt. Die umfangreiche handschriftliche Überlieferung von Johannes Chrysostomos und die Ansammlung pseudepigraphischer Werke unter seinem Namen machten die Verwendung der chrysostomischen Bände der *Patrologia* noch unzuverlässiger.

16 In ep. 61 schrieb Junius an Ducaeus: „Quare ne diutius tam honestae postulationi tuae desim, καὶ τοῦ ὀφλήματος ὑπερήμερος γενοίμην, mitto ad te tandem, Vir clarissime, per procuratorem Billii Theodoretum in omnes Psalmos“. Zu de Billys außerordentlicher Aktivität in patristischen Studien vgl. Backus, *La patristique*.

17 Darüber wurde Junius von Holstenius informiert (ep. 93, 05.08.1626): „Theodoretus tuus penes Jacobum Sirmondum exstat, virum sane humanissimum ac eruditissimum, nec Ducaeio aut Schotto insigni animi moderatione imparem. Illi Theodreti omnia moriens Ducaeus reliquit, editioni ferme parata; quae ab illo jampridem perfecta porro editaque fuissent, nisi eum Conciliorum Ecclesiae Gallicanae editio hactenus occupatissimum habuisset. Eo opere finito, totum se Frontonianis illis absolvendis edendisque accinget“.

18 Schulze, *B. Theodreti*.

19 B. Theodreti Episcopi Cyrensis, *Interpretatio in Psalmos*, PG 80, 857–1998; engl. ÜS: Hill, *Theodoret of Cyrus*. Für einen Gesamtüberblick über Theodorets Exegese: Guinot, *L'exégèse* (zum Psalmenkommentar: 684–713). Vgl. auch die grundlegende Aufsatzsammlung von Guinot, *Théodoret de Cyr*.

Trotz aller erwähnten Einschränkungen war Theodoret daher der bedeutendste Zeuge für die Rekonstruktion des Antiochenischen Psalmentextes. Doch Rahlfs fiel sofort auf, dass die von Schulze gesammelten Varianten sehr oft auch den biblischen Text und nicht nur die Exegese Theodorets betrafen. Darüber hinaus entwickelte Rahlfs die Theorie, dass die Antiochenische Redaktion die Grundlage des „Vulgär-“, oder „byzantinischen“ Textes der Psalmen bilde, also des Standardtextes des Psalters.<sup>20</sup> Basierend auf der berühmten Aussage von Hieronymus, sprach Rahlfs noch immer von einer „lukianischen“ Rezension. Heute unterscheiden wir zwischen „Lukianisch“ (oder „Proto-Lukianisch“) und „Antiochenisch“,<sup>21</sup> aber das Problem bleibt bestehen. Der Psalmentext, der sich im griechischen Mittelalter etablierte, stellt eine korrigierte und standardisierte Fassung des Antiochenischen Textes dar. Und doch litt gerade das größte und maßgeblichste Zeugnis dieses Textes an gravierenden ekdotischen Mängeln. Rahlfs beauftragte daher Emil Große-Brauckmann, die Gültigkeit der Theodoret-Ausgabe zu prüfen und die handschriftliche Dokumentation zu erweitern.<sup>22</sup> Der Aufsatz von Große-Brauckmann hat noch heute einen hohen Stellenwert, auch weil er damals eine Berliner Handschrift kollationieren konnte, die bis vor wenigen Monaten während des Zweiten Weltkriegs als verschollen galt und kürzlich in Krakau wiedergefunden wurde (*Berol gr. IV 38* = Ra 9026).<sup>23</sup>

In der übrigen Antiochenischen Tradition hat sich die Situation zumindest für Diodor und Theodor verbessert. Heute verfügen wir über Diodors Psalmenkommentar zu den ersten 50 Psalmen.<sup>24</sup> Dank der Arbeit von Devreesse, der Entdeckung einer hochwichtigen Pariser Handschrift (*Coisl. 12*) und der lateinischen Übersetzung durch Julian von Eclanum besitzen wir eine solide Grundlage für die Rekonstruktion von Theodors Psalmentext.<sup>25</sup> Das größte *desideratum* bleibt aber eine neue kritische Ausgabe von Theodorets Kommentar. Eine Forderung, die Rahlfs bereits vor einem Jahrhundert stellte und die Reinhart Ceulemans vor einigen Jahren eindringlich wiederholte.<sup>26</sup> Zwischen Rahlfs und Ceulemans ist

20 Rahlfs, *Text*; ders., *Psalmi*. Ceulemans, „Theodoret“, 150, n. 4, betont zu Recht die Bedeutung von Friedrich Baethgens Studie (Baethgen, „Werth“, 407–422) als Vorläufer von Rahlfs.

21 Eine aktualisierte Übersicht über das Problem in Kauhanen, „Proto-Lucianic“, 537–551. Vgl. auch Fernández Marcos, „Text“, 219–229. Wichtige Beiträge in Kreuzer/Sigismund, *Text* (allgemeiner Blick vor allem in den Aufsätzen von Kreuzer, „Der Antiochenische Text“, 23–56, und Fernández Marcos, „The Antiochene Edition“, 57–73). Vgl. auch Pietersma, „Proto-Lucian“, 66–72; Munnich, „Septante“, 75–89. Relevante Studien zum Septuagintapsalter in Hiebert/Cox/Gentry, *Psalter*.

22 Große-Brauckmann, „Psaltertext“, 337–365.

23 Diese wichtige Entdeckung ist Eva Tivelli und Margherita Matera zu verdanken: Tivelli, „Teodoreto“.

24 Olivier, *Diodori*; engl. ÜS: Hill, *Diodore of Tarsus*.

25 Devreesse, *Commentaire*; engl. ÜS: Hill, *Theodoret of Cyrus*.

26 Ceulemans, „Theodoret“.



das Gebet oft in den Himmel aufgestiegen, aber nie erhört worden. Also werde ich mich dem Chor der Gebete anschließen, aber mein Ziel wird es sein, dieses Bedürfnis auf verschiedenen Ebenen zu artikulieren. Abgesehen von den spezifisch patristischen Interessen, die ebenfalls sehr relevant sind, werde ich insbesondere zu erklären versuchen, was von dieser Ausgabe erwartet werden kann in Bezug auf (a) den Psalmentext von Theodoret, (b) den Antiochenischen Text der Psalmen, und (c) das Verhältnis zwischen dem Antiochenischen und dem sog. „Vulgär-“ (oder „byzantinischen“) Text. Um ein zumindest indikatives Orientierungsbild präsentieren zu können, sind zwölf der ältesten Zeugen der direkten Überlieferung vom 9. bis 12. Jh. berücksichtigt worden:<sup>27</sup>

|      |                          |                       |
|------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| 9049 | Par. gr. 1051            | 9. Jh.                |
| 1105 | Mosq. hist. mus. gr. 213 | 10. Jh.               |
| 1142 | Par. gr. 844             | 10. Jh.               |
| 9026 | Berol. gr. IV. 38        | 11. Jh. <sup>28</sup> |
| 9078 | Vindob. theol. gr. 294   | 11. Jh.               |
| 9001 | Athen. EBE 1             | 11. Jh.               |
| 1130 | Par. Coisl. 81           | 11. Jh.               |
| 1141 | Par. gr. 843             | 11. Jh.               |
| 1124 | Oxon. Laud. 42           | 11. Jh.               |
| 1216 | Marc. gr. 19             | 11./12. Jh.           |
| 9017 | Laur. Plut. XI 5         | 11./12. Jh.           |
| 1114 | Mon. gr. 478             | 12. Jh.               |

Einige Beispieluntersuchungen empfehlen eine Fokussierung auf die Psalmen 34 und 39. Eine Durchsicht des Apparats von Rahlfs<sup>29</sup> deutet darauf hin, dass die Varianten des Vulgärtextes (*L*) und des Theodoret in den genannten beiden Psalmen besonders interessant sind. Bei der Auswahl dieser Psalmen spielen jedoch noch weitere Kriterien eine Rolle: Zunächst ist es erforderlich, Theodorets Kommentar mit den Kommentaren Diodors (für Ps 1–50) und Theodors (dessen bester Zeuge, der *Coisl.* 12 aus dem 13. Jh., den Kommentar zu Ps 32–60 überliefert) vergleichen zu können. Zweitens ist es notwendig, sich auf eine solide handschriftliche Überlieferung verlassen zu können, beginnend mit der wichtigen Wiener

27 Eine aktualisierte Liste der LXX-Handschriften mit wesentlichen Katalogdateien findet sich auf der Website <https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue> (last access: 14.04.2024).

28 Was diese Handschrift betrifft, konnte ich nur Ps 39 kollationieren (dank der Fotos, die mir freundlicherweise von Eva Tivelli zur Verfügung gestellt wurden).

29 Selbstverständlich beziehen wir uns auf die Ausgabe von Rahlfs, *Psalmi*.

Handschrift (Ra 9078), die sich aber nur bis zu Psalm 50 erstreckt. Die hier vorgestellten Ergebnisse haben darum das Ziel aufzuzeigen, welche Beiträge eine kritische Ausgabe von Theodorets Psalmenkommentar zur Geschichte des griechischen Psalters leisten kann.

## 1. Der Psalmentext von Theodoret

Der erste Beitrag liegt auf der Hand: Eine endlich umfassende Untersuchung der handschriftlichen Tradition des Kommentars wird zweifellos Neuerungen in den Psalmentext von Theodoret bringen. Hier sind einige Beispiele:

Ps 34:3

PG 80: ἔκχεον ῥομφαίαν καὶ σύγκλεισον ἐξεναντίας τῶν καταδιωκόντων με  
καταδιωκόντων Ra 9001 1130 1216 1114  
θλιβόντων Ra 9049 1105 1142 9078 1141 9017 (Rahlfs: U')

In Ps 34:3 hat der edierte Text von Theodoret καταδιωκόντων. Tatsächlich tragen einige handschriftliche Zeugen (Ra 9001 1130 1216 1114) diese Variante; die ältesten Zeugen haben aber θλιβόντων, eine von Rahlfs dem sog. oberägyptischen Text (U') zugeschriebene Lesart.

Ps 34:27

PG 80: ἀγαλλιάσθωσαν καὶ εὐφρανθεῖσιν οἱ θέλοντες τὴν δικαιοσύνην μου  
ἀγαλλιάσθωσαν Ra 9049 1105 1142<sup>c</sup> 1141<sup>c</sup> 1216 (Rahlfs: L' 1219)  
ἀγαλλιάσονται Ra 9001 1130 (Rahlfs: L<sup>pau</sup> A)  
ἀγαλλιάσαιντο Ra 9078 9017 (Rahlfs: OG Lesart)

In Ps 34:27 hat der edierte Text von Theodoret ἀγαλλιάσθωσαν, das Rahlfs der Gesamtheit der Zeugen von Theodoret (L') sowie Ra 1219 zuschreibt. In Wirklichkeit ist die Überlieferung viel vielfältiger: Einige Handschriften Theodorets haben die Lesart ἀγαλλιάσονται (Ra 9001 1130), die Rahlfs in *Codex Alexandrinus* und in wenigen Minuskelhandschriften fand. Vor allem aber haben Ra 9078 und 9017 ἀγαλλιάσαιντο, was von Rahlfs als ursprüngliche Lesart angesehen wurde. Relevant ist auch, dass es unter den Zeugen der Vulgär-Variante ἀγαλλιάσθωσαν auch Handschriften gibt, in denen diese Variante als Korrektur eingeführt wurde (Ra 1142<sup>c</sup> 1141<sup>c</sup>). Dies zeigt deutlich den Standardisierungsprozess, den der Psalmentext in den Theodoretshandschriften durchlaufen hat. Wir werden in Kürze auf dieses grundlegende Problem zurückkommen.

Ps 39:3

PG 80: καὶ ἀνήγαγέ με ἐκ λάκκου ταλαιπωρίας καὶ ἀπὸ πηλοῦ ἰλύος

ἰλύος Ra 1142<sup>c</sup> 9026 1141<sup>c</sup> 9017 (Rahlfs: L')

ὑλεως Ra 9049 1142\* 9078 1141\* (Rahlfs: B' 2013 R THe\* A'')

In Ps 39:3 gibt es einen Fall, den wir in Kürze genauer betrachten werden. Vorerst genügt es zu sagen, dass die Lesart ἰλύος *nicht* in der Gesamtheit der Theodoretshandschriften bezeugt ist, wie Rahlfs schreibt (L'). Die ältesten Zeugen haben tatsächlich ὑλεως (Ra 9049 1142\* 9078 1141\*), was Rahlfs einer anderen Tradition zuschreibt (B' 2013 R THe\* A''), und man kann es für sehr wahrscheinlich halten, dass diese die vorzuziehende Lesart in Theodoret ist.

Ps 39:5

PG 80: μακάριος ἀνὴρ, οὗ ἐστὶ τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου ἐλπίς αὐτοῦ

καὶ οὐκ ἐπέβλεψεν εἰς ματαιότητας καὶ μανίας ψευθεῖς

ματαιότητα Ra 9049 1105 9078 1142 (Rahlfs: Sy)

Nur zwei Verse später, in Ps 39:5, finden wir einen weiteren Fall, in dem man den Psalmentext von Theodoret ändern muss. Der edierte Text bietet den Plural ματαιότητας, die ältesten *Codices* tragen aber den Singular ματαιότητα (Ra 9049 1105 9078 1142), und genau dies ist die Lesart des syrohexaplarischen Textes (Rahlfs: Sy), was sie auch für Theodoret zur besten Kandidatin macht.

Ps 39:9

PG 80: τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ θέλημά σου, ὁ θεός μου, ἐβουλήθην

τοῦ ποιῆσαι ὁ θεός τὸ θέλημά σου ἐβουλήθην Ra 9049 9026 9078 1105

(Rahlfs: 2013 Sy = Hebr 10:7)

Ein paar Verse später ergibt sich ein identischer Fall. Der edierte Text von Theodoret hat τοῦ ποιῆσαι τὸ θέλημά σου, ὁ θεός μου, ἐβουλήθην, aber die ältesten *Codices* bieten τοῦ ποιῆσαι ὁ θεός τὸ θέλημά σου ἐβουλήθην (Ra 9049 9026 9078 1105), einen Text, den Rahlfs wieder Ra 2013 und der syrohexaplarischen Übersetzung zuschreibt. Wir müssen daher eine weitere, bislang unerkannte Übereinstimmung zwischen dem Syrischen und Theodoret festhalten.

Ps 39:15

PG 80: κατασχυνθεῖσαν καὶ ἐντραπείησαν ἅμα οἱ ζητοῦντες τὴν ψυχὴν μου τοῦ ἐξῆραι αὐτήν,

αἰσχυνθεῖσαν Ra 9049 9026 1105 9078 (Rahlfs: L<sup>pau</sup> He 1219')

In Ps 39:15 hat der edierte Text von Theodoret die Lesart *καταισχυνθείσαν*, die aber in den ältesten Zeugen durch *αἰσχυνθείσαν* (Ra 9049 9026 1105 9078) ersetzt wird. All diese Beispiele sollten genügen, um zu zeigen, dass eine neue kritische Ausgabe von Theodorets Kommentar einen großen Einfluss auf den von ihm zitierten Psalmentext haben wird.

## 2. Eine Neubewertung der Stellung Theodorets in der Geschichte des Psalmentextes

Was uns sofort zum zweiten Beitrag führt: Gegenüber den Schlussfolgerungen von Rahlfs wird sich die Stellung Theodorets in der Geschichte des Psalmentextes in vielen Fällen ändern. Es ist beispielsweise davon auszugehen, dass der neue Text von Theodoret die Zahl der Übereinstimmungen mit der Syrohexapla erhöhen wird: Wir haben gerade einige Beispiele gesehen. Es wird aber auch verschiedene Fälle geben, in denen eine Übereinstimmung zwischen Theodoret und *Codex Vaticanus* (B) aufgedeckt wird, die Rahlfs nicht ahnen konnte. In Ermangelung eines allgemeinen „Stemmas“ des Septuagintapsalters – falls es jemals erschlossen werden kann – ist es schwer zu sagen, wie diese neuen Ergebnisse interpretiert werden sollten: Albert Pietersma hat bereits bemerkt, dass Rahlfs nicht deutlich (wenn man die bekannte Formulierung von Paul Maas verwenden will) zwischen Leit-, Binde- oder Trennfehler unterschied, indem er seine gesamte Rekonstruktion auf die Kontraposition zwischen „altem“ und „modernem“ Text stützte.<sup>30</sup> Das Mindeste aber, das wir sagen können, ist, dass neue Übereinstimmungen mit *Codex Vaticanus* (B) den Prozentsatz der „byzantinischen“ Lesarten in Theodoret verringern und ihn mehr von der Text-Vulgarisierung unterscheiden werden.

## 3. Der Standardisierungsprozess des Psalmentextes

Der dritte Beitrag wird vor allem aus methodischer Sicht wichtig sein: eine systematische Untersuchung der Theodorethandschriften wird zeigen, *wie* der Psalmentext standardisiert wurde. Die Analyse einiger Beispiele im Detail wird es klarer machen.

In Ps 39:3 ist die Überlieferung zwischen *ὑλῖς*, *-εως* und *ἰλύς*, *-ύος* gespalten. Diese sind zwei synonyme Formen, und daher könnte das Textproblem als unbedeutend erscheinen. Aber manchmal lassen sich aus kleinen Fällen wertvolle Orientierungen ableiten. Die Vokabel *ἰλύς* hat eine edle Geschichte: Sie findet sich bereits in der *Ilias* (21, 318: *τὰ τεύχεα καλὰ... ὑπ' ἰλύος κεκαλλυμμένα*), dann in Herodot (II 7, 1), in Aristoteles (GA 753a 24) usw. Im Gegenteil ist die Vokabel

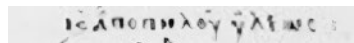
30 Vgl. Pietersma, „State“, 12–32.

ὕλις prosaischer und in vorchristlicher Zeit nur in Papyri (PLille3.19, 3. Jh. v.C.) und Inschriften (IG 22.2498.9: 4. Jh. v.C.) bezeugt. Rahlfs druckt ἀπὸ πηλοῦ ἰλύος. Man kann darüber streiten, welche Form die Übersetzer des sogenannten „Old Greek“ angenommen haben. Es ist aber unbestreitbar, dass der Tura-Papyrus, der uns den Psalmenkommentar des Didymus zurückgegeben hat, achtmal die Lesart ὕλεως überliefert, und der Herausgeber hat sie zu Recht immer behalten.<sup>31</sup> So findet es sich auch in Eusebius' *Demonstratio*.<sup>32</sup> Im Theodoretkommentar kommt Ps 39:3 zweimal vor: im Lemma und in der Exegese. Der in der *Patrologia Graeca* edierte Text lautet wie folgt (PG 80, 1152 CD):

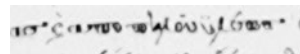
39, 1–3ab: Ὑπομένων ὑπέμεινα τὸν Κύριον, καὶ προσέσχε μοι. Καὶ εἰσήκουσε τῆς δεήσεώς μου, καὶ ἀνήγαγέ με ἐκ λάκκου ταλαιπωρίας, καὶ ἀπὸ πηλοῦ ἰλύος.  
 Ἀρμόττει δὲ καὶ τῷ μακαρίῳ Δαβὶδ τὰ ῥήματα· σύμφωνα γὰρ ἐστὶ τῷ προτεταγμένῳ ψαλμῷ. Ἐν ἐκείνῳ μὲν γὰρ ἔλεγεν· Εἰσάκουσον τῆς προσευχῆς μου, Κύριε, καὶ τῆς δεήσεώς μου· ἐνώτισαι τῶν δακρύων μου· μὴ παρασιωπήσης, καὶ ἄνες μοι ἵνα ἀναψύξω πρὸ τοῦ με ἀπελθεῖν, καὶ οὐκέτι οὐ μὴ ὑπάρξω. Καὶ ἀνωτέρω δὲ ἔφη· Καὶ νῦν τίς ἢ ὑπομονή μου; οὐχὶ Κύριος; καὶ ἡ ὑπόστασίς μου παρὰ σοῦ ἐστίν.» Ἐνταῦθα δέ, ὡς τῆς ἱκετείας δεχθείσης, καὶ τῆς αἰτήσεως δοθείσης, Ὑπομένων, φησὶν, ὑπέμεινα τὸν Κύριον, καὶ προσέσχε μοι. Ἀπεστραμμένος γὰρ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, εὐμενὲς μοι πρόσωπον ἔδειξε, καὶ εἰσήκουσε τῆς δεήσεώς μου. Καί τι πεποίηκεν εἰσακούσας; Καὶ ἀνήγαγέ με ἐκ λάκκου ταλαιπωρίας, καὶ ἀπὸ πηλοῦ ἰλύος.

Der edierte Theodorettext lautet ἀπὸ πηλοῦ ἰλύος, aber die ältesten Zeugen haben ἀπὸ πηλοῦ ὕλεως. In Ra 9049 und 9078 findet sich die Lesart ὕλεως sowohl im Lemma als auch in der Exegese:

Ra 9049, f. 106v: Lemma



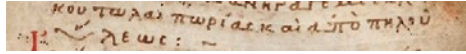
Ra 9049, f. 107r: Exegese



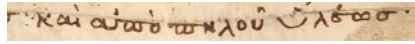
31 Did. Caec. *Comm. in Ps.* 35–39: Gronewald, *Didymos*, 282–284.

32 Eus. Caes. *Dem.* I 10, 26 ed. Heikel: Τοῦτο καὶ προφητῶν ὁ θαυμάσιος Δαβὶδ θεῷ πνεύματι τὸ μέλλον προλαβὼν ἐθέσπισεν εἰπών· «Ὑπομένων ὑπέμεινα τὸν κύριον, καὶ προσέσχεν μοι, καὶ εἰσήκουσεν τῆς δεήσεώς μου, καὶ ἀνήνεγκέ με ἐκ λάκκου ταλαιπωρίας, καὶ ἀπὸ πηλοῦ ὕλεως, κτλ.» (so im *Cod. Par. gr.* 469, 12. Jh., dem Archetypus der handschriftlichen Überlieferung der *Demonstratio*).

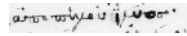
Ra 9078, f. 120v: Lemma



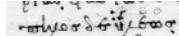
Ra 9078, f. 121r: Exegese



In Ra 1142 ist die Korrektur deutlich zu sehen: Ra 1142, f. 92v: Lemma

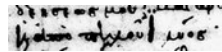


Ra 1142, f. 92v: Exegese

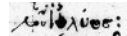


Im Lemma ist die Korrektur drastisch: das Original ὕλεως wurde ausradiert und ἰλύος darübergeschrieben. In der Exegese ist der Eingriff weniger heftig: Es gibt keine Rasur, sondern nur eine Korrektur *supra lineam*. Korrekturen sind auch in Ra 1141 zu sehen:

Ra 1141, f. 87v: Lemma

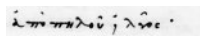


Ra 1141, f. 88r: Exegese

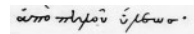


In Ra 9001 stehen wir aber vor einer anderen Situation. Im Lemma liest man ἰλύος als ursprüngliche Lesart. Im Gegenteil findet sich in der Exegese die *unkorrigierte* Lesart ὕλεως:

Ra 9001 f. 59r: Lemma



Ra 9001 f. 59v: Exegese



Der einzige Weg, diesen Unterschied zu erklären, liegt in der Annahme, dass Ra 9001 von einem Antigraphon abhängt, in dem die ursprüngliche Lesart ὕλεως nur im Lemma zu ἰλύος korrigiert wurde. Es ist klar, dass der letzte Schritt in dieser fortschreitenden Textstandardisierung die Verbreitung der Lesart ἰλύος sowohl im Lemma als auch in der Exegese ist. An diesem Beispiel wird deutlich, was bereits offensichtlich ist: Exegesen tendieren dazu, ursprüngliche Lesarten besser und länger beizubehalten als das Lemma. Unsere Zeugen erlauben uns daher, die gesamte Redaktionsgeschichte zu verfolgen, die wir in vier Etappen rekonstruieren können:

|   |                          | Lemma         | Exegese       |
|---|--------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1 | Ursprüngliche Lesart     | ὕλεως         | ὕλεως         |
| 2 | Korrektur im Lemma       | ὕλεως > ἰλύος | ὕλεως         |
| 3 | Korrektur in der Exegese | ἰλύος         | ὕλεως > ἰλύος |
| 4 | Standardisierter Text    | ἰλύος         | ἰλύος         |

Wer nur die Zeugen der letzten Phase zur Hand hätte, würde Theodoret einen bereits „vulgarisierten“ Text zuschreiben. Es scheint aber klar, dass seine ursprüngliche Form ὕλεως ist. Eine Bestätigung findet sich in *ep.* 77 an Eulalius, ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Περσικῆς Ἀρμενίας. Theodoret bittet ihn, „den Gefallenen die Hand zu reichen“ und zitiert unseren Vers: „führt sie aus der Grube des Elends und aus dichtem Schlamm und stellt ihre Füße auf einen Felsen“.<sup>33</sup> Die Zeugen dieses Briefes sind drei: Zwei haben ὕλεως, während der dritte ἰλύος als Korrektur hat.<sup>34</sup> Der Herausgeber hat zu Recht ὕλεως gedruckt. Die *ep.* 77 bestätigt daher vollständig, was im Psalmenkommentar geschah: Theodoret schrieb ὕλεως, und die Kopisten korrigierten zu ἰλύος. Fälle wie dieser sollten uns immer daran erinnern, wie wichtig es ist, zwischen dem Antiochenischen Text *des Theodoret* und dem Antiochenischen Text *in den Handschriften Theodorets* zu unterscheiden.

4. Die Beziehung Theodorets zu den übrigen antiochenischen Autoren

Der vierte Beitrag wird das Bild noch verkomplizieren: Die systematische Untersuchung der handschriftlichen Überlieferung Theodorets wird uns zwingen, seine Beziehungen zu den anderen antiochenischen Autoren, insbesondere zu Diodor und Theodor, zu überdenken.<sup>35</sup> Und hier kommen wir dem Kern des Problems immer näher: dem sog. „Antiochenischen“ Text. Psalm 39 findet sich auch im Kommentar Diodors und dies ist die Exegese von V. 3 in der Auflage von Olivier:<sup>36</sup>

33 Theod. Cyr. *ep.* 77 (174, 5–9 Azéma): Ὁρέξατε τοίνυν χεῖρα, παρακαλῶ, τοῖς ὀλισθήσασιν, καὶ ἀναγάγετε αὐτοὺς ἐκ λάκκου ταλαιπωρίας καὶ ἀπὸ πηλοῦ ὕλεως, καὶ στησατε ἐπὶ πέτραν τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν· καὶ ἐμβάλετε εἰς τὸ στόμα αὐτῶν ἄσμα καινόν, ὕμνον τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν.

34 Im Apparat von Yvan Azéma lesen wir Folgendes: ὕλεως N Z: ἰλύος A p. corr. s. l. non, ut. vid., librarii manu (N: *Cod. Neapolitanus-Vindobonensis* 6, 11. Jh.; Z: *Cod. Vaticanus gr.* 630, 16. Jh.; A: *Cod. Berolinensis gr.* 41, 16. Jh.).

35 Zu den Quellen von Theodoret vgl. Guinot, „Sources“, 367–393. Insbesondere zum Psalmenkommentar: Guinot, „L’In Psalmos“, 277–306; ders., „Théodoret de Cyr“, 93–105.

36 Olivier, *Diodori*, 240, 21–28.

39:3a–b Καὶ ἀνήγαγέ με ἐκ λάκκου ταλαιπωρίας καὶ ἀπὸ πηλοῦ ἰλύος.

«Ἐκ λάκκου» ἵνα εἴπῃ· ὡς ἐκ λάκκου, καὶ πάλιν «ἀπὸ πηλοῦ» ὡς ἀπὸ πηλοῦ ἰλύος. Βούλεται γὰρ σηµάναι ὅτι οὕτως ἦν ἐν τῇ αἰχμαλωσίᾳ ὁ λαὸς ὡς ἐν λάκκῳ βαθυτάτῳ καὶ ταῦτα ὕλην ἔχοντι πολλήν, ἀφ' οὗ δυσανάσπαστος εὗρίσκεται ὁ ἐμπεσών. Ἀπὸ τοιούτων οὖν με κακῶν, φησίν, ἐξείλετο ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἀποκατέστησε τοῖς ἰδίοις.

Der Herausgeber hat ἰλύος gedruckt, aber seine Wahl überzeugt nicht. In der Exegese spricht Diodor von ὕλην (ταῦτα ὕλην ἔχοντι πολλήν), einer in der gesamten Überlieferung bezeugten Lesart. Olivier behält diese Form bei, warnt aber im Apparat, dass ὕλην hier als ἰλύν verstanden werden muss: „ὕλην sic codd.; intellige vero ἰλύν“. Es gibt jedoch gute Gründe, diese Interpretation nicht zu akzeptieren: ὕλην (wie der Akzent auch zeigt) muss als einfacher Itazismus von ὕλιν verstanden werden. Das bedeutet, dass ebenso Diodor ursprünglich den Psalmentext mit der Lesart ὕλεως kannte. Die Kopisten haben sein Lemma in ἰλύος retuschiert, waren aber in der Exegese nicht konsequent: Einen identischen Vorgang haben wir auch im Theodorettext erkannt. Es können also keine Zweifel bestehen: Theodorets Überlieferung erlaubt es uns, die echte Lesart Theodorets, Diodors und damit letztlich auch des Antiochenischen Textes wiederzuerlangen. Dieses Beispiel liefert uns also ein Modell, das auch auf andere und relevantere Fälle angewendet werden kann. Nehmen wir Ps 34:20. Der von Rahlfs gedruckte Text lautet wie folgt:

ὅτι ἐμοὶ μὲν εἰρηνικὰ ἐλάλουν  
καὶ ἐπ' ὀργὴν δόλους διελογίζοντο  
ἐπ' ὀργὴν (B-γῆ)] + γῆς ἐλάλουν 1098 Tht'Th, add. ✕ *terrae loquentes* Ga

Der Apparat berichtet, dass der berühmte Mailänder Palimpsest der Hexapla (Ra 1098)<sup>37</sup> zusammen mit Theodor und der Übereinstimmung zwischen Theodoret und der Syrohexapla (Tht') γῆς ἐλάλουν nach ἐπ' ὀργὴν hinzufügt. Die (fast) gleiche Variante, *terrae loquentes*, wird vom *Psalterium Gallicanum* mit Asteriskus überliefert. In Wirklichkeit ist die handschriftliche Überlieferung von Theodoret nicht einstimmig: Tatsächlich hat der von der *Patrologia* gedruckte Text nicht die Worte γῆς ἐλάλουν:

“Οτι ἐμοὶ μὲν εἰρηνικὰ ἐλάλουν· καὶ ἐπ' ὀργὴν δόλους διελογίζοντο

37 Zu Ra 1098 siehe die Beiträge von Stefano Serventi und Roberto Carrera im vorliegenden Band.



Dass Theodoret die Worte γῆς ἐλάλουν dennoch voraussetzte, zeigt seine Exegese:

Φιλικοῖς γὰρ χρώμενοι λόγοις, ὡς ἐν γῇ τινι κρύπτειν τὴν ὀργὴν ἐπειρῶντο, δόλου πλήρη τὴν διάνοιαν ἔχοντες.<sup>38</sup>

Die Bedeutung ist klar: Die Feinde können vielleicht „freundlich sprechen“, aber in Wirklichkeit bergen sie eine Wut in sich und versuchen, diese „sozusagen unter der Erde zu verbergen“: ὡς ἐν γῇ τινι κρύπτειν τὴν ὀργήν. Der Hinweis auf die „Erde“ ist explizit, und beweist, dass er auch im Text stand, den Theodoret interpretierte. Die handschriftliche Überlieferung lässt eine fortschreitende Schichtung der Korrekturen erkennen, die schrittweise den Hinweis auf die „Erde“ verschwinden ließen und schließlich Theodorets Text auf die Vulgärlasart reduzierten. Die Beobachtung des Standardisierungsprozesses ist sehr aufschlussreich:

|         |                                                                      |
|---------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Ra 9078 | καὶ ἐπ' ὀργὴν γῆς ἐλάλουν, δόλους δὲ διελογίζοντο                    |
| Ra 1142 | καὶ ἐπ' ὀργὴν γῆς ἐλάλουν δόλους διελογίζοντο                        |
| Ra 1105 | καὶ ἐπ' ὀργὴν δόλους διελογίζοντο, δόλους δὲ διελογίζοντο            |
| Ra 1141 | καὶ ἐπ' ὀργὴν δόλους διελογίζοντο, <del>δόλους δὲ διελογίζοντο</del> |
| rel.    | καὶ ἐπ' ὀργὴν δόλους διελογίζοντο                                    |

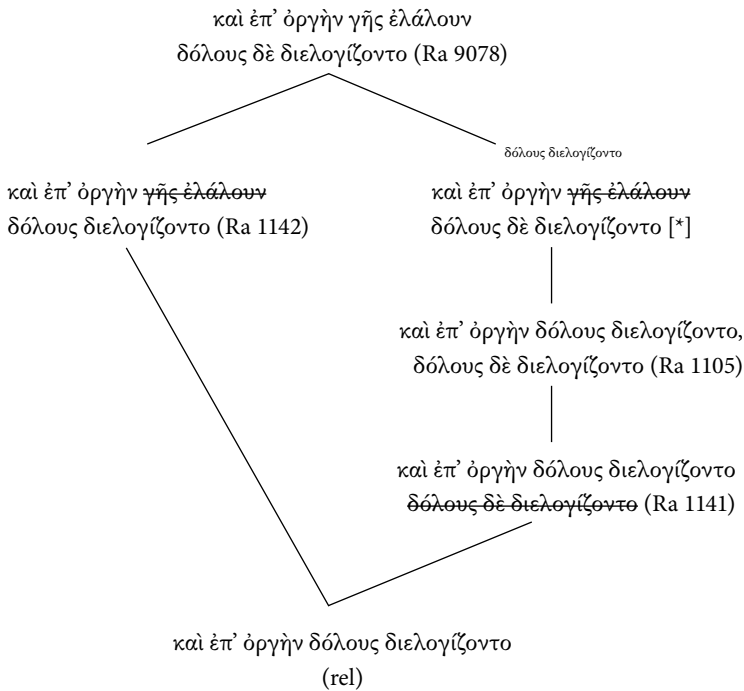
- Ra 9078 bietet daher einen ausführlichen Text: „Sie sprachen mit der Wut der Erde und dachten über Täuschungen nach“.
- Ra 1142 kopiert, löscht dann aber die Worte γῆς ἐλάλουν: „mit Wut sprachen sie über Täuschungen“.
- Ra 1105 erbt einen Text mit einer seltsamen Wiederholung: δόλους διελογίζοντο, δόλους δὲ διελογίζοντο. Wie kam es dazu? Die einzige mögliche Erklärung ist, dass sein Antigraphon einen Text wie den von Ra 9078 überlieferte, jedoch mit einer Korrektur, die dann falsch interpretiert wurde. Etwas wie Folgendes:

δόλους διελογίζοντο  
καὶ ἐπ' ὀργὴν γῆς ἐλάλουν, δόλους δὲ διελογίζοντο

Ein identischer Text findet sich auch in Ra 1141: dann muss aber einem Leser die Absurdität der Wiederholung aufgefallen sein, und er muss den zweiten Teil gestrichen haben: καὶ ἐπ' ὀργὴν δόλους διελογίζοντο, δόλους δὲ διελογίζοντο. Dabei ist jedoch die Erinnerung an γῆς ἐλάλουν vollständig verloren gegangen. Tatsächlich findet sich in späteren Handschriften nur die *lectio brevior*: καὶ ἐπ' ὀργὴν

38 Theod. Cyr. *Interpr. in Psalmos*, Ps 34:21 = PG 80, 1116, 32–36.

δόλους διελογίζοντο. Hier ist ein perfektes Beispiel, das verständlich macht, wie der Antiochenische Text von Theodoret „standardisiert“ wurde:<sup>39</sup>



Die handschriftliche Theodoretüberlieferung ist so umfangreich, dass sie nicht nur die ursprüngliche Lesart und die endgültige standardisierte Variante festhält, sondern auch die Zwischenstufen zu bewahren. Für andere antiochenische Autoren sind wir weniger informiert. Doch gerade die Korrelation zwischen diesen Autoren kann uns wertvolle Einblicke bieten.

Die Fälle von Diodor und Theodor sind besonders aufschlussreich, wenn es darum geht, die schwierige Wechselwirkung zwischen Lemma und Exegese zu verstehen. Beginnen wir mit Theodor und vergleichen den griechischen Text mit der Übersetzung Julians von Eclanum:<sup>40</sup>

39 Das Schema gibt einen möglichen Evolutionsprozess der Varianten wieder und geht nicht von einer direkten Abstammung zwischen den zitierten Manuskripten aus.

40 Devreesse, *Le Commentaire*, 189–190.

**34:20:** Ὅτι ἐμοὶ μὲν εἰρηνικὰ ἐλάλουν, καὶ ἐπ' ὀργὴν γῆς ἐλάλουν.

Προσποιοῦνται μὲν γὰρ ῥήματα εἰρήνης ἔχοντα πρόσχημα φθέγγεσθαι, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς πάσης ὀργῆς τε καὶ κακίας ἔγεμεν αὐτῶν τὰ ῥήματα. Οὐ γὰρ ἦν εἰρήνης οἷα δὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος εἶναι ἐδόκει, ἀλλ' ἦν ἀπὸ πολλῆς κακίας μεθ' ὑποκρίσεως λεγόμενα· δόλους γὰρ ῥάπτοντες καὶ ἐπιβουλὰς κατ' ἐμοῦ διετέλουν, τοιαῦτα λογιζόμενοί τε καὶ στρέφοντες ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκείας ψυχῆς.

Ἔστιν οὖν καθ' ὑπερβατὸν τὸ καὶ ἐπ' ὀργὴν γῆς ἐλάλουν, ἵνα ἡ τὸ ὀργὴν διὰ μέσου, καθὰ πολλὰ καὶ ἕτερα εὐρήκαμεν.

Λέγει δὲ αὐτὸ συνηθῶς, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τοιαῦτα λαλοῦσιν ἢ τοιάδε πράττουσι, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπὶ πονηρίας τῆς κατὰ ψυχὴν αὐτὸ συνηθῶς κεχρημένος, οἷόν ἐστι τὸ καὶ γὰρ ἐν καρδίᾳ ἀνομίαν ἐργάζεσθε ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐν τῷ νζ' κείμενον·

καὶ τὸ πονηρία ἐν ταῖς παροικίαις αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ νδ' ὡς καὶ ἡμῖν ἔθος λέγειν πολλακίς οἷα ἐν τῷδε γίνεται τῷ βίῳ.

Οὐχ ἀπλῶς δὲ κέχρηται τῷ ἔθει τούτῳ ὁ μακάριος Δαυὶδ, ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἔμφασιν τοιοῦτό τι λέγειν βουλόμενος, ὅτι καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὄντες ὅμως κέχρηται τῇ πονηρίᾳ, τοιούστιν εὐτελεῖς ὄντες, καὶ τὸ μὴδὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκητηρίου τὸ εὐτελὲς τῆς φύσεως αὐτῶν σημάναι βουλόμενος. Καὶ φθέγγονταί φησι καὶ ποιοῦσι πονηρίας μεστά, οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ θνητὸν τῆς φύσεως αὐτῶν ἀποβλέποντες, –καὶ κἂν διὰ τοῦτο αἰδούμενοι καὶ ἀφιστάμενοι τοῦ δολεροῦς καὶ πονηρίας μεστοῖς κεχρηῆσθαι λογισμοῖς.

*Quoniam mihi quidem pacifice loquebantur usque cogitabant.*

Simulabant quidem uerbis pacificis se mecum inire conloquia, re autem uera omnis sermo eorum felle et ueneno odii non carebat.

Est igitur cum yverbato dictum *et in iracundia terrae loquentes*, pro eo ut diceret: Super terram positi iram loquebantur, ut sit interpositum *terrae*, sicut et multa alia interposita saepius inuenimus.

Dicit autem hoc ex more suo, quoniam in terra mala loquuntur uel certe in terra talia faciunt; utitur autem hac elocutione maxime cum de malitia atque iniquitate conqueritur, ut est illud in quinquagesimo septimo psalmo positum: *Etenim in corde iniquitates operamini in terra.*

Vtitur autem hac consuetudine beatus Daud ad exaggerationis schema faciendum, tale aliquid uolens dicere quoniam et super terram positi, id est cum uiles sint ac nihilum, nihilominus nequitiam non relinquunt, a positione terrenae habitationis uilitatem uolens indicare naturae.

Das Lemma erwähnt ausdrücklich die „Erde“ (καὶ ἐπ’ ὀργὴν γῆς ἐλάλουν), schweigt aber über die „Täuschungen“ (δόλους δὲ διελογίζοντο fehlt). Im Vergleich zu Theodoret hat sich das Problem gewendet. Aber aus der Exegese, die ausdrücklich von δόλοι spricht (δόλους γὰρ ῥάπτοντες καὶ ἐπιβουλὰς κατ’ ἐμοῦ διελέλουν), leiten wir ab, dass Theodor auch eine *lectio plenior* hatte. Dies wird durch das Lemma in Julians Übersetzung bestätigt. Leider wird das Zitat im Lateinischen immer abgekürzt: Die ersten Wörter werden wiedergegeben und dann das letzte. Das letzte ist aber in diesem Fall *cogitabant* (*Quoniam mihi quidem pacifice loquebantur* usque *cogitabant*), das διελογίζοντο entspricht.

Interessant ist jedoch die Interpretation der „Erde“. Theodor – wie Christoph Schäublin gezeigt hat<sup>41</sup> – arbeitet als ein γραμματικός und glaubt, dass die Form καὶ ἐπ’ ὀργὴν γῆς ein „Hyperbaton“ enthalte. Die Vokabel ὀργὴν wäre aus Gründen der hebräischen Metrik zwischen ἐπὶ und γῆς eingeführt worden, und der Text des Psalms sollte daher lauten: ἐπὶ γῆς ὀργὴν ἐλάλουν. Menschen, „auf die Erde gesetzt“, begehen Sünden aller Art. Mit dieser Lösung beseitigt Theodor die Schwierigkeit, zu erklären, was die Wut ist, die „von der Erde“ kommt.

Im Gegensatz dazu interpretierte Theodoret die Passage, wie bereits erwähnt, dahingehend, dass die Heuchler in ihrem Herzen trotz ihres äußerlich friedlichen Auftretens eine unterdrückte Wut „gleichsam unter der Erde verborgen“ hegen würden. Werfen wir nun einen Blick auf Diodors Interpretation:<sup>42</sup>

34:20: Ὅτι ἐμοὶ μὲν εἰρηνικὰ ἐλάλουν καὶ ἐπ’ ὀργὴν δόλους διελογίζοντο.

Ἐνδοθεν γάρ, φησὶν, ὠδίνοντες ὀργὴν κατ’ ἐμοῦ, τοῖς ῥήμασιν ἐδόκουν εἶναι πραεῖς, ἐμήνυον δὲ τοῦτο τῷ ἐμπαίξειν μοι καὶ τῷ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς κατασημαίνειν ἀλλήλοις ὡς οὐκ εἶην ἄξιος σωτηρίας ἐγώ.

Wenn wir uns allein auf das Lemma verlassen würden, kämen wir zu dem Schluss, dass Diodor weder den Text von Theodor noch den von Theodoret zur Verfügung hatte, denn der Verweis auf die „Erde“ fehlt ganz. Diodor scheint die gleiche *forma brevior* gelesen und kommentiert zu haben, die wir in den späteren Handschriften von Theodoret finden. Tatsächlich fehlt der Verweis auf die „Erde“ auch in seiner Exegese. Ein subtiler, aber aufschlussreicher Hinweis führt uns jedoch zur Lösung des Falls. Diodor beginnt seine Interpretation mit dem Wort ἔνδοθεν: Ἐνδοθεν γάρ, φησὶν, ὠδίνοντες ὀργὴν κατ’ ἐμοῦ. Dies ἔνδοθεν, „innerhalb“, kann m. E. nur dadurch erklärt werden, dass Diodor den Text mit der Erwähnung der „Erde“, ἐπ’ ὀργὴν γῆς, kommentierte und dieselbe später von Theodoret wiederholte Interpretation gab. Heuchler sprechen mit Worten des Friedens, aber „innerhalb“ (d. h.

41 Schäublin, *Untersuchungen*.

42 Olivier, *Diodori*, 206, 185–190.

„gehalten wie unter der Erde“) hegen sie Wut. Diodor hatte also auch die *forma plenior*, aber dann standardisierten die Kopisten seinen Text. Erneut stoßen wir auf das gleiche Phänomen, das uns bereits in der Überlieferung von Theodoret begegnete. Wir können daher wie folgt zusammenfassen:

- Die Überlieferung von Diodor bietet eine *forma brevior*, ohne die „Erde“.
- Die Überlieferung von Theodor bietet eine andere *forma brevior*, ohne die „Täuschungen“.
- Eine sorgfältige Analyse ihrer Interpretationen zeigt jedoch, dass beide die *forma plenior* hatten.

Die Überlieferung von Theodoret zeichnet alle möglichen Ergebnisse auf, von der ursprünglichen *forma plenior* bis zur standardisierten *forma brevior* und zeigt, wie sich der Antiochenische Text im Laufe der Zeit entwickelt hat. In diesem Fall steht die Diagnose fest: Es war die handschriftliche Überlieferung *nach* Theodoret, die den Text der Psalmen „vulgarisiert“ hat.

## 5. Theodoret als zuverlässiger Zeuge des Antiochenischen Textes?

Können wir daraus schließen, dass Theodoret ein zuverlässiger Zeuge des reinen Antiochenischen Textes ist? Nichts ist einfach in dieser Überlieferung, und manchmal muss auch der Philologe seine „Wut unter der Erde“ verbergen.

Gehen wir zurück zu Psalm 39. In V. 7 ist eine der interessantesten und am meisten diskutierten philologischen Fragen zu finden:

θυσίαν καὶ προσφορὰν οὐκ ἠθέλησας,  
 ὥτια δὲ κατηρίσω μοι·  
 ὀλοκαύτωμα καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας οὐκ ᾔτησας  
 ωτια La<sup>G</sup> Ga = MT (sic „omnes interpretes“ i. e. α', σ', θ', ε', εβρ' [„ωσναίμ“] teste Sy)]  
 σωμα rel.: = Hebr. 10:5

Es ist ein berühmter Fall. Das Wort ὥτια entspricht dem masoretischen *ʾoznayim*, aber der Apparat von Rahlfs weist darauf hin, dass in der Septuaginta-Überlieferung diese Lesart völlig marginalisiert wurde: Tatsächlich ist sie nur von einem Teil des westlichen Textes überliefert (*atures*: so die altlateinische Übersetzung: La<sup>G</sup>, und das *Psalterium Gallicanum*: Ga) und von der Syrohexapla „allen Übersetzern“ (d. h. α', σ', θ', ε', εβρ') zugeschrieben. Im Übrigen hat die gesamte Tradition die Variante σωμα. Dieser Vers wurde zwar vom Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes (10:5) aufgegriffen und auf Christus angewendet: Aber in seinem Zitat erscheint der Text mit dem Wort σωμα.

Zwei Schlussfolgerungen lassen sich ziehen: Erstens hat die Anziehungskraft des neutestamentlichen Zitats dazu geführt, dass die ursprüngliche Lesart  $\omega\tau\acute{\alpha}$  in (nahezu) der gesamten Psalterüberlieferung eliminiert wurde. Zweitens hat Rahlfs seine Entscheidung nicht auf eine griechische Quelle gestützt (daher hat er aus dem Lateinischen und Syrischen zurückübersetzt). Wenn diese Annahmen zutreffend wären, hätten wir hier einen klaren Fall der Christianisierung des Septuagintatextes, der sich dann der ganzen Tradition aufdrängte. Und doch wäre diese Schlussfolgerung falsch. Scharfsinnige und dokumentierte Studien von Pierre Grelot<sup>43</sup> und vor allem von Christian-Bernard Amphoux und Gilles Dorival<sup>44</sup> haben gezeigt, dass die Lesart  $\omega\tau\acute{\alpha}$  in der patristischen Tradition bekannt war, auch wenn es einige Widersprüche gibt.

Unser besonderes Interesse gilt der Überprüfung des Textes innerhalb der Antiochenischen exegetischen Tradition. An Diodor besteht kein Zweifel: Er zitiert und kommentiert den Text mit der Lesart „Ohren“ ( $\omega\tau\alpha$ ):

39:7a–b: *Θυσίαν καὶ προσφορὰν οὐκ ἠθέλησας, ὦτα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι*

Kaì tò meizon, phisí, kaì paradoξότερον, οὐκ ἐβουλήθη παρ' ἐμοῦ θυσίας εἰς τὸ ἐπαγαγεῖν με, ἀλλ' ὑπακοήν με ἀπήτησας μόνον. «Ὡτα» γὰρ τὴν ὑπακοήν λέγει. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν τῇ αἰχμαλωσίᾳ θύειν οὐκ ἔξῃν, ὁ δὲ νόμος ἐκέλευε τὰς αἰτήσεις διὰ θυσιῶν γίνεσθαι, βούλεται εἰπεῖν ὅτι τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ καὶ τὸ νόμιμον ὑπερέβη, θυσίας μὲν οὐκ ἀπαιτήσας, ἀρκεσθεῖς δὲ μόνῃ τῇ ὑπακοῇ.<sup>45</sup>

Das Gleiche gilt für Theodor:

39:7b *Ὡτῖα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι*

Τῇ δὲ ὑπακοῇ ἠρκέσθης τῇ ἐμῇ. Καλῶς δὲ κατηρτίσω εἶπεν, ἐπειδὴ αὐτὸς ὁ Θεὸς διὰ τῆς κατὰ τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν παιδείας εὐτρεπεῖς αὐτοὺς εἰργάσατο πρὸς τὴν ἰδίαν ὑπακοήν. Ὡτῖα δὲ καλεῖ τὴν ὑπακοήν, ὥς καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ· ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκούειν ἀκουέτω, ἀντὶ τοῦ Ὁ πρόθεσιν ἔχων τοῦ ἀκούειν ἀκουέτω τῶν λεγομένων.<sup>46</sup>

Ausnahmsweise scheinen uns die antiochenischen Autoren keine Probleme zu bereiten. Und doch scheint Theodoret in eine andere Richtung zu gehen. Tatsächlich haben alle Handschriften seines Kommentars  $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$  im Lemma, und vor allem spricht seine Exegese ausdrücklich von „Körper“:

43 Grelot, „Texte“, 210–213.

44 Amphoux/Dorival, „Des oreilles“, 315–327.

45 Olivier, *Diodori*, 242, 66–74.

46 Devreesse, *Commentaire*, 12–21.

Θυσίαν καὶ προσφορὰν οὐκ ἠθέλησας, σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι. Ὅλοκαυτώματα καὶ περὶ ἁμαρτίας οὐκ ἐζήτησας. Τότε εἶπον, Ἰδοὺ ἤκω

Τούτοις ἡ ἀποστολικὴ συνάδει παραίνεσις· «Παρακαλῶ ὑμᾶς, ἀδελφοί, διὰ τῶν οἰκτιρμῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ, παραστήσαι τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν θυσίαν ζώσαν, ἁγίαν, εὐάρεστον τῷ Θεῷ, τὴν λογικὴν λατρείαν. Ἀντὶ γὰρ τῶν νομικῶν ἱερείων τὰ ἡμέτερα μέλη καθιερῶν ὁ Δεσπότης προσέταξε. Ταύτην δέ σου, φησί, τὴν χάριν ἰδὼν, ἑμαυτόν σοι προσήγαγον, λέγων, Ἰδοὺ πάρειμι. Ταύτην μέντοι τὴν φωνὴν ὁ μακάριος λαμβάνει Παῦλος εἰς τὸν Δεσπότην Χριστὸν, καὶ μάλα εἰκότως. Τῆς γὰρ ἡμετέρας φύσεώς ἐστὶν ἀπαρχή, καὶ πρῶτῳ πρέπει τὰ ἡμέτερα λέγειν, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ προτυποῦν ἅ παρ' ἡμῶν προσήκει γενέσθαι. Οὕτω πρῶτος τῷ βαπτίσματι προσελήλυθεν, ἡμῖν ὑποδεικνὺς τὴν τοῦ βαπτίσματος χάριν· οὕτως ἐνίψε τοὺς πόδας τῶν μαθητῶν, ταπεινοφροσύνης ἡμῖν ἀρχέτυπον προτιθεῖς. Διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τὸν Ἰωάννην ἔφη· «Ἄφες ἄρτι, οὕτω γὰρ πρέπει ἡμῖν ἐσθὶ πληρῶσαι πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην.» Ἀρμόττει τοίνυν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα λέγειν, ὡς κεφαλὴ σώματος, ὡς πολλῶν ἀδελφῶν πρωτοτόκῳ κατὰ τὴν σάρκα.<sup>47</sup>

Das Fehlen jeglicher Bezugnahme auf „Ohren“ würde daher vermuten lassen, dass er einen anderen Text hatte als seine antiochenischen Vorgänger. Dieser Fall wäre daher sehr nützlich für jeden, der (wie Rahlfs) in Theodoret das Zeugnis eines *bereits* „Vulgär-“, oder „byzantinischen“ Textes sehen möchte. Allerdings erscheint die Frage komplexer.

Gehen wir zurück zu Theodor. Zwar bestätigt er in seinem Kommentar ausdrücklich die Lesart ὦτα annimmt. Doch in der weiteren Auslegung deutet Theodor an, auch die Variante σῶμα zu kennen:

Ταῦτα δὲ εἰρηται παρὰ τῷ μακαρίῳ ἀποστόλῳ ἐν τῇ πρὸς Ἑβραίους ἐπιστολῇ· ὧν τινες τὸν τρόπον ἀγνοοῦντες, καθ' ὃν ὁ μακάριος ἀπόστολος ἐχρήσατο τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ, οἶονται περὶ τοῦ Κυρίου εἰρησθαι τὸν ψαλμόν. [...] Περὶ τῶν θυσιῶν τῶν ἐν νόμῳ διαλεγόμενος ἐκεῖ καὶ ὅτι μὴ δυνατόν ἄφεςιν ἁμαρτιῶν παρέχειν ἐκεῖνα τὰ θύματα, καὶ βουλόμενος δεῖξαι περιττὰς καὶ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖας τὰς θυσίας τὰς ἐν νόμῳ, κέχρηται ταύτῃ τῇ μαρτυρίᾳ τοῦ λαοῦ ἱκανῇ πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν τοῦ ὅτι κρείττων θυσίας ὑπακοὴ καὶ πολὺ τοῦτο διαπράττεσθαι ἀναγκαιότερον ἢ ἐκεῖνο, ἐξ ὧν οἱ ἐν αἰχμαλωσίᾳ καθεστῶτες οὔτε θυσίαν οὔτε ἕτερόν τι ἐπιδειξάμενοι, μόνον δὲ ἀκριβῆ τὴν ὑπακοὴν τὴν εἰς Θεὸν φυλάττοντες, ἔτυχον τῆς ἐπαπόδου.

Εἰπὼν οὖν ἀδύνατον αἷμα ταύρων καὶ τράγων ἀφελεῖν ἁμαρτίας, τότε ἐπάγει· Διὸ εἰσερχόμενος εἰς τὸν κόσμον λέγει Θυσίαν καὶ προσφορὰν οὐκ ἠθέλησας, σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι, ὑπαλλάξας τὰ ὠτία εἰς σῶμα, – ὁ καὶ ἡμῖν ἔθος ἐστὶ ποιεῖν, τὸ κεχρησθαι μὲν πολλάκις μαρτυρίας πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν πραγμάτων, βραχὺ δέ τι ὑπαλλάττοντες διὰ τὴν χρεῖαν τοῦ λόγου. Ἐποίησατο δὲ τὴν ὑπαλλαγὴν, τοῦτο σημάναι βουλόμενος ὅτι, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖ τῆς ὑπακοῆς πληρουμένης οὐ θυσιῶν γέγονε χρεῖα, οὐχ ἑτέρου τινὸς

47 Theod. Cyr. *Interpr. in Psalmos*, Ps 39:7–8 = PG 80, 1156, 25–1157, 2.

τοιούτου, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἔτυχον τῆς ἐπανάδου τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας ἀπαλλαγέντες, οὕτω φησὶ καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἐκεῖνα μὲν ἅπαντα ἀνελεῖν, ἐν δὲ τῷ σώματι τῷ ἰδίῳ τὴν οἰκονομίαν τὴν περὶ ἡμῶν πληρώσας τῷ πάθει τοῦ οἰκείου σώματος, κοινὴν φησι παρέσχετο τῆς ἁμαρτίας τὴν ἄφεσιν καὶ τῶν κακῶν τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν. Καὶ τὰ ἀκόλουθα δὲ πάντα κατὰ ταύτην λέγει τὴν ἔννοιαν, ὥστε ὁ μὲν μακάριος ἀπόστολος Παῦλος κάλλιστα ἐχρήσατο μαρτυρίᾳ πρὸς ἀπόδειξιν οὐπερ ἐχρήσατο. Οἱ δὲ μὴ μεμαθηκότες τοῦ ἀποστόλου τὸν σκοπὸν καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν, τὸν μὲν ψαλμὸν ἠβουλήθησαν περιάψαι τῷ Χριστῷ, τὸ δὲ ὥτια κατηρτίσω μοι – οὕτω γὰρ καὶ τὸ ἐβραϊκὸν – ἀλλάξαντες τεθείकाσι σῶμα δὲ κατηρτίσω μοι, οὐ προσεσχηκότες τῇ αἰτίᾳ τῆς ὑπαλλαγῆς τοῦ ἀποστόλου.<sup>48</sup>

Theodor verhält sich hier wie ein wahrer Textkritiker: Er kennt beide Varianten und *wählt*. Außerdem, können wir sagen, wählt er gut. Tatsächlich versteht Theodor, dass das Vorkommen der Variante *σῶμα* im Vers des Psalms vom Zitat des Hebräerbriefes abhängt. Dann erklärt er, *warum* der Verfasser des Briefes diese Ersetzung vorgenommen hat, und beruft sich auf seine Erfahrung als *γραμματικός*. Die Ersetzung von „Ohren“ durch „Körper“ würde in der Tat eine „Hypallage“ darstellen. Es kommt natürlich nicht darauf an, ob er mit dieser Erklärung Recht hatte oder nicht: Entscheidend ist vielmehr, dass Theodor beide Varianten kannte und die ursprüngliche von der sekundären auf der Grundlage eines perfekten philologischen Verfahrens erkannte, in dem er den Text des Psalms von dem des Hebräerbriefes unterschied. Wir haben es mit einem ganz modernen Philologen zu tun, und die Bewunderung ist schwer zu zügeln.

All dies hilft uns aber auch, Theodorets Text ins rechte Licht zu rücken. Wer seine exegetische Technik kennt – und Jean-Nöel Guinot hat es perfekt gezeigt<sup>49</sup> – weiß, dass sein Kommentar einen ständigen Dialog mit Diodor und Theodor voraussetzt. Aber dieses Bewusstsein muss nicht nur auf exegetische Fragen, sondern auch auf die Geschichte des biblischen Textes ausgedehnt werden. Theodoret hat stets die Kommentare des Diodor und des Theodor vor Augen und kennt daher auch den von ihnen zitierten und kommentierten Psalmentext.

In seinem Kommentar sowohl im Lemma als auch in der Exegese die Variante *σῶμα* zu finden, bedeutet keineswegs, dass er die Lesart *ὦτα* nicht kannte. Es bedeutet nur, dass Theodoret die Variante *σῶμα* *gewählt* hat, wahrscheinlich aus Gründen, die denen von Theodor völlig entgegengesetzt sind. Offensichtlich war es für Theodoret wichtiger, die Harmonie (die bekannte *συμφωνία*) zwischen dem Alten und Neuen Testament zu wahren, und aus dieser Sicht war es vorzuziehen, die Hypothese eines Dissenses zwischen dem Psalm und dem Hebräerbrief zu vermeiden. Ein Fall wie dieser beweist also *nicht*, dass der Psalmentext von Theodoret gegenüber früheren antiochenischen Autoren *bereits vulgarisiert* wurde. Es

48 Devreesse, *Commentaire*, 248, 18–249, 25.

49 Guinot, „L'In Psalmos“; ders., „L'importance“, 219–256.



bedeutet eher, dass er in bestimmten Fällen – die im Detail untersucht werden sollen – *an der Standardisierung des Textes mitgewirkt hat*. Mit anderen Worten: Wir dürfen nicht glauben, dass Theodoret einen anderen Antiochenischen Text *hatte* als Diodor und Theodor, sondern dass er in einigen Fällen einen anderen Text *gewählt* hat. Der Beweis liegt in Theodorets abweichender Haltung gegenüber den Titeln der Psalmen. Aus historisch-philologischen Gründen glaubten Diodor und Theodor, dass die ἐπιγραφαί größtenteils unecht waren. Aus unterschiedlichen historisch-philologischen Gründen hielt Theodoret sie hingegen für authentisch.<sup>50</sup>

Diese Beispiele zeigen, dass Theodoret – ungeachtet dessen, was wir von seinen Entscheidungen halten mögen – sich *einen Text philologisch konstruiert hat*. Angesichts des Erfolgs seines Werkes hatte dies einen gigantischen Einfluss auf die spätere Geschichte des griechischen Psalters. Abschließend sollten wir daher *zwei Standardisierungsprozesse* des Antiochenischen Psalmentextes postulieren:

- a. eine von Theodoret selbst durchgeführte Textstandardisierung in Bezug auf Diodor und Theodor;
- b. eine zweite und massivere Textstandardisierung durch Theodorets handschriftliche Überlieferung.

Von dem „Antiochenischen Text“ der Psalmen kann erst gesprochen werden, wenn dieser doppelte Prozess in seiner ganzen Dynamik veranschaulicht wird.

## 6. Fazit

Abschließend sei wieder auf den byzantinischen Leser Bezug genommen, mit dem dieser Beitrag begann. Angenommen, dass dieser nicht nur lexikalische Zweifel hatte, sondern auch anspruchsvollere wissenschaftliche Neugierde. Was ist beispielsweise eine „Synekdoche“, was eine „Metonymie“? Ein solcher Geist hätte möglicherweise in Hadrians *Eisagoge* Antworten gefunden und bemerkt, dass die Regeln der Rhetorik nicht nur in konventionellen profanen Handbüchern, sondern auch in einer wahren „*Einführung in die Heilige Schrift*“ nachzuschlagen sind.<sup>51</sup> In dieser *Einführung* stammen die Beispiele für rhetorische Figuren nicht mehr von Dichtern wie Homer oder Kallimachos, sondern aus den Psalmen. Bemerkenswerterweise stammt die Erläuterung des Psalmentextes dabei immer von Theodor von Mopsuestia. Es lässt sich also sagen, dass Hadrian Theodors Psalmenkommentar in ein rhetorisches Handbuch verwandelt hat. Als Zeuge des Antiochenischen Textes sollte

50 Vgl. Olivier, *Diodori*, Prol. 120–121, und Theod. Cyr., *Interpr. in Psalmos*, PG 80, 861–864. Zu diesem wichtigen Problem siehe Vaccari, „Titoli“, 78–88, Olivier, *Diodori*, LXXXX–XCI; Bossina, „Prezzo“, 311–364 (318–320).

51 Martens, *Introduction*.

auch Hadrian angesehen werden. Im Fall der Metonymie zitiert er beispielsweise Ps 40:4 und bezeugt dabei eine Variante (προσκαλέσατε), die der Herausgeber Peter Martens beschreibt als „attested in some mss according to the apparatus on this verse in Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum Odis*“.<sup>52</sup> Tatsächlich ist diese Variante nicht in griechischen Septuagintahandschriften nachweisbar, sondern in der *Syrohexapla*.<sup>53</sup> Dies ist ein weiteres, bisher unbekanntes Beispiel für die Übereinstimmung zwischen einem Antiochenischen Text und der syr(ohexaplar)ischen Überlieferung. Dennoch ist die Bedeutung dieser Schulliteratur eher historisch-kulturell als philologisch.<sup>54</sup>

Rahlfs hat mit großer Genauigkeit die Gründe für den Erfolg des „lukianischen“ oder „Antiochenischen“ Textes erkannt. Er betont, dass „Im Gottesdienste [...] die Benutzung verschiedener Textformen besonders störend“ wirkte. Weiterhin merkt er an: „Daß aber gerade der Text der Hauptstadt Konstantinopel mit der Zeit für das ganze oströmische Reich maßgebend wurde, kann uns um so weniger wundernehmen, als Ägypten und Palästina, die Sitze der anderen alten Textformen im VII. Jahrh. an die Muhammedaner verloren gingen und bald sogar die ihnen von Haus aus fremde griechische Sprache ganz verlernten“.<sup>55</sup> Es ist jedoch offensichtlich, dass der Erfolg des Antiochenischen Textes bereits früher einsetzte. Die Wahlen von Johannes Chrysostomus und Nestorius zeigen, dass zwischen dem 4. und 5. Jh. die Kirche und die theologische und exegetische Tradition Antiochiens so autoritativ und einflussreich waren, den Bischofssitz der Hauptstadt Konstantinopel zu besetzen. Die Gründe sind aber nicht nur politischer oder theologischer Natur. Antiochien verfolgte eine neuartige kulturelle Agenda. Während die großen Kappadokier wie Gregor von Nazianz und Basilius von Caesarea den Dialog zwischen Christentum und heidnischer Bildung predigten, wurde von Antiochien aus ein viel kämpferischeres und expansiveres Programm gestartet, das darauf abzielte, das Christentum kulturell autonom und autark zu machen.

Antiochenische Werke wie die *Synopsis Sacrae Scripturae*<sup>56</sup> und Hadrians *Eisagoge* zeugen von dem Bestreben, umfangreiche exegetische Kommentare in prägnante Lehrbücher zu überführen, um eine neue christliche Jugend zu formen, ohne sich auf die Mittel einer inzwischen veralteten und nicht länger geschätzten heidnischen Tradition zu stützen. Zwar scheiterte dieses umfassendere Programm auf lange Sicht, doch das Vorhaben, den eigenen Psalmentext auch in den Schul-

52 Martens, *Introduction*, 73.6 (rec. A), 240, 17–242, 1 Martens: τὰ δὲ κατὰ μετωνυμίαν· ὅταν ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκουμένων τοὺς οἰκοῦντας μετονομάζει· ὡς τό, καὶ τὸ ποτήριόν σου μεθύσκον με ὡσεὶ κράτιστον· καὶ ὡς τό, προσκαλέσατε τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄνω καὶ ὡσεὶ κράτιστον.

53 Rahlfs: προσκαλέσεται] προσκαλέσατε Sy<sup>tr</sup> (Sy<sup>mss</sup> -σεται).

54 Zur Interpretation von Hadrians *Eisagoge* im Lichte der antiken Bildungsgeschichte vgl. Tondini, „Educazione“, 423–40.

55 Rahlfs, *Psalmi*, 61.

56 Vgl. Barone, *Ps. Jean Chrysostome* (im Druck); Ruani, „Synopsis“, 365–384; Barone, „Synopsis“, 385–422; Barone/Ruani, „Version“, 73–139.

unterricht zu integrieren, erwies sich als Erfolg. Unterstützt durch die Autorität des bischöflichen Sitzes in Antiochien, gepaart mit der Modernität seiner theologischen und exegetischen Ansätze sowie dem Streben, dem siegreichen Christentum eine neue kulturelle Ausrichtung zu geben, konnte der Antiochenische Psalter die christliche Welt erobern.

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## New Investigations on the Burnt Greek Manuscript *Taurinensis* B. VII. 30 (Ra 1208): Codicological Analysis and Content Reconstruction\*

The object of this article is a new codicological study of the Greek Psalter *Codex Taurinensis graecus* B.VII.30 (Ra 1208),<sup>1</sup> an essential and ancient example of a frame catena commentary, written in slanted ogival majuscule and dated to the late ninth or early tenth century, that was severely damaged during the fire that destroyed the *Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino* in 1904. Despite its deplorable state of preservation, thanks to digital techniques and on the basis of new photographs, I was able to reconstruct not only the original form of the manuscript, but also its contents. This paper will also deal with a single parchment leaf which is a *membrum disiectum* of the *Codex Taurinensis* and which provides a glimpse of its original appearance. This leaf is now preserved in the *Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona* under the shelf mark CXIX.

### 1. A Glimpse into the Past: The *Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino*

*Codex Taurinensis graecus* B.VII.30 (Ra 1208) belongs to an extensive collection of manuscripts preserved in the *Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino*. The first arrangement of this rich book collection was made in 1563 by Emanuele Filiberto I (1528–80), Duke of Savoy, who founded the *Biblioteca Ducale*. The collection then grew under Carlo Emanuele I (1562–1630). Between 1606 and 1608, a gallery (named *Grande galleria*) was set up in the *Palazzo Ducale*, where all the

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\* This study was carried out within the framework of the research project “Die *Editio critica maior* des griechischen Psalters” of the Niedersächsische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, see <https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de>. The subject of my contribution was initially presented at the SBL Annual Meeting, November 20–23, 2021, in San Antonio, TX/USA. Program Unit: International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, with the title “The Burnt Greek Manuscript *Taurinensis* B. VII. 30 and Verona Fragment CXIX: New Investigations”. This article represents an improvement of the paper presented. I express my most sincere gratitude to Dr. Felix Albrecht, Dr. Irmgard Hutter, Prof. Santo Lucà and Dr. Georgi Parpulov for their invaluable help and for their infinite availability. The exchange of emails with Dr. Irmgard Hutter and Prof. Santo Lucà was of fundamental help for the development of this article.

1 *Psalterium cum glossa*. Pasini no. 342; Cosentini, *Inventari*, 34 (no. 275); for a detailed description see [https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra\\_1208](https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra_1208) (last access: 15.08.2023). Gregory-Al-and: I 1352; No. O<sup>b</sup>, Gregory, *Textkritik*, III, 1275; Diktyon N<sup>o</sup>: 63820; TM 67960/LDAB 9231.



manuscripts and printed books were gathered.<sup>2</sup> In 1667 the library was damaged by a fire that destroyed the *Galleria*.<sup>3</sup> The surviving manuscripts were piled up in other rooms of the *Palazzo Ducale* and remained there until the reorganisation began in 1709.<sup>4</sup> By 1712, the books were arranged in order on the shelves, as we can infer from reading some letters that the Veronese savant Scipione Maffei (1675–1755) had written during his stay in Turin that year.<sup>5</sup> In 1713, the *Biblioteca Ducale* changed its status to *Biblioteca Reale*, and in 1723, the sovereign Vittorio Amedeo II of Savoy (1666–1732) merged the wealthiest library collections of the city – e.g. the collections of the *Biblioteca Ducale* and the *Libreria Civica* – to found the *Biblioteca pubblica dell'Università*. In the decades that followed, the collection of the *Biblioteca pubblica dell'Università* was enriched with new acquisitions and donations.

Unfortunately, on the night between the 25th and 26th of January 1904, the library was again hit by a fire that caused considerable damages. Most of the manuscripts were affected, and many were destroyed by the flames and by the water used to extinguish them.<sup>6</sup> A commission was immediately established to assess the damages and stop the deterioration processes that began to afflict precisely those manuscripts damaged by the water used to put out the fire. The commission entrusted the recovery and restoration operations to two different laboratories of the University of Turin,<sup>7</sup> one led by Icilio Guareschi (professor of chemistry) and

2 Bassi, “Biblioteca”, 5; Giaccaria, “Fondi”, 176; Elia, *Libri*, 1–2.

3 Bassi, “Biblioteca”, 6; Giaccaria, “Fondi”, 176; Elia, *Libri*, 4.

4 Bassi, “Biblioteca”, 7.

5 In 1712 Scipione Maffei, was in Turin to study the rich collection of epigraphs preserved in the University of Turin and we know he also visited the *Real libreria* from a description in a letter addressed to the scholar Apostolo Zeno (1669–1750). In this missive, entitled *Succinta notizia de' manuscritti che si conservano nella real libreria di Torino* he wrote: “Erami tempo fa stato detto, che la libreria di Corte dopo un grand'incendio, nel quale i libri per salvargli erano stati gettati tutti dalle finestre, non si fosse più riordinata, e stesse ancora in massa confusa. Giunto in questa città, e dato ordine per alquanti giorni a quegli affari che mi hanno qua condotto mi son portato alla libreria che' empie uno stanzone del real palazzo, in alto presso l'archivio. Ho trovato che i volumi non più in massa, né alla rinfusa, ma stanno disposti nelle sue scanzie: beneficio, che si dee principalmente all'applicazione e cura del sig. abate Machet”, Maffei, *Opere*, 325. In the same letter, Maffei also describes a large and wealthy collection of manuscripts using these terms: “Io presi subito a far incetta de' mss. Ve n'ha così gran numero, che ascenderà senza dubbio ad alcune migliaia. Non pochi codici vi sono di mole così sterminata, che il cavargli dal suo luogo è assai malagevole. Meraviglia è, che tanto tesoro sia pur ancora ignoto alla letteraria repubblica. Oh quanto caro mi sarebbe potermi trattener qui più mesi, e pescare a lungo in questo mare! Così di fuga neppur agio avrei di prendergli tutti per mano, e molto meno di compilarne un sufficiente catalogo”, Maffei, *Opere*, 326.

6 Cf. Gorrini, *L'incendio*.

7 Cf. Bassi, “Biblioteca”, 17. About the history of the restorations, see Giaccaria, “Identificazioni”, 429–433; see also Biblioteca Universitaria di Torino/Giaccaria, *Manoscritti*.

the other by Piero Giacosa (professor of medicine).<sup>8</sup> Icilio Guareschi, appointed head of the aforementioned commission,<sup>9</sup> spent much time experimenting with techniques and compounds helpful in recovering damaged parchment and paper *codices*.<sup>10</sup> Finally, in 1905, a single restoration laboratory was set up, headed by Carlo Marrè, former restorer of the Vatican Library. After he died in 1918, the direction of the works passed to his pupil Erminia Caudana until 1976.<sup>11</sup> The library continued to increase its collections, but unfortunately, on 8th December 1942, the library was devastated by a bombing, and about 150,000 volumes were destroyed.<sup>12</sup> The restorers did a masterful job identifying and recovering more than half of the manuscript heritage,<sup>13</sup> however, numerous fragments still remain to be identified.<sup>14</sup> Today's prominent collection is of great value and is the result of these three tragic events in the history of the *Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino*.

## 2. The *Codex Taurinensis* B. VII. 30

Among the manuscripts damaged by the 1904 fire, we can find the *Taurinensis* B. VII. 30. This *codex* is a small-format Greek parchment Psalter, written in ogival majuscule, containing the Psalms and the Odes surrounded by a frame catena (*Randkatene*), followed by some liturgical texts, specifically an *Horologion*. Because

8 Giaccaria, "Identificazioni", 430.

9 <sup>7</sup> "Il giorno 27 gennaio 1904 fui invitato da S. E. il Sotto-segretario di Stato per l'Istruzione Pubblica, onorevole Em. Pinchia, ad esaminare parte del materiale rimasto danneggiato dall'incendio della Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino, avvenuto nella notte dal 25 al 26 gennaio, per vedere se era possibile ricuperare almeno una parte, e nello stesso giorno fu costituita una speciale Commissione per il ricupero ed il riconoscimento dei codici danneggiati dall'incendio", Guareschi, "Osservazioni", 427 (n. 5).

10 Because of his intervention, and for the techniques he experimented with, Icilio Guareschi can be considered "il fondatore dell'approccio scientifico al restauro", Russo, "Icilio Guareschi", 59–68, on p. 59.

11 Cf. Cosentini, *Inventari*, 5–6; Torri, "Restauro", 299–306, Pls. I–III.

12 "Non può purtroppo registrarsi, finora almeno, tra i codici pergamenei, nel loro insieme superstiti, il manoscritto Pas gr. CCCXLII (B.VII.30). *Psalterium cum glossa*. Rinvenuta finora circa la metà del codice, estremamente danneggiata dal fuoco. I fogli raggrinziti sono bruciati nei margini, per modo che solo una parte del testo e delle glosse è leggibile. Un'indicazione più precisa sulla parte conservata non potrà darsi che dopo il restauro del codice", De Sanctis, "Inventario", 396. Cf. Bassi, "Biblioteca", 17; Giaccaria, "Identificazioni", 431.

13 Cf. Elia, *Libri*, 6; About the restoration techniques, see also Guareschi, "Osservazioni", 433–34, 442–51 (n. 29); Giaccaria, "Fondi", 179–80; Sebastiani, "Recupero", 141–157; Giaccaria, "Danni".

14 "Dopo quella drammatica notte iniziarono i lavori di ricupero e restauro del materiale superstite, che, protrattisi per tutto il secolo scorso, ancora oggi lentamente avanzano, mentre centinaia di carte languono a tutti ignote negli scatolini", Nuti, "Restauro", 197. See also De Sanctis, "Inventario", 388–389; Giaccaria, "Fondi", 179; Nuti, "Restauro", 197; Elia, *Libri*, 5.

of the fire, the manuscript has lost its original binding; since it was never re-bound after the restoration, its *folia* are in disastrous disarray today (cf. *infra*, pp. 432–438).

Before the 1904 fire, the *Taurinensis* was the object of several studies and commentaries, the examination of which can tell us more about this particular manuscript.<sup>15</sup> The aforementioned Veronese scholar Scipione Maffei visited Turin and its library in 1712. In the letter addressed to Apostolo Zeno (cf. *supra*, p. 431 [n. 5]), Maffei described this library's rich manuscript collection, of which Greek manuscripts represented the most substantial part;<sup>16</sup> among the Greek *codices*, Maffei referred in particular to a Greek Psalter in uncial, which seems to be our Psalter.<sup>17</sup> This letter would in that case represent the oldest information we have about the *Taurinensis*. Twenty years later, in 1732, the scholar Francesco Domenico Bencini described the Greek Psalter in his inventory:

“Cod. X *Psalterium cum Scolii* (B. I. 10)<sup>18</sup>. Il Cod. è in perg.<sup>na</sup> in 12. ha pagg. 303. Deficit initium, est post pag. 3.8.16. 22 deficit fine. Continet proemium Authoris Scholiorum ad pag. 27; a qua Psalmi et Scolia incipiunt. Sub finem hymni uarii tum ex scripturis tum ex autorib(us)”.<sup>19</sup>

From Bencini's inventory we can infer that already in the eighteenth century, the *codex* was defective at its beginning and end, and had lost some *folia*.<sup>20</sup> The presence of a *bifolium* integrated and written in a later Byzantine minuscule (twelfth-thirteenth century) indicates that another loss must have occurred long time before.<sup>21</sup> The manuscript was then described in 1749 in Giuseppe Luca Pasini's Catalogue (no. 342; Pasini, *Codices*, 470–471). From Pasini, we know that it had lost its first *folia* (“initio mutilus”), and it contained the *Hypothesis Psalmorum* of Eusebius of Caesarea on f. 20, while the Psalms commenced on f. 27, followed by the Odes (Pasini, *Codices*, 470). On f. 276, the Ecclesiastical *Officium* began with *Troparia*, Hymns and “aliaque variis horis diei, & media nocte canenda cum propriis tonis”

15 See the bibliography available online: [https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra\\_1208](https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra_1208) (last access: 15.08.2023).

16 “[...] il forte di questa libreria consiste ne' greci. Il loro numero è grandissimo, e la maggior parte pregevoli o per antichità, o per bellezza di scrittura, o per cose importanti, o per inedite, che contengono”, Maffei, *Opere*, 337.

17 “Uno ne ho veduto in carattere majuscolo (e forse ve ne saran degli altri) che contiene i Salmi con perpetue sposizioni all'intorno pur in lettere majuscole, benché più piccole tutto però cogli accenti dello stesso inchiostro”, Maffei, *Opere*, 337.

18 About its shelf mark see also Preda, *Manuscrisul*, 73–86.

19 Bencini, *Indice*, f. 79v. I would like to thank the *Archivio di stato di Torino* for the digital reproduction of Bencini's manuscript inventory. See also Preda, *Manuscrisul*, 64.

20 Bencini, *Indice*, f. 79v. Cf. Preda, *Manuscrisul*, 64.

21 See the paleographic description below. This *bifolium* has now the numbering XXI and contains Ps 88:10–32. For dating these leaves, see Parpulov, *History*, Appendix B1.

(Pasini, *Codices*, 471). Pasini, *Codices*, 470, also presented a *specimen* of f. 144r (now f. 23r), containing Psalm 77 and its catena commentary. Comparing the two catalogues, one discordance can be observed: whereas for Bencini, the manuscript contained 303 leaves, Pasini claims it had 383.<sup>22</sup> This is undoubtedly a typographical mistake made by Pasini himself.<sup>23</sup>

After 1904, substantial evidence regarding the original shape of the Psalter was provided by a study conducted by the English scholar William Oscar Emil Oesterley. In his article, published in 1905, the scholar provides a photograph of the manuscript before the fire: the reproduction of f. 28r, which transmitted part of Ps 2:1a–5b (Oesterley, “Codex”). The photograph is the result of a fortunate mistake made by the photographer of the Library of Turin, from whom Oesterley had requested the photographic reproduction of three leaves of another manuscript containing the Minor Prophets.<sup>24</sup> Since the negatives have also been destroyed, the reproduction of f. 28r is the only evidence of the manuscript that after 1904 must have looked like a “handful of ashes”.<sup>25</sup>

### 3. The Manuscript Today: Codicological Description

The *Taurinensis* was a small format Greek Psalter, a sort of saddlebag manuscript of about 150 × 100 mm.<sup>26</sup> By consuming its margins, the fire considerably reduced its dimensions (80 × 55 mm/90 × 74 mm) and forever damaged a large part of the catena originally arranged on three sides of the page.<sup>27</sup>

That is the extent of the information on the manuscript that can be found in the

22 Bencini, *Indice*, f. 79v; Pasini, *Codices*, 470.

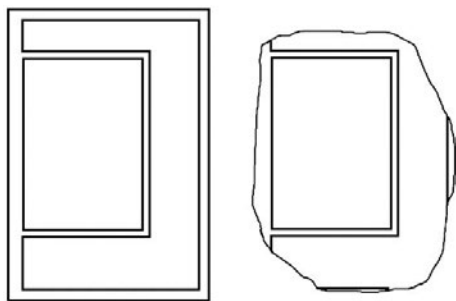
23 The manuscripts contained 303 leaves according to Gregory (*Textkritik*, I, 61), whereas Rahlfs cites 383 (Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis*, 299), which is later echoed by Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*, 370. Cf. Oesterley, “Codex”, 354; Preda, *Manuscrisul*, 64–67.

24 “In the early part of last year, the writer had occasion to apply to the authorities of the Royal Library at Turin, asking for permission to have some photographs taken of a manuscript (LXX) of the *Minor Prophets*; permission was immediately granted. But by some oversight (a fortunate oversight, as it proved) the photographer made a mistake, and photographed the pages of another MS. Only a few weeks after a disastrous fire broke out in the Library, and among the many valuable MSS which were destroyed, the one under consideration was included; its destruction was almost complete, even the negatives of the photographs (which according to the law, have to be deposited in the Library) were wholly destroyed ... all that remains of what was once one of the choicest treasures in the Library are the three photographs referred above”, Oesterley, “Codex”, 353. Oesterley also informed that one set of these photographs were in the possession of Dr Henry Barclay Swete.

25 Oesterley, “Codex”, 353.

26 Gregory, *Textkritik*, I, 61; Preda, *Manuscrisul*, 66.

27 Oesterley, “Codex”, Photographic reproduction.



Ms *Taurinensis* B.VII.30 before and after the 1904 fire

sources from the past few centuries. What follows is a description of what it looks like today. Each page contains about 20 lines of script, written full page; the letters are leaned on the ruled lines. The ruling – from what it is possible to see – seems to correspond to the Leroy-Sutel C 22C1 Type (i. e., ff. Ibr, VIIIbv). The indication of the quires is no longer visible, and it is impossible to verify if the quires started on the flesh side or the hair one; therefore, we can't ascertain whether Gregory's law was respected. Between 1912 and 1918, the *Taurinensis* was restored by Carlo Marrè and it appears today as a set of single *folia* or *bifolia* unbound and stored in a paper folder. The *codex* was severely dismembered during the restoration: the original binding was removed, and the ancient quires came loose. The surviving leaves, agglutinated, were first detached, stretched out, and finally, each *folium* (or *bifolium*) was placed on Japanese paper support (Pl. I).<sup>28</sup>

28 In general, this was the procedure followed by restorers for most of the surviving artifacts: “Gli interventi sono stati di diversa entità. Per quanto riguarda i codici meglio conservati, si sono limitati alla realizzazione di una nuova legatura o alla riparazione di quella antica. Per i manufatti intaccati in misura contenuta – i cui danni sono in genere limitati all'asportazione dei margini – si è provveduto alla distensione dei fogli (nel caso di manufatti pergamenacei), al loro consolidamento con carta giapponese o telina di seta, all'integrazione con riporti cartacei o pergamenacei e a una nuova legatura. Nel caso di codici gravemente deteriorati, i cui fogli sono frammentari, si riscontrano interventi del tipo illustrato oppure la semplice conservazione di frammenti in una scatola, dopo la distensione e il consolidamento”, Elia, *Libri*, 6.

While, on the one hand, the restoration has made it possible to preserve most of our manuscript, on the other hand, the individual *folia* are found today in complete disarray; consequently, even the order of the text is heavily disturbed. Moreover, the not always coherent modern numbering contributes to increase the confusion (Pls. II–IV).<sup>29</sup>

After the fire, the restorers, understandably taken by the rush to save as many artefacts as possible (and in the shortest time), interfered heavily in the manuscripts, disrupting both their appearance and content, in fact, it is not rare that the restored *codices* present serious reversals of the original *folia*.<sup>30</sup>

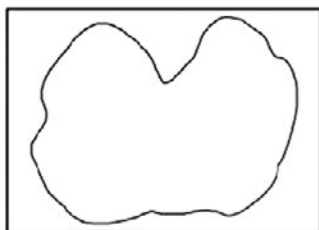
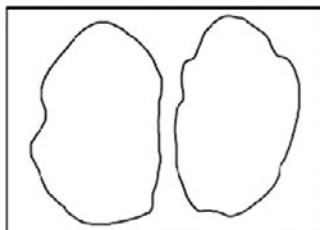
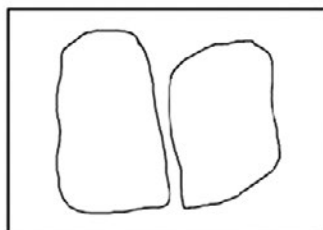
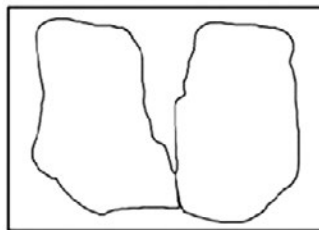
The same happened to our Psalter. According to our reconstruction (see the content below), in the new paper supports, we find:

1. original *bifolia* still attached (**image a**).
2. single *folia* originally belonging to the same *bifolium* (**image b**).
3. single *folia* originally not belonging to the same *bifolium*, now wrongly placed side by side on the same paper support (**image c**).
4. single *folia* originally not belonging to the same *bifolium*, nor the same quire, wrongly attached/reconstructed by the restorers (**image d**).

In the *Taurinensis*, the disorder of the text is the result of a wrong disposition of the original leaves caused during its restoration. Therefore, if one reads the individually restored *folia* from left to right, it is clear that the text has often no logical continuity (unless one reads an old central *bifolium* still attached). Consequently, the only way to return unity to our text is to rebuild codicologically the original form of the manuscript (cf. *infra*, pp. 434–437). A graphical reconstruction of its

29 This numbering, written in black ink, was presumably added during the restoration. The *folia* are numbered in Roman or Arabic digits: from I to XXXII, and from 1 to 142. Furthermore, in some cases letters of the Latin alphabet are used to indicate the *versus* of some *folia*: XIbv = F; 67v = h; 78v = l; 77v = m; 79v = g; 80v = f; 85v = b; 81v = e; 84v = c; 82v = d. An attempt has been made to reposition the leaves following the alphabetical order attributed, however the text continues to be inconsistent, rendering the logic behind this double numerical system obscure. It must also be added that sometimes the same number (both in Latin and Arabic characters) was used twice on different leaves (see the content below).

30 “Questo lungo lavoro, intrapreso immediatamente dopo il disastro con la ricognizione del materiale superstite effettuata da De Sanctis e Cipolla e al quale parteciparono vari centri di restauro, ha messo nuovamente a disposizione gran parte di ciò che è sopravvissuto. Tuttavia, quanti consultino il materiale in qualità di filologi incontrano spesso codici che testimoniano una non metaforica “seconda o nuova vita”, in quanto presentano anomalie nell’ordine dei *folia* giustificabili non come originarie, ma come frutto di inversioni e trasposizioni nel corso di restauri durante i quali i codici sono stati spesso trattati solo nelle loro caratteristiche codicologiche di manufatto e non come supporti di testi che devono avere un’ interna coerenza”, Nuti, “Restauro”, 197.

a. Original *bifolium* still attachedb. *Folia* originally belonging to the same *bifolium*c. *Folia* originally belonging to different *bifolium* wrongly placed side by sided. *Folia* originally belonging to different *bifolium* wrongly reconstructed

Example for c.: ff. 63v–70r  
(Ps 107:6a–11// Ps 123:1a–7b)

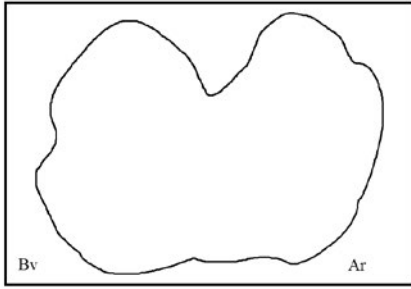


Example for d.: ff. 40v–33r  
(Ps 80:1a–7b//Ps 96:4a–9a)

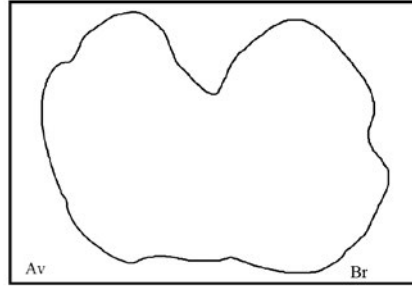
© Ministero della Cultura, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino, cod. BVII.30 (Pasini 342)

current appearance is presented below to clarify how the Psalter looks today. We have chosen to use the System proposed by Gilles Dorival: Bv–Ar/Av–Br.<sup>31</sup>

31 “On voit donc qu’A correspond à un *verso* du codex ancien et B à un *recto*, tandis qu’Av correspond à un *recto* et Bv à un *verso*. De cette disposition l’on peut conclure que, normalement, si A est le premier folio d’un cahier, B est le dernier folio du même cahier (Av étant le premier *recto* et Bv le dernier *verso*); si maintenant A est le deuxième folio d’un cahier, B est le pénultième folio du même cahier, et ainsi de suite. Les (rares) exceptions proviennent d’une erreur de montage: l’on

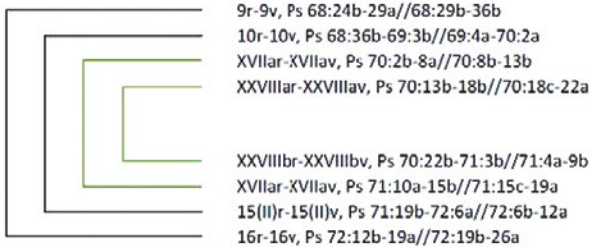


f. XXVIIIbv–ar: Ps 71:4a–9b//  
Ps 70:13b–18b f.



XXVIIIav–br: Ps 70:18c–22a//  
Ps 70:22b–71:3b

The *bifolium* presented as an example here is part of a quire composed of *bifolia* still intact, and it has been reconstructed in this way:



The modern numbering is always placed only on the right side<sup>32</sup> of the new leaf, corresponding to the first *folium recto* of an original *bifolium* (Pl. IV).

#### 4. Codicological Study and Digital Reconstruction: The New Life of the *Taurinensis* B. VII. 30

The earliest scholars who dealt with the *Taurinensis*, especially after 1904, concentrated more on philological and textual aspects than codicological ones. In 1989, Gilles Dorival wrote about extreme difficulty in studying the Psalter, emphasizing the absolute disorder of its *folia*. In his study, he proposed a concise codicological description, hoping for a new investigation and a new classification of its leaves.<sup>33</sup> It is worth mentioning the monograph that Nicolae Preda dedicated to the man-

a assemblé A et B de manière fautive”, Dorival, *Châines*, II/127; cf. Preda, *Manuscrisul*, 72–73. Dorival’s system (Bv–Ar/Av–Br) has been used in the content table below.

32 With few exceptions (i. e., Pl. IV, *bifolium* XXVIIIbv/f.13–XXVIIIar/f.12).

33 Dorival stated that the classification work had to be done, although it would have been “difficile et de longue haleine”, Dorival, *Châines*, II/127.



uscript, published in 2018 (Preda, *Manuscrisul*). The monograph, which is the publication of his doctoral thesis, illustrates in detail the history of this *codex* and provides a complete edition of the surviving *Horologion*. Preda has restored the correct order of the liturgical text (Edition: pp. 126–183; Comment: pp. 220–239), that had been disrupted due to the restoration made soon after the 1904 fire. On the other hand, the Psalms and the Odes are presented in less detail. He has edited only the *incipit* of the Psalms: 58, 61, 67–68, 74, 81, 85, 88–99, 91, 94, 97, 101, 103, 105–106, 109, 112, 115, 118–119, 124, 129, 134, 137, 140, 143, 145, 148, 150, and the Odes (Preda, *Manuscrisul*, 113–17). Since the *Taurinensis* is an essential and ancient example of the Psalms and a catena commentary, on February 2021, I began the task of creating a description of it for inclusion in the database of the Göttingen research project *Die Editio Critica maior des griechischen Psalter*.<sup>34</sup> To be able to make a description of the *codex* as complete as possible, it was first necessary to identify the text contained therein. However, deciphering the text could not have been done without first putting its *folia* in order again, doing precisely the classification work that Dorival had hoped for. Therefore, a codicological reconstruction of this most ancient aspect of the Psalter, which has never been done before, has become the fundamental goal of my research.

A first analysis conducted on the microfilm of the manuscript allowed me to identify, in the current f. IIr, the first verses of Psalm 46. It soon became clear that the surviving leaves of the Psalter did not, in fact, begin from Psalm 50, as Gilles Dorival established.<sup>35</sup> Analysing the microfilm, I recognised portions of Psalms from 47 to 49, which highlighted the urgency of a new and more thorough investigation. To this end, a new photographic campaign was conducted on the manuscript. Thanks to the new high-resolution digital images created by SCHRIFT-BILDER.org<sup>36</sup> and made available to me, it has been possible to confirm that the ‘contemporary’ *Taurinensis* begins with Psalm 46:10a (for the content, see below). The decipherment of the high-resolution digital images allowed the original order of the text of the Psalter to be re-established; according to the content of the surviving *folia*, the manuscript’s quires were then reconstructed.

We can assume that 100 of the 303<sup>37</sup> leaves of the Psalter have been lost, leaving only 203: almost 67 % of the manuscript. Originally, our manuscript contained about 38 quires, of which only 27 have survived today. It has lost about eleven quires: nine/ten of these stood at the beginning of the *codex*, containing the *Pro-*

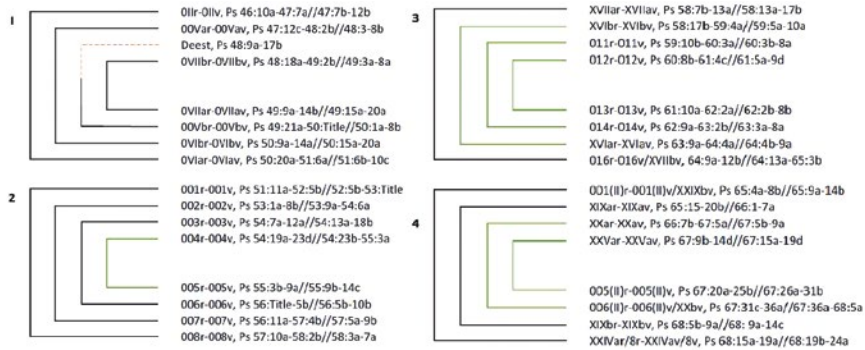
34 See [https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra\\_1208](https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra_1208) (last access: 15.08.2023); cf. *supra*, p. 1.

35 “Dans l’état actuel du *Taurinensis*, il semble que les psaume 1 à 49 aient entièrement disparu [...]”, Dorival, *Châines*, II/127.

36 See <https://schrift-bilder.org/> (last access: 15.08.2023).

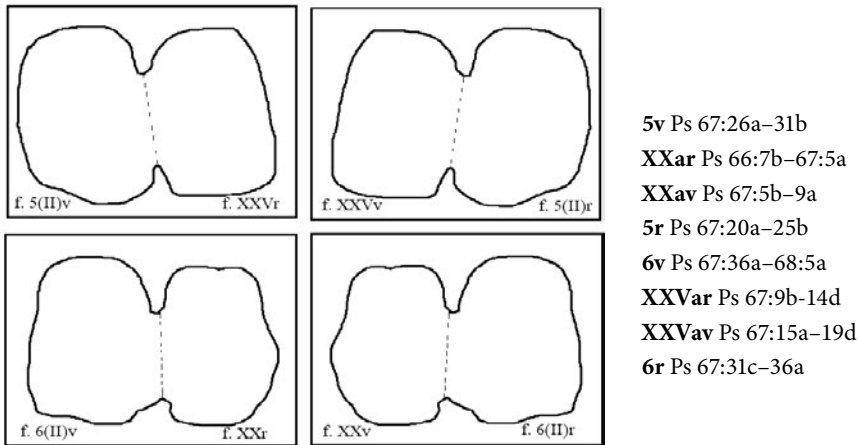
37 I have taken into consideration the information provided by the Bencini’s Catalogue: a *codex* of 303 leaves, cf. *supra* p. 4.

*emia* to the Psalms and Psalms 1–46:1–9; the remaining half of the quires, were at the end and transmitted the rest of the liturgical texts.<sup>38</sup> Almost all the quires were *quaterniones*.



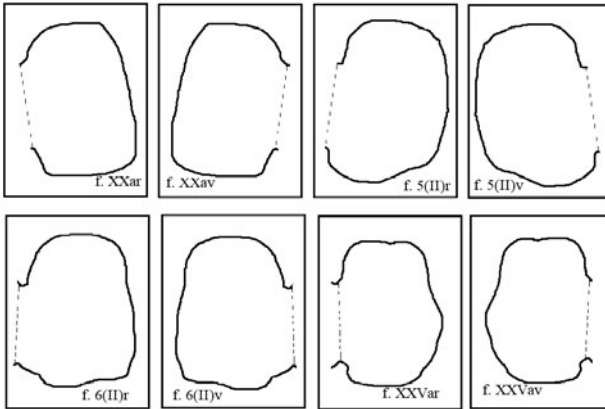
Example of some reconstructed quires<sup>39</sup>

This reconstruction also allowed a digital restoration of the whole *codex*: the *folia* have been repositioned in order, based on the text they contain, side by side on virtual pages to facilitate their uninterrupted reading. Here below an example:



38 For the liturgical section, the order of the leaves was re-established based on the edition of the *Horologion* edited by Nicolae Preda. Cf. Preda, *Manuscrisul*, 126–83.

39 The green lines indicate the intact *bifolia*. For the complete reconstruction, see Matera, “Description”.



**XXar** Ps 66:7b–67:5a<sup>40</sup>

**XXav** Ps 67:5b–9a

**XXVar** Ps 67:9b–14d

**XXVav** Ps 67:15a–19d

**5r** Ps 67:20a–25b

**5v** Ps 67:26a–31b

**6r** Ps 67:31c–36a

**6v** Ps 67:36a–68:5a

## 5. Content<sup>41</sup>

Nowadays, according to the new reconstruction, we can state that it contains the Psalms from 46:10 (f. IIr) to 151 (ff. 117bv–115ar), followed by fourteen Odes and a part of the *Horologion*.<sup>42</sup> The surviving Psalms are almost entirely intact: the manuscript has lost Ps 1 to 46:9 (placed at the beginning of the manuscript), 48:9a–17a, 85:10a–86:3b, 138:13a–139:12a (*deest*, on the content, see below). Before the disaster, the *Taurinensis* commenced with some prologues at ff. 1–20, while the Psalms, divided into 20 καθίσματα and 60 δόξαι, began at f. 27 with the general title:<sup>43</sup>

ὉΡΓΑΝΟΝ ΜΟΥΣΙΚΟΝ, ὍΠΕΡ Κ(Α)Ι ΝΑΒΛΑ ΚΑΛΕΪΤΑΙ· ΨΑΛΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΠΕΦΥΚΑ ΘΕΪΩΝ  
 ἈΣΜΑΤΩΝ:-

Followed by:

ΨΑΛΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΔΑ(Β)ΙΔ ΤΟΥ ἈΓΙΟΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ Υ(ΙΟ)Υ ἸΕΣΣΑΙ ΚΑΙ ἸΟΥΔΑ ΚΑΤὰ ΦΥΛΗ Α  
 Β ὙΠΟ ἈΛΛΗΛΟΪΑ.

Then there were the Odes and the Liturgical texts (Pasini, *Codices*, 471).

40 See the reconstructed quire N° 4 on the previous page.

41 Cf. Preda, *Manuscrisul*, 98–105.

42 The liturgical texts have been repositioned in order following Preda's edition (*Manuscrisul*, 126–83).

43 Pasini, *Codices*, 470; Oesterley, “Codex”, 354. For a carefully analysis of the title, see Preda, *Manuscrisul*, 188–220. See also: <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occurrences/21945> (last access 15.08.2023).

## 5.1 Catena on the Psalms

In the *Taurinensis*, the Psalms are surrounded by a catena, which, developing on three sides of the page, formed a framework around the biblical text.<sup>44</sup> Irreparably damaged by the fire, it is now very challenging to read.<sup>45</sup> Fortunately, Karo and Lietzmann studied the manuscript before 1904, identifying its catena as *Typus XXVI* (CPG C39).<sup>46</sup> According to the scholars, the Psalter (indicated by the shelf mark B.I.10)<sup>47</sup> seems to be the only example of this catena type.<sup>48</sup> After 1904, based on the three photographic reproductions in his possession, Oesterly (cf. *supra*, p. 5) edited the entire text of the Psalms 1–2:5b and the related catena, which, as he wrote, was already difficult to read at the time, since the margins of these first leaves of the manuscript had been crumpled (Oesterley, “Codex”, 357). Oesterly’s transcriptions have allowed scholars like Giovanni Mercati to study the catena in depth, aiming to identify the authors’ main comments.<sup>49</sup>

In 1989, Gilles Dorival, who claimed that the manuscript had forever lost Psalms 1 to 49, made a sample study of what he could read from Psalms 1 (according to Oesterly’s transcription), 50, 61, 75–8, 100, 118, 131, 141, 150,<sup>50</sup> and realised that among the authors cited by the catena of the *Taurinensis*, one was common to all the Psalms: Hesychius ‘Antonelli’.<sup>51</sup> According to the scholar, the Turin Psalter presents

44 Sometimes, the catena also ran on the inner margin of the page. Cf. Mercati, “Catena”, 177; Oesterley, “Codex”, Photographic reproduction.

45 Cf. *supra*, pp. 6–9: graphic representation of a page with catena, before and after the fire.

46 Karo/Lietzmann, *Catalogus*, 63–64; Mühlenberg, *Psalmekommentare*, 36. Archetype of *Typus I* (CPG C14), cf. id., *Psalmekommentare*, 15–17.

47 The same shelf mark of the Bencini’s Inventory, cf. *supra*, p. 4.

48 They also published part of the marginal commentary on Psalms 22 and 105, providing the names of the major compilers of this catena, cf. Karo/Lietzmann, *Catalogus*, 63.

49 As mentioned before, Pasini (1749) and Karo-Leitzmann (1902) had already provided the names of the compilers that appeared on the catena. Oesterley, in 1905, stated: “To return now to the Catena before us, according to Pasini the list of the Fathers represented in it included: Arsenius Monachos, Athanasius, Basilus, Cosamas Indicopleustes, Didymus, Germanus, Hesychius, Hieronymus, Chrysostomus, Maximus, Modestus, Nilus, Theodoretus. With two exceptions (Cosamas Indicopleustes and Modestus) all these names occur in the list given by Karo and Lietzmann; four names (Cyril, Epiphanius, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzen) which so frequently occur in the twenty-seven classes given by Karo and Lietzmann, are not represented in the Catena before us”, Oesterley, “Codex”, 357. However, the names transmitted in the catena are incorrect and it would instead be attributed only to a few authors. As Rondeau wrote: “Unique représentant du type XXVI de Karo-Lietzmann, la petite chaîne qui entoure le texte sacré et dont les noms d’auteurs, quand ils existent, semblent presque tous erronés”, Rondeau, *Commentaires*, 262.

50 Dorival, *Chânes*, II/129–138.

51 Dorival, *Chânes*, II/139; V/227; cf. Rondeau, *Commentaires*, 262. In 1948, Giovanni Mercati, studying the Oesterly’s transcription of Psalms 1 and 2, has already stated that the manuscript presented only a few unpublished passages and that the remaining extracts were mainly to be at-

a selection of *scholia* attributed to the Hesychius ‘Antonelli’ together with: Arsenius the Anchorite, Basil of Caesarea, Athanasius, ps. Epiphanius, Eusebius, Evagrius Ponticus, Germanus I of Constantinople, Hesychius ‘Jagič’, Hesychius *ComPs* and the ps. Jerome; then there are “glosses de lexique” and “fragments non identifiés”.<sup>52</sup>

In this contribution, we have chosen to present only the result of our codicological analysis and make the reconstructed content of the Psalter available to all. Our primary purpose has been to restore the original order of its leaves, allowing the text transmitted in it to be read continuously. For this reason, we have decided to analyse the challenging text of the catena in a future study.<sup>53</sup>

## 5.2 The Odes

Fourteen Odes follow the 151 Psalms; as for the Psalms, here too, the biblical text is accompanied by a marginal commentary placed on the three sides of the page. This commentary is attributed entirely to the exegetical work of Hesychius of Jerusalem: *Catena Hesychiana* (CPG C45).<sup>54</sup> As for the catena on the Psalms, we wish to study the catena on the Odes in a future and more detailed study; for the

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tributed to St. Athanasius: “[...] il quale apparirebbe almeno qui come il commentatore preferito, sebbene non da lui ma dallo ps. Atanasio Antonelliano sia stato preso l’argomento del salmo II. Dei tre col nome, intitolatovi di S. Basilio, la tradizione più attendibile lo presenta in S. Atanasio Antonelliano detto in parecchi mss. Esichio [...]”, Mercati, “Sulla catena perduta”, 190. Later in his article, Giovanni Mercati, extending the analysis to the extracts of the catena on Psalm 22 and 115 published by Karo and Lietzmann (*Catenarum graecarum catalogus*, 63), he concluded: “Nulla eccepirei se fosse risultato che nel Torinese compariva solamente l’Anonimo Jagič e non anche insieme lo ps. Atanasio Antonelliano, entrambi detti di Esichio in codici; o se fosse certo che solo il 1° è il vero Esichio minore e che della sua glossa dei salmi quella dei cantici ha tutti i caratteri proprii e n’è la continuazione naturale, com’è di fatto nel Marciano [gr. 5353], mentre nello ps. Atanasio manca, né forse mai seguì, come fanno pensare le esteriorità dei codici *Palat. gr.* 44 (dell’anno 897) e *Regin. gr.* 40, ma non bastano a dimostrare. Ora nel Torinese apparisce ancora questo ps. Atanasio anzi di più, e col nome di Esichio, come si è veduto nel salmo I [...] mentre l’altro compare ma senza nome nel CXV. Quindi bisogna scegliere, stentandosi a credere che sia l’unico autore di due glosse o parafrasi concorrenti, e nella scelta tener in conto il commentario maggiore superstito in buon numero di salmi, senza darne troppo all’antichità del Torinese e di qualche altro codice apparso non molto esatto, o non ben copiato ne’ nomi”, Mercati, “Sulla catena perduta”, 197–198. About Hesychius ‘Antonelli’: CPG 6552; PG 27, 649–1344 (*iuxta codd. Barb. gr.* 348 et *Palat. gr.* 44); Devreesse, *Commentateurs*, 244.

52 Dorival, *Chaînes* II/140.

53 We hope to be able to analyse in depth the catena of all, or of a part, of those Psalms not previously described by Dorival in his 1989 essay.

54 Cf. Schneider, “Oden”, *Biblica* 30/1, 59; *Biblica* 30/3, 451; Cf. Mercati, “Catena”, 177; “[...] wenigstens sechs Scholien mit dem Namen des Hesych versehen; alles andere ist anonym, jedoch wird niemals eine Glosse des Hesych einem anderen Autor zugeschrieben”, Schneider, “Oden”, *Biblica* 30/1, 59.

moment, only a brief description of them is presented. These are the titles of the Odes identified in our recent investigation:<sup>55</sup>

|           |               |       |                                                                       |
|-----------|---------------|-------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 115v–117r | Od 1          | [α']  | ὠΔὴ ΜΩΥΣΕΩΣ ΕΝ Τῇ ΕΖΟΔΩ                                               |
| 117r–122r | Od 2          | β'    | ὠΔὴ ΜΩΥΣΕΩΣ ΕΝ Τῷ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΝΟΜΙΩ                                        |
| 122r–123v | Od 3          | γ'    | ὠΔὴ ἈΝΝΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΣ ΣΑΜΟΥΗΛ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΦΗΤ(Ο)Υ                           |
| 123v–125v | Od 4          | δ'    | ὠΔὴ ἈΜΒΑΚΟΥΜ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΟΥ                                             |
| 125v–127r | Od 5          | ε'    | ὠΔὴ ἩΣΑΪΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΦΗΤΟΥ                                               |
| 127r–127v | Od 6          | [ς']  | [ΠΡΟΣ]ΕΥΧ[Η] ἸΩΝΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΟΦ[ΗΤΟΥ]                                      |
| 127v–129r | Od 11         | [ζ']  | ΠΡΟΣΕΥΧ(Η) ΕΖΕΚΪΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΗΣ ἸΟΥΔΑΪΑΣ                              |
| 129r–131r | Od 12         | η'    | ΠΡΟΣΕΥΧ(Η) ΜΑΝΑССῆ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΗΣ ἸΟΥΔΑΪΑΣ                              |
| 131r–133r | Od 7          | θ'    | ΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΗ [Τ]ΩΝ ΤΡΙΩΝ ΠΑΙΔΩΝ· ἈΝΑΝΪΑ, ἈΖΑΡΪΑ ΚΑΙ ΜΙΣΑΗΛ                |
| 133v–134r | Dan. 3:46–51b |       |                                                                       |
| 134r–134v | Od 8:52a–56b  | [ι']  | ὠΔὴ ΤΩΝ ΤΡΙΩΝ ΠΑΙΔΩΝ                                                  |
| 134r–136r | Od 8:57–88b   | [ια'] | ЪМНОС ТΩΝ ΤΡΙΩΝ ΠΑΙΔ[ΩΝ]                                              |
| 136r–136v | Od 9          | ιβ'   | ὠΔὴ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΝΑΓΪΑΣ ἈΧΡΑΝΤΟΥ Θ(ΕΟΤ)ΟΥ ΚΑΙ ἈΕΙΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΥ ΜΑΡΪΑΣ             |
| 136v–137r | Od 9          | [ιγ'] | ΠΡΟΦΗΤΕΪΑ ΖΑΧΑΡΪΟΥ ΤΟΥ Π(ΑΤ)Ρ(Ο)С Τ[ΟΥ] ΠΡΟΔΡΟΜΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ [...]   |
| 137v–138r | Od 13         | ιδ'   | ΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΗ СΥΜΕΩΝ ΤΟΥ ПРЕСВѢТУΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΟ(Υ) ΚΑΤΑ ΛΟΥΚΑΝ (sic!) ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΥ |
| 138r–139r | Od 14         | ιε'   | ЪМНОС ἈΓΓΕΛΩΝ· ΕΩΘΙΝΟ[C]                                              |

55 Cf. Schneider, “Oden”, *Biblica* 30/1, 64.

5.3 The *Horologion*<sup>56</sup>

After the Odes, on f. 139v,<sup>57</sup> with the title [ἈΚΟΛΟΥΘ]ΙΑ CYN ΘΕ[Ω ΤΗΣ ΗΜΕΡΑΣ ὩΡΑ ΠΡΩΤΗ], there is a Books of Hours (*Horologion*) of which less than 30 *folia* have survived so far. Our Psalter represents the oldest example of this peculiar liturgical composition that sometimes “is found appended to a Psalter”.<sup>58</sup> Stefano Parenti has studied the *Horologion* of the *Taurinensis*, publishing the edition of the ff. XIV and XIII containing the “Ὡρα ἐννάτη”.<sup>59</sup> Then, in 2018, the surviving text of the *Horologion* was fully deciphered and published by Nicoale Preda.<sup>60</sup> The *Horologion* is structured as follows (see the reconstructed content on the following page):

[ἈΚΟΛΟΥΘ]ΙΑ CYN ΘΕ[Ω ΤΗΣ ΗΜΕΡΑΣ ὩΡΑ ΠΡΩΤΗ], (ff. 139v–141r);  
 ff. 141v–142r: ὩΡΑ ΤΡΙΤΗ;  
 ff. 142v–XIVbr: ὩΡΑ ἙΚΤΗ;  
 ff. XIVbr–XIIIbr: ὩΡΑ ἘΝΝΑΤΗ;  
 ff. XIIIbv–XIIbr: ἈΚΟΛΟΥΘΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΤΥΠΙΚΩΝ;  
 ff. XIIbr–XVbr: ἈΚΟΛΟΥΘΙΑ ΤΩΝ ἈΠΟΔ[ΕΙΠΝΩΝ];  
 ff. XVbv–VIIIav: καὶ εὐθέως τροπάρ(ια);  
 ff. IXbr–IIIbr: τῇ τριτῇ;  
 ff. IIIbv–IXar: τῇ τετραδῇ;  
 ff. IXav–IVbr: τῇ πέμπτῃ;  
 ff. IVbv–Iav: τῇ παρᾶκευῖ (sic!).

56 For the text and the history of this *Horologion*, see the previous studies: Parenti, *Nota*; Parpulov, *History*; Frøyshov, “Erlangen University Library A2”; id., “L’horologe”; Preda, *Manuscrisul*; Parenti, *L’anafora*, 347–348, 356, 563.

57 <sup>2</sup> “[...] f. 276. Sequuntur nonnulla ad Officium Ecclesiasticum, spectantia, Troparia numirum, hymni, aliaque variis horis diei, & media nocte canenda cum propriis tonis”, Pasini, *Codices*, 471.

58 Cf. Parpulov, *History*, 58 and n. 37.

59 Cf. Parenti, *Nota*.

60 Cf. Preda, *Manuscrisul*, 126–183. The *Taurinensis* has been considered for a long time as the bearer of a liturgical tradition of Palestinian origin, cf. Frøyshov, “Erlangen University Library A2”; id., “L’horologe”, 35. The *Horologion* transmitted by the *Taurinensis* is contemporary with that of *Sinaiticus*. gr. 863 (Diktyon N° 59238) but differs from this with some differences in content, cf. Parenti, *Nota*, 109–110; id., “Fascicolo”, 352. Recently, Stig Simeon Frøyshov and Georgi Parpulov returned to the question of the origin of the *Horologion* of the *Taurinensis* during the 24th International Congress of Byzantine Studies (Venice – Padua, 22–27 August 2022). Both scholars presented the *Taurinensis* in two different papers (namely “The *Horologion* from Jerusalem to the Ends of Earth” and “The Dawns of the byzantine Book of Hours”) concluding that in the current state of research it is difficult to establish exactly the origin of the *Horologion* transmitted by the Turin Psalter.

## Manuscript's content according to our reconstruction:

|                   |                          |                      |                 |                 |                             |
|-------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| <b>Iir</b>        | Ps 46:10a–47:7a          | <b>1(II)r</b>        | Ps 65:4a–8b     | <b>25r</b>      | Ps 77:20a–24a               |
| <b>Iiv</b>        | Ps 47:7b–12b             | <b>1(II)v/XXIXbv</b> | Ps 65:9a–14b    | <b>25v</b>      | Ps 77:24b–30a               |
| <b>Var</b>        | Ps 47:12c–48:2b          | <b>XIXar</b>         | Ps 65:15–20b    | <b>26r</b>      | Ps 77:30b–35b               |
| <b>Vav</b>        | Ps 48:3a–8b              | <b>XIXav</b>         | Ps 66:1–7a      | <b>26v</b>      | Ps 77:36a–40b               |
| <b>Deest</b>      | Ps 48:9a–17a<br>(×2 pp.) | <b>XXar</b>          | Ps 66:7b–67:5a  | <b>27r</b>      | Ps 77:41b–45b               |
| <b>VIIbr</b>      | Ps 48:18a–49:2b          | <b>XXav</b>          | Ps 67:5b–9a     | <b>27v</b>      | Ps 77:46a–50b               |
| <b>VIIbv</b>      | Ps 49:3a–8a              | <b>XXVar</b>         | Ps 67:9b–14d    | <b>28r</b>      | Ps 77:50c–55a               |
| <b>VIIar</b>      | Ps 49:9a–14b             | <b>XXVav</b>         | Ps 67:15a–19d   | <b>28v</b>      | Ps 77:55b–59b               |
| <b>VIIav</b>      | Ps 49:15a–20a            | <b>5(II)r</b>        | Ps 67:20a–25b   | <b>29r</b>      | Ps 77:60a–64b               |
| <b>Vbr</b>        | Ps 49:21a–50: Title      | <b>5(II)v</b>        | Ps 67:26a–31b   | <b>29v</b>      | Ps 77:65a–70a               |
| <b>Vbv</b>        | Ps 50:1a–8b              | <b>6(II)r</b>        | Ps 67:31c–36a   | <b>30r</b>      | Ps 77:70a–78:2b             |
| <b>VIbr</b>       | Ps 50:9a–14a             | <b>6(II)v</b>        | Ps 67:36a–68:5a | <b>30v</b>      | Ps 78:2c–8a                 |
| <b>VIbv</b>       | Ps 50:15a–20a            | <b>XIXbr</b>         | Ps 68:5b–9a     | <b>31r</b>      | Ps 78:8b–12a                |
| <b>VIar</b>       | Ps 50:20a–51:6a          | <b>XIXbv</b>         | Ps 68:9a–14c    | <b>31v</b>      | Ps 78:12b–79:4a             |
| <b>VIav</b>       | Ps 51:6b–10c             | <b>XXIVar/8r</b>     | Ps 68:15a–19a   | <b>32r</b>      | Ps 79:4b–10a                |
|                   |                          | <b>XXIVav/8v</b>     | Ps 68:19b–24a   | <b>32v</b>      | Ps 79:10b–15b               |
| <b>1r</b>         | Ps 51:11a–52:5b          | <b>9r</b>            | Ps 68:24b–29a   | <b>33r</b>      | Ps 79:15c–20b               |
| <b>1v</b>         | Ps 52:5b–53: Title       | <b>9v</b>            | Ps 68:29a–36b   | <b>33v</b>      | Ps 80:1a–7b                 |
| <b>2r</b>         | Ps 53:1a–8b              | <b>10r</b>           | Ps 68:36b–69:3b | <b>34r</b>      | Ps 80:8a–12b                |
| <b>2v</b>         | Ps 53:9a–54:6a           | <b>10v</b>           | Ps 69:4a–70:2a  | <b>34v</b>      | Ps 80:13a–81:2a             |
| <b>3r</b>         | Ps 54:7a–12a             | <b>XXVIIar</b>       | Ps 70:2b–8a     | <b>35r</b>      | Ps 81:2b–8b                 |
| <b>3v</b>         | Ps 54:13a–18b            | <b>XXVIIav</b>       | Ps 70:8b–13b    | <b>35v</b>      | Ps 81:1a–7b                 |
| <b>4r</b>         | Ps 54:19a–23d            | <b>XXVIIIar</b>      | Ps 70:13b–18b   | <b>36r</b>      | Ps 82:8a–13a                |
| <b>4v</b>         | Ps 54:23b–55:3a          | <b>XXVIIIav</b>      | Ps 70:18c–22a   | <b>36v</b>      | Ps 82:13b–19b               |
| <b>5r</b>         | Ps 55:3b–9a              | <b>XXVIIIbr</b>      | Ps 70:22b–71:3b | <b>37r</b>      | Ps 83:1a–6b                 |
| <b>5v</b>         | Ps 55:9b–14c             | <b>XXVIIIbv</b>      | Ps 71:4a–9b     | <b>37v</b>      | Ps 83:7a–11c                |
| <b>6r</b>         | Ps 56: Title– 5b         | <b>XXVIIar</b>       | Ps 71:10a–15b   | <b>38r</b>      | Ps 83:12a–84:5b             |
| <b>6v</b>         | Ps 56:5b–10b             | <b>XXVIIav</b>       | Ps 71:15b–19a   | <b>38v</b>      | Ps 84:6a–11a                |
| <b>7r</b>         | Ps 56:11a–57:4b          | <b>15(II)r</b>       | Ps 71:19b–72:6a | <b>39r</b>      | Ps 84:11b–85:2b             |
| <b>7v</b>         | Ps 57:5a–9b              | <b>15(II)v</b>       | Ps 72:6b–12a    | <b>39v</b>      | Ps 85:3a–9c                 |
| <b>8r</b>         | Ps 57:10a–58:2b          | <b>16r</b>           | Ps 72:12b–19a   | <b>Deest</b>    | Ps 85:10a–86:3b<br>(×2 pp.) |
| <b>8r</b>         | Ps 58:3a–7a              | <b>16v</b>           | Ps 72:19b–26a   |                 |                             |
| <b>XVIIar</b>     | Ps 58:7b–13a             |                      |                 | <b>XXXIibr</b>  | Ps 86:4a–87:2b              |
| <b>XVIIav</b>     | Ps 58:13a–17b            | <b>17r</b>           | Ps 72:26b–73:2b | <b>XXXIibv</b>  | Ps 87:3a–7b                 |
| <b>XVIbr</b>      | Ps 58:17b–59:4a          | <b>17v</b>           | Ps 73:2c–8a     | <b>XXIIiar</b>  | Ps 87:8a–12b                |
| <b>XVIbv</b>      | Ps 59:5a–10a             | <b>18r</b>           | Ps 73:8b–14a    | <b>XXIIlav</b>  | Ps 87:13a–18b               |
| <b>11r</b>        | Ps 59:10b–60:3a          | <b>18v</b>           | Ps 73:14b–20a   | <b>XXIiar</b>   | Ps 87:19a–88:6b             |
| <b>11v</b>        | Ps 60:3b–8a              | <b>19r</b>           | Ps 73:20b–74:2b | <b>XXIlav</b>   | Ps 88:7a–10b                |
| <b>12r</b>        | Ps 60:8b–61:4a           | <b>19v</b>           | Ps 74:3a–9b     | <b>XXIar</b>    | Ps 88:10b–13b               |
| <b>12v</b>        | Ps 61:5a–9d              | <b>20r</b>           | Ps 74:9c–75:3b  | <b>XXIav</b>    | Ps 88:14a–19b               |
| <b>13r</b>        | Ps 61:10a–62:2a          | <b>20v</b>           | Ps 75:4a–9b     | <b>XXIibr</b>   | Ps 88:20a–26b               |
| <b>13v</b>        | Ps 62:2b–8b              | <b>21r</b>           | Ps 75:10a–76:2b | <b>XXIibv</b>   | Ps 88:27a–32a               |
| <b>14r</b>        | Ps 62:9a–63:2b           | <b>21v</b>           | Ps 76:3a–8b     | <b>XXIIbr</b>   | Ps 88:32a–37b               |
| <b>14v</b>        | Ps 63:3a–8a              | <b>22r</b>           | Ps 76:9a–14a    | <b>XXIIbv</b>   | Ps 88:38a–43b               |
| <b>XVIar</b>      | Ps 63:9a–64:4a           | <b>22v</b>           | Ps 76:15a–20a   | <b>XXIIIbr</b>  | Ps 88:44a–49c               |
| <b>XVIav</b>      | Ps 64:4b–9a              | <b>23r</b>           | Ps 76:20b–77:4b | <b>XXIIIbv</b>  | Ps 88:50a–89:2c             |
| <b>16r</b>        | Ps 64:9a–12b             | <b>23v</b>           | Ps 77:4c–8c     | <b>XXXIIar</b>  | Ps 89:2c–8b                 |
| <b>16v/XVIIbv</b> | Ps 64:13a–65:3b          | <b>24r</b>           | Ps 77:8d–13b    | <b>XXXIIlav</b> | Ps 89:9a–12b                |
|                   |                          | <b>24v</b>           | Ps 77:14a–19a   |                 |                             |



|                |                   |            |                   |             |                    |
|----------------|-------------------|------------|-------------------|-------------|--------------------|
| <b>11(II)r</b> | Ps 89:13a–17b     | <b>55r</b> | Ps 104:44a–105:3b | <b>100r</b> | Ps 118:61a–67b     |
| <b>11(II)v</b> | Ps 90:1a–6a       | <b>55v</b> | Ps 105:4a–8b      | <b>100v</b> | Ps 118:68a–74a     |
| <b>111r</b>    | Ps 90:6b–12b      | <b>56r</b> | Ps 105:9a–15a     | <b>101r</b> | Ps 118:74a–80a     |
| <b>111v</b>    | Ps 90:13a–91:2b   | <b>56v</b> | Ps 105:15b–21b    | <b>101v</b> | Ps 118:80b–88a     |
| <b>XXXIar</b>  | Ps 91:3a–9b       | <b>57r</b> | Ps 105:22a–27a    | <b>102r</b> | Ps 118:88b–97a     |
| <b>XXXXIav</b> | Ps 91:10a–15b     | <b>57v</b> | Ps 105:27b–34a    | <b>102v</b> | Ps 118:97b–103b    |
| <b>XXVIbr</b>  | Ps 91:15b–92:4b   | <b>58r</b> | Ps 105:35a–40a    | <b>103r</b> | Ps 118:104a–112a   |
| <b>XXVIbv</b>  | Ps 92:4c–93:7a    | <b>58v</b> | Ps 105:40b–45a    | <b>103v</b> | Ps 118:112a–119a   |
| <b>XXVIar</b>  | Ps 93:7b–13a      | <b>59r</b> | Ps 105:45b–106:1b | <b>104r</b> | Ps 118:119a–126b   |
| <b>XXVIav</b>  | Ps 93:13b–19a     | <b>59v</b> | Ps 106:2a–7b      | <b>104v</b> | Ps 118:127a–134a   |
| <b>XXXIbr</b>  | Ps 93:19b–94:2a   | <b>60r</b> | Ps 106:8a–13b     | <b>65r</b>  | Ps 118:134b–141b   |
| <b>XXXIbv</b>  | Ps 94:2b–7d       | <b>60v</b> | Ps 106:14a–18b    | <b>65v</b>  | Ps 118:142a–149a   |
| <b>XXXar</b>   | Ps 94:8a–95:2a    | <b>61r</b> | Ps 106:19a–23b    |             |                    |
| <b>XXXav</b>   | Ps 95:2a–6a       | <b>61v</b> | Ps 106:24a–29b    |             |                    |
| <b>XXIXar</b>  | Ps 95:6b–12a      | <b>62r</b> | Ps 106:30–36a     |             |                    |
| <b>XXIXav</b>  | Ps 95:12b–96:3b   | <b>62v</b> | Ps 106:36b–41b    |             |                    |
| <b>40r</b>     | Ps 96:4a–9a       |            |                   |             |                    |
| <b>40v</b>     | Ps 96:9b–97:2a    |            |                   |             |                    |
| <b>41r</b>     | Ps 97:2b–7b       | <b>63r</b> | Ps 106:42a–107:6a | <b>66r</b>  | Ps 118:149b–156a   |
| <b>41v</b>     | Ps 97:7b–98:4b    | <b>63v</b> | Ps 107:6a–11b     | <b>66v</b>  | Ps 118:156a–164a   |
| <b>42r</b>     | Ps 98:4c–8c       | <b>64r</b> | Ps 107:12a–108:5a | <b>67r</b>  | Ps 118:164a–170b   |
| <b>42v</b>     | Ps 98:9a–99:5b    | <b>64v</b> | Ps 108:5b–10b     | <b>67v</b>  | Ps 118:171a–119:1a |
| <b>43r</b>     | Ps 100:1a–5b      | <b>86r</b> | Ps 108:11a–16b    | <b>68r</b>  | Ps 119:1b–120:1a   |
| <b>43v</b>     | Ps 100:6a–101:2b  | <b>86v</b> | Ps 108:17a–20b    | <b>68v</b>  | Ps 120:1b–121:1a   |
| <b>44r</b>     | Ps 101:3a–7b      | <b>87r</b> | Ps 108:20b–26b    | <b>69r</b>  | Ps 121:2a–8a       |
| <b>44v</b>     | Ps 101:8a–14b     | <b>87v</b> | Ps 108:27a–109:1a | <b>69v</b>  | Ps 121:8b–122:4c   |
| <b>45r</b>     | Ps 101:15a–20a    | <b>88r</b> | Ps 109:1b–6a      | <b>70r</b>  | Ps 123:1a–7b       |
| <b>45v</b>     | Ps 101:20b–26b    | <b>88v</b> | Ps 109:6b–110:5b  | <b>70r</b>  | Ps 123:7c–124:5a   |
| <b>46r</b>     | Ps 101:27a–102:2b | <b>89r</b> | Ps 110:6a–10c     | <b>71r</b>  | Ps 124:5b–125:4b   |
| <b>46v</b>     | Ps 102:3a–9a      | <b>89v</b> | Ps 111:1a–6a      | <b>71v</b>  | Ps 125:5a–126:2d   |
|                |                   | <b>90r</b> | Ps 111:6b–10c     |             |                    |
|                |                   | <b>90v</b> | Ps 112:1a–9b      |             |                    |
|                |                   | <b>91r</b> | Ps 113:1a.8b      |             |                    |
|                |                   | <b>91v</b> | Ps 113:9a–15b     |             |                    |
|                |                   | <b>92r</b> | Ps 113:15c–21a    |             |                    |
|                |                   | <b>92v</b> | Ps 113:21b–114:2b |             |                    |
|                |                   | <b>93r</b> | Ps 114:3a–9a      |             |                    |
|                |                   | <b>93v</b> | Ps 115:1a–10b     |             |                    |
| <b>47r</b>     | Ps 102:9b–15b     | <b>94r</b> | Ps 116:1a–117:4b  | <b>72r</b>  | Ps 126:2d–127:3d   |
| <b>47v</b>     | Ps 102:16a–20b    | <b>94v</b> | Ps 117:5a–12c     | <b>72v</b>  | Ps 127:4a–128:4a   |
| <b>48r</b>     | Ps 102:20c–103:2b | <b>95r</b> | Ps 117:13a–21a    | <b>73r</b>  | Ps 128:4b–129:3a   |
| <b>48v</b>     | Ps 103:3a–7b      | <b>95v</b> | Ps 117:21b–28c    | <b>73v</b>  | Ps 129:3b–130:1c   |
| <b>49r</b>     | Ps 103:8a–13a     | <b>96r</b> | Ps 117:28c–118:6b | <b>74r</b>  | Ps 130:1c–131:4b   |
| <b>49v</b>     | Ps 103:13b–19a    | <b>96v</b> | Ps 118:7a–14a     | <b>74v</b>  | Ps 131:4d–10b      |
| <b>50r</b>     | Ps 103:19b–25a    | <b>97r</b> | Ps 118:14b–21b    | <b>75r</b>  | Ps 131:11a–15a     |
| <b>50v</b>     | Ps 103:25b–30a    | <b>97v</b> | Ps 118:22a–28b    | <b>75v</b>  | Ps 131:15b–132:2c  |
| <b>51r</b>     | Ps 103:30a–35a    | <b>98r</b> | Ps 118:29b–36b    | <b>76r</b>  | Ps 132:3a–134:3a   |
| <b>51v</b>     | Ps 104:1a–6a      | <b>98v</b> | Ps 118:37a–44b    | <b>76v</b>  | Ps 134:3b–8b       |
| <b>52r</b>     | Ps 104:6b–13b     | <b>99r</b> | Ps 118:45a–52b    | <b>77r</b>  | Ps 134:9a–15a      |
| <b>52v</b>     | Ps 104:14a–20a    | <b>99v</b> | Ps 118:53a–60b    | <b>77v</b>  | Ps 134:15b–135:1a  |
| <b>53r</b>     | Ps 104:20b–25b    |            |                   | <b>78r</b>  | Ps 135:1b–10a      |
| <b>53v</b>     | Ps 104:26a–31b    |            |                   | <b>78v</b>  | Ps 135:10b–20a     |
| <b>54r</b>     | Ps 104:32a–38a    |            |                   | <b>79r</b>  | Ps 135:20b–136:3a  |
| <b>54v</b>     | Ps 104:38b–43b    |            |                   | <b>79v</b>  | Ps 136:3b–8a       |

|                 |                            |             |                                                |               |                                                          |
|-----------------|----------------------------|-------------|------------------------------------------------|---------------|----------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>80r</b>      | Ps 136:8b–137:3a           | <b>121r</b> | Od 2:34b–38b                                   | <b>XIbr</b>   | “Ωρα ἕκτη                                                |
| <b>80v</b>      | Ps 137:3a–8b               | <b>121v</b> | Od 2:38c–42b                                   | <b>XIbv</b>   | “Ωρα ἕκτη                                                |
| <b>81r</b>      | Ps 137:8c–138:6a           | <b>122r</b> | Od 2:43b–Od 3:1c                               | <b>XIVbr</b>  | “Ωρα ἕκτη–ἐννάτη                                         |
| <b>81v</b>      | Ps 138:6b–12c              | <b>122v</b> | Od 3:1d–6b                                     | <b>XIVbv</b>  | “Ωρα ἐννάτη                                              |
| <b>Deest</b>    | Ps 138:13a–24b<br>(× 2pp.) | <b>123r</b> | Od 3:6c–10g                                    | <b>XIIIbr</b> | “Ωρα ἐννάτη                                              |
| <b>Deest</b>    | Ps 139:1a–12a<br>(× 2pp.)  | <b>123v</b> | Od 3:10h–Od 4:3a                               | <b>XIIIbv</b> | Ἀκολουθία τῶν<br>Τυπικῶν                                 |
| <b>84r</b>      | Ps 139:12b–140:3b          | <b>124r</b> | Od 4:3b–8a                                     | <b>XIIar</b>  | Ἀκολουθία τῶν<br>Τυπικῶν                                 |
| <b>84v</b>      | Ps 149:4a–7b               | <b>124v</b> | Od 4:8b–13c                                    | <b>XIIav</b>  | Ἀκολουθία τῶν<br>Τυπικῶν                                 |
| <b>85r</b>      | Ps 140:8a–141:3b           | <b>125r</b> | Od 4:13d–17a                                   | <b>XVIIbr</b> | Ἀκολουθία τῶν<br>Τυπικῶν                                 |
| <b>85v</b>      | Ps 141:4a–8b               | <b>125v</b> | Od 4:17b–Od 5:10a                              | <b>XVIIbv</b> | Ἀκολουθία τῶν<br>Τυπικῶν                                 |
| <b>105r</b>     | Ps 141:8c–142:4a           | <b>126r</b> | Od 5:10a–15a                                   | <b>XVIIar</b> | Ἀκολουθία τῶν<br>Τυπικῶν                                 |
| <b>105v</b>     | Ps 142:4b–9a               | <b>126v</b> | Od 5:15b–20a                                   | <b>XVIIav</b> | Ἀκολουθία τῶν<br>Τυπικῶν                                 |
| <b>106r</b>     | Ps 142:9b–143:2a           | <b>127r</b> | Od 5:20a–Od 6:6a                               | <b>XIIbr</b>  | Ἀκολουθία<br>τῶν Τυπικῶν–<br>Ἀκολουθία τῶν<br>Ἀποδείπνων |
| <b>106v</b>     | Ps 143:2b–7a               | <b>127v</b> | Od 6:6b–Od 11:10b                              | <b>XIIbv</b>  | Ἀκολουθία τῶν<br>Ἀποδείπνων                              |
| <b>107r</b>     | Ps 143:7b–11c              | <b>128r</b> | Od 11:10c–14b                                  | <b>XIIIar</b> | Ἀκολουθία τῶν<br>Ἀποδείπνων                              |
| <b>107v</b>     | Ps 143:12a–144:1a          | <b>128v</b> | Od 11:14c–19a                                  | <b>XIIIav</b> | Ἀκολουθία τῶν<br>Ἀποδείπνων                              |
| <b>108r</b>     | Ps 144:1b–5b               | <b>129r</b> | Od 11:19b–Od 12:3a                             | <b>XIVar</b>  | Ἀκολουθία τῶν<br>Ἀποδείπνων                              |
| <b>108v</b>     | Ps 144:6a–12b              | <b>129v</b> | Od 12:3b–7c                                    | <b>XIVav</b>  | Ἀκολουθία τῶν<br>Ἀποδείπνων                              |
| <b>109r</b>     | Ps 144:13a–17a             | <b>130r</b> | Od 12:8a–10b                                   | <b>XVbr</b>   | Ἀκολουθία τῶν<br>Ἀποδείπνων                              |
| <b>109v</b>     | Ps 144:17b–145:2a          | <b>130v</b> | Od 12:10b–13f                                  | <b>XVbv</b>   | Καὶ εὐθέως<br>τροπάρια                                   |
| <b>110r</b>     | Ps 145:2b–7c               | <b>131r</b> | Od 12:14a–Od 7:28a                             | <b>IXar</b>   | Καὶ εὐθέως<br>τροπάρια                                   |
| <b>110v</b>     | Ps 145:8a–146:4a           | <b>131v</b> | Od 7:28b–32a                                   | <b>IXav</b>   | Καὶ εὐθέως<br>τροπάρια                                   |
| <b>111(II)r</b> | Ps 146:4b–9b               | <b>132r</b> | Od 7:32a–37a                                   | <b>VIIIar</b> | Καὶ εὐθέως<br>τροπάρια                                   |
| <b>111(II)v</b> | Ps 146:10a–147:4b          | <b>132v</b> | Od 7:37b–40e                                   | <b>VIIIav</b> | Καὶ εὐθέως<br>τροπάρια                                   |
| <b>112r</b>     | Ps 147:5a–148:1b           | <b>133r</b> | Od 7:40e–45b                                   | <b>IXbr</b>   | Τῇ Τρίτῃ                                                 |
| <b>112v</b>     | Ps 148:2a–8a               | <b>133v</b> | Od 7:40e–45b                                   | <b>IXbv</b>   | Τῇ Τρίτῃ                                                 |
| <b>113r</b>     | Ps 148:8b–149:1a           | <b>134r</b> | Dan 3:46–50                                    | <b>VIIIbr</b> | Τῇ Τρίτῃ                                                 |
| <b>113v</b>     | Ps 149:1b–7a               | <b>134v</b> | Dan 3:51b–Od 8:55a                             | <b>VIIIbv</b> | Τῇ Τρίτῃ                                                 |
| <b>114r</b>     | Ps 149:7b–150:3b           | <b>135r</b> | Od 8:56a–64a                                   | <b>IIIbr</b>  | Τῇ Τρίτῃ                                                 |
| <b>114v</b>     | Ps 150:4a–151:3a           | <b>135v</b> | Od 8:64a–73b                                   | <b>IIIbv</b>  | Τῇ Τρίτῃ                                                 |
| <b>115r</b>     | Ps 151:3b–7b               | <b>136r</b> | Od 8:73b–78b                                   | <b>Deest</b>  | Τῇ Τετράδῃ<br>? (× 2pp.)                                 |
| <b>115v</b>     | Od 1:1a–7a                 | <b>136v</b> | Od 8:78b–Od 9:49a                              | <b>XVar</b>   | Τῇ Τετράδῃ                                               |
| <b>116r</b>     | Od 1:7a–11c                | <b>137r</b> | Od 9:49b–55b                                   | <b>XVav</b>   | Τῇ Τετράδῃ                                               |
| <b>116v</b>     | Od 1:12a–17a               | <b>137v</b> | Od 9:68a–75a                                   |               |                                                          |
| <b>117r</b>     | Od 1:17b–Od 2:2c           | <b>138r</b> | Od 9:75b–Od 13:29b                             |               |                                                          |
| <b>117v</b>     | Od 2:2d–7b                 | <b>138v</b> | Od 13:30a–Od 14:20b                            |               |                                                          |
| <b>118r</b>     | Od 2:7c–11d                | <b>139r</b> | Od 14:20c–35d                                  |               |                                                          |
| <b>118v</b>     | Od 2:12a–15a               | <b>139v</b> | Od 14:35d–46                                   |               |                                                          |
| <b>119r</b>     | Od 2:16a–21a               |             | Ἀκολουθία σὺν<br>Θεῷ τῆς ἡμέρας,<br>“Ωρα πρώτη |               |                                                          |
| <b>119v</b>     | Od 2:21b–24d               | <b>140r</b> | “Ωρα πρώτη                                     |               |                                                          |
| <b>120r</b>     | Od 2: 25a–29a              | <b>140v</b> | “Ωρα πρώτη                                     |               |                                                          |
| <b>120v</b>     | Od 2:29b–34a               | <b>141r</b> | “Ωρα Τρίτη                                     |               |                                                          |
|                 |                            | <b>141v</b> | “Ωρα Τρίτη                                     |               |                                                          |
|                 |                            | <b>142r</b> | “Ωρα ἕκτη                                      |               |                                                          |
|                 |                            | <b>142v</b> | “Ωρα ἕκτη                                      |               |                                                          |

**Composite quire**

**IXar** Τῇ Τετράδῃ

**IXav** Τῇ Πέμπτῃ

**Xar** Τῇ Πέμπτῃ

**Xav** Τῇ Πέμπτῃ

**3r** Τῇ Πέμπτῃ

**3v** Τῇ Πέμπτῃ

**IVbr** Τῇ Πέμπτῃ

**IVbv** Τῇ Παρασκευῇ

**IIIar** Τῇ Παρασκευῇ

**IIIav** Τῇ Παρασκευῇ

**IVar** Τῇ Παρασκευῇ

**IVav** Τῇ Παρασκευῇ

**Ibr** Τῇ Παρασκευῇ

**Ibv** Τῇ Παρασκευῇ

**Iar** Τῇ Παρασκευῇ

**Iav** Τῇ Παρασκευῇ

**6. The Fragment Verona, *Biblioteca Capitolare*, CXIX (olim 109)**

The fortuitous photographic testimony of the manuscript *Taurinensis* B.VII. 30, which had fallen into Oesterly's hands, and was published in 1905 (cf. *supra*, p. 431), is not the only example of how this *codex* must have looked originally. The *Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona* holds a precious fragment (Shelf mark CXIX; Diktyon N° 70762)<sup>61</sup> consisting of one leaf and which transmits the *Proemium* to the Psalms by Cyril of Alexandria (CPG 5202) and the *Proemium* to the Psalms by Hesychius of Jerusalem (CPG 6554).<sup>62</sup> This *folium*, presenting as well palaeographic characteristics assimilable, would be a *membrum disiectum* of the Turin Psalter.

The fragment belonging to the scholar Scipione Maffei, entered the *Biblioteca Capitolare* after he died in 1755 and there remained hidden among the other *codices* for decades. Until in 1844, Cardinal Angelo Mai, discovered it by chance while visiting the *Biblioteca Capitolare* and searching for Greek manuscripts transmit-

61 General Bibliography: Giuliani, *La Capitolare*, 197; Omont, "Manuscripts", 490–91; Mioni, *Catalogo*, 489–490; D'Agostino, "Esichio di Gerusalemme", 216–217; Piazzzi, *Biblioteca Capitolare*, 70; Parpulov, *History*, Appendix B1; Fincati/Crostini, "Prologue", 338–340; Lucà, "Reliquie", 72; Pascale, "Osservazioni", 45.

62 "It is unfortunate for our purpose that the Prologue has not been assigned its own distinctive number in *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, where it features as item number 1 under the heading for Hesychius' *Commentarius magnus* (CPG 6554)", Fincati/Crostini, "Prologue", 330.

ting the works of St. Cyril. As he wrote in 1845 in his introduction to St. Cyril's works (reprinted in PG 68, 111):

“... deinde veronam veniens, adita RR. Canoniorum insigni codicum bibliotheca, quae-sivi a bibliothecario num quid ibi Cyrilli conservaretur; qui mihi statim folium obtu-lit, inter codices illic conservaretum, quod cupide inspiciens ipsam esse cognovi cyrilli praefationem ad suum in psalmos commentarium, quem ego, ut dixi, iam imprimere acephalum Romae coeperam”.<sup>63</sup>

Cardinal Mai also reports some information that Scipione Maffei had provided on the origin of the fragment:<sup>64</sup>

“Codex non est, quem hic tibi, lector, narre, sed pagella una membranei codicis, et quidem exilis admodum. Abscissa procul dubio fuit, detrimento magno, emolumento nullo, ab eximio et multi faciendo libello. Qui eam de me misiti, daturum se brevi pre-similes alias multas. Subsequentes puto, sponondit; sed ab annis pluribus nequidquam exspecto”.<sup>65</sup>

Angelo Mai, who published the text of the Verona *folium* in 1845, attributed it exclu-sively to the work of St. Cyril, because of the title written on f. 1r of the fragment:<sup>66</sup>

Κυρίλλου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας εἰς τοὺς ψαλμούς:-

Here is the text, edited by Mai:

Ἱεροὶ μὲν λόγοι καὶ τῶν θείων ἄθροισις μαθημάτων εὐκλεᾶ τοῖς εἰρηκόσιν περιποιούσι τὴν ὄνησιν, Κρεῖσσον γὰρ σοφία λίθων πολυτελῶν, πᾶν δὲ τίμιον οὐκ ἄξιον αὐτῆς ἐστίν. χρῆναι δὲ οἶμαι πονεῖν καὶ μάλα προθύμως ἔν γε δὴ τοῖς οὕτως ὄνησιφόροις, ὅκνου τε εἶναι καὶ ῥαθυμίας κρεῖττονα τὸν ἀξιαγάστων ἐρῶντα πραγμάτων· οὐ γὰρ τοῖς εἰωθόσιν ἀναπίπτειν εἰς ῥαθυμίαν ἀλώσιμα γένοιτ' ἂν τὰ ἐξαίρετα τῶν κατορθωμάτων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἰδροῦν ἐθέλουσι περὶ αὐτῶν. ἔνθεν τοι κάγω παρατέθηγμαι καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ γε τὸ δεῖν ὀλίγα ἄττα κατὰ δύναμιν καὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν ψαλμῶν ἀφηγήσασθαι βίβλον, **σφόδρα**

63 Mai, *Bibliothecae*, IX–X, pls. II–III [PG 68, 111]. Cf. Mercati, “Proemio”, 129–130; D’Agostino, “Esichio di Gerusalemme”, 216.

64 This information was found in an *index* of the manuscripts preserved in the *Biblioteca Capitolare*, compiled by Maffei himself: “[...] manuscriptum capitolarium codicum indiculum a Scipione Maf-feio confectum, in quo sub numero 119 vir ille doctissimus, cyrialiani folii antea possessor, ita scribit [...]”, Mai, *Bibliothecae*, X [reprinted in PG 68, 111].

65 Mai, *Bibliothecae*, X [PG 68, 111]. Cf. Mercati, “Proemio”, 131.

66 Mai, *Bibliothecae*, 143 [PG 69, 717].

γὰρ αὐτῇ<sup>67</sup> ἐν Ἐκκλησίᾳ Κυρίου ταῦτα ψάλλουσιν εἰς ὑπακοὴν τοῦ λαοῦ· δύνανται δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἀσὰφ<sup>68</sup> προφητῆται δείκνυσθαι καὶ ἀρχηγοὶ καὶ διδάσκαλοι κατασταθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Δ(αυὶ)δ εἰς τοὺς λαοὺς εἰς τὸ αἰνεῖν τὸν Κύριον καὶ ἐξομολογεῖσθαι αὐτῷ· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἡμῖν εἶρηται· περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν εὕρισκομένων, εἰ τύχοι, διαψάλματος· ἢ ὀβέλου ἢ λημνίσκου· ἢ τινος ἐτέρου, μνήμην ἐκάστου ψαλμοῦ· τοῦ Κυρίου χάριτι ὁδηγούμενος· καὶ συμβιβάζόμενος τῇ ἐκείνου δυνάμει· λέξω καὶ πάλιν· καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν προλεχθέντων· ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς πλατύτερον τὸν λόγον διηγέσομαι τῇ τοῦ Κ(υρίο)υ χάριτι.

As we can see, the text interrupts its logical sense after **σφόδρα γὰρ αὐτῇ** (line nine of Mai's edition). The author, therefore, had not realised that the fragment of the Capitolare was bound incorrectly and that, consequently, it should be read in the sequence 1v–1r; moreover, the phrase **ἐν Ἐκκλησίᾳ Κυρίου ταῦτα ψάλλουσιν εἰς ὑπακοὴν τοῦ λαοῦ** is wrongly attributed to St. Cyril, since is part of the Commentary on the Psalms by Hesychius of Jerusalem.<sup>68</sup> The mistake was perpetuated in the PG 69, 715–717, where a facsimile of the *folium* was provided:

“... l'incisore del Migne, senza riflettere che falsificava, ha fatto (forse secondo un'istruzione pratica dell'editore) delle due pagine una sola, sovrapponendo la 2<sup>a</sup> alla 1<sup>a</sup> così bene da sembrare che la scrittura continui regolarmente, senza margini framezzo, e l'ha ingrandita in modo da raggiungere il formato della *Patrologia*”.<sup>69</sup>

The first to realise this misunderstanding, and who attributed the second half of the text to Hesychius priest of Jerusalem, was Alberto Vaccari in 1928.<sup>70</sup> Starting from this attribution, in 1948, Giovanni Mercati presented the Veronese fragment in a more detailed study, proposing the exact reading order of the *folium* (1v–1r).<sup>71</sup> Mercati was also the first to argue that the Verona fragment had fallen from the Turin Psalter B.VII.30<sup>72</sup>. The academic community accepted his hypothesis, demonstrated by the writing, identical to that of the Turin Psalter.<sup>73</sup>

67 The fragment has ἈΥΤῇ(N), Angelo Mai did not recognize the abbreviation for *ny* at the end of the line. Cf. Mercati, “Proemio”, 130.

68 Cf. Mercati, *Note*, 167, ln. 7–168, ln. 4.

69 Mercati, “Proemio”, 130.

70 Vaccari, “Titoli”, 82 (n. 1).

71 Mercati, “Proemio”, 129–144; id., “Catena”, 176.

72 “Per quanto si può giudicare dal facsimile del Mai, la scrittura somiglia assai a quella del bruciato Salterio Torinese, con breve catena, B.VII.30 [...]”, Mercati, “Proemio”, 129 (n. 1). Mercati adds: “Non nascondo il sospetto venutomi, che il foglio veronese sia appunto uno di quelli caduti a principio del Salterio Torinese [...]”, Mercati, “Proemio”, 131 (n. 4).

73 Cf. Parpulov, *History*, Appendix B1; Parenti, *Nota*, 105.

*Codex CXIX* is a tiny manuscript, consisting of a single leaf of 144 × 85 mm, made on a very light parchment, and sewn to its simple white parchment cover with a thin thread. The ruling recalls the Leroy-Sutel 00C1 Type, but since the *folium* has been heavily trimmed around the outer margin, it could also be Leroy-Sutel C 22C1 type, as in the *Taurinensis*. F. 1r has 18 lines of scripts, while f. 1v has 23. The ink used for the slanted ogival majuscule is pale-brown, and the letters have a module of 2 × 2.5 mm. The script seems tighter and smaller in size in f. 1r. The Text area measures 80 × 70 mm in f. 1r, and 95 × 70 in f. 1v. Like the burnt Turin Psalter, the letters are leaned on the ruled lines.<sup>74</sup>

F. 1r features a *Pyle* finely decorated in shades of blue, yellow, green, and red (PI. X). The title is rubricated, and the first initial letter (*iota*) is decorated in shades of blue, green, and red. On f. 1v, by gradually reducing the number of letters in each line, the text takes the form of an inverted triangle closed at the apex by a sinuous ornamental element (S-shape) in vermilion tones. Two decorative phytomorphic elements (coloured in blue, red, and yellow) are arranged on both sides of the vertex of the triangle (PI. XI). We can find the same palaeographic characteristics in the *Taurinensis*, except for the headbands and for the ornamentations on the modern f. 1v. In addition to these palaeographic similarities, also the content of the Verona fragment demonstrates its belonging to the burned Turin Psalter. The *folium*, as we already know, contains the end of the *Proemium* to the Psalms by Hesychius of Jerusalem (f. 1v) and the beginning of the *Proemium* to the Psalms by Cyril of Alexandria (f. 1r).

|    |                                                       |                                                                                 |                                                                   |
|----|-------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1v | Hesychius Hierosolymitanus,<br><i>In Psalmos</i>      | <i>inc. ἐν Ἐκκλησίᾳ Κ(υρίο)υ<br/>ταῦτα ψάλλουσιν</i>                            | PG 69, 717; Mercati<br>(1901:167, ln. 7–168, ln. 4);<br>CPG 6554. |
| 1r | Cyrillus Alexandrinus,<br><i>Expositio in Psalmos</i> | <i>titl. Κυρίλλου<br/>Ἀρχιεπισκόπου<br/>Ἀλεξανδρείας εἰς τοὺς<br/>ψαλμούς:-</i> | PG 69, 717; Mercati<br>(1948:140); CPG 5202.                      |

We recall briefly here that, according to Pasini's description, the *Taurinensis graecus* B.VII.30 contained the prologues on ff. 1r to 20r, while the Psalms began on f. 27r:<sup>75</sup>

f. 20. Habetur hypothesis *Psalmorum*, primum generalis, tum cujuslibet Psalmi particularis ex Eusebius Pamphyli.

f. 27. Incipit Psalterium, cui praefixi leguntur sequentes tituli: ὄργανον μουσικόν, ὅπερ καὶ νάβλα καλεῖται. Ψαλτήριον πέφυκα θεῶν ἁσμάτων.

<sup>74</sup> For the description of this leaf see also Fincati/Crostini, "Prologue", 339–340.

<sup>75</sup> Pasini, *Codices*, 470. Cf. Mercati, "Proemio", 131 (n. 4).

Considering that the fragment contains proems to the Psalms, we can assume that it was found at the beginning of the Turin Psalter;<sup>76</sup> moreover, since Bencini, in his inventory dated 1732, already described the beginning of the *codex* as defective, we can infer that the leaf came into the possession of Scipione Maffei<sup>77</sup> during his stay in Turin in 1712,<sup>78</sup> or soon thereafter.

## 7. Palaeographic Description

We come now to the palaeographic description of the *Taurinensis*, realised thanks to the new high-resolution photographic images made available to me (Cf. *supra*, p. 436), and to the comparison with the Verona fragment *Codex* CXIX. Regarding the *Taurinensis*, the original manuscript presented an elegant *mise en page* with the central space of the page occupied by the text of the Psalms and the Odes, written in slanted ogival majuscule, and the catena commentary placed on the three outer margins of the page, written in upright ogival majuscule in smaller letters (samples on **Pls. I–V, VII**). Both the slanted ogival majuscule and the upright ogival majuscule were written by the same scribe. In the Liturgical unit, the scribe uses the upright ogival majuscule as a distinctive script to differentiate the *Horologion* from the biblical text (i. e., f. 142r lns. 17–23: Ps 67:19d–21a, Isa 33:5 cf. **Pl. VIII**; f. XIbv, lns. 14–21: Ps 78:8b–9c; f. XIIIbr, lns. 15–20: Dan 3:34–35). From what can be seen today from some of the best-preserved leaves of the Psalter, the script must have been characterised by a slightly marked *chiaroscuro* with a moderate angle of slope<sup>79</sup> and little difference between thick and thin strokes. The most characteristic letters (for both upright and slanted ogival majuscule) are the *beta*, the *kappa* with detached ‘pincer’, the angular *my*, the *csi* in three times, the slightly ellipsoidal *phi* and the *psi* in the shape of a Latin cross. The considerable lengthening of the apexes of some letters, such as *delta*, *theta*, *tau* and *psi*, is striking. Especially in *theta* and *tau*, the hooks, in their characteristic “wolf’s tooth”<sup>80</sup> shape, extend along the entire bottom part of the body of the letter. The *nomina sacra* are

76 “[...] poteva figurare tra i testi prefatori del Salterio di Torino”, Parenti, *Nota*, 106.

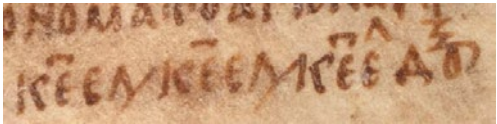
77 Mai, *Bibliothecae*, X–XI.

78 “[...] il Maffei stette a Torino tre anni, e allora o poi poté ricevere quel foglio, se veramente spetta al Salterio.”, Mercati, “Proemio”, 131 (n. 4).

79 Due to its poor state of preservation, it has not been possible to conduct an autopsy examination on the manuscript, therefore the angle of inclination of his handwriting has not yet been measured. However, it has been demonstrated that the measurement of the angle of slope does not allow the provenance of a manuscript to be traced with certainty, cf. Orsini, *Studies*, 159–164; Lucà, “Reliquie”, 69.

80 Lucà, “Reliquie”, 62.

used as well as some abbreviations like *kai*, *ny* at the end of a line, and the abbreviation for ἐλέησον.



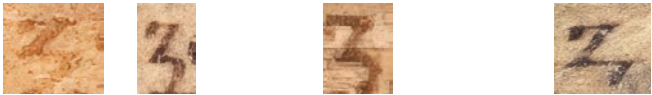
Ms *Taur.* B.VII 30, f. XIIbv

Breathings and accents are applied consistently and, apparently, by the same hand who wrote the text. On ff. Vbr, XXIIar, XXIXbv, XXXbv, 6v, 40r, 107r, 112r the breathings and the accents of the catena frame are rubricated. The scribe of the Psalter has used a sign similar to the ἀπόστροφος at the end of the indeclinable foreign names. This phenomenon is also present in the *folium* of the *Biblioteca Capitolare* di Verona: ἈCΑΦ', f. 1v, ln. 3. The ink used is brown/pale brown (which, due to combustion, sometimes appears darker). The beginning of a new verse is marked by a larger letter projected in *ekthesis*, while the beginning of each Psalm, or Ode, is characterised by an ornate initial letter, decorated in red, blue, and, sometimes, in yellow. Titles are rubricated in vermillion red, as are the abbreviations of the exegetes, placed next to the catena, and the cross-references marks in the text; there are headbands decorated in shades of blue, red, and yellow (Pls. V–VI). On folios 101v–102r, bottom margin, a marginal note of a later hand is visible (Pl. VII). On folio 142r, between line nine and 12, there are three lines written in minuscule, unfortunately not easily decipherable. The script seems to be ancient; it is perhaps coeval with the slanted ogival majuscule (Pl. VIII).

|         | slanted ogival majuscule                                                            |                                                                                     | upright ogival majuscule                                                            | initials                                                                            |                                                                                     |
|---------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Beta    |  |  |  |  |  |
| Delta   |  |  |  |  |  |
| Epsilon |  |                                                                                     |  |  |                                                                                     |



*Zeta*



*Theta*



*Kappa*



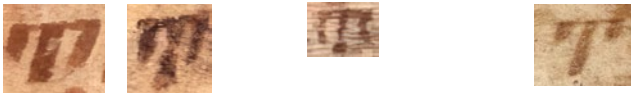
*My*



*Csi*



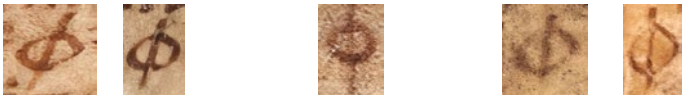
*Tau*



*Ypsilon*



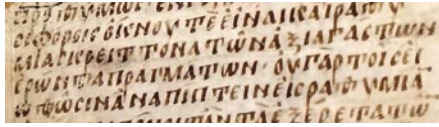
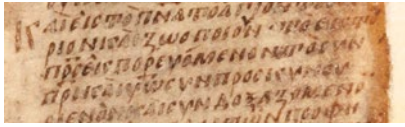
*Phi*



*Psi*



As we can see from the two examples here, the same paleographic characteristics, just exposed, are also present in the Verona fragment.



Mss *Taur.* BVII 30 and Verona CXIX

In both artefacts, the headbands, and other decorations (**Pls. VI, X**) stand out for the bright tones of blue, yellow, red, and green (albeit this last pigment is no longer visible in the Turin Psalter) (**Pls. X–XI**).

## 8. Dating and Origin

Unfortunately, we know nothing about the ancient history of the manuscript.<sup>81</sup> Since there is a lack of reliable data, every proposal about the manuscript's date and origin remains hypothetical. This is quite common in the case of many Greek manuscripts in ogival majuscule, for which the date and place of production remain an enigma. For our *codex*, scholars over the years have proposed various dates, based on palaeographic and textual reasons, fluctuating between the eighth and tenth centuries.<sup>82</sup> In our opinion, the Psalter can be dated to the late ninth/early tenth century.<sup>83</sup> The *terminus a quo* for dating the Turin Psalter is provided by the presence of a fragment attributed to Patriarch Germanus I of Constantinople, who died in 733.<sup>84</sup> On f. 45v (lower margin, sixth line from the bottom of the catena), there is an extract (barely legible) from the Germanus' *Περὶ ὄρων ζωῆς* (PG 98, 121 A9–10):

ἌΛΛΟ(Σ) ΤΟΥΤΕΣΤΙΝ ΜΗ ἈΤ[ΕΛΕΦΟΡΗΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΕΛΛΕΙΠΕΙ] ΤΩΝ ἈΓΑΘΩΝ ΕΡΓΩΝ  
ΚΑΤΑΚΤΑΤΕΙ ΤὸΝ ΒΙΟΝ ἘΖ[ΕΛΘΟΙΜΙ].

This extract, which represents a “travail caténal qui l'on peut situer dans les années 780–850” (Dorival, *Châines*, II/140), is also present in the manuscripts *Coislinianus gr.* 187 (Diktyon N° 49326) and *Oxoniensis* Auct. D.4.1 (Diktyon N° 46972; cf. *ibidem*). Therefore, according to Dorival, the *Taurinensis* would be chronologically

81 Cf. Preda, *Manuscrisul*, 50–58.

82 In his publication, Nicolae Preda [*Manuscrisul*, 35–42] has shown the different opinions of scholars over the years. Recently.

83 This dating had already been proposed by Hutter, “Decoration”, 257; and Lucà, “Reliquie”, 72.

84 Cf. Dorival, *Châines*, II/140; Parenti, *Nota*, 276; Preda, *Manuscrisul*, 41–42.

remarkably close to the “chaîne-scholies”<sup>85</sup> that it transmits – a catena of Palestinian origin, probably produced around the ninth century (Dorival, *Chaînes*, II/124), and of which our manuscript could even be “l'exemplaire original” (*ibidem*, II/140).

More problematic is the attribution of the manuscript to a specific geographical area of origin.<sup>86</sup> In fact, several hypotheses about the area where the manuscript was produced have been advanced over the years. In 1952, Giovanni Mercati asserted that the ancient catena transmitted by the *Taurinensis* probably came from Palestine and that, consequently, the *codex* itself must also have been produced in that area. The attribution of the *codex* to Palestine was made by Mercati only on a content and not paleographic basis:

“Sulle forme dei due tipi di scrittura, sull'accentatura, sugli ornati e sui colori o segni di distinzione delle iniziali è desiderabile il giudizio di paleografi più periti, potendosi dare che favoriscano o meno le supposizioni circa la provenienza del codice e della catena suggerite dei nomi rari e dalla qualità dei commenti, e le conseguenze che ne sono tratte” (Mercati, “Catena”, 197).

85 Dorival, *Chaînes*, II/140. The catena of the Psalter B. VII. 30 corresponds to Dorival's simple type M<sup>s</sup>S<sup>s</sup> (*Modèle-scholies/Source-scholies*). With ‘simple’ the scholar meant: “[...] les types de chaînes qui respectent la mise en page originelle des sources qu'elles utilisent”, Dorival, *Chaînes*, I/86. The earliest examples of this kind of frame catena on Psalms and Odes are *Hieros. Timiou Staurou* 96 (ninth century; Diktyon N° 35992) and our Psalter, *Taurinensis* B.VII.30 (ninth-tenth century). Cf. Parpulov, *History*, 67 (n. 15).

86 We know how difficult is placing with certainty, in space and time, manuscripts written in slanted ogival majuscule, “tra la maiuscole greche di epoca tardo antica e bizantina, quella meno indagata in modo sistematico ed esaustivo” [Orsini, “Maiuscola”, 89]. Guglielmo Cavallo had already experienced this difficulty during the *Colloque* of Greek and Byzantine Palaeography held in Paris in 1974: “La possibilità di indicare certe tradizioni grafiche circoscritte nel tempo e nello spazio riposa su rari manoscritti-guida fonti di dati oggettivi; qualche volta affinità scrittoriale, codicologiche, ornamentali più o meno spiccate permettono raggruppamenti plausibili, ma l'attribuzione cronologica e locale ne rimane incerta”, Cavallo, “Funzione”, 103. After almost 50 years, and despite the progress of studies, the doubts about the ogival majuscule have not yet been fully clarified: “[...] there are no explicitly dated manuscripts written in sloping pointed majuscule earlier than the ninth century, and even the datable manuscripts, as we shall see, are few and far between and are difficult to analyse. As a result. There is no possibility of constructing, or at least not without severe compromise, a reliable chronological gride, one of the basic tools for establishing a diachronic dating of the various manifestation of a script. The second relates to location: once again, there is no definitive evidence for this earlier than the ninth century, although at times the concept of “origin” tends to be merged with “provenance”, above all for the material that has come to light as the result of archaeological excavation, such as papyri. As a consequence it is extremely difficult to draw up a detailed map of the possible centers of production” [Orsini, *Studies*, 142]. See also Orsini, “Maiuscola”, 96; Crisci/Degni, *Scrittura*, 113; Lucà, “Reliquie”, 69.

About thirty years later, Gilles Dorival would not rule out the hypothesis of a Palestinian origin of the catena transmitted by the *Taurinensis*. However, he disagreed with attributing a Palestinian provenance to the *codex*, claiming that our Psalter could be a product of a “région excentrique de l’Empire” (Dorival, *Chaînes*, II/141); catena commentaries like that of the *Taurinensis*, he stated, are equally found in *codices* probably exemplified in the Byzantine Far East or in Southern Italy (see *ibidem*; cf. *infra*, p. 458).

In 2007, Stefano Parenti, who, as we have already said, studied and partially published the *Horologion* of the Turin manuscript, claimed that the *codex* was produced in the ninth century in southern Italy.<sup>87</sup> According to the Italian scholar, the italo-greek provenance of the Turin Psalter can be proved through the palaeographic data, and especially by the text transmitted in it. On the one hand, the Odes are fourteen as in the Constantinopolitan tradition, and not nine like in the Jerusalem one. The fourteen Odes of the *Taurinensis* reflect, in fact, “il sistema detto dell’ἐκκλησιαστικὴ οὐκ della *Grande Chiesa*” (Parenti, *Nota*, 106); their number and order, wrote Parenti, recalls that of the well-known Chludov Psalter (*Mosc. gr.* 129D; Diktyon N° 44147), realized in the ninth century and of Constantinopolitan origin (Parenti, *Nota*, 106). On the other hand, as we have already mentioned, the catena to the Psalms and the Odes has Palestinian origins. For Stefano Parenti, the mixture of these two different textual traditions – one Constantinopolitan, the other Hagiopolitan – could have occurred in a geographical context where both traditions were co-present and this geographical environment corresponds precisely to southern Italy.<sup>88</sup> Finally, in addition to the catena of Psalms and Odes, the *Horologion* of the *Taurinensis*, according to the scholar, also seems to depend on a Palestinian textual tradition and it could be “una copia italo-greca di un *Horologion* palestinese, coevo ma allo stesso tempo diverso dal Sinai gr. 863 che il titolo riconnette alla regola liturgica della Laura di S. Saba” (Parenti, *Nota*, 112).

Already in 1990, Marco D’Agostino argued that the exuberant *palette* of colours of the Verona *folium* could suggest its Italo-Greek origin.<sup>89</sup> More recently, Santo Lucà, in a study on the fragment *Crypt. B. β. XXVI* (gr. 083; Diktyon N° 17618), made up of a *bifolium* which transmits apophthegmatic *excerpta* and dates to the tenth century,<sup>90</sup> places the Turin Psalter in a group of manuscripts certainly realized in southern Italy, among which are:

87 Parenti, *Nota*, 105–106, cf. *infra*, p. 31 (n. 1–2). See also: D’Agostino, “Esichio di Gerusalemme”, 217; Frøyshov, “Erlangen University Library A2”; Parpulov, *History*, Appendix B1; Lucà, “Reliquie”, 70–72.

88 This can be demonstrated, for example, by the “eucologio Barberini gr. 336, copiato in Calabria verso la fine dell’VII secolo, dove preghiere e riti hagiopoliti sono stati integrati nel canovaccio costantinopolitano del codice”, Parenti, *Nota*, 106.

89 D’Agostino, “Esichio di Gerusalemme”, 217.

90 ; Lucà, “Reliquie”.

- The *Vat. gr.* 2059<sup>91</sup>, which transmits, among other works, the *Scala paradisi* by John Climacus (COG 7852) together with the ascetic writings of Saint Basil (CPG 2883, CPG 2895). It comes from the monastery of *Santa Maria del Patir* in Rossano and has been dated by Cavallo to the ninth century (Cavallo, “Funzione”, 101), and by Lucà to the beginning of the tenth (Lucà, “Reliquie”, 70);
- The *Vat. gr.* 2066 + Washington (DC), Library of Congress; Ricci 60 (Faye-Bond 37) one of the most authoritative examples of the Apocalypse (ff. 249r–268r), dated to the end of the ninth century.<sup>92</sup>

In fact, the writing of the *Taurinensis*, and of its *mebrum diesiectum* (Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare CXIX), seems to share with the two *codices* mentioned above peculiar palaeographic elements, above all, the moderate angle of slope, the same *chiaroscuro*, and the morphology of the *delta*, *theta*, *tau*, and *psi* with their peculiar descending hooks. On the contrary, as far as the decoration is concerned, we have not been able to find any graphic typologies similar to those present in the Turin Psalter in manuscripts of sure Italo-Greek origin.<sup>93</sup> The ornamentation visible in the Verona fragment, with “two bowl-like palmettes and *acroterion* with separately joined half palmettes” (Hutter, “Decoration”, 257), could rather recall a Sasanian decorative style that, as we know, also spread from the Capital to other provincial areas of the empire.<sup>94</sup> The widespread diffusion of this style makes it particularly difficult in the absence of other data to trace a precise geographical area of origin for our Psalter. It was undoubtedly produced in a decentralized area of the empire, as already established by Dorival. In opposition to the theory of Mercati, which considered the *Taurinensis* a Palestinian artefact (cf. *supra*, p. 30 no. 4), Dorival wrote:

91 Diktyon N° 68688; [https://digi.vatlib.it/search?k\\_f=0&k\\_v=Vat.+gr.+2059](https://digi.vatlib.it/search?k_f=0&k_v=Vat.+gr.+2059) (last access: 15.08.2023).

92 Diktyon N° 68696; <https://digi.vatlib.it/mss/detail/Vat.gr.2066> (last access: 15.08.2023).

93 In this regard, the recently published volumes of Irmgard Hutter have been consulted: Hutter, *Corpus*. Unfortunately, nothing presented by the researcher is like the decoration of our *codex*. Once again, I would like to take the opportunity to thank the art historian Irmgard Hutter for her valuable suggestions.

94 Hutter, “Decoration”, 254–255. Examples of these palmette decorations can be seen in the renowned Bible of Leo, *Cod. Vat. Reg. gr.* 1 (Ra 55), realised in the 10th century in the Monastery of Saint Nicholas, in Constantinople. See [https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra\\_55](https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra_55) (last access: 15.08.2023). Cf. Hutter, “Decoration”, 231–264 (Scribe B). During the 24th International Congress of Byzantine Studies (Venice – Padua, 22–27 August 2022), Georgi Parpulov, while presenting the *Horologion* of the *Taurinesis*, refuted the hypothesis regarding the Italo-Greek origin of the *Taurinensis*. He linked the decoration of the Verona fragment to the ornamental motif found on f. 103r of *Cod. Vat. Palat. gr.* 44 (Ra 9002). However, this manuscript, which was copied at Monemvasia in 898 by the scribe Λέων ταβουλάριος Μονοβασίας (PmbZ 24346, RGK III 384, VGH 262), had its decorations previously analysed by Weitzmann, *Buchmalerei*, 34–35, Table XLII no. 234.

“En revanche, faut-il suivre G. Mercati. Lorsqu’il fait l’hypothèse que le codex lui-même proviendrait de Palestine? L’on a vu que des chaînes-scholies proches du *Taurinensis* par la conception, comme l’*Oxoniensis* Auct. D.4.1, sont probablement originaires de l’Extrême-Orient byzantin ou de l’Italie méridionale. Une hypothèse similaire peut être faite à propos du *Taurinensis* : on ne peut pas exclure qu’il soit originaire d’une région excentrique de l’Empire; maintenant, parmi ces régions, faut-il introduire la Palestine? [...]” (Dorival, *Chaînes*, II/141).

What is this ‘eccentric’ area from which the Turin Psalter would come still remains an open question.<sup>95</sup>

Not even the subscription in dodecasyllables,<sup>96</sup> on f. 139r, can help us in this research.

+ Τὸν Ἑλλάδων τέττιγα τῆς ἐκκλησίας:  
 τὸν μουσικὸν νοῦν τὸν παρ ἡμῖν ὀρθῶς:  
 ΔΑ(ΥΙ)Δ Τὸν ἐσθλὸν ἐν προφῆταις καὶ μέγα:  
 ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΣ [     ] ΤΕΤΕΥΧΕΝ Ὁ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΣ ΠΟΘΩ

In line four, the name of *Γρηγόριος* is followed by a *rasūra*, which was probably his designation deleted for an unknown reason. The subscription in verse, beyond the typical formulas and the name of Gregory (a very common one), does not contain any other information and therefore once again it cannot help us to trace the origin of the manuscript.

To conclude, the Greek Psalter *Taurinensis* B.VII.30 is an important witness especially because of “l’antichità sua non comune”.<sup>97</sup> In fact, ancient Greek Psalter manuscripts with frame catena commentary are rare. The earliest witnesses presenting a catena commentary on the Psalms and Odes are the *Taurinensis*, presented here, and the late ninth/early tenth century *Codex Hierosolymitanus* S. *Crucis* 96 (Ra 1070).<sup>98</sup> This Psalter, besides being a fundamental example of a peculiar

95 As already stated by Dorival, *Chaînes*, II/141: “l’origine du *Taurinensis* lui-même reste à déterminer”.

96 Parpulov, *History*, 217; <https://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occurrences/24352> (last access: 15.08.2023).

97 Mercati, “Catena”, 197.

98 See [https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra\\_1070](https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra_1070) (last access: 15.08.2023); cf. Dorival, *Chaînes*, I/50. While the oldest surviving example of a frame catena, this time on the Gospels, is represented by the *scriptura inferior* of the famous Greek manuscript *Codex Zacynthius* (Cambridge, University Library, Add. 10062; Diktyon N° 73427) written in majuscule and dated to the seventh-eighth century. The palimpsested leaves (176 ff.) contain the Gospel of Luke 1:1–11:33, here the biblical text is written in Biblical majuscule in full page and is surrounded by a marginal catena that is written in upright ogival majuscule, placed on the three outer margins of the page. Cf. Parker/Birdsall, “*Codex Zacynthius*”, 117–131; Parpulov, “Codicology”, 165–170; Houghton/Parker, *Codex Zacynthius*; Houghton/Manafis/Myshrall, *Palimpsest*.

catena tradition (and the only example of the Karo-Lietzmann *Typus XXVI*) is at the same time also the bearer of an important liturgical tradition. The *Taurinensis*, dated between to the end of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century, was unfortunately damaged by the fire that hit the Turin library in 1904. There are two items that serve as proof of its original appearance (Greek small format Psalter with catena commentary, containing 303 ff.): the accidental photographic reproduction published by Oesterly in 1905, and, above all, the fragment kept in the *Biblioteca Capitolare di Verona* (shelf mark CXIX), which, sharing the same paleographic characteristics, was undoubtedly a *membrum disiectum* of our burned Greek Psalter, where it was placed among its first *folia*. Because of its antiquity, the *Taurinensis* was included among the manuscripts analysed by the Göttingen project *Die Editio Critica maior des griechischen Psalters* (2020–2040). However, its precarious state of conservation made it difficult to study its text. Through the new high-resolution digital reproductions of its *folia* (today 203), it was possible to carry out an in-depth codicological study, never carried out before. The new digital images allowed us to partially decipher its text and put its leaves back in order, restoring coherence to its content. The result of this new and in-depth study will facilitate the analysis of the content, especially of the catena on Psalms and Odes, in a study we propose to carry out in the future. This future research, we hope, would clarify the origin of the catena commentary transmitted by the *Taurinensis* and any existing relationships between the Turin Psalter and other manuscripts having the same textual tradition.

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## Plate I



© Ministero della Cultura, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino, cod. B.VII.30 (Pasini 342), *Bifolium* XXIII before and after restoration

Plate II–III



© Ministero della Cultura, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria di Torino, cod. BVII.30 (Pasini 342), Example of double numbering: *bifolium* XXIV/f. 8 and ff. 76v/m-73r



## Plate IV

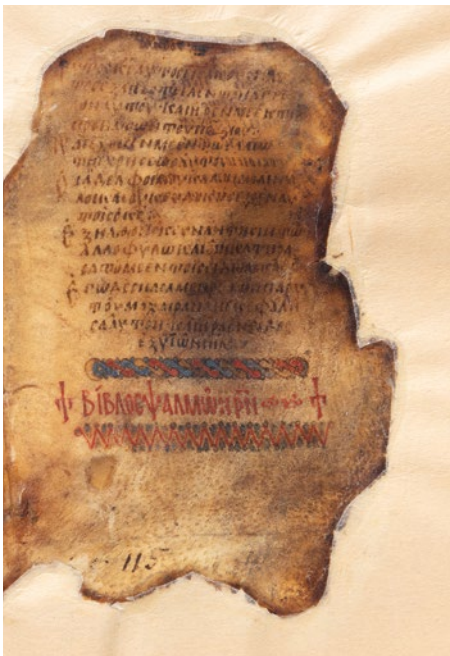


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Plate V–VI



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## Plate VII–VIII



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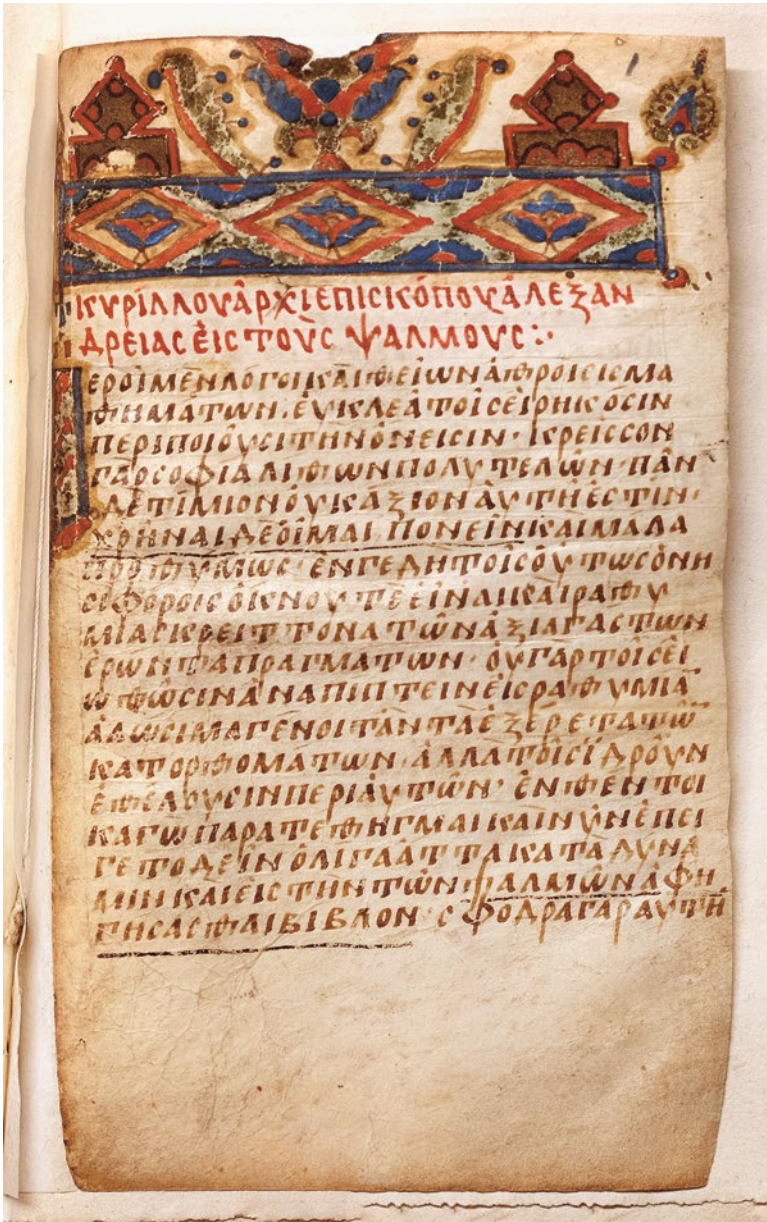


## Plate IX



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Plate X



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Plate XI



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## Plate XII



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## IV. Reception History of the Greek Psalter



## Psalmzitate im Neuen Testament. Überlegungen zur Textkritik

Das Hauptziel des Beitrages eines Neutestamentlers zur *Editio critica maior* der Psalmenseptuaginta müsste eine Liste mit fälligen Einträgen aus neutestamentlicher Textkritik sein, die explizit die aus seiner Sicht gegenüber der bisherigen Göttinger Ausgabe von Alfred Rahlfs möglicherweise erforderlichen Änderungen des Vorgehens wie der daraus resultierenden Angaben enthält und die bisher notierten Fälle fehlender Beeinflussung bestätigt oder korrigiert. Der folgende Beitrag kann nur den methodischen Unterbau dazu vorlegen, also Beobachtungen zum Zitierverhalten altkirchlicher Abschreiber und Autoren sowie Überlegungen zur Stellung der neutestamentlichen Zitate in der Geschichte der Textüberlieferung des Psalters vorstellen.

Für das, was als Zitat auch textgeschichtlich in Betracht kommt, war die leicht gekürzte Liste der Zitate und Anspielungen in NA<sup>28</sup> der Ausgangspunkt der Erhebungen.<sup>1</sup> Methodisch für die textgeschichtliche Arbeit von vornherein auszuschließen sind Anspielungen, die aufgrund des neutestamentlichen Kontextes in grammatisch andere Form gekleidet sind<sup>2</sup>, verkürzende Paraphrasen<sup>3</sup>, Sonderlesarten einzelner neutestamentlicher Handschriften<sup>4</sup>, ferner Scheinvarianten, z. B. mehrfach bezeugter Wechsel sprachlich nahestehender Formen<sup>5</sup>, unabhängig voneinander erfolgende grammatische Korrekturen<sup>6</sup> und stilistische

- 1 Nützlich ist auch der „Index of Quotations and Allusions – Psalm Order (MT)“ in Moyise/Menken, *Psalms*, 249–250. Der Sammelband ist ansonsten hermeneutisch, nicht textgeschichtlich ausgelegt.
- 2 Beispiele sind Ps 33:13–17/1 Pet 3:10–12; Ps 34:19/Ps 68:5/Joh 15:25; Ps 35:2/Röm 3:18. Ein Beispiel ist auch das Zitat von Ps 15:10b in Apg 13:35: Nur die Einleitung divergiert (Lukas schreibt οὐ, der Psalm οὐδέ). Diese andere Textform dürfte auktorial gesetzt sein: In Apg 13:35 ist eine Kopula nicht notwendig.
- 3 Beispiele sind die Rezeption von Ps 21:19 und von Ps 41:6.12 in den neutestamentlichen Passionserzählungen.
- 4 Das gilt selbst bei Parallelen in Psalmenhandschriften, nämlich dann, wenn diese Sonderlesarten als Scheinvarianten zu bezeichnen sind (dazu s. u.).
- 5 Hierzu gehört der Wechsel zwischen ἔνεκα (Ps 24:7 Ra U) und ἔνεκεν (Ps 24:11 Ra U) sowie εἶδοσαν (Ps 96:6 L') vs. εἶδον (Ps 94:9; 106:24 L'). *Codex Sinaiticus* liest in Ps 94:9 εἶδον, in Ps 106:24 εἶδοσαν. Genauere Auflistung bei Meiser, „Textformen“, 190 f.
- 6 In Ps 50:6/Röm 3:4 sind die Zitate identisch bis auf das zweite Verbum, das in Ps 50:6 als νικήσης, in Röm 3:4 als νικήσεις wiedergegeben wird. Die Lesart νικήσης in Ps 50:6 ist unangefochten; in Röm 3:4 könnte die v.l. νικήσης als Angleichung an den Psalmtext, aber auch als grammatische Korrektur (Konj. nach ὅπως) erklärt werden. In Ps 77:2/Mt 13:35 dürften die Auffüllungen *saeculi* (Ps 77:2 in La<sup>45</sup>)/κόσμου als analoge, aber unabhängig voneinander erfolgende Auffüllungen der Referenz des im Aussagegehalt unvollständig bleibenden ἀρχῆς bzw. καταβολῆς zu interpretieren sein; *sae-*



Verbesserungen<sup>7</sup> oder auch die Einpassung in die vorgestellte Szenerie<sup>8</sup> oder den Kontext des Kommentars,<sup>9</sup> aber auch scheinbare Analogien, da Übersetzungs-Alternativen nicht zur Verfügung stehen.<sup>10</sup> Textgeschichtlich ebenfalls kaum verwertbar ist das Zusammenfließen weit verbreiteter allgemein biblischer Wendungen in einem neutestamentlichen Text, wo schon die Zuordnung möglicher Prätexte unsicher bleiben muss.<sup>11</sup>

Kontroverspunkte der textgeschichtlichen Diskussion sind schnell benannt:

(1) Sind Differenzen in den neutestamentlichen Zitaten gegenüber den Vorlagen auf die Eigeninitiative des neutestamentlichen Autors zurückzuführen, die dann auch auf die Überlieferung der Psalmtexte einwirkt,<sup>12</sup> oder sind sie möglicherweise nur Zeugen einer bereits vorhandenen, anderweitig aber nicht belegten Texttradition?<sup>13</sup> Zwischen den Zentren der alt- und der neutestamentlichen Text-

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*culi* setzt eher αἰῶνος als κόσμου voraus. Die Textdifferenz zwischen Ps 77:2b und Mt 13:35b erklärt Euthymius Zigabenus, *Ev. Matt.*, PG 129, 142C, mit Hinweis auf die Übersetzung des ursprünglich hebräisch verfassten Matthäusevangeliums ins Griechische, Nicephorus Blemmyda, *Ex. Ps.*, PG 142, 1513D, mit dem Anliegen des Matthäus, verdeutlichend zu übersetzen. Athanasius, *Ex. Ps.*, PG 27, 349D, und Theophylakt, *Enarr. Matt.*, PG 123, 288A hatten die Textdifferenz nicht markiert.

- 7 Hierher gehört etwa die Ergänzung des με nach ἐπείρασαν sowie nach ἐδοκίμασαν in Ps 94:9/Hebr 3:9, die Form εἶπον statt εἶπα in Ps 94:10 (Steyn, *Quest.*, 179) oder auch der Ersatz von καὶ αὐτοὶ (B Sa R Ga) durch αὐτοὶ δέ in S' L' A' Hebr 3:10 sowie der Wechsel zwischen εἶπα und dem attischen εἶπον in den Traditionen von Ps 94:10 und Hebr 3:10. Die Wahl von ἔδου statt ἔδην in Apg 2:27 in der Wiedergabe von Ps 15:10 kann sich ebenso gut einem gewissen Klassizismus (Karrer/Schmid, „Quotations“, 174–176) wie dem Einfluss von Ps 15:10 L Z A' verdanken (van der Bergh, „Quotations“, 134). Zum Phänomen der Scheinvarianten insg. vgl. Kauhanen, „Evidence“, 677–690; Meiser, „Quotations“, 281–285.
- 8 Das gilt etwa für die Wendung μετ' ἐμοῦ in Ps 40:10 (Ra 2013–2050) und Joh 13:18 (P66 8 A D K W Γ Δ Θ Ψ f1.13 33 579 700 1241 1424 M lat). Die Rezeption von Ps 40:10 im Neuen Testament wurde wahrgenommen (Olivier, *Diodori Tarsensis*, 251), wohl aufgrund des Verweises in Joh 13:18.
- 9 Olivier, *Diodori Tarsensis*, 174–175, bietet zu Ps 30:6 im Lemma παραθήσομαι, im Kommentar παρατ(θ)εμαι. Das wird der paraphrasierenden Eigenart der Kommentierung geschuldet sein, die zuvor im unmittelbaren Vordersatz ebenfalls ein Präsens bietet.
- 10 In Ps 6:9a lässt sich die lateinische Wiedergabe *iniquitatem* (Dekkers/Fraipont, *Aurelii Augustini*, 1/33; Adriaen, *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori*, 1/77) nicht auf das Eindringen des Lukastextes (Lk 13:27 ἐργάται ἀδικίας) zurückführen, weil sich das im ursprünglichen griechischen Psalter bezeugte ἁνομίαν lateinisch hinsichtlich seiner Etymologie nicht adäquat wiedergeben lässt.
- 11 Das gilt etwa für Apk 15:3–4, wo u. a. Ps 110:2 aufgenommen sein mag, angereichert durch die zusätzliche Wendung καὶ θαυμαστά (*scil. ἔργα*).
- 12 Rahlfs, *Text*, 198; ders., *Septuagintastudien*, 302. Vor einer Überschätzung des neutestamentlichen Einflusses warnt Hanhart, „Das Neue Testament“, 296.
- 13 McLay, *Use*, 105; van der Kooij, „Septuagint“, 216; Steyn, „Comparing“, 217; Kreuzer, „Ort“, 149; ders., „Relevanz“, 137. Die Pluriformität alttestamentlicher Textformen zur Zeit der Entstehung des Neuen Testaments betont auch Harl, „Septante“, 276.

kritik wird das durchaus kontrovers diskutiert.<sup>14</sup> Die Pluralität der Entwicklung des griechischsprachigen alttestamentlichen Textes ist in jüngerer Zeit zunehmend deutlich geworden.<sup>15</sup>

(2) Lassen sich Abweichungen neutestamentlicher Zitate vom Wortlaut der Septuaginta sowie ungleichmäßiges Zitierverhalten neutestamentlicher und früher nachneutestamentlicher Autoren mit der Benutzung einer Testimoniensammlung begründen?<sup>16</sup>

(3) Markiert die größere Nähe zum hebräischen Text den Ausgangspunkt oder den Endpunkt der Textgeschichte des griechischen Alten Testaments?<sup>17</sup>

So empfiehlt es sich, zunächst von unbestreitbaren Beobachtungen auszugehen, bevor dann Thesen präsentiert und beispielhaft einige Stellen mit Diskussionsbedarf vorgeführt werden.

## 1. Beobachtungen

### 1.1 Der Vergleich beider Texttraditionen

Insgesamt zeigt sich:

(1) Variantenbildungen innerhalb der Texttraditionen des Psalters wie des Neuen Testaments schließen nicht immer die jeweils andere Textform ein.<sup>18</sup> Singulärles-

14 Vgl. Karrer/de Vries, „Septuagintatext“, 125, mit Verweis auf Aland/Aland, *Text*, 285; ebenso Metzger/Ehrman, *Text*, 262 f. (Die neutestamentliche textkritische Forschung vertrete gegenläufig die Ansicht, die Septuaginta habe gravierend auf die neutestamentliche Überlieferung eingewirkt); Powery, *Jesus*, 15.

15 Vgl. Barthélemy, *Devanciers*; Kreuzer, „Textformen“, 22 f., mit Verweis auf Julius Wellhausen und Paul de Lagarde.

16 So etwa u. a. Albl, *Scripture, passim*; Skarsaune, *Proof, passim*. Skeptisch sind Rascher, *Schriftauslegung*, 18–21; Steyn, *Quest*, 72. Zwar lassen 4Q174 und Cyprian, *Ad Quirinium*, die Existenz von Testimoniensammlungen auch für das entstehende Christentum als plausibel erscheinen, doch sind uns solche Sammlungen mindestens aus dem später als großkirchlich anerkannten Traditionsstrom nicht mit Namenszuweisung bezeugt. Bei denjenigen Psalmzitaten, die Hebr mit anderen neutestamentlichen Autoren teilt, lassen sich keine gemeinsamen Abweichungen im Sinne von Leitfehlern feststellen, die zur These einer Testimoniensammlung führen müssten.

17 Im ersteren Sinne tendenziell Rahlfs, *Text*, 206; ders., *Septuagintastudien*, 310 (Absage an einen Lukianischen Text vor Lukian); ders., *Text*, 137; ders., *Septuagintastudien*, 241 (Warnung vor dem Missbrauch des Arguments der sekundären Angleichung an den Masoretischen Text); im letzteren Sinne auch Harl, „Septant“, 276; Jenkins, „Reflections“, 222.

18 Das gilt etwa für Ps 40:10/Joh 13:18.

arten des einen Textes sind für die Textgeschichte des anderen Textes nicht selten bedeutungslos.<sup>19</sup> Es gibt aber auch Fälle, wo sich alt- und neutestamentliche Textentwicklung ausweislich des bisher kritisch Edierten generell nicht beeinflusst haben,<sup>20</sup> ohne dass sich auf den ersten Blick hilfreiche Kriterien dafür namhaft machen ließen.

(2) Es gibt Anpassungen in alt-<sup>21</sup> oder neutestamentliche Richtung.<sup>22</sup> Bei synoptischen Parallelperikopen wird gelegentlich eher an den neutestamentlichen Parallel-

- 
- 19 Das gilt etwa für die Wortstellung μου ἡ καρδιά in Apg 2:25 (8\* B, sonst wie zu Ps 15:9: ἡ καρδιά μου), für ἐθέλησας 2<sup>o</sup> in Ps 39:7, bezeugt von der Minuskel Ra 55, für αὐτοῦ nach βασιλείας (Hebr 1:8b P46 8 B) statt σου, für den Sg. πνεῦμα in der Wiedergabe von Hebr 1:7 nach D 326 2464 pc sy<sup>p</sup>, der die Wiedergabe von Ps 103:4 nicht beeinflusst, u. v. a.
- 20 Zu diesen Fällen gehören auch die Kürzung der Zeile καὶ κατέστησας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου aus Ps 8:7a in Hebr 10:7 *fine* sowie die Lesart ἐν δοκιμασίᾳ in Hebr 3:9.
- 21 In Lk 13:27 (D 1424 bo) wurde ἀδικίας durch das Ps 6:9a entsprechende ἀνομίας ersetzt. Im Zitat von Ps 17:50 in Röm 15:9 wird in einigen Hss. (1505 104 33 2<sup>8</sup> ar gue t) der in der Textüberlieferung des Psalms unangefochtene Zusatz κύριε ergänzt. Bei der Rezeption von Ps 30:6 in Lk 23:46 (der Zitatcharakter ist von [Ps.]Origenes, *Sel. Ps.*, PG 12, 1300B; Kyrill von Alexandria, *Ex. Ps.*, PG 69, 860B; Hill, *Theodore of Mopsuestia*, 274; Dekkers/Fraipont, *Aurelii Augustini, En. Ps. s. II*, I/199; Adriaen, *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori*, I/97, 263, explizit benannt worden) ist das Futur παραθήσομαι, nach Rahlfs wohl ursprünglich, auch in Lk 23:46 nachträglich aufgenommen (L Γ Δ Π<sup>3</sup> 565 700 1424 M; Euthymius Zigabenus, *Ev. Ioh.* [sic!], PG 129, 1472CD). In Apg 1:20 erscheint in der späteren Texttradition häufiger der Optativ von Ps 108:8 (Strutwolf, *Apostelgeschichte*, 19). In der Rezeption von Ps 93:11 in 1Kor 3:20 wird gelegentlich (33 630 1506 ar) das kontextbedingte σοφῶν durch ἀνθρώπων ersetzt, als Angleichung an den Psalmtext, der unangefochten ἀνθρώπων bietet. In manchen Hss von 2Kor 9:9 (F G K 0243 6 326 6291241 1739 1881) werden die Worte τοῦ αἰῶνος aus Ps 111:9 nachergänzt, in manchen Handschriften des Hebräerbriefes (2<sup>8</sup> A D Ψ 1739 1881 sy bo<sup>pt</sup>) in Hebr 7:21 die Worte κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισέδεκ aus Ps 109:4, obwohl das Zitat schon zweimal geboten worden war (Hebr 5:6; 7:17). In der Überlieferung zu Hebr 3:10 wird manchmal die neutestamentlich übliche Formel τῇ γενεᾷ ταύτῃ an den Prätext Ps 94:10 angepasst; die dortige Formel τῇ γενεᾷ ἐκείνῃ begegnet im Neuen Testament nirgends. In 1 Pet 3:11 v.l. (8 C<sup>2</sup> P Ψ 5 33 307 436 642 1735 1739 2344 M) wird, in Entsprechung zu Ps 33:15, die Partikel δέ ausgelassen. In der Testtradition von Hebr 1:11 wurde διαμενεῖς mehrfach an die Septuaginta-Vorlage διαμενεῖς (Ps 101:27) angeglichen (D<sup>2</sup> 0243 365 629 pc lat).
- 22 In Ps 21:9b ist statt des ὅτι gelegentlich εἰ bezeugt (Bo U' L<sup>pau</sup>), wie es in Mt 27:43 begegnet; in Ps 30:6 werden Präsenformen des Hauptverbs als Angleichungen an Lk 23:46 interpretiert (Rahlfs, *Psalmi*, 143). In der Texttradition von Ps 67:19 sind mehrfach Parallelen zu Eph 4:8 festzustellen, vgl. die Varianten ἀναβάς (B 2019' 2047), ἡχμαλῶτευσεν (S' Sa La) und ἔδωκεν in Bo Sa La<sup>R(s)</sup> und den Plural ἀνθρώποις (statt des Sg. ἀνθρώπω) in S' Sa R<sup>s</sup>-Aug GaHi L' 55 2047; De Coninck/d'Hont, *Theodori Mopsuesteni*, 248. In Ps 68:10 ist καταφάγεται in B L' (statt κατέφαγεν) Angleichung an Joh 2:17 (so auch Rahlfs, *Psalmi*, 193: „ex Joh 2,17“). In der Textüberlieferung von Ps 94:10 kann sich das gelegentliche διό vor προσώχθισα dem Einfluss von Hebr 3:10 verdanken (Rahlfs, *Psalmi*, 246). In Ps 96:7 ist das im alttestamentlichen Kontext sinnvolle αὐτοῦ (gegenüber dem missverständlichen אלהים im MT wird klargestellt, dass es nur den einen Gott gibt, nämlich den Gott Israels) in L<sup>pau</sup> 55 zu dem nur im neutestamentlichen Kontext von Hebr 1:6 passenden, dort unangefochtenen θεοῦ verändert worden.

text angeglichen, als dass die Septuaginta-Vorlage beibehalten würde.<sup>23</sup> Für das Phänomen der Anpassung von Septuagintatexten an den neutestamentlichen Folgetext sind inhaltliche Kriterien kaum namhaft zu machen.

(3) Umgekehrt sind zentrale neutestamentliche Stellen und Schriften längst nicht immer für die Textgeschichte des Prätextes von Bedeutung.<sup>24</sup> Es gibt Fälle, in denen nicht einmal ein liturgischer möglicher Rezeptionskontext des Folgetextes eine liturgisch nicht rezipierte Wendung des Prätextes zu verdrängen vermag.<sup>25</sup>

(4) Voll-Codices gleichen Prätext und Folgetext manchmal aneinander an<sup>26</sup>, aber nicht immer.<sup>27</sup> Dieses Nebeneinander von Anpassung und Nichtanpassung begegnet

23 Einige Handschriften von Mk 15:34 (u. a. A C N P Γ Δ Θ f<sup>13</sup> 28 33 579 700 732 788 792 1689; vgl. Strutwolf, *Markusevangelium*, 802) bieten, Mt 27:46 folgend, με ἐγκατέλιπες statt (so B 044 0184 124) in Entsprechung zu Ps 21:2 ἐγκατέλιπές με. In der Texttradition zu Mk 15:24 ist eine solche Anpassung hinsichtlich des Verbuns διαμερίζονται hin zu διεμερίσαντο (Mt 27:35, ex Ps 21:19) seltener (Strutwolf, *Markusevangelium*, 790, benennt 238 377 740 792 807 983r 1071 1160 1546 1574 1689). Der Vergleich der Überlieferung von Mk 5:24 und Mk 15:34 hinsichtlich der Anpassungsphänomene an den Matthäustext zeigt ein ebenso uneinheitliches Bild.

24 Das ist zu bemerken bei Ps 6:4 (ἐταράχθη ... σφόδρα)/Joh 12:27 (τετάρρακται), bei Ps 8:7 (ὑποκάτω)/1Kor 15:27; Eph 1:22 (ὑπό), bei Ps 21:23 (διηγῆσομαι)/Hebr 2:12 (ἀπαγγελῶ). Ist ἀπαγγελῶ aus stilistischen Gründen durch den *Auctor ad Hebraeos* eingesetzt (Menken, „Quotations“, 303) oder als Wiedergabe von פָּרַח in Ps 77:4.6 bereits vom *Auctor ad Hebraeos* vorgefunden (McCullough, „Old Testament“, 368)? Das in Lk 13:27 durchgehend bezeugte ἐργάται wirkt nicht auf die Überlieferung von Ps 6:9 ein (dort ἐργαζόμενοι). Auch bei der Aufnahme von Ps 21:9 in Mt 27:43 haben sich die Verbformen ἤλπισεν (Ps 21:9) und πέποιθεν (Mt 27:43), soweit erkennbar, nicht beeinflusst, ebensowenig die Adressatenangaben des Hoffens, κύριον (Ps 21:9) bzw. τὸν θεόν (Mt 27:43). Für das unmarkierte Zitat von Ps 30:6 in Lk 23:46 gilt: Der Zusatz *domine* in La<sup>6</sup> von Ps 30:6 am Anfang hat in der Textüberlieferung von Lk 23:46 keine Parallele, umgekehrt genauso wenig die Anrede πάτερ in der Überlieferung von Ps 30:6 am Ende. Textdifferenzen zwischen Ps 77:24 und Joh 6:31 (Joh 6:31 + ἐκ τοῦ vor οὐρανοῦ) haben die Textgeschichte von Ps 77:24 nicht beeinflusst. Für Ps 109:1 bleibt festzuhalten, dass das in zwei der synoptischen Folgetexte (Mk 12:36; Mt 22:44) häufig bezeugte (aus Ps 8:7 eingedrungene?) ὑποκάτω (statt ὑποπόδιον) nicht in die Überlieferung von Ps 109:1 eingedrungen ist, umgekehrt hier durchaus häufig die Tendenz besteht, ὑποπόδιον aus Ps 109:1 korrigierend einzutragen.

25 Das gilt für Ps 117:25/Mk 11:9: In Mk 11:9 steht ὡσαννά, in Ps 117:25 ὥσον δὴ (so auch bei Ps.-Athanasius, *Ex. Ps.*, PG 27, 480 AB), bei Augustinus (Dekkers/Fraipont, *Aurelii Augustini, En. Ps.*, Ps.-Athanasius III/663) und Cassiodor (Adriaen, *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori*, II/1056), *salvum me fac*. Eine gegenseitige Beeinflussung ist auch nach Hieronymus (Morin, *Hieronymus*, 235) nicht zu erwarten: Er kennt OSIANNA nur aus hebräischen Handschriften.

26 Die Differenz von ἀνομίαν vs. ἀδικίαν in Ps 44:8a/Hebr 1:9a wird im *Codex Vaticanus* zu ἀνομίαν, im *Codex Alexandrinus* zu ἀδικίαν angeglichen (Steyn, „Papyri“, 248–249).

27 Beispiele müssen genügen: In Ps 8:5 bietet der *Codex Alexandrinus* τίς, in Hebr 2:6 τί. In Ps 31:2 bietet der *Codex Alexandrinus* οὐ, in Röm 4:8 ϕ (bei Personen grammatisch korrekt und damit sekundär), in 1 Clem 50:6 wieder οὐ (Für die Lesart ϕ vgl. Ps 31:2 L<sup>v</sup> 1219<sup>v</sup>; Olivier, *Diodori Tar-*

manchmal in ein- und demselben Kontext. Beispiele müssen genügen. In der Wiedergabe von Röm 3 geht der *Codex Vaticanus* zweimal mit den Vorlagen aus Ps 9:28 und Ps 13:1–3 zusammen (Ausfall des Artikels ὁ vor συνίων, gegen Ra 1221; Ausfall des Artikels ὁ vor ποιῶν), weist aber zugleich mehrere Differenzen auf (Ersatz von ἐκζητῶν durch ζητῶν, mit Ra 1221; Ausfall von οὐκ ἔστιν; andere Wortfolge in Röm 3:14). In der Rezeption von Ps 6:9a in Mt 7:23 begegnet statt ἀποχωρεῖτε gelegentlich ἀναχωρεῖτε (Θ f<sup>3</sup>), obwohl in beiden Handschriften(-gruppen) das Psalmzitat identifiziert wurde, wie die Einfügung von πάντες nahelegt. Spätere Korrekturen neutestamentlicher Zitate erfolgen nicht unbedingt durch Vergleich mit dem Psalmtext, sondern anhand von Dritthandschriften der neutestamentlichen Stelle.<sup>28</sup> Auch eine Zitatmarkierung mit einer *Diple* führt nicht notwendig zu einer Anpassung.<sup>29</sup>

(5) Gerade bei nichtmarkierten Zitaten wurde in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung des Neuen Testaments gelegentlich aus dem Prätext nachergänzt, was bedeutet, dass der Zitatcharakter wahrgenommen wurde.<sup>30</sup> Es gibt Fälle, in denen die vollständige Darbietung des Prätextes wichtiger ist als dessen verkürzende Rezeption im Folgetext, die aus heutiger Sicht der Vermeidung eines sperrigen Gedankens geschuldet ist. Dazu nur ein Beispiel: Im Hauptstrom der Überlieferung von Hebr 2:7 ist am Versende aus Ps 8:7 die dort unangefochtene Zeile καὶ κατέστησας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου ausgelassen. Was heutigen Exegeten als bewusste Auslassung gilt<sup>31</sup>, hatte für nicht wenige antike Abschreiber

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*sensis*, 182). Zu Ps 44:8a bietet der *Codex Sinaiticus* ἀνομίαν, zu Hebr 1:9a ἀδικίαν. In Ps 39:7 bietet derselbe *Codex* den Sg. ὀλοκαύτωμα, in Hebr 10:6 den Pl. ὀλοκαντώματα. Zu Ps 109:4 differieren die Fassungen im *Codex Sinaiticus*: εἰ wird in der Wiedergabe von Ps 109:4 geboten, in der Wiedergabe von Hebr 5:6; 7:17.21 hingegen nicht. Zu bemerken ist auch, dass der *Codex Vaticanus* zwischen καὶ αὐτοὶ (Ps 94:10) und αὐτοὶ δέ (Hebr 3:10) nicht ausgleicht.

28 Karrer/de Vries, „Septuagintatext“, 134.

29 Sigismund, „Diple“, 151.

30 In Mt 16:27 rechtfertigt die Kombination von ἀποδιδόναι ἐκάστῳ und der Wendung κατὰ [...] αὐτοῦ die Annahme einer Anspielung auf Ps 61:13; dass die Worte τὴν πρᾶξιν im Matthäustext in den Hss. N\* f<sup>1</sup> 1424 it sowie bei Hieronymus, *In Mt.*, SC 259, 26, durch τὰ ἔργα/opera ersetzt wurden, zeigt, dass mindestens einige diese Anspielung durchaus wahrgenommen haben. In 1Pt 3:12 zeigt der Zusatz τοῦ ἐξολεθρεῦσαι (αὐτοῦς) ἐκ γῆς (aus Ps 33:17) in den Hss. 1448 1611 sy<sup>h</sup>, dass der Zitatcharakter erkannt werden konnte. In Apk 15:4 zeigt die Ergänzung κύριε u. a. a. im *Codex Alexandrinus*, dass die Aufnahme von Ps 85:9a wahrgenommen wurde (de Vries, „Ps<sup>MT</sup> 86/Ps<sup>LXX</sup> 85“, 420). – Natürlich gibt es Gegenbeispiele. Eine solche Nachergänzung ist im Fall von πρόσχες μοι (Ps 21:2) unterblieben; in der Handschriftentradition von Mk 15:34 par. Mt 27:46 begegnet es nirgends.

31 U. a. Schröger, *Verfasser*, 82; de Wet, „Interpretation“, 115 f. Der Sohn ist selbst Schöpfer (Hebr 1:2.10; 2:10), nicht nur Herr über die Schöpfung.

des Hebräerbriefes kaum Bedeutung: Sie ergänzten diese Zeile<sup>32</sup>, wohl in der Absicht, dem *Auctor ad Hebraeos* die komplette Zitation des Textes zu attestieren.<sup>33</sup> Umgekehrt werden Auslassungen im neutestamentlichen Folgetext in der Handschriftenüberlieferung des Prätextes längst nicht immer mitvollzogen.

(6) Vielfach fließen auch in späterer Kirchenvätertradition die Präsentationen und Kommentierungen der Texte nicht ineinander.<sup>34</sup> Da, wo sich neuzeitliche Exegese über die Herkunft eines unmarkierten Zitates unsicher ist, trifft dies manchmal auch für die patristische Exegese zu.<sup>35</sup>

(7) Eine gewiss unvollständige Aufzählung derjenigen Psalterhandschriften, die gerne NT-Text bieten, zeigt, dass dieses Phänomen vermutlich in allen Texttypen vorkommt: *Codex Alexandrinus* mit Ra 55, Ra 2013 aus Oberägypten, Ra U aus Unterägypten, sowie die fragmentarischen Handschriften Ra 1221 und Ra 2047 sind hier zu nennen.

## 1.2 Abschreiber, Kommentatoren und die Wahrnehmung von Textdifferenzen

Jenseits der Überprüfungen bisheriger Handschriftenkollationen gilt es, materielle und immaterielle Produktionsbedingungen der Handschriftenherstellung im Auge zu haben.<sup>36</sup> Meinerseits müssen einige Streiflichter auf das genügen, was man als immaterielle Produktionsbedingungen bezeichnen kann.

32 **8** A C D' P Y 0121b, 0243, 0278, 6, 33, 81, 104, 181, 330, 365, 629, 1505, 1739, 1881, 2464, *al* lat  
(sy<sup>ph''</sup>) co arm aeth.

33 Steyn, „Papyri”, 253.

34 Das gilt etwa für die Rezeption von Ps 21:23 in Hebr 2:12, wo bei Theodoret die Unterscheidung zwischen beiden Texten konsequent durchgehalten wird (Theodoret, *Int. Ps.*, PG 80, 1020 B; ders., *Int. Heb.*, PG 82, 694C). Die Lesart ἐξομολογήσονται in dem freien Zitat in Barn 6.16 ist ebenfalls ohne jeden Einfluss. Zu Ps 101:27 bietet Theodoret, *Int. Ps.*, PG 80, 1684A, ἀλλ' ἄξεις, zu Hebr 1:12 ders., *Int. Heb.*, PG 82, 688C ἐλῆξεις, jeweils im Lemma. Zu Ps 103:4 und Hebr 1:7 findet sich bei Theodoret, *Int. Ps.*, PG 80, 1696D, im Lemma πῦρ φλέγον, bei Theodoret, *Int. Heb.*, PG 82, 685C im Lemma πυρὸς φλόγα, wie bei Symmachus, bei Theodor von Mopsuestia (De Coninck/d'Hont, *Theodori Mopsuesteni*, 334) *ignem furentem*.

35 Ob in Hebr 10:30b ein Zitat von Ps 35:14 oder (aufgrund des Zitates von Dtn 32:25a in Hebr 10:30a) ein Zitat von Dtn 32:36 vorliegt, ist schwer zu sagen. Bei Johannes Chrysostomus, *Hom. Heb.* 20,2, PG 63, 145; Theodoret, *Int. Heb.*, PG 82, 753D, finden sich keine Angaben. Bei Theophylakt, *Comm. Heb.*, PG 125, 336B, lässt die Formulierung Εἴτε γὰρ δια τοῦ προφήτου an ein Psalmzitat denken, obwohl auch Mose als Prophet gilt.

36 Zu kodikologischen Fragen vgl. etwa Wallraff, *Kodex*; Dirkse/Andrist/Wallraff, „Visualization“.

(1) Biblische Texte wurden weitaus sorgfältiger kopiert als legendarische Texte aus der parabiblischen jüdisch-christlichen Überlieferung.<sup>37</sup> Neuzeitlich vermutete unmarkierte Zitate oder Anspielungen sind, wie eine Durchsicht patristischer Psalmenkommentare zeigt, nicht selten auch früher schon als solche explizit benannt worden; nur vereinzelt gibt es Ausnahmen.<sup>38</sup> Wichtig ist hier, dass es um die explizite Benennung geht; ein Schweigen patristischer Kommentatoren<sup>39</sup> ist insofern nicht dezisiv, als ein patristischer Kommentar anders als heute üblich Selbstverständliches und Offensichtliches nicht erklären musste.<sup>40</sup>

(2) Lehrreich sind Fälle, in denen Phänomene der Anpassung und der Nicht-Anpassung im selben Kontext begegnen. Dafür nur einige Beispiele. In Ps 13:2 begegnet οὐκ ἔστιν nur einmal, in Röm 3:11 zweimal, als Ersatz des ἦ, das im Masoretischen Text kein Äquivalent hat.<sup>41</sup> Dass die Septuaginta-Handschrift Ra 1221 zu Ps 13:2 mit Röm 3:11 den Artikel vor συνιών liest, vor ἐκζητῶν jedoch gegen Röm 3:11 nicht das zweite οὐκ ἔστιν, aber auch nicht die im Hauptstrom der Septuaginta-Überlieferung bezeugte Partikel ἦ, sondern καί bietet, zeigt m. E., dass es mit einer bloßen Auflistung von Anpassung und Nicht-Anpassung nicht getan ist. In Ps 21:9b ist statt des ὅτι gelegentlich εἰ bezeugt (Bo U<sup>L<sup>pau</sup>), wie es in Mt 27:43 begegnet. Andererseits wurde nicht ausgeglichen, dass in Ps 21:9 zwei Verben der Rettung stehen, in Mt 27:43 nur eins.<sup>42</sup> Den Ersatz des ὅτι durch εἰ konnte man offenbar verkraften, die Tilgung eines der beiden Verben jedoch nicht. Für die Rezeption von Ps 68:26 in Apg 1:20 gilt, dass in der Tradition von Apg 1:20 der Sg. αὐτοῦ, der auf die Anpassung an den Fall des Judas Iskariot zurückzuführen</sup>

37 Dochhorn, *Apokalypse*, 78; ders. „Überlegungen“, 14–15. Evangelien und Paulusbriefe bieten einen weniger uneinheitlichen Textbestand als Schriften, die erst spät zu kanonischem Ansehen gelangt sind; vgl. Aland/Aland, *Text*, 58–59.

38 Zu Ps 33:21, was nach NA<sup>28</sup> als Prätext für Joh 19:36 gilt, wird bei Augustinus (Dekkers/Fraipont, *Aurelii Augustini, En. Ps.* 39, s. 2, 24, I/297 f.), der Bezug zu Joh 19:32–34 hergestellt, nicht zu Joh 19:36.

39 Von Ps 41:6 wird nicht immer zwingend auf die Gethsemaneperikope verwiesen; ein solcher Verweis fehlt etwa bei Eusebius von Caesarea, *Comm. Ps.*, PG 23, 372C–373A; Theodor von Mopsuestia (Hill, *Theodore of Mopsuestia*, 526); Augustinus (Dekkers/Fraipont, *Aurelii Augustini, En. Ps.*, I/468); Cassiodor (Adriaen, *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori*, I/382).

40 In einem Kyrill von Alexandria, *Ex. Ps.*, PG 69, 812C zugeschriebenen Fragment zur Auslegung von Ps 15:8–11 wird die gedankliche Nähe von Ps 15:8 zu Joh 16:32b vermerkt, nicht die Rezeption des Psalmtextes in Apg 2.

41 Das unkoordinierte Nebeneinander zweier Partizipien im hebr. Text hat verschiedene Versuche der stilistischen Verbesserung erfahren: ἦ (der Hauptstrom der Septuaginta-Überlieferung), καί (Ra U-1221), οὐκ ἔστιν (Röm 3:11). Die sahidische Überlieferung setzt teilweise καί, teilweise eine Leerstelle voraus.

42 Zwar liegt kein markiertes Zitat vor, doch haben Cassiodor (Adriaen, *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori*, I/194); Nicephorus Blemmyda, *Ex. Ps.*, PG 142, 1422B, den Zitatcharakter explizit benannt.

ist, öfters hin zum Plural αὐτῶν korrigiert wird<sup>43</sup>, dass aber die Differenz zwischen ἡρημωμένη (Ps 68:26) und ἔρημος (Apg 1:20) nur in zwei *Acta*-Handschriften eingeebnet wird, nämlich in GA 81 (ἐρημωμένη), GA 1243 (ἡρημωμένη). Der kontextuell näherliegende Sg. hat einige Abschreiber offenbar mehr gestört als die Wortform ἔρημος, die vermutlich als semantisches Äquivalent zu ἡρημωμένη gegolten hat. Von Anpassungstendenzen bleiben m. E. vor allem geänderte Wortstellungen ausgenommen.<sup>44</sup> Dieses Nebeneinander von Anpassung und Nicht-Anpassung begegnet übrigens schon im Neuen Testament selbst: In Mt 27:35 ist gegenüber der Markusvorlage nur das Tempus des ersten Verbuns hin auf Ps 21:19 geändert, im zweiten Teil hingegen die verkürzende Paraphrase beibehalten.

(3) Differenzen zwischen dem Septuagintatext und dem neutestamentlichen Zitat wurden gelegentlich von antiken antichristlichen Kritikern missbilligend vermerkt.<sup>45</sup> Ob die wenigen hier zu nennenden Zeugnisse vermehrt werden könnten, ist schwer zu sagen, weil uns der weitaus größte Teil der christlichen Repliken vor allem gegen Porphyrius nicht mehr erhalten ist.

Christliche Autoren waren davon überzeugt, dass der neutestamentliche Autor ungeachtet der Differenzen in der Formulierung den Sinn des alttestamentlichen Textes richtig verstanden habe<sup>46</sup>, wie auch Differenzen zwischen Septuaginta und hebräischem Text längst nicht immer als ausschlaggebend empfunden wurden.<sup>47</sup> Manche Differenzen sind insofern belanglos, als auch der Prätext eine christologische Auslegung eigenen Rechts ermöglicht.<sup>48</sup> Manchmal werden Differenzen benannt, ohne dass man sich daran stört;<sup>49</sup> manchmal wird eine von der neutesta-

43 61\* 69\* 81 180\* 326 630 1243 1751 1837 2495 pc d\*t.

44 Das gilt etwa für Ps 9:28 LXX (10:7 MT)/Röm 3:14 sowie Ps 116:1a/Röm 15:11a.

45 Vgl. Hieronymus (Hilberg, *Hieronymi, Ep.* 57.7.1–9, CSEL 54, 512–516); Hieronymus, *In Is.* III 11,1, CC.SL 73, 121.

46 Vgl. Eusebius von Caesarea, *In Is.* 41, GCS 57, 330; Hieronymus (Adriaen, *Hieronymi, Comm. in Prophetas*, In Am, I/297); Bonnard, *Commentaire*, II/276.

47 Die Interpretation von Hos 11:3 führt Hieronymus folgendermaßen durch: *Temptemus igitur iuxta Hebraeos historiam, iuxta LXX ἀναγωγὴν texere* (Adriaen, *Hieronymi, Comm. in Prophetas*, In Os III, 11,3, I/122).

48 Das gilt für eine Eusebius von Caesarea wie Athanasius wie Kyrill von Alexandria zugeschriebene (Eusebius von Caesarea, *Comm. Ps.* PG 23, 704A; Ps.-Athanasius, *Ex. Ps.*, PG 27, 297C; Kyrill von Alexandria, *Ex. Ps.*, PG 69, 1152D) Auslegung von Ps 67:19, in der die Wendung ἔλαβες δόματα ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ auf das Zum-Glauben-Kommen der Nichtchristen bezogen wird, das der Sohn gemäß seiner Bitte Ps 2:8 vom Vater erhalten habe.

49 Die Auslassung von *respice me* (Ps 21:2) in der Passionsgeschichte wurde zumindest von den Briefpartnern des Hieronymus nicht wirklich als störend empfunden (Hilberg, *Hieronymi Ep.* 57,10, CSEL 54, 522). In einer der Psalmenketenen ist von Kyrill von Alexandria eine Äußerung zu Ps 30:6 wiedergegeben, dessen Lemma im Futur zitiert wird: Christus habe am Kreuz diese Worte unter



mentlichen Rezeption her naheliegende Sinnlinie nicht aufgenommen.<sup>50</sup> Ambrosiaster bemerkt in seinem Epheserkommentar zu Eph 4:8 lediglich: *hoc scriptum est in psalmo sexagesimo septimo*, ohne auf die Differenzen einzugehen; Beda Venerabilis bemerkt zu der Differenz zwischen Mt 26:31 und Sach 13:7 lediglich: *Hoc aliis verbis in Zacharia propheta scriptum est*.<sup>51</sup> Hieronymus benennt Ps 96:7 als Prätext für Hebr 1:6, ohne auf die Differenz zwischen αὐτοῦ (Ps 96:7) und θεοῦ (Hebr 1:6) sowie auf die Differenz zwischen den ἄγγελοι der Septuaginta und den אלהים des hebräischen Textes aufmerksam zu machen.<sup>52</sup> Das bei solchem hermeneutischen Globalpreisangebot viele Kirchenvätertexte für unsere Fragestellung nicht recht ergiebig sind, dürfte einleuchten, was sich m. E. auch auf die Beurteilung des Verhaltens der Abschreiber auswirken muss.<sup>53</sup> Anders ist es nur, und zwar nicht nur bei Jes 7:14, wenn eine der bekannten Lesarten dogmatisch unerwünschte Aussagen generieren würde (dazu s. u. mit Anm. 58).

Agobardus von Lyon<sup>54</sup> hat in einem 816–840 geschriebenen Text an einem *Responsorium*<sup>55</sup> unter anderem die Wiedergabe des Kreuzesrufes Jesu mit den Worten *Deus Deus* statt *Deus meus*, *Deus meus* kritisiert: Sie verdünne das Gewicht dessen, was Jesus sagen wollte, außerdem sei das bloße *Deus Deus* weder in den Evangelien noch in den Psalmtexten zu finden.<sup>56</sup> Die Bedenken des Agobardus lassen sich

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Benutzung des Präsens gesprochen (Kyrill von Alexandria, *Ex. Ps.*, PG 69, 860AB). Theodor von Mopsuestia (Hill, *Theodore of Mopsuestia*, 274), diskutiert die Interpretation, aber nicht die Textdifferenz (im Lemma in De Coninck/d'Hont, *Theodori Mopsuesteni*, 135 ist *commendo* wiedergegeben, wie es La entspricht).

50 Cassiodor (Adriaen, *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori*, I/141), interpretiert Ps 15:8–11, dem *Psalterium Romanum* folgend, trotz seiner Rezeption in Apg 2 nicht als Vorverweis auf die Auferweckung Jesu – wohl deshalb, weil diese ja genügend anderweitig vorausgesagt ist.

51 Vogels, *Ambrosiasteri*, In *Ep.*, ad Eph., 97; Beda Venerabilis, *Ex. Matt.*, PL 92, 114AB.

52 Morin, *Hieronymus*, *Comm. Ps.*, 226.

53 Vahrenhorst, „Text“, 274f., postuliert, dass Abschreiber der Septuaginta, wenn sie Änderungen des neutestamentlichen Folgetextes übernahmen, sich dessen bewusst waren, dass der neutestamentliche Autor nicht im strengen Sinne aus der Heiligen Schrift zitiert habe. Diese Annahme ist denkbar, könnte jedoch zu weit gefasst sein. Es kann sein, dass schlichtweg die Treue zum alttestamentlichen Text trotz seiner möglichen Abweichungen vom neutestamentlichen Folgetext für die Abschreiber leitend ist. Skepsis muss hier streng Skepsis bleiben und darf nicht zu negativem oder positivem Dogmatismus umschlagen; gerade hier ist ein *argumentum e silentio* nach jeder Richtung hin zu vermeiden.

54 Van Acker, *Agobardi*, De antiphonario 8.

55 Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii IV*, Nr. 7760.

56 In der Tat: Mt 27:46 liest durchgehend θεέ μου, θεέ μου (so auch die Lemmata bei Hieronymus, [Bonnard, *Commentaire sur S. Matt.*, II/296]; Rabanus Maurus, *Comm. Matt.*, PL 107, 1141A). Mk 15:34 bietet zumeist ὁ θεός μου, ὁ θεός μου, nicht selten (vgl. Strutwolf, *Markusevangelium*, 296] aber auch ὁ θεός, ὁ θεός μου (dabei ist wohl eine Korrektur des neutestamentlichen Textes nach dem alttestamentlichen erfolgt. Umgekehrt tritt in den Septuaginta-Handschriften das genannte Attribut zum ersten Beleg für θεός nirgends auf). Auch die Septuagintavorlage wird in den

auf dem Hintergrund einer Bemerkung des Hieronymus besser verstehen. Dieser bezeichnet in seinem Matthäuskommentar die Lesart *Deus meus, Deus meus* als hebräische Lesart und bemerkt dann: *Ergo impii sunt qui psalmum ex persona David, siue Hester et Mardochei dictum putant.*<sup>57</sup> Das Attribut *meus* bezeichnet, so Hieronymus und wohl auch Agobardus, nicht die allgemeine Beziehung des Gläubigen zu Gott, sondern die spezielle Beziehung des Beters Jesus Christus zu seinem Vater; die Lesart *Deus Deus* hingegen gefährdet, so müssen wir Hieronymus verstehen, die christologische Interpretation des Psalms und macht ihn unbrauchbar für die Abgrenzung von den nicht an Jesus glaubenden Juden.

Bisweilen macht sich ein etwas deutlicher geschärftes Bewusstsein der Textdifferenzen auch an dogmatisch weniger bedeutsamen Stellen bemerkbar, wie bei christlichen Autoren auch die Rezensionen von Aquila, Symmachus und Theodotion bekannt waren und trotz der mit Jes 7:14 einhergehenden Probleme durchaus auch wertgeschätzt wurden.<sup>58</sup> Einige Handschriften von Ps 13 bieten bekanntlich einen Text, der durch Röm 3:13–18 beeinflusst scheint<sup>59</sup>, vielleicht bedingt durch das Zitat von Ps 13:3 in Röm 3:12 (πάντες ἐξέκλιναν ἅμα ἠχρεώθησαν· οὐκ ἔστιν [ὁ<sup>60</sup>] ποιῶν χρηστότητα). Hieronymus und Beda Venerabilis kritisieren diese Fassung; die Abschreiber hätten den Charakter von Röm 3:10–18 als eines Mischzitates nicht erkannt.<sup>61</sup> Sind diese Handschriften durch Röm 3 beeinflusst<sup>62</sup> oder hat Pau-

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patristischen Kommentaren nie ohne wenigstens ein Personalpronomen der 1. Sg. wiedergegeben; vgl. Eusebius von Caesarea, *Comm. Ps.*, PG 23, 204A; Olivier, *Diodori Tarsensis*, 127; Theodoret von Kyros, *Int. Ps.*, PG 80, 1009A; Zingerle, *Hilarii*, Ps. 68,2, CSEL 22, 314; Morin, *Hieronymus, Comm. Psal.*, 198; Hilberg, *Hieronymi, Ep.* 57,10, CSEL 54, 522; Adriaen, *Ambrosii*, Luc. X 127, CC.SL 14, 381; Dekkers/Fraipont, *Aurelii Augustini*, I/123, im Lemma.

57 Bonnard, *Commentaire sur S. Matt.*, II/296.

58 Beispiele bei Meiser, „David“, 313–314.

59 Ra B<sup>7</sup>-2019 U<sup>7</sup>-1221 R<sup>7</sup> Sy 1219. Auffallen muss, dass der Variantenreichtum innerhalb dieses Abschnittes geringer ist als innerhalb von Ps 13:1–3a insgesamt.

60 Einige Psalmenhandschriften bieten den Artikel (Ra S-2019 U-1221), einige Handschriften von Röm 3:12 lassen ihn aus (A B G Ψ, 33. 1739. 1881).

61 Adriaen, *Hieronymi, Comm. in Es.*, 16. prol., II/641 f.; Laistner/Hurst, *Beda Venerabilis, Expos. Act.*, 13 (mit Verweis auf einen analogen Fall in der unkorrekten Behandlung einer Zitatenkombination durch einen unerfahrenen Schreiber von Ps 108:8, der versehentlich die Worte aus Ps 68[69]:26 aufgrund von Apg 1:20 eingetragen hat. Das lässt sich tatsächlich zeigen, vgl. *Cod. Parisinus lat.* 11947). In dem bei Kyrill von Alexandria, *Ex. Ps.*, PG 69, 801D, abgedruckten Katenenfragment findet sich ebenfalls die Bemerkung zu Ps 13:3, dass Diodor, Theodor, Kyrill und Didymus die Erweiterung von Psalm 13 lesen, dass sie sich aber in der Hexapla nicht finde. Für Diodor (Olivier, *Diodori Tarsensis*, 74–75); Theodor von Mopsuestia (Hill, *Theodore of Mopsuestia*, 160–162) trifft das zu – übrigens ohne, dass auf Röm 3 verwiesen wird. Zu Beispielen für das Bewusstsein für Textdifferenzen außerhalb des Psalters vgl. u. a. Meiser, „Relevanz“, 296–297, zu Am 5:27.

62 Rahlfs, *Psalmi*, 31. Im sog. Antiochenischen Text und im *Codex Alexandrinus* ist der Zusatz sekundär getilgt (vgl. Koch, *Schrift*, 56).

lus teil an einer Tradition, die den genannten Zusatz schon enthielt<sup>63</sup> Origenes hat den Charakter von Röm 3:10–18 als eines Mischzitates wahrgenommen;<sup>64</sup> er vermerkt die Herkunft der einzelnen Elemente von Röm 3:11–18 aus Ps 13; Ps 5; Ps 9 etc. und kennt offenbar die längere Version von Ps 13:3 noch nicht.<sup>65</sup>

## 2. Thesen

Diese Beobachtungen führen mich zu folgenden Thesen:

(1) Dass neutestamentliche Lesarten die Überlieferung des alttestamentlichen Textes beeinflusst haben, heißt nicht automatisch, dass der Verfasser des neutestamentlichen Textes als ihr Urheber zu betrachten ist. Auch da, wo eine neutestamentliche Lesart später die Textgeschichte der Psalmen beeinflusst hat, kann sie sich einer ansonsten nicht bezeugten Tradition verdanken. Das gilt vor allem dann, wenn sich kein für die patristische Theologie relevantes Interesse des zitierenden neutestamentlichen Autors plausibel machen lässt.

(2) Vorneutestamentliche, aber mit dem Neuen Testament übereinstimmende Textfassungen in einzelnen Septuagintahandschriften lassen sich dann am ehesten plausibilisieren, wenn diese Handschriften in überwiegenden Fällen nicht zur Korrektur des Septuagintatextes nach dem neutestamentlichen Text neigen und wenn sich wiederum kein für die patristische Theologie relevantes Interesse des zitierenden neutestamentlichen Autors plausibel machen lässt.

(3) Vorneutestamentliche, aber mit dem Neuen Testament übereinstimmende Textfassungen in einzelnen Septuagintahandschriften lassen sich auch im Fall mechanischer Verschreibung plausibilisieren. So sind für das vielverhandelte Problem *ὥτι*

63 Cf. Karrer/Sigismund/Schmid, „Beobachtungen“, 143–156; Kreuzer, „Bedeutung“, 35, der darauf verweist, dass der Antiochenische Text ansonsten kaum zu derart umfangreichen Kürzungen neigt.

64 Ähnlich dann Johannes Chrysostomus, *Hom. Rom.* 7,1, PG 60, 441; Theophylakt, *Comm. Rom.*, PG 124, 384B, die auf David und Jesaja als Urheber der Worte des Apostels verweisen. Theodoret, *Int. Ps.*, PG 80, 592A stimmt mit *L* darin überein, dass er die Erweiterung nicht bietet (ebenso Nicephorus Blemmyda, *Ex. Ps.*, PG 142, 1381D). Theodoret, *Comm. Rom.*, PG 82, 81A–B verbleibt bei der ungenauen Aussage, Paulus habe in Röm 3,10–18 „das davidische Zeugnis“ zur Bekräftigung seiner Aussage herangezogen, während Paulus andernorts „alle Propheten“ für die Anklage gegen die Juden aufbiete. Hieronymus (Morin, *Hieronymus, Comm. in Ps.*, 193) vermerkt, dass sich der Zusatz im hebräischen Text von Ps 13 nicht findet; Paulus habe das Zitat aus dem Deuteronomium, den Psalmen und anderen biblischen Schriften zusammengezogen.

65 Heither, *Origenes, Comm. Rom.* 3,2, FC 2/2, 56.

(Ps 39:7, = אָזְנוֹי) versus σῶμα (Hebr 10:5)<sup>66</sup> Thesen einer innergriechischen Beschreibung von ΘΕΛΗΣΑΣΩΤΙΑ bzw. ΘΕΛΗΣΑΣΩΤΑ zu ΗΤΕΛΗΣΑΣΣΩΜΑ geltend gemacht worden.<sup>67</sup>

(4) Die christologisch bessere Verwertbarkeit einer neutestamentlichen Textvariante steigert nicht zwingend deren Einfluss auf die Textgeschichte des Psalmtextes, wie sich anhand von Ps 8:5;<sup>68</sup> 21:23;<sup>69</sup> 39:7<sup>70</sup> zeigen lässt. Wenn das gesamte Alte Testament christologisch und nicht selten leider auch antijüdisch ausgelegt wird, kann man auf einzelne Lesarten, die diese Auslegungen zusätzlich stützen könnten, durchaus verzichten. Hermeneutik ist etwas anderes als Textgeschichte.

66 Rahlfs, *Psalmi*, 143. Er konnte Ra 2110 in seiner Edition noch nicht berücksichtigen. Vgl. des Weiteren einerseits Jobes, „Function“; Amphoux/Dorival, „Oreilles“; Baucom, *Ra 2110*, 95, die sich für ursprüngliches ὦτα entscheiden, und andererseits Rüsen-Weinhold, *Septuagintapsalter*, 201–205; Gheorghita, *Role*, 48 sowie Karrer, „LXX Ps 39:7–10“, 143, die für ursprüngliches σῶμα optieren.

67 So u. a. Ahlborn, *Septuagintavorlage*, 122; Schröger, *Verfasser*, 174; Grässer, *Hebräer*, II/216; Kraus, „Rezeption“, 120; Brucker, „Septuaginta-Psalter“, 579–580. Die Gegenthese wird u. a. von Rüsen-Weinhold, *Septuagintapsalter*, 201–205 vertreten: σῶμα ist die ursprüngliche Lesart. – Eine alternative Überlegung sei zur Diskussion gestellt: Setzt σῶμα צָרַע (so die Wiedergabe in Hi 3:17; 6:4) anstelle von אָזְנוֹי voraus?

68 Das hohe Alter der neutrischen Lesart wird durch 5/6HēvPsalms bestätigt (vgl. Steyn, „Papyri“, 250–251). Auch sie ermöglicht problemlos die Bemerkung, Paulus habe den Vers auf Christus bezogen, vgl. Ps.-Athanasius, *Ex. Ps.*, PG 27, 81C, und sogar Diodor (Olivier, *Diodori Tarsensis*, 47). Einzig Johannes Chrysostomus, *Ex. Ps.*, PG 55, 116, kommt auf die Textdifferenz zu sprechen.

69 Johannes Chrysostomus, *Hom. Heb.* 2,3 f., PG 63, 41–42. und Theodoret werten auch das Verbum ἀπαγγεῶ nicht aus, um Christi Wirken näher zu charakterisieren, anders, als es aus neuzeitlicher Sicht nahezuliegen scheint (Schröger, *Verfasser*, 88 mit Anm. 1). Cassiodor (Adriaen, *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori*, I/203), vermerkt nur *narrabo enim dicit, id est narrare facio* (gemeint: durch die Apostel). *Narrabo* setzt διηγήσομαι voraus; auf die Variante ἀπαγγεῶ kommt Cassiodor nicht zu sprechen. Für ἄγγελος als Bezeichnung Christi verweist Lampe, *Lexicon*, 10, auf Justin, *Dial.* 56,4; Origenes, *Cels.* VII,25 sowie auf die Rezeptionsgeschichte von Jes 9:6 (ἄγγελος τῆς μεγάλης βουλῆς).

70 Die v.l. σῶμα wird auch in manchen patristischen Kommentaren zu Ps 39:7 geboten (Ps.-Athanasius, *Ex. Ps.*, PG 27, 192C–D, in Lemma und Kommentar; Theodoret, *Int. Ps.*, PG 80, 1156B, im Lemma; Augustinus [Dekkers/Fraipont, *Aurelii Augustini*, I/435–436], sowie Cassiodor [Adriaen, *Magni Aurelii Cassiodori*, I/366], in Lemma und Kommentar); andere bieten ὦτα bzw. ὠτα (Diodor [Olivier, *Diodori Tarsensis*, 242]; er interpretiert ὠτα als ὑπακοή und rechtfertigt damit den christlichen Verzicht auf reelle Opfer. Er verweist auf die Aufnahme der Stelle durch Paulus, aber nicht auf die Textdifferenz). Theodor von Mopsuestia (De Coninck/d'Hont, *Theodori Mopsuesteni*, epit. [lat.], 85), hält die Lesart σῶμα in Hebr 10:5 für einen vom Apostel gesetzten Verweis auf die Inkarnation (ähnlich heute Grelot, „Texte“, 213), während der ursprüngliche Psalmtext ὦτα enthält. Theophylakt, *Comm. Heb.*, PG 125, 321BC, verweist auf den Zitatcharakter von Hebr 10:5, ohne die Textdifferenz zu benennen.

(5) Schwierig wird es dann, wenn man mit Rahlfs zu Ps 44:8a/Hebr 1:9a kommentieren muss: *eadem lectionis uarietas*.<sup>71</sup> Auch zu dieser Stelle hat es wohl beides nebeneinander gegeben: Abschreiber der Septuaginta, die den Text hin zum Neuen Testament korrigiert haben, und Abschreiber des neutestamentlichen Textes, die den Text in Richtung Septuaginta verbessert haben.<sup>72</sup> Dass die Frage der ursprünglichen Lesart nochmals eine andere Frage ist, sollte deutlich sein.<sup>73</sup>

(6) Ebenso schwierig scheint es mir, wenn man mit Quereinfluss ähnlicher Texte<sup>74</sup> oder allgemeinen, ähnlich klingenden Formeln rechnen muss.

### 3. Diskussionsbedarf

Diskussionsbedarf und Diskussionsmöglichkeiten sehe ich u. a. in Folgendem:

(1) Wenn die Texttradition einer Psalmstelle gespalten ist und die neutestamentliche Textform, die obendrein in einem Teil der Textüberlieferung der Psalmstelle zu finden ist, sich auch dem Quereinfluss einer anderen Bibelstelle verdanken kann, ist es m. E. fraglich, nach welchen Kriterien man entscheiden kann, ob die neutestamentliche oder die andere alttestamentliche Stelle den Ausschlag für die v.l. der Psalmstelle gibt. Zu dem Problem *ὀλοκαύτωμα* (Ps 39:7 Rahlfs) versus *ὀλοκαυτώματα* (Ps 39:7 v.l.; Hebr 10:6) wäre<sup>75</sup> der Hinweis auf den Plural in 1Reg 15:22 zu ergänzen, was seinerseits einen Einfluss auf Hebr 10:6 ausgeübt haben mag. In Ps 5:10 Sa gilt *ὁς ἀσπίδων ὑπὸ τὰ χεῖλη αὐτῶν* in der Göttinger Ausgabe als durch Röm 13:3; Ps 13:3 veranlasst; zu Röm 3:13c wird in NA<sup>28</sup> auf Ps 139(140):4 LXX verwiesen, wo dieselbe Wendung begegnet. Hat Ps 139(140):4

71 Rahlfs, *Psalmi*, 153. So könnte man auch das Nebeneinander von *ῥῆγν* und *ῥῆου* in den Texttraditionen von Ps 15:10/Agg 2:27a, die Lesarten mit und ohne *εἶ* in Ps 109:4/ Hebr 5:6, mit und ohne *καί* in Ps 117:6/Hebr 13:6 u. v. a. kommentieren.

72 Steyn, „Comparing“, 223, zu *ἀλλάξεις* (Ps 101:27)/*ἐλίξεις* (Hebr 1:12), ebenso Grässer, *Hebräer*, I/88; Karrer, *Hebräer* I/143; anders Weiss, *Hebräer*, 167.

73 Vom Sprachgebrauch des Septuagintalters her lässt sich keine Entscheidung fällen: *ἀνομία* steht für *עוון* nur noch in Ps 5:4, *ἀδικία* ansonsten gar nicht.

74 Am Ende des Verses kann die v.l. *εὐδόκησας* (Ra 2013 Sa) statt *ἤτησας* von Hebr 10:6 (Rahlfs, *Text*, 222; ders., *Septuagintastudien*, 326; van der Bergh, „Comparison“, 359) oder wie auch in Hebr 10:6 von Ps 50:18b (*ὀλοκαυτώματα οὐκ εὐδοκήσεις*) her beeinflusst sein (Ellingworth, *Hebrews*, 500; Karrer, „LXX Ps 39:7–10“, 140; Kraus, „Rezeption“, 125). *ἤτησας* entspricht dem MT (*תָּהַשׂ*). In der Texttradition von Ps 101:27 kann der Wechsel von *διαμενεῖς* zu *διαμένεις* durch den Quereinfluss von Ps 60:8; 71:17 bedingt sein (Rahlfs, *Psalmi*, 255). Auf den Wechsel zwischen *ἐλίξεις* und *ἀλλάξεις* in Ps 101:27/Hebr 1:12 mögen 3Reg 7:45; Job 18:8; Jes 34:4 eingewirkt haben (Steyn, *Quest*, 104).

75 Rahlfs, *Psalmi*, 144.

die Stelle im Römerbrief, diese dann wieder die Überlieferung von Ps 5:10 beeinflusst, oder hatte Paulus eine Fassung von Ps 5:10 vor sich, die diese Worte bereits enthalten hat? Die Frage ist unabhängig davon zu stellen, dass die sahidische Texttradition von Ps 5:10 tatsächlich von Paulus beeinflusst sein kann. Die Texttradition von Ps 103:4 bietet am Ende die Differenz zwischen πυρὸς φλόγα<sup>76</sup> und πῦρ φλέγον.<sup>77</sup> Da die erstgenannte Lesart auch in Hebr 1:7 (dort durchgehend) begegnet, gilt sie für Alfred Rahlfs in der Überlieferung von Ps 103:4 als sekundär.<sup>78</sup> Im *Codex Alexandrinus* wird πῦρ φλέγον zu πυρὸς φλέγα geändert, wohl als Anpassung an den neutestamentlichen Text.<sup>79</sup> Die Lesart πῦρ φλέγον kann als Anpassung an MT (פֶּשַׁע טָהוֹר, letzteres vokalisiert als Partizip) gewertet und deshalb als sekundär beurteilt werden,<sup>80</sup> ist aber schon relativ alt. Umgekehrt kann die Lesart πυρὸς φλόγα durchaus bereits in der Vorlage von Hebr 1:7 gestanden haben, muss nicht erst vom *Auctor ad Hebraeos* erfunden sein,<sup>81</sup> zumal auch kein redaktionelles Interesse seinerseits und dazu kein patristisches Interesse erkennbar ist.<sup>82</sup>

(2) Das Idiom der neutestamentlichen Autoren hält manchmal Überraschungen bereit, die Konsequenzen für die textgeschichtliche Beurteilung einer Variante haben können. In Röm 3:4, wo Ps 50:6 als markiertes Zitat aufgenommen wird, begegnet statt des in Ps 50:6 durchgehend bezeugten und grammatisch korrekten Konjunktivs νικήσης das Futur νικήσεις, das sich eher von hebräischer als von griechischer Grammatik nahelegt und wohl kaum erst von Paulus eingetragen ist, der in solchen grammatischen Fällen korrekt formuliert. So könnte Röm 3:4 Zeuge einer vom Hauptstrom der Septuaginta unabhängigen Textform sein.<sup>83</sup> Den Einwand, Paulus könne durch eigene Hebräischkenntnisse zu dieser Fassung gelangt sein, wird man dadurch entschärfen, dass Paulus in anderen Fällen durchaus nach dem Hauptstrom der Septuaginta zitiert, ohne hebraisierende Tendenz.

76 Ra 2110 Bo Sa L<sup>b</sup> sowie Ra A<sup>c</sup> (πυρὸς φλέγα); ebenso (Ps.-)Origenes, *Sel. Ps.*, PG 12, 1561A.

77 Ra B S A\* etc.; Ps.-Athanasius, *Ex. Ps.*, PG 27, 437A (im Lemma); Theodoret, *Int. Ps.*, PG 80, 1696D (im Lemma); Hesychius von Jerusalem, *Frag. Ps.*, PG 93, 1284C (im Kommentar); Nicephorus Blemmyda, *Ex. Ps.*, PG 142, 1556D.

78 Rahlfs, *Psalmi*, 258; ebenso Baucom, *Ra 2110*, 121.

79 Karrer/de Vries, „Septuagintatext“, 134 Anm. 42.

80 Kreuzer, „Relevanz“, 143 f.; Karrer, *Hebräer I/34*; Steyn, „Comparing“, 221.

81 Ahlborn, *Septuagintavorlage*, 112; Steyn, *Quest.*, 78 f.; ebenso Baucom, *Ra 2110*, 121, der auf eine mögliche Beeinflussung von Hebr 1:7 durch eine Symmachus-Lesart verweist. – Auch zu Apg 7:30 variiert die Texttradition etwa hälftig zwischen φλογὶ πυρός und πυρὶ φλογός (Strutwolf, *Apostelgeschichte*, 218).

82 Rüsen-Weinhold, *Septuagintapsalter*, 179.

83 Auch Theodor von Mopsuestia (Hill, *Theodore of Mopsuestia*, 670), bietet im Lemma νικήσεις.

#### 4. Εἰς τὸ τέλος

Nunmehr seien einige Anregungen formuliert.

(1) Das Nebeneinander von Anpassung und Nichtanpassung der verschiedenen Textvarianten in alttestamentlichen Zitaten wie bei neutestamentlichen Parallelstellen führt mich zur Vermutung, dass man eigentlich für jede Handschrift einzeln das Verhalten des Schreibers wie möglicher Korrekturen feststellen müsste. Textfeststellung führt dann wie von selbst zum Einbezug der Kodikologie und Paläographie.<sup>84</sup>

(2) Der Einbezug patristischer Zitate in die textgeschichtliche Arbeit ist nicht nur eine Hilfe der geographischen Verortung bestimmter Lesarten, sondern gewährt Einblick in literarische wie theologische Fragen des konkreten Umgangs mit den biblischen Texten. Explizite Aussagen patristischer Autoren zum Rezeptionsverhalten neutestamentlicher Autoren stecken den Rahmen ab, in dem sich vermutlich auch die Geistigkeit antiker Abschreiber biblischer Texte bewegt hat. Die Frage, wann patristische Autoren tatsächlich textkritische Diskussionen führen, lässt als Antwort den Verweis auf die Widerspruchsfreiheit und historische Irrtumslosigkeit der Schrift und die Vermeidung dogmatisch wie ethisch anstößiger Aussagen erwarten. Nur selten werden Gedächtnislücken etwa der Evangelisten konzediert.<sup>85</sup> An dieser Stelle könnte aber noch weitergearbeitet werden.

(3) Gelegentlich mag es einen Zusammenhang geben zwischen dem Umstand, dass eine Variation aus heutiger Sicht als intentional seitens des neutestamentlichen Autors gilt, und der Irrelevanz dieser Variation für die Textgeschichte des alttestamentlichen Prätextes,<sup>86</sup> allerdings mag dies manchmal auch Zufall sein. Die Suche nach belastbaren Kriterien für Angleichung oder Nichtangleichung sollte bei grammatischen und stilistischen Phänomenen beginnen, um der Gefahr des neuzeitlichen Subjektivismus zu entgehen, und schulmäßige patristische Exegese des Prä- wie des Folgetextes im Auge haben.

84 Zur Berücksichtigung der Paläographie bei der Textkonstitution des griechischen Psalters siehe den Beitrag von Georgi Parpulov im vorliegenden Band.

85 Heikel, *Eusebius Caesariensis*, D. E. X 4,13, GCS 23, 463 (zu Mt 27:9); Euthymius Zigabenus, *Ev. Matt.*, PG 129, 369B (zu der Differenz zwischen Mt 12:8 und Mk 2:27).

86 Beispiele sind die Umstellung von τὸ ἐλεημά σου, ὁ θεός μου (Ps 39:9) in Hebr 10:6 (für Ps 39:9 nur durch Ra 2013 S bezeugt), die Auslassung von ἐβουλήθη (Ps 39:9) in Hebr 10:6, die Umstellung καὶ ἡ ῥάβδος τῆς εὐθύτητος ῥάβδος in Hebr 1:8b, ferner die Variationen ταύτη (Hebr 3:10) statt ἐκεῖνη (Ps 94:10) und u. U. βασιλείας αὐτοῦ (Hebr 1:8) statt βασιλείας σου (Ps 44:7b).

(4) Fruchtbar wäre auch die Frage, wo allgemeine liturgische Sprache (nicht nur die Verwendung der Psalmen in geschlossenen Zitaten oder Zitatverbänden) bei Textdifferenzen zwischen Psalmtexten und neutestamentlichen Folgetexten eher vom alttestamentlichen Prätext oder eher vom neutestamentlichen Folgetext beeinflusst ist.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Zum Zusammenhang zwischen Liturgieforschung und patristischer Exegese vgl. Buchinger/Leonhard, *Reception*.



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## Framing the Text. The Earliest Paratexts to the Greek Psalter

The Greek Psalter as we know it is a Christian book. Or to be more precise, the text, as it has come down to us, depends almost exclusively on Christian artefacts. And yet, the Psalter does not originate as a Christian book. How did it become one? The answer is relatively simple and clear: the biblical book was “baptized” not by textual interventions, but rather by its framing. Likewise, the numerous manuscripts from Byzantine times are immediately recognizable as Christian not so much thanks to specific textual variants, but rather their overall appearance, i. e. their framing of the text. When Christians took hold of the Psalter, it was already sufficiently “canonical” to be textually untouchable, but there were other explicit ways of appropriating it.

Employing a felicitous neologism coined by Gérard Genette, the materials accompanying a text are called “paratexts”. They sit at the threshold of the Holy of Holies, providing variable access to an invariable text. Thresholds, *seuils*, was the title of Genette’s first relevant publication, in which the neologism was introduced. The English and German translations of the book appeared under the title “paratexts”.<sup>1</sup> The term designates entities at the threshold between the world of the author and the world of the reader, phenomena that belong to both worlds and to none, they are liminal.

So, how did the Psalter become a Christian book? Or rather, what did it mean for the Psalter to become a Christian book? I want to address these questions on the basis of the physical, manuscript evidence. To be sure, this will not reveal the whole truth, but it is fundamental because manuscripts are the medium through which readers encountered the text. The earliest paratexts to the Greek Psalter are not just a nice *donum superadditum*, like the topping on a cake. They are primary witnesses to an important and early stage of textual history. It may well be that the beginnings were modest. However, the peculiarities of the transmission have ensured that we immediately encounter the phenomenon in a fully developed, almost spectacular form. The starting point is one of the most celebrated artefacts of late antiquity.

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1 Genette, *Seuils*, cf. also Genette, *Palimpsestes*. For the applicability to manuscripts, and to biblical manuscripts in particular, cf. Andrist, “Definition”.

## 1. The Evidence of the *Codex Alexandrinus*

The *Codex Alexandrinus* (Ra A) is a precious *cimeliu*m held in the British Library. The original (or rather, one opening of the original) is usually displayed on the Library ground floor. High-resolution, colour pictures of the codex can be viewed on the Library website.<sup>2</sup> Pictures of the whole codex? No, they do not include the volume containing the Psalter. While that is regrettable, it would be odd to begin this paper with such a trivial observation unless there were a specific reason. And indeed there is. The librarians inform us that the pages containing the Psalter cannot be digitized without first undergoing restoration.<sup>3</sup> Due to wear and tear over several centuries, these folios are in a critical condition. Even in the 19th century facsimile,<sup>4</sup> the pages are difficult to read. This leads directly to my main point.

In the *Codex Alexandrinus*, the Psalter has been designed for a specific Christian usage, and it seems that the objectives of this design were met. The Psalter was used and read more intensely than any other biblical book in the codex. It is worth elaborating on this – not so much the signs of wear and tear, but rather the profile and spirit of the original project. The Psalter is framed by a surprisingly large selection of paratexts that are remarkable in two respects. The framing is unusual both by the standards of this already splendid mega-codex as well as by the standards of the transmission of the Psalter in earlier Christian manuscripts (so far as we can tell based on the extant material). In other words, there is no other biblical book in the surviving parts of the codex that has such an extensive framing, nor is there any coeval or older copy of the Psalter that displays similar features.

Considering these two observations, it is worth taking a closer look at the paratexts. They have attracted some scholarly attention, i. e. as isolated witnesses for the edition of those texts,<sup>5</sup> but rarely the important question has been asked, namely what their presence means for the profile of the whole codex, and hence for the Christian transmission of the Psalter. To get an impression of what the situation was like in two other well-known late antique mega-codices, in both the *Codex Sinaiticus* (Ra S) and the *Codex Vaticanus* (Ra B), the Psalter also begins

2 The codex is now bound in four volumes, with four shelf marks (Royal MS 1 D V-VIII). Only the last volume, containing the New Testament is online, [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal\\_MS\\_1\\_D\\_VIII](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_1_D_VIII) (last access: 15.08.2023). The Psalter is in volume 3 (Royal MS 1 D VII; cf. <http://searcharchives.bl.uk/permalink/f/1r5koim/IAMS040-002353448>, last access: 31.08.2023). It is not possible to list all recent bibliography on the codex. I limit myself to a few studies with relevance for textual studies: McKendrick, “Codex Alexandrinus”; Goswell, “Readers”; Smith, *Study*; Miller, *Odes*; Andrist, “Au croisement”; for further information and bibliography cf. [https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra\\_A](https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra_A) (last access: 15.08.2023).

3 Cf. Bandt, “Eusebius. Periochae”, 124, n. 6.

4 Thompson, *Facsimile*; cf. also the more recent facsimile by Skeat, *Codex Alexandrinus*.

5 See the following notes.

on a recto page, but the text then starts immediately with Ps 1:1. The only (very modest) paratext appears in the *Codex Vaticanus* in the form of an unobtrusive, upper-margin title: ψαλμοί. The *Codex Sinaiticus* lacks even a title; Ps 1 is accented solely by the beginning of a new quire.<sup>6</sup>

Against the backdrop of such sober and unadorned presentations, the situation for the *Codex Alexandrinus* is of an entirely different magnitude. Beginning with f. 523r, we find the following paratexts:

- Athanasius, *Epistula ad Marcellinum* (f. 523r–530r = 15 pp.)
- Eusebius of Caesarea, *De divisione* (f. 531r = 1 p.)
- Id., *De ordine* (fragment) (f. 531r = 1 p.)
- Id., *Periochae* (f. 531v–532v = 3 pp.)
- *Ordo psalmorum in horas diei ac noctis* (f. 532v = 1 p.)
- *Psalmi* 1–151 (f. 533r–564v + 9 lost leaves [Ps 49:20–79:11] = 82 pp.)
- *Odae* 1–14 (f. 565r–569v = 10 pp.)

That means that we have 31 pages of paratexts for 82 pages of biblical text. In other words, more than a quarter of the whole section is made up of paratexts.<sup>7</sup> This is an impressive ratio, even if half of the paratext pages comprise the lengthy treatise of Athanasius and some ten further pages contain the “Odes”, which one could argue constitute a text rather than a paratext. The Odes do not, however, belong to the canon of Scripture by late antique standards, at least not in this arrangement, and they certainly are not part of the Psalter in any historical-critical sense. Their addition to the Psalter is attested here for the first time; hence, they could, and indeed were meant to be used as additional prayers, alongside the Psalter, in a Christian devotional and/or liturgical setting. Most of these fourteen texts are taken from the Old Testament, but there are three from the New Testament, while

6 In the *Codex Vaticanus* (Vat. gr. 1209) the Psalter begins on p. 625a, on a recto page (preceded by a nearly empty page with just two lines, the end of II Esdr.). Hence, the incision is intentional, although it does not correspond to a physical incision in terms of the quire structure. In the *Codex Sinaiticus* (London, British Library, Add MS 43725) the Psalter begins at Q59,1r, i. e. at the beginning of a quire and hence of a modular unit. The preceding page has ca. 20 % free space after the end of Malachi. On the quire and modular structure of both codices cf. Andrist, “Au croisement”, 17–29 (esp. the tables on p. 22 and 29). For a description of these manuscripts see <https://www.manuscripta-biblica.org/manuscript/?diktyon=67840> and <https://www.manuscripta-biblica.org/manuscript/?diktyon=39225> (last access: 31.08.2023).

7 The physical structure of this section is important: The codex consists mainly of quaternions. The *Epistula ad Marcellinum* is a quire by itself (8 folios, last page empty). The rest of the section are six quires (8 folios each), ending with the Odes, cf. Andrist, “Au croisement”, 30–39, esp. p. 35 f. on possible explanations for the fact that Athanasius’ letter forms a separate (or rather: separable) modular unit. Note, however, that the page layout and style of writing does not differ at all between this quire and the rest of the codex (2 columns, 51 lines). The text looks “like Bible”.



the last is the old Christian morning hymn, well-known to Western churchgoers as it became the “Gloria” in the liturgy of the Latin mass.<sup>8</sup>

The devotional character of the Psalter is corroborated by the final paratext that precedes it: the κανόνες ἡμερινῶν καὶ νυκτερινῶν ψαλμῶν, a short table that attributes to the twelve hours of the day and the twelve hours of the night a psalm to be recited.<sup>9</sup> This stands out against the preceding material, whose character is more scholarly. There is, for example, the lengthy exegetical treatise by Athanasius on the Christian interpretation of the psalms, a critical edition of which appeared recently in “Athanasius Werke”.<sup>10</sup> And then there are three small texts whose authorship Cordula Bandt has proved beyond any reasonable doubt, in a recent volume on Origen’s and Eusebius’ prologues to the Psalter.<sup>11</sup> Bandt has rightly edited the three items as three separate texts. Only the first is explicitly attributed to Eusebius in our codex (ὑποθέσεις Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου), but it can be shown that all three stem from that author, and hence ὑποθέσεις refers to all three. The first is a somewhat technical treatise on the subdivision of the Psalter and on the authorship of the 150 psalms contained therein.<sup>12</sup> The second is a small fragment, which in its isolated state is basically incomprehensible. It lists eleven psalms connected to the biography of David. The purpose is to show that their historical order is not identical to their position in the Psalter, as it has come down to us. The point is clear, but without Eusebius’ introductory remarks, the list would remain enigmatic. Thanks to Bandt’s reconstruction, we can now read the whole treatise, which is preserved in its entirety only in Syriac.<sup>13</sup> The third text is a sort of table of contents, giving a few keywords on the character and contents of each psalm; it bears the title περιοχαὶ εἰς τοὺς ψαλμούς (in the top margin, like the ὑποθέσεις on the preceding page).<sup>14</sup>

8 On the Odes cf. Lattke/Engel, “Odoi” and Harl, *Voix*. Specifically on the *Codex Alexandrinus* cf. the contributions by Antoine Pietrobelli in Harl, *Voix* (“Le codex Alexandrinus et son psautier”, pp. 19–30, and “La postérité de l’Alexandrinus et la question de son origine, pp. 313–325”) as well as Miller, *Odes*. The older substantial article by Schneider, “Oden”, continues to be very useful (esp. pp. 52–57).

9 The question of profile, provenance and impact of this list is rather complex. I am preparing a separate contribution on the issue (“An Edifying Psalter? Remarks on a Vorlage of *Codex Alexandrinus*”). In the meantime cf. Frøyshov, “Двенадцати псалмов чин (The Order of the Twelve Psalms)”, and Frøyshov, “Distinction”, esp. 208–213.

10 Savvidis/Wyrwa, *Athanasius Werke*.

11 Several contributions in Bandt/Risch/Villani, *Prologtexte*.

12 *De divisione* (Bandt, “Eusebius. De divisione”).

13 *De ordine* (Bandt, “Eusebius. De ordine”). The main witness for the Syriac text is London, BL, Add. 12154, f. 32v–33v.

14 Bandt, “Eusebius. Periochae”. Based on this codex (as well as *Vat. Reg. 1* [Ra 55], see below), Bandt proposed this title, although the work is better known under the generic designation *hypotheses*. She assumes “dass es sich dabei um den ursprünglichen, von Eusebius selbst gesetzten Werktitel

Where do these paratexts come from? What is the intention behind this particular composition? And what does it mean for the “Christianization” of the Psalter? It is certainly true that whoever conceived this codex had a specific interest in the Psalter. As stated above, there is no other biblical book in the surviving parts of the codex with such a large selection of paratexts. This is true, but the following specification is necessary: the beginning of the gospel of Matthew is missing, and there are reasons to believe that this text was also preceded by a full quire of paratexts. It is usually – and probably rightly – assumed that those included Eusebius’ canon tables, and almost certainly the *kephalaia* of Matthew.<sup>15</sup> Chapter titles are preserved for the other three gospels which, like for the Eusebian *periochae* of the psalms, are attested here for the first time.

The *auctor* of the specific project of this codex laid particular emphasis on the Psalter and on the gospels. With this double emphasis, he established a path that would stretch out for many centuries to come. Not only were those pages of his codex heavily used, but his approach also laid the groundwork for a basic pattern in the transmission of the Bible throughout the Byzantine millennium. Pandects like the *Codex Alexandrinus* are rare, and the impact of this particular codex seems to be rather limited, but gospel books and Psalters are by far the most frequent genre in biblical manuscripts, and they attracted more paratexts than any other part of Christian Scripture.

Originally, one of the questions I wanted to answer was whether the profile of the Psalter in the *Codex Alexandrinus* is more scholarly or more devotional. However, I have come to the conclusion that this is a false dichotomy. It is both or, to be more precise: in the cultural milieu in which the codex originated, both aspects go hand in hand. Bible study and biblical prayer are part of the same religious environment.

Perhaps due to this specific “double face”, the *Codex Alexandrinus* did not have many immediate successors. As outlined above, it was groundbreaking and heavily used, yet in other respects it remained an oddity. Apparently, it did not serve often as a *Vorlage* for other manuscripts of the psalms, at least as far as can be ascertained on the basis of this specific combination of paratexts. Surprisingly, Athanasius’ *epistula ad Marcellinum* is rare in the direct transmission of the Psalter, and unattested in “pure” bible manuscripts, i.e. those without catenae,<sup>16</sup> although it would have been an appropriate prologue to the text of the Psalter. For the Eusebian material, there is a single, but important and interesting later parallel. Since this will turn out to be relevant to our discussion, I will discuss this codex briefly.

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handelt“ (122). Even if this cannot be proved, the title is useful as a scholarly convention, because it is clear and does not cause any equivocations. Interestingly, a Coptic version of the text has recently come to light, cf. the contribution of Lina Elhage-Mensing in the present volume.

15 Cf. Wallraff, *Kanontafeln*, 140f.

16 Cf. Savvidis/Wyrwa, *Athanasius*, 787–798.

The codex in question is a spectacular, richly illuminated 10th-century pandect (the so-called “Leo Bible”, Ra 55), the first volume of which was brought to Rome by Christina, the Lutheran queen of Sweden following her conversion to Catholicism in the 17th century. It is number one in her book collection, today housed in the Vatican Library. At the beginning of the Psalter, we find a full-page portrait of King David, followed by five pages containing exactly the same selection of Eusebian paratexts as in the *Alexandrinus*.<sup>17</sup>

Despite this similarity, several details in the text (esp. *Trennfehler*) reveal that the *Alexandrinus* was not, or was not the only *Vorlage* of the Vatican manuscript.<sup>18</sup> In cases like these, contamination is clearly a possibility and nothing, therefore, is certain, but the most plausible explanation is that both codices share a common archetype. In other words, it is quite possible that the *Codex Regius* (Ra 55) leads us to an earlier stage of transmission of what I tentatively call “a framed Psalter”. This earlier stage would have to be older than the *Codex Alexandrinus* and younger than the origin of the Eusebian material, i. e. middle to late 4th or early 5th century.

What do we know about the Psalter in the workshop of the great scholar and pupil of Pamphilus and, ultimately, of Origen? Is it possible that this hypothetical witness was (or was close to) a Caesarean copy, that is, a copy made in the famous scriptorium of Caesarea?<sup>19</sup> Maybe even a copy made under the supervision of Eusebius himself?

## 2. Origen and Eusebius

The likely answer is no. The Psalter in the *Codex Alexandrinus* is not particularly close to the Eusebian tradition. The same is true for the *Codex Regius* (Ra 55). The person who took the Eusebian paratexts from their source was apparently unaware of, or unconcerned by, clear contradictions between that material and the biblical text as it appears in the manuscript. For example, Eusebius talks about 150 psalms, but the *Codex Alexandrinus* has 151. Eusebius knows of 19 psalms without a title,

17 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Reg. gr. 1* (Ra 55): f. 487v King David, f. 488r–490r Eusebian paratexts (*De divisione*, *De ordine*, *Periochae*); f. 490v ff. Psalter. On the codex cf. Canart, *Bible*. For further information and bibliography, cf. [https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra\\_55](https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra_55) (last access: 15.08.2023).

18 Considering only the three pages of *Periochae* (Bandt, “Eusebius. *Periochae*”), the following can be said: Although the apparatus shows that the two manuscripts are closely related, they are clearly separate in a number of cases, see lines 15, 46, 67, 69, 71, 77, 118 (2×), 124, 130 of the edition (mostly errors of Ra A, not shared by Ra 55).

19 On the scriptorium cf. Grafton/Williams, *Christianity*, 200–215; Hollerich, “Eusebius”, 630–633; on the library in Caesarea cf. also Carriker, *Library*; Frenschkowski, “Studien”.

yet the manuscript has only two.<sup>20</sup> (Most of the psalms in question are attributed to David.) Moreover, the rudimentary state of the short fragment from *De ordine*, makes it unlikely that this specific combination of material comes directly from the Caesarean scriptorium (see above n. 13).

The century between Eusebius and the composition of the *Codex Alexandrinus*, or maybe even the half-century between Eusebius and the composition of the unknown archetype was apparently long enough to change the specific *Sitz im Leben* of those introductory texts. The crucial question is: where do these prologues originally come from? Or to put it more precisely, even if the authorship is now more or less clear, what was the original literary character and the publication context of these texts? Do they belong to the Bible itself or to some sort of secondary or scholarly literature? This question can be asked not only regarding the three short paratexts known from the *Codex Alexandrinus*, but also regarding the whole prologue material contained in the recently published TUGAL volume.<sup>21</sup>

There is no need to elaborate on the extraordinary importance of Origen and Eusebius for the exegesis and textual criticism of the Psalter. It is well known that for both theologians, the Psalter was a main focus of their exegetical endeavours and, vice versa, for the Psalter, the scholarly work of these two men represented a milestone. I would go so far as to say that we read the Greek Psalter today, whether we want to or not, through the eyes of Origen and Eusebius. In the case of Origen, the synoptic work in the Hexapla is renowned. It was an extremely complex piece of work, and for the Psalter it ought, in fact, to be called “Enneapla” (i.e. nine columns).<sup>22</sup> Since the discovery of a manuscript of Origen’s homilies on psalms in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, in 2012, we also have evidence of his exegetical work on the text.<sup>23</sup> However, there are good reasons to think that in addition to these two activities, Origen also provided an edition of the Psalter: an *editio minor*, as it were, which was minor compared to the bulky Hexapla. Francesca Schironi has argued that the famous critical signs *asteriscus* and *obelus* were probably used in this *editio minor* rather than in the Hexapla, as is often assumed.<sup>24</sup> It certainly makes more sense to draw readers’ attention to textual differences if they are not visible on the same page.

20 According to Eusebius psalms 1, 2, 32, 42, 70, 90, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98, 103, 114, 116, 118, 136, 146, 147 are ἀνετίτραπεται. Of these, only 1 and 2 are without title in the *Alexandrinus* (like in the later Byzantine text), cf. Wallraff, “Canones psalmorum”, 156 with discussion.

21 Bandt/Risch/Villani, *Prologtexte*.

22 Eusebius, h.e. 6,16,3; for the overall shape cf. Grafton/Williams, *Christianity*, 86–132 (specifically for the Psalter 96–101) and Dorival, “Forme”.

23 München, BSB, cod. gr. 314, edited by Perrone et al., *Psalmenhomilien*; for an annotated Italian translation cf. Perrone, *Codex Monacensis Graecus 314*.

24 Schironi, “Ambiguity”, 100–109, cf. also in the same sense Villani, “Origenes”, 80.

It seems highly likely that this edition also contained some introductory texts, probably scholarly in nature. The *Catholica in psalmos*, as Franz Xaver Risch calls it, stands at the beginning of a very long Christian *Einleitungswissenschaft*: “Die *Catholica in Psalmos* von Origenes bildet die Grundschrift der antiken Einleitung in die Psalmenkommentierung. Alle Exegeten haben die darin gegebenen Informationen und Erklärungen benutzt und weitergereicht.”<sup>25</sup> I agree, but would go a step further. It is quite possible that this text was not so much an introduction to a commentary on the psalms, but rather to the psalms themselves. If this is correct, we stand at the beginning not only of a Christian scholarly tradition, but also of a literary genre, perhaps the oldest biblical prologue. I will come back to this point in my final section, but admittedly in the case of Origen, it is difficult to prove. It can be no more than a plausible option. Still, I agree with Risch when he writes in the general introduction to the TUGAL volume: “Origenes ist der erste Exeget, der einerseits annotierte Bibeleditionen vorlegt und andererseits selbständige und vollständige Kommentare verfasst. ... [Er] etabliert ... eine Einleitungswissenschaft, die sich ... teils in den kommentierenden Ausführungen, teils in davon isolierten Texteinheiten niederschlägt.”<sup>26</sup>

The same can be said for Eusebius, and the evidence is in fact stronger. We know that Eusebius studied textual criticism, that he worked on editions of the biblical text (along with his teacher Pamphilus), and that he presided over a large and famous scriptorium that produced a conspicuous number of important codices (see above n. 19). Some of the colophons of his Bible editions are preserved. We can watch him at work, so to speak.<sup>27</sup> More importantly, we know of at least one case where a scholarly work of his was conceived as a biblical paratext, i. e. it was meant to accompany the text itself, and was not some form of secondary literature. I am talking about Eusebius’ famous canon tables to the gospels, which survive in thousands of copies – an unparalleled success story. These not only consist of the synoptic tables at the beginning of the codex (later often lavishly decorated), but also of marginal numbers accompanying the text. We are at the origins of a scholarly apparatus to the text of the Bible.<sup>28</sup>

What Eusebius did for the text of the Psalter is less clear. It is well known that he devoted substantial effort to a complete commentary on the Psalter. Large parts of it survive; a critical edition is being prepared for the first time at the Berlin academy as part of the project “Die alexandrinische und antiochenische Bibelexegese

25 Risch, “*Catholica in Psalmos*”, 6.

26 Risch, “Prologtexte”, xi.

27 The fundamental collection and analysis of the manuscript material is by Mercati, *Note*, 1–48; it has been synthesized in a brief list in Devreesse, *Introduction*, 123 f., followed by Nautin, *Origène*, 322–324. For a more recent discussion cf. Grafton/Williams, *Christianity*, 184–194.

28 The critical edition of the tables appeared recently: Wallraff, *Kanontafeln* (with further bibliography). For questions of art history, Nordenfalk, *Kanontafeln*, remains fundamental.

in der Spätantike”.<sup>29</sup> It is likely that Eusebius’ scholarly work on the text was connected to this *opus magnum*. However, this does not necessarily mean that the half dozen short introductory texts were originally intended to accompany the dense and “elitist” exegetical commentary. The manuscript witnesses for these texts, as we have them today, are largely catena manuscripts. By their very nature, catenae have two possible sources: the biblical text itself, on the one hand, and exegetical commentaries on the other. For the prologue material, the former is at least as likely as the latter.

Although the *Codex Alexandrinus* and its later relative are probably not direct descendants of an Eusebian edition of the Psalter, they preserve the original function and position of its paratexts. A 10th-century codex, today housed in Oxford, is a good candidate for providing a better impression of a Caesarean edition of the Psalter.<sup>30</sup> In its present shape, that manuscript is especially rich in paratexts, many of which are certainly later than the 4th century (including a commentary in the form of a catena). But it does contain a beautiful title page and, next to it, the Eusebian *periochae* as well as a short version of Eusebius’ “statistics” on psalm authorship, the latter in the form of a handsomely designed pinax. Its layout and decoration resemble the well-known canon tables of the gospels. These “canon tables of the psalms” may well go back to an edition with introductory matter, comparable to the gospels with the *Epistula ad Carpianum* and the synoptic tables.<sup>31</sup>

### 3. Biblical Prologues and the “Christianization” of the Psalter

I want to conclude with a few general remarks on biblical prologues. As we have seen, the oldest extant Christian Bible manuscript with macroscopic and theologically rich paratexts is the *Codex Alexandrinus*. It is certainly no coincidence that we find this framing of the text in particular for two parts of the Bible: the psalms and the gospels. Although the codex does not seem to derive from a Caesarean *Vorlage*, the basic concept of such a framed Psalter can be traced back to Caesarea,

29 The first volume (or, to be more precise, the third volume with the fragments of the commentary to psalms 101–150) has just appeared, cf. Risch, *Psalmenkommentar*. I want to thank Cordula Bandt for discussion on some issues connected to this text. She is responsible for the edition of the commentary on psalms 1–50.

30 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D.4.1 (Ra 13). On the codex from a textual point of view cf. Faulhaber, “Handschrift”; Dorival, *Châines*, II/84–126; Wallraff, “Canones”, 149–152, from the point of view of art history cf. Hutter, *Corpus*, 1,27f. (no. 18), fig. 105–108; Spatharakis, *Corpus*, 12 (no. 11), fig. 28f. For further information and bibliography, cf. [https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra\\_13](https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra_13) (last access: 15.08.2023).

31 In Wallraff, “Canon”, I first drew attention to this little-known work of Eusebius. In the later German publication (Wallraff, “Canones”), see esp. p. 152 on the context in the manuscript.

and in particular to the philological tradition of Eusebius and Origen. Their way of constituting, introducing, and commenting on the text had a considerable impact in subsequent centuries.

Does that also mean that Eusebius and Origen invented the literary genre of the biblical prologue? This we do not know. To answer the question one would, perhaps unexpectedly, need to take into account the Latin speaking world. There are traces of Latin biblical prologues as early as the third century.<sup>32</sup> It may well be that the need for explanatory remarks was felt more acutely in a cultural environment where the text had to be translated, and where the threshold for justifying additions to the sacred text was perhaps lower. This can be seen clearly in the case of Jerome's verbose prefaces to the Vulgate, where in the case of the Psalter questions of textual *Vorlage* and translation technique are discussed.<sup>33</sup> Unfortunately, no earlier Latin material for the psalms survives, rather only for the gospels and the Pauline letters.

The idea that a translated text facilitates and produces prefatory material is intriguing. It may well explain why, in the Greek speaking world, we have introductions to the Psalter earlier than to the gospels. The need for critical appropriation was higher, both theologically and linguistically. In the case of Origen, it is clear that the difference between Hebrew and Greek was one of the driving motivations behind his textual work on the Psalter in the first place, and then also for the composition of his highly influential *Catholica in psalmos*.

This is an interesting example of a scenario in which differences in language and beliefs led to innovation – not because of controversy and polemics, but rather as an intellectual catalyst. In sum, the Christianization of the Psalter occurred in the third century in the multicultural and intellectually stimulating milieu of Alexandria. This is where we first find the Psalter physically as a Christian book.

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32 Candidates are the so-called "anti-Marcionite" prologues to the gospels, the pseudo-Marcionite prologues to the Pauline letters and the so-called "Monarchian" prologues to the gospels. I will discuss these texts in a separate contribution.

33 The edition is Weber et al., *Biblia*, 767–769.

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## Eusebian *Tituli Psalmorum* in the Coptic Psalter Codex sa 2033\*

During my research on the Sahidic Holy Week lectionaries, I examined a folio that had been mistakenly associated with one of these lectionaries.<sup>1</sup> I discovered that some of the psalms featuring on that leaf appeared to be headed by titles that do not appear in other witnesses of the Coptic Sahidic Bible. The background of this discovery is detailed in § 2, which outlines the reconstruction of a Sahidic fragmentary Psalter, namely codex sa 2033 (BC<sup>2</sup> sa 101).

After thorough research it turned out that almost all these titles were a Sahidic version of the so-called Eusebian *Tituli Psalmorum* (henceforth Eusebian titles).<sup>3</sup> Importantly, up to now, the manuscript discussed in this article appears to be the only extant witness of the use of Eusebian titles in Coptic texts. The topic of psalm titles and, in particular, the nature of the Eusebian titles are briefly treated in § 3. In § 4, I provide a transcription of all the titles preserved in codex sa 2033 comparing them with the Greek Eusebian titles. The last section, § 5, briefly summarises the results of the research presented in this article.

### 1. On the Reconstruction of Codex sa 2033

The starting point of the research described in this article was manuscript sa 299L, a fragmentary Holy Week lectionary, and one of the primary sources of the Sahidic Holy Week lectionaries.<sup>4</sup> Its fragments were first put together and described by

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\* This article is written in the framework of the DFG-funded project at the Göttingen Academy of Sciences and Humanities in Lower Saxony “Digital Edition and Critical Evaluation of the Coptic Holy Week Lectionary”, launched on 1 April 2022 for a duration of 36 months. I would like to thank Professor Rainer Stichel for giving me some valuable hints for further investigation of the titles appearing in sa 2033.

1 I am referring to the case of a leaf preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (BnF) under shelf mark Copte 129.19, f. 85 mistakenly identified as belonging to a Holy Week lectionary by Schmitz/Mink, *Liste*, 851–852. This suggestion had already been questioned by Diliانا Atanassova. See Atanassova, “Pascha-Lektionare”, 616–617.

2 Schüssler, *Biblia Coptica*, 1/4, 25–36, sa 101.

3 On Origen’s and Eusebius’ prologues to the Psalter cf. the contribution of Martin Wallraff in the present volume.

4 This part expands on my blog article Elhage-Mensching, “A Coptic folio”. The Sahidic Holy Week lectionaries are the subject of my ongoing PhD thesis which will be pursued in the framework of the DFG-funded project mentioned in the asterisk footnote at the beginning of this article.

Franz-Jürgen Schmitz and Gerd Mink in their catalogue in 1991.<sup>5</sup> In their suggested reconstruction, the scholars included one mutilated leaf preserved in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris (BnF) under shelf mark Copte 129.19, f. 85.<sup>6</sup> The leaf in question contains only psalm chapters written in one-column format unlike the other folios of the manuscript. Furthermore, those psalm chapters are never included in Holy Week lectionaries. Yet it seems that Schmitz and Mink were misled in two respects. Firstly, they mistook the several framed headings for liturgical rubrics<sup>7</sup> whereas they are short titles summarising the content of the chapters at issue. This mistake can be explained by the fact that such headings do not correspond to the traditional superscriptions in the Coptic Psalter. Secondly, they were misled by the similarity of this folio with sa 299L in terms of the number of lines per page (around 36) and its palaeography. In her comprehensive overview of the new findings related to the Sahidic Holy Week lectionaries,<sup>8</sup> Diliانا Atanassova published a new reconstruction of the extant folios belonging to sa 299L. She definitely discarded folio 85 but she did not suggest a new codex to which the folio could belong. More recently, in a blog article,<sup>9</sup> Atanassova shared the results of her examination of a folio preserved at the Bodleian Library in Oxford with the shelf mark Oxford, BL, Copt. d. 262 (P) and proved it belonged to codex sa 2033. Building on the characteristics of the leaf at issue and on the concluding words by Atanassova, I consulted the photo repository of the Göttingen Digital Edition of the Coptic Old Testament project.<sup>10</sup> Together with a project-internal database,<sup>11</sup> it helped me to establish to which codex this leaf could belong.

Some relevant properties of folio 85 can be summarised as follows: it contains Sahidic versions of Ps 145:8–10 and Ps 146:1–11 on its recto, and of Ps 147:1–9 and Ps 148:1–6 on its verso. The headings and the beginnings of the first verses of Ps 146 and Ps 148 are in semi-cursive script and framed by horizontal strokes and dots retraced in red. The end of each verse is marked by a black dot over a bigger

5 Schmitz/Mink, *Liste*, 843–854.

6 See <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10090884k/f169.item> (last access: 15.08.2023).

7 ‘Lesungseinleitungen’, Schmitz/Mink, *Liste*, 852.

8 Atanassova, “Erkenntnisse”, 26–27.

9 Atanassova, “Neues Blatt”.

10 The Göttingen Digital Edition of the Coptic Old Testament project aims at a “codicological and textual reconstruction of all extant witnesses to the Coptic-Sahidic Old Testament”, (<https://cope.tot.manuscriptroom.com/>). The photo archive of the project plays a predominant role in this endeavour. It makes it possible to browse through Sahidic manuscript leaves scattered across numerous libraries all over the world, sometimes lost in mistakenly suggested reconstitutions. It also enables us to reassemble leaves or mutilated fragments, which mostly originate from the library of the Monastery of St. Shenoute, known as the White Monastery. For more information on the library, the dispersal, and the dismemberment of its codices, see among others Emmel/Römer, “Library”, 8–9.

11 Developed by Malte Rosenau.

red one. There is one coloured animal drawing on the bottom margin of each side of the leaf. Interestingly, all these features are characteristic of sa 2033,<sup>12</sup> a parchment manuscript originating from the library of the White Monastery and copied at the scriptorium of Touton in the Fayyum.<sup>13</sup>

This allowed us to assume that folio 85 actually belonged to sa 2033, the extant parts of which present the same palaeography, the same decoration of chapter headings, the same type of miniatures in the margins. Upon examining all the pages of codex sa 2033 available in the Virtual Manuscript Room (VMR)<sup>14</sup> of the Göttingen project, another surprise emerged: The newly discovered addition fits precisely after the Vienna fragmentary folio K 9857, pp. ⲡⲉⲗⲗ/ⲡⲉⲗⲗ (167/168)<sup>15</sup>, F/H of codex sa 2033, which contains parts of Ps 143 and 144. This enabled us to reconstruct the pagination of folio 85 as [ⲡⲉⲗⲗ]/[ⲡⲉ] (= [169]/[170]). Moreover, the recto of the Paris folio is the hair side, and the verso is the flesh side of the parchment. Thus, Gregory's rule<sup>16</sup> confirms once more the correct position of the new folio within the structure of sa 2033.

Searching through the Göttingen VMR for other Coptic witnesses with the same features and particular headings, I discovered that two London fragments classified by Karlheinz Schüssler as a codex of their own, with the siglum sa 185,<sup>17</sup> actually also belong to codex sa 2033. The London fragments in question are:

- London, BL, Or. 6954 (96), a fragment complementing Cairo, CM, Inv. no. 3854, with Ps 24:7–15; 25:1–9, and
- London, BL, Or. 6954 (98), a fragment with Ps 67: 21–26; 68: 1–5 to be placed between Berlin, SBB, Ms. or. fol. 1605, f. 3 and Paris, BnF, Copte 133.2, f. 26b.

Along with the folio preserved at the Bodleian Library examined by Atanassova and mentioned above, this last addition brought the identified parts of sa 2033 to a total of 26 fragmentary folios dispersed among seven libraries on two continents. All 26 leaves can be accessed in the Göttingen VMR in their correct order with an indication of their content.

12 For the characteristics of codex sa 2033, see Atanassova, “Neues Blatt”.

13 For more information on the palaeographical characteristics of the manuscripts copied at Touton, see Boud'hors, “Issues”, 626.

14 For an overall view of sa 2033 and its metadata, see <https://coptot.manuscriptroom.com/manuscript-catalog/?docID=622033> (last access: 15.08.2023). The researchers responsible for the Psalter codex sa 2033 in the Göttingen team are D. Atanassova and I.

15 See <http://coptot.manuscriptroom.com/manuscript-workspace?docID=622033&pageID=410>; <http://coptot.manuscriptroom.com/manuscript-workspace?docID=622033&pageID=420> (last access: 15.08.2023).

16 Gregory's rule says that a hair side is always followed by a hair side and a flesh side by a flesh side forming the quire folding pattern F/H-H/F. See Gregory, “Les cahiers”, 265.

17 Schüssler, *Biblia Coptica*, 2/2, 17–18, sa 185.

## 2. The Psalm Titles in Codex sa 2033

My work on sa 2033 also uncovered an important feature not registered until now in the descriptions of this codex. In fact, the short titles mentioned in section 2, which were mistaken for liturgical rubrics by Schmitz and Mink (see footnote 1), could be found at the beginning of each psalm in the reconstructed fragments of codex sa 2033.<sup>18</sup>

It is well known that most psalms in the Hebrew Psalter contain headings, also referred to as superscriptions or titles. The fact that these superscriptions were partially altered and increased in number in the Septuagint has captured the attention of numerous scholars.<sup>19</sup> The Sahidic psalm manuscripts follow the Septuagint tradition, and the psalm headings<sup>20</sup> are usually distinguished from the main text of the psalm using various scribal methods such as a change of script, framing or rubrication.<sup>21</sup> Yet the titles found in sa 2033 are of another nature. They precede the headings which belong to the Septuagint tradition as can be seen in the following example:

Ps 8: [...] **ἡΠΤΩΞΗ ΝΕΝΘΕΘΗΝΟC:**~

[εΠΧΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ΖΑ] ΝΕΡΡΩΤ ΠΕΨΑΛΜΟC ἩΛΔΥΕΙΔ

[ΠΧΟΕΙC ΠΕ]ΝΧΟΕΙC ἩΘΕ ΝΟΥΘῆΠΗΡΕ

[...]

Εἰς τὸ τέλος, ὑπὲρ τῶν ληγῶν·

ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυιδ

Κύριε ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, ὡς  
θαυμαστόν

[...]

The underlined passage in the second line represents the traditional psalm heading, which can also be found in the Septuagint. The first line (in bold), however, is absent from the Septuagint. This is the type of headings under discussion and translates as “on the calling of the peoples”.

The existence of the Sahidic non-traditional titles had been noted by Abraham J. Chappell in his dissertation as witnessed by the remark “expanded headings (see especially 8, 9, 44, 64, 65)”.<sup>22</sup> However, Chappell does not recognise them as Eusebian titles and provides no further explanations. Furthermore, he could not yet take into consideration the psalms found in the additional leaves that were added to the codex as mentioned above (§ 1). Searching through the Psalter codices in

18 See also Elhage-Mensing, “Tituli Psalmorum”.

19 See among others Stichel, “Herkunft”, 149–161; ders., *Beiträge*, 114–131 and more recently, the comprehensive study by Chappell, *The Psalm Headings*.

20 Marked in Rahlfs’ Septuaginta as the first verses of each chapter. See Rahlfs, *Psalmi*.

21 For another example, see codex sa 2031 (London, BL, or. 5000), edited by Chrysi Kotsifou in the Virtual Manuscript Room, f. 1v and the editorial note to line 1. <https://coptot.manuscriptroom.com/manuscript-workspace/?docID=622031> (last access: 15.08.2023).

22 Chappell, *Approaching the Psalms*, 69.

the “List of Coptic Biblical Manuscripts” (LCBM) accessible on the Digital Edition of the Coptic Old Testament Homepage<sup>23</sup> reveals no other Sahidic Psalter showing this particularity.

Following a valuable hint given to me by Professor Rainer Stichel,<sup>24</sup> I consulted the series of Psalm titles written by Eusebius of Caesarea around 330 CE<sup>25</sup> and reproduced by Jacques-Paul Migne<sup>26</sup> under the heading Ὑποθέσεις τοῦ αὐτοῦ Εὐσεβίου εἰς τοὺς ψαλμούς. As noted by Martin Wallraff, it is “a table of contents with a brief title for each psalm”.<sup>27</sup> This shortlist precedes the psalms in *Codex Alexandrinus* (Ra A).<sup>28</sup> It also features in Greek Psalter manuscripts and most Greek *catenae* as part of the prologue material.<sup>29</sup> In few occurrences such as in the *catena* manuscript Ra 1177 (Rome, BAV, *Vat. gr.* 1422), or in the Paris manuscript of Eusebius’ commentary on the psalms (BnF, Coislin 44), the Eusebian titles are written in the upper margin of the folio including the respective psalm.<sup>30</sup> They also appear in some Greek Psalter manuscripts, yet always in the margin.<sup>31</sup> In the Sahidic witness at issue, and in contrast to the Greek Psalter manuscripts, the titles precede each of the Psalms directly before their first verse. A similar practice can be found in the Latin tradition of the Eusebian titles.<sup>32</sup>

### 3. Commented List of the Titles in Codex sa 2033

In the following table, each of the folios bearing the beginning of a psalm is listed along with its shelf mark (column one), the corresponding psalm with its Coptic

23 The List of Coptic Biblical Manuscripts can be consulted at: [https://coptot.manuscriptroom.com/documents/10231/23535/LCBM\\_1.0\\_2021.pdf](https://coptot.manuscriptroom.com/documents/10231/23535/LCBM_1.0_2021.pdf) (last access: 15.08.2023).

24 Personal correspondence with Professor Stichel on October 24, 2020.

25 On the possible date in which Eusebius of Caesarea (also called Eusebius Pamphili) wrote his ὑποθέσεις, cf. already Smith/Wace, *Dictionary*, 336–337.

26 Migne, PG 23: 68–72.

27 Wallraff, “Canon”, 9. The Latin translation of the Eusebian Psalm titles constitutes the *Série IV* in Salmon, *Tituli*, 117–131.

28 See ff. 531v–532v in Kenyon, *Codex Alexandrinus*, part IV.

29 See, e.g., manuscripts Ra 13 (Oxford, BL, MS. Auct. D. 4.1, 10th century), ff. 26r–28v, and Ra 55 (Rome, BAV, *Reg. gr.* 1, 10th century), ff. 488v–490r. More examples and a discussion can be found in Bandt, “Eusebius”, 122–141.

30 Bandt, “Eusebius”, 126 and personal communication by Cordula Bandt.

31 See Parpulov, *History*, 56: “Some Psalters have, in the margins again, alternative titles (ὕποθέσεις) for each Psalm, providing a succinct Christian interpretation of its contents. These come from a preface by Eusebius and were used as headings from the tenth century onward”.

32 See, e.g., manuscript Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, Ms. C12, where the Eusebian titles are preceded and followed however by other titles of the different Series established by Salmon. See Salmon, *Tituli*, 118.







| sa 2033<br>Page number <sup>1</sup> and<br>shelf mark              | Psalm<br>number <sup>2</sup> | Framed content: Coptic<br>title plus beginning or<br>whole first verse                          | Eusebian title according<br>to Bandt/Risch/Villani |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| Page [P̄15] ([151])<br>Paris, BnF,<br>Copte 133.2,<br>f. 26b recto | Ps 124<br>P̄KΔ               | ΕΤΒΕ Η[...]<br>τωΔ[Η ΝΗΤΩΡΤΡ]                                                                   | Ἀποκαταστάσεως                                     |
| Page [P̄111] ([158])<br>Vienna, ÖNB,<br>K 9856 verso               | Ps [135]<br>[P̄Λε]           | ΠΩΠΖΜΟΤ<br>ΝΗΝΕΤΑΥΟΟΤΟΥ:~<br>[Δ]ΛΛΗΛΟΓΙΑ ΝΤΑΠΛΗ                                                 | <u>Εὐχαριστία</u><br><u>λελυτρωμένων</u>           |
| Page [P̄ΣΔ] ([164])<br>Oxford, BL,<br>Copt. d. 262 (P)<br>verso    | Ps [141]<br>[P̄1Δ]           | [...]ΠΟ]ΛΛΗΜΕΙ ΝΗΜΑΔ ΕΤΒΕ<br>ΠΝΟΥΓΤΕ:~<br>[ΤΗΝΤΡΗΝΗΖΗΤ ΝΔΔ]ΥΕΙΔ·<br>πεωληλ [...]ΠΓΓ<br>[...]    | Φωνή τοῦ κατὰ θεὸν<br><u>πολεμουμένου</u>          |
| Page P̄ΣΖ (167)<br>Vienna, ÖNB,<br>K 9857 recto                    | Ps 144<br>P̄1Δ               | ΠΕΥΜΝΟΣ ΝΘΕΟΛΟΓΙΑ:~<br>ΠΕΣΜΟΥ ΝΔΔΥΕΙΔ                                                           | <u>Ὑμνος σὺν θεολογίᾳ</u>                          |
| Page [P̄ΣΘ] ([169])<br>Paris, BnF,<br>Copte 129.19,<br>f. 85 recto | Ps [146]<br>[P̄1Σ]           | [ΕΤΒΕ]ΜΗ ΗΠΕΧ̄ ΝΑΖΡ̄Η<br>ΠΛΑΟΣ:~<br>[ΔΛ]ΛΗΛΟΓΙΑ                                                 | Ὑμνος σὺν θεολογίᾳ                                 |
| Page [P̄Ω] ([170])<br>Paris, BnF,<br>Copte 129.19<br>f. 85 verso   | Ps [148]<br>[P̄1Η]           | ΕΤΒΕΜΗ ΝΤΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ ... <sup>1</sup><br>ΝΗΝΑΖΡ̄Η ΠΛΑΟΣ:~<br>[Δ]ΛΛΗΛΟΓΙΑ [ΠΑΓΓΑΙΟΣ<br>ΗΝ ΖΑΧΑΡΙΑΣ] | Ὑμνος σὺν θεολογίᾳ                                 |

In a total of thirteen cases (Ps 8, 9, 25, 30, 31, 44, 49, 64, 65, 68, 135, 141, and 144), the parts that are readable in the Coptic text are quite literal translations of the Greek Eusebian psalm titles. In the case of Ps 124, the meager quantity of text does not allow us to draw a conclusion. As for Ps 26, the quality of the black and white photo makes it impossible to identify the letter sequence.<sup>2</sup> The incomplete title in Ps 29 does not seem to correspond to its Greek counterpart (the legible part ξ̄ν οὐω̄ξ̄ ε̄βολ could mean ‘in openness, openly’ but also allows for other interpretations such as ‘show forth, appear’ or even ‘revelation, declaration’). The two last psalms also show titles that are clearly different from the Eusebian ones: the title of Ps 146 translates as “On the voice of Christ before the people” and that of Ps 148

1 Illegible flesh side of the parchment. Autopsy needed despite the good quality of the photo.  
2 Only a high-quality colour photo or an autopsy will enable identifying the text. This is however not possible for the time being as an access to the Coptic Museum in Cairo, where the folio is preserved, is difficult.

as “On the voice of the Church before the people” (versus the Greek “Ὑμνος σὺν θεολογίᾳ in both cases). However, while these two titles are missing in what we know of the Greek Eusebian psalm titles, the Coptic title used for Ps 146 appears almost literally as a superscription of Ps 145 in Latin versions in several manuscripts (“*Vox Christi ad populum*”) and belong to what Pierre Salmon calls the first series or “*Série de Saint Colomba*”. The Christian titles of this series are widely attested in Europe as early as the sixth century “quelles que soient ses origines plus lointaines”.<sup>3</sup> The fact that they appear in our Sahidic manuscript suggests that their origin must certainly be Greek.

#### 4. Conclusion

In the preceding pages I have presented a new aspect in the Coptic tradition of the Psalms: the existence of specific psalm headings in codex sa 2033. In the course of the article, I have tried to demonstrate that these headings are Coptic translations of the psalm titles or ὑποθέσεις written by Eusebius of Caesarea in the fourth century CE. This result is surprising given that these titles do not appear in the Septuagint, which was the basis for the Coptic translation of the Psalter, but in the Greek *catenae*. Yet even in the *catenae*, the titles appear either as a table of contents at the beginning of the manuscript, or in the margins of Psalter commentaries or even sometimes Greek Psalter manuscripts. In the Sahidic witness sa 2033, however, the titles precede each of the psalms in the main text corpus. Issues such as why our scribe adopted the Eusebian titles, which exact *Vorlage* he used and how the Eusebian titles were transmitted to Late Antique Egyptian Christianity could not be addressed in this article and provide interesting research questions for future investigations.

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3 Salmon, *Tituli*, 47.

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## Manuel Philes und die Psalmen im griechischen Mittelalter: Der synoptische Psalmentext in der Edition von Philes' *Psalmenmetaphrase*\*

Über das Leben von Manuel Philes († nach 1332) ist wenig bekannt. Er ist erstmals in einem Brief des Maximus Planudes aus dem Jahr 1294 erwähnt. Zumindest einmal war er Mitglied einer diplomatischen Mission (1297) zum Khan der Goldenen Horde Toqtaï, deren Zweck es war, die Vermählung der Tochter des Kaisers Andronikos II. Palaiologos vorzubereiten. Seine hauptberufliche Tätigkeit jedoch war das Verfassen von Auftragsdichtung, wobei er diesbezüglich der wohl begehrteste Autor war. Daher ist es auch kein Zufall, dass Philes einer jener byzantinischen Autoren mit dem größten dichterischen *Corpus* ist. Circa 150 Handschriften überliefern die rund 25.000 Verse (sowohl Zwölfsilber als auch Fünfzehnsilber), die dem Dichter zugeschrieben werden; trotzdem fehlt eine moderne Ausgabe aller Gedichte bis heute.<sup>1</sup>

### 1. Manuel Philes' *Psalmenmetaphrase* und der *Status quaestionis*<sup>2</sup>

Sein Oeuvre umfasst auch einige Metaphrasen: Der Begriff ‚Metaphrasis‘ bezeichnet eine Neufassung eines bestimmten Text, die sich vom Original bezüglich Sprache,

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1 Zu Leben, Werk und Überlieferung von Philes vgl. Stickler, *Manuel Philes*, 3–20, mit der dort zitierten Bibliographie. Vgl. auch Rhoby, „Wie lange lebte Manuel Philes?“, 149–160 und Kubina, „Manuel Philes“, 147–181.

2 In diesem Beitrag verweise ich auf das Alte Testament nach der Septuagintazählung und verwende die Abkürzungen der Handschriften nach Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis*. Die entsprechenden Handschriftenbeschreibungen sind online abrufbar unter [septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue](http://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue) (letzter Zugriff: 14.09.2023). Der Einfachheit halber habe ich es in § 3 vermieden, den Rahlfsnummern die Abkürzung „Ra“ (= Rahlfs) beizugeben. Daneben werden folgende Abkürzungen verwendet:

– Man.Phil., *MPs.*: Manuel Philes, *Metaphrasis Psalmi* / *Metaphraseis Psalmorum*.

– D: Athos, Μονὴ Ἱβήρων, *Cod.* 165 (Lambros 4285); Diktyon Nr. 23762.



Stil und Form unterscheidet.<sup>3</sup> Philes übertrug seine Vorbilder in byzantinische Verse. Während Philes kürze Texte mit unterschiedlichster Herkunft (den *Akathistos Hymnos*, drei Troparien, eine äsopische Fabel, zwei Abschnitte aus Lukian und eine Rede des Basileios von Kaisareia) in Zwölfsilber übertrug, verwendete er den Fünfzehnsilber nur für die längste seiner Metaphrasen, nämlich jene der biblischen Psalmen.<sup>4</sup>

Nur 98 Metaphrasen (ca. 3600 Verse) von den insgesamt 150 biblischen Psalmen sind überliefert.<sup>5</sup> Die Handschrift V und ihre Apographen zeugen von unterschiedlichen *variae lectiones*. Darüber hinaus haben drei Psalmen (32, 46 und 47) zwei verschiedene Neufassungen („Zweitmetaphrasen“, nach der Definition von Stickler); die zweite Fassung erscheint als eine Verbesserung der ersten.<sup>6</sup> Im wichtigsten Zeugen der Überlieferung des Texts (V) haben die Metaphrasen nicht dieselbe Reihenfolge wie im Buch der Psalmen:

1–9, 46 I, 47 I, 50, 69, 66, 144, 10–17, 32 I, 28, 103, 19–21, 77–80, 22–24, 26, 25, 29, 27, 30–43\*, 18, 81–86, 44–49\*\*, 51, 53–65, 68, 70–76, 100–102, 104–111, 67

(\* in dieser Gruppe erscheint *MPs.* 32 II; \*\* in dieser Gruppe sind *MPs.* 46 II und 47 II nacheinander kopiert)

Aus allen diesen Gründen scheint die *Psalmenmetaphrase* ein unvollendetes Projekt von Philes zu sein. Das, was überliefert ist, ist höchstwahrscheinlich eine posthume Ausgabe, die auf dem Nachlass des Philes basiert.<sup>7</sup> Die Zweitmetaphrasen lassen darauf schließen, wie der Autor an seinem Werk arbeitete.

– L: London, British Library, Additional 17473; Diktyon Nr. 38932.

– V: Vatikanstadt, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, *Vaticanus gr.* 16; Diktyon Nr. 66647.

3 Zu byzantinischen Metaphrasen vgl. Resh, „Definition“, 754–787, Lauxtermann, *Poetry*, 225–228 und die zwei neueren Sammelbände: Constantinou/Högel (ed.), *Metaphrasis*, und Alwis/Hinterberger/Schiffer (ed.), *Metaphrasis*. Auch Juan Signes Codoñer und sein Team arbeiten intensiv an diesem Thema, vgl. Signes Codoñer, „Metáfrasis“, 511–528.

4 Das ist die Meinung von Lauxtermann, „Besprechung“, 369–372.

5 Die *Psalmenmetaphrase* ist in drei Handschriften überliefert: V (f. 104r–136v), L (f. 166v–243v), D (f. 198r–223r). L und D sind aber *codices descripti* von V, wie von Gioffreda, „Testimoni“, 339–370, gezeigt wurde. Vgl. auch Gioffreda/Rhoby, „Psalmenmetaphrase“, 119–141, mit dem *stemma codicum* der *MPs.* 103.

6 Stickler, *Manuel Philes*, 110–111, 153–154 schließt irrtümlich eine weitere Zweitmetaphrase (Ps. 103) ein, aber vgl. Lauxtermann, „Besprechung“, 71 und folglich Gioffreda/Rhoby, „Psalmenmetaphrase“, 129–131, 141. In diesem Beitrag verweise ich auf jede Zweitmetaphrase durch die Buchstaben ‚a‘ und ‚b‘ nach der Nummer der Metaphrasis (e.g. *MPs.* 32a und *MPs.* 32b) entsprechend der Reihenfolge in V.

7 Wie Lauxtermann, „Besprechung“, 371 richtig vorschlägt; vgl. Gioffreda, „Testimoni“.

Günter Stickler edierte in seiner Studie nur *MPs.* 3, 5, 32 I–II, 37, 46 I–II, 47 I–II, 50, 62, 102, 103.<sup>8</sup> Das Hauptergebnis unseres Projekts ist eine Gesamtausgabe der *Psalmenmetaphrase* mit philologischer und sprachlicher Einleitung und mit Kommentar; als Herausgeber werden Anna Gioffreda (Textüberlieferung und kritischer Text) Ugo Mondini (synoptischer Text der Psalmen; Überarbeitung des kritischen Textes; sprachliche, metrische und literarische Untersuchung; Indices) und Andreas Rhoby fungieren.

## 2. Die Notwendigkeit einer Synopsis

In den Jahren 2004 und 2020 veröffentlichten Marc De Groote und Andrew Faulkner zwei Texte, die dem Werk des Philes ähnlich sind: die *Metaphrasis* der biblischen Oden des Ioannes Geometres (um 935 – Ende des 10. Jh.)<sup>9</sup> (De Groote) und die hexametrische *Metaphrasis Psalmorum* (Faulkner), die in der Spätantike geschrieben wurde, deren Datierung und Zuschreibung aber noch sehr strittig sind.<sup>10</sup>

Obwohl sich De Groote mit der von Geometres durchgeführten ‚Metaphrasierung‘ der Oden beschäftigte,<sup>11</sup> versah er die Edition weder mit einem synoptischen Text der biblischen Oden noch setzte er sich mit dem Problem der von Geometres verwendeten biblischen Vorlage auseinander.<sup>12</sup> Dies war sicherlich auch nicht das Hauptziel von De Grootes verdienstvoller Arbeit, die zahlreiche Informationen zur Metaphrase bietet, aber gleichzeitig ging der Herausgeber leider nicht auf folgende wichtige Fragen ein: Welche Textvorlage verwendete Geometres? Warum metaphrasierte er die biblischen Oden in Zwölfersilbern?<sup>13</sup>

In Faulkners Ausgabe erscheint der Text der Metaphrase auf der linken Seite und die englische Übersetzung auf der rechten Seite. Im Vergleich zu De Grootes Ausgabe ist der Text der entsprechenden Psalmen immer vorhanden, aber auf-

8 Stickler, *Manuel Philes*, 169–194. Die partielle Ausgabe von Stickler ist jetzt auf dem *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* verfügbar, wo aber auch die inexistente Zweitmetaphrase *MPs.* 103b erscheint, vgl. *supra* n. 5.

9 De Groote, „*Metaphrasis*“, 375–410. Vgl. auch ders., „Manuscript Tradition“, 1–20.

10 Faulkner, *Apollinaris*, mit zugehörigen Besprechungen Albrecht „Review“ and Lygouris, „Review“. Zur Frage der Autorschaft vgl. Golega, „Verfasser“, 1–22 und ders., *Psalter*, der die handschriftlich überlieferte Zuschreibung Apollinaris von Laodikeia († um 390) verweigert und *contra* Faulkner, *Apollinaris*, 1–31, der diese Zuschreibung annimmt (aber s. beide Rezensionen von Albrecht und Lygouris,); vgl. auch Ricceri, „Reception“, 259–263. Ricceri, „Rewritings“, 223–258 vergleicht einzelne Aspekte der spätantiken Metaphrase mit jener von Philes.

11 De Groote, „Metaphrasieren“, 95–111.

12 Vgl. die einzige Fußnote zu den Editionen, die er für den Vergleich verwendete: De Groote, „Metaphrasieren“, 98, Anm. 19.

13 Johannes Geometres metaphrasierte auch die *Vita* des hl. Pantaleon von Nikomedia, vgl. Demoen, „Life“, 165–184.

grund der Platzverhältnisse im gedruckten Buch ist er nur in kleiner Schriftgröße angeführt. Obwohl die Übersetzung, die den komplexen hexametrischen Text der spätantiken Metaphrase erklärt, gut verständlich ist, hat der Leser wegen des von Faulkner gewählten Layouts echte Schwierigkeiten, die Texte jeder Metaphrase mit ihrem biblischen Psalm synoptisch zu lesen. Das Fehlen eines fortlaufenden Kommentars verstärkt die negative Wirkung dieser *mise en page*, weil die Art und Weise der Neufassung und dann die Auswahl des Autors nicht leicht zu folgen und begreifen sind, obwohl sich Faulkner in einem Kapitel der Einleitung mit “Poetic Tradition, Periphrastic Technique, and Biblical Exegesis” beschäftigt.<sup>14</sup> Er geht auch kurz auf die Frage ein, welchen Text der Septuaginta der Verfasser der *Metaphrasis Psalmorum* verwendete.<sup>15</sup>

In Gegensatz zu diesen Beispielen habe ich für die Ausgabe der *Psalmenmetaphrase* von Philes von Anfang an entschieden, den Text des entsprechenden Psalms direkt neben die *Psalmenmetaphrase* zu setzen, so dass ein synoptischer Vergleich möglich ist. Ein grundlegender Teil unserer Arbeit an der *Psalmenmetaphrase* ist, die Aufmerksamkeit auf die literarische Arbeitsweise des Autors und auf Sprache und Metrik des Textes zu lenken, denen in der Einleitung auch spezielle Kapitel gewidmet sind. Zu diesem Zweck ist es unerlässlich, dass jede Metaphrase mit ihrem biblischen Psalm synoptisch einhergeht, damit der Leser die beiden Texte einfach miteinander vergleichen kann. Darüber hinaus neigt Philes dazu, der Vereinteilung des biblischen Psalms in seinen Metaphrasen zu folgen. Die synoptische Präsenz des Textes der Psalmen ermöglicht es, diese Vorgangsweise des Autors auf den ersten Blick zu veranschaulichen.

Diese Entscheidung wird durch die Besonderheiten der *Psalmenmetaphrase* erleichtert. In jeder Metaphrase hielt sich Philes zumeist so eng wie möglich an den Wortschatz und die Syntax des jeweiligen biblischen Psalms. Selten weicht der Text wesentlich ab, jedoch nie in seiner Bedeutung – und falls es zunächst so erscheint, beruht dies auf Philes’ Interpretation des Textes. Da gute Übersetzungen der Septuagintapsalmen verfügbar sind,<sup>16</sup> haben wir uns als Herausgeber entschieden, den kritischen Text der *Psalmenmetaphrase* ohne deutsche Übersetzung zu veröffentlichen. Deshalb stellt die Anordnung der Textmassen innerhalb zweier synoptischer Seiten kein Problem dar, da die linke Seite den Text der Psalmen enthalten kann.

14 Faulkner, *Apollinaris*, 45–56.

15 Faulkner, *Apollinaris*, 65–66.

16 Für das Deutsche siehe LXX.D (Kraus/Karrer, *Septuaginta Deutsch*); für das Englische siehe NETS (Pietersma/Wright, *Septuagint*).

### 3. Methodologische Probleme und die Gestalt des synoptischen Textes

Die Vorbereitung des synoptischen Textes der Psalmen ist aber keine leichte Aufgabe. Das erste Hindernis besteht durch den aktuellen 'kritischen' Text der biblischen Psalmen und seine Überlieferung. Es ist nicht das Ziel dieses Beitrags, die Mängel von Rahlfs' Ausgabe detailreich zu schildern und die Notwendigkeit einer neuen kritischen Psalmenausgabe<sup>17</sup> zu fordern – dies ist eine Aufgabe, der Felix Albrecht und sein Team mit dem Göttinger Projekt gerade nachgehen. Das Problem steht allerdings im Mittelpunkt der Forschung zu Philes' *Psalmenmetaphrase*, da sich die Untersuchung von Philes' Metaphrasierung notwendigerweise auf kritische Überlegungen zur Vorlage des Autors stützen muss, wie es Golega und Faulkner für die spätantike *Metaphrasis Psalmorum* versucht haben.<sup>18</sup>

Philes' biblische Vorlage ist aber nicht der spätantike Text der griechischen Bibel, der wegen seiner Bedeutung sowohl bei der Rekonstruktion des sogenannten „Old Greek“-Texts als auch für das Verständnis patristischer Quellen traditionell intensiv erforscht ist, sondern der griechische Text der biblischen Psalmen, wie er im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert gelesen wurde. Nach Rahlfs<sup>19</sup> haben einige wichtige Studien die Probleme der aktuellen Ausgabe der Psalmen hervorgehoben und Methoden zur Erstellung eines neuen kritischen Textes, in dem die sogenannte *L*-Rezension und der „Vulgärtext“ berücksichtigt und die Rolle der Übersetzungen überdacht werden, vorgeschlagen;<sup>20</sup> die Zahl dieser Studien wird in den kommenden Jahren dank des Göttinger Projekts sicherlich zunehmen, wie auch dieser Sammelband bezeugt. Dennoch ist eine Gesamtstudie des im Mittelalter überlieferten griechischen Psalters noch immer ein Desideratum.<sup>21</sup> Das ist besonders bemerkenswert, weil das Buch der Psalmen bekanntlich der mit am häufigsten kopierte Text während des griechischen Mittelalters war. Auch wenn die diachrone Untersuchung des mittelalterlichen Psalmentextes und seiner Überlieferung sehr anspruchsvoll ist, gestaltet sich die Rekonstruktion einer bestimmten Textphase – wie bei Philes' Vorlage – als noch herausfordernder.

Mit diesen grundlegenden Problemen konfrontiert, habe ich bei der Gestalt des synoptischen Textes drei verschiedene Mittel verwendet:

1. *Lesungen aus Rahlfs und Holmes/Parsons*. – Rahlfs hat seine Ausgabe von 1931 mit einem kritischen Apparat versehen, der nur die Lesungen der wichtigsten Zeugen und Familien von Handschriften erwähnt. Zu diesen habe ich

17 Vgl. Wevers, „Septuagint“, 19–23; Pietersma, „State“, 22 und Albrecht, „Report“.

18 Golega, *Psalter*, 150–168 und Faulkner, *Apollinaris*, 65–66.

19 Rahlfs, *Text*.

20 Zum Beispiel Pietersma, „Present State“, 12–32; Boyd-Taylor/Austin/Feuerverger, „Assessment“, 98–124; Ceulemans, „Theodoret“, 149–164. Zu Theodoret sei auch auf den Beitrag von Luciano Bossina im vorliegenden Band verwiesen.

21 Vgl. Hedley, „Göttingen Investigation“, 57–72.

die Lesungen, die von Robert Holmes und James Parsons gesammelt wurden, hinzugefügt. Es ist anzumerken, dass viele Varianten (insbesondere in Bezug auf den sog. Vulgärtext) bereits von Rahlfs berücksichtigt worden sind.<sup>22</sup> Diese zwei Quellen waren der natürliche Ausgangspunkt meiner Analyse: Jede Metaphrasis wurde mit dem jeweiligen Psalm und den vorhandenen Varianten verglichen. Dabei konnte ich feststellen, dass bestimmte Merkmale, die bei Philes erscheinen, offenbar nicht von der *L*-Rezension oder dem Vulgärtext abhängen, sondern sich auf andere Überlieferungswege – z. B. auf die syrische Übersetzung, die Philes natürlich nicht zugänglich war – bezogen. Dies zeigt, wie das binäre System der Rahlfsausgabe unser Verständnis der handschriftlichen Überlieferung der Psalmen beeinflusst hat.<sup>23</sup> Allerdings ließen sich nicht alle Aspekte eindeutig zuordnen.

2. *Die Datenbank des Septuaginta-Unternehmens.* – Mithilfe der zuvor genannten Datensammlung konnte ich jede Lesung, die in der *Psalmenmetaphrase* erscheint, auflisten. Dank der freundlichen Unterstützung von Felix Albrecht und seinem Team vermochte ich diese Lesungen mit der Datenbank des Septuaginta-Unternehmens, die während eines Jahrhunderts der Forschung in Göttingen erstellt wurde, abzugleichen. Damit war es mir möglich, weitere Übereinstimmungen aufzuspüren.
3. *Ein Codex selectus.* – Trotz der vorhandenen Mittel entschied ich mich dafür, die Daten durch einen mit Philes' *Psalmenmetaphrase* zeitgenössischen Zeugen, der sogenannten *L*-Rezension, zu vergleichen. Die Schwächen der Bédier-Methode sind mir sehr wohl bewusst, doch angesichts unseres aktuellen Wissensstands über die mittelalterliche Überlieferung der Psalmen und angesichts der Anforderungen einer kritischen Edition der *Psalmenmetaphrase* des Philes muss man irgendwo beginnen. Daher legte ich drei einfache Kriterien für die Auswahl fest:
  - a. Die Handschrift sollte die *L*-Rezension (Vulgärtext) enthalten.
  - b. Die Handschrift sollte zwischen dem Ende des 13. und dem 14. Jahrhundert und – wenn möglich – in Konstantinopel hergestellt worden sein.
  - c. Die Handschrift soll das ganze Buch der Psalmen enthalten.<sup>24</sup>

Bei meiner Suche nach dem besten Kandidaten hatte ich zunächst keine Präferenz für eine bestimmte Art von Handschrift. Aber letztlich fand ich glücklicher-

22 Holmes/Parsons, *Vetus Testamentum*.

23 Vgl. Pietersma, „State“.

24 Dieses dritte Kriterium könnte zu restriktiv erscheinen, da beispielsweise auch der *Codex Vaticanus* nicht alle Psalmen enthält. Wenn ein unvollständiger Zeuge gewählt worden wäre, wäre mehr als eine Handschrift notwendig verwendet worden, wodurch der Modelltext an Homogenität und damit an Vergleichswert verloren hätte.

weise die Handschrift *Cod. Ott. gr. 294* (Ra 267).<sup>25</sup> Auf den Folios 8r–257r enthält Ra 267 das vollständige Buch der Psalmen mit Einleitung und Kommentar; leider ist der Titel in der Handschrift abgeschabt, aber das *Inventarium Vaticanum* führt ihn wie folgt an: ψαλτήριον περιέχον ρνα' μετὰ δύο προγράμμάτων ὧν μὲν τὸ πρῶτον Νικηφόρου, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή. ψαλτήριον κυρίως.<sup>26</sup> In diesem Abschnitt der Handschrift folgt auf eine Einleitung jeweils eine Erläuterung zu jedem Psalm, dem zwei erklärende Präambeln (die zwei προγράμματα, die im generellen Titel genannt sind) vorangestellt sind: Das erste wird Nikephoros Kallistou Xanthopoulos (ca. 1256–1335) explizit zugeschrieben. Das zweite ist ein Gedicht in *politikoi stichoi*,<sup>27</sup> das in dieser Handschrift dem Kosmas Indikopleustes und anderswo (wahrscheinlich falsch) dem Michael Psellos zugeschrieben ist (*Poem*. 54 Westerink). Da die Folien in das 13. Jahrhundert datieren und das Werk eines Autors wie Xanthopoulos enthalten, habe ich diese Handschrift als *codex selectus* ausgewählt. Darüber hinaus ist ein vollständiges Digitalisat der Handschrift online verfügbar.<sup>28</sup>

Die *Psalmenmetaphrase* ist jedoch ein literarischer Text, bei dem jede innere Eigenschaft – auch diejenige, die sich von der Neufassung der biblischen Psalmen und ihrem Verfahren ergibt und die sich in der *Psalmenmetaphrase* als die häufigste herausstellt – nur vom Willen des Autors Manuel Philes abhängt.<sup>29</sup> Dies ist keine triviale Überlegung, da es trotz der vorstehenden Mittel nicht möglich ist, die Vorlage von Philes' Text durch das einfache Vergleichen mit dem Psalmentext und seinen Varianten präzise zu rekonstruieren. Dies wird durch eine einfache Beobachtung dessen demonstriert, was in den Zweitmetaphrasen passiert.

Philes' Umarbeitung tendiert zur Beibehaltung derselben Verteilung zwischen dem Psalm und seiner Metaphrasis. Diese Tendenz wurde sicherlich dadurch begünstigt, dass biblische Verse in der Regel syntaktischen/semantischen Einheiten entsprechen, die auch der Isometrie des byzantinischen Verses entsprechen. Dennoch gibt es mehrere Unterschiede zwischen der Verteilung der Psalmen nach der Ausgabe von Rahlfs und jener von Philes. Solche Abweichungen entsprechen manchmal registrierten Überlieferungsvarianten, während zahlreiche andere keine Entsprechung finden. Doch sind diese letzteren Unterschiede Zeugnis von nicht registrierten Überlieferungsvarianten, oder griff der Autor Philes in diese *loci* ein?

25 Feron/Battaglini, *Codices*, 158–159, und [https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra\\_267](https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra_267) (letzter Zugriff: 14.09.2023). Vgl. auch Parpulov, *History*, Appendix B1.

26 *Cod. Vat. Ott. gr.* 475, f. 127v. Ich bedanke mich bei Dr. Luca De Curtis, der für mich die Überprüfung vorgenommen hat.

27 Der Titel dieses metrischen Kommentars befindet sich auf f. 19v, ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῷ τῶν διὰ στίχων πολιτικῶν ἐρμηνειῶν τῶν ψαλμῶν.

28 [https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Ott.gr.294](https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Ott.gr.294) (letzter Zugriff: 14.09.2023).

29 Vgl. Gioffreda, „Rewriting“.

Ich ziehe die beiden Metaphrasen von Psalm 46 als Beispiel heran. In seiner Ausgabe druckt Rahlfs den folgenden Text für Ps 46: 4:

ὑπέταξεν λαοὺς ἡμῖν  
καὶ ἔθνη ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ἡμῶν

Wie der kritische Apparat berichtet, ist diese Versteilung eigentlich jene, die sich in Handschriften S La<sup>G</sup> Ga He 55 findet. Aber die Handschriften B 2013' R' T Sy A' und – als anderer Zeuge der *L*-Rezension – auch die Handschrift Ra 267 (f. 89v) zeugen vom Folgenden:

ὑπέταξεν λαοὺς ἡμῖν καὶ ἔθνη ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας ἡμῶν

Tatsächlich entspricht dieser Satz nur einem Vers in beiden Versionen der Metaphrasis. Der einzige Unterschied zwischen den beiden Versionen ist die rhythmische Form:

MPs. 46 I.5  
λαοὺς ὑπέταξεν ἡμῖν ἔθνη τιθεὶς εἰς πόδας  
MPs. 46 II.5  
λαοὺς ἡμῖν ὑπέταξεν ἔθνη τιθεὶς εἰς πόδας

In ähnlicher Weise wählt Rahlfs für Ps 46:8 die Gliederung von S 2013-Sa<sup>L</sup> La<sup>G</sup> Ga und Sy:

ὅτι βασιλεὺς πάσης τῆς γῆς ὁ θεός,  
ψάλατε συνετῶς

Aber Sa<sup>B</sup> R' T He und Ra 267 (f. 89v–90r) zeugen von der folgenden Versteilung:

ὅτι βασιλεὺς πάσης τῆς γῆς ὁ θεός, ψάλατε συνετῶς,

die auch in beiden Metaphrasen von Philes ihre Entsprechung findet:

MPs. 46 I.12  
ψάλατε δὲ καὶ συνετῶς πάσης τῆς γῆς κρατοῦντι  
MPs. 46 II.11  
ὅτι Θεὸς παμβασιλεὺς, ψάλατε, δὲ συνέσει.

Es gibt jedoch einen gegenteiligen Fall für denselben Psalm. Für Ps 46:6 hält Rahlfs die Lesung von B Sa<sup>L</sup> La<sup>G</sup> Ga TSyHe A' (d. h. A+1219+55) ein und schreibt daher:

ἀνέβη ὁ θεὸς ἐν ἀλαλαγμῷ,  
κύριος ἐν φωνῇ σάλπιγγος.

Diese Lesung befindet sich auch in Ra 267 (f. 89v). Dagegen zeugen S 2013-Sa B R' (d.h. R + La<sup>G</sup>) von der folgenden Verteilung:

ἀνέβη ὁ θεὸς ἐν ἀλαλαγμῷ, κύριος ἐν φωνῇ σάλπιγγος.

In diesem Fall zeigen die beiden Metaphrasen zwei unterschiedliche Verteilungen. MPs. 46 I hat zwei Verse, die zu der Annahme verleiten, Philes' Vorlage habe den biblischen Vers wie in Rahlfs' Ausgabe in zwei Teile geteilt:

MPs. 46.8–9

ἐν ἄσμασιν ἀλαλαγμῶν ὁ πλαστουργὸς ἀνέβη,  
ὁ κύριος ἐν σάλπιγγι φωνοῦση κατακράτος.

Dagegen hat die zweite Metaphrase in diesem Fall nur einen Vers:

MPs. 46 II.8

θεὸς ἀνέβη μετ' ὥδης καὶ σάλπιγγος ἡχοῦσης

Man erkennt, dass ein in den anderen Metaphrasen weit verbreitetes Merkmal der literarischen Arbeit von Philes auch in diesem Vers der zweiten Metaphrase von Psalm 46 zu sehen ist: Wenn Philes die Verteilung des Psalms nicht respektiert, entspricht jeder der beiden biblischen Verse einem *kolon* des *politikos stichos*, vgl. MPs. 46 II.8 θεὸς ἀνέβη μετ' ὥδης<sup>8</sup> καὶ σάλπιγγος ἡχοῦσης mit Ps 46: 6 ἀνέβη ὁ θεὸς ἐν ἀλαλαγμῷ, / κύριος ἐν φωνῇ σάλπιγγος.

Diese Überlegung hilft oft dabei zu unterscheiden, wann diese Variationen von einem Eingriff des Philes oder einer Überlieferungsvariante zeugen, denn die Schwankungen in der Verteilung der Psalmen, selbst in den zahlreichen Varianten, die bei Rahlfs, Holmes/Parsons und in der Göttinger Datenbank belegt sind, haben eine gemeinsame Eigenschaft: Ob es sich nun um einen einzelnen Vers handelt oder nicht, es sind immer syntaktisch und semantisch kohärente Einheiten. Da der Text der Psalmenverse durch kein übliches und festgesetztes griechisches Metrum bestimmt ist, existiert auch kein anderes Kriterium zur Unterscheidung des Textes in ‚Verse‘ innerhalb der griechischen Sprache, wenn man (wie im Mittelalter) den Masoretischen Text nicht als Vergleichsgröße heranzieht. Andererseits markiert das C8 des *politikos stichos* den Übergang zu einer neuen semantischen Einheit innerhalb des Metrums. Deshalb kann es sein, dass Philes in seiner Vorlage des Buches der Psalmen mal zwei Verse oder nur einen Vers las; in diesem Fall würde die syntaktisch/semantische Verbindung mit der Zäsur nach der achten Silbe ohnehin verschwinden.



Wegen dieser komplexen Voraussetzungen beim Zusammenstellen der synoptischen Ausgabe habe ich entschieden, wie folgt zu verfahren:

1. Wie bei allen Metaphrasen des Philes ist auch der synoptische Text jedes Psalms von einem kritischen Apparat begleitet, der alle wertvollen Varianten anführt, die für den Vergleich mit der entsprechenden Metaphrase relevant sind, aber nicht in den Text aufgenommen wurden.
2. Natürlich sind die Lesungen, die auf der Basis der Zitate im Neuen Testament von Rahlfs in seiner Ausgabe ergänzt wurden, in den synoptischen Text nicht aufgenommen und nur im Apparat angeführt.
3. Ich habe die überlieferten Varianten, die auf der Basis der Metaphrasis in der von Philes verwendeten Vorlage sicher oder sehr wahrscheinlich waren, in den synoptischen Text direkt integriert. Der kritische Apparat berichtet, wo die Varianten bezeugt sind, welche Lesung die anderen Handschriften enthalten und welche Lesung von Rahlfs gedruckt wurde. Nach der gebräuchlichen philologischen Anwendung sind die zusätzlichen Worte innerhalb von Spitzklammern <...> und die weggelassenen Worte innerhalb von eckigen Klammern [...] gesetzt.
4. Der Text jedes Psalms folgt der Verteilung, die jener seiner Metaphrasis am besten entspricht. Besondere diakritische Zeichen behalten den Überblick über die von Rahlfs angenommene Verteilung und berichten den Punkt, wo sich mein Text und der in Rahlfs' Ausgabe unterscheiden:
  - | der Text erscheint als eine einzige Zeile in Rahlfs' Ausgabe, stimmt aber mit zwei Zeilen der Metaphrase überein.
  - / der Text erscheint als zwei Zeilen in Rahlfs' Ausgabe, stimmt aber mit einem einzigen Vers der Metaphrase überein.

Darüber hinaus kündigt der kritische Apparat an, ob die Verteilung in der Überlieferung des Buches der Psalmen bezeugt ist oder nicht.

#### 4. Ein Beispiel aus der Ausgabe der *Psalmenmetaphrase*: MPs. 11

##### *Zeichen- und Siglenerklärung für den synoptischen Psalmentext*

|                                  |                                                  |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| <sup>or</sup> /    <sup>ov</sup> | Beginn eines Folios, recto/verso                 |
| /                                | eine Zeile (gegen zwei bei Rahlfs)               |
|                                  | zwei Zeilen (gegen eine bei Rahlfs)              |
| <sup>o</sup> αβγ                 | Zeilennummer bei Rahlfs, wenn sie nicht klar ist |
| <αβγ> / <...>                    | Zusatz im Vergleich mit Rahlfs                   |
| [αβγ] / [...]                    | Auslassung im Vergleich mit Rahlfs               |

|        |                                  |
|--------|----------------------------------|
| cod.   | codex/codices = Handschrift(en)  |
| Rahlfs | Rahlfs, <i>Psalmi cum Odis</i>   |
| 267    | <i>Codex Vat. Ottob. gr. 294</i> |

- XI** Εἰς τὸ τέλος, ὑπὲρ τῆς ὀγδόης· ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυιδ.
- 2** Σῶσόν με, κύριε, ὅτι ἐκλέλοιπεν ὁσῖος,  
ὅτι ὠλιγώθησαν αἱ ἀλήθειαι ἀπὸ τῶν υἱῶν τῶν ἀνθρώπων.
- 3** μάταια ἐλάλησεν ἕκαστος πρὸς τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ,  
χείλη δόλια ἐν καρδίᾳ·  
<sup>2</sup>καὶ ἐν καρδίᾳ ἐλάλησεν κακά.
- 4** ἐξολοθρεῦσαι κύριος πάντα τὰ χεῖλη τὰ δόλια  
καὶ γλώσσαν μεγαλορήμονα
- 5** τοὺς εἰπόντας Τὴν γλώσσαν ἡμῶν μεγαλυνοῦμεν,  
τὰ χεῖλη ἡμῶν παρ' ἡμῶν ἐστίν· / <sup>2</sup>τίς ἡμῶν κύριός ἐστιν;
- 6** ἔνεκεν τῆς ταλαιπωρίας τῶν πτωχῶν  
καὶ τοῦ στεναγμοῦ τῶν πενήτων  
νῦν ἀναστήσομαι, λέγει κύριος,  
θήσομαι ἐν σωτηρίᾳ, παρρησιάσομαι ἐν αὐτῷ.
- 7** τὰ λόγια κυρίου λόγια ἀγνά,  
ἀργύριον πεπυρωμένον δοκίμιον τῇ γῇ  
κεκαθαρισμένον ἐπταπλασίως.
- 8** σύ, κύριε, φυλάξεις ἡμᾶς / <sup>2</sup>καὶ διατηρήσεις ἡμᾶς·  
ἀπὸ τῆς γενεᾶς ταύτης καὶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.
- 9** κύκλῳ οἱ ἄσεβεῖς περιπατοῦσιν·  
κατὰ τὸ ὕψος σου·  
<sup>2</sup>ἐπολυώρησας τοὺς υἱοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων.

3.2 καὶ ... ἐλάλησεν] sic dividit Sa<sup>1</sup> | ἐλάλησεν] U<sup>1</sup>-1221–2018 L', ἐλάλησε 267,  
ἐλάλησαν B<sup>o</sup> R<sup>o</sup> Ga A' | <κακά>] L<sup>o</sup> (ergo 267) A' R<sup>o</sup> **4.1** ἐξολοθρεῦσαι] L',  
ἐξολοθρεῦσαι Rahlfs **5.2–3** sic in Sy, 5.3+2 sed etiam 6.1+2 praebent Ga 267 **6.1–2**  
ἔνεκεν τῆς ... καὶ τοῦ] U(uid)' R<sup>o</sup> Ga L<sup>o</sup> (ergo 267), ἔνεκα 1221, ἀπὸ τῆς ... καὶ  
ἀπὸ τοῦ B' A' Clem.Alex., ergo Rahlfs **8.1–2** sic dividunt R<sup>o</sup> Ga Sy A' necnon 267

- 11** Εἰς τὸ τέλος, ὑπὲρ τῶν κρυφίων τοῦ υἱοῦ. ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυιδ (f. 107v)  
Ἐκλελοιπότης τοῦ καλοῦ σῶζε με, παντοκράτορ·  
τὸ γὰρ ἀδόλως ἀληθὲς ὀλίγον παρ' ἀνθρώποις,  
ἐπεὶ λαλοῦσιν ἕκαστοι πρὸς τὸν πλησίον μάτην  
καὶ ταῖς καρδίαις ἔχουσιν ἐπόμενα τὰ χεῖλη
- 5** τὰ μηδαμοῦ καθήκοντα λαλοῦντες ἐν καρδίαις.  
ἀλλὰ τὰ χεῖλη τὰ ψευδῆ πάντα συγκόψας φθείρης  
καὶ γλώσσαν πᾶσαν δολερὰν μεγαλορρημονοῦσαν,  
ὅτι φασί· «πλατύνωμεν τὸ στόμα καὶ τὴν γλώσσαν,  
ἐπεὶ τὰ χεῖλη παρ' ἡμῶν· τίς γὰρ ἡμῶν δεσπόζει;» ||<sup>108r</sup>

- 10 σὺ δ' «ἀλλ' ἐξαναστήσομαι», δέσποτα πάντων, λέγεις,  
 «ἔνεκεν ταύτης τῶν πτωχῶν τῆς κακοδαιμονίας  
 καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου στεναγμοῦ τῶν παρ' ἐμοὶ πενήτων  
 καὶ σώσω τούτους τῇ πολλῇ τοῦ κράτους παρρησίᾳ.»  
 καὶ ταῦτα σου τὰ ῥήματα κεκαθαρμένοι λόγοι,  
 15 πεπυρωμένος ἄργυρος δοκιμασθεὶς ἐν χώνη  
 καὶ τιμαλφῆς ἀναφανείς τῇ πολλαπλῇ πυρώσει.  
 οὐκοῦν φυλάξαις μόνος με καὶ μόνος με τηρήσεις  
 ἐκ τῆς παρούσης γενεᾶς ἄχρι τῆς τελευταίας·  
 οἱ γὰρ τὸν τρόπον ἀσεβεῖς περιπατοῦσι κύκλῳ.  
 20 σὺ δε κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀγαθότητός σου  
 σοφῶς ἐπολυώρησας τοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τόκους.

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11 V (ff. 107–108r) L (ff. 175v–176r) D (ff. 199v–200r)

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11 tit. σῶσον με κύριε ὅτι ἐκλέλοιπεν ὁσος add. L : σῶσον με  
 κύριε ὅτι ἐκλέλοιπεν LD

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## 5. Schlussbemerkungen

Die Ausgabe der *Psalmenmetaphrase* von Manuel Philes ist in vielerlei Hinsicht relevant. Für die Byzantinistik ist es das längste Gedicht eines der bedeutendsten Autoren aus der Paläologenzeit. Da es sich um ein unvollendetes Projekt handelt und mehrere *variae lectiones* sowie drei Neufassungen derselben Metaphrasen bezeugt sind, stellt die *Psalmenmetaphrase* auch einen der wenigen Fälle dar, dank derer man in die Werkstatt eines byzantinischen Autors blicken kann.<sup>30</sup> Angesichts der Länge des Textes und der Tatsache, dass die *Psalmenmetaphrase* aus Gedichten in *politikoi stichoi* besteht, ist es außerdem möglich, effektiv zu untersuchen, wie ein Byzantiner mit der *koine* der Septuaginta interagierte und was er in seiner literarischen Umschreibung beizubehalten und zu ändern entschied. Einige Forschungsfragen bleiben noch offen: Für wen hat Philes die *Psalmenmetaphrase* komponiert und warum hat er das Projekt nicht vollendet?

Die Relevanz dieser Arbeit soll jedoch nicht auf die Byzantinistik beschränkt sein, und dabei spielt der synoptische Text der Psalmen eine grundlegende Rolle. Die *Psalmenmetaphrase* öffnet nicht nur ein Fenster zur textlichen Überlieferung des Psalmentextes im griechischen Mittelalter, die noch einer systematischen Erforschung harrt; sie ermöglicht aber auch weiterführende Überlegungen zur Verwendung des Psalmentextes im byzantinischen Kontext, die zuletzt intensiv erforscht wurde.

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30 Vgl. Lauxtermann, „Besprechung“, 371.

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## A Palaeographical Approach to the Greek Text of Psalms

“Because the Psalter is the most frequently used and therefore most frequently copied book of the Old Testament”, Alfred Rahlfs wrote in 1931, “there are many more manuscripts of the Psalter than of any other Old Testament book.”<sup>1</sup> The vast majority of these, Rahlfs went on to say, contain a single form of the Septuagint text, which he designated with the siglum *L*, deeming it impracticable, as well as probably pointless, to distinguish individual clusters within the plethora of *L* codices.<sup>2</sup> My article is a first attempt at pursuing that minor task. Its starting point is palaeographical: I focus on four groups of manuscripts copied in four distinct styles of handwriting that can be associated with four separate regions of book production.

1. Several Psalters are written in a characteristic type of sloping pointed majuscule<sup>3</sup> and share a number of codicological peculiarities.<sup>4</sup> Two of them carry dated scribal colophons: Ra 1156<sup>5</sup> was written in 877/8 CE and Ra 1191 was written most probably in 929 CE.<sup>6</sup> Both were produced in Jerusalem. The undated colophon of Ra 1189 reports in its turn that ‘this sacred book was copied at God’s holy place of Mt Sinai’.<sup>7</sup> Ra 1191, Ra 1192, and Ra 1193 all have parallel text in Greek and Arabic.<sup>8</sup> It is safe to date the group as a whole to the late ninth and early tenth centuries and to locate its production in Palestine and Sinai. That region was then part of the Abbasid Caliphate.
2. A relatively large number of Psalters are written in a characteristic form of minuscule script conventionally called ‘epsilon style’.<sup>9</sup> Dateable examples of this handwriting are limited to the second half of the twelfth century and can

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1 Rahlfs, *Psalmi*, 61: “Da der Psalter das am meisten gebrauchte und daher auch am meisten abgeschriebene Buch des A. T. ist, gibt es vom Psalter sehr viel mehr Hss. als von irgendeinem anderen Buche des A. T.”

2 Rahlfs, *Psalmi*, 61.

3 On sloping pointed majuscule see Orsini, *Studies*, 133–164.

4 Enumerated by Harlfinger, “Beispiele”, 463–465.

5 Since I cite a large number of manuscripts, I refer to them simply by their Rahlfs numbers. The corresponding catalogue descriptions can be found online at [septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de](http://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de) (last access: 15.08.2023).

6 Morozov, “К датировке”, id., “Александрийская эра”.

7 Transl. D. A. Morozov, cit. in Parpulov, *History*, 79.

8 On the Arabic handwriting in Ra 1193: Hjälm, “Paleographical Study”, 50–51.

9 Described by Canart, “Les écritures”.



sometimes be associated with Cyprus or Palestine.<sup>10</sup> (For instance, the original owner of Ra 1256 administered a Cypriot estate of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem.)<sup>11</sup> Cyprus remained in Byzantine hands till 1191, while the Holy Land was under Crusader rule at the time.

3. Another peculiar kind of Greek handwriting, the 'Reggio script', was current in twelfth-century Calabria and Sicily.<sup>12</sup> Its specimens include the trilingual manuscript Ra 174, which has parallel text in Greek, Latin, and Arabic. Those were the administrative languages of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily, where this and other 'Reggio-script' Psalters were produced.
4. The so-called 'Hodegon style' of minuscule handwriting appeared at the very beginning of the fourteenth century and seems to have been at first restricted to the Byzantine capital.<sup>13</sup> Its foremost proponents Chariton (who copied Ra 146, Ra 1480, Ra 1825) and Joasaph (who copied Ra 101) are known to have resided in Constantinople. As a whole, fourteenth-century 'Hodegon script' is quite uniform, hence those scribes who used it must have been in direct or indirect contact with one another.

I have chosen as sample LXX Ps 29, and I only list witnesses that preserve the text of this psalm. I record all variants, including orthographic ones. The division into verses follows the usage prevalent in the respective group of codices. The punctuation is my own.

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10 Weyl Carr, *Byzantine Illumination*, 127–129 and 151–154. For some reservations cf. Gamillscheg, "Fragen".

11 Cutler/Weyl Carr, "Psalter Benaki", 313–317.

12 Canart/Leroy, "Les manuscrits"; Re, "Considerazioni".

13 Politis, "Schreiberschule"; Hunger/Kresten, "Archaisierende Minuskel", 199–210; Hutter, "Schreiber und Maler", 189–190.

1. **Ra 1156, Ra 1185,<sup>14</sup> Ra 1186, Ra 1187, Ra 1188, Ra 1189,  
Ra 1190, Ra 1191, Ra 1192,<sup>15</sup> Ra 1193, Ra 1194**

- 1 Ψαλμὸς ᾠδῆς τοῦ ἐγκαινισμοῦ τῷ Δαυίδ.<sup>16</sup>  
 2 Ὑψώσω σε, κύριε, ὅτι ὑπέλαβές με  
 καὶ οὐκ ἠΰφρανας τοὺς ἐχθρούς μου ἐπ' ἐμοί.<sup>17</sup>  
 3 κύριε ὁ θεός μου, ἐκέκραξα πρὸς σέ, καὶ ἰάσω με.<sup>18</sup>  
 4 κύριε, ἀνήγαγες ἐξ ᾄδου τὴν ψυχὴν μου,  
 ἔσωσάς με ἀπὸ τῶν καταβαινόντων εἰς λάκκον.  
 5 ψάλατε τῷ κυρίῳ, οἱ ὅσιοι αὐτοῦ,  
 καὶ ἐξομολογεῖσθε τῇ μνήμῃ<sup>19</sup> τῆς ἀγιωσύνης αὐτοῦ.  
 6 ὅτι ὁργὴ ἐν τῷ θυμῷ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ζωὴ ἐν τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ.  
 τὸ ἐσπέρας αὐλισθήσεται κλαυθμὸς καὶ εἰς τὸ πρωὶ ἀγαλλίασις.  
 7 ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπα ἐν τῇ εὐθηνίᾳ μου· «Οὐ μὴ σαλευθῶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα».  
 8 κύριε, ἐν τῷ θελήματί σου παράσχου τῷ κάλλει μου δύναμιν·  
 ἀπέστρεψας δὲ τὸ πρόσωπόν σου καὶ ἐγενήθην τεταραγμένος.  
 9 πρὸς σέ, κύριε, κεκράζομαι καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεόν μου δεηθήσομαι.  
 10 «Τίς ὠφέλεια ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου, ἐν τῷ καταβαίνειν με<sup>20</sup> εἰς διαφθοράν;<sup>21</sup>  
 μὴ ἐξομολογήσεται σοὶ χοῦς ἢ ἀναγγελεῖ τὴν ἀλήθειάν σου;»  
 11 ἤκουσε κύριος καὶ ἠλέησέ με,  
 κύριος ἐγενήθη βοηθός μου.  
 12 ἔστρεψας τὸν κοπετόν μου εἰς χαρὰν ἐμοί,  
 διέρρηξας τὸν σάκκον μου καὶ περιέζωσάς με εὐφροσύνην,<sup>22</sup>  
 13 ὅπως ἂν ψάλλῃ σοὶ ἡ δόξα μου καὶ οὐ μὴ κατανυγῶ.  
 κύριε ὁ θεός μου, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι.

14 The text of Ps 29 is not legible in the microfilm copy of this manuscript.

15 The original text of Ps 29:1–7 is lost in this manuscript.

16 Ra 1187 Ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυίδ ᾠδὴ τοῦ ἐγκαινισμοῦ τῷ Δαυίδ, Ra 1188 Ψαλμὸς ᾠδῆς τοῦ ἐγκαινισμοῦ  
 ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυίδ, Ra 1189 no title, Ra 1190 Εἰς τὸ τέλος· ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυίδ, Ra 1191 Ψαλμὸς τῷ  
 Δαυίδ, Ra 1194 Εἰς τὸ τέλος· ψαλμὸς ᾠδῆς τοῦ ἐγκαινισμοῦ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ Δαυίδ.

17 Ra 1191(?) Ra 1194 ἐπ' ἐμέ.

18 Ra 1188 Ra 1191 ἰάσομαι, Ra 1190 ἰάσωμαι.

19 Ra 1187 Ra 1188 Ra 1191 Ra 1193 τὴν μνήμην.

20 Ra 1188 καταβοινεμαι (?).

21 Ra 1191 ἐν διαφθορᾷ.

22 Ra 1191 εὐφροσύνη.

2. **Ra 283, Ra 1011, Ra 1022, Ra 1025, Ra 1063, Ra 1068, Ra 1069, Ra 1075, Ra 1087, Ra 1242, Ra 1256, Ra 1278, Ra 1284,<sup>23</sup> Ra 1455,<sup>24</sup> Ra 1502,<sup>25</sup> Ra 1514, Ra 1546, Ra 1716, Ra 1822, Ra 1829**

1 Εἰς τὸ τέλος· ψαλμὸς ᾠδῆς τοῦ ἐγκαινισμοῦ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ θεοῦ.<sup>26</sup>

2 Ὑψώσω σε, κύριε, ὅτι ὑπέλαβές με

καὶ οὐκ εὐφρανάς<sup>27</sup> τοὺς ἐχθρούς μου ἐπ' ἐμέ.

3 κύριε ὁ θεός μου, ἐκέκραξα πρὸς σέ, καὶ ἴασω με.<sup>28</sup>

4 κύριε, ἀνήγαγες<sup>29</sup> ἐξ ᾧδου τὴν ψυχὴν μου,<sup>30</sup>

ἔσωσάς με ἀπὸ τῶν καταβαινόντων εἰς λάκκον.

5 ψάλατε τῷ κυρίῳ, οἱ ὅσοι αὐτοῦ,

καὶ ἐξομολογεῖσθε τῇ μνήμῃ<sup>31</sup> τῆς ἀγιωσύνης<sup>32</sup> αὐτοῦ.

6 ὅτι ὀργὴ ἐν τῷ θυμῷ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ζωὴ<sup>33</sup> ἐν τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ.

τὸ ἐσπέρας αὐλισθήσεται κλαυθμὸς καὶ εἰς τὸ πρωὶ ἀγαλλίασις.

7 ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπα ἐν τῇ εὐθηνίᾳ μου· «Οὐ μὴ σαλευθῶ<sup>34</sup> εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα».

8 κύριε, ἐν τῷ θελήματί σου παρέσχου<sup>35</sup> τῷ κάλλει μου δύναμιν.

ἀπέστρεψας<sup>36</sup> δὲ τὸ πρόσωπόν σου, καὶ ἐγενήθην<sup>37</sup> τεταραγμένος.

9 πρὸς σέ, κύριε,<sup>38</sup> κεκράζομαι καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεόν μου δεηθήσομαι.

10 «Τίς ὠφέλεια ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου, ἐν τῷ καταβαίνειν με εἰς διαφθοράν;

μὴ<sup>39</sup> ἐξομολογήσεται σοι χοῦς ἢ ἀναγγελεῖ τὴν ἀλήθειάν σου;»

23 This manuscript is inaccessible to me at present.

24 This manuscript is inaccessible to me at present.

25 This manuscript is inaccessible to me at present.

26 Ra 283 τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ Δαυὶδ, Ra 1011 ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυὶδ τοῦ ἐγκαινισμοῦ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ θεοῦ, Ra 1025 ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυὶδ τοῦ ἐγκαινισμοῦ τοῦ οἴκου, Ra 1063 ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυὶδ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐγκαινισμοῦ τοῦ οἴκου, Ra 1068 ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυὶδ ᾠδῇ τοῦ ἐγκαινισμοῦ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ θεοῦ, Ra 1242 ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐγκαινισμοῦ τοῦ οἴκου ᾠδῇ τῷ Δαυίδ Ra 1256 Ra 1546 Ψαλμὸς ᾠδῆς τοῦ ἐγκαινισμοῦ τοῦ οἴκου omit Εἰς τὸ τέλος, Ra 1278 Ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυίδ, Ra 1514 ψαλμὸς ᾠδῆς τῷ Δαυίδ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐγκαινισμοῦ τοῦ οἴκου κυρίου, Ra 1822 τοῦ Δαυὶδ ψαλμὸς, Ra 1829 Ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυίδ τοῦ ἐγκαινισμοῦ omits Εἰς τὸ τέλος.

27 Ra 1822 ἡῦφρανas.

28 Ra 1022 Ra 1242 Ra 1546 Ra 1822 Ra 1829 ἰάσσομαι, Ra 1514 ἰάσωμαι.

29 Ra 283 Ra 1011 Ra 1546 καὶ ἀνήγαγες.

30 Ra 1242 omits μου.

31 Ra 1242 Ra 1514 τὴν μνήμην.

32 Ra 1068 ἐξομολογεῖσθε τῆς ἀγιωσύνης.

33 Ra 1278 ἡ ζωή.

34 Ra 1022 ὑμσαλευθῶ.

35 Ra 1025 Ra 1069 Ra 1256 Ra 1716 Ra 1822 παράσχου.

36 Ra 1278 ἐπέστρεψας.

37 Ra 1242 ἐκοιμήθην.

38 Ra 1069 κύριε κύριε.

39 Ra 1068 ἤ.

11 ἤκουσε κύριος καὶ ἠλέησέ με,  
 κύριος ἐγενήθη βοηθός μου.  
 12 ἔστρεψας τὸν κοπετόν μου εἰς χαρὰν ἐμοί,  
 διέρρηξας τὸν σάκκον μου καὶ περιέζωσάς με εὐφροσύνην,  
 13 ὅπως ἂν ψάλλῃ<sup>40</sup> σοι ἡ δόξα μου καὶ οὐ μὴ κατανυγῶ.<sup>41</sup>  
 κύριε ὁ θεός μου, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι.<sup>42</sup>

### 3. Ra 174, Ra 194, Ra 227, Ra 270, Ra 1079

1 Ψαλμός ὡδῆς τοῦ ἐγκαινισμοῦ τοῦ οἴκου εἰς τὸ τέλος τῷ Δαυίδ.<sup>43</sup>  
 2 Ὑψώσω σε, κύριε, ὅτι ὑπέλαβές με καὶ οὐκ εὐφρανάς<sup>44</sup> τοὺς ἐχθρούς μου ἐπ' ἐμέ.  
 3 κύριε ὁ θεός μου, ἐκέκραξα πρὸς σέ, καὶ ἰάσω με.<sup>45</sup>  
 4 κύριε,<sup>46</sup> ἀνήγαγες ἐξ ἄδου τὴν ψυχὴν μου, ἔσωσάς με ἀπὸ τῶν καταβαινόντων εἰς  
 λάκκον.  
 5 ψάλατε τῷ κυρίῳ, οἱ ὅσιοι αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐξομολογεῖσθε τῇ μνήμῃ<sup>47</sup> τῆς ἀγιωσύνης αὐτοῦ.  
 6 ὅτι ὀργὴ ἐν τῷ θυμῷ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ζωὴ ἐν τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ.  
 τὸ ἐσπέρας αὐλισθήσεται κλαυθμός καὶ εἰς τὸ πρωὶ ἀγαλλίασις.  
 7 ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπα ἐν τῇ εὐθηνίᾳ μου· «Οὐ μὴ σαλευθῶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα».  
 8 κύριε, ἐν τῷ θελήματί σου παρέσχου<sup>48</sup> τῷ κάλλει μου δύναμιν· ἀπέστρεψας δὲ τὸ  
 πρόσωπόν σου καὶ ἐγενήθην τεταραγμένος.  
 9 πρὸς σέ, κύριε, κεκράζομαι καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεόν μου δεηθήσομαι.  
 10 «Τίς ὠφέλεια ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου, ἐν τῷ καταβαίνειν με εἰς διαφθοράν;  
 μὴ ἐξομολογήσεται σοι χοῦς ἢ ἀναγγελεῖ τὴν ἀλήθειάν σου;»  
 11 ἤκουσε κύριος καὶ ἠλέησέ με, κύριος ἐγενήθη βοηθός μου.  
 12 ἔστρεψας τὸν κοπετόν μου εἰς χαρὰν ἐμοί, διέρρηξας τὸν σάκκον μου καὶ περιέζωσάς  
 με εὐφροσύνην,  
 13 ὅπως ἂν ψάλλῃ<sup>49</sup> σοι ἡ δόξα μου καὶ οὐ μὴ κατανυγῶ. κύριε ὁ θεός μου, εἰς τὸν  
 αἰῶνα ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι.

40 Ra 1256 Ra 1514 Ra 1822 Ra 1829 ψάλλῃ, Ra 1546 ψάλει.

41 Ra 1022 οὐμῃκατανυγῶ.

42 Ra 1069 omits ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι.

43 Ra 194 Εἰς τὸ τέλος· ψαλμός τῷ Δαυίδ ὡδὴ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐγκαινισμοῦ τοῦ οἴκου Δαυίδ, Ra 227 Ψαλμός ὡδῆς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐγκαινισμοῦ τοῦ οἴκου εἰς τὸ τέλος τῷ Δαυίδ, Ra 1079 Ψαλμός ὡδῆς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐγκαινισμοῦ τοῦ οἴκου.

44 Ra 194 ἡῦφρανας, Ra 1079 ἔφρανας.

45 Ra 174 Ra 1079 ἰάσομαι.

46 Ra 1079 καί.

47 Ra 194 τὴν μνήμην.

48 Ra 194 παράσχου.

49 Ra 227 Ra 270 ψάλλῃ.

4. **Ra 146, Ra 199, Ra 1176, Ra 1456, Ra 1480,<sup>50</sup> Ra 1485, Ra 1486, Ra 1721, Ra 1728, Ra 1752, Ra 1825, Ra 7103<sup>51</sup>**

1 Ψαλμὸς ᾠδῆς τοῦ ἐγκαινισμοῦ τοῦ οἴκου Δαυίδ.<sup>52</sup>

2 Ὑψώσω σε, κύριε, ὅτι ὑπέλαβές με  
καὶ οὐκ εὐφρανas τοὺς ἐχθρούς μου ἐπ' ἐμέ.

3 κύριε ὁ θεός μου, ἐκέκραξα πρὸς σέ, καὶ ἰάσω με·

4 κύριε, ἀνήγαγες ἐξ ἄδου τὴν ψυχὴν μου,  
ἔσωσάς με ἀπὸ τῶν καταβαινόντων εἰς λάκκον.

5 ψάλατε τῷ κυρίῳ, οἱ ὅσοι αὐτοῦ,  
καὶ ἐξομολογεῖσθε τῇ μνήμῃ τῆς ἀγιωσύνης<sup>53</sup> αὐτοῦ·

6 ὅτι ὀργὴ ἐν τῷ θυμῷ αὐτοῦ,  
καὶ ζῶν ἐν τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ·  
τὸ ἐσπέρας αὐλισθῆσεται κλαυθμὸς  
καὶ εἰς τὸ πρωῒ ἀγαλλίαςις.

7 ἐγὼ δὲ εἶπα ἐν τῇ εὐθηνίᾳ μου· «Οὐ μὴ σαλευθῶ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα».

8 κύριε, ἐν τῷ θελήματί σου παρέσχου τῷ κάλλει μου δύναμιν·  
ἀπέστρεψας δὲ τὸ πρόσωπόν σου καὶ ἐγενήθην τεταραγμένος.

9 πρὸς σέ, κύριε, κεκράξομαι καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεόν μου δεηθήσομαι·

10 «Τίς ὠφέλεια ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου, ἐν τῷ καταβαίνειν με εἰς διαφθοράν;  
μὴ ἐξομολογήσεται σοι χοῦς ἢ ἀναγγελεῖ τὴν ἀλήθειάν σου;»

11 ἤκουσε κύριος καὶ ἤλῃσέ με,  
κύριος ἐγενήθη βοηθός μου.

12 ἔστρεψας τὸν κοπετόν μου εἰς χαρὰν ἐμοί,  
διέρρηξας τὸν σάκκον μου καὶ περιέζωσάς με εὐφροσύνην,

13 ὅπως ἂν ψάλλῃ<sup>54</sup> σοι ἡ δόξα μου καὶ οὐ μὴ κατανυγῶ.  
κύριε ὁ θεός μου, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα ἐξομολογήσομαί σοι.

So do codices copied in a distinct style of handwriting contain a distinct type of text? Sometimes they do: all manuscripts in group (1) share the peculiar readings **ἡῦφρανas** in Ps 29:2b, ἐπ' ἐμοί *ibidem*, and **παράσχου** in Ps 29:8a, which must be characteristic of the Psalter recension current in the Holy Land ca. 900 CE. Sometimes they do not: group (2) has too many internal variants for one to speak of

50 This manuscript is inaccessible to me at present.

51 This manuscript is inaccessible to me at present.

52 Ra 1456 Ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυίδ etc., Ra 1485 Εἰς τὸ τέλος· ψαλμὸς ᾠδῆς τοῦ ἐγκαινισμοῦ τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ Θεοῦ.

53 Ra 1456 τῆς ἀγιωσύνης *bis*.

54 Ra 1486 Ra 1825 ψάλλῃ.

a single ‘late Comnenian Cypro-Palestinian Psalms version’.<sup>55</sup> Sometimes they might: group (3) shows an otherwise uncommon verse division, and group (4) is strikingly homogeneous, its only two text variants being trivial.<sup>56</sup> My sample is admittedly small, and further analysis will certainly refine the picture. Systematic collating will be carried out for the *Editio critica maior* currently prepared at Göttingen; my task here was just to show that palaeography can contribute toward distinguishing individual sub-branches in the textual tradition of the psalms.

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## The Jerusalem Psalter and Its Evolution: A Comparative Study of Early Liturgical Psalter Divisions of the Syro-Palestinian Sphere\*

The Book of Psalms is a text used in worship and therefore performed ritually. From an early period, the Psalter has been an important element of every Christian liturgical tradition, especially so in the Daily (or Divine) Office. The psalms are sung and read in liturgy and prayer, and this performance becomes in a certain way part of the text. As psalms were sung in Jewish worship and continued to be so in Christian worship, both Jews and Christians organised the Psalms into a ‘liturgical Psalter’. The liturgical Psalter denotes both the text of the 150 psalms and their arrangement for ritual use. As with other Scripture, the users of the text supplied a paratext for ritual contextualisation, including divisions of the Book of Psalms into units of psalms. Cathedrals as well as monasteries used such Psalter<sup>1</sup> units both in continuous psalmody or stichology, that is, the singing of one unit after the other in church services over a certain period, and in selected psalmody, which in this case means Psalter units chosen because of their aptness to the occasion.

The Daily Office of the Holy City enjoyed a strong reputation in Late Antiquity and spread to churches both eastern and western. This essay examines the late antique liturgical Psalter of four Christian traditions, in four different languages, exploring their relationship with each other, with the rite of Jerusalem, and with the Jewish (liturgical) Psalter of Palestine. We shall see that there is reason to consider the four liturgical Psalters to be redactions of the liturgical Psalter of the Christian rite of Jerusalem, and to explore whether this Psalter might have a connection with the division of the Psalter of Palestinian Rabbinic Judaism.

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1 In this essay, the term ‘Psalter’ alone normally signifies ‘liturgical Psalter’, in other words, primarily Psalter divisions and units.



## 1. Introduction: “An Ancient and Common Tradition”

The Daily Office traditions that include our four Christian Psalters belong to what we may call the “Syro-Palestinian sphere” of liturgy. These Daily Office traditions – Hierosolymitan (adopted in Byzantium where it became “Hagiopolite”),<sup>2</sup> Armenian, various Syrian, and Old Georgian – demonstrate a deep relatedness; despite differences, they share many basic features.<sup>3</sup> More than 60 years ago, the Spanish liturgical scholar Juan Mateos recognised an “ancient and common tradition” of Psalters:

“Les unités de trois psaumes correspondent, au moins idéalement, à ce que nous appelons sous-sections des psautiers actuels. Ceci est vrai du moins pour le rite byzantin (tradition hagiopolite), pour le rite copte, et pour les rites chaldéen, maronite et syrien. Dans ces cinq rites il existe une tradition ancienne et commune qui divise le psautier, prolongé ou non par quelques cantiques, en 60 unités composées en principe de trois psaumes chacune. Cette division en 60 unités est plus ancienne que la grande division en 15 (Syriens et Maronites) ou en 20 (Chaldéens, Coptes et Byzantins), qui est la principale des psautiers actuels.”<sup>4</sup>

This extract from Mateos, which expands his earlier note that the East Syrian Psalter divisions seem inspired by the divisions of the Jerusalem Psalter,<sup>5</sup> reflects his remarkable intuition. However, the extract calls for certain rectifications. First, the Coptic rite and its Psalter should not be included in the group; it is true that some witnesses of the Coptic Psalter, as Ugo Zanetti has remarked,<sup>6</sup> do contain the Hierosolymitan system of division (60 and 20, see ch. 2.1 below), but normally the Coptic Psalter does not have it and, more importantly, there are no indications of

2 I use the term Ἀγιοπολίτης, ‘Hagiopolite’ in the same exact sense as the Byzantines used it: the variant of the Hierosolymitan Daily Office that was observed in Byzantium (primarily Constantinople). Despite its Jerusalem origin, it had come to differ from the Daily Office in Jerusalem itself, which I designate by the adjective ‘Hierosolymitan’. On this use of the term, see Frøyskov, “Early History”, 352, n. 8, and Tucker, *Hymnography*, 5–6, ch. 1.1.2.3). Cf. Parpulov, *History*, 101–102: “In Jerusalem itself, the word ‘hagiopolite’ had a technical meaning that is unclear to me. It was applied to the Psalter by scribes working in Constantinople, Mount Athos, Antioch, or Southern Italy.”

3 For more on this, see Frøyskov, “Book of Hours”, 153: “The general similarity of deep structures between Armenian, Jerusalem and Syrian offices suggests that a common tradition of daily prayer might lie behind them all.”

4 Mateos, “Office”, 175.

5 Mateos, *Lelya-Şapra*, 316: “La division de celui-ci en *marmyata* et an *hullale* semble avoir été inspirée par celle qui était en vigueur à Jérusalem en staseis et en kathismata” (written in 1959). Soon after, Charles (Athanasie) Renoux showed that Mateos’ suggestion was proved by the correspondence between small Psalter units of the East Syrian Psalter and the Armenian Lectionary (see below, ch. 4.4).

6 Zanetti, “Distribution”, 363–368, e.g. on p. 366.

any usage of this system within Coptic liturgy.<sup>7</sup> Second, it would be an excess of harmonising to regroup together all these Psalters as having 60 units: the Armenian and East Syrian Psalter divisions only have 57 psalm units. The last three East Syrian and Armenian units consist not of psalms but of canticles and the number 60 does not play any role in their systems of psalm distribution.<sup>8</sup> Third, it is doubtful that each small unit “has in principle three psalms”;<sup>9</sup> the number of psalm selections that have less or more than three psalms is so considerable that the principle seems to be quantity of text rather than number of psalms. In the East Syrian Psalter for instance, only slightly more than half of the small units (31 out of 57) consist of three psalms, and the number of psalms varies from one to six. Last, while Mateos is certainly right that the division into *small* units is the older one in some Syriac Psalters, in the case of the four Psalters that we shall study here, the two levels of division are so interrelated that it is hard to conceive the division with 57 or 60 units as having been created before and independently of the other, 8 or 20 units. Regarding his earlier note, in this essay we shall confirm the close connection between the East Syrian and Jerusalem Psalter, but not quite the way Mateos saw it. As we shall argue, the East Syrian Psalter was not only inspired by the Jerusalem Psalter; it quite certainly *was* (a version of) the Jerusalem Psalter.

However, Mateos’ broad picture is correct, and we shall see in what follows that the psalm selections of the small units, and partly the large ones, are sufficiently similar for us to classify the Psalters – historical or present – from the Palestinian-Byzantine, Old Georgian, Armenian and East Syrian liturgical traditions into one distinct family.<sup>10</sup> The historical connection of the Daily Office of these liturgical traditions with the Resurrection (Anastasis) cathedral of Jerusalem, albeit with a question mark for the East Syrian Office,<sup>11</sup> supports a strong initial assumption

7 Except for individual cases resulting from Palestinian influence; see for instance Zanetti, “Distribution”, 366–368.

8 If one counts these three one must also count the nine canticle units of the Hagiopolite Psalter, which then has 69 small units.

9 This idea is repeated by many, for instance Winkler, “Night Office”, 477; Taft, *Liturgy*, 89; Alexopoulos/Johnson, *Introduction*, 170–171, 173. The commonality of groups of three *selected* psalms at the beginning of daily services may be the reason why scholars suggest this idea, but this principle is not necessarily applicable to Psalter stichology.

10 The West Syrian Psalters (Syriac Orthodox and Maronite) have the same number of small units (57) as the East Syrian one and probably go back to the same Syriac Psalter division. The West Syrian Psalters do not show the same stability as the East Syrian ones and will not be included in this study.

11 Kannookadan, *Lectionary*, 213–214, argues for a Jerusalem influence on the East Syrian Lectionary: “The comparative study of the East Syrian lectionary systems with the early extant lectionary systems shows that the antecedents of the East Syrian lectionary systems are found in the Early Syrian lectionary system which, in turn, was modelled on the Jerusalem system and was developed under its influence.”

that our four Christian Psalters are members of the family of the Jerusalem Psalter. We must take the uncertainty regarding the East Syrian Psalter seriously, since it appears to be the earliest redaction of the Christian Psalter of Jerusalem.<sup>12</sup> The four Christian Psalters include biblical canticles (odes), and these were important in the liturgical systems of psalm distribution, but for reasons of space, we must exclude the canticles in this essay.

We shall examine the connection of the East Syrian Psalter with the Palestinian Hebrew Psalter, and the connection of all four Christian Psalters with the Jerusalem (Christian) liturgy as known from other liturgical books. Questions as to whether the chant of Psalter units belongs to so-called “cathedral” or “monastic” psalmody will not be raised here;<sup>13</sup> it has often been associated with monasticism, but the Jerusalem Psalter was a book of the cathedral and its services employed Psalter units in both a continuous and a selected way. Important questions to bear in mind are the following. Can we consider the four Psalters to be versions of the Psalter of Jerusalem itself, or do they represent local modifications of the received Jerusalem Psalter? Do they represent chronologically consecutive redactions of the Jerusalem Psalter?

Two conventions will be followed for the sake of clarity. To denote the small units of the four Christian Psalters I shall be using the term ‘antiphon’, which, as we shall see, presumably was the Greek term already in use in the fourth century. Throughout this essay, psalm numbers will follow the Septuagint numbering; this does not do justice to the Hebrew or the Syriac Peshitta numbering but is necessary for the sake of clarity. Further, it is important to keep in mind that the historical liturgical Psalters have different stichometries (verse divisions), none of them identical to that of modern Bible editions.<sup>14</sup> In an appendix at the end, I present a comparative table of the Psalter divisions in question.

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12 The East Syrian Daily Office does show affinities with the Jerusalem Office. In my study of the early Horologion of Jerusalem (Frøyskov, “Book of Hours”) I included the East Syrian Office, but this study was focused on the relationship of the Armenian Horologion with Jerusalem. It remains to be examined in depth whether the East Syrian Office originated in, or was strongly influenced from, Jerusalem.

13 See Taft, “Psalmody”, 9–23; Buchinger, “Psalm”, 467–476.

14 Usually, modern editions do not render the original stichometry as found in the manuscript sources but restructure the verse division according to today’s usual division. However, some editions, such as the Armenian and Georgian ones used in this study (see the Armenian Psalter and the Old Georgian Psalter below), include the verse counts found in the manuscripts at the end of each psalm; that of the Old Georgian Psalter even gives the stichometry of the manuscripts in addition to the modern one.

## 2. Four Christian Psalters – and a Jewish One

Our first task is to establish, as far as possible, what was the late antique stage of our five liturgical Psalters. Two of them (the Palestinian Rabbinic Hebrew Psalter and the Old Georgian Psalter) are no longer in use and we shall rely on manuscripts. For the three others, which are still the Psalters of their rites, the challenge is to find evidence that their present divisions are the same as, or at least not very different from, those pertaining to the period we study. We present them in reverse order compared to what we shall conclude about their chronology.

In addition to the five, we shall make some reference to the so-called ‘Ecclesiastic’ (Ἐκκλησιαστικής) Psalter of Constantinople (Hagia Sophia, Ἡ Μεγάλη Ἐκκλησία), which was divided into 68 (variable) antiphons for stichology and six or eight fixed antiphons.<sup>15</sup>

### 2.1 The Hagiopolite Psalter

The Hagiopolite<sup>16</sup> Psalter is identical to the present Greek Orthodox liturgical Psalter. It has a division of 60 small units (ἀντίφωνον, δόξα or στάσις) and 20 large units (κάθισμα or κανών).<sup>17</sup> Stichometry: ca. 4780 verses.<sup>18</sup> As my main witness, I shall be using *Codex Sinaiticus* gr. 30 (Ra 1187).<sup>19</sup>

Psalter manuscripts with rubrics for the Hagiopolite Psalter division extend back to the ninth century, and probably to the eighth century in the form of the incomplete rubrics of the “Zürich Purple Psalter” (see below in the next paragraph). Even though we shall conclude that the Hagiopolite Psalter was formed in Constantinople (on the basis of a redaction of the Jerusalem Psalter), it is convenient to employ a group of ninth-tenth century Psalter manuscripts preserved at the Sinai Mon-

15 The difference seems to depend on whether one counts Ps 118 as one or three antiphons. On the Ecclesiastic Psalter, see Hanke, *Vesper*, 447–516. This liturgical Psalter is quite similar to the Psalters of Hierosolymitan tradition, but not enough for us to involve it extensively here. However, a part of it found its way into the Hagiopolite Psalter; see below, ch. 3.5 and 4.6.

16 As noted in n. 2, this term here denotes not ‘Hierosolymitan’ but a liturgical tradition of Constantinople.

17 For κανών, see below, ch. 4.3. About the term ‘kathisma’, see Anderson/Parenti, *Office*, 274–280.

18 *Cod. Sinaiticus* gr. 30 (Ra 1187). 4782: *Cod. Sinaiticus* gr. 32 (Ra 1189), the “Uspensky Psalter” (878 CE; Ra 1156), *Cod. Sinaiticus* gr. 34 (929 CE; Ra 1191), *Cod. Vat. gr.* 1873 (11th cent.; Ra 215), *Cod. Vat. Barberinianus* gr. 455 (1276 CE; Ra 1276); 4784: *Cod. Sinaiticus* gr. 60 (12th cent.; Ra 1202). Somewhat different numbers are found in later, Byzantine Psalters (for instance 4837 of the 11th cen. *Cod. Vat. Barb. gr.* 372; Ra 226). Cf. Parpulov, *History*, 81, n. 19; Schneider, “Oden”, 444.

19 Consulted in microfilm; I have collated the stichometry of all psalms, antiphons and kathismata of this manuscript. For a description of it, see Parpulov, “Psalms”, 101–102. The choice of this one witness was made in view of the stichometry (the divisions into units are the same in all manuscripts of the Hagiopolite Psalter).

astery that represent the Hagiopolite Psalter as it had been exported to Palestine. Parpulov calls them a “uniform ‘Palestinian’ type of Psalter” and dates them to “the decades around 878–929”:<sup>20</sup> Sinai manuscripts Greek 28–37 (Ra 1185–1194),<sup>21</sup> plus the “Uspensky Psalter” (St. Petersburg Rossiyskaâ Nacional’naâ biblioteka Φ. № 906 [Gr.] 216; Ra 1156) of 878 CE, formerly at Sinai, and Moscow Rossiyskaâ Gosudarstvennaâ Biblioteka Φ. 201 (A. S. Norov) 18A (Ra 1102).<sup>22</sup> Among these, Ra 1187 and the “Uspensky Psalter” (Ra 1156) explicitly attach themselves to the Resurrection cathedral: “The preceding verses are 4780 as we chant in the Holy Anastasis of Christ our God” (Ra 1187).<sup>23</sup> Their small format suggests that they were used in a more modest setting than a cathedral.<sup>24</sup> However, there can be little doubt that the immediate *Vorlage* for Ra 1187 and the “Uspensky Psalter” was the choir book of the Jerusalem cathedral, and perhaps for the others as well, and that these manuscripts are peripheral witnesses to that book.<sup>25</sup> These Psalters have liturgical features that are associated with the rite of Jerusalem.<sup>26</sup>

To the Palestinian type we may add early witnesses to the Hagiopolite Psalter that belong to the Byzantine (Hagiopolite) sphere and that contain liturgical features adopted from the rite of Hagia Sophia. The oldest documentation of the Hagiopolite Psalter division rubrics seems to be the “Zürich Purple Psalter” (Zürich Zentralbibliothek MS RP 1; Ra T), in which a later hand has inscribed the terms δόξ[α] and κάθ[ισμα].<sup>27</sup> According to Parpulov, these rubrics must have been inscribed before the 780s when the codex was transferred to Reichenau from Rome.<sup>28</sup> The Psalter-Horologion (Book of Hours) of Turin Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria MS B.VII.30 (Ra 1208), datable to the late ninth/early tenth century, has the same

20 Parpulov, *History*, 85.

21 *Cod. Sinaiticus* gr. 37 (with fragments) has been dated earlier, but I follow Georgi Parpulov who includes it in this group of manuscripts.

22 See Parpulov, *History*, 78–85, for description and dating of these manuscripts.

23 ὡς πρόκειται στί(χοι), δὲ πρ’, καθὼς ψάλλομεν ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ Χ(ριστο)ῦ τοῦ Θ(εο)ῦ ἡμῶν Ἀναστ(άσει), (fol. 368r). Rendered in Parpulov, “Psalters”, 102, and Weitzman/Galavaris, *Monastery*, 15.

24 Cf. Parpulov, *History*, 81: “The invariably small format of our manuscripts makes very unlikely their use as choir books in the cathedral of Jerusalem.”

25 *Cod. Sinaiticus* gr. 32 attaches itself to Mount Sinai (see Parpulov, *History*, 80).

26 The biblical canticles are the nine canticles typical of the Jerusalem tradition, unlike the fourteen canticles of the Constantinople (Hagia Sophia, Ecclesiastic) Psalter. None of the appended texts points necessarily to a non-Palestinian origin, and the Great Doxology is of the Palestinian type (regarding the two types of the Doxology, see Anderson/Parenti, *Office*, 302–303).

27 This inscription is very incomplete: at the end of Psalms 128, 133, 142 and 150 (see Crisci, “Salterio”, 45). In addition, there is a *doxa* within Psalm 118 (fol. 163v). Stefano Parenti is incorrect in stating that “The macrodivision by kathismata is attested in the middle of the sixth century in the Purple Psalter of Zurich” (Anderson/Parenti, *Office*, 302).

28 Parpulov, “Psalters”, 89, n. 51; idem, *History*, 54.

rubrical terms.<sup>29</sup> Both these Psalters have the Constantinopolitan series of fourteen canticles rather than the nine canticles of the Jerusalem rite but the stichometry is that of short verses as in the Palestinian and (other) Hagiopolite witnesses of the Hagiopolite Psalter and not the long verses as in the Constantinopolitan Psalter.

The Hierosolymitan Daily Office was adopted in Constantinople and was there called Ἀγιοπολίτης, “Hagiopolite”. I have argued elsewhere that this adoption did not take place only with the Studios monastery around 800, as is often held, but earlier – in the seventh or even the sixth century.<sup>30</sup> In the process of Byzantinisation that started in the ninth century it was this Hagiopolite Office that spread from Constantinople (more on this below, ch. 4.6). The absence of Constantinopolitan supplementary material in the Psalters of the Palestinian type could lead one to assume that they represent a “pure” Hierosolymitan or Palestinian Psalter without Byzantine elements. However, this proves not to be the case. As we shall see, both Pss 50 and 118 have long verses like the Ecclesiastic Psalter of Hagia Sophia, unlike the short verses of all the other psalms.<sup>31</sup> Further, the division into three small units of Ps 118 is that of the Ecclesiastic Psalter: units 2 and 3 starting with v. 73<sup>32</sup> and 132, with a stichometry of (ideally) 169 verses like the Ecclesiastic Psalter (see below, ch. 3.5). This suggests that the Hagiopolite Psalter represents a Constantinopolitan recension of the Jerusalem Psalter.

For a long time, the Hagiopolite Psalter coexisted in Byzantium with the Ecclesiastic Psalter of the Great Church of Hagia Sophia.<sup>33</sup> In the end, the Hagiopolite Office became the only Orthodox Daily Office, and, as part of that Office, the Hagiopolite Psalter became the Psalter of all churches observing the Byzantine rite. In liturgical studies it was habitual to distinguish terminologically between the two Psalters known in Byzantium by labelling the units<sup>34</sup> of the Psalter of Constantinople “antiphons” and the small units of the Hagiopolite Psalter “stasis” or “doxa”. Such a distinction between these two Psalters is correct according to the terminology of later Byzantine Christianity but only partially so in an historical perspective. In fact, the above Palestinian group of Psalters shows that the units of the Jerusalem Psalter were called “antiphon” in ninth century Palestine as well.<sup>35</sup>

29 See Preda, *Manuscrisul*, 113–117. On this manuscript (Ra 1208), cf. the contribution by Margherita Matera in the present volume. I adhere to the dating that she proposes there.

30 For more on this, see Frøyshov, “History”.

31 I have checked *Codices Sinaitici* gr. 30, 32 and 36. Mercati, *Osservazioni*, 27 noted this for Ps 118.

32 Notably, here the Palestinian Hebrew Psalter also divides this psalm, the verse being the beginning of *seder* 17. See the comparative table at the end (§ 6).

33 For recent descriptions of these two Psalters and their characteristics, see Parpulov, *History*, 93–102; Anderson/Parenti, *Office*, 260–272.

34 The Constantinople Psalter had only a division into small units.

35 See Frøyshov, *L'Horologe*, 353–356. This terminological misunderstanding is increasingly being rectified, as in Anderson/Parenti, *Office*, 261.

## 2.2 The Old Georgian Psalter

The Old Georgian Psalter was the Psalter of the Georgian Church during the period in which it followed the rite of Jerusalem, in other words the “pre-Athonite” or “pre-Byzantinised” Georgian Psalter. Like the Hagiopolite, the Old Georgian is divided into 60 small units (ფსალმუნი, *psalmuni*)<sup>36</sup> and 20 large units (კანონი, *kanoni*). Even though the number of units is the same, both the small and the large psalm units of the Old Georgian Psalter are partly different from those of the Hagiopolite Psalter. Stichometry: ca. 2900 verses.

There was some variation in the Old Georgian Psalter division. The “Mcxeta Psalter”, Tbilisi National Center of Manuscripts MS A-38, has two slightly different divisions: the first is marked in the text itself and is identical to the division of the Palestinian Georgian witnesses; the other is indexed (by incipit) in the supplementary section.<sup>37</sup> The two divisions differ for five of the twenty *kanoni* (both are included in the Comparative Table at the end of this article).

The text of the Old Georgian Psalter is the first Georgian translation of the Psalms, made no later than the fifth century and often called “pre-Athonite”.<sup>38</sup> Anna Kharanauli further subdivides this translation into three types or forms.<sup>39</sup> Her types 2 and 3 have been edited together by Mzekala Shanidze, based on codices dated to the 9th–10th centuries, and this edition is used here.<sup>40</sup> Type 1 was recently examined by Jost Gippert and Bernard Outtier on the basis of the *scriptura inferior* of *Codices Sinaitici georg.* N.84 et N.90.<sup>41</sup> No division rubrics have been detected in these fragments of the oldest Georgian translation type.<sup>42</sup>

The Old Georgian liturgical books, called ქართული, *kartuli*, “Kartvelian” or “Georgian”, by the Georgians themselves, are considered to reflect a stage of Hierosolymitan liturgy generally datable to the sixth-seventh century.<sup>43</sup> Shanidze proposed that the Old Georgian Psalter represents the sixth-seventh century Jerusa-

36 This signification of the term ‘psalmuni’ has not been commonly recognised before; see below (“The early terms for small Psalter units”).

37 Both are edited by Shanidze, *Redactions*; the first successively in the edition, the other on pp. 475–476.

38 See Outtier, “Translation”, 132, who labels it “Georg-Ps 1”. The next, Athonite Georgian translation of the Psalms (Georg-Ps 2), made at the monastery of Iviron at Mount Athos in the eleventh century, has the same division as that of the Hagiopolite Psalter.

39 See Kharanauli’s article in this volume.

40 Shanidze, *Redactions*.

41 Gippert/Outtier, “Psalter”.

42 Nothing is said about it in the article. Bernard Outtier confirmed in an e-mail of 13.02.2023 that there was no such rubric.

43 See Frøyshov, “Witness”, 230.

lem Psalter.<sup>44</sup> The old Georgian Psalter concords with other ‘kartuli’, pre-Athonite liturgical books (see below, ch. 3.2). Notably, of the two slightly different divisions, it is the one called “first” above, marked in the text of the manuscripts, that concords with the other books, and that is the one we shall be using.

## 2.3 The Armenian Psalter

The Armenian Psalter is the Psalter of the Armenian rite. It is divided into 57 small units (գովլայ, *gobl̥ay*, or գովաղայ, *gubal̥ay* or yet other spellings, pl. *gobl̥aykʻ*) and eight large units (կանոն, *kanon*). Stichometry: ca. 2481.<sup>45</sup>

According to the prevailing scholarly view, the Armenian Psalter was translated from Syriac in the early 5th century, then revised on the basis of a Greek text in the aftermath of the Council of Ephesus (431).<sup>46</sup> I use the text published by Hovhannes Zohrabian, the standard edition of the Armenian Bible for scholarly purposes, which has the same Psalter arrangement as in the present Armenian rite.<sup>47</sup> Zohrabian’s edition was based on a manuscript of 1319 (Venice San Lazzaro Mekhitarist Library MS 1508), which is only slightly later than the earliest, thirteenth century manuscripts of the Armenian Psalter.<sup>48</sup> The same Psalter division with the same stichometric rubrics is found in the 15th century Psalter Armenian Patriarchate of Istanbul, Balat, MS 57.<sup>49</sup>

The Armenian church in the early fifth century adopted most of the liturgical rite of Jerusalem (Lectionary, Horologion, some hymnody, but not the Eucha-

44 Shanidze, *Translations*, 77: “The Georgian system of kanoni, whose similarity with the Jerusalem one does not cause any doubt, suggests that the first may represent an early form of the Jerusalem division, prevalent in the sixth-seventh centuries (ქართულ კანონთა სისტემა, რომლის მსგავსება იერუსალიმურთან ეჭვს არ იწვევს, გვავარაუდებინებს, რომ პირველი, შესაძლოა, წარმოადგენს იერუსალიმური დაცოფის ადრეულ სახეს, VI–VII საუკუნეებში გავრცელებულს.).

45 Ormanian, *Dictionary*, 112 (verse number of all eight canons). My own count of the 1859 publication of the Armenian Psalter, using the verse count at the end of each psalm, is 2486. According to Shanidze, *Translations*, 48, n. 111, it is 2462.

46 Cox, “Version”, 178, 180–181, 246–247. See also Cox, “Translations”, 130–131.

47 Zohrabian, *Book*. The divisions of the Armenian Psalter are marked in these editions. The eight *kanonkʻ* and the 57 *gobl̥aykʻ* are listed in Kerovpyan, *L’Oktôêchos*, 91–96.

48 Cox, “Version”, 180. There does not seem to exist any study based on manuscript witnesses of the historical development of the Armenian liturgical Psalter.

49 Seen in digital copy at the Vivarium Collections, Saint John’s University and the College of Saint Benedict (<http://cdm.csbsju.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/HMMLMicrofi/id/117494/rec/5>; last access: 15.08.2023). Presumably, the perfect match between the fourteenth century, fifteenth century and contemporary Psalters here consulted reflects a stable tradition in the second millennium.



rist).<sup>50</sup> *A priori*, the Armenian Psalter could possibly have received its liturgical arrangement from the Syriac Psalter since the Syriac tradition was an early source of the Armenian rite. However, since the Armenian church adopted the Hierosolymitan Horologion, and the Psalter and the Book of Hours are closely connected and mutually dependent books, it is logical that the liturgical Psalter would also be Hierosolymitan.

The liturgical use of the Armenian Psalter is a system in which the psalms, minus Pss 148–150 (the last *goblay*/antiphon, the Praises/*Ainoi*), are divided into eight large units, each of which is subdivided into seven small ones. This gives the total of 57 small units ( $8 \times 7 + 1$ ). Each *kanon*, after the seven *goblayk'*, also has a biblical canticle and a supplication, which means that there are altogether eight biblical text units in each of the eight *kanonk'*/canons.<sup>51</sup> The long redaction of the early eighth century liturgical commentary by Step'anos Siwnec'i has a chapter on the daily psalmody,<sup>52</sup> in which we discern the same Psalter division as the one found in later Armenian documents:

“Why are the psalms of David, by which we conduct the prayers every day, arranged into canons of seven *goblayk'*? And for what reason do we call to mind as if deficient in meaning, the hymns of the other prophets, by intoning canticles, and then the proclamation and the priest's prayer?”<sup>53</sup>

Evidence for the Armenian Psalter earlier than the seventh century is lacking but, given the generally archaic features of the early layer of the Armenian Daily Office, there is reason to assume that the Armenian Psalter division is early.<sup>54</sup> In light of this study, which shows the agreement of the second millennium Armenian Psalter with the fifth century Lectionary (see below), it is reasonable to assume that it goes back to the time when the Armenians adopted the Daily Office of the Jerusalem rite (fifth century).<sup>55</sup>

50 For the Book of Hours (*Žamagirk'*, Horologion), see Frøyshov, “Book of Hours”.

51 See Winkler, “Night Office”, 474–476.

52 Findikyan, *Commentary*, 124–127 (ch. II).

53 Findikyan, *Commentary*, 124. Thus, the canticle becomes the eighth unit of each canon (ibidem, 125–126, ch. II,4).

54 Cf. Findikyan, “Liturgy”, 707, who highlights “the remarkable protective tendency of the Armenian Liturgy. The Armenian Liturgy often preserves ancient structures and usages long since supplanted in other rites.”

55 Cf. Frøyshov, “Book of Hours”, 113 (archaic character), 154 (date of the adoption of the Jerusalem Horologion).

## 2.4 The East Syrian Psalter

The East Syrian Psalter is the Psalter of the churches that observe the East Syrian rite.<sup>56</sup> It has a division of 57 small units (ܡܪܡܝܬܐ, *marmītā*, pl. *marmyātā*). The number of small units is the same as in the Armenian Psalter, and their psalm selections are identical for more than 2/3 of the Psalter. It is common to reckon with three units of canticles, which gives a total of 60 small units (the large units will be discussed directly below). Stichometry: around 4830. I use the contemporary East Syrian liturgical Psalter.<sup>57</sup> The text of the East Syrian Psalter is that of the Peshitta.

Ancient Peshitta manuscripts such as 7a1 (6th/7th cent.), 8a1 (7th/8th cent.) and 8t1 (7th–8th cent.) do not contain original unit rubrics.<sup>58</sup> Original East Syrian unit rubrics are found in Psalters from the 12th–13th century onwards, such as London BL Add. MSS 14,674, f. 1–78 (12t1), 14,675 (13t1), 14,677 (13t2) and 17,219 (13t3).<sup>59</sup> However, the so-called Pahlavi Psalter provides earlier documentation. This is a fragment of a Middle Persian translation of a Syriac Psalter, written in the Pahlavi script, probably in the second half of the sixth or the seventh century.<sup>60</sup> That this Psalter belongs to the East Syrian context is seen from the presence of the same refrains (*qānōnē*) as in the East Syrian Psalter.<sup>61</sup> The Pahlavi Psalter indicates the end of the small units by the rubric ‘Glory’ in Syriac letters (ܫܒܒܬܐ, *šubbāḥā*), at the same places (psalms) as in the East Syrian Psalter.<sup>62</sup>

The collection of Psalter refrains is important evidence of the antiquity of the East Syrian division into small units. There is a *qānōnā* for each of the 150 psalms. The *qānōnē* for the psalms (if more than one) of the same *marmītā* have the same number of syllables. In this way the refrains demarcate which psalms belonged to each *marmītā*. Now, the Psalter units that in this way are embedded in the isosyllabism of the refrain groups consistently coincide with the psalm units of the East

56 The Church of the East (“Nestorian”), the Chaldean Catholic Church and the Syro-Malabar Catholic Church.

57 Summarised in Molitor, *Brevier*, 40–42 (LXX psalm numbers), and Varghese, “Psalms”, 418 (Peshitta psalm numbers). See also Mateos, *Lelya-Ṣapra*, 448–449, and Maclean, *Office*, 259.

58 For the shelf marks of these manuscripts, see Peshitta Institute (Leiden), *Liber psalmorum*, x–xi. For a more definitive statement, more ancient manuscripts should be examined.

59 I thank Natalia Smelova for this information. Further, Dickens suggests that the Syriac Psalters of Turfan, some of which have indications of *marmyātā*, “presumably come from sometime between the 9th and 13th centuries” (Dickens, “Turfan”, 374).

60 See Gignoux, “Psalter”; cf. Brock, *Bible*, 146. Dickens suggests palaeographical similarity of the Pahlavi Psalter with a processional cross that could date from the 8th century (Dickens, “Turfan”, 363). The fragment is online: [https://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/ps/dta\\_ps01.html](https://turfan.bbaw.de/dta/ps/dta_ps01.html) (last access: 15.08.2023).

61 These refrains are translated and studied in Mateos, *Lelya-Ṣapra*, 314–353.

62 Edited in Andreas/Barr, “Bruchstücke”, 95–116. The Psalms that have ‘Glory’ at the beginning are Psalms 98, 125, 131 and 135: *ibidem*, pp. 100, 105, 110, 114; cf. 148–149 (entry ܫܒܒܬܐ in dictionary). The psalms represent the beginnings of antiphons 39 and 51–53 of the East Syrian Psalter.

Syrian Psalter. The *qānōnē* corpus is traditionally attributed to the sixth century Catholicos Aba I.<sup>63</sup> Independently of the question of authorship, the copying of the Pahlavi fragment is a *terminus ante quem* for both the refrains and, in turn, the division of the contemporary East Syrian Psalter into *marmyātā*.

The question of large units is more complicated. The contemporary East Syrian Psalter regroups *marmyātā* into large units called *hūllālā*. There are 20 *hūllālē*, 21 including the canticles. The *hūllālē* consist of an uneven number of *marmyātā* (two, three or four). Mateos has shown that this system of large units was created after that of the *marmyātā*,<sup>64</sup> probably after the seventh century.<sup>65</sup> The nature of the division, or divisions, into large units before this is not clear, and part of the problem is to know what the terms signify in the various sources.

The seventh century liturgical commentary on the Daily Office by Gabriel of Qatar (Qatrāyā), written in a cenobitic milieu,<sup>66</sup> prior to the appearance of the present system of large units, gives a diverse picture of the daily distributions of psalms. Joseph Alencherri explains that Gabriel distinguishes between three liturgical contexts: cathedral (Alencherri: “School-cathedral”), cenobium (“School-cenobitic”) and celliote-cenobitic (“Solitaries-cenobitic”).<sup>67</sup> In Gabriel’s commentary we may discern the system of Psalter distribution, or elements thereof, appertaining to these liturgical contexts.

Gabriel only hints at the first system, that of the cathedral, which distributes psalms according to *marmītā* and not the large units (of three *marmyātā*): two *marmyātā* are recited at Daily Vespers.<sup>68</sup> The sequence of two small units breaks with the division into large units, each of which has three *marmyātā*. Other evidence of distribution according to *marmītā* and in non-triple numbers shows that this is not a single case, such as the ten *marmyātā* of Compline (*Sūbbā’ā*) and of Nocturns (*Lēlyā*) according to Dadīshō’ Qatrāyā, quoting Babai the Great’s (d. ca. 628) *Rules for the Novices* of the Great Monastery of Mount Izla (north of Nisi-

63 Mateos is inclined to accept the attribution to Aba I and even suggests that the whole division into 57 *marmyātā* could have been authored by the catholicos (Mateos, *Lelya-Şapra*, 316). Our study shows that this division is considerably older than the sixth century.

64 Mateos, *Lelya-Şapra*, 316, 410–411. See also Mateos, “Espèces”, 52: “La récitation courte propre aux mémoires, basée non sur l’unité psalmodique hullala, mais sur l’unité marmita, représente donc une structure plus ancienne que l’organisation du lelya ferial, et antérieure à la division du psautier en hullale”.

65 Mateos, *Lelya-Şapra*, 413 (point 6: the seventh century writers Abraham bar Lipeh and Dadisho bar Qatrāyā do not speak of *hūllālē*).

66 Alencherri, “Morning Service”, 86.

67 Alencherri, *Economy*, 36.

68 Vogelpoel, *Commentary*, 10, 89; Alencherri, *Economy*, 39, n. 107.

bis),<sup>69</sup> and the seven *marmyātā* at Sunday *Lēlyā* according to the ninth century *Expositio* of Ps-George of Arbela.<sup>70</sup>

In chapter 17, entitled “Why do we serve three *šubbāḥē* each in the times (of prayer) of the daytime and four at compline and nine at night?”, Gabriel describes the distribution system destined for the cenobites observing seven daily services. Psalter units called *šubbāḥā* (“Glory”) are performed at regular services of the day: Third – Sixth – Ninth Hours, Compline and the Vigil (notably, not at Vespers and Matins). Adding up the *šubbāḥē* we get 22 units (3 + 3 + 3 + 4 + 9). In Vogelpoel’s interpretation, the *šubbāḥē* are large units, each consisting of three *marmyātā*.<sup>71</sup> This seems to be right, even though the total number of large units (22) is strange for a day and a night, exceeding the whole Psalter whether divided in 20 or 21 large units. It does not make things clearer that the West Syrian Psalter reverses the terminology, *shuboḥo* signifying the small unit and *marmitho* the large one.<sup>72</sup> However, other sources support the above interpretation of Gabriel’s terminology. The same terminology is found in Dadīshō‘ Qaṭrāyā later in the same century.<sup>73</sup> Further, the huge quantity of daily psalmody in this system, resulting from *šubbāḥā* signifying the large unit, is very similar to the daily distribution found in the *Expositio* of Ps-George of Arbela.<sup>74</sup>

The third system of Psalter distribution, which is destined for solitaries (here celliotes living within a cenobium),<sup>75</sup> has sixty *marmyātā*, of which 57 are psalmic and three consist of canticles.<sup>76</sup> These were distributed over twenty hours,

69 Mateos, *Lelya-Šapra*, 473; Alencherry, *Economy*, 31.

70 Mateos, *Lelya-Šapra*, 433 and 410 (7+3). Mateos considers this an ancient practice, prior to the new system of large units (*hūllālē*) introduced in the seventh century.

71 Vogelpoel, *Commentary*, 103. In the following passage Gabriel seems to distinguish the two terms: “Therefore, we too triply praise the Trinity, not only through the trinity of *šubbāḥē* (i.e., the three *šubbāḥē* that are served at each of the three times of prayer during the daytime), but [also], at the end of every *marmīṭā*, we give glory ‘to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit.’” (Vogelpoel, *Commentary*, 363).

72 Brock, *Bible*, 141.

73 “As long as you are a novice and young, recite the Doxology [Glory ..., Now and ever ...] and the prayer which we described above, with a mournful voice at the end of every *marmīṭha*, and at the end of the *shubbāḥā* of every third *marmīṭha*.” (Dadīsho, *On Solitude*, 139).

74 See Mateos, *Lelya-Šapra*, 402.

75 Alencherry, *Economy*, 38.

76 Vogelpoel, *Commentary*, 102–104. Gabriel writes (p. 373): “Observe closely, O discerning reader, with the wisdom of the grace of the Holy Spirit, that this was done through our Fathers, who directed that one Psalter be served as for one day – that is, a night and a day – this, which was [equal to] the number of its sixty *marmyātā*, with the canticles (*tešbḥātā*) of Moses and of Isaiah. Now, when these sixty are divided over twenty hours, it results that for every hour, its portion is three *marmyātā*, and the other four hours that are left over from the twenty-four hours of the day are left for the times [of prayer] of the morning and of the evening, and for the time of nourishment and its service.”

with three *marmyātā* in each portion.<sup>77</sup> Gabriel specifies which hours/gatherings are exempted from this psalmody: Matins, Vespers, meal, Compline.<sup>78</sup> Gabriel does not name the large portion (unit) in the passage about the psalmody of the solitaires (n. 71). We note that this system has a certain large-unit level, in that three small units are said each hour, thus forming a portion. Even though there are twenty large units, in the context of the Psalter we may single out the nineteen psalmic units. The number of nineteen units will play an important role for the question of the origin of the Jerusalem Psalter (see below, ch. 4.1).<sup>79</sup>

## 2.5 The Palestinian Hebrew Psalter

The Palestinian Hebrew Psalter was the Jewish Psalter in Palestine and other regions that followed the Palestinian triennial Lectionary. Unlike the four Christian Psalters, it has a division of one level only: it is divided into nineteen portions called *seder* (סדר, *sdr*), pl. *sedarim*. Stichometry: 2524.<sup>80</sup> I use the St. Petersburg (or Leningrad) Codex (St. Petersburg Rossiyskaâ Nacional'naâ biblioteka MS Hebrew I B19a), one of the main manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible, copied in 1008 or 1009.<sup>81</sup> The interest of the Palestinian Hebrew Psalter in this study lies in the striking match between its number of Psalter portions and the number of large units in the East Syrian Psalter – nineteen in both cases.

The Tiberian Masoretic Bible manuscripts have inserted textual divisions for most books according to two different lectionaries: the triennial Palestinian lectionary and the annual Babylonian lectionary. These lectionaries prescribed readings from the Pentateuch (Torah) and the Prophets (Haftarah) at the Synagogue services of certain days, including the Sabbath. While the Babylonian reading cycle over time became the only one in use, it is the Palestinian lectionary that concerns

77 The *Durchbeten* of the whole Psalter in a day and a night was still practiced in the thirteenth century, according to Bar Hebraeus (see Varghese, “Psalms”, 418).

78 Alencherry explains the service of the meal to be Compline (Alencherry, *Economy*, 38). This corresponds to the Greek term for Compline, Ἀποδειπνον, “after supper”. This distribution system is quite similar to that of the cenobites: the major services of Matins and Vespers are excluded, and if one spreads out the three large units of the cenobites’ day Hours (the services: Third – Sixth – Ninth) on the hours of the day, one gets about the same arrangement as in the system of the solitaires – one large unit of three *marmyātā* at each hour of the day. The difference is mainly that the cenobites perform Psalter units at Compline. It may be that the cenobites’ distribution system is a more ritualised and more communal variant of that of the solitaires.

79 In the Comparative Table at the end, we have added the large-unit numbers to the East Syrian Psalter, based on Gabriel’s information according to which the *marmyātā* were performed in groups of three.

80 The Palestinian number, while the Babylonian (and later the Masoretic) number was 2527 (Dorival, “Divisions”, 118).

81 Ed. Dotan, *Biblia*.

us here. The division into *sedarim* was in some way or other related to the triennial Palestinian lectionary.<sup>82</sup> It has a total number of more than 400 *sedarim*, covering most of the Tanakh; the Book of Psalms is divided into nineteen *sedarim*. The MSS mark the beginning of each *seder* by the letter *samekh* (ס).<sup>83</sup> The St. Petersburg Codex also gives the list of the nineteen *sedarim* of the Psalms in the appendix part at the end (fol. 463rv).<sup>84</sup> These portions of the nineteen *sedarim* are essentially the same as in the list offered by the Dominican Raymond Martini in his *Pugio Fidei* (ca. 1270).<sup>85</sup>

According to Yosef Ofer, the *seder* division is stable at the end of the first millennium.<sup>86</sup> However, at an earlier point, the triennial Palestinian lectionary was not a homogenous system, and we do not know the exact portions of the *seder* division prior to the earliest Bible manuscripts. Michael Klein sums up the uncertainties of the exact performance of the *sedarim* and their actual relation to lectionaries:

“The sources are many and diverse: early Bibles with *Massorah*, Genizah lists, *midrashim* and *piyyutim* (esp. Yannai) that are structured after the lectionary, and Romanian and Karaite traditions. All of these sources point to the fact that there was no single universally accepted system, but rather a number of distinct traditions, varying from 141 to 167 weekly *sidrot*. The cycle was apparently completed over a non-uniform period of 3 to 3½ years. There are also strong indications that the readings were not bound to the seasons of nature, nor to the calendar of festivals (as had once been posited), and that different communities may have read different portions on any particular Sabbath.”<sup>87</sup>

Nevertheless, the evidence for the existence of a Palestinian lectionary extends back to the sixth-century poet (*payyetan*) Yannai who wrote *piyyut* hymnography for it; the reading cycle is discernible in the hymns.<sup>88</sup> Some kind of Palestinian lectionary system, therefore, appeared before this, during the Amoraic period (third to fifth century).<sup>89</sup>

82 Ginsburg, *Introduction*, 32: “The Grammatico-Massoretic Treatise which precedes the Yemen MSS. of the Pentateuch distinctly declares that the *Sedarim* are the Pericopes of the Triennial cycle which obtained in many communities”.

83 Ofer, *Masora*, 13, with Figure 1.5.

84 The list and the marginal *samekh* letters give the same *sedarim* except in one case (Ps 100:5 vs 101:1; the difference is noted in Dotan, *Biblia*, 915).

85 Voisin, *Pugio*, 139.

86 “Examination of the ancient Tiberian Masoretic MSS shows that the division or the sections is consistent, and that there are not many divergences in these divisions among the MSS.” (Ofer, “Divisions” [English abstract]).

87 Klein, “Notes”, 66.

88 Lieber, *Yannai*, 15: Yannai wrote “poems for every *sidra*—every Torah portion—of the triennial cycle and the festivals and holidays”; Heinemann, “The Triennial Lectionary Cycle”, 43–44.

89 It is excluded that there was such a Lectionary in the second century or before (Heinemann, “The Triennial Lectionary Cycle”, 45).

The most common number of Torah sedarim is 154, a number which evidently is compatible with one portion of the Torah being read on the Sabbath weekly for three years ( $51/52 \times 3$ ). There have been several attempts to relate the 150 psalms to the triennial cycle of sedarim for the Torah and the Haftarah.<sup>90</sup> These attempts, however, concern individual psalms and not the nineteen sedarim of the psalms, which are the actual portions prescribed by the lectionary. Ofer admits our ignorance concerning the performance of the sedarim: “While the principle for the arrangement of the divisions in the Pentateuch is known (being based on the triennial reading of the Torah), the rationale of the Masoretic divisions in the books or the Prophets and Hagiographa has not been discovered.”<sup>91</sup> Of course, the nineteen portions do not suffice for a period of three years and were necessarily repeated in sequence.

An important aspect that we do know is that the Writings (Ketuvim or Hagiographa), to which the Psalms belong, never became a part of the public Scripture reading of the Synagogue.<sup>92</sup> Ismar Elbogen, building on earlier scholars, argued that Psalms were read, and preached over, not within a public service but in connection with one, the Sabbath Afternoon service (Mincha).<sup>93</sup> However, Lieve Teugels in a more recent study puts forward that not even this is certain: “there is no serious proof that the practice of reading and expounding Psalms on shabbath (afternoon) was current in the Palestinian triennial cycle custom”.<sup>94</sup> It appears, then, that the ritual context of the nineteen sedarim of the Psalter was one of personal devotion rather than of public liturgy, whether in a domestic or guild context or other. The Psalter sedarim are technically a part of the Palestinian Lectionary, but we do not know how their performance relates to it.

### 3. A Family of Psalters: Relations and Home

As is clear from the above, there exists a substantial difference between the Palestinian Hebrew + East Syrian Psalter (19), the Armenian Psalter (8) and the Old Georgian + Hagiopolite Psalter (20) on the level of large Psalter units. Indeed, they are so different that there cannot possibly be any structural or “organic” relationship between them.<sup>95</sup> On the level of small units, there are also differences. There is

90 Teugels, “Aggadat Bereshit”, 121, n. 33.

91 Ofer, “Divisions” (English abstract).

92 Elbogen, *Liturgy*, 149.

93 Elbogen, *Liturgy*, 150–151.

94 Teugels, “Aggadat Bereshit”, 121.

95 However, even though the divisions into 19 and 20 are chronologically separated by the division into 8, as we shall conclude, it could be that the creation of the division into 20 was conceived as connected with that into 19, as a return-with-a-revision to a previous division.

one of antiphon numbers: the East Syrian and the Armenian Psalter have 57 antiphons and the Old Georgian Psalter and the Hagiopolite Psalter have 60 (the Palestinian Hebrew Psalter does not have small units). The two series of 57 antiphons are partly different and so are those of 60 antiphons. Further, there is a difference of stichometry. Our Psalters all have different stichometries, in two main groups: short verses and long verses:<sup>96</sup>

a) Long verses, around 2500: the Palestinian Hebrew Psalter has 2524 verses; the Armenian Psalter has 2481/2462 verses; the ca. 2900 verses of the Old Georgian Psalter are an unusual number, closest to the long verse type. The Ecclesiastic Psalter has some 2542 verses.

b) Short verses, around 4800: the East Syrian Psalter (Peshitta) has around 4830 and the Hagiopolite Psalter around 4780 verses. The Septuagint has some 5000 or 5100<sup>97</sup> (*Codex Sinaiticus*: 5059 verses).

Despite these differences, however, the four Christian Psalters of the Syro-Palestinian liturgical sphere demonstrate a close relationship on the level of small units (antiphons), to which we now turn.

### 3.1 Analysis of the Relationship of Antiphon Divisions: A Family of Psalters

The following comparison of the Psalters, and the subsequent consideration of their relationship, are based on the formal criterion of the psalm selection of each antiphon.

a) The East Syrian = the Armenian = the Old Georgian = the Hagiopolite Psalter: Pss 1–8, 14–36, 85–88, 105–106, 145–150 (19 antiphons, for the East Syrian and the Armenian Psalter 33.3%). The major reason for this relatively low percentage is the Old Georgian Psalter's particular ordering of Pss 37–67.

b) The East Syrian = the Armenian = the Hagiopolite Psalter: Pss 14–77, 105–106 (28 antiphons, for the East Syrian and the Armenian Psalter 49.1%, for the Hagiopolite Psalter 46.6%). The 26 identical antiphons of Pss 14–77, which is not far from half the Psalter (45.6% for the East Syrian and the Armenian Psalter, 43.3% for the Hagiopolite Psalter), represent a substantial identity which speaks strongly of a stable nucleus and an organic connection between the East Syrian Psalter, the Armenian Psalter and the Hagiopolite Psalter.

c) The East Syrian Psalter = the Armenian Psalter: Pss 10–77, 88–102, 105, 114–117, 119–137 (39 out of 57 antiphons, 68.4% of the Psalter). The two Psalters of 57

<sup>96</sup> The short verses may be explained as the hemistiches of the long verses (see Tov, *Practices*, 133, n. 190).

<sup>97</sup> Dorival, "Divisions", 117.



antiphons are identical for more than two thirds. This high percentage signifies that they may be considered two variants of the same Psalter.

d) The East Syrian Psalter = the Hagiopolite Psalter: Pss 10–80, 88, 101–105 (32 antiphons, for the East Syrian Psalter 56.1%, for the Hagiopolite Psalter 53.3%). See comment in next paragraph.

e) The Armenian Psalter = the Hagiopolite Psalter: Pss 1–8, 14–48, 55–77, 85–88, 101–102, 105–106, 145–150 (34 antiphons, for the Armenian Psalter 59.6%, for the Hagiopolite Psalter 56.6%). The similarity between each of the two Psalters with 57 antiphons and the Hagiopolite Psalter with 60 antiphons is more than half the Psalter, and slightly higher between the Armenian and the Hagiopolite Psalter than between the East Syrian and the Hagiopolite Psalter.

f) The Armenian Psalter = the Old Georgian Psalter: Pss 1–8, 14–36, 85–102, 105–118, 142–150 (31 antiphons, for the Armenian Psalter 54.4%, for the Old Georgian Psalter 51.6%). The similarity of the Armenian Psalter of 57 antiphons with the Old Georgian Psalter of 60 is lower than with the Hagiopolite Psalter, the other Psalter with 60 antiphons (54.4% vs 59.6% for the Armenian Psalter).

f) The Old Georgian = the Hagiopolite Psalter: Pss 1–8, 14–36, 68–88, 101–106, 119–133, 145–150 (32 antiphons, 53.3%: 1–3, 6–15, 28–36, 42–45, 52–54, 59–60). The similarity between the two Psalters with 60 antiphons is surprisingly low, even lower than the similarity between the Hagiopolite and the Armenian Psalter, two Psalters with different numbers of antiphons (53.3% vs 56.6% for the Hagiopolite Psalter).

g) The following comparisons isolate the differences between a single Psalter and constellations of Psalters:

{The East Syrian, Hagiopolite, Old Georgian Psalter}<sup>98</sup> ≠ the Armenian Psalter: Pss 78–80/81, 103–104 (3 antiphons in the East Syrian, Old Georgian, Hagiopolite Psalter; 2 antiphons in the Armenian Psalter).

{The Armenian, Old Georgian Psalter} ≠ the Hagiopolite Psalter: Pss 9–13, 89–100, 107–118, 142–144 (13 antiphons in the Old Georgian and Hagiopolite Psalter: 4–5, 37–40, 46–51, 58).

{The Hagiopolite, Old Georgian Psalter} ≠ the Armenian Psalter: Pss 78–84, 103–104, 119–133 (7 antiphons in the Hagiopolite and Old Georgian: 33–34, 42–43, 52–54 / 32–33, 41–42, 52–54).

{The Armenian, Hagiopolite Psalter<sup>99</sup>} ≠ the Old Georgian Psalter: Pss 37–67 (11 in the Hagiopolite Psalter, 12 antiphons in the Old Georgian Psalter: 16–27, kathismata 6–9).

98 This constellation gives the same result as {the East Syrian, Old Georgian Psalter} ≠ the Armenian Psalter and {the East Syrian, Hagiopolite Psalter} ≠ the Armenian Psalter.

99 There is a slight difference between the Hagiopolite Psalter and the East Syrian Psalter + the Armenian Psalter in the case of antiphons 20–21, resulting from the place of Ps 51.

h) We include a significant match between the Hagiopolite Psalter and the Ecclesiastic Psalter: Pss 89–108 (10 antiphons in the Hagiopolite Psalter). The antiphons are identical in both Psalters, except in one case: 101–102 is one antiphon in the Hagiopolite Psalter and two in the Ecclesiastic Psalter. In this part of the Psalter, the Armenian Psalter and the Old Georgian Psalter are just as similar (Pss 89–118). The difference between these two blocks will be exploited below (ch. 4.6).

We have seen that the East Syrian and the Armenian Psalter are so similar that we may consider them variants of the same Psalter on the level of small units. Despite the different number of antiphons (57 vs 60), the Hagiopolite Psalter is sufficiently similar to these, especially for the identical section of Pss 14–77, for us to see the three as being organically connected and members of one family of Psalters. The Old Georgian Psalter is the more idiosyncratic one among the four, especially because of the section of Pss 37–67, but sufficiently similar to the Armenian Psalter (51.6%) and the Hagiopolite Psalter (53.3%) for it to be considered a member of the same family. The differences between the Psalters may be explained partly by the expansion from 57 to 60 antiphons, partly by other revisions. In other words, we have sufficient evidence to argue that we are dealing with a common tradition, a family of related Psalters, rather than just influence between Psalters.

Now, this family of liturgical Psalters must have had – to stay in the metaphor – a home. Liturgical books were usually issued in a more or less authoritative form by a liturgical centre, such as a cathedral, especially the main cathedral of an ecclesiastical region. It is of high interest to identify the liturgical centre to which this common tradition or family of Psalters belongs. From what we have already seen, the Resurrection (Anastasis) cathedral of Jerusalem is a strong candidate. The Hagiopolite Psalter explicitly declares itself to be the Psalter of this cathedral. Both the Armenian and the Georgian Daily Offices, with their Psalters, were adopted from Jerusalem. Of the four traditions in question here, the connection of the East Syrian Daily Office with Jerusalem is the least certain, but the possibility exists that the East Syrians received major impulses from Jerusalem at an early point for their Daily Office.

Without excluding the possibility of regional particularities in the three non-Greek Psalters, the percentages of our comparison suggest the following chronological tendency between the four Psalters as redactions of the Jerusalem Psalter: the East Syrian Psalter as the oldest redaction, then the Armenian Psalter, then the Hagiopolite Psalter as the first Psalter with 60 antiphons, and finally the Old Georgian Psalter. As we shall see, other evidence confirms this order. The similarity of the East Syrian Psalter, presumably the oldest redaction, with the regional Hebrew Psalter (the Palestinian Hebrew Psalter), both having nineteen large units, makes it highly interesting to compare the two (for the psalm selections, see the Comparative Table at the end):

i) Only unit (*seder/canon*<sup>100</sup>) 9 is identical. Two *sedarim* are almost identical to the East Syrian Psalter canons: unit 10 (72–77:37 versus 72–77); and unit 16 (111–118:71 versus 111–118:88). Remarkably, both divide Ps 118 into two, unlike the three other Christian Psalters that divide it into three. For the rest, there are differences of one or two psalms.<sup>101</sup> The relation between the Palestinian Hebrew Psalter and the East Syrian Psalter will be discussed below (ch. 4.1).

### 3.2 The Use of Psalter Antiphons in the Jerusalem Liturgy: The East Syrian Psalter and the Armenian Psalter

Since our two Psalters with 57 antiphons are substantially similar and one of them, the Armenian Psalter, belongs to a Daily Office that was adopted from Jerusalem, we may expect that the East Syrian Psalter originated in Jerusalem, too. The connection of the non-Greek Psalters with Jerusalem will only be strengthened if there is a correspondence between their Psalter divisions and the Jerusalem liturgy. In the following, we shall be searching for indications of the use of antiphons from the East Syrian and the Armenian Psalter, then for the Old Georgian Psalter, in a document that is securely known to belong to the Jerusalem liturgy, the Jerusalem Lectionary.

The earliest manuscripts of the Armenian Lectionary, by their topographic elements and their correspondence with Egeria's descriptions of liturgical practices in Jerusalem, no doubt constitute versions of the Greek Lectionary of Jerusalem, and their content is dated to the mid-fifth century.<sup>102</sup> The Armenian Lectionary prescribes two services for Great Friday in which the selection of psalms has a clear connection with the Psalter division of the East Syrian and the Armenian Psalter.

First, for the Vigil of Great Friday the Armenian Lectionary prescribes five psalms, which it calls *goblay*: Pss 2, 40, 58, 78 and 108.<sup>103</sup> The rubrics of two of the manuscript witnesses suggest that the five *goblay* mentioned are not limited to individual psalms: "After the 15 psalms and the five *goblayk*' and the five prayers ...",<sup>104</sup> by which we should understand that the five *goblayk*' together equal 15 psalms, in other words that each of the five *goblayk*' contains three psalms. '*Goblay*' is exactly the term designating each of the 57 antiphons of the Armenian Psalter. Could we

100 See below, ch. 4.3, regarding the term 'canon' for large units.

101 Regarding the three other Psalters, there is no point in comparing them with the Palestinian Hebrew Psalter: the Armenian Psalter has eight large units (and not nineteen), and the Old Georgian Psalter and the Hagiopolite Psalter have sixty small units, not divisible by 19.

102 Hugo Mendez has recently argued convincingly for a slightly later date than that of Charles Renoux – roughly the third quarter of the fourth century (Mendez, "Revising", 90–92).

103 Renoux, *Codex*, II/270,3–273,11. See list and study in Janeras, *Vendredi-Saint*, 60–61.

104 Renoux, *Codex*, II/272,9–10 ; 273,10–11.

here actually be dealing with antiphons of a systematic Psalter division and not with random sequences of three psalms?

Charles Renoux first pointed out that these psalms (except Ps 2 – see below) are identical to beginnings (first psalms) of the East Syrian Psalter antiphons.<sup>105</sup> In fact, three of these four psalms also constitute first psalms of the Armenian Psalter and the Hagiopolite Psalter antiphons (Pss 40, 58 and 78 – not 108; only Ps 78 is an antiphon beginning in the Old Georgian Psalter). One immediately notes that, for these five *goblayk'*, the Armenian Lectionary corresponds better with the East Syrian Psalter, having one more (first) psalm in common with it than with the Psalter of the Armenian tradition itself.

Renoux overlooked the fact that the first of the five psalms (Ps 2) fails to begin an antiphon of the East Syrian, the Armenian or the Hagiopolite Psalter, but was he nevertheless inadvertently right? There were two Jewish traditions regarding Psalms 1 and 2, one uniting them and the other dividing them. While most Church Fathers followed the latter tradition, some adhered to the former.<sup>106</sup> The principle of selecting the Psalter antiphon (*goblay*) was based on the appropriateness of one of the verses of its first psalm, which would here serve as the refrain (in the Armenian Lectionary called կցուրդ, *kc'urd*). In this case, the appropriate verse is Ps 2:2b, “The rulers gathered together, against the Lord and against his anointed” (NETS tr.). The Armenian Lectionary does give the number 2 to this psalm. However, could it be that the later Armenian Psalter determined this number and that the Church of Jerusalem, at the moment of creating the first antiphon (*goblay*) of this service, used a Psalter in which the first psalm was the unity of today's Psalms 1 and 2?

There is, then, a very good, possibly perfect match between the five *goblayk'* psalms of the Lectionary and the antiphon beginnings of the East Syrian Psalter. This match also concerns the number of psalms. According to the rubric of the Lectionary, there are three psalms in each *goblay*; only in the East Syrian Psalter is this the case for each of the Psalter antiphons (for the first antiphon, however, only if the two first psalms are considered one psalm).<sup>107</sup>

This correspondence between the Armenian Lectionary and our two Psalters, most perfect in the case of the East Syrian Psalter but still remarkable in the case of the Armenian Psalter, suggests two conclusions. Firstly, both the East Syrian and the Armenian Psalter have a close connection with the Psalter employed by the Armenian Lectionary, which must have been the Jerusalem Psalter since this Lectionary clearly translates a model from Jerusalem. This connection is so close that it is unreasonable to envisage that the East Syrian Psalter and the Armenian Psal-

105 Renoux, “Liturgie”, 189, n. 2 and 3.

106 Willis, “Psalm 1”, 387–391.

107 The Armenian Psalter has three psalms in the units starting with Psalms 40 and 58, but the unit starting with Psalm 78 has four psalms.

ter could represent anything other than redactions, possibly with some local revision, of the Jerusalem Psalter. Secondly, it is the East Syrian Psalter, rather than the Armenian Psalter, that comes closest to the Psalter in use in Jerusalem at the time when this antiphon psalmody of the Great Friday Vigil was composed.

The second service of Great Friday to which I shall draw attention is the Commemoration before the Cross of the death of Christ, lasting from the sixth to the ninth hour of the day according to Egeria.<sup>108</sup> According to the earliest Armenian Lectionary the service consists of a sequence of eight sections, each having the simple structure of ‘psalm – Scripture readings – prayer’.<sup>109</sup> The psalms are here not called *goblay*, but *սաղմոս*, *salmos*, “psalm”; the same is the case in Egeria’s *Journey*, which does not speak about *antiphonae* but *psalmi* that are read.<sup>110</sup> As in the case of the five *goblayk* of the Vigil, each psalm is sung with a verse from the psalm as refrain. What has not been noticed before, however, is that each of the prescribed psalms represents the beginning of a Psalter antiphon, except for one psalm in the East Syrian and the Armenian Psalter (Ps 87) and two psalms in the Old Georgian Psalter (Pss 40, 87) and Hagiopolite Psalter (Pss 87, 101):

1. Ps 34
2. Ps 37
3. Ps 40. Not an antiphon beginning in the Old Georgian Psalter
4. Ps 21
5. Ps 30
6. Ps 68
7. Ps 87. Not an antiphon beginning in any of the four Psalters
8. Ps 101. Not an antiphon beginning in the Hagiopolite Psalter

The correspondence between psalms and antiphon beginnings can hardly be accidental. Therefore, in spite of its denomination ‘*salmos*’, each unit seems to be identical to a *goblay*.<sup>111</sup> In that case, *salmos* denotes a Psalter antiphon and not only a single psalm.<sup>112</sup> The Cross service of the Armenian Lectionary does not provide sufficient evidence to distinguish between the East Syrian and Armenian Psalter, but it does confirm one of our conclusions from the Great Friday Vigil: the East Syrian and Armenian Psalter are closely connected with the Psalter used by the early Jerusalem Lectionary as documented by the Armenian Lectionary.

108 Bradshaw, *Egeria*, 80–83 (§ 37.4). About the service as in the Armenian Lectionary, see Janeras, *Vendredi-Saint*, 191–194.

109 Renoux, *Codex*, II/281–293 (section XLIII).

110 “legitur primum de psalmis” (Bradshaw, *Egeria*, 82, § 37.5).

111 Cyril’s allusions (directly below) corroborate this interpretation.

112 This is what we shall conclude below – in an early period *ψαλμός* could designate an antiphon.

But there is more. Early in his episcopal tenure, probably in 351,<sup>113</sup> Cyril of Jerusalem delivered a catechesis to candidates for baptism concerning the same day of Great Friday, entitled “On ‘who was crucified and buried’”. This catechesis is a panoply of citations from and allusions to the psalms that begin antiphons of the two Great Friday services that we have just examined.<sup>114</sup> From the Vigil, Cyril cites or paraphrases three of the five Pss: 40, 58, 108; from the Cross service he cites five of the eight Pss: 37, 40, 21, 68, 87 (here listed in the order of the service). Cyril certainly cites or alludes to other psalms as well – seven psalms compared to these eight ones. It could be argued that Cyril’s psalm citations were not allusions to liturgy but themselves selected verses that later served as a textual starting point for choosing Psalter antiphons. However, it is clear that Cyril refers to actual liturgy because he mentions explicitly the singing of one of the psalms: “They know, the zealous cantors of the Church, who imitate the angelic hosts and sing praises to God continually; they are counted worthy to sing psalms here on Golgotha, and to say: ‘They divide my garments among them and for my vesture they cast lots.’” The verse that they chant is what the Armenian Lectionary gives as the refrain of Ps 21 (v. 19), the fourth psalm/antiphon of the Cross service.

One could also argue that the distance of about a century between the catechesis and the date of the content of the Armenian Lectionary manuscripts speaks against identifying the eight out of thirteen psalms that he cites as antiphon beginnings. However, again, the fact that one of them refers to actual singing makes it probable that these psalms, or at least many of them, were liturgical pieces. Cyril’s psalm references, which he gave while teaching in the Resurrection cathedral, support the interpretation that the East Syrian and the Armenian Psalter are versions of Psalters in use at this church. Not the least, Cyril’s multiple references to psalms that are antiphon beginnings in the East Syrian Psalter further constitute probable evidence of the existence by the middle of the fourth century of a liturgical Psalter like the East Syrian Psalter in the Jerusalem cathedral.<sup>115</sup>

### 3.3 The Oktoechal Aspect of the Armenian Psalter Reflected in the Byzantine Rite

The rite of Jerusalem in the fourth or fifth century developed eightfold liturgical structures, including a cycle of eight weeks, designated by eight modes. The Armenian rite performs its stichology over a cycle of eight *days*. Every day a new canon

113 Jacobsen, “Cyril”, sub-section “Baptismal Catechesis”, with references to works by Doval and Juliette Day. Cyril’s baptismal catecheses are chronologically distinguished from the mystagogical catecheses, which belong to a later period (perhaps the 380s if Cyril was the author).

114 Here I rely on the references provided by McCauley and Stephenson, *St. Cyril*, 4–31, passim.

115 See further reflection on this below (“The Jerusalem Psalter of 57 antiphons”).

of psalms (7 antiphons) is sung in one of the eight modes in numerical order (1–8), and in this way the whole Psalter is run through in eight days. The annual cycle of modes that change every day begins on Easter Sunday.<sup>116</sup> Is this stichological system an Armenian invention, or could it go back to the Greek rite of the Resurrection cathedral?

Such a system of stichology is not known from Greek, Syriac or Georgian sources. However, there is a week in the Byzantine rite that reflects the same principle, notably the Paschal week, called “Bright Week”. Sunday of Pascha has most of its variable hymns in mode 1, Bright Monday in mode 2, etc. until Bright Friday in plagal mode 2 and Bright Saturday in plagal mode 4. Plagal mode 3 is skipped over, in order to finish the (slightly shortened) eight modes before the eight-mode weekly cycle for the whole year starts the day after, on New Sunday (Thomas Sunday).

This Byzantine order of Bright Week, with a new mode each day, is documented in manuscripts back to at least the tenth century.<sup>117</sup> Even though the mode succession of Bright Week does not concern the stichology of the Psalter, the principle of a new mode every day is the same. The imperfect state of the modal succession of Bright week (the absence of the penultimate mode) suggests that this was not a recent invention – in that case one would expect all modes to have been included. The modal changes of Byzantine Bright Week may therefore be the remnant of an earlier use. In light of our knowledge of liturgical history, such an earlier use would be the early oktoechal system of the Jerusalem cathedral still practiced in the Armenian rite. In the Byzantine rite the eight-mode weekly cycle starts on New Sunday, but Bright Week is like the Armenian rite both as regards the daily mode shift and the start of the cycle on Easter Sunday. At this point, then, it seems that the Armenian rite has not invented something new, but rather preserves a ritual feature of the Jerusalem cathedral.<sup>118</sup>

### 3.4 The Use of Psalter Antiphons in the Jerusalem Liturgy: The Old Georgian Psalter and the Hagiopolite Psalter

The same case of Great Friday shows that the Old Georgian Psalter, too, as well as Hagiopolite Psalter, is related to the Jerusalem Lectionary. In the sixth-seventh century Georgian material covering the Vigil of Great Friday, the Georgian Lectionary and the Old Iadgari hymnal, we find that the number of Psalter antiphons in comparison with the the Armenian Lectionary has increased from five to seven

116 See Kerovpyan, “Oktoechos”.

117 It is found in the Gospel Lectionary of *Cod. Sinaiticus gr.* 150 (Dmitrievskij, *Onucanie*, 173–177).

118 We would here see a case of Baumstark’s ninth liturgical law: “The law of the preservation of older usages in the more solemn liturgical seasons” (see Taft, “Anton Baumstark’s Comparative Liturgy Revisited,” 200, 206–208).

(indicated here by their first psalm): the Armenian Lectionary has Pss 2, 40, 58, 78 and 108; the Georgian Lectionary and the Old Iadgari have Pss 2, 40, 54, 108, 68, 34, 21.<sup>119</sup> Some antiphons have been removed: 58 and 78; new antiphons are 54, 68, 34 and 21 (in that order).

In the new series of seven psalms, two antiphon beginnings from the the Armenian Lectionary series have been retained but are no longer antiphons in the Georgian material. However, the four new psalms are the first psalms of antiphons in the Old Georgian Psalter, and only there (the East Syrian, the Armenian and the Hagiopolite Psalter have Pss 21, 34, and 68, but not 54). The new Ps 54 is an antiphon only in the Old Georgian Psalter. Therefore, the only Psalter with an antiphon division that agrees perfectly with the Georgian version of the Great Friday Vigil is the Old Georgian Psalter. If the Georgian Lectionary is a faithful version of the Hierosolymitan book of readings, which is generally admitted, the perfect match of the Old Georgian Psalter with the lectionary is an argument to the effect that this Psalter was in use in the Jerusalem cathedral.

Other than the Lectionary, the Old Georgian Book of Hours also made use of the Old Georgian Psalter. Both the ‘kartuli’ Horologion of the tenth century Sinai MS Georgian 34 and the ‘Sabaite’ (terms used by the MS) Horologion, originally of the same codex, make use of large units (kanoni, kathismata) which are particular to the Old Georgian Psalter (that is, different from those of the Hagiopolite Psalter).<sup>120</sup> The ‘kartuli’ Horologion is an organic part of the Old Georgian rite and presumably is a version reflecting the seventh-century Book of Hours of the Resurrection cathedral. The ‘kartuli’ Horologion distributes the twenty large units of the Old Georgian Psalter over twenty daily services, thereby going through the whole Psalter in 24 hours. Both these Horologia (‘kartuli’ and ‘Sabaite’) were used at the Great Lavra of St. Sabas in the eighth to tenth centuries, which indicates that the Old Georgian Psalter was the Psalter of the Georgian community of this monastery in this period.<sup>121</sup>

The relationship of the Hagiopolite Psalter with the psalms of the Great Friday services is interesting. For the Vigil of the Armenian Lectionary, the Armenian and the Hagiopolite Psalter have four out of the five psalms, while the Old Georgian Psalter has only two. For the Commemoration of the Cross in the Armenian Lectionary, the Old Georgian Psalter = the Hagiopolite Psalter (two out of eight psalms are not antiphon beginnings). For the Vigil of the Georgian Lectionary, the Hagiopolite Psalter, together with the East Syrian and the Armenian Psalter, have three out of four, against the Old Georgian Psalter that has all four. In other words,

119 Janeras, *Vendredi-Saint*, 71–74 (the Georgian Lectionary), 91–92 (Old Iadgari).

120 Both Horologia are edited in Frøyshov, *L’Horologe*. For a short presentation, see Frøyshov, “Georgian Witness”, 249–253. The fragment of the Georgian Sabaite Horologion contains kanoni 8–11.

121 For more on this, see Frøyshov, “Daily Office”.



the Hagiopolite Psalter places itself closer to the East Syrian Psalter and the Armenian Psalter than the Old Georgian Psalter does. Below we shall use this order as an argument for the chronology of the four Psalters.

Our conclusion that the psalms of these services in the Armenian and the Georgian Lectionaries represent Psalter antiphons is supported by the terminology found in later liturgical books. In the Byzantine rite, the units, increased to fifteen, included a great deal of hymnography and were placed in the Matins service, but they are called ἀντίφωνα (the fifteen antiphons). Today's Byzantine rite retains only remnants of the psalms, but earlier documents such as the so-called Anastasis Typikon (Jerusalem Patriarchikê bibliothêkê MS Holy Cross 43) copied in Jerusalem in 1122 has many of the same psalms as the Armenian and the Georgian Lectionaries.<sup>122</sup> The term 'antiphon' in these later Greek documents undoubtedly reflects an old usage, since the psalmic element has dwindled to the benefit of hymnography and 'antiphon' is not a hymnographic genre in the Byzantine rite.

### 3.5 Ps 118 as a Showcase for the Relationship Between the Psalters

Ps 118 offers a telling case for the relationship between the Psalters. All five of them divide this psalm differently. As we have seen, the Palestinian Hebrew Psalter and East Syrian Psalter divide it into two, the Palestinian Hebrew Psalter after the section of the ninth letter (after v. 72), and the East Syrian Psalter after the section of the eleventh letter (after v. 88). The latter division is at the middle of the psalm, which is a more even division of the psalm than in the Palestinian Hebrew Psalter.

Transitioning from the East Syrian to the Armenian Psalter, Ps 118 is divided into three units. The division of the psalm in the Old Georgian Psalter is basically the same, only that the third unit starts two verses later, which is no longer at the beginning of the section of a Hebrew letter. The tripartite division in the Armenian Psalter is as even as one can get it and respects the Hebrew structure: antiphon 1 has seven letters (56 verses), antiphon 2 has eight letters (vv. 57–120, 64 verses), and antiphon 3 has seven letters (vv. 121–176, 56 verses). That the tripartite division in the Armenian Psalter follows the Hebrew structure is in line with Christian theologians of Palestine having knowledge of this structure in the period in which the Armenian Psalter was formed.<sup>123</sup> Not only does the Armenian Psalter divide the psalm in accordance with the letter sections but also it has kept the Hebrew stichometry of 176 verses.

122 Janeras, *Vendredi-Saint*, 134–135.

123 See Harl, *Chaîne*, 110 : “la désignation des strophes du ps. 118 par les lettres hébraïques a été connue des Pères grecs (au moins d’Origène, d’Eusèbe, d’Hésychius), [et] révèle leurs connaissances [...] de la disposition hébraïque.”

The division in the Hagiopolite Psalter of Ps 118 is also tripartite, but it is less logical and partly ignores the Hebrew structure of the psalm: vv. 1–72, 73–131, 132–176 (unlike the modern verse division, the stichometry of the Hagiopolite Psalter was mostly  $68+57+44=169$  verses).<sup>124</sup> The first antiphon does follow the Hebrew structure and, remarkably, is identical to the part of the psalm that ends seder 16 in the Palestinian Hebrew Psalter (v. 1–72, first 9 letters).<sup>125</sup> The third antiphon, however, starts in the middle of the section of a Hebrew letter. Also, the Hagiopolite Psalter's stichometry of 169 verses<sup>126</sup> again shows unawareness of the original structure of the psalm.<sup>127</sup>

It is important to note that the stichometry and the tripartite division of Ps 118 found in Psalters of the Palestinian and the Hagiopolite Psalter type are certainly not original features of the Hagiopolite Psalter. Rather, just like the long verses of Ps 50 that is also found in the Hagiopolite Psalter, they come from the Ecclesiastic Psalter (Hagia Sophia). As noted by Mercati, some manuscripts give the stichometries of Ps 118 for both Psalters: while 169 is the usual number for the Ecclesiastic Psalter, that of the Hagiopolite Psalter is slightly higher (varying numbers): *Cod. Vat. gr.* 1542 (Ra 212) and *Cod. Vat. Barb. gr.* 285 (Ra 1159) have 170 verses, *Cod. Vat. Barb. gr.* 455 has 174, and *Cod. Oxoniensis Bodleianus* Auct. D.4.1 (Ra 13) has 176.<sup>128</sup> The original number is no doubt 176, which is both the Hebrew stichometry and that of the early Jerusalem Psalter (the East Syrian Psalter, the Armenian Psalter), the source of the Hagiopolite Psalter; in that case, the lower numbers (174, 170) are later reductions.<sup>129</sup> The tripartite division of Ps 118 found in the Hagiopolite Psalter, as well as Ps 50 with long verses, are also found in representative Psalters of the Hagiopolite tradition: Turin MS B. VII. 30 (Ra 1208),<sup>130</sup> *Cod. Vat.*

124 See Hanke, *Vespers*, 484; Lingas, *Matins*, 77–78.

125 The Horologion *Cod. Sinaiticus gr.* 864 divides Ps 118 in exactly the same way as the Palestinian Hebrew Psalter: in two parts, the second starting with v. 73 (see Ajjoub, *Livre*, 239; while the editor here deems it probable that the scribe forgot to put a “Glory” at the start of a third antiphon, the match with the Hebrew division suggests that it may have been on purpose).

126 Checked for *Cod. Sinaiticus gr.* 30 and the “Uspensky Psalter”.

127 Not that the Hebrew structure had been forgotten in Byzantium: *Cod. Vat. Barberinianus gr.* 285 gives all the Hebrew letters in the margin (transliterated).

128 Mercati, *Osservazioni*, 26, n. 4.

129 It seems, therefore, that the Jerusalem Psalter, because of its preservation of the Hebrew structure, always had long verses at Psalm 118 (unlike the Zürich Purple Psalter and the Peshitta).

130 Preda, *Manuscrisul BVII.30*, 116, has a Doxa after v. 131, but the Doxa that he reluctantly (cf. n. 486) reads before v. 87 cannot be right. Most probably the obscure Doxa that one sees on the microfilm available to me does not belong to the original text of that folio. More importantly, v. 73, which is the beginning of the second antiphon in the Ecclesiastic division of the psalm, starts with a large majuscule, which in the MS is reserved for the beginnings of such units. The Turin Psalter therefore most probably has the typical Ecclesiastic division for Ps 118.

gr. 342 (Ra 1170), and the Studite London British Library Add. MS 19352 (“Theodore Psalter”, Ra 1088).<sup>131</sup>

Psalms 50 and 118 played a significant role in the Ecclesiastic Daily Office and this status may have contributed to their inclusion in the Hagiopolite Psalter.<sup>132</sup> Very probably, then, the presence of Ecclesiastic Ps 118 and Ps 50 in the Hagiopolite Psalter started in Constantinople and went from there to Jerusalem and Palestine in time for it to be found in the Palestinian type of the Hagiopolite Psalters that Parpulov dates to the decades around 878–929.

#### 4. The Evolution of the Liturgical Psalter of Jerusalem

All five liturgical Psalters here examined, the Palestinian Hebrew, the East Syrian, the Armenian, the Old Georgian and the Hagiopolite Psalter, either constitute Psalters known to have been in use in Jerusalem liturgy or show a close connection with Psalters or psalm sections known from other liturgical books to have been in use in Jerusalem liturgy, whether Jewish or Christian. Without excluding the possibility of explaining some variations of the East Syrian, the Armenian and the Old Georgian Psalter as local, peripheral modifications of a Hierosolymitan model,<sup>133</sup> it is reasonable to interpret the variations as chronological stages in the development of liturgical divisions of the Jerusalem Psalter. This is reasonable given the close relationship of the Jerusalem Daily Office with those to which these Psalters belong (as mentioned above), and because the difference between the divisions into 57 and 60 antiphons may be best explained as a chronological evolution in that direction. In this part, we shall attempt to reconstruct the history of this Psalter.

131 That such Psalter manuscripts have long verses for Psalm 50 does not mean that there did not exist a Hagiopolite short-verse stichometry for this psalm; *Cod. Vaticanus* gr. 342 inscribes in the text the numerated verse beginnings of short verses (fol. 93v–95r; 38 verses vs 21 long verses). For Psalm 90, *Cod. Vaticanus* gr. 342 has the opposite: the text has short verses, while the marginal numeration indicates long verses (34 vs 18 verses).

132 Both were used in Matins: Ps 50 was a fixed element of Matins and the changing refrains of the psalms were among the few hymnographic pieces of this Office (see Frøyskov, “Rite”; Tucker, *Hymnography*, 82); Psalm 118 was an important element in the Pannychis service in Constantinople (see Frøyskov, “Horologion”, section 4.2.1, 244–248) and in Sunday Matins of the Ecclesiastic rite (see Strunk, “The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia”, 192–193).

133 For instance, one of the two slightly different divisions of the Old Georgian Psalter could be interpreted as a regional variant.

#### 4.1 Towards a Jewish Origin of the Jerusalem Psalter?

The number of antiphons in the East Syrian and Armenian Psalter may seem enigmatic: why 57? The number does not appear logical or ritually functional. The Armenian Psalter had its own solution: it excluded the last antiphon from the small-unit division and divided the remaining 56 units into eight large ones. An early seventh century East Syrian celliote-cenobitic tradition gathered three small units into one large one and thus operated an hourly distribution of nineteen large units ( $57 \div 3 = 19$ ). However, nineteen would seem to be an even more strange and useless number than 57. A clue to elucidate this enigma is possibly found in the fact that the Palestinian Hebrew Psalter was divided into exactly nineteen portions. Not only that, but the Palestinian Hebrew Psalter is associated with the same geographical area as the Christian liturgical Psalter of Jerusalem. Could there actually be a connection between it and the East Syrian Psalter, in our view the earliest Christian Jerusalem Psalter with 57 units?<sup>134</sup>

The match of nineteen Psalter portions is striking, so striking that it looks like a proof, a coincidence that cannot be explained other than as a loan. In addition, one match of Psalter portions is extraordinary: for seder/canon 16, the Palestinian Hebrew Psalter has Pss 111–118:72 and the East Syrian Psalter has Pss 111–118:88. Could two different Psalters, both organised in nineteen portions, independently of each other have made a portion end in the middle of Ps 118? What adds force to this argument is that the East Syrian Psalter here goes against the tendency in the fourth century (cf. Cassian – see below, ch. 4.4) to group three small units into one large unit; this is seen in our three other, later Christian Psalters that divide Ps 118 in three.

However, the match between the Palestinian Hebrew Psalter and the East Syrian Psalter needs to be contextualized critically. Is an influence from one to the other historically possible, and is that necessarily from Jewish to Christian? Most of all, if indeed the influence went from Jewish to Christian, how can we know that a division into nineteen *sedarim* existed at the time when the Christian Psalter of Jerusalem was formed?

Let us start with the question of when this formation took place. Datable evidence for the existence of a liturgical Psalter in Jerusalem emerges in the fourth century. The antiphons about which Palladios, John Cassian and Egeria speak (see below,

134 The Psalter of Hagia Sophia (the Constantinopolitan Psalter) may have had 76 antiphons, which is also a multiple of nineteen:  $76 = 19 \times 4$  (Alexopoulos/Johnson, *Introduction*, 174). In that case, this Psalter would have been an additional case of possible connection with the nineteen *sedarim* of the Palestinian Hebrew Psalter. However, there is other manuscript data suggesting that the number was 74 and there are scholars who hold to this number (cf. Hanke, *Vespers*, 493). It would go beyond the scope of this essay to try to establish whether one of these numbers was the original one.

next chapter), relating to the 380s, are probably small units of the Jerusalem Psalter. Cyril of Jerusalem in the early 350s refers to many psalms that figure in the same service according to the Jerusalem Lectionary and are probably selected antiphons of the Psalter. A division of the Psalter for liturgical use therefore probably existed in Jerusalem by the mid-fourth century. The first half of the fourth century with its massive creation both of church buildings and of liturgy fits well as the birth date of the Christian Psalter of Jerusalem. Certainly, religious and ritual contact between Jews and Christians seems to have continued into the fourth century.<sup>135</sup>

How far back in time does the division of the Book of Psalms into nineteen *sedarim* go? As far as I can see, its earliest documentation is to be found in the ninth-tenth century Bible manuscripts. The payyetan Yannai, who proves that the Torah *sedarim* existed by his time, which was probably the sixth century, is of no help since he did not – as far as I can ascertain – write hymns relating to *sedarim* of the Psalms. Five or six hundred years is a long time between the evidence and the period for which the evidence needs to be valid. The triennial Lectionary was not homogenous but varied locally. The psalm selections of the portions of the two Psalters are mostly slightly different. Admittedly, therefore, the case for a connection between the Jewish and the Christian Psalter with nineteen units is rather thin.

This means that we do not know whether the Palestinian Hebrew Psalter existed by the fourth century, nor can we argue with any decent degree of probability that it did. We are left with an extraordinary match between two Psalter divisions that looks too strange to be accidental, including a very particular match in the case of one unit (unit 16: Pss 111–118:72/88). Another point of similarity is terminological: the Greek term for large sections was ‘canon’, a term of the same semantic register as ‘seder’, the Hebrew term for psalm portions (see below). The question of a connection between the two certainly requires more research. All we can do here is to suggest a possibility.

The question as to which Psalter could have influenced the other is easy to answer. First, the only Christian Psalter of Jerusalem that could have served as model for the Palestinian Hebrew Psalter is the East Syrian Psalter, since none of the others has a division into nineteen large units. Second, the division of the East Syrian Psalter into nineteen units is not prominent enough to serve as a model. This last point needs to be explained, and the explanation leads to an important aspect of the picture one may dress regarding the emergence of the Christian Psalter of Jerusalem.

135 See Fredriksen, “What ‘Parting of the Ways’?”, 61, about this century: “Religious and social mixing between different types of Jews and Christians, between Christians of different sorts and between Christians, Jews and pagans all continued.” Such contact between Jews and Christians included the ritual sphere: “At least until the fifth century the Christian Fast of the Seventh Month developed both in contact with and competition to the contemporary Jewish holiday of Yom Kippur” (Stökl Ben Ezra, “Whose Fast Is It?”, 279).

As we saw above (“The East Syrian Psalter”), in cathedrals and in the Great Monastery of Mount Izla (ca. 600) the Psalter was distributed according to small units. This could be an ancient system; if there had once been a large-unit distribution system one would expect this not to be abandoned to the benefit of a small-unit distribution system.<sup>136</sup> This might even suggest that there was no functional large-unit system in the Jerusalem Psalter in the earliest period. If we nevertheless speak of a division into nineteen large units in the East Syrian Psalter, it seems to belong to a worship context that is different from the cathedral and the cenobion. This division was found in an East Syrian celliote-cenobitic distribution system. We cannot exclude that these two distribution systems co-existed: in the public liturgy of the Jerusalem cathedral there was not yet a large-unit system of Psalter distribution, while in private devotion the nineteen canons were some kind of a governing principle.

Remarkably, the celliote-cenobitic distribution system is very similar to that of the Horologion of *Cod. Sinaiticus georg.* 34. Both perform 20 large units, that is, the whole Psalter (and the canticles), in a day and a night. In my interpretation, the Greek model of the Georgian Horologion was the seventh century Book of Hours of the Resurrection cathedral.<sup>137</sup> Several of its 24 daily services were public, while the rest were presumably carried out by the cenobitic *Spoudaioi* ascetics of the cathedral. This Horologion uses the Old Georgian Psalter, a Psalter of 20/60 units, so the two systems differ in the way they obtain twenty portions (that is, with or without canticles). Both gather the small units into groups of three, which in the celliote-cenobitic case gives nineteen large units. Certainly, the *Spoudaioi* ascetics of the Resurrection cathedral were less celliote than the solitaries of Gabriel of Qatar, their office being more ritualized and communal. However, a certain non-public aspect is present in both.

Such a context of private devotion rather than public liturgy is an interesting possibility for contact between Jewish and Christian psalmody. The interpretation of Elbogen and other Jewish scholars was similar, as we saw above: the Psalter sedarim were performed outside the public service of Sabbath Mincha, although in connection with it. Other scholars have suggested similar milieux. According to Norbert Lohfink, personal devotion was the main context of the Psalter in Jewish worship of the first century CE,<sup>138</sup> and the meditation on the Psalter that arose in the fourth century drew on a common Jewish-Christian heritage of personal psalmody.<sup>139</sup> In a similar vein, Christopher Page holds that “There seems no obvi-

136 This is of course only a conjecture. The three other Psalters distribute through large units.

137 Frøyshov, *L'Horologe*; idem, “Daily Office”.

138 Lohfink, “Psalmengebet”, 4: “Der Psalter war der Grundtext der persönlich-individuellen Frömmigkeit”.

139 Lohfink, “Psalmengebet”, 4–7.

ous reason why the domestic psalmody of Jewish households should have been rapidly abandoned in the first and second centuries by Jesus-believing Jews or the Gentiles”, and “There was an horarium of domestic psalmody amongst house-ascetics a hundred years or more before anyone thought of going into the desert as a monk.”<sup>140</sup> If Christians adopted a Jewish Psalter divided into nineteen portions, it could have been in this sphere of domestic or urban ascetic devotion.

## 4.2 The Jerusalem Psalter of 57 Antiphons

There is no doubt that the division into 57 antiphons is older than the division into 60 antiphons. The East Syrian and the Armenian Psalter, the two Psalters with 57 antiphons, correspond better to the Armenian Lectionary, the oldest preserved redaction of the Jerusalem Lectionary, than do the Old Georgian and the Hagio-polite Psalter. Also, it is generally acknowledged that the Hierosolymitan heritage of the Armenian rite is of an earlier stage than that of the old Georgian rite.

Some features of the East Syrian Psalter suggest that it represents an older redaction of the Jerusalem Psalter than the Armenian Psalter. It has a less distinct large-unit division than the three other Christian Psalters. Unlike them (and like the Palestinian Hebrew Psalter), it divides Ps 118 into two (and not three) sections. If we were to place the East Syrian Psalter in time, we might suggest that it reflects the Greek Psalter of the Resurrection cathedral of the second half of the fourth century.

The Armenian Psalter seems to reflect the Greek Psalter of Jerusalem of the fifth century. Its division into eight large and 57 small units finds a rationale in the system of stichology still practised in the Armenian rite: eight groups of seven antiphons are sung in the course of eight days, each day in one of the eight musical modes successively. This Psalter thus belongs to the significant wave of eight-symbolism and eight-mode cycles that characterises the liturgy of the Resurrection cathedral from the late fourth century onwards.<sup>141</sup> While the East Syrian Psalter might have simply adopted the number nineteen from a Jewish Psalter, subdividing it into 57, the Armenian Psalter resulted from a conscious exploitation of the number 56, which is 57 minus the last antiphon, in view of a symbolism based on the number eight.

The continuous psalmody (stichology) of the 57 antiphon Jerusalem Psalter took place primarily (or exclusively) at the night service. In the Armenian rite, and presumably in fifth century Jerusalem, every night seven variable antiphons were followed by a biblical canticle and the 57th antiphon (Praises, *Ainoi*).<sup>142</sup> The entire sequence of night prayer consisted of Nocturns, antiphons and Matins and

140 Page, *West*, 137 and 138.

141 See Frøyskov, S., “Development”.

142 It may not be a coincidence that the stichology of Sunday Nocturns (*Lēlyā*) of the East-Syrian rite has seven variable *marmyāṭā* (Mateos, *Lelya-Şapra*, 433).

was conceived of as one service. In addition to stichology, antiphons were used in a selected and fixed way at other daily and at festal services.

Is it possible to determine what was the stichometry of the early Christian Psalter of Jerusalem – long or short verses? The Palestinian Hebrew, the Armenian and the Old Georgian Psalter, as well as the Septuagint, all have long verses, albeit with different stichometry. On the other hand, the East Syrian Psalter, which presumably reflects the earliest stage of the Christian Psalter of Jerusalem, has short verses. While the question needs to be examined thoroughly, we may hypothesize that the first (Greek) Psalter of the Jerusalem cathedral had long verses, just like the Jewish Psalter, and that its Syriac version retained the earlier Peshitta stichometry, only adopting the divisions (19 and 57). The short verses of the Hagiopolite Psalter would then be another feature acquired in Constantinople, within the Hagiopolite Office and unlike the long verses of the Ecclesiastic Psalter, and subsequently brought to Jerusalem.

#### 4.3 The Early Term for Large Psalter Units: ‘Canon’

The Armenian and Georgian terms designating the large Psalter units, կանոն, *kanon*, and კანონი, *kanoni*, both obviously transliterate κανών. This gives reason to ask whether this was not the original or early term for the large units of the Jerusalem Psalter. Do we know any such usage of this Greek term? In fact, the *Exposition of the Liturgy of Presanctified Gifts* attributed to Theodore the Studite offers such a case (PG 99, 1687–1690).<sup>143</sup> In his description of the vespereal part of the service, the author mentions τὸν τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν κανόνα, “the canon of the Anabathmoi”. That he is actually speaking of what is usually known as a ‘kathisma’ is clear from the context, since the Anabathmoi psalms (Pss of Ascent) constitute the eighteenth kathisma (Pss 119–133) sung at that point in the service (PG 99, 1688C). Further, he labels the antiphons of this canon exactly ‘antiphon’, and not ‘doxa’ or ‘stasis’ as in the later terminology, which demonstrates that his terminology is consistently the older one.<sup>144</sup> The Caucasian transliterations, confirmed by the *Exposition of the Liturgy of Presanctified Gifts*, indicate that κανών was the original Greek term for large units of the Jerusalem Psalter.<sup>145</sup>

143 Alexopoulos, *Liturgy*, 134–135, based on a study by D. Moraitis of 1955, considers the document inauthentic and dates it to the 12th/13th century. However, the terminological archaism fits better with an early date. The question of authenticity is not decisive for my argument, so I will not consider it here.

144 [...] ὁ ἐτοιμὸς ὁ ἀναγνώστης τὸν τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν κανόνα ἐναρξάμενος [...] εὐθὺς δὲ εἰς ἓν ἕκαστον ἀντίφωνον τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν [...].

145 I suggested that κανών was the original term of the large unit in Frøyshov, “Кафизма”. We shall discuss the antiquity of the term ἀντίφωνον below.



Given the close connection of the East Syrian Psalter with the three other Christian Psalters, one would expect that the term ‘canon’ would have been used for the large Psalter unit in the Syriac version as well. No explicit case of such usage is known, and both Gabriel of Qatar and the Pahlavi Psalter fragment use ܩܢܢܐ, *qānōnā*, in the sense of a hymnic refrain to the psalms. The East Syrian rite also uses *qānōnā* to denote selected psalms,<sup>146</sup> in which cases the term has a psalmic sense. However, the *qānōnā* psalms are far from being always the beginning of an East Syrian Psalter antiphon.<sup>147</sup> It is possible that a sliding of terminology took place in which a term went from designating a liturgical unit to a part of this unit or a following unit – which in this case would mean that ‘*qānōnā*’ went from denoting the psalm unit to the refrain of the psalm unit.<sup>148</sup>

The interpretation of ‘canon’ as signifying a large Psalter unit is corroborated by the terminological correspondence with the Palestinian Hebrew Psalter. The term *seder* (סדר) and the term κανὼν belong to the same semantic category: ‘*seder*’ signifies “order, system, schedule”; κανὼν signifies “rule, order”. Dorival has recently approached the two terms: “The suggestion is that the Sages called *seder* what the Church fathers referred to as canon. Moreover, the word *seder* has only two corresponding terms in Greek: τάξις, which is Melito’s word, and κανὼν.”<sup>149</sup>

In Palestino-Byzantine liturgy, the term ‘canon’ from an early time came to denote the hymnographical composition in nine odes that is appended to the nine biblical canticles. ‘Canon’ as hymnic term probably reflects the old terminology: the nine biblical canticles were composed in three sub-units like a psalmic canon (*kathisma*).<sup>150</sup> By extension, the set of stanzas inserted into a canon of biblical canticles was also termed ‘canon’, even after the stanzas came to be performed without the canticles.<sup>151</sup>

146 See Mateos, *Lelya-Ṣapra*, 161, 397, 450–456, 495.

147 In Mateos, *Lelya-Ṣapra*, 450–456, the *qānōnā* psalms of the present East-Syrian rite are marked (with the letter “q” in the list).

148 This is not uncommon in liturgical history, and there are such cases in the material we are studying here. The term ‘*marmīṭā*’ is thought originally to denote the prayer that preceded the Psalter unit, whereafter it slid over to denote the Psalter unit itself (Mateos, *Lelya-Ṣapra*, 491). The term ‘*kathisma*’ (large unit in the Hagiopolite Psalter) was originally the sequence of hymns sung after the psalm unit but came to denote the Psalter unit itself.

149 Dorival, *Septuagint*, 6.

150 As mentioned above (ch. 2.4), the composition of a canticle unit in the fashion of psalm units, and as a last or supplementary unit of the Psalter, is found also in the East Syrian Psalter.

151 Scholars have hinted at such a connection between the series of canticles and the hymnographical canon, but without seeing the hymnic term ‘canon’ as originating in the terminology of large Psalter units. Taft, in a paragraph about the Byzantine Psalter, calls the group of nine canticles a ‘canon’: “Here, too, biblical canticles, eleven of those found in the odes of the antiphonarium, are grouped into a “canon” of nine “odes” to form an appendix to the psalmody” (Taft, “Mount Athos”, 181). Cf. also Winkler, “Night Office”, 527.

The use of the term ‘canon’ extends to Scripture other than the Psalms.<sup>152</sup> Both the Armenian and the Georgian versions of the Jerusalem Lectionary employ this term to denote the series of readings in a given celebration.<sup>153</sup> In the Armenian Lectionary, a ‘canon’ typically contains two selected psalms, and Epistle and Gospel readings; some services have Old Testament readings.<sup>154</sup> The the Georgian Lectionary employs the term *kanoni* less regularly in this sense, which suggests that it was going out of use.<sup>155</sup> A derived term, *κανονάριον*, *kanonarion*, was the title of a part of the lectionary.<sup>156</sup>

#### 4.4 The Early Terms for Small Psalter Units: ‘Antiphon’, ‘Psalm’

We have encountered several terms to designate the small Psalter units: ‘antiphon’ (Greek), ‘goblay’ (Armenian) and ‘marmīṭā’ (Syriac). We also saw that the Armenian in addition uses *salmos*, ‘psalm’ in the sense of small unit. Could ‘psalm’ have been employed in this sense in other traditions (and languages) as well? How far back in time may ‘antiphon’ have signified small Psalter units?

As has perhaps not been noted before, (pre-Athonite) Georgian sources, too, use ‘psalm’ (*p̄salmuni*) to denote the small units. The ‘kartuli’ Horologion of Sinai MS Georgian 34 has this note: “And when one prays all this according to the ordo, with genuflexion at the beginning, at the start of the *kanoni*, at each *p̄salmuni*, at the execution of “Glory” and at the end of the *kanoni*...”<sup>157</sup> That there would be a genuflexion after each psalm is very unlikely; on the contrary, such gestures as well as prayers are historically common after each antiphon. In a fragment of the same manuscript, Iovane Zosime even expressly uses *p̄salmuni* in the sense of antiphon.<sup>158</sup> We may therefore assume that ‘psalm’ in both the Georgian and the

152 In the Eusebian system of canons for the Gospel and the Psalms, the ‘canon’ is similar, in that it represents a unit of a higher order, grouping together units of the primary level (*kephalaia*, psalms); however, the function of the Eusebian canons was not liturgical but systematic (such as to group readings according to theme).

153 About the term used in the Armenian Lectionary, see Renoux, *Codex*, II, 173. Since the liturgical book in question is a lectionary, ‘canon’ might designate a group of readings rather than the celebration or the gathering.

154 See for instance the second canon of the Armenian Lectionary (Renoux, *Codex*, II, 214–217).

155 See for instance the service on the evening of Great Monday (the Georgian Lectionary no. 602–609), which has Old Testament readings, a psalm, and a Gospel reading (as well as two hymnic stanzas).

156 For instance, the Paschal part of Sinai MS Greek 150 (Dmitrievskij, *Onucanie*, 174–177). It is also an assumed title of the Jerusalem Lectionary, which is called in Georgian ‘*kanoni*’ (the same as the large scriptural unit). See Kekelidze, *Kanonarion*.

157 Frøyshov, *L’Horologe*, 86.

158 კანონი კ, ფსალმუნები დიდებები ა, “20 kanoni, 60 psalmuni [or] glories” (Metreveli, *Description*, 138). The catalogue has the number 21 (კა), but this is a typo; the MS clearly has 20 (კ).

Armenian tradition denoted the small units, in Armenian in addition to *goblay*. In both traditions, ‘psalm’ therefore was an ambiguous term, in that it could signify both a single psalm and a small Psalter unit.<sup>159</sup>

As we have seen, the earliest Psalter manuscripts using the term ‘antiphon’ in the sense of a small Psalter unit are of the ninth century, but the term is of course much older.<sup>160</sup> It has been the object of considerable study, and Christopher Page notes “the mystery in the many somewhat puzzling but enthusiastic references to ‘antiphons’ in Eastern and Western texts from the late fourth century onwards”.<sup>161</sup> There is no doubt that the term ‘antiphon’ had several meanings in Late Antiquity, and that these were both psalmic and hymnic. The church historian Socrates describes hymnic antiphons in East Roman liturgy: the Arians sang “antiphonal songs (ὁδᾶς ἀντιφώνους) composed in accordance with Arian doctrine” during night processions in Constantinople, and Socrates thereafter called these songs ἀντίφωνα.<sup>162</sup> The traditional sense of the term in Latin liturgy is hymnic, primarily as the refrain of a psalm.<sup>163</sup> This is how it is understood by many scholars, including Robert Taft, for whom the primary meaning of ‘antiphon’ is “a trope or refrain, a piece of ecclesiastical poetry”.<sup>164</sup> However, Peter Jeffery recently emphasized that the primary sense of the term in the early Latin tradition was psalmic:

“In Latin, as still in Greek, this word referred to a unit of psalmody (i. e., a psalm, part of a psalm, or multiple psalms) in which two choirs alternate the verses, but a common refrain is appended to every verse, and the unit ends with the *Gloria Patri* (“Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit ...”). It was only about the ninth century that *antiphona* came to be applied to the refrain that we now call an ‘antiphon’.”<sup>165</sup>

Such a primary psalmic meaning of the term ‘antiphon’ even in the Latin sphere corresponds well to its primary meaning in Greek liturgy. Dimitri Conomos explains precisely that an antiphon is:

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Also, the catalogue has the (non-sensical) ԺԺԺԺԺ, while the abbreviation sign above the word no doubt indicates the plural ԺԺԺԺԺ[Ե]Ժ. In the list that follows the above phrase (unedited), Zosime calls every small unit ‘psalmuni’ (not *dideba*, ‘Glory’, which here is a secondary term).

159 This opens the possibility that ψαλμός was used in the same way in Greek and (transliterated) in non-Greek descriptions of the Greek liturgy of Palestine. As noted above, Egeria calls *psalmus* what the Armenian Lectionary calls *salmos* (in the Commemoration of the Cross on Great Friday) and which we have interpreted as being small Psalter units, and Egeria could here have calqued her Latin term on Greek. However, it goes beyond the scope of this essay to examine this further.

160 The chapter here draws from Frøyskov, *L’Horologe*, 614–622.

161 Page, *West*, 194.

162 McKinnon, *Music*, 102 (#218).

163 For ‘antiphon’ in Latin liturgy, see Mitchell, “Antiphon”, 17–18.

164 Taft, *Liturgy*, 54.

165 Jeffery, “Psalmody”, 122–123.

“a selection from the Psalter, followed by a doxology, to be sung in the liturgy by two choirs in alternation. ... An antiphon may consist of several psalms, not necessarily consecutive; of one psalm only; or even of single verses. A refrain is not essential ... the name antiphon never being applied to the refrain itself.”<sup>166</sup>

Now, several texts, all incidentally related to the penultimate decade of the fourth century, speak of antiphons sung during night prayer (Vigil) in Palestine, the region where Psalter manuscripts used the term in the sense of a Psalter unit some five hundred years later. Palladios in his *Lausiac History* describes the nocturnal psalmody at the Mount of Olives of the monk Adolios, whom he had no doubt met when he was himself a monk there for three years in the late 380s:<sup>167</sup> “After he had completed his usual time he would knock at the cells of all with the clapper he used in waking them. He would bring them together in houses for prayer and at each oratory join them in singing one or two psalms antiphonally.”<sup>168</sup> The Greek original simply has the term ‘antiphon’: συμψάλλων αὐτοῖς ἐν ἡ δεύτερον ἀντίφωνον, “join them in singing one or two antiphons”.<sup>169</sup> It is striking that the liturgical setting of these monks singing antiphons was the same as for the stichological antiphons of the Jerusalem Psalter – the Vigil.<sup>170</sup>

Moving to Latin literature, in his *Cenobitic Institutions*, John Cassian famously uses the term ‘antiphon’ several times in his description of monastic services of the Orient. One of these is the Vigil on Friday evening: “For when they have sung three antiphons (*tria antiphona*) while standing, then they sit on the ground or on very low seats...”<sup>171</sup> Boniface Ramsey, correctly in my view, understands the term in a psalmic sense: “‘Antiphons’ here seems to refer to psalms sung in antiphonal fashion”.<sup>172</sup> In another passage, John Cassian mentions the doxology that ends the antiphon, unlike other texts: “And when the psalm has been finished by the one singing, while all are silent, the prayer follows, although the antiphon only ends, as a rule, with this glorification of the Trinity”.<sup>173</sup> Ramsey understands ‘antiphon’ here to signify “the whole of psalmody rather than to the manner in which it is sung”.<sup>174</sup>

166 Conomos, “Antiphon”. The antiphons of the Ecclesiastic Psalter had refrains, while those of the Jerusalem Psalter could have but, as it seems, usually did not have refrains. Compared to later Latin liturgy, then, the most important difference is that ‘antiphon’ in Greek liturgy signifies a part of the Psalter, with or without refrain, and not the extra-psalmic refrain.

167 Katos, *Palladius*, 11.

168 Meyer, *Palladius*, 120.

169 For the Greek: Mohrmann/Bartelink, *Palladio*, 214, who also translate more pertinently, “una o due antifone” (p. 215).

170 About such nocturnal stichology in late antique Jerusalem, see Frøyshov, “Book of Hours”, 123–125.

171 Ramsey, *John Cassian*, 68 (III.8.4).

172 Ramsey, *John Cassian*, 53.

173 Ramsey, *John Cassian*, (II.8).

174 Ramsey, *John Cassian*, 56.

Luke Dysinger lists various meanings of the term *antiphona* in Cassian, but none of them is the Psalter unit.<sup>175</sup> However, since Cassian here speaks of Palestinian liturgy around 380,<sup>176</sup> could this not mean ‘antiphon’ in the sense the term has in the Palestinian witnesses of the Hagiopolite Psalter manuscripts? While Ramsey and other scholars run into difficulty explaining the term, it makes perfect sense to read it as a Psalter unit. The two features of the antiphon that Cassian describes are identical to what we know from the Jerusalem Psalter: three antiphons are sung together (making up a large unit), and the little doxology (“Glory to the Father ..., now and ever ...”) is said after each antiphon (the antiphon is even called “Doxa” in later usage). Again, the liturgical context of Cassian’s three antiphons is the Vigil.

At about the same time as John Cassian, Egeria uses the Latin term *antiphona* in her description of the Daily Office of the Jerusalem cathedral: “For each day before cockcrow all the doors of the Anastasis are opened and all the *monazontes* and *parthenae*, as they say here, come down; and not only these but also lay people besides, men and women, those who wish to keep the earlier vigil. And from that hour until daybreak hymns are recited and psalms with refrains, similarly also antiphons.”<sup>177</sup> Again, the exact sense of Egeria’s term *antiphona* is not easily grasped, but here we are at the very spot where the Jerusalem Psalter already existed, and could not the sense be the small unit of the Psalter? Egeria is usually quite precise in her observations, and her distinction between “psalm with refrain” and “antiphon” (which then would not have refrains) seems informed and all but arbitrary. Just as in Palladios and Cassian, the liturgical context is the Vigil, and the stichology of the Jerusalem Psalter could probably be performed without refrains.<sup>178</sup>

It is reasonable to conclude that the term ‘antiphon’ in Palladios, Cassian and Egeria signifies a Psalter unit. In that case, the term in fourth century Palestine had the same sense as in Palestinian Psalter MSS of the ninth century.

175 Dysinger, *Psalmody*, 55, n. 28.

176 Taft, *Liturgy*, 76–80.

177 Bradshaw, *Egeria*, 59 (§ 24.1).

178 The question of refrains for the Jerusalem Psalter needs a proper study. In the Byzantine rite today (using the Hagiopolite Psalter), variable/continuous psalmody does not have refrains, but selected kathismata may have, such as kathisma 1 (“Blessed is the man”) at resurrectional and festal Vespers, which has “Alleluia” as refrain. For the Georgian Lectionary #641, the Vigil of Great Friday, the witness S (Codex Sinaiticus georg. 37, AD 982) has a rubric that specifies that the (whole) Psalter is to be performed without Alleluia, which means that it otherwise could have Alleluia: “Here in Jerusalem, at St. Sabas and at St. [Mount] Sinai, at the Foot Washing, they say the whole Psalter in successive parts, from ‘Blessed is the man’ alternately without Alleluia”. (Tarchnishvili did not decipher correctly; for the Georgian, see Gvaramia, *Description*, III/48).

#### 4.5 Two Kinds of “Antiphonal Psalmody”

While not attempting to solve the huge issue of antiphonal psalmody, we shall here simply make the point that the antiphons of the Jerusalem Psalter were used in two different ways. Of course, this point has a bearing upon the understanding of what antiphonal psalmody was, especially since the sung text was actually called “antiphon”.<sup>179</sup>

The first liturgical use of the antiphons was stichology, which is the continuous psalmody of one antiphon after the other. The primary *Sitz im Leben* of stichology was nocturnal prayer. The Jerusalem Psalter saw a marked development of stichological arrangements that distributed the whole Psalter over a specific period: the Armenian Psalter over eight days, the Old Georgian Psalter over 24 hours, and the Hagiopolite Psalter over a week. The operative distribution unit was the large Psalter section (canon). As we saw in Gabriel of Qatar’s *Commentary*, there were various distribution systems in the seventh century East Syrian Office as well.

The other use of the antiphons of the Jerusalem Psalter was selective. As we have seen, for particular services, such as those of Great Friday, antiphons were chosen because they contained verses that expressed the meaning of the occasion. Egeria even employs such a terminology for the very same kind of services: *antiphonae aptae diei*, “antiphons appropriate to the day”.<sup>180</sup> We may call it “selected antiphon” (or even “selected canon” or “selected kathisma”).<sup>181</sup> As we saw in the Armenian Lectionary, these selected antiphons could be sung with a refrain, usually a verse taken from their first psalm.<sup>182</sup>

#### 4.6 The Jerusalem Psalter of 60 Antiphons

A significant change took place when the Jerusalem Psalter was restructured through the increase of small units from 57 to 60. Because the divisions into small and large units are ritually intertwined, it is probable that the large units were increased from 8 to 20 at the same time. Can we explain why this happened? Since in stichology one distributed the psalms according to the large units, twenty was no doubt a more convenient number than nineteen since it was divisible by two. The division into two halves could have been related to the idea of singing (or reading) the whole Psalter in a day and a night, half of it during the day and half of it during the night.

179 What could antiphonal psalmody be if not the singing of antiphons?

180 Bradshaw, *Egeria*, 78–79, § 35.3 and 35.4.

181 Similar selected or fixed use of Psalter antiphons is seen in the Ecclesiastic Psalter (six or eight antiphons were fixed; cf. Hanke, *Vespers und Orthros*, passim). Hanke uses the corresponding terms ‘Auswahlsantiphonie’ and ‘Auswahlsantiphon’ (p. 493). Likewise, the present Byzantine rite has psalmic pieces that represent “select kathismata”, such as kathisma 18 at Lenten Vespers.

182 Taft, “Psalmody”, 17–19.

Considering the chronology of Psalters that emerges from this study, it is reasonable to place the restructuring from 57 to 60 antiphons and from eight to twenty large units in the sixth century.

The Old Georgian and the Hagiopolite Psalter have a different number of large units, but both have 60 antiphons. It is complicated to determine their chronological sequence. From a general perspective the Old Georgian Psalter could seem to be the older system: the ‘kartuli (Georgian)’ liturgical books reflect sixth-seventh century Jerusalem liturgy; the earliest manuscript evidence of the Hagiopolite Psalter is from the eighth or ninth century. However, our antiphon comparison above showed that the Armenian Psalter is slightly closer to the Hagiopolite Psalter than to the Old Georgian Psalter (similarity of 59.6% vs 54.4%). Also, for the use of antiphons in the Jerusalem Lectionary, we saw that the Hagiopolite Psalter is closer to the East Syrian and Armenian Psalter than the Old Georgian Psalter is.

There are data that contradict either chronological order between the two Psalters: the Armenian Psalter and the Old Georgian Psalter have 13 antiphons in common against the Hagiopolite Psalter, while the Armenian Psalter and the Hagiopolite Psalter have 12 antiphons in common against the Old Georgian Psalter (both numbers are according to the the Old Georgian Psalter division). In comparison, the Hagiopolite and the Old Georgian Psalter, the two Psalters of 20 large units, have fewer (7) antiphons in common against the Armenian Psalter. Hence, the Hagiopolite and the Old Georgian Psalter might seem to be two offshoots of the Armenian Psalter rather than one being the organic successor of the other.

However, it is possible to reach a clearer understanding. To a large extent, where the Hagiopolite Psalter differs from the Armenian and the Georgian Psalter, it is in fact identical to the Ecclesiastic Psalter. With one exception in both blocks (Pss 103–104 and 101–102, respectively), for Pss 89–118 the Armenian Psalter = the Old Georgian Psalter and the Hagiopolite Psalter = Ecclesiastic Psalter (for the abbreviations, see ch. 6):

| ARM     | O-GEO   | HAG     | Ecclesiastic Psalter <sup>1</sup> |
|---------|---------|---------|-----------------------------------|
| 89–91   | 89–91   | 89–90   | 89–90                             |
| 92–94   | 92–94   | 91–93   | 91–93                             |
| 95–97   | 95–97   | 94–96   | 94–96                             |
| 98–100  | 98–100  | 97–100  | 97–100                            |
| 101–102 | 101–102 | 101–102 | 101                               |
|         |         |         | 102                               |
| 103–104 | 103     | 103     | 103                               |

1 Strunk, “Office”, 200–201.

| ARM         | O-GEO       | HAG         | Ecclesiastic Psalter <sup>1</sup> |
|-------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------------------------|
|             | 104         | 104         | 104                               |
| 105         | 105         | 105         | 105                               |
| 106         | 106         | 106         | 106                               |
| 107–109     | 107–109     | 107–108     | 107–108                           |
| 110–113     | 110–113     | 109–111     | 109–111                           |
| 114–117     | 114–117     | 112–114     | 112–114                           |
|             |             | 115–117     | 115–117                           |
| 118:1–56    | 118:1–56    | 118:1–72    | 118:1–72                          |
| 118:57–120  | 118:57–122  | 118:73–131  | 118:73–131                        |
| 118:121–176 | 118:123–176 | 118:132–176 | 118:132–176                       |

As we have seen, for Pss 37–77 the correspondences are different: the Armenian Psalter = Hagiopolite Psalter versus the Old Georgian Psalter. We may interpret these matches in the following way. For the block of Pss 89–118, the Psalter of Jerusalem from the fifth to at least the seventh century had the antiphons of the Armenian Psalter and the Old Georgian Psalter. The Hagiopolite Psalter, originating in Jerusalem and practised in Constantinople, was under the influence of the Ecclesiastic Psalter and adopted wholesale the Ecclesiastic variant of this block (except for regrouping two antiphons into one, Pss 101–102). It also adopted the stichometry of Ps 50 from the Ecclesiastic Psalter. The Armenian Psalter = the Hagiopolite Psalter match for Pss 37–77 is understandable within the historical scheme in which the Hagiopolite Office evolved from a sixth century adoption in Constantinople of the Hierosolymitan Office; the Hagiopolite Psalter here was the successor of the Armenian Psalter.<sup>2</sup>

Even though the Hagiopolite Psalter is the latest stage of the Jerusalem Psalter, documented from the ninth century onward, its origin – to put it that way – lies prior to the Old Georgian Psalter. It is identical to the East Syrian and Armenian Psalter in the case of 34 antiphons, including the section of Pss 14–77, which remained untouched at the transition from 57 to 60 antiphons. In Constantinople, the Hagiopolite Psalter replaced the whole block of Pss 89–118 of the received Jerusalem Psalter with the corresponding block of the Ecclesiastic Psalter. The Hagiopolite Psalter “returned” to Jerusalem and became the new and definitive Psalter of the Jerusalem cathedral, but it carried with it a contamination from Constantinopolitan liturgy as well as elements of an evolutionary stage of the Jerusalem liturgy that was earlier than what was by then being observed there (known from the kartuli/Georgian version).

2 For more on this adoption, see Frøyshov, “Early History”.



The journey of the Jerusalem Psalter from its original location to Constantinople and back again to Jerusalem joins what we see in general for the Daily Office of the Jerusalem tradition.<sup>3</sup> The Horologion and the hymn book(s), after some centuries of observance and evolution in the imperial city, returned to their origin – but in a form that both had retained archaic elements and was contaminated with Constantinopolitan elements. This is the process that is called liturgical ‘Byzantinisation’ (or ‘Constantinopolisation’) and started in the ninth century.<sup>4</sup> The sources of the Hagiopolite Psalter are dated by Parpulov to the decades around 878–929, so their date does not preclude their being Byzantinised Psalters.<sup>5</sup>

However, the Byzantinisation process was preceded by a period of limited Byzantine influence; is the Constantinopolitan element of the Hagiopolite Psalter substantial enough for us to consider it a case of Byzantinisation and not just a case of limited Byzantine influence? On the one hand, the Ecclesiastic elements of the Hagiopolite Psalter are considerable, and the Hagiopolite Psalter was simply the Psalter of the Hagiopolite rite. This means Byzantinisation. On the other hand, the supplementary texts of the Palestinian Hagiopolite Psalter manuscripts do not seem to contain elements otherwise known to be Byzantine. Palestine adopted the text and divisions of the Hagiopolite Psalter but did not replace the local supplementary texts by Byzantine ones.

## 5. Conclusion

The Christian liturgical Psalter of Jerusalem emerged no later than the first half of the fourth century. It may have had a Jewish model; in that case, this liturgical book transitioned almost seamlessly from a Jewish to a Christian context. The evolutionary trajectory of the Greek Psalter of the Resurrection cathedral of Jerusalem may be roughly summarised as follows:

- Fourth century, reflected in the East Syrian version: 19 large units (Greek: κανών), 57 small units (ἀντίφωνον).
- Fifth century, reflected in the Armenian version: 8 large units, 57 small units.
- Sixth century, reflected in the Greek Psalter that was adopted in Constantinople and that evolved there into the Hagiopolite Psalter by including elements from the Ecclesiastic Psalter: 20 large units, 60 small units.
- Seventh century, reflected in the Old Georgian Psalter: 20 large units, 60 small units (slightly different than in the Hagiopolite Psalter).

3 See Frøyskov, “Early History”, 359–360; idem, “Daily Office”; idem, “Horologion”.

4 Cf. Galadza, *Liturgy*; Frøyskov, “Constantinople”.

5 For a Byzantinising Melkite Euchologion of the same period as the “Palestinian type” of the Hagiopolite Psalter manuscripts, see Radle, “Sinai Greek NE/ MT 22”.

- Ninth century (second half): the Hagiopolite Psalter, the Byzantine variant of the Jerusalem Psalter, was spread to Palestine. The current terms for Psalter units were now: *κάθισμα* for the large unit; *ἀντίφωνον* and *δόξα* for the small unit (later also *στάσις*).

Thanks to the high reputation of the Holy City and its liturgy, the Jerusalem Office with its Psalter was adopted by churches both to the east and to the west. The final and lasting redaction of the Jerusalem Psalter appeared, as with much of Palestinian liturgy, in Constantinople and became the Psalter of the Byzantine rite, still practised today.

## 6. Comparative Table of Psalter Divisions

The numbers signify small units (antiphons). Large unit numbers are marked in bold letters. Non-LXX numbers are converted into LXX numbers. The *sedarim* of the Palestinian Hebrew Psalter, except the first *seder*, start one verse before the actual start of the *seder*; for practical purposes we disregard this verse.<sup>6</sup> The following abbreviations are used:

ARM = The Armenian Psalter

E-SYR = The East Syrian Psalter

HAG = The Hagiopolite Psalter (= present Byzantine Psalter)

O-GEO = The old, pre-Athonite Georgian Psalter

PAL-HEB = The Palestinian Hebrew Psalter divided in 19 *sedarim*

| PAL-HEB | 57/19 | E-SYR | 57/8 | ARM   | O-GEO<br>[variant] | 60/20 | HAG   |
|---------|-------|-------|------|-------|--------------------|-------|-------|
| 1–10    | 1/1   | 1–4   | 1/1  | 1–3   | 1–3                | 1/1   | 1–3   |
|         | 2     | 5–7   | 2    | 4–6   | 4–6                | 2     | 4–6   |
|         | 3     | 8–9   | 3    | 7–8   | 7–8                | 3     | 7–8   |
|         |       |       | 4    | 9     | 9                  | 4/2   | 9–10  |
| 11–19   | 4/2   | 10–13 | 5    | 10–13 | 10–13              | 5     | 11–13 |
|         | 5     | 14–16 | 6    | 14–16 | 14–16              | 6     | 14–16 |
|         | 6     | 17    | 7    | 17    | 17                 | 7/3   | 17    |
| 20–28   | 7/3   | 18–20 | 8/2  | 18–20 | 18–20              | 8     | 18–20 |

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Martín-Contreras/Miralles-Maciá, *Text*, 217, n. 11. *Seder* 17 (Ps 118:72) starts with the last verse of the section of the ninth letter (v. 65–72). *Seder* 11 (Ps 77:38) starts in the middle of the psalm, but there is probably a similar logic here. A similar juxtaposition of the units of the Old Georgian Psalter and the Hagiopolite Psalter was made by Shanidze, *Translations*, 69, 74.

| PAL-HEB              | 57/19 | E-SYR   | 57/8 | ARM     | O-GEO<br>[variant]    | 60/20 | HAG     |
|----------------------|-------|---------|------|---------|-----------------------|-------|---------|
| 29–34                | 8     | 21–23   | 9    | 21–23   | 21–23                 | 9     | 21–23   |
|                      | 9     | 24–26   | 10   | 24–26   | 24–26                 | 10/4  | 24–26   |
|                      | 10/4  | 27–29   | 11   | 27–29   | 27–29                 | 11    | 27–29   |
|                      | 11    | 30–31   | 12   | 30–31   | 30–31                 | 12    | 30–31   |
| 35–40                | 12    | 32–33   | 13   | 32–33   | 32–33                 | 13/5  | 32–33   |
|                      | 13/5  | 34–35   | 14   | 34–35   | 34–35                 | 14    | 34–35   |
|                      | 14    | 36      | 15/3 | 36      | 36                    | 15    | 36      |
| 41–48                | 15    | 37–39   | 16   | 37–39   | 37–38                 | 16/6  | 37–39   |
|                      | 16/6  | 40–42   | 17   | 40–42   | 39–40                 | 17    | 40–42   |
|                      | 17    | 43–45   | 18   | 43–45   | 41–43                 | 18    | 43–45   |
| 49–56                | 18    | 46–48   | 19   | 46–48   | 44–46                 | 19/7  | 46–48   |
|                      | 19/7  | 49–51   | 20   | 49–51   | 47–48                 | 20    | 49–50   |
|                      | 20    | 52–54   | 21   | 52–54   | 49–50                 | 21    | 51–54   |
| 57–66                | 21    | 55–57   | 22/4 | 55–57   | 51–53                 | 22/8  | 55–57   |
|                      | 22/8  | 58–60   | 23   | 58–60   | 54–56                 | 23    | 58–60   |
|                      | 23    | 61–63   | 24   | 61–63   | 57–59                 | 24    | 61–63   |
|                      | 24    | 64–66   | 25   | 64–66   | 60–62<br>[9:60–68]    | 25/9  | 64–66   |
| 67–71                | 25/9  | 67      | 26   | 67      | 63–65                 | 26    | 67      |
|                      | 26    | 68–69   | 27   | 68–69   | 66–67                 | 27    | 68–69   |
|                      | 27    | 70–71   | 28   | 70–71   | 68–69<br>[10:69–73]   | 28/10 | 70–71   |
| 72–77:37             | 28/10 | 72–73   | 29/5 | 72–73   | 70–71                 | 29    | 72–73   |
|                      | 29    | 74–76   | 30   | 74–76   | 72–73                 | 30    | 74–76   |
|                      | 30    | 77      | 31   | 77      | 74–76                 | 31/11 | 77      |
| 77:38–83             | 31/11 | 78–80   | 32   | 78–81   | 77                    | 32    | 78–80   |
|                      | 32    | 81–83   | 33   | 82–84   | 78–80                 | 33    | 81–84   |
|                      | 33    | 84–85   | 34   | 85–87   | 81–84                 | 34/12 | 85–87   |
| 84–89                | 34/12 | 86–87   | 35   | 88      | 85–87                 | 35    | 88      |
|                      | 35    | 88      |      |         | 88                    | 36    | 89–90   |
|                      | 36    | 89–91   | 36/6 | 89–91   | 89–91                 | 37/13 | 91–93   |
| 90–100               | 37/13 | 92–94   | 37   | 92–94   | 92–94                 | 38    | 94–96   |
|                      | 38    | 95–97   | 38   | 95–97   | 95–97                 | 39    | 97–100  |
|                      | 39    | 98–100  | 39   | 98–100  | 98–100<br>[14:98–105] | 40/14 | 101–102 |
| 101–105              | 40/14 | 101–102 | 40   | 101–102 | 101–102               | 41    | 103     |
| (Variant:<br>101:5–) | 41    | 103     | 41   | 103–104 | 103                   | 42    | 104     |

| PAL-HEB                              | 57/19 | E-SYR          | 57/8 | ARM             | O-GEO<br>[variant]          | 60/20 | HAG             |
|--------------------------------------|-------|----------------|------|-----------------|-----------------------------|-------|-----------------|
|                                      |       |                |      |                 | 104 [15:<br>106–108]        | 43/15 | 105             |
|                                      | 42    | 104            | 42   | 105             | 105                         | 44    | 106             |
| 106–110                              | 43/15 | 105            | 43/7 | 106             | 106                         | 45    | 107–108         |
|                                      | 44    | 106–107        | 44   | 107–109         | 107–109<br>[16:109–<br>117] | 46/16 | 109–111         |
|                                      | 45    | 108–110        | 45   | 110–113         | 110–113                     | 47    | 112–114         |
| 111–118:<br>72 (9 first<br>letters)  | 46/16 | 111–113        | 46   | 114–117         | 114–117                     | 48    | 115–117         |
|                                      | 47    | 114–117        | 47   | 118:1–56        | 118:1–56                    | 49/17 | 118:1–72        |
|                                      | 48    | 118:1–88       | 48   | 118:57–<br>120  | 118:57–<br>122              | 50    | 118:73–<br>131  |
| 118:73–127<br>(13 last let-<br>ters) | 49/17 | 118:89–<br>176 | 49   | 118:121–<br>176 | 118:123–<br>176             | 51    | 118:132–<br>176 |
|                                      | 50    | 119–124        | 50/8 | 119–124         | 119–123                     | 52/18 | 119–123         |
|                                      | 51    | 125–130        | 51   | 125–130         | 124–128                     | 53    | 124–128         |
| 128–139                              | 52/18 | 131–134        | 52   | 131–134         | 129–133                     | 54    | 129–133         |
|                                      | 53    | 135–137        | 53   | 135–137         | 134–135                     | 55/19 | 134–136         |
|                                      | 54    | 138–140        | 54   | 138–141         | 136–138                     | 56    | 137–139         |
|                                      |       |                |      |                 | 139–141                     | 57    | 140–142         |
| 140–150                              | 55/19 | 141–143        | 55   | 142–144         | 142–144                     | 58/20 | 143–144         |
|                                      | 56    | 144–146        | 56   | 145–147         | 145–147                     | 59    | 145–147         |
|                                      | 57    | 147–150        | 57   | 148–150         | 148–150                     | 60    | 148–150         |

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## The Psalms in Postclassical Greek Epigraphy

A neglected aspect of the afterlife of the psalms in postclassical Greek-speaking culture is their presence in postclassical and medieval Greek epigraphy. Hundreds of Greek inscriptions composed from the first to the fifteenth century CE preserve verses taken from the Greek Septuagint text of the psalms, whereas some of them bear the text of entire psalms. The present study will aspire to provide some notes on this quite complicated (and largely unexplored) subject, which nevertheless constituted an important element of Greek-speaking culture during the Christian period of the Greek-speaking world.

At first, it should be stressed that Greek inscriptions bearing Old Testament passages have been found in the entire postclassical Greek-speaking world, from the first to fifteenth century CE: from Salamis in Cyprus to Athens and from Corfu to Pontus, including late antique Syria, Crimea, Egypt and Palestine.<sup>1</sup> In the first three centuries CE, the relatively few inscriptions that preserve (or allude to) Old Testament passages draw their text from various Old Testament books, including Leviticus, Deuteronomy among others. These inscriptions are found in various archaeological contexts, mostly Jewish and pagan.<sup>2</sup> Pagan contexts where psalmic inscriptions are found often relate to the *σεβόμενοι*, or “Godfearers”, or “Hypsistarians”. These were Greek-speaking converts to Judaism or Greek-speaking attendees of synagogues, a hybrid cult that constitutes one of the historical prerequisites for the rapid spread of Christianity in Asia Minor, the Eastern Mediterranean, the Black Sea area and beyond.<sup>3</sup> From the third century onwards, psalms take the

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1 See general discussions in Jalabert, “Citations”, 1731–1747; Feissel, “Notes”, 575–579; id., “Bible”, 223–231.

2 Feissel, “Bible”, 225.

3 On the huge and ever-amassing evidence of this curious hybrid cult (an admixture of Greek paganism and Judaism), see the latest discussions of Reynolds/Tannenbaum, *Jews*; Mitchell, “Wer waren die Gottesfürchtigen?”, 55–64; id., “The Cult”, 81–148; id., “Further Thoughts”, 167–208. I am not willing to accept Glen Bowersock’s analysis (“The Highest God”, 353–362), who downplays esp. on p. 359 on the extremely important evidence on Hypsistarianism provided by Gregory of Nazianzos and Gregory of Nyssa (Greg. Naz., *Or.* 18.5, PG 35,992; Greg. Nyss., *In Eunomium* 2, PG 45,482 = Jaeger, *Opera II*, 327), Christian intellectuals who (after all) had Hypsistarian fathers and knew Hypsistos cults from the inside: they both refer to the Hypsistos cult as a transregional *concrete set of beliefs*, an admixture of Judaism and paganism, a monotheistic Judaeopaganism which still had adherents in their own times. I also have serious objections to his misreading (p. 358) of Cyril’s information on Hypsistarians in Palestine: they do not seem to be a mere local cult, but a local variation of the transregional Hypsistos cult. Bowersock does not also discuss Juvenal’s 14th

lead in Old Testament quotations, almost monopolising the presence of the Old Testament in later Greek epigraphy: if we were to believe Jalabert's outdated list of 1914, over 95 % of inscriptions preserving an Old Testament text contain verses of the psalms.<sup>4</sup>

The majority of medieval Greek inscriptions providing a psalmic text contain only a few verses.<sup>5</sup> Some inscriptions, however, bear (or initially bore) larger portions of psalmic text or even an entire psalm: Notable examples, in that respect, are the inscription from Ἀκροῖνόν (today's Afyon Karahisar/Turkey), which preserves five psalmic passages, the inscriptions from Λάπηθος/Καραβάς in Cyprus (bearing the whole Psalm 14), from Rhodes (bearing almost the entire Psalm 79), from the catacombs of Kertsch (Ukraine, which bore the entire Psalm 90 and other isolated psalmic verses), and from Salamis of Cyprus, which also bore Psalm 90 in whole.<sup>6</sup>

The issue of the presence of the psalms in postclassical (mainly late antique and medieval) Greek epigraphy should never be disconnected from the general issue of the popular belief to the apotropaic nature of certain psalms or verses. This is especially the case with Psalm 90 (in part or in whole) and with the verses Psalm 28:3, 45:8, 45:12, 117:20, 120:8, which are frequently found in inscriptions.<sup>7</sup> Testimony to the popular acceptance of the apotropaic/protective nature of those psalms or psalmic verses is also provided by their presence in objects of Byzantine handcraft, like amulets or jewels.<sup>8</sup> The same psalmic verses are present in distinguished parts (façades, entrance gates) of buildings, civil or connected to Christian worship, and usually in early Christian basilicas.<sup>9</sup> Even after the demise of a

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satire (1st century CE); he is nonetheless ready to acknowledge Judaisers in some compelling passages of Asia Minor inscriptions behind the terms σεβόμενοι / θεοσεβείς (p. 362). In my view, Mitchell's pivotal contributions (1998, 1999, 2010) are the solid ground upon which every future research on Hypsistarians (= θεοσεβείς) has to be based. To the best of my knowledge, in his otherwise learned discussion, Mitchell ("The Cult", 1999, v.s.) did not take into account Septuagint/Psalmic inscriptions of the first four centuries CE as evidence for Hypsistarianism, a (more or less) difficult task given the usual fluidity of the context in which the inscription is found (Jewish, Christian or Hypsistarian / Judaeo-pagan?).

4 See inventory of Jalabert, "Citations", 1732–1742, 1747.

5 See Jalabert, "Citations", 1732–1742, 1748; Feissel, "Notes", 575–579. See also inscriptions from Ἐρεσός (Lesbos island) and Ἀμαστρίς (Pontus) preserving Ps 90:1–2 and 90:9–10 respectively, in Grégoire, *Recueil*, 56, no. 165; Kalinka, "Bithynien", *Beiblatt*, cols. 85–86, no. 48.

6 Jalabert, "Citations", 1742–1745; Buckler/Calder, *Monuments*, 133–134, no. 385; Argoud/Callot/Helly, *Salamine de Chypre XI*, 39, no. Sal. 6715,48; Feissel, "Notes", 575; Feissel, "Bible", 226–227, 230; Pouilloux/Roesch/Marcillet-Jaubert, *Salamine de Chypre XIII*, 86–87, no. 235. The inscriptions from Lapethus/Karavás in Cyprus (bearing the whole Psalm 14) and the lead inscription from Rhodes (bearing almost the entire Psalm 79) are discussed later on in this article.

7 Jalabert, "Citations", 1747; Feissel, "Notes", 575 n.148; Feissel, "Bible", 225–228.

8 Feissel, "Notes", 575–577.

9 Jalabert, "Citations", 1750–1751; Feissel, "Notes", 577; id., "Bible", 225–228.

palaeochristian building, the stone bearing the psalmic verse(s) would be reused into later churches to provide an unbroken continuum in apotropaic protection.<sup>10</sup>

It is important to emphasise the liberties that redactors or engravers took when reproducing the psalms, sometimes abbreviating the text, collating passages from different psalms or rephrasing the verses to adapt them to a Christian environment.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, many inscriptions (whether inscribed on stone or upon handcrafted objects) are a testimony to the textual tradition of the Greek Psalter. This is especially the case with inscriptions which can be dated before the ninth century CE: those inscriptions offer us a glimpse to a Septuagint Psalter text which is often much older than the majority of the extant Greek Psalter manuscripts. Sometimes they can be even contemporary to the oldest extant Greek manuscripts of the Bible, such as *Codex Sinaiticus*, *Vaticanus* or *Alexandrinus*; inscriptions could thus be regarded as a neglected source of information for the early text of the Greek Psalter.<sup>12</sup>

On that point, it would be appropriate to make special reference to two old inscriptions, providing a text contemporary to some of our oldest Septuagint manuscripts. The first among them, usually dated in the fifth to sixth century CE and found during the late nineteenth century in Λάπηθος (today's village of Καραβάς, Cyprus), now in Paris, bears the text of LXX Psalm 14 in its entirety:<sup>13</sup>

- Κ(ύρι)ε, τίς παροικήσει ἐν τῷ σκηνώματί σου  
ἢ τίς καταπαύσει ἐν ὄρι ἀ(γί)ω σου;  
Πορευόμενος ἄμωμος καὶ ἐργαζόμενος  
δικαιοσύνην,  
5 λαλῶν ἀλήθειαν ἐν καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ,  
ὃς οὐκ ἐδόλωσεν ἐν γλώσσει αὐτοῦ,  
καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησεν τῷ πλησί[ον αὐτ]οῦ κακόν,  
καὶ ὀνιδισμόν οὐκ ἔλαβεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐγγίστα αὐτοῦ.  
Ἐξουδένωται ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ πονηρευόμενος·  
10 τοὺς δὲ φοβουμένους τὸν Κύριον δοξάζει·  
ὁ ὁμνῶν τῷ πλησίον αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἄθετῶν.

10 Such an Athenian case is analysed by Pallis, “Παλαιοχριστιανική”, 27–31, esp. 29 with notes 11, 13–18, providing further epigraphical examples, especially from the region of Attica, with invaluable (and often rare) bibliography.

11 On this aspect of Septuagint epigraphy, see Jalabert, “Citations”, 1748; Feissel, “Bible”, 230.

12 See Jalabert, “Citations”, 1754–1755; Feissel, “Bible”, 230. A pioneering direction in Septuagint textual criticism (that pays also respect to the inscriptional manifestations of the text of LXX Psalm 90) is taken by Kraus, “Septuaginta-Psalm 90”, 39–73.

13 The text is based upon the reliable second reading of Mitford, “New Inscriptions”, 167–168. For an older (extremely unreliable) reading, which shows signs of alteration of the text on the stone following an (unknown) Septuagint edition of the time, see Perdrizet, “Inscriptions”, 349–351, no. 4, with pl. XXIV (for Perdrizet’s readings and bold supplements, see *apparatus criticus*).

Τὸ ἀργύριον αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔδωκεν ἐπὶ τόκον  
καὶ δῶρα ἐπ' ἀθώοις οὐκ ἔλαβεν.  
Ὁ ποιῶν ταῦτα οὐ σαλευθήσετε.

2 καταπαύσει ἐν ὄρι ἀ(γί)ω σου lapis: κατασκηνώσει ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ ἀγίῳ σου codd.  
(= Rahlfs) et Perdrizet | 7 καὶ οὐκ lapis: οὐδέ codd. (= Rahlfs) et Perdrizet | 10 τόν om.  
codd. (= Rahlfs) et Perdrizet 12 τόκον lapis: τόκῳ codd. (= Rahlfs) et Perdrizet | 14 εἰς τὸν  
αἰῶνα codd. ad finem versus; om. lapis: σα[λευθήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα] suppl. Perdrizet.

The differences with Rahlfs' text (= codd.) are noted in the *apparatus criticus* above and deserve some further comment. By and large, the scribe applies a decent orthography (if we take into account the standards of the age) and we find nothing even remotely resembling the atrocious Greek dictation of other psalmic inscriptions.<sup>14</sup> There are instances of iotacism (l. 2: ὄρι, l. 5: ἀλήθιαν, l. 8: ὀνιδισμόν) and it is actually a question whether the scribe found this dictation in his late antique Septuagint copy (and hence retained it intact into the inscription) or this dictation is merely the outcome of the prevalent pronunciation of the times, irrespective of what the exemplar contained. The dative τόκῳ of our manuscripts is rendered into τόκον in this inscription (l. 12), something quite understandable given the demise of the dative in the Greek vernacular of the time. The οὐδέ of the manuscripts is also rendered into καὶ οὐκ (l. 7), probably under the influence of the οὐκ of the previous line. Far more interesting is the omission of a whole phrase (εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα) on the last line: it is actually again a question whether the omission is the outcome of a curtailing of the verse made by the redactors themselves, or an omission already found in the Septuagint exemplar that they had at their disposal. The most probable scenario seems to be provided by the first hypothesis (curtailing made by the redactors themselves), but no absolute certainty exists on that. The most interesting deviation from the manuscripts is found in l. 2: the text version provided by the Lapethus inscription not only shows a trend towards

14 See, for instance, Mitford, "New Inscriptions", 135–136, from late antique Cyprus:

crux  
ἀπο-  
στρα- crux  
φήτωσα-  
5 ν ἰς τὰ ὀπίσω  
κὴ κατεσχυθή-  
τοσαν οἱ λωγιζό-  
μενοί μοι κακά. Crux

Nevertheless, the unorthographical text verifies the *Sinaiticus* and the *Alexandrinus* text of LXX Psalm 34:4 (the one adopted by Rahlfs) against the testimony of *Codex Vaticanus* ad loc. (ἀποστραφεῖσαν, κατασχυνθείσαν B, *optativus pro imperativo*, cf. LXX Psalm 69:3).

eliminating the definite articles in the verse, but it also introduces a new verb (καταπαύσει) instead of the κατασκηνώσει of our manuscripts (*Vaticanus*, *Alexandrinus*, *Sinaiticus*). It could be hypothesised (with good cause) that the verb was indeed present in the Septuagint exemplar used by the redactors in Λάπηθος: after all, the καταπαύσει achieves a certain *variatio* (in the rhetorical sense of the word) avoiding the repetition between σκηνώματι (l. 1) and κατασκηνώσει (l. 2). It might well be the case that this *varia lectio* had intruded certain late antique Septuagint exemplars (not the surviving ones though) and a question arises over the source of this intrusion: could a certain alternative (other than the Septuagint) translation of the Old Testament into Greek be the source of this *varia lectio* or of other *variae lectiones* that appeared in the Septuagint manuscripts during those times? Given the loss of many of those Roman-era translations of the Old Testament, *ignoramus et ignorabimus*.

A second interesting psalmic inscription was a sheet of lead imitating the book roll, usually dated in the third to fourth century CE. Found during the late nineteenth century in Rhodes, it once stood in the Berlin Antiquarium (Miscellanea 8630), but is missing since 1945. It preserved the greatest part of LXX Psalm 79, and the text ran as follows:<sup>15</sup>

- ὁ πυμ[αίνων τὸν Ἰσραὴλ πρόσχες]  
 [ὁ] ὀδιγῶν [ώσει πρόβατα τὸν Ἰωσήφ·]  
 [ὁ κ]αθήμενο[ς ἐπὶ τῶν χ]ερό[υβιν? ἐμφάνη-]  
 [θι]. ἐναντήον Ἐφραΐμ καὶ Βεν[ιαμὴν καὶ Μανασσή]  
 5 ἐξέγριον τὴν δυναστ<στ>εῖαν σου [καὶ ἐλθὲ ἰς τὸ]  
 σῶσαι ἡμᾶς. Ὁ Θ(εὸς) ἐ[πι]στρεψον ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐ[πί]φανον]  
 τὸ πρόσωπόν σου καὶ σωθῆσόμεθα, Κ(ύρι)ε [ὁ Θ(εὸς)]  
 [τῶν δυνάμεων, ἕως πώτε ὀργήζη ἐπὶ τ[ὴν προ-]  
 σευχὴν τοῦ δούλου σου, ψωμείς ἡμᾶς ἄρ[τον]  
 10 [δ]ακρύων  
 [πο]τιεῖς ἡμᾶς ἐν δάκρυσιν ἐν μέτρῳ; Ἐθου [ἡμᾶς]  
 εἰς ἀν<αν>τιλογίαν τοὺς γίτῳσιν ἡμ(ῶ)ν, κ[αὶ οἱ]  
 [ἐχ]θροὶ ἡμῶν ἐμυκτήρισαν ἡμᾶς. Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θ(εὸς) [τῶν]  
 [δυ]νάμεων, ἐπίστρεψον ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπίφ[ανον]  
 15 τὸ πρόσ(ωπ)όν σου καὶ σοθισώμ[ε]θα. Ἀμπελον [ἐξ Αἰ-]  
 [γ]ύπτου μετήρας, ἐξέβαλες ἔθνη καὶ κα[τεφύ-]  
 τευσας αὐτήν· ὠδοπύσας <αὐτ> ἔμπροσ[θεν αὐ-]  
 τῆς καὶ κατεφύτευσας τὰς ρίζας α[ὐτῆς],

15 The text is based upon the primary reading of Hiller von Gaertringen, “Bleirrolle”, 582–588. Further mentions and discussions: Jalabert, “Citations”, 1746; Feissel, “La Bible”, 230; Guarducci, *Epigrafia*, 365–368; Marksches, “Manuscripts”, 208–210.



- [κα]ὶ ἐπλήρωσεν τὴν γῆν. Ἐκάλυψεν ὄρη [ἡ σκιὰ]  
 20 [α]ὐτῆς, καὶ αἱ ἀναδενδρά(δες) αὐτῆς τὰς κέ[δρους τοῦ]  
 Θ(ε)οῦ· ἐξέτινιν τὰ κλήματα αὐτῆς ἕως θ[αλάσ-]  
 [ση]ς, καὶ ἕως ποταμοῦ τὰς παραφυάδες αὐτ[ῆς].  
 [ἴν]α τί καθεῖ(λ)ες τὸν φραγμὸν αὐτῆς καὶ τρυ[γῶσιν]  
 [αὐτ]ὴν ὃ παραπορευόμενοι τὴν ὁδόν; Ἐλ[υμήνα-]  
 25 [το] αὐτὴν ὅς ἐκ δρυμοῦ, καὶ μωνιώς ἄγριο[ς κα-]  
 [τε]νεμίσατο αὐτ<μίσατω αὐτ>ήν. Ο Θ(ε)ς τ[ῶν δυνά-]  
 μων ἐπί(σ)τρεψον δὴ· ἐπίβλεψον ἐξ οὐ[ρανοῦ]  
 [κα]ὶ ἰδέ, καὶ ἐπί(σ)κεψ<ε>αι τὴν ἄνπελων [ταύτην],  
 [καὶ] κατάρτησε αὐτήν, ἣν ἐφύτευσ[εν ἡ δεξιὰ]  
 30 [σου, κα]ὶ ἐπὶ υἱὸν ᾧ ἐκρατέωσ[ας σεαυτῶ].

3 χερουβείμ BS χερουβίν R | 10 δακρύων καὶ codd. (= Rahlfs) | 11 ἡμᾶς codd.: extinctum in fine lapidis supplevi | 12 τοῦς: sic lapis: τοῖς codd. | 19 ἐπλήρωσεν τὴν γῆν (lege γῆν) lapis: ἐπλήσθη ἡ γῆ codd. (= Rahlfs) | 21 ἐξέτινιν: sic lapis | 22 ποταμοῦ BS ποταμῶν A; παραφυάδες: sic lapis | 24 ὃ παραπορευόμενοι lapis: πάντες οἱ παραπορευόμενοι codd. | 26 ὅς codd.: σὺς BS (=Rahlfs); μονιός codd. (= Rahlfs): ὄνος BS | 30 υἱὸν ἀνθρώπου ὃν ἐκραταίωσας σεαυτῶ codd.: ἀνθρώπου deest in lapide.

It should be noted that the inscription exhibits some significant orthographical errors, a feature not uncommon in Septuagint epigraphy (see n. 14 above). The stone also contains several misspellings or, more accurately, miswritings (l. 12: τοῦς γίτωσιν, l. 21: ἐξέτινιν, l. 22: παραφυάδες). The dictation is sometimes inconsistent (l. 7: σωθησόμεθα, l. 15: σοθισώμεθα). The break at the right end of the leaf does not make it clear, if χερουβείμ (*Vaticanus*, *Sinaiticus*) or χερουβίν stood in line 3. In line 10, the καὶ of the manuscripts after δακρύων is missing, an omission that creates problems both of expression and interpretation. The personal pronoun ἡμᾶς of the manuscript tradition must have stood at the missing (and seriously broken) right end of line 11 and should be supplemented. In line 19, the stone preserves an interesting (albeit weak) variant reading ἐπλήρωσεν τὴν γῆν, against the reading ἐπλήσθη ἡ γῆ of our manuscripts. The reading πάντες of the manuscript tradition is also omitted in l. 24, perhaps deemed by the redactors as redundant.

However, despite those shortcomings, it would be an exaggeration to say that the Rhodian psalmic inscription preserves a bad or corrupt text. In l. 22 the inscription verifies the reading ποταμοῦ of the *Vaticanus* and the *Sinaiticus* against the ποταμῶν of the *Alexandrinus*. On the other hand, in l. 26, the inscription deviates seriously from the readings of the *Vaticanus* and the *Sinaiticus*: it verifies the reading ὅς of the overwhelming majority of the medieval tradition (*Alexandrinus* et *recentiores*) against Rahlfs' reading of σὺς, which is provided by the *Codices Vati-*

*canus* and *Sinaiticus*. It also verifies (on the same line) the *lectio difficilior* (*et potior*) μονιός of the medieval manuscripts (rightly accepted by Rahlfs) against the *lectio facilior* ὄνος provided by the *Codices Vaticanus* and *Sinaiticus*. The most interesting deviation from the Septuagint norm (and one which I would ascribe to the particular Septuagint exemplar that the redactors of the inscription used) is the notable omission of ἀνθρώπου in the last line of the inscription. It would have been really easy for the redactors of the inscription to add ἀνθρώπου (after all, the abbreviation ανου existed): the very omission raises suspicions that it was not made for the sake of space, but it already stood in the Septuagint copy that the redactor(s) of the inscription used. Further suspicions are being raised over the descent of such a manuscript, that made so important omissions (from a conceptual, theological point of view). In fact, we do not know the type of Septuagint text that circulated among Jewish or Christian sects during the fourth century CE. Given the meticulous textual alterations made amidst the intense theological debates of the period, one must question whether such omissions aligned with the theological tenets of either Jewish factions or “heretical” Christian sects, such as the Arians or Monophysites.

The above analyses of inscriptional specimens seem to give a grim idea of what a complex (and sometimes problematical) source for the text of the Septuagint inscriptions can be. Inscriptions can potentially verify certain readings already found in the oldest possible manuscript tradition, or deviate from it. Sometimes it is not possible to say, if a deviation is made because of the excessive liberties that the redactor took with his text, or because those deviations were already found in the old Septuagint exemplar that the composer(s) of the inscription(s) had in front of them. When suspicions are raised that their Septuagint text included readings divergent from the surviving old manuscript tradition, it is not entirely possible to say, if this divergence is due to a micro-surgery of the text made along the lines of a certain theological trend (cf. omission of ἀνθρώπου in l. 30 of the Rhodian inscription) or if there is an intrusion from an alternative (other than the Septuagint) translation of the Old Testament (cf. the καταπαύσει in l. 2 of the Λάπηθος inscription).

In any case, inscriptions provide valuable insights into the rich diversity and pluriformity of the Old Testament text during Late Antiquity. Moreover, Septuagint inscriptions offer important information about the versions of the Old Testament text prevalent in certain regions of the Eastern Mediterranean during the first centuries CE. This type of information cannot be given by the available papyri due to the well-known limitations in their geographical distribution of papyri (they are primarily found in Egypt). The extant inscriptional evidence testifies to the variety of Old Testament and Psalter versions that were in use (especially by the Jewish and Samaritan communities) during the late Roman period: for instance, late antique inscriptions have unveiled a verse once attributed to Symmachus’ version

of the book of Psalms, as well as an unknown revision of the Septuagint used by the Samaritan community in Thessalonike.<sup>16</sup>

Due attention should, therefore, be paid to those epigraphic specimens of old Septuagint and psalmic text. The medieval Greek epigraphy of the psalms in particular is a manifestation not only of an older text, but also of the omnipresence of the Psalter in the life of the late antique and medieval Greek-speaking worlds: worlds which on the right (erudite and more rarefied) hand may have held Homer, the tragedians, or the Alexandrian poets, but on their left (more popular and vernacular) hand held firmly (and having in great esteem) the Book of Psalms.<sup>17</sup>

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- 16 On a Jewish inscription from late Roman Nicaea (4th century CE) preserving Ps 135:25 (136:25 MT) from Symmachus' translation of the Psalms, see Zuckerman, "Psalms", 105–111; *pace* Salvesen, "Psalm". Cf. also Alison Salvesen's contribution to the present volume. On a Samaritan revision of the Septuagint, which is revealed from an inscription of late antique Thessalonica (preserving Num 6:22–27), see Tov, "Une inscription grecque", 394–399. This last inscription raises the legitimate suspicion that the psalmic text used by (Greek-speaking) late antique Samaritans in Thessalonica and elsewhere was not exactly the Septuagint one, but a revision of it.
- 17 This does not mean, however, that erudite men of letters could be indifferent to the Septuagint Book of Psalms. On the contrary, it is well-known that from the later antiquity to the mid-Byzantine period, the Book of Psalms gave rise to the composition of a number of lexicographical and grammatical works, most of them unpublished or imperfectly published in old, uncritical, outdated and rare-to-find editions. On one of them, compiled by no less a grammatical luminary than Georgius Choeroboscus (early ninth century) see Papanikolaou, "Learning Greek", 115–132.

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## Supposedly Jewish Greek Psalter Versions of the Early Modern Period\*

In the secondary literature there are repeated references to supposedly Jewish Greek Psalter adaptations of the early modern period. The manuscript *Codex Vaticanus gr. 343*, dated to 1450, is cited as the first example, and a printed edition from 1643 is usually cited as the second example. However, the year 1543 is normally given incorrectly as the year of publication of the latter. In both cases we are dealing with Christian revisions of the Greek text of the Psalter, which cannot be considered as Jewish translations or adaptations. Other examples can be added to such a list of early modern Psalter versions. Beside *Codex Vaticanus gr. 343*, the Psalter version of Maximos the Peloponnesian is interesting and worth to be discussed in detail.

In the following, I will first present the Vatican Vernacular Psalter *Codex Vaticanus gr. 343*. (§ 1). Secondly, a seventeenth century version, which is partly ascribed to Maximos Peloponnesios, and partly to Athanasios Patellaros (§ 2). And finally, selected other versions of the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries, one of which is the supposedly Jewish print from 1643, which turns out to be a version by Agapios Landos of Crete (§ 3).

### 1. The Vatican Vernacular Psalter (*Codex Vaticanus gr. 343*)

The first example is also the most famous, namely *Codex Vaticanus gr. 343*. It is a modern Greek Psalter from the mid-fifteenth century, containing Psalms 1–150 (ff. 1r–131v) and Odes 1–9 (ff. 132r–143v). This manuscript has recently (and repeatedly) been described as Jewish. I am referring here to Natalio Fernández Marcos, who in his introduction to the Septuagint, published in 2000, lists *Codex Vaticanus gr. 343* in the chapter on the “Jewish Versions into Mediaeval and Modern Greek”.<sup>1</sup> In 2021, Jonas Leipziger mentioned the manuscript in his list “Jüdische

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1 Fernández Marcos, *Septuagint*, 180.

Codices des byzantinischen Judentums”.<sup>2</sup> The error apparently crept into the history of research through Fernández Marcos: Klostermann was the first to draw attention to this manuscript in his “Analecta zur Septuaginta, Hexapla und Patristik”, published in 1895.<sup>3</sup> Swete included this information in the chapter “Later Greek Versions” of his introduction (1900, 2nd ed. 1914).<sup>4</sup> But Fernández Marcos was the first to consider it a Jewish version.

*Codex Vaticanus gr. 343* was described by Robert Devreesse (1894–1978).<sup>5</sup> Devreesse was long-time *Scriptor Graecus* of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, who distinguished himself with two important studies on the Greek Psalter (in 1939, with a monograph on the commentary on the Psalms by Theodore of Mopsuestia, and in 1970 with a study of the older commentaries on the Psalms).<sup>6</sup> The manuscript is dated, on f. 143v, to the 22nd of April 1450 (αὐτὸν ἀπριλλ[ίῳ] κβ'). A facsimile of folio 1r is included in the *Specimina* of de Cavalieri–Lietzmann as Plate 46.<sup>7</sup> A transcription is provided by Albert Debrunner.<sup>8</sup> An edition of the Psalms 1, 50, and 140 with philological comments was published by Konstantinos Papadopoulos in 1969.<sup>9</sup> Wilhelm Schubart mentioned this plate briefly in his palaeography, noting that the script represents “nothing special” (“nichts Besonderes”) in palaeographic terms.<sup>10</sup> Although the palaeographer may consider the manuscript to be unspectacular: Something else about it is remarkable, apart from the mere fact of its dating, which – as Fernández Marcos rightly pointed out<sup>11</sup> – is interesting also from a linguistic point of view, since it offers a precise indication of the linguistic level of the Greek that has been used.

In my opinion, what is special about this manuscript is that it is already mentioned in the earliest Vatican inventory of 1475 (as Nr. 647).<sup>12</sup> Almost 25 years

2 Leipzig, *Lesepraktiken*, 301. See, however, Ceulemans, “Reception”, 593, who stated in the same year (2021): “there is no reason for supposing a Jewish origin behind this paraphrase”.

3 Klostermann, *Analecta*, 30.

4 Swete, *Introduction*, 58: “Klostermann [...] mentions a MS. Psalter (Vat. Gr. 343), bearing the date 22 April, 1450, which professes to be a translation into the Greek of the fifteenth century [...]”.

5 Devreesse, *Codices*, 18; cf. also idem, *Introduction*, 318, who records the manuscript in his list of dated manuscripts. Klostermann, *Analecta*, 30, had already drawn attention to this interesting manuscript; and Colwell, *Apocalypse II*, 24 and 126–127, had also referred to it.

6 Devreesse, *Commentaire*; idem, *Commentateurs*.

7 De Cavalieri/Lietzmann, *Specimina*, plate 46, short description ibidem, xviii.

8 Debrunner, *Griechisch*, 20–21.

9 Papadopoulos, *Ἀνέκδοτος παράφρασις*.

10 Schubart, *Paläographie*, 168.

11 Fernández Marcos, *Septuagint*, 180.

12 Devreesse, *Fonds*, 73. The manuscript can also be found in the inventory of 1481 as no. 830 (cf. ibidem, 118), in the inventory of 1484 as no. 802 (cf. ibidem, 149), as well as in the subsequent inventories of the sixteenth century, cf. ibidem, 223 (no. 745 / 30), 308 (no. 785 / 30), 359 (no. 735?), 397 (no. 223?).

after its formation. The first Vatican inventory was created under the pontificate of Sixtus IV and commissioned by the librarian Bartolomeo Platina, who completed it three days after his appointment (on June 18, 1475).<sup>13</sup> The appointment of Platina on June 15, 1475, is depicted in the famous fresco by Melozzo da Forlì (Musei Vaticani).<sup>14</sup>

The manuscript can therefore be traced back to the Vatican Library a generation after its creation. And its origin lies in a highly eventful chapter of Greek history. Pallas aptly mentions this Psalter manuscript as an example of the renewal inspired by Western culture and piety that characterized the Byzantine nobility before the conquest of Constantinople (1453).<sup>15</sup>

This makes the misinterpretation that this Psalter is a new Jewish translation all the more interesting. In the following part, I would like to study this version in more detail. This might also give some clue to why Fernández Marcos recognized it as Jewish. Let me take Psalm 1 as an example. I will proceed as follows: First, I will offer a preliminary edition of the text of Psalm 1, which is followed by a philological commentary. Afterwards, I will analyse three readings that, in my opinion, deserve to be studied and examined in more detail.

### 1.1 Diplomatic Edition of Psalm 1 (*Codex Vaticanus gr. 343, f. 1r*):<sup>16</sup>

*Nomina sacra* are resolved in round brackets, angular brackets denote additions and square brackets deletions against the tradition. Certain orthographical errors have been corrected and marked in bold print, while the readings of the manuscript are recorded in the apparatus. Corrections relevant to accentuation have not been recorded in the apparatus, but they are indicated in italics.<sup>17</sup> In general, the edition reproduces as faithfully as possible the text of the manuscript, which is a witness of – late Byzantine – vernacular Greek, and specifically of an everyday spoken language with demotic elements (e.g., ἀμή, ἔτζη, ἔκατζεν, ἀπορρίφτει). These elements might point to a specific Greek dialect, perhaps, of the Cyclades and their Latin Archipelago, which were under influence of the Stato da Mar till

13 On Bartolomeo Platina, see Bauer, “Sacchi”. On his work as first librarian of the Vatican Library, see Piacentini, *Platina*, vii–xxxi.

14 On Melozzo’s fresco, see Minardi, “Melozzo”. A reproduction is provided ibidem, 219.

15 Pallas, “Ιδέαι”, 329 with n. 4.

16 Ps 1:1–2 has already been printed by Colwell, *Apocalypse II*, 127. A full transcription of Psalm 1 is provided by Debrunner, *Griechisch*, 20–21. Cf. the image of f. 1r, which is given by de Cavalieri/Lietzmann, *Specimina*, as plate 46. See the colour image of f. 1r on page 637 of this volume.

17 These corrections are listed here: 1:1c φθορᾶς οὐδὲν ἔκατζεν (φθορᾶς οὐδὲν ἐκάτζεν cod.); 1:2b μελετήση (μελετήση cod.); 1:3c ἀπορέψη (ἀπὸ ρέψη cod.); 1:3d ἂν πολεμᾷ (ἂν πολεμᾶ cod.); 1:4a ἔτζη bis (ἐτζη cod. bis); 1:6b νὰ χαθῇ (ναχαθῇ cod.).



the beginning of the sixteenth century.<sup>18</sup> As is well-known, many people from the Venetian-occupied or -influenced areas emigrated to Italy during the fifteenth century because of the fear of the Ottoman conquest. There is no need to date this version much earlier than the Vatican manuscript.<sup>19</sup>

Χ(ριστ)ὲ βοήθει

Ψαλτήριον τερπνὸν εἰς θ(εὸ)ν μέλος

- 1 Μακάριος ἄν(θρωπ)ος ὅπου δὲν ἐπήγεν εἰς βουλὴν ἀσεβῶν·  
καὶ εἰς στράταν ἀμαρτωλῶν οὐδὲν ἐστάθην·  
καὶ εἰς κάθισμαν *φθορᾶς* οὐδὲν ἔκατzen·
- 2 ἀμὴ εἰς τὸν νόμον τοῦ κ(υρί)ου τὸ θέλημάν του·  
καὶ εἰς τὸν νόμον του να μελετήσῃ ἡμέραν καὶ νύχταν.
- 3 Καὶ **νὰ** *ῥναι*<sup>20</sup> ὥσαν τὸ ξύλον τὸ πεφυτεμένον (sic) εἰς τὸ **ἐβγαν**<sup>21</sup> τοῦ νεροῦ·  
αὐτὸ(ν)<sup>22</sup> τὸν καρπὸν του **νὰ δώσῃ**<sup>23</sup> εἰς τὸν **καιρόν**<sup>24</sup> του·  
καὶ τὸ φύλ(λ)ον του οὐ μὴ ἀπορέψῃ·  
καὶ ὅλα ὅσα καὶ ἂν πολεμᾷ **νὰ κατευοδοθοῦν**<sup>25</sup>.
- 4 Ὅχι ἔτζη οἱ ἀσεβεῖς ὅχι ἔτζη·  
ἀμὴ ὥσαν **κορνιαχτός**<sup>26</sup> τὸν ἀπορ(ρ)ίφτει ὁ ἄνεμος ἀπὸ τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς  
γῆς.
- 5 Δι' αὐτὸ οὐ μὴ ἀνασταθοῦν ἀσεβεῖς εἰς κρίσιν·  
οὐδὲ ἀμαρτωλοὶ εἰς βουλὴν δικαίων·  
6 ὅτι ἡξεύρη κ(ύρι)ος βουλὴν δικαίων·  
καὶ στράτα τῶν ἀσεβῶν **νὰ χαθῇ**.

18 According to Papadopoulos, “*Ἀνέκδοτος παράφρασις*”, 503, one of the Greek islands under Latin influence is the place of origin: “[...] εἰς τινα τῶν λατινοκρατουμένων περιοχῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ μάλιστα εἰς τινα τῶν νήσων [...]”

19 Gioffreda/Rhoby, “*Psalmenmetaphrase*”, 123, dates the Vatican Vernacular Psalter to the end of the fourteenth, beginning of the fifteenth century.

20 *νάνε* cod.

21 *εὔγαν* cod.

22 *αὐτό* cod.

23 *δότη* cod.

24 *κερόν* cod.

25 *κατεβοδοθοῦν* cod.

26 *κορνὶ ἀχτός* cod.

## 1.2 English Translation

Christ, help!

Psalter, a delightful song to God

- 1 Blessed is the man who did not walk in the counsel of the impious;  
and did not stand in the way of sinners;  
and did not sit in the seat of corruption.
- 2 But his desire is in the law of the Lord;  
and he meditates on His law day and night.
- 3 He shall be like a tree planted by streams of water,  
which yields its fruit in its season;  
and its leaf will not fall down;  
and whatever he does shall prosper.
- 4 The impious are not so, not so;  
but they are like dust that the wind drives away from the face of the earth.
- 5 Therefore the impious will not rise up in the judgment,  
nor sinners in the assembly of the righteous.
- 6 For the Lord knows the way of the righteous,  
but the way of the impious shall perish.

## 1.3 Philological Commentary

From a linguistical perspective, the following can be observed for Psalm 1 regarding syntax and lexis:<sup>27</sup> The syntax is modernized: the prepositions ἐν, ἐπί, παρά of the *Vorlage* are replaced by εἰς + acc. Only the prepositions ἀπό and διά are retained, whereby ἀπό also replaces ἐκ. Modern Greek influence is detectable: The personal pronoun αὐτοῦ becomes του; οὐχ οὕτως becomes ὅχι ἔτζη; ἀλλ' ἡ becomes ἀμή.<sup>28</sup> Psaltis has studied the use of ἀμ(μ)ή and its synonyms (ἀμμέ, ἀμμιά, ἀμμά). The form ending in *Eta* is attested, inter alia, for Pontos, the Cyclades, and Crete.<sup>29</sup>

The author renders the biblical text in simpler Greek, a lexis closer to spoken quotidian Greek, making the text easier to understand even for a not highly educated audience: Ps 1:1c, ἐπὶ καθέδραν λοιμῶν “on the seat of pestilents” becomes

27 Papadopoulos, “Ἀνέκδοτος παράφρασις”, 504, has provided helpful comments; and also Fernández Marcos, *Septuagint*, 180, has already pointed out some characteristics: “Final -ν has not yet disappeared completely, but the dative is always replaced by another case, the pronouns have initial apheresis and ὅλος has completely displaced πᾶς.”

28 Papadopoulos, “Ἀνέκδοτος παράφρασις”, 504, emends ἀμή into ἀμμή and refers to Psaltēs, “Ἑτυμολογικά”, 38–47. Psaltēs uses indeed the form ἀμμή, but he provides also a lot of evidence for the use of ἀμή, so that I prefer to keep the orthography of the manuscript (as Debrunner, *Griechisch*, 20–21, does, too).

29 Cf. Psaltēs, “Ἑτυμολογικά”, esp. 38–39.

εἰς κάθισμαν φθορᾶς “on the seat of corruption”. Several lexemes are substituted by words that are close to Modern Greek: πορεύομαι “go, walk” is replaced by ἄγω (Ps 1:1a), ἡ ὁδός “the way” by the Italian loanword ἡ στράτα “la strada” (Ps 1:1b. 6b), and πᾶς “all” is replaced by ὅλος (Ps 1:3d). νύχτα “night” is used instead of νύξ (Ps 1:2b), and νερό “water” instead of ὕδωρ (Ps 1:3a). Three readings deserve special consideration: (1) Ps 1:1a ἄνθρωπος, (2) Ps 1:4a κορνιαχτός, (3) Ps 1:6a βουλήν.

#### (1) Ps 1:1a ἄνθρωπος

The author’s decision seems to be to render ἀνὴρ with ἄνθρωπος. I would not take that as a simplification, nor as influence from the Hebrew or the Hexaplaric tradition. Although there are two cases where Hebrew עֲנִי is rendered in the Septuagint of Psalms with ἀνὴρ, while the Hexaplaric tradition has ἄνθρωπος: Ps 25:9b ἀνδρῶν (LXX), ἀν(θρώπ)ων (Symmachus [Ra 264]); Ps 111:5a ἀνὴρ (LXX), ἄνθρωπος (Symmachus according to Field).<sup>30</sup> In more than two cases, however, Symmachus provides ἀνὴρ, too, where the Septuagint has ἀνὴρ, e.g. Ps 75:6; 91:7; 138:19; 139:12 (all according to Field); Ps 79:18 (according to Ra 1173).<sup>31</sup> A clear conclusion cannot be derived from this evidence. Later on, we will see that Maximus Peloponnesios, aka Athanasios Patellaros, too replaces ἀνὴρ with ἄνθρωπος (see below, § 2).

#### (2) Ps 1:4a κορνιαχτός

What is the case with ὁ χνοῦς “the dust”, Hebrew עָפָר (Ps 1:4a; cf. Ps 34:5a), that becomes κορνιαχτός? κορνιαχτός (Modern Greek κουρνιαχτός) is one of the Middle Greek forms of κονιορτός.<sup>32</sup> The lexeme κονιορτός means “dust”. It denotes the “dust” (κόνις) that is “raised or stirred up” (ὀρνυσθαι).<sup>33</sup> χνοῦς is seven times used in the Septuagint (Ps 1:4; 34:5; Wis 5:14 depending on Ps 1:4; Hos 13:3; Is 17:13; 29:5; 41:15). It always translates Hebrew עָפָר. κονιορτός is used twice as often, overall 16 times.<sup>34</sup> It translates also עָפָר (Job 21:18), but in addition to that מֶקֶר “rotteness” (Is 3:24; 5:24), חֲמֶר “mortar” (Is 10:6) and all kinds of dust, like עָפָר (Ex 9:9; Dtn 28:24; Nah 1:3; Is 5:24; 29:5; Ez 26:10), the derivative Hebrew Hapaxlegome-

30 <https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/hexapla?ref=Ps.25.9; ref=Ps.111.5> (last access: 15.08.2023).

31 <https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/hexapla?ref=Ps.75.6; ref=Ps.79.18; ref=Ps.91.7; ref=Ps.138.19; ref=Ps.139.12> (last access: 15.08.2023).

32 For κορνιαχτός see Kriaras, *Επιτομή* I, 591–592 s.v. κονιορτός; Rohlf, *Lexicon*, 255 s.v. κονιορτός. Another Middle Greek form is κονιορκτός, which is found as a v.l. in the version of Maximus Peloponnesios (see below, § 2).

33 Cf. LSJ 977 s.v. κονιορτός.

34 In three cases, χνοῦς and κονιορτός are used in the same verse: In Is 5:24 (LXX ὡς χνοῦς ... ὡς κονιορτός, MT עָפָר ... כֶּמֶר), Is 17:13 (LXX ὡς χνοῦν ... ὡς κονιορτόν, MT עָפָר ... עָפָר), and Is 29:5 (LXX ὡς κονιορτός ... ὡς χνοῦς, MT עָפָר ... עָפָר).

non אֶבְרָקָה (Song 3:6), לִלְזָל “thistle” (Is 17:13), and עֶפֶר (Dtn 9:21 *bis*).<sup>35</sup> Thus to say, the word κονιορτός is used in the Septuagint as a rendering for different Hebrew words that have the meaning “dust”. In Ps 1:4a, the more frequently used word κορνιαχτός seems to have replaced the less common lexeme χνοῦς.<sup>36</sup> However, this is not the case in Ps 34:5a = *Cod. Vat. gr.* 343, f. 28v, where χνοῦς is maintained.

The reading κονιορτός is listed in Field, in his edition of the fragments of Origen’s Hexapla, as an ἄλλος reading.<sup>37</sup> An examination reveals that several manuscripts attest this reading as a marginal note, for instance the Catena tradition of Ra 99, Ra 1175, but also the Psalter manuscript Ra 179. The entry in the Göttingen Hexapla Database of Psalms reads now accordingly:<sup>38</sup>

ἄλλος: <ὥς> κονιορτός Ra 13, f. 39v; Ra 99, f. 5v; Ra 179, f. 1v; Ra 1175, f. 37v; cf. κορνιαχτός *Cod. Vat. gr.* 343, f. 1r; κονιορκτός Maximos Peloponnesios/Athanasios Patellaros.

The addition of ὥς is based on Montfaucon’s emendation, adopted unchecked by Field, but is now properly put into brackets.

### (3) Ps 1:6a βουλήν

The reading βουλήν instead of ὁδόν in Ps 1:6a is based on a simple error. The erroneous reading is easily explained by the preceding context: in the pre-verse (Ps 1:5b) there is εἰς βουλήν, with which the author renders ἐν βουλῇ. The reading βουλήν in Ps 1:6a is clearly secondary.

35 Problematic are cases like 4Regn 9:17 *bis*, and cases without Hebrew equivalents like 3Mac 5:48; *Epistula Jeremiae* 11. 16 (without Hebrew equivalent).

36 It is interesting to see that Georgius Choeroboscus, who wrote a grammatical explanation of the Psalms, the so-called Epimerisms of the Psalter (*Epimerismi Psalterii*, CPG 7955; cf. also Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis*, 404), in the first half of the ninth century, took χνοῦς as a lemma to comment on, cf. Papanikolaou, “Learning”, 120–121 (Greek text with English translation).

37 Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum fragmenta* II, 88, n. 15: “Vat. sine nomine. Parsons. e Cod. 179 affert: Schol. κονιορτός.” The manuscript which is referenced by Field as “Vat[icanus]”, is Ra 1175, f. 37v: κονιορτός. Field’s reference to Holmes/Parsons, *Vetus Testamentum* III, can be found in the *Appendix ad librum Psalmorum* to Ps 1:4: “Addit Schol. κονιορτός 179. Cf. Montfauc.” In fact, de Montfaucon, *Hexaplorum Origenis quae supersunt* I, 474, already has the ἄλλος reading κονιορτός, namely as ὥς κονιορτός with reference to *Codex Vaticanus*, i. e. Ra 1175: “Ibid. ἄλλ. ὥς κονιορτός. Vaticanus, sine Interpretis nomine.” Since Ra 1175 does not attest ὥς, it is evident, that its addition goes back to Montfaucon himself. As is so often the case, Field took over the reference from Montfaucon, but unchecked. Correctly, it should read: <ὥς> κονιορτός, v. infra.

38 <https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/hexapla?ref=Ps.1.4> (last access: 15.08.2023).

## 1.4 Result

*To sum up:* The Psalter *Codex Vat. gr. 343* is not an example of a Jewish version, as was postulated by Natalio Fernández Marcos and, more recently, by Jonas Leipziger. Rather, this version is a linguistically modernizing paraphrase of the Septuagint text. Fernández Marcos had already considered dependence on the Septuagint as a possibility, indicating that the Odes 7–9 are included, which, as is commonly known, have no Hebrew *Vorlage*.<sup>39</sup> However, this dependency is also visible in terms of language at all levels and can now be considered proven.

## 2. A Seventeenth Century Psalter Version, Partly Attributed to Maximos Peloponnesios or Athanasios Patellaros

The second version, which I would like to present in a sample edition, is a Psalter translation, which is transmitted in several manuscripts from the seventeenth century onwards. It is a translation into the colloquial language of the time (“μεταγλωττισθὲν εἰς κοινὴν φράσιν”), namely in the Cretan dialect. This version is already mentioned by Xanthopoulos (1903) and subsequently by Ernest Cadman Colwell (1940).<sup>40</sup> Later it was treated in detail by Nikolaos Tomadakis, who mentions this version in the “Yearbook of the Society for Byzantine Studies” and describes its textual witnesses known so far.<sup>41</sup>

The text has been edited quite recently by Meletios Anetakis in 2018.<sup>42</sup> His main witness is manuscript Ψ (dated 1670), taking four other witnesses into account: ℞ (dated 1676), which serves as base text for Psalm 1, as well as Ω (seventeenth century or later), ⚭ (dated 1665), and ⚮ (dated 1666). The first folio of Anetakis’ main witness Ψ is missing (consequently the title and nearly the complete Psalm 1 of this version are absent). Nonetheless, Anetakis attributes this Psalter version to Athanasios Patellaros, following the indication of manuscripts ℞ and Ω. However ⚭ and ⚮, the oldest dated manuscripts, which he takes into account, do not mention any author at all – as do most of the witnesses: Only three manuscripts (two of them known to Anetakis) attribute this Psalter version to Athanasios Patellaros, and three other manuscripts attribute this version to Maximos Peloponnesios. I would like to briefly introduce the two authorities mentioned:

39 Fernández Marcos, *Septuagint*, 180.

40 Xanthopoulos, “Dernières Traductions”, 230, n. 3; Colwell, *Apocalypse* II, 24.

41 Tōmadakēs, Ἀθανάσιος Πατελλάρος, 424–427.

42 Anetakis, Ἀθανάσιος Πατελλάρος. A positive book review can be found online: <https://www.patrists.gr/2018/06/28/vivlioparoyiasia-o-agios-athanasios-patellaros-kai-to-ieron-psaltirion/> (last access 15.08.2023).

Maximos Peloponnesios (Μάξιμος Πελοποννήσιος) received his education in Alexandria.<sup>43</sup> His teacher was Meletios Pegas (\*1535/40 in Crete), who, according to Philipp Meyer, was one of the most important scholars of the Greek Church in the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>44</sup> In 1602 Maximos lived as archdeacon in Alexandria, and by 1620 in Jerusalem.<sup>45</sup> Shortly before 1600, he worked on a new version of the book of Revelation.<sup>46</sup> Later he revised the Psalter (Ps 1–151).<sup>47</sup> He is also considered to be the author of a revision of the complete New Testament, which was printed in Geneva in 1638.<sup>48</sup>

Athanasios Patellaros (Αθανάσιος Πατελλάρος, 1595–1654) was born in Axos Milopotamou on the island of Crete at the end of the 16th century.<sup>49</sup> He is regarded as a learned theologian, known for his preaching and poetry. In 1631, he became Metropolitan of Thessaloniki, and in 1634 Patriarch of Constantinople. However, he was later dethroned and went to Mount Athos. He became Patriarch again in 1652, but for fifteen days only. Afterwards, he went for a mission to Russia, and finally died in 1654, at the Monastery of the Transfiguration of the Savior in the village Mgar near the city of Lubny, Ukraine (Спасо-Преображенський Мгарський монастир).<sup>50</sup>

## 2.1 Manuscripts

Fifteen textual witnesses of his Psalter version can be identified.<sup>51</sup> The oldest known manuscript is Athos manuscript Karakallou 318, dated to 1620 (see below, siglum  $\mathfrak{K}$ ).

43 On Maximos Peloponnesios, see Meyer, *Litteratur*, 103–104; 134; Colwell, *Apocalypse* II, 1–20 (Chapter 1: Maximos the Peloponnesian); Dyovouniōtēs, “Μάξιμος”; Dēmaras, *Ιστορία*, 91–92.

44 On Meletios Pegas, see Meyer, *Litteratur*, 53–69; on Maximos as a student of Pegas, see *ibidem*, 55.

45 Cf. Demetrakopoulos, *Προσθήκαι*, 35; Meyer, *Litteratur*, 103.

46 On Maximos’ rendering of the book of Revelation, see Argyriou, *Exégèses*, 127–157 (“Maxime le Péloponnésien”); Schmid, *Studien*, 97–98 (“Der vulgärgriechische Apk-Kommentar des Maximos Peloponnesios”); Willoughby, “Apocalypse”.

47 For the dating of his Psalter translation before his translation of Revelation cf. Willoughby, “Apocalypse”, 163.

48 Cf. Colwell, *Apocalypse* II, 17.

49 On Athanasios Patellaros see Tōmadakēs, “Αθανάσιος Πατελλάρος”, esp. 374–376, furthermore Anetakēs, *Αθανάσιος Πατελλάρος*, and the following Athos website: <https://proskynitaria2.mountathos.org/athonikesprosopikotites/en/ἅγιος-ἰωάννης-πατελλάρος-πατριάρχ/> (last access: 15.08.2023).

50 The official website of Mount Athos ([www.mountathos.org](http://www.mountathos.org)) says: “His tomb became a fountain of sanctifying and healing waters.” See <https://proskynitaria2.mountathos.org/athonikesprosopikotites/en/ἅγιος-ἰωάννης-πατελλάρος-πατριάρχ/> (last access: 15.08.2023).

51 I am sure that there are more manuscripts extant. Xanthopoulos, “Dernières Traductions”, 230, n. 3, mentions another Athonite codex which seems to contain a modern Psalter version that might be identical with our version: *Codex Athous Pantokrator* 122 (dated 1669), Diktyon number: 29141, cf. Lambros, *Catalogue* I, 105 (Nr. 1156).

Almost all manuscripts share a common palaeographic feature: An enlarged initial *Kappa*. That means that they all stem from a common archetype which provided this feature. The following manuscripts transmit the same Psalter version:

1. *Codex Atheniensis* EBE 2346 (olim Πολλάνη 18),<sup>52</sup> ff. 1–133v (dated 1656), Ps 2:6–150(?) – Without mentioning the author.<sup>53</sup> – Siglum  $\mathfrak{A}$ .
2. *Codex Atheniensis* EBE 2378 (olim Πολλάνη 22), ff. 1–208v (dated 1675), Ps 1–150(?).<sup>54</sup> Without mentioning the author. – Siglum  $\mathfrak{B}$ .
3. *Codex Atheniensis* EBE 28 (dated 1665), 143 ff. in total.<sup>55</sup> Ps 1–151. – [...] μεταγλωττισθὲν εἰς κοινὴν φράσιν. Without mentioning the author. Considered as a witness of Athanasios' version by Anetakis under the siglum EB (see below). – Siglum  $\mathfrak{E}$ .
4. *Codex Atheniensis* Συλλογῆς Κολυβά 86 (dated 1666), 168 ff. in total.<sup>56</sup> Ps 1–151(?). – Without mentioning the author. Considered as a witness of Athanasios' version by Anetakis under the siglum BM. – Siglum  $\mathfrak{G}$ .
5. *Codex Athous Docheiariou* 92 (dated 1679), 191 ff. in total.<sup>57</sup> Ps 1–151(?). Without mentioning the author. – Siglum  $\mathfrak{H}$ .
6. *Codex Athous Karakallou* 318, olim 181 and 206, (dated 1620), ff. 1–167v. Ps 1–151.<sup>58</sup> – Siglum  $\mathfrak{I}$ .
7. *Codex Athous Vatopedi* 1233, ff. 1r–116v (dated 1698), Ps 1–150.<sup>59</sup> Many orthographic mistakes (Itacisms, etc.), which are not documented in the edition.<sup>60</sup> – Siglum  $\mathfrak{K}$ .

52 Manuscripts  $\mathfrak{A}$  and  $\mathfrak{B}$  come from the collection of Νικόλαος Πολλάνης († 1907), who was a priest in Cephalonia (Κεφαλληνία). Cf. Lambros, “Κώδικες”, 362 for *Codex Atheniensis* EBE 2346, and ibidem, 363 for *Codex Atheniensis* EBE 2378.

53 Cf. Politēs, *Κατάλογος*, 352. – Diktyon number: 4378.

54 Cf. Politēs, *Κατάλογος*, 375; Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis*, 7. – Diktyon number: 4410.

55 Diktyon number: 2324. Tōmadakēs, “Ἀθανάσιος Πατελλάρος”, 425. For a description of the manuscript, see Anetakēs, *Ἀθανάσιος Πατελλάρος*, 29–30 (with colour reproduction of the beginning of the Psalter version on p. 30).

56 The Kolyva collection is located in the Byzantine and Christian Museum (Βυζαντινὸ καὶ Χριστιανικὸ Μουσείο) in Athens. On this manuscript see Tōmadakēs, “Ἀθανάσιος Πατελλάρος”, 425–426. For a description of the manuscript, see Anetakēs, *Ἀθανάσιος Πατελλάρος*, 31–34 (with colour reproduction of the beginning of the Psalter version on p. 32, and of the end of the manuscript on p. 33).

57 Diktyon number: 21265. Lambros, *Catalogue* I, 245 (Nr. 2766). Cf. also Xanthopoulos, “Dernières Traductions”, 230, n. 3, who mentions this codex.

58 Diktyon number: 25750. Lambros, *Catalogue* I, 146 (Nr. 1694). Online: <https://repository.mountathos.org/jspui/handle/20.500.11957/91945> (last access: 15.08.2023).

59 Eustratiadēs/Vatopedinos, *Κατάλογος*, 206; Kadas, *Σημειώματα*, 224. – Diktyon number: 19377; Online: <https://repository.mountathos.org/jspui/handle/20.500.11957/111327> (last access: 15.08.2023).

60 Examples for orthographic mistakes in manuscript  $\mathfrak{K}$  are: Ps 1:1 καλότηχος pro καλότυχος; ἐπίγεν pro ἐπήγεν; τὸν ἀσεβῶν pro τῶν ἀσεβῶν; ἀπίστον pro ἀπίστων; ἁμαρτωλῶν pro ἁμαρτωλῶν; κολάκον pro κολάκων; παρακηνουσι pro παρακινουσι; ἐκάθησεν pro ἐκάθησε(ν); *passim*.

8. *Codex Meteora*, Barlaam 198 (dated 1670, written by Θεόκλητος ἱερομόναχος, cf. f. 214r), 215 ff. in total. Ps 1–151.<sup>61</sup> – The first folio is missing, and consequently nearly the complete Psalm 1; the text starts with the end of Ps 1:5 ([...] τῶν δικαίων. Ὅτι γνωρίζει ὁ κύριος τὰς στραῖτες τῶν δικαίων, καὶ ὁ δρόμος τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν χαλᾶται.). This manuscript is the basis for Anetakis' critical edition of the Psalter version (except for Ps 1; where manuscript 91 is used as a basis<sup>62</sup>), which is transmitted in two manuscripts under the name of Athanasios Patellaros. – Siglum 91.
9. *Codex Atheniensis* EBE 52, (dated 1668), 209 ff. in total. Ps 1–151.<sup>63</sup> – Siglum 93.

The following three manuscripts transmit this version under the name of Maximos Peloponnesios; their common feature is that they have 150 Psalms only:

1. *Codex Athous Vatopedi* 1232, ff. 31v–185v (seventeenth century), Ps 1–150(?).<sup>64</sup> Ascribed to Maximos. – Siglum 95.
2. *Codex Sinaiticus gr.* 1399, ff. 3r–136v (eighteenth century),<sup>65</sup> Ps 1–150.<sup>66</sup> Ascribed to Maximos. – Siglum 96.
3. *Codex Atheniensis*, EBE 41, 96 ff. in total (dated 1704, written by Nikolaos Stephanes from Ioannina), Ps 1–150.<sup>67</sup> This manuscript has been used by Konstantinos Dyobouniotes for his sample edition of Psalms 1–3, see below § 2.1. It is closely related to manuscript 96.<sup>68</sup> Ascribed to Maximos. – Siglum 97.

61 Tōmadakēs, “Ἀθανάσιος Πατελλάρος”, 425. For a description of the manuscript, see Anetakēs, *Ἀθανάσιος Πατελλάρος*, 22–25 (with colour reproduction of f. 214r, i. e. the end of the manuscript, on p. 24).

62 Cf. Anetakēs, *Ἀθανάσιος Πατελλάρος*, 43 n. 1.

63 Diktyon number: 2348. On this manuscript, see Kremos, *Κατάλογος*, 25–26; Lambros, “Σύμμικτα”, 485. Cf. also Colwell, *Apocalypse* II, 24, who mentions this manuscript as a Psalter commentary in the vernacular language.

64 Diktyon number: 19376. Eustratiadēs/Vatopedinos, *Κατάλογος*, 206; Kadas, *Σημειώματα*, 224.

65 The manuscript consists of 137 folios in paper (numbered 1–136, plus f. 6A as a supplement). The codex starts with two flyleaves which contain scribal notes, as do the inner covers of the binding (front cover and back cover). On f. 2v, the beginning of Ps 1 is repeatedly given, and the initial *Kap- pa* is executed in four different shapes. All these are scribal practices. The text starts on f. 3r. On top of the page, the following possession note is given: καρπάτου Δανιὴλ εἶναι τοῦ[το] (?), and the number of the manuscript in the Library of St. Catherine's Monastery is indicated as Αριθ. 1399.

66 Diktyon number: 59774. – Online: [https://www.nli.org.il/en/manuscripts/NNL\\_ALEPH003865568/NLI#\\$FL31270311](https://www.nli.org.il/en/manuscripts/NNL_ALEPH003865568/NLI#$FL31270311) (last access: 15.08.2023). Psalm 150 ends with a longer verse. Instead of “πάσα πνοὴ αἰνεσάτω τὸν κύριον. Ἀλληλουῖα”, it reads: καὶ ὅσα ἔχουσι πνοὴν ἅς ἐπαινεύουσιν τὸν κύριον, διὰ ταῖς δυνάμεις (lege: τὰς δυνάμεις) καὶ μεγαλοσύνην (μεγαλωσύνην cod.) σου.

67 This manuscript has been used by Dyobouniōtēs, “Μάξιμος”, 461–463, for his diplomatic edition of Psalms 1–3.

68 Examples of significant common readings of 96 and 97 are: v.3 add. ἐκείνον 96; v.4 σκόνῃ 96 pro κόνις rel.; σκορπάει 96 pro διασκορπᾷ rel.; προσώπου 96 pro τὸ πρόσωπον rel.; v.5 μήτε 96 pro οὔτε rel.; v.6 τρόπον 96 pro δρόμον mult. Another reading which indicates dependence



The following three manuscripts transmit this Psalter version under the name of Athanasios Patellaros:

1. *Codex Athous Iviron* 617 (dated 1676).<sup>69</sup> Ps 1–151. – [...] παρὰ τοῦ λογιωτάτου ἐν διδασκάλοις κυρίου Ἀθανασίου Πατελλάρου τοῦ Κρυτός (lege Κρητός), f. 12r. Used by Anetakis under the siglum IB. – Siglum 𐤀.
2. *Codex Patmiacus* 434 (seventeenth century or later).<sup>70</sup> Ps 1–151. The text begins on f. 45r and provides Athanasios Patellaros as the author: [...] παρὰ τοῦ λογιωτάτου ἐν διδασκάλοις κυρίου Ἀθανασίου Πατελλάρου τοῦ Κρητός, f. 1r. Used by Anetakis under the siglum Π. – Siglum 𐤁.
3. *Codex Sinaiticus gr.* 98 (seventeenth century). Ps 1–151. The text provides Athanasios (sc. Patellaros) as the author: [...] παρὰ Ἀθανασίου, f. 1r. Not used by Anetakis. – Siglum 𐤂.

Noteworthy is also a Trilingual Greek Psalter (*Codex Athous Vatopedi* 1244, pp. 1–405)<sup>71</sup> under the title Τὸ ψυχοφελέστατον<sup>72</sup> Ψαλτήριον, τοῦ προφήτου καὶ βασιλέως Δαβίδ, which is dated to the year 1766 and written by the scribe Καλλίνικος προηγούμενος Βατοπαιδινός.<sup>73</sup> It contains three versions of the 151 Psalms (pp. 1–370) and 9 Odes (pp. 370–405) in three columns: The Septuagint version (“κείμενον”), a Turkish version (“τούρκτζε”) in Karamanli, i. e. Turkish in Greek transliteration<sup>74</sup>, and our Greek version (“ἅπλό ἐξήγησις”), without mentioning the author. This manuscript is included in the following under the

of 𐤁 from 𐤂 is v. 3: μαρανθεῖ καὶ πέσει 𐤂\*, μαράνθη καὶ πέση 𐤁<sup>c</sup>; v. 5: θέλουνσιν 𐤂 = mult., θέλει 𐤁. Moreover, 𐤁 is providing singular readings, which are deriving from the main text, e.g. v.3 καρποφορῖζει] καρποφορίζουν 𐤁; τελειώνονται] τελειώνουν 𐤁. 𐤂 on the other hand is depending on 𐤂, which can be seen in the common binding error v.1 ταῖς ἁμαρτίαις 𐤂 𐤁 pro τὰς ἁμαρτίας rel.

69 Tōmadakēs, “Ἀθανάσιος Πατελλάρως”, 425. For a description of the manuscript, see Lambros, *Catalogue* II, 186; Anetakēs, *Ἀθανάσιος Πατελλάρως*, 25–27 (with colour reproduction of the beginning of the Psalter version on p. 26).

70 Tōmadakēs, “Ἀθανάσιος Πατελλάρως”, 424; Sakkelion, *Πατμιακή Βιβλιοθήκη*, 196; Anetakēs, *Ἀθανάσιος Πατελλάρως*, 27–29 (with colour reproduction of the beginning of the Psalter version, i. e. f. 45r; on p. 28).

71 Eustratiadēs/Vatopedinos, *Κατάλογος*, 207; Kadas, *Σημειώματα*, 225. – Diktyon number: 19388. Online: <https://repository.mountathos.org/jspui/handle/20.500.11957/105333> (last access: 15.08.2023).

72 Ψυχοφελέστατον cod.

73 Cf. Politēs/Politē, “Βιβλιογράφοι”, 502.

74 The Turkish column has the following heading: τούρκτζε, Ζε[μ]πούρ [Μ]πεγαρμπέρ νταβίτ πατισαχίν, ἤλκ ψαλμός (“In Turkish, Psalter of the Prophet David, First Psalm”). Many thanks to Prof. Dr. Evangelia Balta (Athens) and Prof. Dr. Jens Peter Laut (Göttingen) for their helpful advice. The first edition of the Karamanli Psalter was printed in 1764, i. e. two years before the Trilingual Vatopedi Psalter, cf. Gavriel, “Problems”, 256 with n. 5 on the different editions between 1764 and 1895. See also Gavriel, “Problems”, esp. 263–265 with a comparison of Psalm 1 in the different editions of 1764, 1810, and 1827.

siglum  $\mathfrak{M}$ . It shares common readings with  $\mathfrak{H}$ , but also differs from it; its *Vorlage* must have been related to  $\mathfrak{H}$ , but cannot be identified with  $\mathfrak{H}$ .<sup>75</sup>

I proceed in two steps: (1) First, I will offer an edition of the text of Psalm 1 based on all available manuscripts. The editorial principles are the same as for the Vatican Vernacular Psalter (s. above, § 1.1). (2) Second, I will provide a brief philological commentary.

## 2.2 Critical Edition of Psalm 1:<sup>76</sup>

Ψαλτήριον, μεταγλωττισθὲν εἰς κοινὴν φράσιν.

*Testes*<sup>77</sup>:  $\mathfrak{B}$   $\mathfrak{C}$   $\mathfrak{D}$   $\mathfrak{E}$   $\mathfrak{F}$   $\mathfrak{G}$   $\mathfrak{H}$   $\mathfrak{I}$   $\mathfrak{K}$   $\mathfrak{M}$   $\mathfrak{N}$   $\mathfrak{O}$ <sub>(-1:3)</sub>  $\mathfrak{P}$   $\mathfrak{Q}$  *Anet*<sup>78</sup> *Dnjob*<sup>79</sup>

### Apparatus

**Inscriptio** ψαλτήριον—Πελοποννησίου] Δα(υ)δ (Δαβίδ  $\mathfrak{G}$  $\mathfrak{P}$ ) προφήτου καὶ βασιλέως μέλος  $\mathfrak{B}$  $\mathfrak{G}$  $\mathfrak{H}$  $\mathfrak{I}$  $\mathfrak{K}$  $\mathfrak{P}$ ; pr. ἐξήγησις τοῦ ψαλτηρίου εἰς ἀπλὴν φράσιν  $\mathfrak{P}$ . | ψαλτήριον  $\mathfrak{C}$  $\mathfrak{D}$  $\mathfrak{E}$  $\mathfrak{F}$  $\mathfrak{H}$  $\mathfrak{Q}$ ] pr. τό  $\mathfrak{F}$  $\mathfrak{Q}$ ; pr. τὸ παρὸν  $\mathfrak{K}$ ; + σὺν θεῷ  $\mathfrak{D}$  $\mathfrak{E}$ ; + Δα(υ)δ προφήτου καὶ βασιλεὺς  $\mathfrak{H}$ ; + Δαβίδ τοῦ προφήτου  $\mathfrak{Q}$ ; + τοῦ Δα(υ)δ  $\mathfrak{F}$  $\mathfrak{H}$  $\mathfrak{Q}$ . | μεταγλωττισθὲν  $\mathfrak{D}$  $\mathfrak{E}$  $\mathfrak{H}$  $\mathfrak{Q}$ ] μετὰ γλωττισθὲν  $\mathfrak{F}$  $\mathfrak{H}$  $\mathfrak{Q}$ (μετὰ γλώττησθὲν); μετὰ γλωττισθεὶς  $\mathfrak{E}$ . | φράσιν  $\mathfrak{F}$  $\mathfrak{H}$  $\mathfrak{I}$  $\mathfrak{Q}$ ] γλώτταν  $\mathfrak{C}$ ; διάλεκτον  $\mathfrak{D}$  $\mathfrak{E}$ ; + παρὰ Μαξίμου ἱερομονάχου τοῦ Πελοποννησίου  $\mathfrak{C}$  $\mathfrak{D}$  $\mathfrak{E}$ ; + παρὰ τοῦ λογιωτάτου ἐν διδασκάλοις κ(υρίου) Ἀθανασίου Πατελλάρου τοῦ Κρητὸς ἐν Βλαχία διατρίβοντος κατὰ τὸ ,αχκς' ἔτος, ὕστερον δὲ Μ(ητ)ροπολίτου (+ Θεσ(σ)αλονίκης  $\mathfrak{H}$ ) γεγονότος καὶ εἰς τὸν οἰκουμενικὸν χάριτι θ(εο)ῦ ἀναβεβηκότος θρόνον (+ κάλον  $\mathfrak{H}$ )  $\mathfrak{H}$  $\mathfrak{I}$  $\mathfrak{Q}$ ; παρὰ Ἀθανασίου  $\mathfrak{Q}$ .

75 Examples of significant common readings of  $\mathfrak{H}$  and  $\mathfrak{M}$  are: v.1 ἐπάτησε  $\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{M}$  pro ἐσταμάτησε(v) rel.; v.3 τὰ ὅσα  $\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{M}$  pro ὅσα rel.; καρποφορήσει  $\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{M}$  pro καρποφορίζει rel.; v.4 διασκορπίζει ὁ ἄνεμος  $\mathfrak{H}$ (-πειζει) $\mathfrak{M}$  pro ὁ ἄνεμος διασκορπᾷ rel. However at the end of the first Psalm, in v.4 and v.6,  $\mathfrak{M}$  is sharing two readings with  $\mathfrak{B}$  against  $\mathfrak{H}$ : the omission of καὶ κόνις in v.4, and the reading χάνεται against χαλᾶται in v.6.

76 A full transcription of Psalms 1–3 is provided by Dyovouniōtēs, “Μάξιμος”, 461–463.

77 The following witnesses have been included:  $\mathfrak{B}$  (f. 1r–v);  $\mathfrak{C}$  (f. 32r–v);  $\mathfrak{D}$  (f. 3r–v);  $\mathfrak{E}$  (f. 1r);  $\mathfrak{F}$  (f. 1v–2v);  $\mathfrak{G}$  (p. 1–2);  $\mathfrak{H}$  (f. 1r–v);  $\mathfrak{I}$  (f. 1r–v);  $\mathfrak{K}$  (f. 1r–v);  $\mathfrak{L}$  (f. 2r) ed. Anetakēs, Ἀθανάσιος Πατελλάρως, p. 43&45;  $\mathfrak{M}$  (p. 1–2);  $\mathfrak{N}$  (f. 12r–v);  $\mathfrak{O}$  (f. 45r–v) ed. Anetakēs, Ἀθανάσιος Πατελλάρως, p. 43&45;  $\mathfrak{P}$  (f. 1r–v). *Nota bene*:  $\mathfrak{A}$  is not extant for Ps 1.  $\mathfrak{G}$  was collated from the image of f. 1, which is provided by Anetakēs, and on the basis of a barely legible print from a microfilm.  $\mathfrak{M}$  differs significantly in its *inscriptio* and *titulus*, and is therefore not recorded in the apparatus (see the manuscript description above).  $\mathfrak{Q}$  was collated for Ps 1:1–3 on the basis of the image which is provided by Anetakēs, Ἀθανάσιος Πατελλάρως, 28.

78 *Anet* = Psalm 1 ed. Anetakēs, Ἀθανάσιος Πατελλάρως, 43. 45.

79 *Dnjob* = Psalm 1 ed. Dyovouniōtēs, “Μάξιμος”, 461–462.

Ψαλμὸς α' τοῦ Δα(υί)δ ὁποῦ κατὰ τοὺς Ἑβραίους δὲν ἔχει ἐπιγραφὴν.

1<sup>LXX</sup> Μακάριος ἀνὴρ, ὃς οὐκ ἐπορεύθη ἐν βουλῇ ἀσεβῶν.

1 Καλότυχος εἶναι ὁ ἀν(θρῶπ)ος ἐκεῖνος, ὁποῦ δὲν ἐπῆγεν εἰς τὴν βουλήν  
τῶν ἀσεβῶν καὶ ἀπίστων ἀν(θρῶπ)ων,

καὶ εἰς τὸν δρόμον τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν δὲν ἐσταμάτησε.

Καὶ εἰς τὴν καθέδραν τῶν κολάκων, ὁποῦ παρακινουσι τοὺς ἄλλους εἰς  
τὰς ἀμαρτίας δὲν ἐκάθησε (sic).<sup>80</sup>

2 Μᾶλλον καλότυχος εἶναι ἐκεῖνος ὁποῦ ἔχει τὸ θέλημά του εἰς τὸν νόμον  
τοῦ κ(υρίου)υ·

καὶ ἡμέρα, καὶ νύκτα λογιᾶζει μόνον τὸν νόμον του.

3 Τοῦτος θέλει εἶναι ὡσὰν τὸ δένδρον ὁποῦ εἶναι φυτευμένον,  
ἐκεῖ ὁποῦ τρέχουσι τὰ νερά,

τὸ ὁποῖον θέλει δώσει τὸν καρπὸν του εἰς τὸν καιρὸν ὁποῦ πρέπει.

Καὶ τὸ φύλλον του δὲν θέλει μαρανθεῖ καὶ πέσει,

ἀλλὰ ὅσα καρποφορίζει εἰς καλὸν τελειώνονται.

4 Εἰς τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον δὲν εἶναι οἱ ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἄθεοι ἀν(θρῶπ)οι,  
δὲν εἶναι εἰς τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον·

ἀλλὰ εἶναι ὡς κονιορτὸς καὶ κόνις, ὁποῦ ὁ ἄνεμος διασκορπᾷ ἀπὸ  
τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς.

5 Διὰ τοῦτο οἱ ἀσεβεῖς δὲν ἀνασταίνονται εἰς τὴν κρίσιν,

οὔτε οἱ ἀμαρτωλοὶ θέλουσιν εἶναι εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν δικαίων.

6 Διατὶ ὁ κ(ύριος) γνωρίζει τὸν δρόμον τῶν δικαίων,  
καὶ ὁ δρόμος τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν χαλᾶται.

Testes: B C D E F G H I J K L (1:5fin.–6) M N O (–1:3) P Q Rnet Sthob

### Apparatus

**Titulus** ψαλμὸς—ἐπιγραφὴν] ἀνεπίγρα(φος) παρ' ἐβρέεις (lege ἑβραίοις) M. | ψαλμὸς BCEFGH I J K L P Q = Sthob] > D N. | α' D(α'ος)ERD = Sthob] tr. post ἐπιγραφὴν E(α')G(α')N(α'ος); ἡγουν ψαλμὸς α' add. post ἐπιγραφὴν Q; > B H I J. | τοῦ Δα(υί)δ BCEFGH I J K L P Q = Sthob] τοῦ Δαβίδ I; τῷ Δα(υί)δ G Q; τῷ Δα(υί)δ πρώτος F; > DER N I O = Sthob. | ὁποῦ EFGH I J K L] ὁ ὁποῖος B G H I J K L; > DER = Sthob. | κατὰ τοὺς ἑβραίους F G H I J K L P Q = Sthob] > DER N I O = Sthob. | δὲν ἔχει BCEFGH I J K L] > DER = Sthob; post ὁ ὁποῖος tr. P. | ἐπιγραφὴν E N I O] ἀπογραφὴν G H I J K L; γραφὴν B F; > DER = Sthob.

80 The reading ἐκάθησε is attested by all the witnesses, so that I follow the orthography of the manuscript tradition and do not correct the reading into ἐκάτισε (as Anetakhēs, *Ἀθανάσιος Πατελλάρος*, 43, and Dyouniōtēs, “Μάξιμος”, 461, do). In my opinion, this ‘mistake’ goes back to the archetype of the tradition.

**1:1<sup>LXX</sup>** Μακάριος ἀνὴρ ὃς οὐκ ἐπορεύθη ἐν βουλῇ ἀσεβῶν  $\mathfrak{D} = \mathfrak{D}^{\text{hob}}$  om. ὃς— ἀσεβῶν  $\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{D}$ ; om. ἐν βουλῇ ἀσεβῶν  $\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{P} = \mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{t}$ ; om. ἀσεβῶν  $\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{Z}$ ; + καὶ  $\mathfrak{E}$ ; + καὶ ἐν  $\mathfrak{Q}$ ; + καὶ ἐν ὁδῷ ἀμαρτωλῶν οὐκ ἔστι (lege ἔστι)  $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{R}$  (verba ultima partim non legibilia).

**1:1** ἐκεῖνος] >  $\mathfrak{B}$ . | εἰς τὸν δρόμον (> τ. δρ.  $\mathfrak{N}$ ) τῶν ἀμαρτωλῶν / δὲν ἐσταμάτησε(ν)] tr.  $\mathfrak{B}$  (ἀμαρτωλ[λ]ῶν). | ἐσταμάτησε(ν)] ἐπάτησε  $\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{N}$ . | κολάκων] κακῶν καὶ φθοροποιῶν ἀν(θρώπων)  $\mathfrak{B}$ . | om. ὁποῦ— ἀμαρτίας  $\mathfrak{N}$ . | παρακινουσι(ν)] παρακινῶν  $\mathfrak{B}$ ; κινουσι  $\mathfrak{N}$ . | τὰς ἀμαρτίας] ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις  $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{E}$ . | ἐκάθησε(ν)] ἐκάθησαν  $\mathfrak{B}$ ; ἐκάθισε  $\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{t}$   $\mathfrak{D}^{\text{hob}}$  (vide supra, n. 77). **1:2** Μᾶλλον καλότηχος εἶναι (> ε.  $\mathfrak{D}$ ) ἐκεῖνος ὁποῦ ἔχει] ἀλλὰ μάλιστα εἶναι  $\mathfrak{B}$ . | νόμον 1<sup>ο</sup>] φόβον καὶ νόμον  $\mathfrak{G}$ . | ἡμέρα καὶ νύκτα] μελετᾷ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα  $\mathfrak{D}^{\text{hob}}$ . | λογιᾶζει] >  $\mathfrak{D}^{\text{hob}}$ ; pr. καὶ  $\mathfrak{F}$ . | om. τὸν νόμον του  $\mathfrak{R}$ ; om. τὸν νόμον  $\mathfrak{N}$ . | του] αὐτοῦ  $\mathfrak{B}$ . **1:3** ὥσάν] ὡς ἂν  $\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{P}$  | τὸ δένδρον] + ἐκεῖνον  $\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{E}$ ; + ἐκεῖνο  $\mathfrak{D}^{\text{hob}}$ . | φυτευμένον] pr. ο.  $\mathfrak{N}$ . | τρέχουσι] τρέχουν  $\mathfrak{B}$ . | ὁποῖον] pr. νερά  $\mathfrak{D}$ . | του 2<sup>ο</sup>  $\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{P}$ ] αὐτοῦ  $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{Q} = \mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{t}$   $\mathfrak{D}^{\text{hob}}$ . | δέν] δέ  $\mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{N}$ . | μαρανθεῖ καὶ πέσει  $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{E}^* \mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{Q}$  (μ.κ.παίσει) =  $\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{t}$ ] μαράνθη καὶ πέση  $\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{E}$ ; μαρανθη καὶ πέσει  $\mathfrak{D}^{\text{hob}}$ ; μαραθη καὶ πέσι  $\mathfrak{R}$ ; πέσει  $\mathfrak{N}$ ; μαρανθεῖ νὰ πέση  $\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{G}$  (μ.ν. πέσι)  $\mathfrak{H}$  (μ.ν. πέσει). | ὅσα] ὃς ἂν  $\mathfrak{B}$ ; pr. τὰ  $\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{N}$ . | καρποφορίζει] καρποφορίζουν  $\mathfrak{D}$ ; καρποφορήσει  $\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{N}$ ; καρποφορήση  $\mathfrak{B}$ . | εἰς καλὸν / τελειώνονται] εἰς καλ[λ]ὸν τελειώνουν  $\mathfrak{D}$ ; tr.  $\mathfrak{B}$ . **1:4** Εἰς— τοῦτον 2<sup>ο</sup>] Οἱ ἀσεβεῖς δὲ καὶ ἄθεοι ἂν(θρώποι) δὲν εἶναι τοιοῦτο τρόπως δὲν εἶναι  $\mathfrak{B}$ . | εἶναι 1<sup>ο</sup>] εἶνε  $\mathfrak{D}^{\text{hob}}$ . | καὶ ἄθεοι ἂν(θρώποι) δὲν εἶναι εἰς τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον  $\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{R}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{Q} = \mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{t}$ ] καὶ οἱ (>  $\mathfrak{E}$ ) ἄθεοι εἰς τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον  $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{E} = \mathfrak{D}^{\text{hob}}$ ; καὶ ἄθεοι ἂν(θρώποι)  $\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{H}$ ; ἂν(θρώποι)  $\mathfrak{N}$ . | ἀλλά] ἀλλ'  $\mathfrak{E} = \mathfrak{D}^{\text{hob}}$ . | ὡς] ὥσάν  $\mathfrak{B}$ . | κονιορτός] pr. ὁ  $\mathfrak{B}$ ; κονιορτός  $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{R}$ ; vide supra, § 1.2(2) s.v. κορνιαχτός. | καὶ κόνις] καὶ σκόνη  $\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{E} = \mathfrak{D}^{\text{hob}}$ ; >  $\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{N}$ . | ὁ ἄνεμος διασκορπᾷ  $\mathfrak{C}$  (διασκορπᾷ)  $\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{Q} = \mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{t}$ ] ὁ ἄνεμος σκορπάει  $\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{E} = \mathfrak{D}^{\text{hob}}$ ; ὁ ἄνεμος διασκορπίζει  $\mathfrak{R}$ ; τὸ διασκορπᾷ ὁ ἄνεμος  $\mathfrak{G}$ ; διασκορπίζει ὁ ἄνεμος  $\mathfrak{H}$  (διασκορπεῖ)  $\mathfrak{N}$ ; τὸν διασκορπᾷ ὁ ἄνεμος  $\mathfrak{B}$ . | τὸ πρόσωπον] προσώπου  $\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{E} = \mathfrak{D}^{\text{hob}}$ . **1:5** οἱ ἀσεβεῖς post ἀναστ. tr.  $\mathfrak{F}$ . | ἀνασταίνονται  $\mathfrak{C} = \mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{I}\mathfrak{e}\mathfrak{t}$ ] ἀναστένονται  $\mathfrak{F}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{Z}\mathfrak{N}\mathfrak{P}\mathfrak{Q}$ ; ἀναστένονται  $\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{E}\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{R}$  (ἀναστένοντε)  $\mathfrak{N}$ ; ἀνασταίνονται  $\mathfrak{D}^{\text{hob}}$ . | οὔτε] μήτε  $\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{E} = \mathfrak{D}^{\text{hob}}$ . | θέλουσι(ν)] θέλει  $\mathfrak{D}$ ; θέλουν  $\mathfrak{B}$ . | τὸ πλήθος] τὴν ἀγάπην  $\mathfrak{B}$ . | τῶν δικαίων (v.5b)  $\cap$  τῶν δικαίων (v.6a)  $\mathfrak{H}\mathfrak{Z}$ : homoiot. **1:6** Διατί] ὅτι  $\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{G}\mathfrak{V}$ ; διότι  $\mathfrak{D}^{\text{hob}}$ . | ὁ κ(ύριος) / γνωρίζει] tr.  $\mathfrak{V}$ ; ἡστεύρη ὁ κ(ύριος)  $\mathfrak{N}$ . | τὸν δρόμον] τὸν τρόπον  $\mathfrak{C}\mathfrak{D}\mathfrak{E}$ : ex praec. (v.4); τὴν στράταν  $\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{N}$ ; τὲς στράτες  $\mathfrak{V}$ . | ὁ δρόμος] om. ὁ  $\mathfrak{G}$ ; ἡ στράτα  $\mathfrak{B}$ . | χαλᾶται] χάνεται  $\mathfrak{B}\mathfrak{N}$  (χάνετε); χαλνᾶται  $\mathfrak{P}$ .

## 2.3 English Translation

Psalter, translated into common speech.

Psalms 1 of David, which according to the Hebrews does not have a title.

1<sup>LXX</sup> *Blessed is the man who did not walk in the counsel of the impious.*

1 Fortunate is that man who did not follow the counsel of the  
impious and faithless men,  
and did not stand in the path of the sinners.  
And he did not sit in the seat of the flatterers, where they incite others  
to sin.

2 Rather, fortunate is he whose will is in the law of the Lord;  
and day and night, he contemplates only His law.

3 He will be like the tree planted  
where waters flow,  
which will yield its fruit in its proper season.  
Its leaf will not wither and fall,  
but all it bears will come to good fruition.

4 The impious and godless men are not so, they are not this way;  
but they are like dust and sand, which the wind scatters from the face of  
the earth.

5 Therefore, the impious will not rise in the judgment,  
nor the sinners want to be in the assembly of the righteous.

6 For the Lord knows the way of the righteous,  
and the way of the sinners falls apart.

## 2.4 Philological Commentary

The syntax is modernized: The personal pronoun αὐτοῦ becomes του (e. g. Ps 1:2a: τὸ θέλημα αὐτοῦ becomes τὸ θέλημά του), and οὐκ becomes δέν.

The lexis differs from the Septuagint: For instance, μακάριος becomes καλότυχος (Ps 1:1a); ἀνὴρ becomes ἄνθρωπος (Ps 1:1a) – a phenomenon which we already noticed and discussed in the case of the Vatican Vernacular Psalter. Furthermore, ὁδός is replaced by δρόμος (Ps 1:1b.6b), λοιμός by κόλακας (Ps 1:1c), and μελετάω by λογιάζω (Ps 1:2b). Modern Greek influence is detectable: νύκτα is used instead of νύξ (Ps 1:2b), and the word νερό instead of ὕδωρ (Ps 1:3a).

## 2.5 Result

*Prima facie*, it is obvious that this version renders the Psalter text less verbatim than the Vatican Vernacular Psalter does: The verses are much longer in comparison to those in its Septuagint *Vorlage*: Psalm 1, verse 1 consists of 20 words in the Septuagint, whereas the free rendering by this version has 39 words. Altogether, the style is rather abundant. Some expressions are rendered in a hendiadys (ἐν διὰ δυοῖν): ἀσεβῶν is translated as τῶν ἀσεβῶν καὶ ἀπίστων ἀνθρώπων (Ps 1:1a).

## 3. Further Examples of Later Psalter Versions of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

To continue, I would like to give a brief overview of several other versions from the seventeenth century onwards. I begin with the supposedly Jewish print from 1643 – misdated to 1543 (§ 3.1).<sup>81</sup> The other versions, which will be presented below, are: A version of Psalm 1 found in manuscript Ra 1946 (§ 3.2). The rendering by Georgios Palamedes, which dates back to the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century (§ 3.3). The rendition by Ioseph of Trnovo, which dates from the seventeenth or eighteenth century (§ 3.4). The nineteenth century translations generally do not merit detailed discussion.<sup>82</sup> However, the new translation based on the Hebrew by Ioannes Litinos is in my opinion worth mentioning, especially since Litinos was an eighteenth century scholar (§ 3.5).

81 Cf. the overviews by Bairaktaris, *Ψαλτήριον*, and by Tōmadakēs, “Αθανάσιος Πατελλάρος”, 429–436. See also Delicostopoulos, *Translations*, 311.

82 Mentioned only in passing are the following Psalter translations of the nineteenth century: The edition by Hilarion, published at London in 1828. Hilarion was head of the Convent of Mt. Sinai at Constantinople, and afterwards Bishop of Trnovo. He began to prepare a new Bible translation in 1819. His translation of the Old Testament was based on a Septuagint edition that was published at Venice in 1687. See Darlow/Moule, *Catalogue* II/2, 682–683, No. 4970. However, only the Psalter was published, the rest of the Old Testament was never finished. Hilarion’s Psalter version was finally published in 1828, edited by T. P. Platt (Platt, *Ψαλτήριον*). See Darlow/Moule, *Catalogue* II/2, 683, No. 4973. The 1687 Venetian edition which formed the basis for Hilarion’s edition is actually a derivate of the Aldina: It is a reprint of the Frankfurt Bible of 1597, published by Andreas Wechel, which is itself an adaption of Johannes Lonicer’s (1497–1569) reprint of the Aldina that was printed by Wolfgang Köpfel in Strasbourg in 1526. Cf. Albrecht, “History”, 55. Moreover, in 1831 (²1832), an edition of the Psalter was prepared in Corfu: Bambas/de Tipaldo/Ioannides, *Ψαλτήριον*. See Darlow/Moule, *Catalogue* II/2, 684, No. 4976. New editions appeared in 1835: Darlow/Moule, *Catalogue* II/2, 685, No. 4981; in 1837: Darlow/Moule, *Catalogue* II/2, 685, No. 4985; in 1857: Darlow/Moule, *Catalogue* II/2, 687, No. 4995; in 1878 (together with Isaiah): Darlow/Moule, *Catalogue* II/2, 688, No. 5003; and in 1899: Darlow/Moule, *Catalogue* II/2, 689, No. 5013.

### 3.1 The Soul-Saving Psalter of 1643

As already mentioned, the secondary literature (for instance, the old catalogues<sup>83</sup>, Bairaktaris<sup>84</sup>, Fernández Marcos and others) mistakenly referred to a sixteenth century edition of 1543.<sup>85</sup> Once the riddle of the publication date is solved, the version can be identified as the 1643 edition by Agapios Landos. Agapios Landos (1585–1657) was a very successful writer of the seventeenth century, who published many influential books, like the devotional prayer-book Βιβλίον ὠραιότατον καλούμενον ἁμαρτωλῶν σωτηρία (Venice 1641, second edition 1664, with several reprints).<sup>86</sup> His Psalter edition, that is the soul-saving Psalter (Τὸ ψυχοσωτήριο Ψαλτήριον), was first published in Venice, in 1643:<sup>87</sup> Ψαλτήριον τῷ Δαβίδ. Μεταφρασθὲν εἰς κοινὴν διάλεκτον. Παρὰ Ἀγαπίου μοναχοῦ τοῦ Κρητός.<sup>88</sup> It was reprinted several times, e.g. 1692, 1694, 1698, 1770, 1778 and 1804 in Venice, and 1817 and 1820 in Vienna.<sup>89</sup> This version contains the Psalter (151 Psalms, 11 Odes), followed by the beginning of the Gospel of John. The Psalter text is arranged in two columns: The outer column contains the Septuagint version (τὸ κείμενον), and the inner column a short, paraphrasing interpretation (ἡ ἐξήγησις), which is based on the commentary by Theodoret of Cyrillus, first published in Paris by Jacques Sirmond a year earlier (1642).<sup>90</sup> It becomes immediately obvious that we are not dealing with a hitherto unknown, later Jewish translation, but with a modern commentary edition by a Christian monk.

83 Cf. e.g. Maittaire, *Annales typographici* III/1–2, 343; Masch/Le Long/Börner, *Bibliotheca* II, 324–332 (*De versionibus Graeco-barbaris*), here: 325.

84 Bairaktaris, *Ψαλτήριον*, 8 (nr. 1).

85 Cf. also the introductions by Oikonomos, *Περὶ τῶν Ὁ' ἐρμηνευτῶν* III, 192–193, n. γ; Bratsiōtēs, *Εἰσαγωγή*, 639. A version of 1543 is neither recorded in the Greek Bibliography (1466–1800), see Papadopoulos, *Βιβλιογραφία* I, nor in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana in Venice, as Renata Tiozzo (Venice) has kindly and carefully checked.

86 Tōmadakēs, “Lando” (without mentioning Landos’ Psalter edition); Kōstoula, *Ἀγάπιος Λάνδος*, 145–150; 220–229. Klein, *Legende*, 45–51, here 50. Cf. also Podskalsky, *Theologie*, 67, n. 242a.

87 On the first edition of 1643 see Papadopoulos, *Βιβλιογραφία* I, 419, Nr. 5567. There is for instance a copy in Halle a.d. Saale (Germany), see here: <https://kxp.k10plus.de/DB=2.1/PPNSET?PsPN=770954863> (last access: 15.08.2023).

88 Landos, *Ψαλτήριον*.

89 Cf. Darlow/Moule, *Catalogue* II/2, 680, No. 4959 with the following note that this version was reprinted in 1692, 1698, 1770, 1804 and 1820. Permalink for the reprint of 1770: <https://anemi.lib.uoc.gr/metadata/7/4/0/metadata-155-0000168.tkl> (last access: 15.08.2023).

90 This version belongs to a series of commentaries that Tōmadakēs has already presented in more detail. In addition to Agapios Landos’ version, these are the annotated editions of the Psalter by Athanasios Baruchas, and Benediktos Katsanebakis. Cf. Tōmadakēs, “Ἀθανάσιος Πατελλάρος”, 429–432 (Agapios Landos Kres), 432 (Athanasios Baruchas), 432–436 (Benediktos Katsanebakis); cf. also Colwell, *Apocalypse* II, 24.

### 3.2 Another version of Psalm 1 (Ms. Ra 1946, p. 2)

*Codex Athous Vatopedi* 1234 (= Ra 1946)<sup>91</sup>, p. 2, transmits another version of Psalm 1:1–5 (verse 6 is missing). The left and right margins are partly cut off (in this case, marked with square brackets).

#### 3.2.1 Diplomatic Edition of Psalm 1 (*Codex Athous Vatopedi* 1234, p. 2)

- 1 [Καλότ]υχος ἄνθρωπος, ὁποῦ δὲν ἐδιάβη<sup>92</sup> εἰς τὴν σύναξιν τῶν διαστρα[...] <sup>93</sup>  
καὶ εἰς τὴν στράταν τῶν κακῶν ἀνδρῶν δὲν ἐστάθη<sup>94</sup>  
καὶ εἰς τῇ[ν ...] τῆς ὑπερηφανείας δὲν ἐθέλησεν,  
2 ἀλ(λ)ὰ εἰς τὰς παραγγελίας<sup>95</sup> [...] οὐ ἦτον<sup>96</sup>  
ἡ γνῶμη του μελετῶντας ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός.  
3 καὶ ἦτον<sup>97</sup> ὡς [τ]ὸ δένδρον, ὁποῦ ποτίζεται<sup>98</sup> ἐπὶ ταῖς βρύσαις τῶν ὑδάτων,  
[...] θρέται κάθε χρόνον  
καὶ τὸ φύλ(λ)ον του δὲν μαραίνεται<sup>99</sup>  
καὶ τὰ ὅσα [...] αἰ ἐργάζεται<sup>100</sup> ὅλα εἰς εὐτυχίαν καὶ προκοπὴν τελειώνουν<sup>101</sup>,  
4 ὅχι δὲ [...] εἰς τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ κακοὺς ἀνθρώπους,  
ἀλ(λ)ὰ τοὺς ἀφανίζει<sup>102</sup> [...] ν ὁ ἄνεμος τῶν κονιορτῶν.  
5 διὰ τοῦτο δὲν ἀνασταίνονται<sup>103</sup> [κα]κοὶ ἄνθρωποι ἐν ἡμέρᾳ<sup>104</sup> κρίσεως  
οὐδὲ ἀμαρτωλοὶ εἰς [σ]υμβουλὴν τῶν δικαίων.

#### 3.2.2 English Translation

- 1 [Fortu]nate man, who did not walk in the council of the wicked [...]   
and in the way of evil men, did not stand,  
and in the [...] of pride, did not wish,  
2 but in the commandments [...] he was,  
his thought meditating day and night.

91 Cf. [https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra\\_1946](https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de/catalogue/Ra_1946) (last access: 15.08.2023).

92 ἐδιάβη cod.

93 Fortasse διεστραμμένων legendum est.

94 νεστάθη cod.

95 ταῖς παραγγελίαις cod.

96 εἶτον cod.

97 εἶτον cod.

98 ποτίζετε cod.

99 μαρένετε cod.

100 ἐργάζετε cod.

101 τελιώνουν cod.

102 ἀφανίζει cod.

103 ἀναστένωντε cod.

104 ἡμέρα cod.



- 3 And he was like [th]e tree, which is watered by the springs of the waters,  
[... bears fruit] every year,  
and its leaf does not wither,  
and all that [...] and he works, all end in happiness and progress,  
4 not so [...] for the impious and wicked men,  
but it makes them disappear [...] the wind of dust.  
5 Therefore, wicked men do not rise on the day of judgment,  
nor sinners in the [c]ounsel of the righteous.

### 3.3 Georgios Palamedes (Late Sixteenth or Early Seventeenth Century)

Another late sixteenth or early seventeenth century rendering of the Psalter in fifteen-syllable verses (with rhyme) was created by the Cretan author Georgios Palamedes.<sup>105</sup> Georgios Palamedes lived in the late sixteenth century in Lviv (Львів, Ukraine). He is known for his poem on Michael the Brave<sup>106</sup>, but he is also the author of a Psalter version.<sup>107</sup> Palamedes' preface and the beginning of Psalm 1 (Ps 1:1–2a) have been edited by Demostene Russo in 1939, based on *Codex Athous Lavra* I 101 (seventeenth century).<sup>108</sup> The version by Georgios Palamedes is transmitted in three Athonite codices: In *Codex Athous Lavra* I 101 (seventeenth century)<sup>109</sup>, and (in a slightly different version) in *Codex Athous Vatopedi*, Σκήτη τοῦ Ἁγίου Δημητρίου 32 (second half of the seventeenth century).<sup>110</sup> Another very similar version is transmitted in *Codex Athous Lavra* K 37, seventeenth century (inc. Καλόζηλος ποῦ στὴν βουλὴν τῶν κακῶν δὲν ὑπάγει / μηδὲ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν στράτα ἀκολουθᾷ).<sup>111</sup>

#### 3.3.1 Diplomatic Edition of Psalm 1 (*Codex Athous Lavra* I 101, f. 2r)

Selected readings of the Septuagint text are written on the left margins, especially at the beginning (f. 2r–v). On the subsequent pages (from f. 3r onwards), only a few marginal readings can be found.

105 On Georgios Palamedes, see Dēmaras, *Ιστορία*, 68–69 (mistakenly named “Τρηγόριος” Παλαμίδης).

106 Cf. Bouboulidēs, “Μεταφράσεις”, 424 with n. 3.

107 On Georgios Palamedes, see Vincent, “Life”, 172 with n. 4.

108 Russo, “Poema”, 147–148, n. 1. A reprint of Russo's edition of the preface is provided by Bouboulidēs, “Μεταφράσεις”, 424–425.

109 Lauriōtēs/Eustratiadēs, *Catalogue*, 196.

110 Lamberz/Litsas, *Κατάλογος*, 64–65.

111 Cf. Lauriōtēs/Eustratiadēs, *Catalogue*, 221 (Nr. 1324); Diktyon number: 28345. On this manuscript see also Bouboulidēs, “Μεταφράσεις”, 424.

Γεωργίου Παλαμήδη<sup>112</sup> μετάφρασις τοῦ Ψαλτῆρος  
*Μακάριος ἀνήρ, ὃς οὐκ ἐπορεύθη ἐν (in margine sinistra)*

- 1 Καλότυχος ποῦ στήν βουλὴν τῶν κακῶν δὲν ὑπάγει,  
 μηδὲ τῶν ἀσεβῶν ἀνδρῶν τὴν στράτα κολουθάγει,  
 μηδὲ ἐκάθησεν ποτὲ εἰς ἐκεινῶν τὸν<sup>113</sup> θρόνον,  
 ποῦ διαστρέφουν τοὺς καλοὺς νὰ τοὺς πλανοῦσι μόνον,
- 2 ἀλλὰ στὸν νόμον τοῦ θε(εο)ῦ εἶναι ἡ μέριμνά του,  
 μέρα νύκτα νὰ μελετᾷ αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν καρδιάν του·
- 3 ὁ τοιοῦτος θέλει εἶσται<sup>114</sup> καὶ τοῦ δενδροῦ νὰ μοιάζῃ,  
 τοῦ καρπεροῦ στὰ ἔργα του ὅλα νὰ τότε ῥγάξῃ,  
 τὸ ποῖον δίδει τὸν καρπὸν ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ καιρὸς του  
 τὸν κάθε χρόνον ὥριμον<sup>115</sup> χάρισμα ταῦθεντός του,  
 τὰ φύλλα του δὲν πέφτουσι,<sup>116</sup> μάλιστα πρασινίζουν,  
 χίλιες<sup>117</sup> ἂν ἔρθουν ταραχές,<sup>118</sup> αὐτὰ δὲν τ'ἀφανίζουν,
- 4 οἱ ἄτυχοι δὲν βρίσκονται<sup>119</sup>, εἰς σε τοιοῦτον τρόπον  
 μηδὲ ποτέ τοὺς χαίρουνται, τὸν ἐδικόντους<sup>120</sup> κόπον  
 μόνον μοιοῦν τοῦ κορνιακτοῦ, ὁποῦ τὸν ἐσκορπίζει,<sup>121</sup>  
 ὁ ἄνεμος, ἀπὸ τὴν γῆν, μακρὰ τὸν ἀφανίζει,
- 5 γι' αὐτὸ στήν κρίσιν τοῦ θε(εο)ῦ, θέλουν ἐντροπιαστοῦσιν,  
 καὶ εἰς τὸ τάγμα τῶν δικαίων, νὰ μὴν [δεν] μετρηθοῦσιν,<sup>122</sup>
- 6 ὅτι ὁ θε(ε)ὸς τοὺς δικαίους πάντα τοὺς ἐσκεπάζει,<sup>123</sup>  
 καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς ἡ κρίσις του ἡ θεῖα τοὺς κολάζει.<sup>124</sup>

112 Παλαμίδι cod.

113 τῶν cod.

114 εἶσται, fortasse εἶσθαι.

115 ὄριμον cod.

116 πεύτουσι cod.

117 χίλιας cod.

118 ταραχαῖς cod.

119 βρίσκοντος cod.\*; βρίσκονται cod.ε.

120 ἐδικόντους cod. Cf. Holton et al., *Grammar* II, 910–913 (§ 5.4.2 “Emphatic Forms”) on ἰδικός, ἐδικός, δικός plus possessive clitic pronoun.

121 ἐσκορπίζει cod.

122 μετριθοῦσιν cod.

123 ἐσκεπάζει cod.

124 κολάζει cod.

### 3.3.2 English Translation

Translation of the Psalter by Georgios Palamedes

*Blessed is the man who did not walk in (in margine sinistra)*

- 1 Fortunate is he who does not walk in the counsel of the wicked,  
nor follow the path of impious men,  
nor sat on their throne,  
those who distort the good men and deceive them.
- 2 But in God's law, he takes his care,  
day and night, he contemplates him in his heart.
- 3 Such a one wishes to be like a tree,  
Bearing then fruit in all his deeds,  
which yields its fruit when its time comes,  
every year, ripe, a gift from his master.  
Its leaves do not fall, but remain green,  
even if thousand storms come, they do not strip them.
- 4 The unfortunate are not found in such a manner,  
nor do they ever rejoice their own toil,  
but they resemble the dust, which is scattered  
by wind, and make it disappear far away from the earth.
- 5 For this reason, during God's judgment they will feel ashamed,  
nor be counted to the rank of the righteous.
- 6 Because God always protects the righteous,  
and His divine judgment punishes the wicked.

### 3.4 Ioseph of Trnovo (Seventeenth or Eighteenth Century)

An iambic Psalter version by Ioseph, bishop of Trnovo, is preserved in the nineteenth century *Codex Athous Lavra* K 36 (inc. Μακάριος πᾶς ἀσεβῶν ἐκδρὰς τρίβους / καὶ τῶν ἀσεβῶν τὰς ὁδοὺς παρεκκλίνας)<sup>125</sup>, as well as in the twentieth century *Codex Athous Iviron* 2086 (inc. Μακάριος πᾶς ἀσεβῶν ἐκδρὰς τρίβους / καὶ τῶν ἀσεβῶν τὰς ὁδοὺς παρεκκλίνων).<sup>126</sup> According to Andreas Rhoby, this Ioseph can be dated to the end of the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth century.<sup>127</sup>

125 Cf. Lauriōtēs/Eustratiadēs, *Catalogue*, 221 (Nr. 1323); Diktyon number: 28344.

126 Cf. Lauriōtēs/Eustratiadēs, *Catalogue*, 389–390 (Nr. 2086); Diktyon number: 75402.

127 Gioffreda/Rhoby, "Psalmenmetaphrase", 123 with n. 28; cf. also Lauriōtēs/Eustratiadēs, *Catalogue*, 390 (Nr. 2086).

### 3.5 Ioannes Litinos and His Psalter Translation (1804)

Ioannes Litinos (1731–1806), born on the island of Zakynthos, taught in Venice, and finally as professor of Greek and Hebrew at the Greek college of Padua.<sup>128</sup> In 1804, he published a new Psalter translation, based on the Hebrew.<sup>129</sup> Litinos' rendering of Psalm 1 has been printed by Bairaktaris;<sup>130</sup> I am reproducing it (with adaption to the stichometry of Psalm 1), so that it can be compared with the other versions.

#### 3.5.1 Greek Text of Psalm 1

- 1 Μακάριος εἶναι ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ὅστις δὲν περιπατεῖ εἰς τὴν βουλὴν τῶν ἀσεβῶν,  
μήτε στέκει εἰς τὴν στράταν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν,  
μήτε κάθηται εἰς τὴν καθέδραν τῶν ἐμπαικτῶν.
- 2 Ἀλλ' ἡ τρυφή του εἶναι εἰς τὸν νόμον τοῦ Κυρίου,  
καὶ εἰς τὸν νόμον του μελετᾷ ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτα.
- 3 Καὶ θέλει εἶσθαι ὡς ἓνα δένδρον φυτευμένον σιμὰ εἰς τοὺς ρύακας τῶν ὑδάτων,  
τὸ ὁποῖον ἐν τῷ καιρῷ αὐτοῦ προβάλλει τὸν καρπὸν του,  
τὸ φύλλον του προσέτι μαραινόμενον δὲν θέλει πέφτει  
καὶ πᾶν ὅτι ἂν ἐκεῖνος κάμη, θέλει κατευοδοῦται.
- 4 Δὲν εἶναι ἔτζι οἱ ἀσεβεῖς,  
ἀλλ' εἶναι ὡσὰν ἄχνη, τὴν ὁποίαν διώχνει ὁ ἄνεμος.
- 5 Διὰ τοῦτο οἱ ἀσεβεῖς δὲν θέλουσι στέκει εἰς τὴν κρίσιν,  
μηδὲ οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ εἰς τὴν σύναξιν τῶν δικαίων.
- 6 Διότι ὁ Κύριος ἡξεύρει τὴν στράταν τῶν δικαίων,  
ἀλλ' ἡ στράτα τῶν ἀσεβῶν θέλει ἀπόληται.

#### 3.5.2 English Translation of Psalm 1

- 1 Blessed is the man who does not walk in the counsel of the impious,  
nor stand in the way of sinners,  
nor sit in the seat of scoffers.
- 2 But his delight is in the law of the Lord,  
and on His law he meditates day and night.
- 3 He will be like a tree planted by streams of water,  
which yields its fruit in its season,

128 Cf. Michalaga, "Ζακύνθιοι", 193–195.

129 Litinos, *Βίβλος*. On this edition, see Michalaga, "Ζακύνθιοι", esp. 202, n. 91; and ibidem, 213–216.

130 Bairaktaris, *Ψαλτήριον*, 5. Cf. also Bairaktaris' description, ibidem, 11 (Nr. 11).

- and its leaf, even if it withers, will not fall;  
and whatever he does, prospers.
- 4 Not so are the impious!  
They are like dust that the wind drives away.
- 5 Therefore the impious will not stand in the judgment,  
nor sinners in the assembly of the righteous.
- 6 For the Lord knows the way of the righteous, but the way of the impious  
will perish.

#### 4. Conclusion

The result is rather sobering. Contrary to the claims of Fernández Marcos and other respected scholars, none of the Psalter translations cited originated from Jewish sources. Rather, they are all Christian adaptations from the early modern period. From a linguistic perspective, both the Vatican Vernacular Psalter and the renderings attributed to Maximos Peloponnesios and Athanasios Patellaros are captivating examples of early modern Greek vernacular. Later translations are interesting from the perspective of reception history, but do not carry the same weight from a linguistic point of view.

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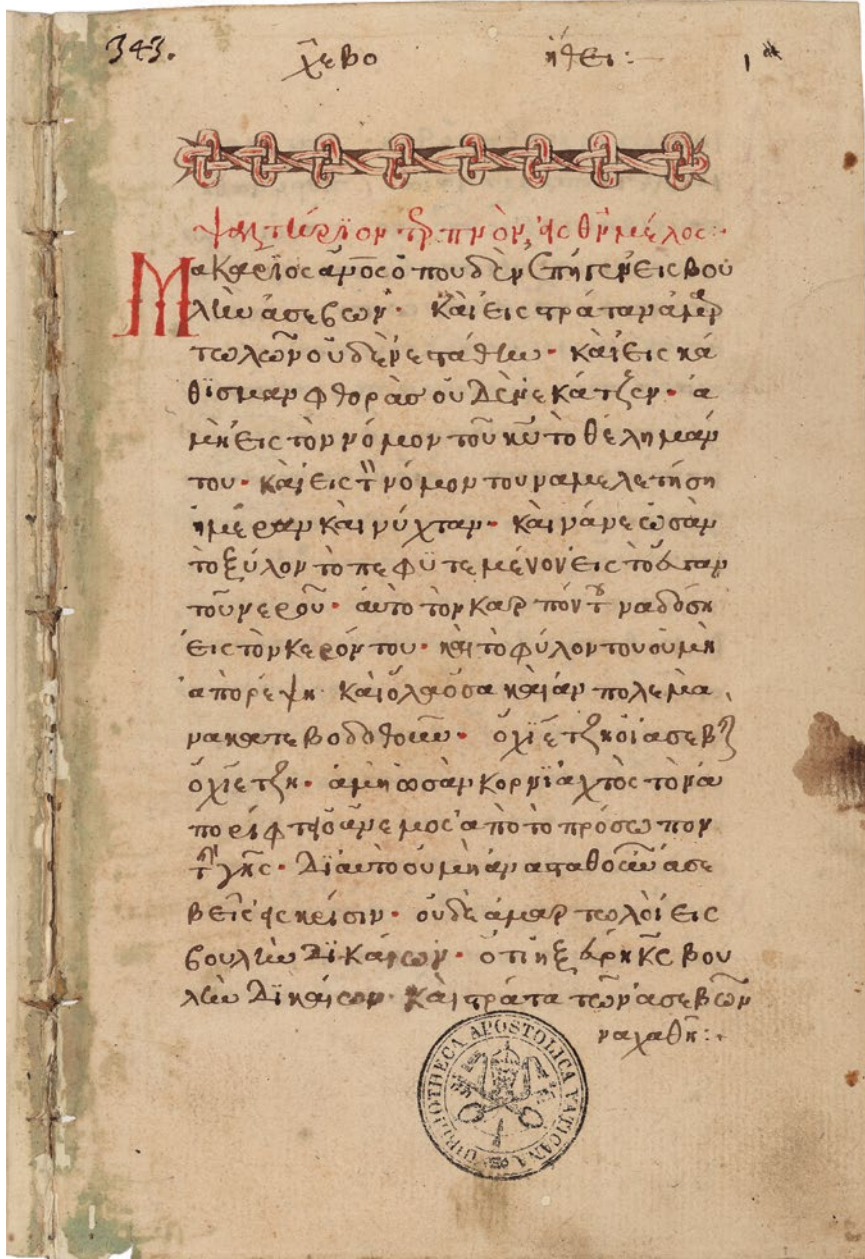
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