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THE "HEBREW" PSALM HEADINGS IN THE SYRIAC MANUSCRIPT 12T4¹

ABSTRACT

The oldest published description by Addai Scher of this Syriac manuscript dates from 1907. The manuscript is a liturgical document containing the Psalms (including Psalms 151-155) and Odes. Scher also mentions that every Psalm is preceded by headings ascribed to Eusebius, Athanasius and Theodore of Mopsuestia. What he did not mention is that the set of headings for each Psalm starts off with a heading in Syriac referred to as a Hebrew heading. The Peshitta does not contain the Masoretic Psalm headings. The Syro-Hexapla contains headings from the Septuagint and these are thus indirectly related to the Masoretic headings. The Hebrew headings of 12t4 are, however, not identical to those of the Syro-Hexapla. Especially important are those cases where the Syro-Hexapla, following the Septuagint, disagrees with the Masoretic headings. In many of these cases 12t4 has variants, indicated by "another manuscript" or "other manuscripts". In some of these cases the variants contain the heading of the Syro-Hexapla. This paper discusses a number of these headings with their variants. The author of this manuscript interpreted the headings of the Hebrew Old Testament independently of the LXX and the Syro-Hexapla, though it is also evident that he was influenced by them in some instances.

1. INTRODUCTION

The oldest published description of the Syriac manuscript 12t4 dates from 1907 (Addai Scher 1907:346-349). When he described this

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manuscript, it was in the possession of the Chaldean Archbishop of Diarbekir in Iraq. Bloemendaal (1960:Introduction) referred to this manuscript, which he could not use in his study of the headings of the Psalms in the East Syrian Church, and mentioned that it was in Mosul at that time. Baars used this manuscript as his basic text for the critical edition of the Five Syriac Apocryphal Psalms. At that stage this manuscript was in Baghdad (Baars, 1972:ii). This manuscript contains the canonical Psalms (Walter, 1980:XXVII), the apocryphal Psalms (Baars, 1972:iii-iv) and Odes I, III and II (in this order, cf. Schneider, 1972:viii). All the descriptions of this manuscript follow the original description by Scher (cf. also the list of manuscripts used for the critical edition of the Peshitta; Peshitta Institute, 1961:31).

Scher's description of this manuscript is fairly complete, with information about the contents of the manuscript and a number of quotations from the Syriac. He discusses this manuscript in his section dealing with liturgical manuscripts (1907:346). In Syriac liturgical manuscripts the canonical Psalms had a special place, but these manuscripts included other liturgical texts as well, like the Odes and the Lord's Prayer. The canonical Psalter is preceded in this manuscript by five introductions to the Psalms, ascribed to Hippolytus, Basilus, Eusebius of Caesarea, Athanasius and Origin. This is followed by a remark of Epiphanius on measures and weights (Scher, 1907:346). Scher pointed out that each Psalm was preceded by headings or introductions ascribed to Eusebius, Athanasius and Theodore of Mopsuestia. The margin has notes on the differences between the Peshitta and the Hebrew or between the Peshitta and the Septuagint. The canonical Psalms are followed by the Apocryphal Psalms.

What Scher did not mention is that the set of headings for each Psalm starts off with a heading in Syriac referred to as a Hebrew heading. As he did not mention this, no mention of these headings is found in any of the other discussions of this manuscript. These headings have never been published. As is well-known, the Peshitta does not contain the Masoretic Psalm headings. Some manuscripts of the Peshitta do not have headings at all. In the Eastern churches headings related to the commentary of Theodore were used. The Western tradition is reflected in the codex Ambrosianus (cf. Bloemendaal, 1960:2-3). The Syro-Hexapla contains headings related to those of the Septuagint and these are thus indirectly related to the Masoretic headings.

The Hebrew headings of 12t4, however, are not identical to those of the Syro-Hexapla. Especially important are those cases where the Syro-

Hexapla, following the Septuagint, disagrees with the Masoretic headings. In many of these cases 12t4 has variants, indicated by 'another manuscript' or 'other manuscripts'. This is not a unique phenomenon in this manuscript. The same occurs in another Nestorian manuscript, 12t3, dating from the same century as 12t4 and coming from the same region. As is the case with 12t4, this manuscript was part of the Mosul collection that is currently in Baghdad (cf. Walter, 1980:XXVI, and Hiebert, 1989:8-9). In some of these cases in 12t4 the variants contain the heading of the Syro-Hexapla. This paper discusses a number of these headings with their variants in more detail (Psalms 37[36], 43[42], 63[62], 71[70], 89[88], 91[90], 93[92], 96[95], 147 [146] and 150),² considering their relationship to the headings of the Masoretic Text, the Septuagint and the Syro-Hexapla. Reference will be made to other Psalms following the patterns of the Psalms discussed in more detail.

As an example of a typical heading of a Psalm in 12t4, the headings of Psalm 144 (143) are given in translation:

12t4 Hebrew Of David. Another manuscript: Of David, against Goliath.

Eusebius A thanksgiving of one who conquered.

Theodore A thanksgiving of the Maccabees on account of their victory when they prevailed against their enemies and they asked complete deliverance from God.

Athanasius Of those who are a thanksgiving. If a cruel enemy stands up against the church, the people of God and you, like Goliath against David, do not fear, but have trust like David and say:

The Masoretic heading is לַדָּוִד, the Septuagint has τῷ Δαυιδ πρὸς τὸν Γολιαθ and the Syro-Hexapla has ܕܠܕܘܘܕ ܕܕܘܘܕ.

The headings in the Masoretic text, the LXX, Syro-Hexapla and 12t4 are listed as a basis for the discussion, according to certain groups that

2 The first number is that of the relevant Psalm in the Masoretic text, followed by the number in the LXX and the Syro-Hexapla in brackets. The numbers of the Psalms in the Peshitta (studied in this paper), followed by 12t4, agree with the Masoretic text, except in the case of Psalm 147 (146), where the Peshitta follows the Septuagint and Syro-Hexapla, which divided this Psalm in two.

can be distinguished. This is followed by a discussion of the individual Psalms, looking at the variants in the different versions, with the conclusions at the end.³

2. DISCUSSION OF THE INDIVIDUAL PSALMS

Psalm 43 [42]

MT	0
LXX	ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυιδ
SH	ܠܗܘܐ ܠܕܘܘܕ ܕܕܘܘܕ
12t4	ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ

Psalm 43 [42] is a typical example of a Psalm where the MT and the Septuagint differ. The MT has no heading, although a few manuscripts do have a heading (לדוד). The Greek has "A Psalm of David" and the Syro-Hexapla has "Of David, a Psalm", a reading followed by a number of witnesses to the LXX as well. These witnesses are from different groups according to Rahlfs (S Lower Egyptian, 2013 Upper Egyptian, 1219 – which often agrees with the Lucianic recension – and no less than 16 Lucianic manuscripts, as well as Theodoret). The reading of the Syro-Hexapla can therefore not be ascribed to a single group. 12t4 states explicitly that the Hebrew does not have a heading. A similar remark occurs with regard to the LXX, in the western manuscript R, in more than 75 Lucianic manuscripts and in Theodoret. This example demonstrates that 12t4 does not have alternatives for the Hebrew heading in every instance where the LXX and Syro-Hexapla differ from the MT.

Psalm 37 [36]

MT	לדוד
LXX	τοῦ Δαυιδ
SH	ܠܕܘܘܕ
12t4	ܠܕܘܘܕ ܠܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ

3 The following works were used: Hebrew: Elliger & Rudolph 1984; LXX: Rahlfs 1979; Syro-Hexapla: Hiebert 1989.

Psalm 37 [36] has just a one-word heading in the MT (לדוד). This is rendered as τοῦ Δαυιδ by the Septuagint. The Syro-Hexapla has ܠܕܘܘܕ. This is the usual translation of τοῦ Δαυιδ. When the LXX has τῷ Δαυιδ the Syro-Hexapla normally has ܠܕܘܘܕ. In this case the reading τοῦ Δαυιδ occurs only in codex Alexandrinus, codex Sinaiticus (both Lower Egyptian), less than 16 Lucianic manuscripts and manuscript 55. The majority of witnesses support the reading τῷ Δαυιδ. Two of the Syro-Hexaplaric manuscripts also have the variant ܠܕܘܘܕ (a* and f).

Many of the witnesses to the LXX insert ψαλμὸς before the heading (2046, Vulgate, more than 75 Lucianic manuscripts and Theodoret). This addition does not occur in the Syro-Hexapla.

12t4's Hebrew heading is ܠܕܘܘܕ, with the same preposition as in the Hebrew. The manuscript refers to a variant heading, ܠܕܘܘܕ, as in the Syro-Hexapla. It is frequently the case that when 12t4 has a variant from other manuscripts, the first heading agrees with the MT and the second with the Syro-Hexapla.

Psalms 71 [70] and 91 [90]

Psalm 71 [70]

MT	0
LXX	τῷ Δαυιδ υἱῶν Ἰωνάδαβ καὶ τῶν πρώτων αἰχμαλωτισθέντων
SH	ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ
12t4	ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ

Psalm 91 [90]

MT	0
LXX	αἶνος ᾠδῆς τῷ Δαυιδ
SH	ܠܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ ܕܘܘܕ

SH כִּי־חַוָּה כִּי־חַוָּה הַשֵּׁבַע לַאֱלֹהִים
 12t4 לַאֱלֹהִים
 כִּי־חַוָּה הַשֵּׁבַע לַאֱלֹהִים כִּי־חַוָּה כִּי־חַוָּה

Psalm 150

MT יהללו יה
 LXX αλληλουια
 SH לַאֱלֹהִים לַאֱלֹהִים
 12t4 לַאֱלֹהִים
 לַאֱלֹהִים לַאֱלֹהִים כִּי־חַוָּה כִּי־חַוָּה

All these Psalms are examples where 12t4's Hebrew heading agrees with the MT.

The heading of the LXX of Psalm 63 [62] is a good rendering of the heading of the MT. The reference to Judah occurs in the Sinaiticus, the Gallicanum, 56 to 75 Lucianic manuscripts, Theodoret and manuscript 55. Ἰουδαίως occurs in the Vaticanus, Bohairic, Sahidic, the Greek and Latin of manuscript R, the Latin manuscript G, the Vulgate, a smaller number of Lucianic manuscripts and Hesychius. This is also the reading of the Syro-Hexapla:

מְשַׁכֵּל לְיִשְׂרָאֵל מִיָּמֵי הַיְיָ הַשֵּׁבַע לַאֱלֹהִים.

Hiebert's manuscript e has אֲרִי־מִלְכָּה.

The heading of 12t4 agrees with the MT, while the alternative has the reading of the Syro-Hexapla.

The MT does not have a heading for Psalm 96 [95]. The Septuagint has one. Variants do appear in the LXX. The last three words are put at the beginning in the Vulgate, the large majority of the Lucianic manuscripts, Theodoret and the codex Alexandrinus. The Syro-Hexapla agrees with the LXX. Hiebert's manuscript f omits "Of David" and his h has the synonym אֲרִי־מִלְכָּה instead of אֲרִי־מִלְכָּה. 12t4 says that the Hebrew does not have a heading. It has a reading from another manuscript. In this variant אֲרִי־מִלְכָּה אֲרִי־מִלְכָּה stands at the beginning. The order of the elements does not agree with the heading in the Syro-Hexapla, but rather with that of the variant in the LXX.

In Psalm 147 [146] the MT has יהללו יה. The LXX adds a reference to the prophets Haggai and Zechariah (αλληλουια Αγγαιου και Ζαχαριου). The reference to the two prophets is omitted by a number of witnesses (manuscript L of the Sahidic, the Vulgate, less than 16 Lucianic manuscripts and Theodoret). The Syro-Hexapla agrees with the majority of the LXX, except for adding "a Psalm" at the end:

כִּי־חַוָּה כִּי־חַוָּה הַשֵּׁבַע לַאֱלֹהִים. 12t4 agrees with the MT (לַאֱלֹהִים). The alternative is כִּי־חַוָּה הַשֵּׁבַע לַאֱלֹהִים, omitting the addition (a Psalm) of the Syro-Hexapla. It agrees with the LXX in this regard.

In Psalm 150 the MT has, as in the case of Psalm 147[146], יהללו יה. The LXX agrees (αλληλουια). The word is omitted, however, in fewer than 16 Lucianic manuscripts. Theodoret has the word twice. Fewer than 16 Lucianic manuscripts add the names of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah. The Syro-Hexapla has the word twice, just like Theodoret. 12t4 has the word once, like the MT, and twice for the alternative.

Psalm 89 [88]

MT משכיל לישראל הַיְיָ הַשֵּׁבַע
 LXX συνέσεως Αιθαν τῷ Ισραηλίτη
 SH כְּלִי־מַעַבְדֵי שְׂרָפְדִים כְּלִי־מַעַבְדֵי שְׂרָפְדִים
 12t4 שְׂרָפְדִים כְּלִי־מַעַבְדֵי שְׂרָפְדִים כְּלִי־מַעַבְדֵי שְׂרָפְדִים
 כְּלִי־מַעַבְדֵי שְׂרָפְדִים
 כְּלִי־מַעַבְדֵי שְׂרָפְדִים כְּלִי־מַעַבְדֵי שְׂרָפְדִים

The variants between the MT and the LXX are related to the name and the origin of the person named in the heading. Two variant spellings occur for the name in the LXX: Αιθαμ (in the majority of Lucianic manuscripts, some manuscripts of Theodoret and manuscript 1219) and Αιμων (manuscript R [La^G *teman*], fewer than 16 Lucianic manuscripts, some manuscripts of Theodoret and manuscript 55). For the gentilicium Hesychius has the genitive, 1219 τῷ ἰεζραηλίτη, the Gallicanum *ezraite* and the Vulgate *ahitae*.

The Syro-Hexapla has כְּלִי־מַעַבְדֵי שְׂרָפְדִים כְּלִי־מַעַבְדֵי שְׂרָפְדִים. With regard to the name, it agrees with the majority of the Lucianic texts and some of Theodoret. The spelling שְׂרָפְדִים occurs in e.

12t4 has an extensive heading that tries to identify the person named:

כְּלִי־מַעַבְדֵי שְׂרָפְדִים שְׂרָפְדִים כְּלִי־מַעַבְדֵי שְׂרָפְדִים כְּלִי־מַעַבְדֵי שְׂרָפְדִים.

The variant has the heading of the Syro-Hexapla. The Hebrew heading of 12t4 is unique in this instance in the sense of not translating the Hebrew, but trying to explain the Hebrew. The explanation of the origin of the person named in the heading agrees with the explanation related to the gentilicium Ezraite in the commentaries of Athanasius and Eusebius. Both of them connect "Ezrahite" to Zerach, the son of Tamar and Judah (Genesis 38:30). According to 1 Chronicles 2:6 he had five sons. Among them were Ethan and Heman. They were identified by Athanasius and Eusebius as the authors of Psalms 88 [87] and 89 [88] (cf. Athanasius, P.G. 27:380 and Eusebius, P.G. 23:1052-1053; for the Syriac version of the commentary of Athanasius, cf. Thomson, 1977a:70-71 and Thomson, 1977b:57-58). It is interesting to note that the term Ezraite does not occur in the LXX. It does occur, however, in the Gallicanum. This is a pointer that this was also the reading of the Hexapla (cf. Origin, P.G. 16 (1):1065-1066). Theodore of Mopsuestia did not identify the author of this Psalm with the son of Judah, but rather to a musician of the time of David (cf. 1 Chronicles 6:44, Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* 88A:302).

Psalm 93 [92]

MT	0
LXX	εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ προσαββάτου ὅτε κατώκισται ἡ γῆ αἰῶνος ᾠδῆς τῷ Δαυιδ
SH	ܟܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܢܘܨܘܢܐ ܕܡܘܨܘܢܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ
12t4	ܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܗܘܐ

The MT again does not have a heading for this Psalm whereas the Septuagint does. A number of variants occur, but most of them are not important for the Syro-Hexapla. The Syro-Hexapla translates the Greek faithfully. Some of the witnesses to the LXX put the reference to the Davidic origin of the Psalm first (Sahidic, the Greek and Latin of manuscript R, the Latin manuscript G and fewer than 16 Lucianic manuscripts). Fewer than 16 Lucianic manuscripts, some manuscripts of Theodore and Hesychius retain only the last few words about the Davidic origin of the Psalm. Fewer than 16 Lucianic manuscripts,

Theodoret and Hesychius, have an addition at the end, stating that the Psalm is without heading in the Hebrew. This is also the reading of 12t4. The alternative has only ܐܘܪܐܢܐ.

3. *SOME GENERAL REMARKS*

The discussion of Psalm 43[42] makes it clear that variants do not occur for the Hebrew heading in 12t4 in every instance where the MT differs from the LXX and Syro-Hexapla.

Four of the other examples are Psalms like Psalm 43 [42] in the sense that the MT does not have headings for these Psalms (71 [70], 91 [90], 93 [92] and 96 [95]).

Psalms 71 [70] and 91 [90] agree by stating the fact that the MT does not have headings in the alternative, while the Hebrew heading is closer to that of the Syro-Hexapla. The heading of Psalm 71 [70] in the Syro-Hexapla agrees with the Sahidic, the Latin of G and less than 16 Lucianic manuscripts. The first Hebrew heading in 12t4 omits the first word of the heading in the Syro-Hexapla, a variant occurring in none of the Syro-Hexaplaric manuscripts. It does appear, however, in the Greek (between 16 and 35 Lucianic manuscripts), the Latin of R, the Vulgate and Hesychius. The origin of this heading could, therefore, be a Lucianic manuscript.

In the case of Psalm 91 [90] the first Hebrew heading agrees with the Syro-Hexapla. The alternative states that the Hebrew does not have a heading. This same remark occurs in a large number of witnesses to the LXX.

In the case of Psalm 96 [95] the Hebrew heading states that the MT does not have a heading. The alternative uses the same words as the Syro-Hexapla, but not the same word order. This word order agrees with the order in the Vulgate, the large majority of Lucianic manuscripts, Theodore and the Alexandrinus. Here again the variant could reflect the reading of a Lucianic manuscript.

In the case of Psalm 93 [92] the MT does not have a heading, and this is stated by 12t4. The Syro-Hexapla agrees with the LXX, although the LXX has a number of important variants. The alternative in 12t4 has only "Of David". This variant does not occur in the LXX or Syro-Hexapla. It is close to the shortened version that does occur in the LXX by retaining only the reference to David.

In Psalm 37 the heading in the MT consists of only one word that can be rendered in two ways in the LXX. These two Greek equivalents are usually treated differently in the Syro-Hexapla. 12t4 has the variant

corresponding with the Hebrew (MT – לְדָוִד; 12t4 לְדָוִד) as the primary heading, with the reading of the Syro-Hexapla as the alternative. This is the predominant pattern in these headings with alternative Hebrew headings.

The heading of Psalm 147 is given as the first Hebrew heading by 12t4. The LXX adds the names of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah. This is also done by the Syro-Hexapla, which also adds ܠܗܘܪܘܒܐܝܠ at the end. This last addition is omitted in 12t4's alternative, again agreeing with the Greek against the Syro-Hexapla.

The heading of the MT is again followed by 12t4 in Psalm 150. Both have "Alleluiah" once, as has the LXX. The Syro-Hexapla repeats the word, as does Theodoret. This is also the alternative given by 12t4.

The Hebrew heading of Psalm 89 [88] is unique in its attempt to explain the heading of the MT. This explanation is in agreement with the exegesis of Athanasius and Eusebius.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The Hebrew headings in manuscript 12t4 testify to the originality of the compiler of this manuscript (or of the original from which it was copied). He had a good knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, as well as of the works of various Church Fathers and used these works in compiling the different sets of headings in the Psalter. He did not do this in a mechanical way. He interpreted the headings of the Hebrew Old Testament independently of the LXX and the Syro-Hexapla, though it is also evident that he was influenced by them in some instances. This paper only dealt with a selection of the Hebrew headings in 12t4. A detailed study of all these headings is a *desideratum* at this point in time.

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