

DISCOVERIES OF VERY
IMPORTANT MANUSCRIPT
SOURCES FOR THE
SYRO-HEXAPLA

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE
RESEARCH ON THE SEPTUAGINT

BY

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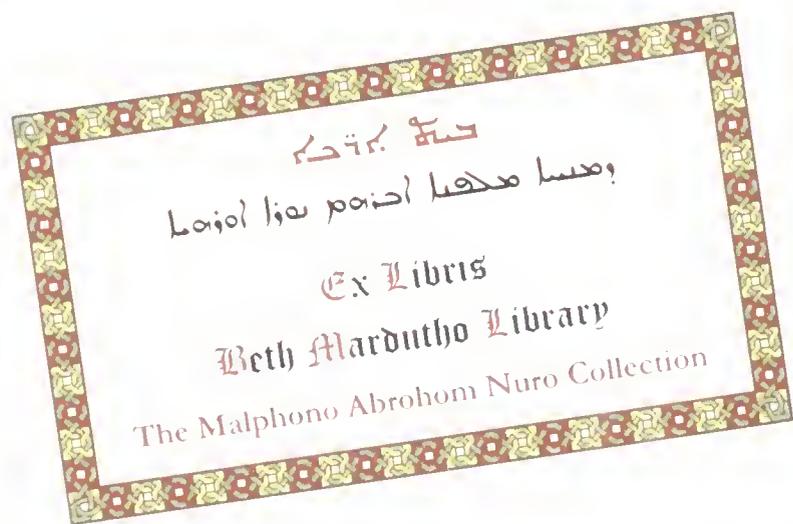
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PREFACE

In the textual-historical and critical work on the Bible, I have found no interest in speculation in the controversies over various postulations or in the fruitless discussions about them. My concern has been centered elsewhere. Illumination and enlightenment through new sources of old and pressing historical and literary problems has always been my concern. This lies in a constructive work of discovering new sources. In this manner a new foundation for research can be created and thereby raise it to a level which advances learning in a real way. This concern has not only generated visions and plans but long ago gave me strength to undertake great and far-reaching research projects¹.

One avenue of real promise for throwing additional light on the second century text is the evidence of the most ancient versions. My research has involved all the ancient versions of the Bible². I undertook, in particular, the task of elucidating the role of the Syriac versions of the Bible and their part in the complex schema of evidence on the history of the biblical text. Manuscript work to this end, however, has enlarged the scope of the research, guiding me on to new pathways and leading me to plateaus exhibiting entirely new vistas to the eye. As a result, I have unearthed new materials of the oldest strata³ in the evolution of the text⁴ and their role in the history of the text.

¹ See my *Early Versions of the New Testament. Manuscript Studies* (Stockholm 1954) = Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile VI.

² About the discoveries of new manuscript resources for the *Vetus Syra* of the Gospels, see my *Neue Ergebnisse in der Erforschung der Geschichte der Evangelientexte im Syrischen* (Pinneberg 1948) = Contributions of the Baltic University LXV; also my *Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac* (Louvain 1951) = Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Subsidia III.

⁴ About new manuscript sources on the earliest strata closer to the Targumic

These researches soon directed me to a different territory which also takes us back to very ancient sources in the evolution of the Old Testament text. This is the domain of the Syro-Hexapla. I believed I would be extraordinarily fortunate if fragments of the Syro-Hexapla could be unearthed. I could not readily hope for more. However, the course of things in the search and recovery operation were destined to move in a different direction. And this time in a pleasant sense. Initial discoveries stimulated intensified search. Against my greatest hopes unknown texts began to emerge from their hiding places where I discovered them.

Behind the completion of this research project lies a very long and arduous way. This undertaking has carried me over endless roads, examining the manuscript collections in Europe and leading me to the pathways in the Orient. It has taken an inordinate amount of time, laborious efforts and endless patience to complete the investigation. The search in heat, thirst and fatigue has been animated by the determination to accomplish the goal.

The collection of texts presented here has grown very slowly. I have kept these discoveries patiently. There are discoveries which I have made long ago, but I have not brought them out, waiting for the completion of the research project. Thus I have not hastened with the publication.

Finally I am far enough along that this account can leave my hands. The day which once appeared so terribly far off, finally has arrived.

This account can be brief. Since the arrangement of the edition of these texts has been in preparation, more will be said about these texts in subsequent publications. However, before this takes place, it was necessary to publish the first summary account of the results of this completed research project.

THE PROCESS OF ADVANCE IN THIS DOMAIN OF RESEARCH. SCHAYON HAS BEEN very reluctant to slowly release these very rare texts—and only, almost

origin of the Pešittā in the Pentateuch, see my *Peschitta und Targumim des Pentateuchs: Neues Licht zur Frage der Herkunft der Peschitta aus dem altpalästinischen Targum. Handschriftenstudien* (Stockholm 1958) = Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile IX.

regularly, after intervals of a century. This has been so since A. Masius in 1571 for the first time surprised scholarship with the news about the existence of the version of the Syro-Hexapla. Through immense fortune my work now has its place in this noteworthy timetable which spans centuries. The documents which I discovered present records which, according to this timetable have left us waiting for another century.

When one remembers that since the days of A. M. Ceriani, a century ago, only a few fragments of the Syro-Hexapla have come into the fore, then this account marks a real event in the entire history of the disclosure of the Syro-Hexapla.

Chicago,
May, 1969

A. VÖÖBUS

I

THE GENRE OF MANUSCRIPTS OF THE CANONICAL BOOKS

1. THE PENTATEUCH

There are documents and records which although they are of exceptional importance for scholarship emerge only very slowly, piece by piece over the centuries, coming out from the realm of oblivion so slowly that they are testing the patience of scholars working in this field. This is the case with the Syro-Hexapla.

In the entire Syro-Hexapla the Pentateuch has suffered the most. Except for the Book of Exodus other parts either are in a miserable condition or virtually nonexistent. Actually only very little has survived from the Book of Genesis. The Book of Leviticus has been struck by a very cruel fate. Almost nothing has come down from this book, except a few traces in a few verses preserved in some lectionaries. There are some tattered remains of the Book of Numeri. The Book of Deuteronomy represents the book which has suffered most of all. In fact the situation here has been desperate. Only a few verses have emerged.

In the entire history of the disclosure of the Syro-Hexapla text which has allowed us to see so little in the Pentateuch, it is certainly an extraordinary event when one can announce the disclosure of a codex with the Pentateuch of the Syro-Hexapla. This is a startling discovery. Indeed, it is almost too unbelievable to be true. One ought to remember the painfully slow process of evolution in this area of research. For oblivion has been willing to release these very rare texts only very reluctantly and extremely slowly. After almost regular advances in intervals of a century, this discovery is epoch-making.

The more my systematic search gradually moved towards Ṭūr 'Abdīn, a region which has played a special role in the history of the spiritual life of the Syrian Christianity, the greater became the rewards for perseverance in these endeavors. This is the region where I was destined to find the greatest reward among all the finds that I have been privileged to make in this area of research. I discovered the codex in a place where I least expected to find something so extraordinary. It had been hiding itself in the church of Mārt Šmūnī in Midyat. This is Ms. Midyat Abdullah Gülçe 1. Since a special study¹ is devoted to this manuscript and it is in press, we can confine ourselves to these introductory remarks.

2. THE BOOK OF ISAIAH

a. *Extant evidence*

As far as the manuscript evidence is concerned, the text of the Book of Isaiah in the Syro-Hexaplaric recension has had only a very limited basis.

The earliest text to which we have access is a volume which once belonged to the private collection of R. Curzon² but which later found a new home in the collection of the Oriental manuscripts in the British Museum as Ms. Orient. 8732³. It is a volume written on vellum, containing a very extraordinary combination of books, including Ezra and Nehemiah⁴ and also the Book of Isaiah⁵. The text of the Book of Isaiah is not complete. It has come down without the first chapters and begins at IV,5.

This codex is not furnished with exact chronological data but according to its palaeographical evidence it can be dated to the eighth century⁶.

¹ A. VÖÖBUS, *The Hexapla and the Syro-Hexapla: Very Important Discoveries for Septuagint Research* = Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile XXII.

² See R. CURZON, *Catalogue of Materials for Writing. Early Writings on Tablets and Stones, Rolled and Other Mss. and Oriental Ms. Books, in the Library of the Honorable Robert Curzon* (London 1849), p. 12.

³ It figures only in the handwritten checklist in the British Museum.

⁴ Fol. 1b-55b.

⁵ Fol. 57a-136b.

⁶ Cf. also W. WRIGHT, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum III* (London 1872), p. x.

The readings of this codex of the Syro-Hexapla have been made known by A. M. Ceriani¹.

Next comes a very famous witness. A codex which is only a little younger than the preceding document in London appears in the renowned Ms. C 313 inf². in the Bibliotheca Ambrosiana in Milan—a real jewel in that collection. Its provenance is indicated by a colophon³. The home of the codex was in the Monastery of Deipara in the Nitrian desert in Egypt, known as the Monastery of the Syrians. From the famous library of this monastery it somehow was brought to Europe. So far as the circumstances are concerned we have no knowledge.

It is a huge vellum codex which, as the second part of the once complete⁴ Old Testament text in the Syro-Hexaplaric recension, includes also the Book of Isaiah⁵.

There is no accurate information about the origin and background of this very impressive codex. The codex has retained no information about this. All we have is that which can be deduced on palaeographical grounds. On the basis of the script the codex can be dated to the end of the eighth century⁶ or the beginning of the ninth century⁷.

The text of this precious record has been made available in the photolithographic edition prepared by Ceriani⁸.

Since in this area of research every piece of text is precious, a fragmentary portion also must be included into this account. A remnant of a codex is preserved in Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 17,213⁹. It is really only

¹ *Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus photolithographice editus* (Mediolani 1874) = Monumenta sacra et profana VII, p. 114ff.

² Cf. E. GALBIATI, "I fondi orientali minori (siriano, etiopico, armeno) dell' Ambrosiano", in: *Atti del Congresso di studi sulla Lombardia e l'Oriente* (Milano 1963), p. 190ff.

³ Fol. 193b.

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⁵ Fol. 173a-193a.

⁶ Cf. B. J. ROBERTS, *The Old Testament Text and Versions* (Cardiff 1951), p. 228.

⁷ Cf. A. BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn 1922), p. 187.

⁸ *Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus*, fol. 173a ff.

⁹ WRIGHT, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts* I, p. 37.

a small fragment¹, a piece that has survived of a lost codex written on vellum².

The readings of these vellum fragments have been made known by Ceriani³.

This concludes our brief account. What is presented here represents all that was available on the text of Isaiah in the Syro-Hexaplaric recension.

As this account shows the manuscripts just mentioned have all been edited, the codex in Milan in toto and those in the British Museum only in variant readings. All this we owe to Ceriani.

The account which concerns the advance in this area of research in the period after Ceriani's publications is very sad. A real dearth set in after the endeavors of Ceriani—and it has lasted for almost a century⁴. New discoveries in the area of the Syro-Hexapla are very rare⁵ and it takes endless patience to search them out. But among these pieces which have come up, there has been nothing which has contributed to textual evidence regarding the Book of Isaiah. In this area of the search for new and additional sources, my pathways have crossed several times with those of Prof. M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, in the collections of Oriental manuscripts in Europe. He has been engaged in the same search⁶. He had the good fortune to rediscover a number of fragments⁷ in the manuscripts in the British Museum⁸ and has edited them⁹. However, the results of these efforts have not led to any portion or fragment of the Book of Isaiah. Not a single fragment or scrap

¹ Fol. 1a-2b.

² What has survived here is not more than Isaiah XLIX, 19 - L, 10 and LVII, 21 - LVIII, 14.

³ *Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus*, p. 131f., 134f.

⁴ There are some occasional quotations in the commentaries of the authors who

¹ A. VÖÖBUS, *The Hexapla and the Syro-Hexapla: Very Important Discoveries for Septuagint Research* = Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile XXII.

² See R. CURZON, *Catalogue of Materials for Writing. Early Writings on Tablets and Stones, Rolled and Other Mss. and Oriental Ms. Books, in the Library of the Honorable Robert Curzon* (London 1849), p. 12.

⁷ Mainly from Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14,485, אֲנִי רְעִוֹ other fragments from Ms. Add. 14,486 and Add. 17,195.

⁸ "Neue Syrohexaplafragmente", in: *Biblica* XXXVII (1956), p. 162ff.

⁹ See also M. H. GOSHEN-GOTTSTEIN, "The Edition of the Syrohexapla Materials", in: *Textus* IV (1964), p. 230f.

II

THE GENRE OF MANUSCRIPTS OF THE NON-CANONICAL BOOKS

1. EXTANT EVIDENCE

The only direct information which the codex offers concerns the time when it was repaired. This is told in a colophon written in Karshuni and attached to the original manuscript.

According to this additional information laid down in a colophon written in Karshuni and attached to the original manuscript⁴ the codex whose binding was damaged was repaired and fixed on the 18th of Tešrī qadīm, i.e. on 18th of October in the year 1910. Thus, this colophon tells when the repair work was completed, but does not indicate how long it had been in process.

This colophon is interesting in a certain respect. It helps to explain the extraordinary circumstances connected with this codex which we have already mentioned. It becomes clear how Baumstark and others could have missed this important and precious codex. Apparently it was laid aside for repair work and thus was separated from the rest

with the Pentecost. Two commemorations are included, namely for John the Baptist, fol. 19a, and the bishops, fol. 52b.

¹ Cf. W. H. P. HATCH, *An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts* (Boston 1946) = *Monumenta Palaeographica Vetera* II, plate LVI.

² Cf. also E. TISSERANT, *Specimina codicum orientalium* (Bonnae 1914) = *Tabulae in usum scholarum* VIII.

³ See page 2.

⁴ Fol. 62a.

⁵ According to the colophon the codex was repaired and fixed by Monk Jōḥannān Kandur.

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THE GENRE OF MANUSCRIPTS OF THE NON-CANONICAL BOOKS

1. EXTANT EVIDENCE

The codices to be listed in the following present us with the books of I (III) Esdras and Tobit. For the sake of orientation some introductory remarks are in order.

The question whether I (III) Esdras existed in the lost codex which was at the disposal of Masius cannot be answered with certainty. In any case, his quotations do not include anything from this book¹. However, the book stood in Origen's Septuagint column as one would naturally expect². The text of this book was made known through Walton's Polyglot³, re-edited by De Lagarde⁴. Only some excerpts have been preserved in a catena of extracts in Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 12, 168⁵ of the eighth or ninth century, noticed already by J. Gwynn⁶ and collated by C. C. Torrey⁷. Among some other witnesses to the text⁸,

¹ See the calculations by Rahlfs in *Bibliothecae Syriacae*, p. 19ff. 121ff.

² We know that this book had a place in his canon.

³ *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta* IV (Londini 1657), p. 3ff.

⁴ *Libri Veteris Testamenti apocryphi syriace* (Lipsiae 1861), p. 138ff.

⁵ WRIGHT, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts* II, p. 904ff.

⁶ Cf. H. HOWORTH, "The Hexapla and Tetrapla of Origen", in: *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* XXIV (1902), p. 147ff.

⁷ "Portions of First Esdras and Nehemiah in the Syro-Hexaplaric Version", in: *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* XXIII (1906-7), p. 69f.

⁸ The text appears in several Pešittā manuscripts; about them, see *List of Old Testament Peshitta Manuscripts* (Leiden 1961), p. 111.

the oldest is in Ms. Cambr. Univ. Oo I, 1, 1¹, the so-called "Buchanan Bible", a codex of the twelfth century².

The Book of Tobit existed in the lost manuscript which was at the disposal of Masius since its readings are quoted³. This is all that has survived of this manuscript. The text of this book was made known through Walton's Polyglot⁴. All the Syriac manuscripts which have preserved this book⁵ are defective in this respect: they offer the Syro-Hexaplaric text only in part, namely I, 1 - VII, 11. The rest of the book has been supplemented by another version which is different⁶ in character and cannot be called the Pešittā. This state of affairs, which ended in the combination of two different versions, most plausibly goes back to an archetype which was defective; in this case, all the known texts would reach back to the same codex. It has been proposed⁷ that this archetype be identified with the Syro-Hexaplaric manuscript once at the disposal of Masius⁸. While until recently Ms. Cambr. Univ. Oo I, 1, 2⁹, of the twelfth century¹⁰, was the oldest witness to the text of this book, the emergence of Ms. Dair as-Suryan 27, Wadi Naṭrun, written between the eight and the beginning of the ninth century¹¹ has changed the picture completely.

¹ Fol. 230b ff.

² W. WRIGHT - S. A. COOK, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge II* (Cambridge 1901), p. 1037ff.

³ See Rahlfs in *Bibliothecae Syriacae I*, p. 32f.

⁴ *Biblia Sacra Polyglotta IV*, p. 35ff.

⁵ See about these manuscripts in "Tobit", ed. J. C. H. LEBRAM in: *The Old Testament in Syriac: Sample Edition* (Leiden 1966), p. IIIff.

⁶ This version has been regarded as a free rendering of the so-called third Greek recension preserved in some late medieval manuscripts. Cf. J. C. H. LEBRAM, "Die Peschitta zu Tobit 7,11-14,15", in: *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft LXIX* (1957), p. 185ff.

⁷ A. M. CERIANI, "Le edizioni e i manoscritti delle versioni siriane del Vecchio Testamento", in: *Memorie del R. Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere; Classe di lettere e scienze morali e politiche*, serie II, XI-XII (Milano 1869), p. 22.

⁸ *Bibliothecae Syriacae I*, p. 32.

⁹ Fol. 231a ff.

¹⁰ WRIGHT - COOK, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts II*, p. 1037ff.

¹¹ See the edition of the text by LEBRAM, *The Old Testament in Syriac*, p. [1] ff.

2. NEW SOURCES

a. *Ms. Diyarbakir Mār Jā'qōb 1/1*

Ms. Diyarbakir Orth. 1/1¹, written on paper, is a giant² with a remarkable physiognomy. Its text is arranged in four columns written in a small and attractive ductus. The content³ of the codex is also impressive, comprising not only the Old⁴ and New Testament⁵, but also in interesting fashion, materials of a legislative character⁶, namely the Clementine Octateuch⁷. It also includes a list of the works of the fathers in the Monophysite tradition⁸.

The codex has suffered at the beginning so that the text before Genesis is lost. There are some other gaps in the body of the codex.

At the end of the Old Testament part, there is a colophon written in an Eṣṭrangēlā script which informs us that the Old Testament part of the manuscript was completed in the Tešrī ḥrāyā of the year 1808 A. Gr., i.e., 1496 A.D. in the monastery of Mār Ḥanānyā⁹ and Mār Augēn¹⁰. At the end of the codex¹¹ there is a long colophon which has been damaged in the middle part and which tells us that the codex was completed in the year 1809 A. Gr., i.e., 1497/8 A.D.

The codex is remarkable in many respects—including texts which normally do not appear in the Syriac Bible manuscripts. Besides the canonical books of the Old Testament, the manuscript also includes

¹ The codex is located in the Church of Mār Jā'qōb of Serūg in Diyarbakir. This locus is known more as the Church of Meryem Ana which is connected with the Church of Mār Jā'qōb.

² The codex contains 26 quires.

³ An impressive list of books included in this volume appears on quire 17, fol. 4a-7a.

⁴ Quire 1, fol. 1b-20, fol. 7b.

⁵ Quire 20, fol. 7b-25, fol. 3a.

⁶ Quire 25, fol. 3b ff.

⁷ Cf. A. VÖÖBUS, "Les sources nouvelles pour l'Octateuque syriaque clémentin" in: *Le Muséon* (in preparation).

⁸ Quire 26, fol. 6a.

⁹ About this monastery see A. VÖÖBUS, "Eine wichtige Urkunde über die Geschichte des Mār Ḥanānjā-Klosters: Die von Jōḥannān von Mardē gegebenen Klosterregel", in: *Oriens Christianus* LIII (1969), p. 134 ff.

¹⁰ Cf. A. VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient: A Contribution to the History of Culture in the Near East I* (Louvain 1958) = *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Subsidia XIV*, p. 139ff.

¹¹ Quire 26, fol. 8a.

extracanonical material. Among these are books which are of special interest for this study.

After the Book of Judith, I (III) Esdras is introduced under the following title: "We introduce the Book of the First Ezra, but this according to the tradition of the edition of the Seventy"¹.

After the Book of Josippon (IV Maccabees) comes the Book of Tobit, introduced under the title: "The Book of Tobit, likewise according to the tradition and the Septuagint version"².

At the conclusion of the book of Tobit, there is a colophon which states that the books of the Old Testament have come to an end, enumerating all the books which were written in the codex. It also says that they belonged to the tradition of the Pešīttā but that two of them, namely, I (III) Esdras and the Book of Tobit, were not found in the Pešīttā version and were introduced according to the version of the Septuagint³.

b. *Ms. Mār Behnām 1/1*

Ms. Mār Behnām 1/1⁴ represents another giant⁵. It is a heavy volume, written on Oriental paper, having the text arranged in three columns. Its ductus has been carefully carried out throughout the codex. Commensurate to its size is its content, consisting of the Old⁶ as well as the New Testament⁷, representing another exponent of the cycle of full Syriac Bibles introduced here.

This manuscript is interesting in several respects. The Scripture unfolded in this codex incorporates here⁸ also the Clementine Octateuch⁹. To the canon of the Bible a list¹⁰ of the works of the fathers of the Monophysite tradition is attached which also is of some interest.

¹ Quire 17, fol. 4a-7a.

² Quire 17, fol. 7a-9a.

³ Quire 17, fol. 9a.

⁴ The codex belongs to the collection of manuscripts of the Monastery of Mār Behnām, near Mosul.

⁵ The codex consists of 35 quires.

⁶ Quire 1, fol. 1b-27, fol. 1b.

⁷ Quire 27, fol. 2a-33, fol. 8b.

⁸ Quire 33, fol. 8b-35, fol. 3b.

⁹ Cf. VööBUS, "Les sources nouvelles pour l'Octateuque syraque clémentin".

¹⁰ Quire 35, fol. 3b-4a.

As we shall see, for the present study this manuscript is of particular interest since it includes two books in the version of the Syro-Hexapla.

Regarding the data pertaining to the time and place of its origin, the codex provides us with the necessary information. The manuscript is furnished even with two colophons.

The first colophon placed at the end of the Old Testament part¹ tells us that the Old Testament text was written by a monk with the name Behnām, and that he completed his work at the beginning of the year 1963 A.Gr., i.e. 1651 in the Monastery of Mār Behnām² and Sārā, his sister, not far from the Monastery of Mār Ḥanānyā and Mār Augēn.

The second colophon, added as a conclusion to the completed codex, is much longer³. It relates in a more specific way that the manuscript was copied in the days of Patriarch Ignatios, the holder of the see of Antioch, and Maphrian Basilios, in the year 1963 A. Gr. whose synchronism is given as the year 1654 A.D. The work was carried out in the cloister of Peṭros in the Monastery of Mār Behnām, not far from the Monastery of Mār Ḥanānyā and Mār Augēn, the Monastery of Mār Ḥanānyā being described as the celebrated convent in the district of Mardē, adding some other related⁴ data⁵.

Also this codex is remarkable that it includes texts which normally do not appear in the Syriac Bible manuscripts. The canonical books are supplemented by extracanonical material and among them we find texts important for this study.

After the Book of Judith, I (III) Esdras is introduced: "We introduce the Book of the First Ezra but this according to the tradition of the Seventy"⁶.

After the Book of Josippon (IV Maccabees) comes the Book of Tobit. It is introduced in the following way: "Again the Book of Tobit according to the tradition of the Seventy"⁷.

¹ Quire 27, fol. 1b.

² About this monastery, see VÖÖBUS, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient* II, p. 122.

³ Quire 35, fol. 3b-4b.

⁴ He tells that he began the work of transcription in the month of 'Iyār (May) and brought his work to its conclusion in the month of Tešrī ḥrāyā (November).

⁵ He mentions his fellow monks in the cloister of Peṭros, namely Rabban Gīwargīs, a priest, and Rabban Šukrallah, also a priest.

⁶ Quire 22, fol. 7b-23, fol. 1b.

⁷ Quire 26, fol. 9a-27, fol. 1b.

It also should be mentioned here that the ending of the Book of Tobit, which, as we have observed, is missing in Ms. Cambr. Univ. Oo I, 1.2, for a long time known as the oldest text, has been preserved in this manuscript.

At the conclusion of the Book of Tobit there is the same subscription as in the preceding codex, stating that the Old Testament books presented in the volume belong to the textual traditions of the Pešīttā except these two books. Since they are not found in this version they are introduced according to the version of the Septuagint¹.

c. Ms. Mardin Orth. 1

Ms. Mardin Orth. 1² represents a very heavy folio volume³. It is written on paper in a regular Serṭā script. The text is divided into two columns, all framed in an orderly way, containing the books of the Old Testament. Artistically, it has been enriched in execution as is demonstrated by the abstract ornamentations placed between the individual books.

The codex comes from the collection of manuscripts in Mār Ḥanānyā or Deir Zaʿfarān which has preserved many precious and extraordinary records otherwise lost⁴.

A long colophon at the end of the codex⁵ tells us about the history of the codex. Seldom do we have so much information about the origin and history of a manuscript and the manner of labor involved. The manuscript had its beginning in the year 2414 A. Gr., i.e., 1702/3 A.D. It was inaugurated by a recluse in the monastery of Mār Behnām. Its subsequent history involved different persons. The work was carried on partly by ʿAṣṣān, metropolitan of Amīd, known by his literary interest⁶ and writings⁷. Then it was left for a longer

¹ Quire 27, fol. 1b.

² The codex belongs to the collection of manuscripts of the archbishopric of the Syrian Orthodox Church, in the Church of Forty Martyrs, Mardin.

³ The codex comprises 335 folio pages.

⁴ See A. VÖÖBUS, *New Important Manuscript Discoveries for the History of Syriac Literature* = Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile XXIV (in press).

⁵ Fol. 335b.

⁶ Ms. Birm. Ming. syr. 247, fol. 168a tells us that he translated a work entitled "Theology", composed by Maphrian Basilios or Šemʿōn, from Syriac into Karshuni in 2031 A. Gr., i.e. 1720 A.D.

⁷ About his literary work see also G. GRAF, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur* IV (Città del Vaticano 1951) = Studi e Testi CXLVII, p. 27.

time until the year 2029 A. Gr., i.e., 1718 A.D. After that, it was brought to the Monastery of Mār Ḥanānyā where the work was resumed by Basilios or Šem'ōn. He tells us that he had pity for the neglected quires thrown on the ground. He resumed the work and completed it¹. This scribe was a dignitary, Maphrian of Ṭūr 'Abdīn or Ṭūrānī who was elevated to the maphrianate² and took the name Basilios as Catholicos of Ṭūr 'Abdīn and Gāzartā. He is known as a copyist³, but even more for his literary work. Since no history of Syriac literature takes notice of him⁴, it is appropriate to mention here that he produced works in the areas of theology⁵, polemical theology⁶, paraenesis⁷, *mēmrē*⁸ which were very popular⁹, *lūrgāmē*¹⁰ and exegesis¹¹ as well as liturgy¹². Basilios completed the work of the manuscript in the Monastery of Mār Ja'qōb Malphānā, i.e., Ja'qōb of Serūg¹³, east of the Monastery of Mār Ḥanānyā¹⁴.

¹ He worked from the full moon of Ḥezīrān (June) to the full moon of 'Ilūl (September).

² In the year 1710. However, a year later he retired to monastic life. Later he must have resumed his duties to a certain extent, since in 1729 he appears as Maphrian; cf. the colophon in Ms. Vat. syr. 526, fol. 95a.

³ Cf. Ms. Vat. Borg. syr. 149 which contains the grammar of Bar 'Ebrāyā which he copied in 2012 A. Gr., i.e. 1701. A.D.

⁴ Cf. BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*; R. DUVAL, *La littérature syriaque* (Paris 1907); J. B. CHABOT, *Littérature syriaque* (Paris 1934).

⁵ Ms. Mardin Orth. 372 contains his "Theology," and Ms. Vat. syr. 550 his work on mysteries.

⁶ Ms. Birm. Ming. syr. 116 contains a work which is directed against Rome, cf. A. MINGANA, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts I* (Cambridge 1933), col. 280; Ms. Birm. Ming. syr. 444 is directed against the Islamic theologians, cf. *ibid.*, col. 788.

⁷ Ms. Šarfeh Patr. 183, fol. 100a ff. contains a work about the end, the church and the sacerdotal order.

⁸ Ms. Mardin Orth. 170; also Ms. 173, fol. 145ff.

⁹ They appear in the collections of *mēmrē* together with those from such celebrities as Ephrēm, Bālai, Ja'qōb of Serūg. See Ms. Midyat Mārt Šmūnī 8, cf. A. VÖÖBUS, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Mēmrē-Dichtung von Ja'qōb von Serūg: Sammlungen*, I = Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Subsidia (in press). See also Ms. Mardin Orth. 171.

¹⁰ Ms. Mard. Orth 190; cf. Ms. Jerusalem St. Mark 171, and Ms. Dam. Patr. 3/3.

¹¹ Cf. Ms. Birm. Ming. syr. 139, fol. 205a ff.; see MINGANA, *Catalogue I*, col. 320.

¹² About the *karōzūtā*, see Ms. Dam. Patr. 3/5.

¹³ About him, see VÖÖBUS, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Mēmrē-Dichtung*.

¹⁴ Fol. 335b.

The colophon also enumerates many important orthodox fathers and teachers who flourished at that time¹.

The giant codex is remarkable in many respects². It includes all the books which we do not normally meet in the Syriac Bible manuscripts. What is important for our purpose is the material placed at the end of the codex. Here, after the end of the Book of Josippion, the Book of I (III) Esdras is introduced under the title: "We introduce the Book of the First Ezra, but this according to the tradition of the edition of the Septuagint"³.

After this book, the codex introduces the Book of Tobit in the following way: "The Book of Tobit, likewise according to the tradition and the Septuagint version"⁴.

The ending of the book of Tobit, which is missing in other manuscripts, has been preserved in this manuscript.

The text of the whole volume ends with the note that this concludes all the books in the version of the Pešittā, except the I Esdras and Tobit, and that, since these books are not found in the version of the Pešittā, they are introduced according to the version of the Septuagint⁵.

d. *Ms. Mosul Orth. 177*

Ms. Mosul Orth. 177⁶, a codex in the quarto format, is quite bulky⁷. It contains neither a colophon nor any other information about its origin. The codex is a copy made by a modern hand, written in a clear ductus and executed carefully. However, nothing could be found out about its *Vorlage*.

The codex has no general title except the prescript: "Again, the Book of Wisdom of Īšō' bar Šem'ōn who is called Bar 'Asīrā"⁸. The codex

¹ Besides Patriarch Ignāṭios, 'Aṣlān, metropolitan of Amīd, Eliyā, bishop of 'Ūrhāi, Ṭimoṭeos, metropolitan of Mardin and others, also Rabban Abd al-Aḥad, abbot of the Monastery of Mār Ḥanānyā.

² It must be noted also that the order of the books reveals deviations from the ordinary pattern.

³ Fol. 237a-332a.

⁴ Fol. 335a.

⁵ Fol. 335a.

⁶ The codex belongs to the collection of manuscripts of the archbishopric of the Syrian Orthodox Church in Mosul.

⁷ The codex comprises 242 leaves.

⁸ Fol. 1b.

contains only a limited number of books of extracanonical provenance, namely the Wisdom of Iṣō' bar 'Asīrā, I, II, III Maccabees and the Book of Josippon.

After the last book comes the Book of I (III) Esdras introduced in the following way: "We introduce the Book of the First Ezra, but this according to the tradition of the edition of the Seventy"¹.

This is followed by the Book of Tobit stating that this book is introduced according to the same version: "The Book of Tobit, likewise according to the tradition and the Septuagint version"².

¹ Fol. 197a-225a.

² Fol. 225a-242b.

As in the case of the history of the Greek Psalter¹, the phenomenon of the biblical Odes or Canticles is of later origin², so also is it the case in the transmission of the Syro-Hexapla. The earliest witnesses to the Syro-Hexapla in Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14, 434³ of the eighth century⁴ and Ms. Milan Ambros. C 313 inf. do not include the Canticles. Yet, as was already noted, their appearance at a later time, having been taken from the text of the Syro-Hexapla, constitutes a source of information for our inquiry.

The first one to note the value of the Canticles, namely in Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14, 434⁵ of the eighth century⁶, was Ceriani⁷. This codex contains only one Ode. Ms. Cambr. Univ. Or. 929 once contained a cycle of Odes, but this much suffered text has retained only the Song of Moses⁸. This shows that the source of the Canticles has unfolded itself very slowly and reluctantly⁹.

This genre in the liturgical sources attracted my special attention long ago. The reason is this, that these sources have opened up new avenues leading to important strata in the history of the Bible text in Syriac¹⁰, including an archaic type which has retained its Targumic background. The search in these sources soon showed that this investigation was rewarding also in another respect. These sources had become a hiding place also for the remnants of the version of the Syro-Hexapla.

a. *Ms. Mosul Chald. 4*

Ms. Mosul Chald. 4, which now is located in the library of the Chaldean Patriarchate in Baghdad, has been described by Scher¹¹. It is a

¹ The Greek Psalter in Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus does not yet include the Canticles.

² For the first time the Canticles appear as an appendix added to the Greek Psalter in Codex Alexandrinus, of the 5th century.

³ Fol. 1a-79b.

⁴ WRIGHT, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts* I, p. 35.

⁵ Fol. 127a-128b.

⁶ WRIGHT, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts* I, p. 36.

⁷ *Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus*, p. 97.

⁸ See page 23.

⁹ The above-mentioned manuscripts are all that appears of this source in SCHNEIDER, "Biblische Oden im syrohexaplarischen Psalter", p. 199ff.

¹⁰ VÖÖBUS, *Peschitta und Targumim des Pentateuchs*, p. 130ff.

¹¹ A. SCHER, "Notices sur les manuscrits syriaques conservés dans la Bibliothèque du Patriarcat chaldéen de Mossoul", in: *Revue des bibliothèques* XVII (1907), p. 229.

codex¹ written on Oriental paper and contains a Psalter which is furnished² with a commentary as well³. According to the colophon, the codex was completed in the month of Tešrī ḥrāyā 1438 A. Gr.⁴, i.e., 1126 A.D. in Maragāh, in Adorbaigān⁵.

The text used for the Psalter is taken from the Pešīttā and is written in Eštrangelā script. However, the important thing here is that the version of the Pešīttā is furnished with the version of the Syro-Hexapla, written in the Nestorian script⁶ and introduced as an interlinear text⁷. Apart from this—a rare phenomenon in the manuscript sources—the manner in which it is presented is peculiar and of specific character. The interlinear method, which is explained in the long prescript, has led to the disadvantage that not all the text is fully introduced. Only the readings where the Syro-Hexapla deviates from the text of the Pešīttā are included.

The margins of the codex have also been furnished copiously with Syro-Hexaplaric readings.

Scher did not notice that the Psalter also includes Psalm CLI⁸, which is famous because it has mystified scholars in several respects. This Psalm is not found in the canonical Psalter of the Hebrew original nor in the version of the Pešīttā of the Psalter, but in the Septuagint⁹ manuscripts¹⁰ and in the Old Latin¹¹ version. It has been regarded as

¹ The codex has 161 leaves. However, the first two folios are missing.

² The commentary is arranged so that after each Psalm exegetical comments have been added in a small Serṭā script.

³ This has been compiled mainly of the commentaries of Daniel of Ṣalaḥ and Athanasius.

⁴ Fol. 158a.

⁵ Written by Kerswan from the region of 'Ūrhāi.

⁶ Some letters follow the form of the Serṭā.

⁷ Fol. 8b-152a.

⁸ Fol. 152.

⁹ *Psalmi cum Odis*, ed. A. RAHLFS (Göttingen 1967), p. 339f.

¹⁰ However, not always without reservations. The Codex Alexandrinus reveals circumspection by not regarding this Psalm as an integral part of the Psalter. It also is important to remember that the canon of the Synod of Laodicea speaks of 150 Psalms; *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* II, ed. J. D. MANSI (Florentiae 1759), col. 574.

¹¹ This Psalm appears in the Codex Veronensis, the so-called Verona Psalter, written in the 6th century, but supplied by a later hand, written in the 10th century.

a late Greek production¹, but, against all expectations, the Hebrew original recently emerged from the Qumran caves²—a text which is self-explanatory³. Furthermore, this interesting piece allows us insights into the unfolding role of Orphism in Judaism⁴, a phenomenon which was important for primitive Christian thought and art as well⁵. It is understandable that the discovery of the Hebrew original reopened the problem of its origin, stimulating postulations of Essene⁶ or Hasidic⁷ provenance.

It is natural to expect this Psalm to appear in Ms. Milan Ambros. C 313 inf.⁸ and some other codices⁹ collated by Ceriani¹⁰. Gradually, other texts have emerged. H. H. Spoer¹¹ published a text drawn from a manuscript in Jerusalem¹². Also Ms. Cambr. Univ. Or. 929¹³ which

¹ M. NOTH, "Die fünf syrisch überlieferten apokryphen Psalmen", in: *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* XLVIII (1930), p. 22.

² J. A. SANDERS, "Ps 151 in 11QPSS", in: *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* LXXV (1963), p. 73ff. A photograph of the Hebrew fragment appears on page 80.

³ Namely, against the form as it appears in the Septuagint.

⁴ Namely, the Orpheus = David imagery. About the role of Orpheus as a prototype taken over by Judaism, see EUSEBIUS, *Praeparatio evangelica* XIII, 12, ed. K. MRAS (Berlin 1956) = *Griechische christliche Schriftsteller* XLIII, 2, p. 191. The same influence is reflected also in the frescoes in the synagog in Dura Europos.

⁵ The imagery Orpheus = Christ appears in the art of the catacombs.

⁶ The proposal has been made to recognize the group of 5 non-canonical Psalms as an Essene product. Cf. M. DECLOS, "Cinq nouveaux psaumes esséniens", in: *Revue de Qumran* I (1958), p. 85ff.; M. PHILONENCO, "L'origine essénienne des cinq psaumes syriaques de David", in: *Semitica* IX (1959), p. 35ff.

⁷ W. H. BROWNLEE, "The 11Q Counterpart to Psalm 151, 1-5", in: *Revue de Qumran* IV (1963), p. 387.

⁸ Fol. 386.

⁹ Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14, 434 of the 8th century; Add. 17, 257 of the 13th century; cf. WRIGHT, *Catalogue* I, p. 35ff.; Ms. Par. syr. 9 of the 13th cent., cf. H. ZOTENBERG, *Manuscrits orientaux: Catalogues des manuscrits syriaques et sabéens (mandaites) de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris 1874), p. 2f.

¹⁰ *Codex Syro-Haxaplaris Ambrosianus*, p. 37.

¹¹ "Psalm 151", *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* XXVIII (1908), p. 65f.

¹² Unfortunately Spoer does not describe the manuscript clearly, stating only that the codex written in 1472 was in the Syrian monastery in Jerusalem. It has been suggested that this is the manuscript in the Syrian St. Mark's Monastery which, as Ms. 2, appears in A. BAUMSTARK, "Die liturgischen Handschriften des jakobitischen Markusklosters in Jerusalem", in: *Oriens Christianus* NS I (1911), p. 104. If this is the manuscript then there is no mistake on the part of Baumstark

contains the so-called Psalterium Tetraglottum¹ offers this text². There is an agreement between these witnesses and the Septuagint and the Vetus Latina³. However, the text represented by these witnesses differs⁴ from another form of the Psalm which is associated regularly with a cycle of apocryphal psalms, first noted by Assemani⁵ and then by Wright, who, on the basis of another codex⁶, published the text⁷. Later, on the basis of other manuscripts⁸, this was edited by M. Noth⁹.

This is not all that this codex has preserved for us. It has something else in store—excerpts of the Syro-Hexapla from the Pentateuch. At the end of the Psalter, there appear the canticles, a fact not registered by Scher. Although not all the Odes are taken from the Syro-Hexapla and for the most part represent the Pešittā, two texts do represent the Syro-Hexapla, namely Exodus XV, 1-19¹⁰ and Deut. XXXII, 1-43¹¹. These portions of the text have been drawn into the same unifying procedure. Not only has the commentary been presented in the same way, but the manner of introducing the Syro-Hex-

since the colophon of this codex, now bearing the signature St. Mark 7, reads that this manuscript was written on the 16th of 'Iyār 1883 A. Gr., i. e. May 16, 1572 A.D. not 1472.

Besides this codex Spoer used another manuscript about which nothing is known.

¹³ BROWNE, *A Supplementary Handlist of the Muhammadan Manuscripts*, p. 195.

¹ Written in Arabic, Syriac, Greek and Hebrew in four columns.

² Fol. 181a.

³ Cf. *Liber Psalmorum*, in: *Biblia Sacra* (Romae 1953).

⁴ This is due to an accretion in v. 3: "And I found a lion and a wolf (bear ?) and slew them and rent them". Cf. I *Sam*, XVII, 34-36. The Hebrew text found in the Qumran caves also does not include this accretion.

⁵ Ms. Vat. syr. 183 of the year 1703; cf. ASSEMANI, *Catalogus* I,3, p. 385f.

⁶ Ms. Cambr. Univ. Add. 1995, written at the end of the 17th cent.; cf. WRIGHT-COOK, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts* I, p. 401ff.

⁷ "Some Apocryphal Psalms in Syriac", in: *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* IX (1887), p. 257ff.

⁸ Besides other codices mainly Ms. Birm. Ming. syr. 31, written about 1340; cf. A. MINGANA, "Some Uncanonical Psalms", in: *Woodbrooke Studies* I (Cambridge 1927), p. 293f.

⁹ "Die fünf syrisch überlieferten apokryphen Psalmen", p. 4. An additional witness appears in Ms. Berl. orient. fol. 3122; cf. J. ASSFALG, *Syrische Handschriften* (Wiesbaden 1963), p. 4. Also in Ms. Mardin Orth. 87, quire 19, fol. 3b.

¹⁰ Fol. 152a-153b.

¹¹ Fol. 154a-156b.

aplaric version as an interlinear text and of furnishing the margin with the Syro-Hexaplaric readings has continued.

From this codex a copy was made which appears in Ms. Mus. Borgia Syr. 113, written in Bartellī in the year 1868¹.

b. *Ms. Diyarbakir Chald. 2*

Next to be introduced is Ms. Diyarb. Chald. 2², a vellum codex³ of the twelfth century⁴ which contains the Psalter⁵. That this codex represents the Syro-Hexapla text has been known, but the description has been misleading⁶ although the end of the codex clearly reads: "Here ends the Book of the Psalms according to the version of the Septuagint"⁷. In fact, the codex offers more than the description indicates.

The codex is combined with another younger section⁸ which is written also on vellum. The colophon⁹ has suffered so much that very little can be deciphered in the text. No other direct chronological information is given by the codex. However, judging on paleographical grounds, this portion must be several centuries younger. Nevertheless, it so happens that just this later section catches our attention. And this for several reasons.

First, the Psalter also includes Psalm CLI¹⁰, a text which has been discussed earlier¹¹. Secondly, the last part of the codex has preserved for us biblical Odes, even a cycle of them, namely Exodus XV, 1-19¹²,

¹ Cf. A. SCHER, "Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques du Musée Borgia", in: *Journal asiatique* X^e série XIII (1909), p. 272.

² The codex comprises 141 leaves.

³ The codex is now in the collection of manuscripts of the patriarchate of the Chaldean Church at Baghdad. Cf. also J. VOSTÉ, "Notes sur les manuscrits syriaques de Diarbékir et autres localités d'Orient", in: *Le Muséon* L (1937), p. 348.

⁴ A. SCHER, "Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques et arabes conservés à l'archevêché chaldéen de Diarbékir", in: *Journal asiatique* X^e série X (1908), p. 332.

⁵ Fol. 1-127.

⁶ "Psautier de David d'après la version héracléenne", *op. cit.*, p. 332.

⁷ Fol. 143a.

⁸ Fol. 128-141.

⁹ Fol. 141b.

¹⁰ Fol. 129b-130a.

¹¹ See page 28ff.

¹² Fol. 130a-131a.

Deut. XXXII, 1-43¹, Isaiah XXVI, 9-19², I Samuel II, 1-10³, Hab. III, 1-19⁴, Jonah II, 3-10⁵, Daniel III, 26-45⁶, Daniel III, 52-88⁷. Furthermore, there is another finding of a pleasant character. These texts surprise us by the Hexaplaric signs with which they have been furnished.

In addition, some of the texts preserved here are of especial significance. There are texts which emerge for the first time from the part of the Old Testament in the Syro-Hexaplaric version which has fallen into oblivion. As was already noted, from the book of Deuteronomy, the most suffered book in the Pentateuch, only some excerpts have come into the light⁸. It is very gratifying to find that this codex has preserved for us a long lesson⁹ taken from this book, namely Deut. XXXII, 1-43¹⁰.

c. *Ms. Diyarbakir Mār Ja'qōb 1/13*

In Ms. Diyarbakir¹¹ Mār Ja'qōb 1/13¹², a codex of small size, written on paper, we have to do with an important record. It contains a commentary on the Psalter of anonymous origin. It shall be introduced in its proper place¹³. The codex provides no direct information about its origin and provenance, but palaeographically it offers indications which point to the 14th or 15th century.

This time we have to do with a new source for the canticles which leads us into the precincts of the West Syrian tradition.

¹ Fol. 131a-134b.

² Fol. 134b-135b.

³ Fol. 135b-136a.

⁴ Fol. 136a-137b.

⁵ Fol. 137b.

⁶ Fol. 138a-139a.

⁷ Fol. 139a-140a.

⁸ See page 23.

⁹ Fol. 131a-134b.

¹⁰ The same appears also in the interlinear text in Ms. Mosul Chald. 4. See page 28. However, the text is not represented completely rather, only its deviations from the Pešittā version.

¹¹ About other manuscripts in this collection, see Vööbus, *New Important Manuscript Discoveries for the History of Syriac Literature*.

¹² The collection belongs to the church of Mār Ja'qōb of Serūg. This place is known better as the Church of Meryem Ana, connected with the Church of Mār Ja'qōb.

¹³ See page 39f.

This commentary on the Psalter has to offer more than the text of the Psalms. The text of the Psalter and the commentary on it are not all this valuable codex can offer us. It includes also the Canticles added to the conclusion¹ of the commentary. A part of these is valuable for our study, namely the First Song of Moses, the Cantic of Isaiah and the Second Song of Moses². These texts have been drawn into the unifying procedure in treating the text as carried out previously. Textual apparatus is extended also to these texts in the same way, by registering variant readings which include also the Septuagint. After the comments by Athanasius of Alexandria on the Psalter other Canticles are introduced, however, this time they are not furnished with the textual critical apparatus.

3. OTHER LITURGICAL SOURCES

A very interesting exponent of an ancient type of ritual manual appears in Ms. Mardin Orth. B³, a heavy folio volume⁴. Its text is written in two columns and is executed by a modern hand. Although the present codex is of recent origin, it has preserved something which catches our attention due to the fact that its archetype must have been unusual in more than one respect. All attempts to recover the manuscript used as the *Vorlage* for this liturgical manuscript have been unsuccessful.

In connection with the ritual of the consecration of myron, this ritual book brings the lessons according to the version of the Pešīṭtā but it is surprising that, among other lessons, Psalm XLV, 1-17 has been taken from the Syro-Hexapla. This is a very rare phenomenon in sources of this genre. In fact, the lesson taken from the Syro-Hexapla must have been expunged quite early. For example, in Ms. Mardin Orth. 651, which must reach back into the twelfth or thirteenth century, the lesson is presented only in its first part⁵ and then according to the text of the Pešīṭtā.

¹ Quire 19, fol. 3a.

² This section ends with quire 19, fol. 10b.

³ The codex is in the collection of manuscripts which belongs to the archbishopric of the Syrian Orthodox Church in Mardin.

⁴ The codex bears no signature.

⁵ Fol. 86.

IV

THE GENRE OF EXEGETICAL AND PATRISTIC LITERATURE

1. EXTANT EVIDENCE

In our efforts to recover the Syro-Hexaplaric materials there is still another source which is at our disposal. This leads us to Syro-Hexaplaric readings as they are offered in the exegetical and patristic sources.

In the exegetical literature of the West Syrians, the place of honor belongs to the great commentary produced by Dionysios bar Ṣalībī, which comprises the entire Bible. Very little has been made known about this source¹ of information². What has been known of the exegetical literature in the West Syrian tradition mainly concerns Bar ʿEbrāyā, particularly his Auṣar Rāzē which has embedded readings from the Syro-Hexapla. Only the first part³ of this work⁴, i.e. the ʾAuṣar Rāzē, has been made available in an edition. For the rest⁵, there are only separate publications⁶.

¹ The oldest of the best preserved codices is Ms. Par. syr. 66 of the year 1354 A.D.; cf. ZOTENBERG, *Catalogue des manuscrits syriaques*, p. 33f.

² T. FISH, "The 'Literal' Commentary on the Book of Joel the Prophet", in: *Journal of the Manchester University Egyptian and Oriental Society* XXIV (1947), p. 22ff.

³ From Genesis through II Samuel.

⁴ *Barhebraeus' Scholia on the Old Testament*, ed. M. SPRENGLING-W. C. GRAHAM (Chicago 1931) = The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications XIII.

⁵ J. GÖTTESBERGER, *Barhebräus und seine Scholien zur heiligen Schrift* (Freiburg i.B. 1900) = *Biblische Studien* V, 4-5.

⁶ About individual books of the Old Testament published in separate studies, see BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, p. 314. Also Moss, *Catalogue of Syriac Printed Books*, col. 392ff.; Addenda, col. 107ff.

The East Syrian exegetical literature also provides a source of information. The commentaries of Īšō'dād of Merv, an East Syrian scholar, is another source of additional information which has been already noticed¹. His commentaries² take the Syro-Hexapla into account though only in a limited way. In addition, the Scholia³ of Theodoros bar Kōnī must come into account. A great anonymous work⁴ on Scholia⁵ on the entire Bible⁶, ascribed to Sabrīšō' bar Paulos⁷, also furnishes us with some material⁸. The Gannat Būssāmē⁹ which is a commentary¹⁰ based on the lectionary of the East Syrian tradition is a rich mine of wealth in traditions of older exegetical literature. It too can offer us some assistance. However, the transmission¹¹ of

¹ Cf. J. VOSTÉ, "Les citations syro-hexaplaïres d'Īšo'dad de Merw dans le commentaire sur les Psaumes", in: *Biblica* XXVI (1945), p. 12ff.; ID., "Les deux versions syriaques de la Bible d'après Mar Īšo'dad de Merw—c. 850", in: *Biblica* XXXII (1952), p. 235ff.

² *Commentaire de Īšo'dad de Merv sur l'Ancient Testament*, ed. C. VAN DEN EYNDE I-IV (Louvain 1955-69) = Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scr. syri LXXV, LXXX, XCVI, CXXVIII.

³ *Liber scholiorum*, ed. A. SCHER (Parisiis 1910-12) = Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, Scr. syri II ser., LXV-LXVI.

⁴ Cf. G. E. KHAYYATH, *Syri orientales* (Romae 1870), p. 144f.; G. HOFFMANN, *Opuscula Nestoriana* (Kiel 1880), XXIII.

⁵ The earliest codex in Ms. Diyarb. Chald. 22 of the year 1605/6, cf. SCHER, "Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques et arabes conservés à l'archevêché chaldéen de Diarbékir", p. 339f, is now in the collection of manuscripts of the patriarchate of the Chaldean Church at Baghdad. Cf. also VOSTÉ, "Notes sur les manuscrits syriaques de Diarbékir", p. 349.

⁶ Fol. 1a-243b cover the commentary on the Old Testament. Cf. also Ms. Mosul Chald. 1, fol. 1b ff.; Ms. 2, fol. 240b ff. and Ms. 3, fol. 270b ff.

⁷ So A. SCHER, "Étude supplémentaire sur les écrivains syriens orientaux", in: *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* XI (1906), p. 27f.

⁸ Cf. T. JANSMA, "Investigations into the Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis", in: *Studies in the Book of Genesis* (Leiden 1958) = Oudtestamentische Studiën XII, p. 89ff.

⁹ Cf. 'ABDĪŠO', *Catalogus librorum omnium ecclesiasticorum* CXIX, ed. J. S. ASSEMANI, in: *Bibliotheca orientalis* III, 1 (Romae 1728), p. 88. See a critical edition of the *Catalogus librorum*, ed. A. VÖÖBUS, in: Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium (in preparation).

¹⁰ About this work, see J. VOSTÉ, "Le Gannat Bussame", in: *Revue biblique* XXXVII (1928), p. 221ff., 386ff.; ID., "A propos de la date du Gannat Bussame", *ibid.*, XLII (1933), p. 82.

¹¹ Cf. J. B. CHABOT, "Note sur l'ouvrage syriaque intitulé Le Jardin des Délices", in: *Orientalische Studien für Th. Nöldeke* I (Giessen 1906), p. 487ff. At that time

this work¹ has left much to be desired². Finally, Īšō' bar Nūn³ should not be left out of this list.

2. NEW SOURCES

Manuscript research in this area has been very rewarding. In fact, it has gone beyond expectations. Discoveries have not only enlarged the bulk of the evidence in manuscripts but some of the codices which have come into our possession represent records of special value.

a. *Ms. Mār Mattai 153*

Ms. Mār Mattai 153⁴ is a very interesting codex in several respects. It is a volume small in format and therefore bulky, written on Oriental paper. The codex is dated. According to the colophon, it was written in the year 1779 A.Gr., i.e., 1467/8 A.D.

This manuscript catches the eye already by its appearance since it deviates from the regular pattern, having the text in one column and the commentary in another written in a small script, leaving the impression of a scholarly edition of the Psalter. The text in the main column is the version of the Pešīttā written by a careful hand. The titles of the Psalms are written in red ink. However, the part which is the most interesting and which attracts our attention is the second column or the extraordinarily wide margin. It surprises us by its richness.

The commentary here located is actually a catena, representing the exegetical traditions of the West Syrian hermeneutics. Its bearers are

only one incomplete copy existed in the libraries in Europe, see E. SACHAU, *Verzeichnis der syrischen Handschriften* I (Berlin 1899), p. XIV.

¹ The oldest extant codex, Ms. Urmia 180, described as 800-1000 years old, cf. O. SARAN-W. A. SHEDD, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the Library of the Museum Association of Oroomiah College* (Oroomiah 1898), p. 30, belongs to a collection which has perished.

² Ms. Berl. Orient. Quart. 870 I, 870 II; Ms. Mosul Chald. 22; Ms. Alqoš 49. About Ms. Vat. syr. 494, see VAN LANTSCHOOT, *Inventaire*, p. 24.

³ *The Selected Questions of Ishō bar Nūn on the Pentateuch*, ed. E. CLARKE (Leiden 1962) = *Studia Post-Biblica* V.

⁴ The manuscript belongs to the library of the Monastery of Mār Mattai of the Syrian Orthodox Church, Maqlub.

Daniel of Ṣalaḥ¹ from whom longer excerpts sometimes have been made, then Mār Ja'qōb, Mōšē bar Kēphā, traditions of Qarqaphtā, Athanasios Rābā, the Maphrian and Dionysios bar Ṣalībī, most frequently quoted.

Our particular interest, however, belongs to the textual apparatus which has been placed into the same column or wide margin. This, indeed, is very instructive. This textual critical apparatus does not only include the Syro-Hexaplaric text but also the Hexaplaric readings. As an examination shows these readings occasionally can offer even a better tradition than that embedded in the codex in the Ambrosian Library².

The Psalter of the Syro-Hexapla has been preserved for us by the famous Ms. Milan Ambros. C 313 inf.³ Ceriani was acquainted with some other manuscripts⁴ which he collated for his edition⁵. Since then, only some texts have come to the fore, namely Ms. Diyarb. Chald. 2⁶, which has been already discussed⁷, Ms. Mosul Chald. 4⁸ which also has been discussed⁹, Ms. Cambr. Univ. Or. 929¹⁰, of the thirteenth century¹¹, containing the so-called Psalterium Tetraglottum in which the Syriac column among the Arabic, Greek and Hebrew columns offers the Syro-Hexaplaric text. What has emerged beyond these sources is very little¹². Therefore this new source of information is very welcome.

¹ About Daniel of Ṣalaḥ, see BAUMSTARK, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, p. 179.

² So in Psalm CXXXVIII, 9.

³ *Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus*, fol. 6b ff.

⁴ Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14, 431 of the 8th cent.; cf. WRIGHT, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts* I, p. 35ff. Add. 17, 257 of the 13th cent.; *ibid.*, I, p. 37. Ms. Par. syr. 9, of the 13th cent.; cf. ZOTENBERG, *Catalogue des manuscrits syriaques*, p. 2f.

⁵ "Notae", *op. cit.*, p. 3ff.

⁶ Cf. SCHER, "Notices sur les manuscrits syriaques et arabes conservés à l'archevêché chaldéen de Diarbékir", p. 332.

⁷ See page 31f.

⁸ Cf. SCHER, "Notices sur les manuscrits syriaques conservés dans la Bibliothèque du patriarcat chaldéen de Mossoul", p. 229.

⁹ See page 27ff.

¹⁰ BROWNE, *A Supplementary Handlist of the Muhammadan Manuscripts*, p. 195.

¹¹ Cf. SCHLIDER, "Biblische Oden im syrohexaplanischen Psalter", p. 202.

¹² About 4 vellum folios with portions of Psalms LXX, LXXIII, LXXVII and LXXIX in Greek, Syriac and Arabic of the 9th cent., see N. PIGULEVSKAYA, Греко-сиро-арабская рукопись IX в., in: Палестинский Сборник I (1954), p. 59ff. The text is furnished with facsimile plates.

b. *Ms. Diyarbakir Mār Ja'qōb 1/13*

Ms. Diyarbakir¹ Mār Ja'qōb 1/13² is a codex of small size, written on Oriental paper. The text is executed carefully in an attractive Serṭā ductus. The margin is written with particular care which is sometimes quite overcrowded. The text is richly decorated with ornamentations.

This volume contains a commentary on the Psalter. Unfortunately it has not been spared of suffering. The beginning of the commentary is lost³ so that at present the exegetical treatment begins with Psalm XXIX. However, what has been preserved, deserves our special interest. The commentary in which the exegetical work of Dionysios bar Ṣalībī appears most frequently in shorter or longer excerpts, is furnished with marginal notes which constitute a textual critical apparatus, registering variant readings of the text of the Psalter according to the Septuagint, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion.

After the end of the exegetical treatment⁴ there comes a section from the spiritual commentary of Dionysios bar Ṣalībī on the Psalter⁵ which concludes this work.

Further this codex includes also the Canticles in the version of the Syro-Hexapla⁷ and a menology⁸ ascribed to Ja'qōb of Edessa⁹, a work of which only some remains¹⁰ have been known¹¹.

It is a great loss that the ending of this manuscript together with an eventual colophon has not survived. The menology ends abruptly.

¹ About other manuscripts in this collection, see VÖÖBUS, *New Important Manuscript Discoveries for the History of Syriac Literature*.

² The collection belongs to the Church of Mār Ja'qōb of Serūg. This place is better known as the Church of Meryem Ana, connected with the Church of Mār Ja'qōb.

³ The codex begins with quire 4, fol. 3a.

⁴ Quire 19, fol. 2b.

⁵ Quire 19, fol. 3a.

⁶ This section ends with quire 19, fol. 10b.

⁷ See page 32f.

⁸ Quire 21, fol. 6a ff. This part contains 8 leaves.

⁹ The menology ends with the entry for the 18th of the month of 'Ilūl.

¹⁰ What has survived of it in the manuscript collections in Europe consists only of one single leaf in Ms. Mus. Borg. Syr. 124 and of a severely decimated recension of it in Ms. Birm. Ming. Syr. 234, fol. 11b ff.

¹¹ Cf. A. VÖÖBUS, "Le martyrologe attribué à Jacques d'Édesse", in: *Analecta Bollandiana* (in preparation). This contribution includes not only the complete text of this document but a critical edition of it based on a cycle of important manuscripts.

Only once there is dropped a note that the codex was written by a certain Šem'ōn who requests prayers for him¹, but nothing is said here about the time. Palaeographical indications suggest the 15th century. However, it is a type of *serḡā* script which may have stemmed also from the 14th century.

c. *Ms. Mardin Orth. 87*

A very interesting contribution emerges in a similar source, namely in Ms. Mardin Orth. 87. This extensive codex² comes from the collection of manuscripts preserved by the Monastery of Mār Ḥanānyā or Deir Za'farān. Its commentary is furnished with valuable data about the textual evidence of the Syro-Hexapla.

The codex is dated. According to the colophon³ the codex was completed on 20 of Hezīrān 2100 A. Gr., i.e. on June 20, 1789 A.D.

3. NEW EVIDENCE FOR THE KNOWN COMMENTARIES

As experience has shown, it is necessary to deepen the manuscript search in order to reach the earliest and best strata in the exegetical and hermeneutical traditions. Textual critical work is too demanding and too delicate to neglect this important source of information. It is gratifying that through such a search the documentation in this area also finds enrichment.

a. *Dionysios bar Ṣalībī*

In his pneumatic commentary, Dionysios employs the Pešīttā text but he refers as well to the Syro-Hexapla. In view of the scarcity of manuscript evidence for the commentaries of the Old Testament as over against those of the New Testament, it is a cause for rejoicing that particularly here new and very important evidence has emerged. In order to create a solid basis for the edition of the Old Testament commentaries an investigation has been carried out which has led to the following in terms of new and precious materials.

¹ Quire 21, fol. 2a.

² Quire 1, fol. 1b - quire 19, fol. 8a.

³ Quire 19, fol. 7a-8a.

The earliest codex has been hiding itself in the collection of manuscripts in the monastery of Mār Ḥanānyā or Zaʿfarān. This is Ms. Mard. Orth. 66 which contains the pragmatic and pneumatic¹ commentary written in 1189 A.D., i.e., only eighteen years after the author's death. Seldom are we allowed to come so close to the beginnings of an original source. Fortunately the volume is almost complete, preserving these two sets of commentaries on almost every book of the Old Testament. This discovery is particularly important since it has retained original elements of the biblical text which as an examination shows have been lost in manuscripts of later date². In this respect, even the best known manuscript offers an inferior text³.

Since a more complete description of other codices will be given elsewhere⁴ this account needs to be introduced only briefly.

Ms. Mard. Orth. 67⁵ comprises the first part of the Old Testament from Genesis through the Psalter. On palaeographical grounds this manuscript can be assigned to the twelfth or thirteenth century.

Ms. Mard. Orth. 68⁶ represents the second part of the above-mentioned volume.

Ms. Mard. Orth. 69⁷ has suffered and lost its first part and begins with the book of the Kings. Chronologically it must belong to the same period as the preceding codices.

Ms. Mard. Orth. 71⁸ is a volume which has lost its first part and now begins with a commentary on the Proverbs. This time the codex is furnished with a colophon⁹ which informs us that it was written in the year 1904 A.Gr., i.e., 1593 A.D.

¹ Fol. 1a ff.

² Namely in manuscripts in Mosul, Šarfeh, Birmingham and Harvard.

³ Ms. Par. syr. 66.

⁴ See a fuller report about these discoveries in A. VÖÖBUS "Neue Funde für die handschriftliche Überlieferung der alttestamentlichen Kommentare des Dionysios bar Šalibī", in: *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (in preparation).

⁵ Fol. 1a-243b.

⁶ Fol. 244a-479b.

⁷ Fol. 1a-198b.

⁸ Fol. 1a-290a.

⁹ Fol. 290b.

Ms. Mos. Orth. 6¹ is a giant volume² which contains the entire corpus of the commentaries of Dionysios bar Šalībī for the entire Bible. This is the earliest among the manuscripts with this work in this collection. The codex can be assigned to the fourteenth century.

Ms. Mos. Orth. 37³ contains the last part of the corpus of the commentaries. This time we have to do with a dated manuscript. It was copied in the year 1912 A.D.

Ms. Mos. Orth. 42⁴ comprises only the first part of the corpus of the commentaries of Dionysios bar Šalībī. The copy has been made by a modern hand.

Ms. Dam. Patr. 2/1⁵ is a recent copy of the corpus made in the year 1390 according to its colophon; however, it represents a very ancient archetype which was written in the year 1505 A.Gr., i.e., 1193/4 A.D. Fortunately the whole work has been preserved in this codex.

Ms. Dam. Patr. 2/2 contains only the first part of the corpus of the commentaries copied in the year 1911 A.D.

Ms. Dam. Patr. 2/3 represents the second volume of the preceding work. This part of the corpus according to the colophon was copied in the year 1914 A.D.

Ms. Šarf. Patr. 271⁶ comprises the whole corpus of the commentaries of Dionysios bar Šalībī. Its colophon relates that it was copied in the year 1889. It includes the further information that its archetype was written in the year 1838 A. Gr., i.e., 1527 A.D.

Ms. Atšaneh 2⁷ is a codex which contains the last part of the corpus of the commentaries of Dionysios bar Šalībī. The corpus was copied in the year 1960 A.D.

Ms. Atšaneh 3 comprises the first part of the preceding corpus copied in the year 1962 A.D.

¹ The codex belongs to the collection of manuscripts of the archbishopric of the Syrian Orthodox Church at Mosul.

² Quire 1, fol. 1b - quire 61, fol. 1b.

³ Fol. 1b ff.

⁴ Fol. 1b ff.

⁵ The codex belongs to the collection of manuscripts of the patriarchate of the Syrian Orthodox Church at Damascus.

⁶ The codex belongs to the collection of manuscripts of the patriarchate of the Syrian Catholic Church at the Monastery of Šarfeh.

⁷ The codex belongs to the collection of manuscripts in the Theological School of the Syrian Orthodox Church at Atšaneh, Bikfaya, Lebanon.

b. *Gannat Būssāmē*

Besides Ms. Manch. Ryl. Syr. 41¹ which seems to have remained unnoticed among the manuscripts of this work in the European collections, also Ms. Br. Mus. Orient. 9353 must be introduced. Also this codex has remained unknown. It is a copy written in 1892. Another codex of the *Gannat Būssāmē* is located in Princeton².

Besides these codices in Europe and America there are still some others which supplement the new evidence. These are codices which have hidden themselves in the Orient³. These are:

Ms. Baghd. Chald. B⁴, a codex which bears the marks of suffering. This codex written in one column⁵ has no beginning and no end⁶. Together with the end its colophon is lost. On palaeographical grounds, this codex can be assigned to the eighteenth or nineteenth century.

Ms. Batn. 1⁷ represents another volume of this work. The codex furnishes us with the necessary information. According to its colophon this codex was written in the year 1904 A.D. in Tell Kēph. About the archetype which was located in Tell Kēph we have some information⁸.

¹ In the collection of manuscripts belonging to the John Rylands Library, Manchester.

² In the library of the Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N.J.

³ Cf. A. VÖÖBUS, "New Manuscript Discoveries for the *Gannat Būssāmē*", in: *Abr-Nahrain* (in preparation).

⁴ The codex has no signature. Its size is 32,2 × 21,6 cm.

⁵ There are 26-27 lines on every page.

⁶ The codex begins with quire 7 and ends with quire 46 to which some folios have been added.

⁷ The manuscript belongs to the Church of Mār Qyriaqos, Batnayā, near Mosul.

⁸ See CHABOT, "Le Jardin des Délices", p. 487ff.; cf. R. HARRIS, *The Commentaries of Isho'dad of Merv* (Cambridge 1911) = *Horae Semiticae* V, p. XVIII; X, p. XIIff.

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