The East Syriac Psalm Headings
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The East Syriac Psalm Headings

A Critical Edition

HF Van Rooy

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PREFACE

In 1960 Bloemendaal published a book on the East Syriac psalm headings. In this edition he built on the work done by scholars like Baethgen, Devrese and Vosté, to name but a few. This edition of Bloemendaal can be regarded as a conclusion to the research done on these headings for almost a century before his edition. He summarises the main findings of his predecessors and utilises the best manuscripts available to him for his edition. Developments during the past fifty years have made a new edition of these headings desirable. Three reasons can be given to support the idea of a new edition.

The first reason is certain deficiencies in Bloemendaal’s edition. He did not give a translation of the headings and did not discuss the structure and history of these headings in detail.

The second reason is that manuscripts that Bloemendaal was unable to use became available for this new edition. The manuscripts used in this edition will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2. The two most important manuscripts that became available for this edition are 18>8dt1 and 12t4. The first, 18>8dt1, is a hand-written facsimile of a manuscript from the eighth century. The oldest manuscript containing these headings is 6t1, which Bloemendaal used as his base text. The other manuscripts that he used (except one Masoretic manuscript that is not very helpful) date from the twelfth century and later. 18>8dt1 contains the headings from a period between the sixth and twelfth centuries and this manuscript is thus very important for the history of these headings. 12t4 is regarded as the most important Eastern Psalter.
The comparison of the headings in 6t1, 18>8dt1 and 12t4 is very important for the history of these headings.¹

The third reason for a new edition is the publication of Psalm commentaries in the East Syriac tradition, as well as fragments of a Syriac translation of the commentary on the Psalms by Theodore of Mopsuestia.

In Chapter 1 a detailed Forschungsgeschichte will be presented, followed by a discussion of the manuscripts used for this edition in Chapter 2. The critical text is given in Chapter 3, with a discussion of the form and history of the headings in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 will deal with the headings and the interpretation of the psalms, as well as the later influence of the headings on the interpretation thereof. Final conclusions are presented in Chapter 6.

H. F van Rooy
January 31, 2013

¹ This is discussed in detail by Van Rooy (2008).
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Much of the research for this book has been done at the University of Leiden, in the Netherlands, and the University of Leuven in Belgium. As far as Leiden is concerned, the previous Director of the Peshitta Institute, Dr. Konrad Jenner, and Prof. Arie van der Kooij deserve a special mention for their hospitality during various visits to the Institute.

In Belgium, Prof. Hans Ausloos and Prof. Bénédicte Lemmelijn went out of their way to help me during different visits to the Faculty of Theology. The libraries of these two institutions were invaluable in assisting me to find sources used during the research.

I want to thank Gorgias Press, and especially Katie Stott, Melonie Schmierer-Lee and George Kiraz, for accepting my manuscript and helping me to prepare the final copy for publication.

My doctoral student, Godwin Mushayabasa, helped me to correct the Syriac and to compile the glossary. His assistance is greatly appreciated.

My wife, Jacoba, and our five children have always supported me in my research and career at the North-West University (Potchefstroom Campus, formerly the Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education). Jacoba has read the manuscript several times, indicating corrections, and has checked the references. This is greatly appreciated.
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A Survey of Research on the Psalm Headings in the Different Syrian Traditions

The most complete discussion of the headings of the psalms in the different manuscripts and editions of the Peshitta, as well as in a number of commentaries on the Psalms, is still Bloemendaal’s. His contribution will therefore be discussed in detail below. It is, however, true that some important manuscripts and commentaries have come to light since his work was published in 1960, shedding new light on the history of the headings in the different traditions. In his study, Bloemendaal (1960:2–3) distinguishes between four groups of manuscripts or editions with regard to the headings. One can commence this discussion with his division:

- The headings of the East Syrian Church. These headings are the subject of this edition;
- the headings of the West Syrian tradition, contained in the Codex Ambrosianus, and manuscripts following that tradition;
- the headings contained in editions such as the editions of Sionita, the polyglots and Lee; and
- manuscripts with a mixture of headings, in some instances related to more than one of the first groups.

To illustrate this diversity, headings from the different traditions to two psalms will be given below. The two psalms used are Psalms 63 and 45. The latter was selected because it is regarded as a messianic psalm in most traditions. Psalm 63 was selected because
it is a good example of the headings contained in manuscript 12t4.¹
This manuscript has at least four headings for each psalm.²

**Psalm 63**

6tB

He prophesies about the excellent ones amongst the people in Babel.

**12t4**

This manuscript has five headings for this psalm:

In Hebrew: A psalm of David when he was in the desert of Judah.

Another manuscript: A psalm of David when he was in the desert of Edom.

Eusebius

A thanksgiving of the one made perfect by God.

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¹ The notation used for the different Syriac manuscripts was created by the Peshitta Institute (1961a) for the critical edition of the Peshitta of the Old Testament.

² Cf. Van Rooy (1999b:11–25) for a discussion of this manuscript and the different headings contained in this manuscript.

³ London, British Library, Add. 17110. Bloemendaal (1960) used this manuscript as his base text.
Athanasius

Of those (psalms) that are a thanksgiving. And when you, while you are persecuted, go to the desert, do not fear as if you were alone there, but, having God there, and rising early in his presence, sing.

Theodore

He prophesies about the virtuous men amongst the people in Babel.

The five headings to this psalm in 12t4 are ascribed to the Hebrew, to another manuscript and to the three fathers: Eusebius (of Caesarea), Athanasius and Theodore.

7a1

Spoken by David, when David spoke to the King of Moab: “Let my father and mother dwell with you,” while he was fleeing from Saul.

9t2


Spoken by David, when he spoke to the King of Moab: “Let my father and mother dwell with you,” while he was fleeing from Saul.

9t3

Spoken by David about Adam who was looking and waiting for the salvation of the Lord.

*Walton*7 and *Lee*8

Of David. Literally: When he spoke to the king of Moab: “My father and mother dwelt with you during the flight from Saul and I likewise fled to you.” For us now it is to be understood as a thanksgiving of the man who is spiritually perfect in the Lord. Blessed are those who thirst for justice.

**Psalm 45**

6t1

He prophesies about the Messiah our Lord and about the establishment of the faithful Church.

12t4

Eusebius

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7 Walton (1657/1965).
8 Lee (1823).
A revelation of the kingdom of the Messiah.

Theodore

They prophesy about the Messiah our Lord and about the establishment of the faithful Church.

7al

Spoken by David about my Lord (Adonay) and about his glorious, concealed host.

Walton and Lee

Spoken by the sons of Korah in the days of Moses. The manifestation of the Messiah and about the Church and about the glorious host of the Lord (Adonay).

Without going into a detailed discussion of the examples above, something of the variety mentioned by Bloemendaal is clearly evident. It is well known that the East Syrian titles are related to the great commentary on the Psalms by Theodore of Mopsuestia (cf. Baumstark, 1922:102–14). Theodore rejected the headings of the psalms in both the Hebrew and the Greek. His influence was, however, so important not only in the East Syriac Church, but in all the Syriac-speaking Churches, that the vast majority of Peshitta manuscripts of the Psalms do not reflect the titles of the psalms in the Hebrew Bible. At the moment, only two Peshitta manuscripts are known to have preserved something of the Hebrew titles. Manuscript 12t4 has already been referred to, with its Hebrew headings as one of the four sets of headings to each psalm in this manuscript. These headings are discussed in detail elsewhere (cf. Van Rooy, 1999a). They are not identical to the headings of the Syro-Hexapla. Psalm 144 can be taken as an example of this. This psalm has a Hebrew heading in 12t4, and a variant from another manuscript as well. In this instance the Hebrew heading corresponds with the heading in the Masoretic text (םַלְתָּא), while
the heading ascribed to another manuscript agrees with the Syro-Hexapla (םודא הודי, Van Rooy, 1999a:227). The Hebrew headings in this manuscript probably reflect an independent knowledge of the Greek and the Hebrew (Van Rooy, 1999a:235–236).

The other manuscript preserving something of the headings of the Hebrew Bible is manuscript 12t3, which has the headings of the Syro-Hexapla, and not the normal East Syrian headings, as one would expect (cf. Van Rooy, 2005).

Two important issues can be distinguished in the research on the East Syrian headings, namely the study of the headings themselves and secondly the importance of Theodore of Mopsuestia in this regard. These two issues are interrelated. The contributions of scholars to both these issues will be presented in chronological order, with at the end of the chapter a summary of the most important findings with regard to these two issues. A chronological order seems preferable, because many scholars dealt with both issues in the same publication.

In 1836 Fritzsche discussed the life and work of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and in his discussion Theodore’s commentary on the Psalms received a place of honour (1836:27–37). After discussing the various sources, such as catenae, containing fragments of the work of Theodore (Fritzsche, 1836:28–31), he makes some comments on what Theodore said about the Psalter and the individual psalms. Theodore regarded all the psalms as Davidic and rejected the headings of the psalms in the Hebrew Bible (Fritzsche, 1836:31–32). Theodore classified the psalms into four groups, namely historical, prophetical and ethical, as well as four messianic psalms (Fritzsche, 1836:32–35). The historical psalms are those that reflect events in the life of David and the people of his time, such as Psalms 21, 67 and 69 (Fritzsche, 1836:32). There are more prophetic psalms than historical psalms, dealing with the time up to the Maccabees. Many are related to the time of Hezekiah and the

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9 Fritzsche (1836:27): “Inter omnes Theodori libros commentarius in Psalmos … tempor primum locum sibi vindicat.” (Amongst all the books of Theodore, the commentary on the Psalms deserved for itself through the time the first place).
time of the Babylonian exile (Fritzsche, 1836:32–34). The ethical psalms such as 48 and 49 recommend the study of virtue (Fritzsche, 1836:35). Of the four messianic psalms Fritzsche only mentions Psalms 8 and 44 (45 in the Masoretic text; 1836:35).¹⁰

The headings of the psalms were dealt with in a book published in 1875 by Prager. This book deals with the Peshitta of the Old Testament as a whole, while he pays special attention to the headings of the psalms (Prager, 1875:49–66). It is quite evident that he used the edition of Lee for this study.¹¹ He refers to the double headings, such as those found in the edition of Lee, with one set referring to the life of David, while the other set refers to the dogmata Christiana. The first set is of Jewish origin, and the second from a Christian origin, according to Prager (1875:50). The Jewish headings may have been changed or expanded to bring a Christian colouring to them, but the Jewish origin is certain (Prager, 1875:51). The Christian headings are related to the Pro titulis Psalmorum of Eusebius.¹² As Bloemendaal (1960:4) pointed out, he did not use the Urmia edition and did not know of the diversity of headings in the different Syriac traditions. This criticism had already been mentioned in a review of Prager’s work by Nestle in 1876. Nestle points out that the work of Prager had two sections, the first dealing with the Peshitta in general and the second with the Psalms in particular. Nestle is of the opinion that the whole work demonstrates that Prager is not at all in command of his subject, and even less so with regard to the Psalms (Nestle, 1876:281–282). Prager used the headings as in the printed editions and did not consider the background of these headings. Prager did refer to the headings of Eusebius, but thought that Eusebius got


¹¹ Cf. especially Prager (1875:50).

¹² Prager (1875:51). These headings of Eusebius are then presented in an appendix, pp. 71–75.
them from the Syriac. Nestle was astounded at this statement of Prager. Nestle points out that the headings used in the printed editions are late and that the manuscripts either did not have headings at all, or totally different headings than those in the printed editions. Nestle refers to manuscripts of the British Museum and points out that the headings were related to the work of Theodore of Mopsuestia. Nestle (1876:283–284) rejects Prager’s idea that the headings had a Jewish background. This review of Nestle appeared in the same year as the photolithographic edition of the Codex Ambrosianus by Ceriani (1876). It is quite evident that Nestle did not use that edition before writing his review. He did not know of the other tradition contained in the Codex Ambrosianus and related manuscripts. His point that one should not use the headings as in the printed editions as the definitive set of headings of the Peshitta, remains valid. It is interesting to note that Preuss made the same use of the edition of Lee almost a century later, in his study of the headings of the psalms in the Targum and Midrash. This shows his ignorance about eighty years of research on the headings of the Psalms in the Peshitta (Preuss, 1959:44). In his study he refers to the two sets of headings, just like Prager did, without any reference to the traditions related to Theodore or the Codex Ambrosianus.

Between 1878 and 1887 Baethgen published three important studies (one in two instalments) about the Psalms in the Peshitta (Baethgen, 1878, 1885, 1886 and 1887). His study of 1878 was his Habilitation and represented only a part of the work he had done on the Peshitta Psalter up to that stage (cf. Baethgen, 1878:30). A section of this study dealt with the headings of the psalms (Baethgen, 1878:10–15). In his discussion he starts with the headings in the printed editions, with a reference to the double headings, partly historical, partly dogmatic-ethical. He deals with

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13 In his discussion of manuscript 6t1 (British Library, Add. 17110), Wright (1870: 116–117) had already noted that the headings in this manuscript were different from those in the editions. This manuscript has a treatise on the headings as well, indicating that at the time of its writing, the existence of different headings was already well known. Cf. Wright (1870:118).
the headings in a number of manuscripts as well, such as the *Codex Ambrosianus* and 6t1 (Baetghen, 1878:10–12). He regards it as possible that the Syriac translator(s) did not regard the Hebrew headings as original and that the variety of headings in the manuscripts must therefore be ascribed to different authors (Baetghen, 1878:13). He refers to manuscripts linking headings specifically to Theodore of Mopsuestia and remarks that Prager did not read these headings in his study (Baetghen, 1878:14). With regard to Prager’s remark about the headings of Eusebius, Baetghen says that Eusebius depended on Origen. The short headings of Eusebius can only be understood in the light of the work of Origen. He regards Origen as the main source for the headings, next to Theodore (Baetghen, 1878:15). His main conclusion regarding the origin of the Syriac headings in their different forms is that they must be linked to Christian fathers and that they cannot be used to determine the origin of the translation (Baetghen, 1878:15).

In 1885 Baetghen published an important study on a Syriac version of the commentary on the Psalms by Theodore of Mopsuestia. The importance of this study is that it was the first major study pointing to the important influence that the major commentary of Theodore had on the subsequent interpretation of the Psalms in the Syriac Churches, and especially in the Eastern tradition. The beginning of the introduction to the commentary makes it clear that it represents the exegesis of Theodore (Baetghen, 1885:53). The manuscript consists of 186 folios and dates from 1882, from a village close to Mosul (Baetghen, 1885:54). Baetghen points out that the original Greek commentary of Theodore was translated into Syriac by Ibas of Edessa, in the fifth century (Baetghen, 1885:55). As is well known, Theodore had a very special position as exegete amongst the Church of the East. Baetghen (1885:56) says that when he first saw this manuscript (Sachau 215) he thought that it was a copy of this commentary of Theodore, but soon realised that this was not the case. Theodore wrote his commentary based on the text of the Septuagint, while

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14 This view is repeated in his study on the text-critical importance of the ancient version of the Psalms (Baetghen, 1882:424).
this commentary was based on the Peshitta (Baetghen, 1885:56). It contains sections based on the Peshitta where it disagrees with the Septuagint, making it clear that these sections could not have been written by Theodore. The commentary does, however, contain many sections going back directly to Theodore. Some of the sentences in the Syriac can be regarded as coming directly from the commentary of Theodore (Baetghen, 1885:63).

In his discussion of this manuscript, Baetghen (1885:65) deals extensively with the headings of the psalms, which he in many respects regards as the most interesting part of the commentary. In his commentary, Theodore gave long introductions to each of the psalms, with a summary of his exegesis. The headings of the individual psalms in the commentary on the manuscript Sachau 215 are summaries of these introductions of Theodore. Theodore rejected the headings of the psalms in the Septuagint, and is followed in this approach by this commentary, which has no trace of any of the headings in the Greek or Hebrew. The influence of Theodore was so strong that all the manuscripts of the Peshitta omitted the headings going back to the Hebrew (Baetghen, 1885:66).

Baetghen refers to the remark of Leontius of Byzantium that Theodore interpreted all the psalms in a Jewish manner, linking them to Zerubbabel and Hezekiah, with only three psalms regarded as messianic. Leontius made two errors in this statement. Theodore rather regarded four psalms as messianic (2, 8, 45[44] and 110 [109]; cf. Baetghen, 1885:67–76). All other passages from the Psalms that the New Testament relates to Christ, must not be regarded as directly messianic, but are rather applied to him (cf. Baetghen, 1885:76–82). As far as the linking of the psalms to Zerubbabel and Hezekiah is concerned, Baetghen (1885:83) states that one can find an ethical interpretation in the work of Theodore as well, while his historical interpretations span the time from David up to the Maccabees. After discussing a large number of

15 As Baetghen did not have access to the manuscripts 12t4 and 12t5 he did not know about the headings reflecting the Syro-Hexapla and the Hebrew in these two manuscripts. His remark, however, holds true for the vast majority of Peshitta psalters and manuscripts.
headings where parallels could be found from the Greek fragments of the commentary of Theodore, Baethgen (1885:91) concludes that the headings in the manuscript Sachau 215 do not deviate from the interpretation of Theodore. As far as the date of the original composition copied in this manuscript is concerned, Baethgen refers to the headings of the psalms in the scholia of Bar Hebraeus. It is evident that the headings used by Bar Hebraeus are related to the headings in this commentary. Bar Hebraeus used not only the headings in his work, but comments from the commentary as well. The commentary must, therefore, predate the time of Bar Hebraeus, who died in 1286 (cf. Baethgen, 1885:99–101). This article of Baethgen was very influential in its own time and is still one of the most important contributions with regard to the influence of the work of Theodore on Syriac exegesis in general, and on the Psalms in particular. The commentary contained in manuscript Sachau 215 was one of the commentaries used by Bloemendaal (1960:16) in his edition of the East Syrian headings. He also used the work of Bar Hebraeus in the edition of De Lagarde (1879).

In his final article published in two instalments, Baethgen (1886 and 1887) deals specifically with the interpretation of seventeen psalms, which Theodore linked to the times of the Maccabees. In this article he expresses a deep appreciation for the exegetical work of Theodore. According to Baethgen, Theodore had a very special position in the history of exegesis. He kept away from all allegory, which Baethgen (1886:262) regards as the mortal enemy of all sound exegesis. While emphasising the importance of understanding a psalm in its original historical context, Theodore knew that the psalms had a message for believers as well. The discussion of this message was, however, not the aim of his exegesis. His exegesis aimed at expounding the thoughts and findings of the poet (Baethgen, 1886:264). According to Baethgen (1886:265–266), Theodore’s commentary had two important deficiencies, one formal and one material. As far as formal matters are concerned, he used the Septuagint as his base text and did not have a good knowledge of Hebrew at all. The result was that some of his exegetical work was based on faulty translations of the Septuagint. The material deficiency was that he regarded David as the author of all the psalms, with the implication that the psalms dealing with matters long after the time of David were regarded
as prophetic in nature (Baethgen, 1886:266–267). As far as the interpretation of the psalms is concerned, Baethgen (1886:268–269) is of the opinion that the idea of a Jewish influence on the exegesis of Theodore is grossly overstated. What is true, however, is that he did not have any regard for the headings of the psalms in the Hebrew and the Septuagint and regarded them as later additions (Baethgen, 1886:269–270). He allocated the psalms into different periods according to his interpretation of the contents. Four psalms were regarded as messianic, while seventeen didactic psalms were not linked to specific historical circumstances. Of the others, nineteen were connected to the time of David one to Jeremiah, twenty-five to the Assyrian period, sixty-seven to the time of the Babylonian exile and seventeen to the times of the Maccabees (Baethgen, 1886:270–271). In this article in two instalments Baethgen treats the seventeen Maccabean psalms (44, 47, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 62, 69, 74, 79, 80, 83, 108, 109 and 144).

In reaction to the studies of Baethgen, Staerk (1892) published an extensive study of the headings of the psalms, dealing with the headings in the Masoretic text, the Septuagint, Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, the Targum and Jerome. He did not include the headings of the Peshitta in his study, since they go back to different sources, and finally to Theodore, Origen and Eusebius. In his notes he indicates, however, instances where the headings of the Codex Ambrosianus show some similarities to the Septuagint (Staerk, 1892:93). In this regard he refers to the heading of Psalm 3 as the only one where the Codex Ambrosianus agrees with the Masoretic text and related versions (Staerk, 1892:94). He accepts that the Syriac headings go back to Theodore (Staerk, 1892:150–151). He did not recognise the importance of the difference between the headings in the Eastern traditions and those he read in the Codex Ambrosianus.

In 1880 an important volume was published by Kihm, dealing with the history of the Antiochene School, and in particular with Theodore of Mopsuestia and Junilius Africanus. He did not have as much original material available as for example Devreesse (1948) in his later work on Theodore. However, the work of Kihm remains an important landmark in the study of Antiochene exegesis in general. The fame of the Antiochene School goes back to the exegetical approach started by Lucian and Dorotheus in their struggle against Gnosticism, Arianism and Appollinarianism (Kihm,
One must keep in mind that the Antiochene School reacted against the Alexandrian allegorical approach. The Alexandrians tried to solve the problem of the interpretation of the Old Testament by following a speculative philosophical route, while the Antiochenes built on Aristotelian logic (Kihn, 1880:6). The Alexandrians followed the example of Neo-Platonism, while the Antiochenes followed the Stoics and Aristotle (Kihn, 1880:7).

Kihn (1880:17–20) distinguishes three periods in the history of the Antiochene School, namely from Lucian to Diodore (290–370), from Diodore to Theodoret (370–450) and the decline of the school after 450, through the Nestorian dispute and the actions of the Miaphysites.

The approach of Origen is well known, with his threefold interpretation of Scripture: literal, moralistic and mystical (Kihn, 1880:23). In the approach of Origen certain principles had to be kept in mind. Commands, prescriptions and judgements with a moral connotation had to be interpreted literally. The ceremonial laws, however, had to be interpreted allegorically. Cities like Jerusalem and Babylon had to be related to the heavenly dwelling of the sanctified. Anything that interpreted literally seemed to be impossible, untrue, not worthy of God and so forth had to be interpreted mystically (Kihn, 1880:24–25). The Antiochenes reacted against this and emphasised a literal interpretation, in line with the grammatical-historical approach (Kihn, 1880:26). They did, however, use typology (Kihn, 1880:27). Although Kihn prefers this approach, it was regarded in a negative way due to the theological heresies connected to Theodore and Nestorius. The approach was more moderate in the case of people like John Chrysostom and Theodoret (Kihn, 1880:31). Theodore’s approach was marred by his extreme rationalism (Kihn, 1880:32). Although Theodore accepted only four psalms as messianic, he did recognise messianic overtones in words, persons and events in the Old Testament (Kihn, 1880:143). Bloemendaal (1960:6) correctly remarks that Theodore did indeed connect verses from the psalms to Christ, albeit in a typological manner and not allegorical.¹⁶ Theodore distinguished three groups of predictions in the Old Testament:

¹⁶ Cf. Kihn (1880:140).
those that point directly and literally to Christ, such as Genesis 49:10 and Psalms 2, 8, 45 [44] and 110 [109] and some texts from the prophets; texts related directly to persons and events in the Old Testament, but containing pointers and parallels to the New Testament, including texts quoted from the Old Testament and applied to the Messiah in the New Testament; and predictions that are not messianic and not applied to the Messiah in the New Testament, such as Micah 4:1–3 and Haggai 2:1–9 (Kihn, 1880:140). It is well known that Theodore questioned the canonical status of some of the books of the Old Testament.17

In 1891 Oppenheim published a study on the fourth book of the psalms in the Peshitta. Bloemendaal is very critical of this work. He remarks that it was incomprehensible that Oppenheim could state that even though the headings of the Peshitta do not aid the interpretation of the headings in the Hebrew text, they belong to the text of the Peshitta and testifies to its Jewish origin.18 It is evident that Oppenheim did not know about the work of Nestle and Baethgen. In his discussion of the Syriac headings, Oppenheim does not disclose the source he used for the headings. He probably used the edition of Lee, but when he quotes the headings, he did not give the full heading as in Lee. For example, in his heading of Psalm 107, he omits the third part, referring to Jesus, in the heading of Lee. In his heading of Psalm 108, he omits the final part, referring to the calling of the nations (Oppenheim, 1891:6 and 9). This is the pattern throughout his work. This work of Oppenheim therefore does not make any meaningful contribution to the study of the headings in the Peshitta. What Oppenheim did not take cognisance of in 1891, Berg did in 1895 when he published a study on the influence of the Septuagint on the Peshitta Psalter. In this study he accepts that the headings of the Hebrew (and Septuagint) were omitted under the influence of Theodore of Mopsuestia. The headings in the Peshitta were added later and derive from the commentaries of the fathers, especially from Theodore (Berg, 1895:28–29). He refers to the work of Nestle and Baethgen, but remarks that Theodore added his own

18 Cf. Oppenheim (1891:4–5) and Bloemendaal (1960:7).
headings, while taking some information from Eusebius and Origen. He still refers to headings being partly historical and partly exegetical (Berg, 1895:67). Even though he did make some use of the work of Baethgen and Nestle, this final remark indicates that he was not really aware of the variety in the Syriac manuscripts. He did, however, exclude the Syriac headings in his discussion of the influence of the Septuagint on the Peshitta.

Both Bloemendaal (1960:7) and Ryan (2004:69–70) discuss the important book of Vandenhoff published in 1899. It contains a study of an important manuscript, with inter alia a copy of a commentary ascribed to Denḥa. Bloemendaal could, however, not find the manuscript in the library of the University of Münster. From page 23 line 17 up to page 181 line 24 the manuscript discussed by Vandenhoff (1899) contains a commentary on the Psalms ascribed to Denḥa. Vandenhoff published a selection of passages in Syriac, with a Latin translation. The manuscript itself indicates the comments do not come from Theodore in the commentary by writing them in red (underlined in the hand-written copy of Vandenhoff) and included them in brackets (Vandenhoff, 1899:10–11). Vandenhoff did not publish the whole commentary, but only a selection, including Psalms 1, 2, 8, 22, 45, 72, 97 and 110, as well as some verses where the commentary refers to Christ (1899:30–58). The headings of the eight psalms listed above can be compared to the headings that Bloemendaal gives for the commentary of Denḥa. The headings of Psalms 1, 2, 22, 45 and 110 are exactly the same as those given by Bloemendaal. In Psalm 8 the heading in the manuscript of Vandenhoff has ܢܐ ܦܘܪܫܢ ܟܝ for Bloemendaal’s ܦܘܪ ܫܢܐ ܕܟܝ, and ܢܫܐ ܦܘܪܩܢ ܒܢܝ for ܢܫܐ ܘܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܕܒܢܝ. In the case of Psalm 72, it puts ܡܬܢܒܐ at the beginning of the heading, like Bar

\[19\] Bloemendaal (1960:7) mentions that this work is “practically unobtainable”. I was able to use this book in the library of the Faculty of Theology in Leuven.

\[20\] Bloemendaal (1960:7) gives a summary of the contents of his manuscript. Cf. Vandenhoff (1899:5–8).

\[21\] Cf. Bloemendaal (1960:16, note 60).

Hebraeus. In Psalm 97 it has ܕܥܡܗ for ܕܥܡܐ and ܠܬܘܩܢ ܥܠܐ for ܠܬܘܩܢܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ. These are all minor differences, especially those related to the construction of the genitive. It is quite clear that this manuscript is closely related to the manuscript Mingana 58 used by Bloemendaal (1960:16) in his edition of the headings in the commentary ascribed to Denḥa. The last example of the variant in Psalm 97 is a clear indication of this, with the word ܥܠܡܐ for ܐܠܗܐ in the heading of Psalm 97 in the manuscripts. This commentary is related to, but different from, the commentary contained in manuscript Sachau 215, discussed above.

In 1901 and 1902 Diettrich published two books that are important for the interpretation of the Psalms in Syriac tradition. In the first work he deals with a manuscript containing an introduction to the Psalter from Jacobite circles. In addition to this, he published the commentary on the first two psalms from the large commentary of Daniel of Şalah from a manuscript in the British Museum (Diettrich, 1901:VII, XXII–XXVII). What is interesting to note, is the agreement between the headings of the first two psalms in this edition of Diettrich and the headings of the Codex Ambrosianus. As an example, the heading of Psalm 1 in the Codex Ambrosianus (7a1) and in the commentary is given below:

7a1

Daniel

This introduction and commentary are very important for the study of the interpretation of the psalms in the Western tradition, where a lot of research still has to be done. The introduction has a

24 Cf. the research by David Taylor referred to later in this chapter.
section dealing with the headings of the psalms in Hebrew, Greek and Syriac. It states that the headings in Syriac differ from those in the Hebrew and Greek. The headings in the latter two languages do not state that David is the author of all the psalms, while he is regarded as the author of all the psalms in the Syriac (cf. Diettrich, 1901:74–77).

In the second work Diettrich (1902) discusses Išô’dâdh’s place in the history of the interpretation of the Old Testament. The importance of Išô’dâdh is related to the fact that he made extensive use of the work of Theodore. He did, however, use other sources in addition to Theodore, including other fathers from the Church of the East (Diettrich, 1902:VII). In his edition of some parts of the commentary of Išô’dâdh, Diettrich includes Psalms 16, 22, 45, 68, 69 and 72. It is interesting that in most instances Išô’dâdh did not give the heading as known from the East Syrian tradition, while his interpretation is often informed by the heading. He links Psalm 68 clearly to the removal of the ark from the house of Obed-Edom, as does the East Syriac heading (Diettrich, 1902:112). Theodore interpreted the psalms historically and Išô’dâdh followed him, but sometimes added a messianic interpretation (Diettrich, 1902:LIX). In addition to the Peshitta, Išô’dâdh used the translation of Paul of Tella as well (Syro-Hexapla). He linked the allegorical interpretation of the Miaphysites to the grammatical-historical approach of Theodore. In this way he became the bridge between the interpretation of Theodore and the Church of the East and the Syriac Orthodox Church (Diettrich, 1902:LXIV).

As far as the recovery of the commentary of Theodore on the psalms is concerned, the article of Lietzmann published in 1902 was a significant step forward on which Devreesse could build twenty years later. In his study, Lietzmann (1902:334) deals with a manuscript from the National Library in Paris, the Codex Coislianus 12. This catenae manuscript starts to refer to a new exegete in Psalm 32, ᬠtığıάφος, whose work formed the base of the text from there on till the end of Psalm 42, interrupted briefly by scholia from Athanasius and some fragments from Basil. This is

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