

Introduction to the Electronic Peshitta Text

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Preliminary Version

Preamble

This introduction concerns the electronic version of the Peshitta to the Old Testament.¹ This collection contains the complete Old Testament, including every book that has been published or will be published in the Leiden Peshitta edition. The text of the Pentateuch has been lemmatized and contains selected variant readings.

The Peshitta is an indispensable source for the text-critical and text-historical study of the Hebrew Bible, and this study will certainly benefit from the possibility to investigate the Peshitta in parallel alignment with other textual witnesses.

The Peshitta is also a most valuable source of information about early Judaism and Christianity and the history of biblical interpretation. The debate about the background of the Peshitta ('Jewish and/or Christian?'), even though it has not arrived at scholarly consensus, has revealed many interesting aspects of the complex Jewish-Christian spectrum and its plurality of movements in the first centuries of the Common Era.

However, the Peshitta is more than a textual witness to the Old Testament or a source of information about the history of religion at the time of its origin, it is also the most important document of Syriac Christianity, in which it played an exceedingly important role. It is impossible to describe in a few lines the way in which the Peshitta served as the basis for scholarship, from scrutinized grammatical studies to encyclopedic treatises in the form of a commentary to the Six Days of Creation, the way in which it constituted the basis for religious practices in the liturgy, or the way in which it shaped the Classical Syriac standard language.

The present collection has been prepared by the Peshitta Institute Leiden. This institute was founded in 1959 when the International Organization for the Study of the Old Testament (IOSOT) appointed the Leiden Professor P.A.H. de Boer to be the chief editor of the new critical edition of the Old Testament Peshitta. At the moment the research of the Peshitta Institute includes the completion of the Major Edition of the Peshitta;² the preparation of a concordance;³ a completely revised edition of the *List*

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² For details see below, '2. The textual basis of the present collection'.

³ The *Concordance* will consist of six volumes (see below, note 8). Volume 1, the concordance to the Pentateuch edited by P.G. Borbone and K.D. Jenner, appeared in 1997.

of *Old Testament Peshitta Manuscripts* which was published in 1961 at the start of the Peshitta project;⁴ an annotated English translation of the Syriac Bible (which will appear under the title *The Bible of Edessa*);⁵ a project on the computer-assisted linguistic analysis of the Peshitta (the Turgama project);⁶ and projects on the reception of the Old Testament in the Syriac tradition, the biblical citations in Syriac patristic literature, and the liturgical use of the Peshitta.⁷

1. The contents of the present collection

Books included in the present collection

The present collection is based on the Leiden Peshitta edition (*The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshitta Version*). It contains all books that have been included or will be included in this edition. These are the following books.

Pentateuch	Historical books	Prophets	Writings	Deutero-canonical and apocryphal books
Genesis	Joshua	Isaiah	Psalms	Judith
Exodus	Judges	Jeremiah	Job	Susanna
Leviticus	1 Samuel	Ezekiel	Proverbs	Tobit
Numbers	2 Samuel	Dodekapropehton	Ruth	Wisdom of Solomon
Deuteronomy	1 Kings	Daniel–Bel–Draco	Songs	Jesus Sirach
	2 Kings		Qoheleth	Baruch
	1 Chronicles		Lamentations	Epistle of Jeremiah
	2 Chronicles		Esther	Epistle of Baruch
	Ezra			Apocalypse of Baruch
	Nehemia			1 Maccabees
				2 Maccabees
				3 Maccabees
				4 Maccabees
				1 (3) Ezra
				4 Ezra
				Apocryphal Psalms
				Odes
				Prayer of Manasse
				Psalms of Solomon

Table 1: Books included in the electronic Peshitta text

The division of books in this table agrees with that of the five volumes of Part V of the Leiden Peshitta edition, the *Concordance*,⁸ but it should be noted that in the Syriac

⁴ See Van Peursen, ‘Diffusion des manuscrits’.

⁵ See Jenner et al., ‘The New English Annotated Translation of the Syriac Bible (NEATSB)’.

⁶ Products of this project and its predecessor, the CALAP project, include Van Keulen–Van Peursen (eds.), *Corpus Linguistics and Textual History* and Van Peursen, *Language and Interpretation*; see www.religion.leidenuniv.nl/turgama.

⁷ See e.g. Ter Haar Romeny (ed.), *The Peshitta: Its Use in Literature and Liturgy*.

⁸ Borbone, Jenner et al., *Concordance I*, ix; a sixth volume will contain a General Index.

tradition different divisions are known as well.⁹ A peculiarity of the Syriac tradition is the collection of the Beth Mawtbē, which includes Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Qoheleth, Ruth, Songs, Job and Sirach. Another collection is the Book of Women, which includes Ruth, Susanna, Esther and Judith, although on other occasions Susanna appears immediately before Daniel. In liturgical manuscripts the Psalms and the Odes often occur together, usually with New Testament passages like the *Magnificat* (Luke 1:46–55), the *Benedictus* (Luke 1:68–79), or the Beatitudes (Matthew 5:1–12). Sometimes Job has been categorized under the Prophets, but more often it comes immediately after the Pentateuch. This latter position reflects an old tradition that identified Job with Jobab, mentioned in Genesis 10:29.

Criteria for the selection of books

To our best knowledge there is no documentation about the criteria that played a role in the selection of books for the Leiden Peshitta edition. The basic manuscript of the edition is Milan, Ambrosian Library, B. 21. Inf. (siglum: 7a1¹⁰) All books that occur in this manuscript have been included in the edition, except for the Sixth Book of Josephus' *Jewish War*. Consequently, the edition covers also the Apocalypse of Baruch and 4 Ezra, two books that occur in 7a1, but seem not to have belonged to the Old Testament canon in the Syriac tradition. In addition, there are some books included in the edition that do not occur in 7a1: the Odes, the Prayer of Manasseh, the Apocryphal Psalms, the Psalms of Solomon, Tobit and 1 (3) Ezra. Also regarding some of these books it is doubtful whether they can be considered part of the Syriac Old Testament canon.¹¹

The Old Testament canon in the Syriac tradition

The question of what books should be included in an edition of the Old Testament in Syriac is related to the complex question of how we can determine the Old Testament canon in the Syriac tradition. To establish whether a book belongs to the Old Testament canon or not, one can investigate whether it is quoted as Scripture, whether any exegetical work has been devoted to it, and whether it is mentioned in lists of biblical books, such as the *catalogus sinaiticus*, a list of sacred books ascribed to Irenaeus that

⁹ Cf. Van Peursen, 'Diffusion des manuscrits', especially 'Tableau 1 : Répartition des manuscrits par contenu'.

¹⁰ The sigla for Peshitta manuscripts consist of (1) a number indicating the century of the manuscript; (2) a letter giving an indication of the contents of the manuscript; and (3) a sequence number. Thus 7a1 indicates that this manuscript is a seventh-century manuscript ('7') containing the complete Old Testament ('a'). However, the '7' is controversial, because an origin in the sixth century has been suggested as well; cf. Ceriani, 'Le edizioni e i manoscritti delle versioni siriane del Vecchio Testamento'; Haeffeli, *Peshitta des Alten Testaments*, 77. P. Bogaert argues that 7a1 was produced before the Islamic conquest of Syria in his *Apocalypse de Baruch I*, 34–35.

¹¹ Cf. *List*, iii: 'The term "Old Testament" is taken in its widest sense and contains all apocryphal and pseudo-epigraphical books of an Old Testament nature. Within these limits a wide comprehensiveness is attempted.'

has been found in the monastery on Mount Sinai.¹² One can also look for evidence for liturgical use: Does the text contain liturgical titles, either in the main text or in the margins? Are sections of the book included in lectionaries? Is the book mentioned in lists of scriptural readings?¹³

Biblical manuscripts

To establish which books belong to the Old Testament canon in the Syriac tradition, it is also worthwhile to see which books have been included in biblical manuscripts. However, the value of this evidence is limited for two reasons. The first reason is that only a small minority of the biblical manuscripts contain the complete Old Testament.¹⁴ If we do not take into account the lectionaries and the massoretic manuscripts, there are about 150 biblical manuscripts of up to and including the twelfth century. Among them are only four pandects (manuscripts containing the complete Old Testament). These are the following:

Manuscript	Siglum
Milan, Ambrosian Library, B. 21. Inf	7a1
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Syr. 341	8a1
Florence, Bibl. Medicea Laurenziana, Orient. 58	9a1
Cambridge University Library 0o 1.1,2	12a1

Table 2: Peshitta manuscripts containing the complete Old Testament

A second reason is that the assumption that biblical manuscripts contain only biblical books, and non-biblical manuscripts only non-biblical books is an oversimplifica-

¹² Ed. Smith Lewis, 4–16. The manuscript can be dated in the ninth century, but for the list itself an earlier date, in the fourth century, has been argued; cf. Van Kasteren, ‘Canon des Ouden Verbonds’, I, 395–403.

¹³ For an example of how a treatment of these questions can proceed, see the discussion of Daniel in Jenner, ‘Syriac Daniel’, and of Sirach in Van Peursen, *Language and Interpretation*, ch. 6, esp. § 6.3.

¹⁴ Similar problems play a role in the case of the Septuagint. In ‘the world of scrolls and mini-codices’, before the ‘maxi-codex technology’ was developed, we seldom find more than two books together, and more usually only one or even less. (Robert Kraft, contribution to LXX-list d.d. 23 July 2007) The ‘maxi-codices’ were capable of holding everything judged to be ‘scriptural’. The first exemplars are the Vaticanus (4th cent.), the Sinaiticus (4th cent.) and the Alexandrinus (5th cent.). Most of the Greek pandects are from the 12th century or later. This means that also after the development of the maxi-codex technology, small collections—of, e.g., the Wisdom books—remained to be produced in the pre-printing-press area (James Miller, contribution to LXX-list d.d. 24 September 2007; cf. Rahlfs–Fraenkel, *Verzeichnis*; see also Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts*, Appendix 1). In Latin the earliest pandect is the Codex Amiatinus (Florence; 7th cent.; www.umilta.net/pandect.html). See further Kraft, ‘The Codex and Canon Consciousness’.

tion.¹⁵ In some cases books that are seemingly non-biblical appear in biblical manuscripts and in other cases biblical books appear in non-biblical collections.¹⁶

An example of the phenomenon that a biblical book appears in a non-biblical collection is the inclusion of the book of Susanna in MS 7h11 (Mount Sinai, St. Catherine's Monastery, Syr. 30) in a collection of 'narratives of holy women'.¹⁷ Qoheleth and Sirach occur alongside a cosmological and philosophical treatise and two homilies by Ephrem and Jacob of Sarug on the end of the world in 17g3.¹⁸ And after several pieces of liturgical poetry and 'Abdisho' of Nisibis' *Paradise of Eden*, the book of Judith appears in a manuscript from Trivandrum (Library of the Malankara Catholic Archbishop, 278).¹⁹

The opposite phenomenon—a non-biblical composition appears in a biblical collection—occurs as well. Sometimes hymnes or doxologies occur at the end of a manuscript. Thus at the end of the Beth Mawtbē manuscript 9c1 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Syr. 372) we find a 'Hymn About Every Man' (ܡܢ ܗܘܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܗܘܢܐ).²⁰ To our best knowledge, no scholar has ever claimed that this hymn belonged to the Bible in the Syriac tradition, just because it occurs in this biblical manuscript. But sometimes the situation is less clear. As we said above, the Apocalypse of Baruch and 4 Ezra have been included in the Leiden Peshitta edition because they appear in the pandect 7a1, but it is uncertain whether they ever belonged to the Old Testament canon in the Syriac tradition. Josephus' *Jewish War*, also included in 7a1, does not appear in the Leiden Peshitta edition, but it has been argued that its appearance in 7a1 shows that it was part of the Syriac biblical canon.²¹ Another interesting case is the story of Thecla, the disciple of Paul the Apostle. It is added to the Book of Women in 6f1, 8f1²² and 10f1, and occurs alongside the Book of Daniel in 6h21.²³

7a1 as a biblical manuscript

¹⁵ To add to the confusion, the terms 'scriptural', 'biblical' and 'canonical' are often used interchangeably, without a precise definition. On the definition of 'canon' and its distinction from other, related concepts, see Ulrich, 'The Notion and Definition of Canon'.

¹⁶ In this respect, too, one can compare the situation with Greek manuscripts; cf. Earle Ellis, *The Old Testament in Early Christianity*, 34–35: 'When the Septuagint was put into codex form, apparently sometime after the mid-second century A.D., it became even more a *corpus mixtum*. (...) No two Septuagint codices contain the same apocrypha (...) In view of these facts the Septuagint codices appear to have been originally intended more as service books than as defined and normative canon of scripture'.

¹⁷ See Burris–Van Rompay, 'Thecla in Syriac Christianity', [17]. The text of Susanna occurs 'in a version different from all other known texts' (*List*, 46).

¹⁸ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Syr. 243.

¹⁹ Van der Ploeg, *The Book of Judith* (edition); idem, *Christians of St. Thomas*, 87–88; see also Van Rompay, 'No Evil Words about Her', 206. According to Van der Ploeg, this manuscript contains 'the book of Judith, according to an unknown recension'; Van Rompay shows that this 'unkown recension' is a revision of the Peshitta text with the help of a Greek manuscript.

²⁰ The text of this hymn is almost completely erased; Briquel-Chatonnet, *Manuscripts syriaques*, 53.

²¹ Kottek, *Das sechste Buch des Bellum Judaicum*, 5; cf. Van Peursen, 'Diffusion des manuscrits'.

²² 8f1 contains also the book of Tobit; see Lebram, 'Tobit', Introduction, p. ii and further below.

²³ Burris–Van Rompay, 'Thecla in Syriac Christianity', [12].

These observations raise the question of the character of 7a1, the basis of the Leiden Peshitta edition. The canonical status of three of the books included in it is questionable. W. Baars suggested that the inclusion of the Apocalypse of Baruch, 4 Ezra and the Sixth Book of the *Jewish War* shows that the manuscript was not intended for use in the church.²⁴ However, we still know only little about the motivation behind the inclusion of non-biblical books in biblical manuscripts or, more generally, the combination of biblical and non-biblical books in one and the same manuscript. As long as a thorough and systematic investigation has not taken place, we cannot draw firm conclusions. Baars also points to the absence of liturgical titles in the largest part of the manuscript,²⁵ but Konrad Jenner has argued that some liturgical titles do occur²⁶ and that the low frequency of titles does not prove that the manuscript was not intended for public service. It may rather be explained from the fact that 7a1, like other pandects, has been copied from various source texts, and that these texts reflected different textual and liturgical traditions.²⁷

Another factor that is relevant in this context is the place that certain books occupy in a manuscript. Roger Beckwith suggested that sometimes at the end of a manuscript there was ‘an appendix of apocryphal and disputed books, additional to those in the canon’.²⁸ Thus at the end of 7a1 we find the ‘Maccabean corpus’ (including the *Jewish War*), preceded by the disputed and apocryphal books Sirach, Chronicles, the Apocalypse of Baruch, 4 Ezra and Ezra–Nehemiah. In 8a1 Beckwith discerns such an appendix in the books Esther, Judith, Ezra–Nehemiah, Sirach and 1–3 Maccabees.²⁹ The end of 9a1 has not been preserved. If a similar kind of appendix occurred in that manuscript, this may explain why especially some of the apocryphal or disputed books are missing.³⁰ If the end of a manuscript was a location where disputed books could receive a place, we cannot conclude from a book’s occurrence at the end of a biblical manuscript that it was considered canonical (*pace* Kottek), nor does the appearance of a disputed or non-biblical book at the end of a manuscript in-

²⁴ Baars, ‘Neue Textzeugen der syrischen Baruchapokalypse’, 477 n. 3: ‘Die Auffassung liesse sich ja verteidigen, dass die Mailänder Handschrift, die ausser der Baruchapokalypse noch zwei andere Schriften (nämlich das 4. Buch Esra und einen Teil des 6. Buches von Flavius Josephus’ ‘Bellum Judaicum’) zu der üblichen Reihe biblischer Schriften hinzufügt, nicht für kirchliche Zwecke bestimmt war.’

²⁵ Baars, ‘Neue Textzeugen der syrischen Baruchapokalypse’, 477 n. 3 (continuation of the quotation in the preceding footnote): ‘Dass viele Rubriken und liturgische Vermerke, die sich in anderen Handschriften dieser Zeit finden, hier fehlen, könnte eine solche Schlussfolgerung wahrscheinlich machen’; cf. Klijn, ‘Die Syrische Baruch-Apokalypse’, 107: ‘Die Handschrift diente wahrscheinlich nicht liturgischen Zwecken, denn liturgische Anmerkungen fehlen ganz’.

²⁶ See the table of titles in 7a1 in Jenner, *Perikopenstelsels*, 412–413. Accordingly, Klijn’s remark quoted in the preceding footnote is incorrect.

²⁷ See Jenner, ‘Review of Methods’, 255–259.

²⁸ Beckwith, *Old Testament Canon*, 195.

²⁹ Beckwith, *Old Testament Canon*, 195–196. For the view that in the Syriac tradition Ezra–Nehemiah was not canonical Beckwith refers to Theodore of Mopsuestia; for ‘the relegation to the section of apocryphal or disputed books’ of Esther he argues that this ‘may go back directly or indirectly to Jewish opinion about the canon’.

³⁰ Beckwith, *Old Testament Canon*, 195–196.

dicare that the manuscript as a whole denies a characterisation as ‘biblical’ or that it was not intended to be used in public service (*pace* Baars).³¹

³¹ Note, however, that Beckwith’s assumption is not without problems, see Van Peursen, ‘Diffusion des manuscrits’, note 58.

2. The textual basis of the present collection

The role of 7a1 in the Leiden Peshitta edition

As far as books of the Peshitta have appeared in the Leiden Peshitta edition, the main text of the edition is given.³² This applies to all the volumes mentioned in table 3. The basic text of the edition is the manuscript 7a1.³³ However, the use of this text has changed in the course of time. In the first volumes 7a1 was reproduced ‘unchanged, except for the correction of obvious clerical errors that do not make sense’.³⁴ But in later volumes, beginning with II/4 *Kings* (1976), the text of 7a1 is also emended if it is not supported by at least two other manuscripts of up to and including the tenth century.³⁵ Even conjectures, without any support of the textual witnesses, were allowed, though hardly ever used. Readings in the main text of the Leiden Peshitta edition that do not occur in 7a1 are put between the symbols † ... †.

The choice for 7a1 as the basic text was because of practical reasons, rather than because of a superior text-critical status of this manuscript.³⁶ For this reason the importance of the critical apparatus containing readings from the other manuscripts cannot be overestimated.³⁷ Without consulting the variants registered in the printed edition, the reader will not get a full text-critically and text-historically correct view of the Peshitta text.

The textual basis of books not found in 7a1

For the books not found in 7a1, the oldest known manuscript that contains the complete text of the relevant book is used as the basic text.³⁸ This concerns the books mentioned in table 4.

³² For full bibliographical references see www.brill.nl.

³³ Cf. above, note 10.

³⁴ *General Preface*, p. viii; similarly De Boer, ‘Towards an Edition’, 356.

³⁵ See the Introduction to this volume (ed. Gottlieb–Hammershaimb), pp. ii, iv, and Dirksen, ‘In Retrospect’, 33. Related to this change in policy is the fact that the earlier volumes follow 7a1 regarding the use of the *seyame*, the diacritics and the interpunction as much as possible, whereas in later volumes the diacritics and delimitation markers are only included when they were deemed important enough.

³⁶ Cf. De Boer, ‘Towards an Edition’, 356: ‘Codex Ambrosianus has been chosen as the basic text for practical reasons: its age, completeness, clear hand and accessibility, and the existence of a facsimile edition. It must be emphasized that it has not been chosen because we regard the manuscript as the most important witness for reconstructing the original Peshitta version—which Codex Ambrosianus is certainly not.’ See also Goshen-Gottstein, ‘Prolegomena’, esp. 199. The text-critical value and ‘authenticity’ of the Codex Ambrosianus has been a subject of intense scholarly debate. Haefeli, *Peshitta des Alten Testaments*, 75–79, 115, held it in high esteem, but Cornill, *Ezechiel*, 140–145, considered it as a reworked and corrected text that has no text-critical value for the reconstruction of the original Peshitta text.

³⁷ Cf. De Boer, ‘Preface’, p. viii: ‘The text printed in this edition—it must be stated *expressis verbis*—ought to be used in exegetical and textual study together with the apparatuses’.

³⁸ *General Preface*, p. vii.

Volume	Books	Editors	Year
Sample	Preface	P.A.H. de Boer, W. Baars	1966
	Song of Songs	J.A. Emerton	
	Tobit	J.C.H. Lebram	
	4 Ezra	R.J. Bidawid	
–	<i>General Preface</i>	P.A.H. de Boer, W. Baars	1972
I/1	Preface	P.A.H. de Boer	1997
	Genesis	T. Jansma	
	Exodus	M.D. Koster	
I/2+II/1b	Leviticus	D.J. Lane	1991
	Numbers	A.P. Hayman	
	Deuteronomy	W.M. van Vliet, H.J. Hospers, H.J.W. Drijvers	
	Joshua	J.E. Erbes	
II/1a	Job	L.G. Rignell	1982
II/2	Judges	P.B. Dirksen	1978
	Samuel	P.A.H. de Boer	
II/3	Psalms	D.M. Walter, A. Vogel, R.Y. Ebied	1982
II/4	Kings	H. Gottlieb, E. Hammershaimb	1976
II/5	Proverbs	A.A. di Lella	1979
	Wisdom of Solomon	J.A. Emerton, D.J. Lane	
	Qoheleth	D.J. Lane	
	Song of Songs	J.A. Emerton, D.J. Lane	
III/1	Isaiah	S.P. Brock	1987
III/3	Ezekiel	M.J. Mulder	1985
III/4	Dodekapropheton	A. Gelston	1980
	Daniel–Bel–Draco	Th. Sprey	
IV/2	Chronicles	R.P. Gordon, P.B. Dirksen	1998
IV/3	Apocalypse of Baruch	S. Dederling	1973
	4 Ezra	R.J. Bidawid	
IV/6	Canticles or Odes	H. Schneider	1972
	Prayer of Manasseh	W. Baars & H. Schneider	
	Apocryphal Psalms	W. Baars	
	Psalms of Solomon	W. Baars	
	Tobit	J.C.H. Lebram	
	1 (3) Ezra	W. Baars & J.C.H. Lebram	

Table 3: Published volumes in the Leiden Peshitta edition

Book	MS
Canticles or Odes	9t3
Prayer of Manasseh	9a1
Apocryphal Psalms	12t4
Psalms of Solomon	16h1
Tobit	8f1
1 (3) Ezra	12a1

Table 4: The textual basis of books not found in 7a1

Parallel texts

The editors of the Leiden Peshitta edition followed the policy that ‘when two really divergent texts are available they are printed in parallel columns’.³⁹ This applies to the following sections.

Text	MSS
Tobit 7:11–14:15	8f1 and 12a1
Epistle of Baruch	7a1 [176v–177v] and [265v–267r]
1 Maccabees 1:1–10:50, 10:67–14:25	7a1 and 7h1
Prayer of Manasseh	9a1 and 10t1
Psalms 151	6h22 and 12t4

Table 5: Sections of which two divergent texts are available

Books for which the Leiden edition is not yet available

The present collection contains the text of 7a1 for those books that have not appeared yet in the Leiden Peshitta edition. This concerns the following volumes of the series:

Volume	Books
III/2	Jeremiah, Lamentations, Epistle of Jeremiah, Epistle of Baruch, Baruch
IV/1	Ruth, Susanna, Esther, Judith, Sirach
IV/4	Ezra–Nehemia, 1–2 Maccabees
IV/5	3–4 Maccabees

Table 6: Forthcoming volumes of the Leiden Peshitta edition

Variant readings

In the electronic text of the Pentateuch variant readings are given that occur in Part V of the Leiden Peshitta edition, the *Concordance*.⁴⁰ These are mainly variants that have a lexicographical significance. Whereas the edition started with the ambition to include variant readings from all manuscripts up to the nineteenth century, it soon became clear that variant readings in manuscripts ‘younger than the twelfth century’ were ‘of little value for exegetical and textual studies’. Accordingly, almost all variants come from manuscripts from the twelfth century or earlier.⁴¹

3. Some remarks on individual books

Chronicles

The Peshitta of Chronicles stands out as a very free translation, which contains many additions and paraphrases. It diverges far more from the Hebrew text of the Bible than any other book. As a consequence, the verse numbering does not always run parallel

³⁹ *General Preface*, p. vii. For more details see below, ‘3. Some remarks on individual books’.

⁴⁰ Borbone–Jenner, *Concordance 1. The Pentateuch*.

⁴¹ Cf. Dirksen, ‘In Retrospect’, 32. Biblical quotations in the works of Syriac writers and commentators have not been included in the critical apparatus of the edition. For the practical and theoretical motivation behind this decision see Jenner–Van Peursen–Talstra, ‘Interdisciplinary Approach’, 36–39.

to that of the Hebrew Bible. A number of verses are missing in the Peshitta of Chronicles.⁴² Moreover, 2 Chr 11:1–12:2 has been substituted by 1 Kgs 12:21–30, 13:34–14:9. According to Michael Weitzman this situation shows that the translator worked from a damaged source text.⁴³

Psalms

In the Hebrew Bible many psalms have a heading that includes the attribution to a person and a historical context (e.g. Ps 3:1 ‘A psalm of David. When he fled from his son Absalom’ [NRSV]) and certain rubrics (e.g. Ps 4:1 ‘To the leader: with stringed instruments’ [NRSV]). These have been omitted in the original Peshitta translation of the Psalms.⁴⁴ In the second half of the fifth century or later, titles were introduced in both the Eastern and the Western Syriac tradition. They differ from each other as well as from the Hebrew and Greek texts. They are not included in the Leiden Peshitta edition.⁴⁵

Tobit

Tobit does not occur in the pandects 7a1, 8a1 and 9a1. It does occur, however, in 12a1. The text in this manuscript and other manuscripts is a combination of a Hexaplaric text (1:1–7:11) and ‘another version which cannot be properly called the Peshitta’ (7:12–end). This second version is based on another Greek recension of Tobit. It reflects corrections on the basis of a Hebrew source.⁴⁶ 8f1 contains the complete Hexaplaric text.⁴⁷ In the electronic text both versions have been included, as they have been in the Leiden edition. This means that the textual basis is the following:

- The complete Syro-Hexaplaric text of 8f1.
- The second version attested in other biblical manuscripts in 7:11–end. For this text the basic manuscript is 12a1 (for 7:2–14:10) and 18/16g6 (14:11–15).⁴⁸

⁴² 1 Chr 2:45, 47–49, 53; 4:7–8, 13–14, 16–18, 22–23, 34–37; 5:13; 7:34–38; 8:8, 17–22, 27; 12:24; 24:27–31; 25:5–6, 30–31; 28:13–14, 18–19; 2 Chr 4:11–17, 19–22; 5:12–13; 9:25, 29; 14:15; 20:22–23; 24:13–14; 25:22; 26:7; 27:8; 28:14; 29:10–19; 33:4. The order of verses differs in 1 Chr 3:7–8; 11:43–44; 2 Chr 28:16–22. Note also that 2 Chr 2:1–18 in the Massoretic Text has been numbered as 1:18; 2:1–17 in the Peshitta edition.

⁴³ Weitzman, *Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 113.

⁴⁴ The same applies to the ‘subscript’ in Ps 72:20. Other verses missing in the Peshitta to the Psalms are Ps 34:10; 60:14; 89:32; 109:10; 119:91. Note further that the order of verses in the Peshitta differs from that in the Hebrew text in 73:23; 111:7–8; 119:148, 171–172.

⁴⁵ David G.K. Taylor is preparing an edition of the West Syriac Psalm titles; see also his ‘Psalm Headings in the West Syrian Tradition’. Harry F. Van Rooy is preparing an edition of the East Syriac material. See his ‘Towards a Critical Edition of the Headings of the Psalms in the Different Syriac Traditions’ and further Bloemendaal, *The Headings of the Psalms in the East Syrian Church*.

⁴⁶ Lebram, ‘Tobit’, Introduction, p. ii; idem, ‘Die Peschitta zu Tobit 7₁₁ – 14₁₅’.

⁴⁷ In 8f1 Tobit belongs to the so-called ‘Book of Women’.

⁴⁸ The verses 7:12–13; 8:16; 11:7–8, 12; 12:10; 13:9–18; 14:7–9 do not occur in 12a1.

Sirach

The Syriac text of Sirach (in Syriac: Bar Sira) differs considerably from that of the extant Hebrew and Greek witnesses.⁴⁹ About two-thirds of the text is extant in the Hebrew manuscripts from Masada, Qumran and the Cairo Geniza. In the case of the Greek text we can distinguish between GrI, the original translation, and GrII, the so-called Expanded Text, which contains about 300 additional cola and a number of shorter additions.⁵⁰ Since the traditional numbering of the verses is based on GrII, it happens quite often that verses that seem to be missing in the Syriac text, because of the omission of verse numbers, are in fact GrII readings.⁵¹ On other occasions the Syriac translator appears to have omitted passages that he found in his source text on purpose, such as the description of the liturgical vestments of Aaron in 45:8c–14. The confusion concerning verse numbers is increased by the fact that in the extant Greek manuscripts 30:25–33:13a and 33:13b–36:16a have exchanged places. As a result of the character of the Syriac translation and the confusion concerning the verse numbers, a number of verses are missing in the Syriac text.⁵² Furthermore, there are verses that occur in a different place than in the Greek text,⁵³ and some verses have been translated twice and occur in two places.⁵⁴ After 1:20 there follows a section which has been numbered 20a to 20l, and which replaces 1:21–27. After 20l follows 1:28. Sometimes the Syriac text includes an expansion that has been numbered with <a>, etc.⁵⁵

Epistle of Baruch, Apocalypse of Baruch and Epistle of Jeremiah

This Epistle of Baruch is also known as 2 Baruch 78:1–87:1. This numbering has been followed in the electronic text. 2 Baruch, also called the Apocalypse of Baruch or the Syriac Baruch, was for a long period only known in Syriac. The Syriac text is still the most important source of this book. The Arabic version (MS Sinai Arab. 589) ‘is a translation of a Syriac version closely related to the existing Syriac text’.⁵⁶ A Greek fragment has been found among the Oxyrhynchus papyri. 7a1 is the only extant Syriac biblical manuscript including the complete Apocalypse of Baruch, where it oc-

⁴⁹ For details about the Syriac text of Sirach see Van Peursen, *Language and Interpretation*.

⁵⁰ Ziegler’s edition of Sirach in the Göttingen series gives these additional verses in a smaller font.

⁵¹ In other cases, however, the Syriac translation shares a GrII reading.

⁵² 6:9–10; 11:22–26; 18:3, 6 (see below, n. 53); 19:18–19; 20:10–11, 17–19; 22:7–8; 32:7–8; 33:2–4; 35:18–19; 36:14–16a (this is a consequence of the confusion in chapters 31–36 of the Greek text); 37:16–17; 41:12; 40:9–10; 42:1–8; 45:9–14; 50:20–21.

⁵³ This happens in 2:5 (after 2:6); 3:25 (after 3:27); 17:6 (after 17:7); 18:1–6 (the order in the Peshitta is 4–5–1–2; vv. 3, 6 are missing); 26:2 (after 26:3); 27:11 (after 27:12); 27:14b (after 27:15); 28:24–25 (the order in the Peshitta is 24a–25b–24b–25a); 33:20cd (after 33:21); 35:12 (after 35:13); 37:22 (after 37:23).

⁵⁴ Thus one translation of 5:6 occurs before 5:5 and one after it. Similarly 9:9, which occurs once before and once after 9:8.

⁵⁵ This happens in 20:16; 22:20; 29:28.

⁵⁶ Leemhuis–Klijn–Van Gelder, *Apocalypse of Baruch*, p. vi.

curs after Chronicles. Some portions of its text have been included in Jacobite lectionaries (1312, 1313 and 1515).⁵⁷

Whereas the witnesses of 2 Baruch or the Apocalypse of Baruch are scarce, the Epistle of Baruch is attested in 38 biblical manuscripts. In 7a1 it occurs twice. The first time (fol. 176v–177v) it comes after the book of Jeremiah, together with the Epistle of Jeremiah and Baruch. There it is called ‘The first letter of Baruch’, and the book of Baruch is called ‘The second letter of Baruch’.⁵⁸ It occurs a second time at the end of 2 Baruch (fol. 265v–267r). Here it is followed by the subscript ‘The end of the book of Baruch, the son of Neriah’, which apparently refers to the book of 2 Baruch as a whole.⁵⁹

In 7a1 the Epistle of Jeremiah comes immediately before the Epistle of Baruch and is preceded by the heading ‘The Epistles of Jeremiah and Baruch’. The place of the Epistle of Jeremiah vis-à-vis the other books related to Jeremiah and Baruch differs in manuscripts and traditions. Thus in 7a1 it occurs between Lamentations and the Epistle of Baruch, but in 8a1 it comes after the Epistle of Baruch.⁶⁰

1 Maccabees

7a1 offers a text of 1 Maccabees that differs considerably from that found in the other biblical manuscripts. It seems to be the product of a free and sometimes inaccurate translation. In the Leiden edition it will be presented alongside the text found in the other Peshitta manuscripts. For the latter 7h1 serves as the main witness.⁶¹ This policy is followed in the present collection. This means that the textual basis is the following.

- The ‘aberrant text’ of 7a1 (except for 10:50b–66).
- The Peshitta text. Textual basis: 7h1 (except for chapters 15–16).

4 Ezra

The Syriac text of 4 Ezra starts with Chapter 3. Unlike the Latin version, it does not include the Prologue (Chapters 1–2; also known as 5 Ezra⁶²), nor the Epilogue (Chap-

⁵⁷ Cf. Dederig, ‘Apocalypse of Baruch’, Introduction, p. iii; Baars, ‘Neue Textzeugen der Syrischen Baruchapokalypse’; Bogaert, *Apocalypse de Baruch* I, 38–40.

⁵⁸ Cf. Dederig, ‘Apocalypse of Baruch’, Introduction, p. iv, note 2: ‘Another copy of this letter occurs on fols. 176^b–177^b of 7a1 together with the Epistle of Jeremiah and Baruch immediately after the book of Jeremiah. The two copies of the Epistle of Baruch are not identical and their divergences point to different textual traditions. (...) The usual form of this text is that found with the Epistle of Jeremiah and Baruch’.

⁵⁹ On the Syriac texts of the Epistle of Baruch see also Bogaert, *Apocalypse de Baruch* I, 43–55; Klijn, ‘Syrische Baruch-Apokalypse’, 108–110; Denis–Haelewyck, *Introduction à la littérature religieuse judéo-hellénistique*, I, 732–734.

⁶⁰ In the Greek tradition it follows Lamentations in the Codices Vaticanus and Alexandrinus. In other Greek manuscripts and the Vulgate it is appended to 1 Baruch as Chapter 6.

⁶¹ For details see Schmidt, ‘Die beiden Syrischen Übersetzungen’.

⁶² Cf. Bergren, *Fifth Ezra*; 14:11–12 is missing as well.

ters 15–16; also known as 6 Ezra⁶³). 7a1 is the only biblical manuscript including 4 Ezra,⁶⁴ but some parts of the text of 4 Ezra have been preserved in lectionaries. This evidence is included in the critical apparatus of the Leiden edition.⁶⁵

Psalm 151

The five so-called Apocryphal Psalms (151–155) occur in two biblical manuscripts, in 12t4, at the end of the canonical Psalter, and in 19d1, at the end of the prophetic books. The Hebrew text of Pss 151, 154, 155 (= Apocryphal Psalms I-III) is attested in the Qumran scroll 11QPs^a.⁶⁶ Ps 151 occurs also in the Septuagint. It is generally accepted that the Syriac version of Ps 151 is dependent on the Septuagint.⁶⁷ For Psalm 151 there are two Syriac texts included:⁶⁸

- The text as it occurs in the biblical manuscripts 12t4 and 19d1. The basis for this text is 12t4. This text occurs also in manuscripts of the *Ktābā d-Durrāšā* by Elias of Al-Anbar (14E1, 17E1.2.3, 18E1.2, 19E1.2 in the Leiden edition).⁶⁹
- The text as it is found in a number of liturgical Psalters. The manuscript 6h2 is taken as the basic text for this version.

Odes

All liturgical Psalters from the eighth century onwards contain an appendix of poetical passages taken from both the Old and the New Testaments. This collection is also added to the Psalms in a number of biblical manuscripts. 9t3 is the oldest manuscript to contain a complete series of the Odes. This manuscript is taken as the basic text for the edition.⁷⁰ In the present collection the following Odes have been included:⁷¹

⁶³ Cf. Bergren, *Sixth Ezra*.

⁶⁴ 4 Ezra precedes Ezra–Nehemiah known from the Hebrew Bible; cf. above, ‘7a1 as a biblical manuscript’.

⁶⁵ See Bidawid, ‘4 Ezra’, Introduction, p. ii. Compare Drint, *The Mount Sinai Arabic Version of IV Ezra*, on the Arabic text of 4 Ezra in MS Sinai Arab. 589, which ‘was made from a Syriac copy, not of the Codex Ambrosianus itself, but probably from a copy closely related to its *Vorlage*’ (p. 23).

⁶⁶ Cf. Sanders, *Psalms Scroll of Qumrān Cave 11*, 53–76. The research into these Psalms has been stimulated by the publication of the Qumran Psalms Scroll in 1965 and that of the Syriac text in 1972; see e.g. Baars, ‘Apocryphal Psalms’, Introduction, p. iii and Van Rooy, ‘Psalm 155’, with bibliographical references.

⁶⁷ Cf. Van Rooy, ‘Marginal Notes’.

⁶⁸ See Baars, ‘Apocryphal Psalms’, Introduction, pp. iii-iv, vii; on the different text forms of Ps 151 see also Van Rooy, *Studies on the Syriac Apocryphal Psalms*, ch. 6–8.

⁶⁹ Cf. Juckel, *Der Ktābā d-Durrāšā (ktābā d-ma'wātā) des Elijā von Anbār I* (Syr. 226), liii-liv.

⁷⁰ Thus Schneider, ‘Canticles or Odes’, Introduction, p. ii.

⁷¹ For more details see Schneider, ‘Wenig beachtete Rezensionen’; Brock, ‘Manuscripts liturgiques’, 269–270; idem, *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition*, 141–142. The order and numbers of the Odes given here follows that of the Leiden Peshitta edition. Note that this arrangement differs from that in the *List*, viii, note 2, where the two appendices are not mentioned and where Isa 26:9–10 is moved to the end (Ode 6 = Jonah 2:3–10; Ode 7 = Dan 3:26–56; Ode 8 = Dan 3:57–88; Ode 9 = Isa 26:9–10).

- Ode 1: First Canticle of Moses (= Ex 15:1–19/21)
- Ode 2: Second Canticle of Moses (= Deut 32:1–43)
- Ode 3: Canticle of Isaiah (= Isa 42:10–13, 45:8)
- Ode 4: Canticle of Hannah (= 1 Sam 2:1–10)
- Ode 5: Canticle of Habakkuk (= Hab 3:2–19)
- Ode 6: (Another) Canticle of Isaiah (= Isa 26:9–20)
- Ode 7: Canticle of Jonah (= Jonah 2:3–10)
- Ode 8: Canticle of the House of Hananiah (= Dan 3:26–56)
- Ode 9: Prayer of the House of Hanaiah (= Dan 3:57–88)
- Appendix: Canticle of Hezekiah (= Isa 38:10–20)
- Appendix: Canticle of David (= Ps 63:2–12)

According to H. Schneider, the first three Odes were appended to the Psalms before the fifth century. They basically provide a Peshitta text. Following the Greek tradition of nine Odes, the West-Syriac tradition added the other six Odes.⁷² The biblical passages of these Odes occur in a version different from that of the Peshitta.⁷³

Additions to Daniel

The two Odes from the book of Daniel belong to the additions to this book that are not found in the Hebrew and Aramaic text. Another addition, the story of Suzanna, is either added to the beginning of Daniel or included in the Book of Women. Accordingly, the additions to Daniel are found in the following places:⁷⁴

- The Prayer of Azarja (3:26–56) and the Song of the Three Men (3:57–88) come immediately after Dan 3:25. They are also included as Odes 8 and 9.
- The stories about Bel and the Dragon come at the end of the Book of Daniel. In 7a1 they both receive their own heading (ܐܘܪܝܫܐ ܕܒܝܠ and ܐܘܪܝܫܐ ܕܕܪܝܘܢ).
- Suzanna is included in the Book of Women, together with Ruth, Esther and Judith. These four books occur together in the Peshitta manuscripts 7a1 and 9a1. But in, for example, 8a1 Susanna comes immediately at the beginning of Daniel.

Prayer of Manasseh

The Prayer of Manasseh is not included in 7a1. The electronic text includes two versions. One has 9a1 as its textual basis, the other 10t1:

⁷² We can observe some variation in the Odes that have been included. The list of the nine Odes given above runs largely parallel to the Odes in the Greek tradition, except that Isa 42:10–13, 45:8 is not included in the Greek collections; cf. Rahlfs, *Psalms cum Odis*, 78–80.

⁷³ Schneider, 'Wenig beachtete Rezensionen', 168.

⁷⁴ Cf. Jenner, 'Syriac Daniel'.

- 9a1. The form of the text in 9a1 is only slightly different from that found in the Syriac translation of the *Didascalia Apostolorum*.⁷⁵ It occurs also in some other manuscripts. Baars and Schneider, the editors of this book in the Leiden edition, concluded that the Syriac text of the Prayer of Manasse in some other, mainly West Syrian, biblical manuscripts derived probably from the translation incorporated in the Syriac *Didascalia*.⁷⁶
- 10t1. On this version Baars and Schneider comment: ‘Besides the translation deriving from the *Didascalia Apostolorum*, the Syriac Church, or more exactly the Melchite branch of Syriac Christianity, knew a second translation of the OrM (...) This translation, though not wholly independent, is largely different from the other (...) This peculiar recension of the OrM makes its first appearance in a biblical MS, a Melchite Psalter (10t1)’.⁷⁷

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⁷⁵ For this text see Gibson, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, I, 60–61; Vööbus, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, I (Syr. 175), 89–91 (text); II (Syr. 176), 85–87 (translation). For the role of the Prayer of Manasseh in the *Didascalia* see Newman, ‘Three Contexts’.

⁷⁶ Baars–Schneider, ‘Prayer of Manasseh’, Introduction, p. ii.

⁷⁷ Baars–Schneider, ‘Prayer of Manasseh’, Introduction, p.v.

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