The Heirs of Theodore

Aḥob of Qatar and the Development of the East Syriac Exegetical Tradition

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For Byard Bennett, David G. K. Taylor, and Sergey Minov

Thank you

ABSTRACT

THE HEIRS OF THEODORE:

AḤOB OF QATAR AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EAST SYRIAC EXEGETICAL TRADITION

This thesis is a study of Aḥob of Qatar, an important but under-researched late 6th-century East Syriac biblical commentator, and his surviving Old Testament exegetical works (mostly in the form of scholia). It further examines what can be deduced of Aḥob's influence on the later East Syriac exegetical tradition, and it details the originality of his exegesis, especially in comparison with earlier and/or contemporary Greek and Syriac sources. My argument will be twofold: 1) Aḥob's exegetical and theological impact on the East Syriac exegetical tradition was more extensive than previously considered, and 2) Aḥob represents a distinct voice within the East Syriac exegetical tradition and so should not be equated with a presumed harmonized monologue in East Syriac biblical exegesis which repeats Theodore of Mopsuestia's (350-428) exegesis and theology line-by-line.

In Chapter 1, I examine the surviving biographical data relating to Aḥob's life and works. In Chapter 2, I present an annotated edition and English translation of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* and surviving attributed Old Testament scholia, as well as a discussion of disputed scholia and spurious scholia connected to Aḥob. In Chapters 3 and 4, I analyze Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works as they were used and developed by later East Syriac writers and manuscript traditions, including Nathniel of Shirzor's (ca. 600) *Cause of the Psalms*, *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* (first half of the 8th century), Theodore bar Koni's *Scholion* (792/793), the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary* (first half of the 9th century?), Isho'dad of Merv's (fl. ca. 850) *Commentary on Genesis*, *1 Samuel*, and *Psalms*, the *Anonymous Commentary* (10th century), Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* (mid-10th century-early 20th century), and Isaac Shbadnaya's (fl. 1439/1440) prose commentary on his *Poem on God's Governance from 'In the Beginning' until Eternity*. In Chapter 5, I investigate four aspects of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works: 1) their original form, 2) their original purpose, 3) their multiple sources, and 4) their overall distinctiveness within the East Syriac exegetical tradition. I conclude this thesis with an Appendix, which presents an edition of the Introduction and select parts of thirteen psalms from the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary*, to which Aḥob's Psalm scholia are connected.

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SIGLA, ABBREVIATIONS, AND CONVENTIONS

The sigla for the Syriac manuscripts and editions of texts used in this study are listed in Chapter 2, Section 2.1. Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works in the Syriac Manuscript Tradition.

TEXT:

⁜	folio break
⌜ ⌝	unit of variation of two or more words
⌜⌜ ⌝⌝	alternative unit of variation
[ ]	letters which are presently illegible
ـَ	equals East Syriac abbreviation marker: ـَـة
ـِ	equals East Syriac *mhagyānā* – marker of a *shwa* [*ə*]: ـِـحِـمْـ
ـٍ	equals East Syriac *mbaṭlānā* – indicator of a silent letter: ـَمـتـَ
…	ellipsis of text

MARGINS:

⁜	folio break marker
/	folio break (where more than one manuscript either breaks at the same spot or on the same line)

APPARATUS:

A^{mg}	reading in margin

ABBREVIATIONS FOR TEXT EDITIONS AND ANALYSIS:

+	plus
add	additus/ta
c.	cum
ca.	about, approximately
cf.	confer

col.	column
cols.	columns
cont.	continued
cs	common singular
d.	died
dit	per dittographiam
ed.	editor / edition
eds.	editors
esp.	especially
et	and
f	feminine
f.	folio
ff.	folios
fl.	flourished
fin	finalis, finis
hapl	per haplographiam
homarc	per homoearcton
homtel	per homoeteleuton
imp.	impression
init	initialis
lac	lacuna
leg.	lege (read!)
l.n.	legi nequit / nequeunt (cannot read)
lin oc	linea occultans
lit.	literally
m	masculine
ms.	manuscript
mss	manuscripts
mg	in margine
n.	footnote
om	omittit/unt
p	plural
p.	page (of this or another publication)
pp.	pages (of this or another publication)

pr	prefaces/inserts before
r	recto
r.	reigned
rev.	revised
s	singular
s.	sine
sey	*seyame* (plural marker)
tr	transposuit/erunt
trans.	translation
v	verso
v.	verse
vv.	verses

CONVENTIONS:

Unless otherwise stated, all citations of the Peshitta version of the Old Testament are taken from *The Old Testament in Syriac according to the Peshiṭta Version*, 18 vols. (Leiden: Brill, 1966-2019). All citations of the Peshitta New Testament are taken from George Henry Gwilliam and J. Pinkerton (eds.), *The New Testament in Syriac* (London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1905-1920) and Barbara Aland and Andreas Juckel (eds.), *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung*, 4 vols. (Berlin / New York, 1986-2002).

With the exception of text analysis, all translated phrases originating from the Peshitta have been italicized, and added words are placed within parentheses. Unless otherwise indicated, all biblical citations are also taken from the Peshitta.

All citations of the Masoretic Text (MT) are taken from K. Elliger and W. Rudolph, et al. (eds.) *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, 5th rev. ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1997), and all citations of the Septuagint (LXX) are taken from John William Wevers (ed.), *Genesis* (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974); A. Rahlfs (ed.), *Psalmi cum Odis* (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum 10; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1931); Joseph Ziegler (ed.), *Ezechiel* (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum 16.1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1952); Robert Hanhart (ed.),

Iudith (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis editum 8.4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979).

The abbreviations for the Masoretic Text, the Septuagint, Old and New Testament books, and Deuterocanonical books are found in Siegfried M. Schwertner, *IATG 3 – Internationales Abkürzungsverzeichnis für Theologie und Grenzgebiete: Zeitschriften, Serien, Lexika, Quellenwerke mit bibliographischen Angaben* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2014). Other abbreviations, which are specific to this study, include the following: *AC = Anonymous Commentary, DGC = Denḥa-Grigor Commentary,* and OTP = Peshitta Old Testament.

With a few exceptions, the works of Aḥob and the subsequent East Syriac exegetical tradition are presented in Estrangela script, rather than in East Syriac script.

Shortened footnote references of Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientaium volumes will be cited as follows: author's last name, shortened title (text) or (trans.), page number(s).

Unless otherwise stated, all footnoted line numbers (with respect to text editions) refer to the original language of the text edition, not its translation.

Modern members of Aḥob's church now refer to their church as the "Church of the East" and to themselves as "Assyrians." In this study the shorthand "East Syriac" will be used as a simple linguistic label to reference their ancient literature and liturgy. The exception to this approach will be in the discussion of 4th to 7th-century Synods, in a few direct quotations – wherein comparable phraseology, such as "East Syrian," is employed, and in the titles of various published works.

The epithet "Qaṭraya," in the name Aḥob Qaṭraya, will be largely presented as "of Qatar," which is the Anglicized rendering of this name.

Common names and places will be given in their Latinized form. Rarer names and places will be transliterated.

INTRODUCTION

This study will examine the surviving biographical data and Old Testament exegetical works of Aḥob of Qatar (also known as Aḥob Qaṭraya), an East Syriac exegete. It will also analyze the influence of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works on the East Syriac exegetical tradition. This is the first detailed study of both Aḥob and his Old Testament exegetical works.

The three sections of this introduction present the exegetical, scholastic, and theological context in which Aḥob and his Old Testament exegetical works will be assessed in the following chapters. Since Aḥob's date is disputed and will not be established until Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.3., his placement within these various contexts will not be discussed. This introduction will conclude with an overview of the chapters in this study.

The East Syriac Exegetical Tradition

The East Syriac exegetical tradition is part of the broader Antiochene tradition (or "School of Antioch")[1] and refers to varying forms of biblical interpretation, which were largely produced in Classical Syriac, the Edessene dialect of Aramaic.[2] It is comprised of a number of writers and manuscript traditions, which emerged in the fifth century and continues to the present,[3]

[1] For an introduction to the Antiochene tradition, its main Greek representatives, and its exegetical approach, see Bas ter Haar Romeny, "Eusebius of Emesa's Commentary on Genesis and the Origins of the Antiochene School," in Judith Frishman and Lucas Van Rompay (eds.), *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Interpretation: A Collection of Essays* (Traditio Exegetica Graeca 5; Louvain: Peeters, 1997), 125-142; Sten Hidal, "Exegesis of the Old Testament in the Antiochene School with its Prevalent Literal and Historical Method," in Magne Sæbø (ed.), *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament: The History of Interpretation. Vol. I: From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages (Until 1300), Part 1: Antiquity* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 543-568; Frances M. Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 165-299; Robert C. Hill, *Reading the Old Testament in Antioch* (Bible in Ancient Christianity 5; Leiden: Brill, 2005).

[2] One example of an important writer who relied on the East Syriac exegetical tradition but wrote in Arabic is Abū al-Faraj ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-ʿIrāqī (d. 1043). Only portions of his exegetical works have been edited. See Ibn al-Ṭayyib, *Kitāb al-Mashriqī*, 2 vols., ed. Yusuf Manqariyus (Cairo, 1908-1910); J. C. J. Sanders (ed.), *Ibn aṭ-Ṭaiyib: Commentaire sur la Genèse* (CSCO 274-275, Arab. 24-25; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1967); Ayoub Chahwan, "Le commentaire de Psaumes 33-60 d'Ibn aṭ-Tayib reflet de l'exégèse syriaque orientale" (Th.D. dissertation, Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1997); Julian Faultless, "The Prologue to John in Ibn al-Ṭayyib's Commentary on the Gospels" (DPhil dissertation, University of Oxford, 2001).

[3] Lucas Van Rompay, "The Christian Syriac Tradition of Interpretation," in Magne Sæbø (ed.), *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament: The History of Interpretation. Vol. I: From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages (Until 1300). Part 1: Antiquity* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 635-636 and idem, "Development of Biblical Interpretation in the Syrian Churches of the Middle Ages," in Magne Sæbø (ed.), *Hebrew Bible / Old Testament: The History of Its Interpretation. Vol. I: From the Beginnings to the Middle Ages (Until 1300). Part 2: The Middle Ages* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 572, 577.

though only a few new works have been produced since the fifteenth century.[4] Furthermore, one of the principal identifiers of the East Syriac exegetical tradition (in step with the broader Antiochene tradition) is a historical (i.e. literal) interpretation of the biblical text, though later East Syriac exegetical writers began to use typological and/or allegorical exegesis in their writings as well.[5] The following is a survey of the primary writers and manuscript traditions in the East Syriac exegetical tradition (as discussed in this study) in rough chronological order.[6] Published editions and translations will also be mentioned:[7]

- Nathniel of Shirzor (ca. 600)
- *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* (first half of the 8th century)
- Theodore bar Koni (fl. end of the 8th century)
- The *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary* (first half of the 9th century?)
- Isho'dad of Merv (fl. ca. 850)
- The *Anonymous Commentary* (10th century)
- Ḥasan bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* (mid-10th century-early 20th century)[8]
- Isaac Shbadnaya (fl. 1439/1440)

[4] For a brief list of publications discussing Neo-Aramaic and the use of Classical Syriac in the modern era, see Van Rompay, "Development of Biblical Interpretation in the Syrian Churches of the Middle Ages," 577, n. 45.

[5] For a further discussion, see Introduction, Schools and Centers of East Syriac Exegesis.

[6] There are several notable East Syriac writers (who produced exegetical works) and manuscript traditions that will not be discussed in detail in the following chapters, since they do not transmit any of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works. These include Narsai (399-502), Ḥenana of Adiabene (d. ca. 610), Gabriel the Interpreter of Mahoze (first half of the 7th century), Aba II of Kashkar (d. 751), Isho' bar Nun (d. 828), Eliya of al-Anbār (first half of the 10th century), Emmanuel bar Shahhare (d. 980), the *Gannat Bussāme* ("Garden of Delights"; between the 10th and beginning of the 13th century), and Solomon of Baṣra (fl. 1222). For an overview of these writers and manuscript traditions, see Sebastian Brock, "Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye," *ARAM* 11:1 (1999): 89-92 and Bas ter Haar Romeny, "Exegesis, Old Testament," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 157-159.

[7] Taeke Jansma and Lucas Van Rompay have previously listed several of these writers and manuscript traditions in various publications. See Jansma, "Investigations into the Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis: An Approach to the Exegesis of the Nestorian Church and to the Comparison of Nestorian and Jewish Exegesis," in P. A. H. de Boer (ed.), *Studies on the Book of Genesis* (OTS 12; Leiden: Brill, 1958), 74-79; Van Rompay, "Development of Biblical Interpretation in the Syrian Churches of the Middle Ages," 564-572 and idem, "Between the School and the Monk's Cell: The Syriac Old Testament Commentary Tradition," in Bas ter Haar Romeny (ed.), *The Peshitta: Its Use in Literature and Liturgy. Papers Read at the Third Peshitta Symposium* (Monographs of the Peshitta Institute Leiden 15; Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2006), 50-51.

[8] While Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* is not primarily an exegetical work, it is a tool related to exegesis and would have been used by East Syriac writers and manuscript traditions.

Nathniel of Shirzor's[9] singular exegetical work[10] is a *Commentary on Psalms*. However, the only part that is extant is his *Cause of the Psalms of the blessed David*,[11] which is an introductory treatise to this commentary. Nathniel's *Cause of the Psalms* is prefixed, with other documents, to the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary* in five late 19th-century manuscripts.[12] Bernhard Vandenhoff edited this treatise (with a Latin translation), based on a single (otherwise unknown) Alqosh manuscript.[13]

The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32 is the earliest extant manuscript tradition in the East Syriac exegetical tradition. It has been dated to the first half of the 8th century[14] and is preserved in ms. (*olim*) Diyarbakir 22 (11th-12th century).[15] It was utilized as a replacement for the same section (which had been lost) in the larger work, the *Anonymous Commentary*,[16] which is also contained in ms. (*olim*) Diyarbakir 22. While in its current state *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* only extends from Gen 1:1 to Exod 9:32, it was likely much longer in its originality, though it cannot be determined to what extent. *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* was edited and translated into French by Lucas Van Rompay.[17]

Theodore bar Koni's lone exegetical work, the *Scholion*, is all that remains of his corpus of writings.[18] It consists of eleven *memre* that discuss East Syriac theology, largely in the form

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[9] For a brief discussion of Nathniel's life, see Lucas Van Rompay, "Nathniel of Sirzor," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 304.

[10] It is also possible that Nathniel produced a commentary (or scholia) on Exodus. See Seth M. Stadel, "Captured in Prayer from the Benefits of the Psalms: Nathniel of Shirzor's *Cause of the Psalms*" (in preparation for *Le Muséon*).

[11] Hereafter shortened to *Cause of the Psalms*.

[12] These manuscripts include the Vandenhoff Exemplar (1891), British Library, Or. 9354 (1895), Mingana Syr. 58 (1895), Strasbourg, Syr. 4121 (1898), and Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1318 (1890s).

[13] Bernhard Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum imprimis messianicorum apud Syros Nestorianos e codice adhuc inedito illustrata* (Rheine: J. Altmeppen, 1899), 13, *1*-15, *19* (Syriac), 3, 24-26 (Latin). This edition is referred to as the Vandenhoff Exemplar. For an annotated edition and English translation of Nathniel's treatise (with an introduction), see Stadel, "Captured in Prayer from the Benefits of the Psalms."

[14] Lucas Van Rompay (ed.), *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32 du manuscript (olim) Diyarbakir 22* (CSCO 484, Syr. 206; Louvain: Peeters, 1986), lii-liii.

[15] Addai Scher suggested that this manuscript was produced in the 14th century. William F. Macomber critiqued this view and placed it in the 11th-12th centuries. The nature of this manuscript (i.e. whether it was produced by one hand, a school, or over a lengthy period of time) has yet to be resolved. See William F. Macomber, "Newly Discovered Fragments of the Gospel Commentaries of Theodore of Mopsuestia," *Le Muséon* 81 (1968): 443, n. 11 and Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), xii.

[16] Lucas Van Rompay, "A Hitherto Unknown Nestorian Commentary on Genesis and Exodus 1-9, 32 in the Syriac Manuscript (olim) Dijarbekr 22," *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 5 (1974): 54 and idem, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), v-vii, xii, xlii-xliii, 95-96, 166-167. Jansma mistakenly claims Diyarbakir 22 ends with Exod 5. See idem, "Investigations into the Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis," 72.

[17] Lucas Van Rompay (ed.), *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32 du manuscript (olim) Diyarbakir 22* (CSCO 483, Syr. 205; Louvain: Peeters, 1986) and idem, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.).

[18] For a brief discussion to Bar Koni's life and non-exegetical works, see Aaron M. Butts, "Theodoros bar Koni," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 405.

of questions and answers.[19] The *Scholion* is preserved in two recensions: the Seert and Urmiah, with the Seert likely being the older of the two.[20] Both recensions have been edited and translated into French.[21]

The *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary* is a Psalms commentary, whose production is credited to Denḥa, the teacher and Grigor, the monk of Gamre.[22] The manuscript tradition of this Psalms commentary has been surveyed by Willem Bloemendaal, with later revisions suggested by Van Rompay and Bas ter Haar Romeny.[23] While many of the manuscripts containing this Psalms commentary are unfortunately inaccessible[24] or destroyed,[25] several *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary* manuscripts are accessible.[26] Vandenhoff edited parts of this Psalms commentary (with a Latin translation) from a single (otherwise unknown) Alqosh manuscript, and Clemens Leonhard translated the Introduction and select verses from ms. Mingana Syr. 58 (1895) into English for a study of Ps 119, 139-147.[27] An edition of the Introduction and select parts of

[19] Butts, "Theodoros bar Koni," 405-406.

[20] Ibid., 405.

[21] Addai Scher (ed.), *Theodorus bar Kōnī: Liber Scholiorum* (Syr. II, 65-66; Paris: Typographeo Reipublicae, 1910, 1912); Robert Hespel and René Draguet (trans.), *Théodore bar Koni: Livre des Scolies (recension de Séert)* (CSCO 431-432, Syr. 187-188; Louvain: Peeters, 1981-1982); Robert Hespel (ed.), *Théodore bar Koni: Livre des Scolies (recension d'Urmiah)* (CSCO 447-448, Syr. 193-194; Louvain: Peeters, 1983). There are also collections of excerpts annexed to the Urmiah recension, attributed to Sylvain of Qardu (ca. 8th/9th century), which largely overlap with Bar Koni's *Scholion*. These were edited (with a French translation) by Hespel. See idem (ed.), *Théodore bar Koni: Livre des Scolies (recension d'Urmiah): Les collections annexes par Sylvain de Qardu* (CSCO 464-465, Syr. 197-198; Louvain: Peeters, 1984).

[22] This Denḥa has been identified as a disciple of Isho' bar Nun, which would situate him in the first half of the 9th century. Grigor is otherwise unknown, outside of his connection to the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary*. See Stephen D. Ryan, "Denḥa," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 118. For an edition of the Introduction to the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary*, see Appendix, Introduction.

[23] W. Bloemendaal, *The Headings of the Psalms in the East Syrian Church* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960), 16; Lucas Van Rompay (ed.), *Théodore de Mopsueste: Fragments syriaques du Commentaire des Psaumes (Psaume 118 et Psaumes 138-148)* (CSCO 436, Syr. 190; Louvain: Peeters, 1982), ix-xiv; Bas ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar: Ahob of Qatar," in Mario Kozah, Abdulrahim Abu-Husayn, Saif Shaheen Al-Murikhi, and Haya Al Thani (eds.), *The Syriac Writers of Qatar in the Seventh Century* (Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 38; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2014), 144-150.

[24] These manuscripts include Alqosh 35 (*olim* 28) (1710/1893), Mosul 20 (1875), Alqosh 36 (*olim* 20) (1884), Alqosh *olim* 21 (1893), and the ms. of Octčanes (date unknown). See Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 145-146.

[25] These manuscripts include Urmia 217 (1682/1683) and Urmia 151 (probably 1880-1890), which are reported destroyed in 1918. See William F. Macomber, "New Finds of Syriac Manuscripts in the Middle East," in Wolfgang Voigt (ed.), *XVII, Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 21, bis 27, Juli 1968 in Würzburg: Vorträge, Teil 2* (Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Supplement 1.2; Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1969), 478.

[26] These manuscripts include Paris, BnF Syr. 367 (*olim* Seert 29) (1252), Paris, BnF Syr. 351 (16th or 17th century), Vandenhoff Exemplar, British Library, Or. 9354, Mingana Syr. 58, Strasbourg, Syr. 4121, and Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1318. At present, it remains unclear if Sachau 215 (1882) should be considered an early shorter version or a later condensed version of the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary.*

[27] Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 19, 5-65, *20* (Syriac), 30-58 (Latin) and Clemens Leonhard, "Ps 119 and 139–147 in East-Syrian Commentaries: The Interdependence of the Commentaries of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Īšō'dād of Merw and Denḥā (ms. Mingana 58): First Soundings," in Werner Arnold and Michael Jursa and Walter W. Müller and Stephan Procházka (eds.), *Philologisches und Historisches zwischen Anatolien*

thirteen psalms from the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary* (based on five late 19th-century manuscripts) are presented in the Appendix of this study.[28]

Isho'dad of Merv's[29] commentaries on the Old and New Testament "represents one of the most expansive forms of the East-Syrian exegetical tradition,"[30] both for its preservation of ninth-century exegesis and for the number of earlier sources (both stated and anonymized) that are utilized. His *Commentary on Genesis* was edited by Jacques Marie Vosté and Ceslas Van den Eynde with a French translation by the latter.[31] All other Isho'dad Old Testament commentaries were edited and translated into French by Van den Eynde,[32] and his New Testament commentaries were edited and translated into English by Margaret Dunlop Gibson.[33] More recently, Johan D. Hofstra has produced a new edition of Isho'dad's *Commentary on John* with an English translation.[34]

The *Anonymous Commentary* is preserved in a number of manuscripts, some of which are significantly shorter in length than others.[35] In its longest form it spans the Old and New Testaments (except for 1-2 Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah) and likely functioned as an

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und Sokotra: Analecta Semitica In Memoriam Alexander Sima (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2009), 181-206.

[28] An annotated edition and English translation of the earliest form of the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary* are in preparation by Seth M. Stadel.

[29] For a brief discussion of Isho'dad's life, see Lucas Van Rompay, "Isho'dad of Merv," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 216.

[30] Van Rompay, "Development of Biblical Interpretation in the Syrian Churches of the Middle Ages," 569.

[31] Jacques Marie Vosté and Ceslas Van den Eynde (eds.), *Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament, I: Genèse* (CSCO 126, Syr. 67; Louvain: L. Durbecq, 1950) and Ceslas van den Eynde (ed.), *Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament, I: Genèse* (CSCO 156, Syr. 75; Louvain: L. Durbecq, 1955).

[32] Ceslas van den Eynde (ed.), *Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament, II: Exode-Deutéronome* (CSCO 176, 179, Syr. 80-81; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1958); idem (ed.), *Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur l'Ancient Testament, III: Livres des Sessions* (CSCO 229-230, Syr. 96-97; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1962-1963); Ceslas van den Eynde (ed.), *Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur l'Ancient Testament, IV: Isaïe et les Douze* (CSCO 303-304, Syr. 128-129; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1969); idem (ed.), *Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur l'Ancient Testament, V: Jérémie, Ézéchiel, Daniel* (CSCO 328-329, Syr. 146-147; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1972); Ceslas van den Eynde (ed.), *Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur l'Ancient Testament, VI: Psaumes* (CSCO 433-434, Syr. 185-186; Louvain: Peeters, 1981).

[33] Margaret Dunlop Gibson (ed.), *The Commentaries of Isho'dad of Merv, Bishop of Hadatha (c. 850 A.D.), in Syriac and English* (Horae Semiticae 5-7, 10-11; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911, 1913, 1916).

[34] Johan D. Hofstra (ed.), *Isho'dad of Merw: Commentary on the Gospel of John* (CSCO 671-672, Syr. 259-260; Leuven: Peeters, 2019).

[35] There are a number of *Anonymous Commentary* manuscripts whose current location are unknown, inaccessible, or were destroyed in World War 1. These include Seert 21 (1605), Seert 22 (17th century), Notre Dame des Semences 34 (*olim* 22) (1887), and Louvain, CSCO, Syr. 13 (1902). See Jansma, "Investigations into the Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis," 72-73; Van Rompay, "A Hitherto Unknown Nestorian Commentary," 55; Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 139.

abridged copy of *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*.[36] Abraham Levene published the *Anonymous Commentary* of Gen 1-18, as preserved in ms. Mingana Syr. 553, with a facsimile of ff. 1v-18r and an English translation.[37] The *Anonymous Commentary on the Pentateuch*, which is dated to the 10th century, is currently being edited by Van Rompay.[38] The rest of the *Anonymous Commentary* (beyond the Pentateuch) remains unedited and little studied, and it is unclear if this portion of the *Anonymous Commentary* should also be dated to the 10th century or later.

Ḥasan bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* was initially written in the mid-10th century and expanded by various writers until the early 20th century.[39] It was the standard lexicon of its time, and it remains a primary source for technical (specifically medical) and unusual Classical Syriac and transliterated Greek words, all of which are described in Syriac and/or Arabic entries. Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* was edited by Rubens Duval with a Latin introduction.[40] More recently, Samuel Barry has translated Duval's Latin introduction into English.[41]

Isaac Shbadnaya[42] is the final major figure in the East Syriac exegetical tradition, because he is the last East Syriac writer to produce a large corpus of new material.[43] Among the works credited to him is the lengthy theological compendium entitled *Poem on God's Governance from 'In the Beginning' until Eternity*, which discusses the history of salvation in roughly fifteen hundred lines and is structured in thirty separate sections (called *sedra*).[44] Shbadnaya describes his *Poem* by means of a prose commentary, which is preserved in nine accessible manuscripts[45] and is particularly important for its use of earlier East Syriac

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[36] Van Rompay, "A Hitherto Unknown Nestorian Commentary," 59-62 and idem, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), xl-xliv.

[37] Abraham Levene, *The Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis from a Syriac Ms. on the Pentateuch in the Mingana Collection* (London: Taylor's Foreign Press, 1951), 35-68 (Syriac), 71-98 (English).

[38] Lucas Van Rompay (ed.), *Anonymous Commentary on the Pentateuch* (in preparation for CSCO).

[39] Cf. Henri Hyvernat, "An Ancient Syriac Lexicographer," *The Catholic University Bulletin* 8 (1902): 58-74 and idem, "Duval's Edition of Bar-Bahlul," *The Catholic University Bulletin* 8 (1902): 483-493.

[40] Rubens Duval (ed.), *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule: e pluribus codicibus edidit et notulis instruxit* (Collection orientale 15-17; Paris: Typographeo Reipublicae, 1888-1901).

[41] Samuel Barry, "Duval's Introductions," in George Kiraz, Mario Kozah, Abdulrahim Abu-Husayn, Haya Al Thani, and Saif Al-Murikhi (eds.), *The Syriac and Arabic Lexicon of Hasan bar Bahlul: The Duval Edition*, vol. 1 (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2020), xxxv-xcvi.

[42] For a discussion of Shbadnaya's life and non-exegetical works, see Thomas Andrew Carlson, "A Light from 'The Dark Centuries': Isḥaq Shbadnaya's Life and Works," *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 14:2 (2011): 191-213.

[43] Van Rompay, "Development of Biblical Interpretation in the Syrian Churches of the Middle Ages," 572, 577.

[44] Carlson, "A Light from 'The Dark Centuries,'" 194, 201-202 and idem, "The Future of the Past: The Reception of Syriac Qaṭraye Authors in Late Medieval Iraq" in Mario Kozah, Abdulrahim Abu-Husayn, Saif Shaheen Al-Murikhi, and Haya Al Thani (eds.), *The Syriac Writers of Qatar in the Seventh Century* (Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 38; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2014), 171.

[45] These manuscripts include Cambridge, University Library, Add. 1998 (1558), Harvard, Syr. 152 (17th century), Berlin Orient. fol. 1201 (Syriac 85) (1725), Oxford, Syr. c. 9 (1726), Catholic University of America

exegetical material. This prose commentary is also divided into the same thirty *sedra* as Shbadnaya's *Poem*. Though select parts of Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem* have been edited and/or translated into English (primarily by Thomas A. Carlson),[46] the work as a whole has yet to be edited or translated.

The above East Syriac writers and manuscript traditions use three forms of biblical interpretation: *memre*, theological treatises, and commentaries, though commentaries are the most common type. A defining aspect of East Syriac exegetical works in general is that they often use earlier Greek and Syriac works as the literary and theological core to which new material is added.[47] With the exception of Narsai's (399-502) extant *memre*,[48] all East Syriac exegetical works from the sixth and seventh century are either lost or preserved in fragmented form[49] in later East Syriac works.[50]

Schools and Centers of East Syriac Exegesis

The earliest known school or center of East Syriac exegesis was the School of Edessa (also known as the School of the Persians),[51] which likely began in the late fourth century.[52] By the mid-fifth century, it had transformed from an ethnic circle of "Persians" to a recognized

Hyvernat Syr. 7 (1889), British Library, Or. 9358 (1895), Mingana Syr. 57 (1895), Oxford, Syr. c. 13 (1904), and Vat. Syr. 592 (1918). See Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 173-174. It should be noted that there is a tenth manuscript: Seert 121 (1800), the location of which is unknown.

[46] See Erik ten Napel, "Some Remarks on the Quotations from Emmanuel bar Shahhare's Hexaemeron in Ishaq Šbadnaya's Prose-Commentary on the Divine Providence," *Studia Patristica* 20 (1989): 205-208; Carlson, "A Light from 'The Dark Centuries,'" 210-211; idem, "Syriac Christology and Christian Community in the Fifteenth-Century Church of the East," in Herman G.B. Teule and Elif Keser-Kayaalp, and Kutlu Akalin and Nesim Doru and Mehmet Sait Toprak (eds.), *Syriac in Its Multi-Cultural Context: First International Syriac Studies Symposium, Mardin Artuklu University, Institute of Living Languages, 20-22 April 2012, Mardin* (Eastern Christian Studies 23; Leuven: Peeters, 2017), 268, 270-275; Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 176-190.

[47] Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 141-142.

[48] For a further discussion, see Aaron M. Butts, Kristian S. Heal, and Sebastian P. Brock, *Clavis to the Metrical Homilies of Narsai* (CSCO 690, Subs. 142; Louvain: Peeters, 2021).

[49] Corrie Molenberg, "The Silence of the Sources: The Sixth Century and East-Syrian 'Antiochene' Exegesis," in Pauline Allen and Elizabeth Jeffreys (eds.), *The Sixth Century: End or Beginning?* (Byzantina Australiensia 10; Brisbane: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1996), 145.

[50] See, for instance, Van den Eynde, *Genèse* (trans.), xv-xvi and idem, *Exode-Deutéronome* (trans.), viii.

[51] According to Sebastian Brock, "The Theological Schools of Antioch, Edessa and Nisibis," in Habib Badr, Suad Abou el Rouss Slim, and Joseph Abou Nohra (eds.), *Christianity: A History in the Middle East* (Beirut: Middle East Council of Churches, 2005), 152, "The epithet 'Persian' was evidently given to the School owing to the many students from across the border, in the Sasanian Empire, which the School attracted…."

[52] For a brief discussion of this date, see Adam H. Becker, *Sources for the Study of the School of Nisibis* (Translated Texts for Historians 50; Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2008), 6. For an earlier view, which situates the origins of this School in the first or second century, see Ernest R. Hayes, *L'école d'Édesse* (Paris: Presses Modernes, 1930), 39 and Han J. W. Drijvers, "The School of Edessa: Greek Learning and Local Culture," in Han J. W. Drijvers and Alasdair A. MacDonald (eds.), *Centres of Learning: Learning and Location in Pre-modern Europe and the Near East* (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 61; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 49-59.

institution,[53] alongside other Edessan schools.[54] With the exception of a "head," the School's specific hierarchical structure remains unknown, though Adam Becker has postulated that (if one did indeed exist) it may have resembled the three-tiered Greco-Roman educational system, which was comprised of a *ludi magister*, grammarian, and rhetorician.[55] In the School's early years, biblical exegesis was based on Ephrem's (d. 373) corpus of writings. However, once the works of Theodore of Mopsuestia (350-428) – who would become the Interpreter *par excellence* in the East Syriac exegetical tradition – were translated from Greek into Syriac and introduced into the School, they came to replace Ephrem's works.[56] This "combining of Greek theological learning with the indigenous Syriac theological tradition" became one of the School's greatest contributions to all subsequent schools and centers of East Syriac exegesis.[57] In 489, the emperor, Zeno (r. 474-475, 476-491), closed the School, and its members moved to the Persian city of Nisibis, where Narsai (the last head of the School of Edessa) and Barṣawma, the bishop of Nisibis (d. ca. 491-496) founded the School of Nisibis,[58] which would become the most influential school or center of East Syriac exegesis in the sixth century.[59]

There were four main offices in the School of Nisibis:

- a steward, who directed and oversaw the School's daily functions[60]
- an elementary instructor, who taught the alphabet and the vocalization of texts
- a reader, who taught reading, grammar, and the liturgy
- an exegete, who taught biblical exegesis, the liturgy, and headed the School.[61]

The exegete, and possibly the reader, also instructed students on the specifics of

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[53] Adam H. Becker, *Fear of God and the Beginning of Wisdom: The School of Nisibis and the Development of Scholastic Culture in Late Antique Mesopotamia* (Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 62-76.

[54] Johannes Flemming (ed.), *Akten der Ephesinischen Synode vom Jahre 449: Syrisch* (Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, N.F. 15.1.; Berlin: Weidmann, 1917), 24, *23* (Syriac), 25 (German).

[55] Becker, *Fear of God*, 71.

[56] Becker, *Sources for the Study of the School of Nisibis*, 150 and ibid., 73.

[57] Brock, "The Theological Schools of Antioch, Edessa and Nisibis," 154.

[58] Becker, *Sources for the Study of the School of Nisibis*, 7.

[59] For the general history, statutes, and other sources of this School, see Arthur Vööbus (ed.), *The Statutes of the School of Nisibis* (Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile 12; Stockholm: Estonian Theological Society in Exile, 1962); idem, *History of the School of Nisibis* (CSCO 266, Subs. 26; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1965); Gerrit J. Reinink, "'Edessa Grew Dim and Nisibis Shone Forth': The School of Nisibis at the Transition of the Sixth-Seventh Century," in J. W. Drijvers and Alasdair A. MacDonald (eds.), *Centres of Learning: Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East* (Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 61; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 77-89; Brock, "The Theological Schools of Antioch, Edessa and Nisibis," 143-159; Becker, *Sources for the Study of the School of Nisibis*.

[60] The "steward" was also known by other similar titles: "head…, principal, a head lecturer, director, or administrator." See Becker, *Fear of God*, 42.

[61] Becker, *Fear of God*, 71, 87, 92-93, 180. Cf. Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, 100. It is unclear where the specific levels of instruction between "elementary instructor," "reader," and "exegete" began and ended. See Becker, *Sources for the Study of the School of Nisibis*, 9.

manuscript production, by means of physical exemplars and/or via oral lectures.[62]

The Syriac translations of Theodore's exegetical works were the primary means by which the Peshitta was interpreted in the School of Nisibis.[63] In the School's early years, these exegetical works were difficult for students to understand, because "they were complicated by the Greek and obscure owing to the loftiness of the style of that man and (his) interpreters afterwards."[64] In response to this issue, Abraham of Beth Rabban (during his time as Director of the School) produced a simplified version of these exegetical works for his students.[65] However, it remains unclear whether or not later teachers (either in the School or likely influenced by it) utilized Abraham's revised translations of Theodore's exegetical works.[66]

Other forms of exegesis were also taught in the School of Nisibis in the course of the sixth century. For instance, in the late 5th/early 6th century, *memre* – possibly those produced by Ephrem and Narsai – were taught alongside translated Greek and Syriac prose works, including those which were written by the School's former or current officeholders.[67] However, sometime in the first half of the 6th century, the teachers' exegetical focus came to rest primarily

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[62] Becker, *Fear of God*, 88, 93, 103.

[63] Becker, *Sources for the Study of the School of Nisibis*, 9; Lucas Van Rompay, "Theodore of Mopsuestia," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 402; Adam H. Becker, "Nisibis, School of," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 311.

[64] Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, 137.

[65] Ibid., 137-138 and Brock, "The Theological Schools of Antioch, Edessa and Nisibis," 155. For a general discussion of Syriac translations of Greek Patristic works in the 5th-7th centuries, including a bibliography, see Sebastian Brock, "Translation: Greek and Syriac." in A.-F. Christidis (ed.), *A History of Ancient Greek. From the Beginnings to Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 935-940, 957-959.

[66] Seven of Theodore's biblical commentaries – namely, those on Genesis, Psalms, Ecclesiastes, Hosea, Joel, Amos, and John – survive in Syriac translations, though all of them are in fragmented form. For editions of these fragments, see the following: Genesis, Hosea, Joel, Amos, and John: Eduard Sachau (ed.), *Theodori Mopsuesteni fragmenta syriaca e codicibus Musei Britannici Nitriacis edidit atque in latinum sermonem vertit* (Leipzig: W. Engelmann, 1869), 1, *1*-לג, *14*; מא, *14*-סב, *6* (Syriac), 1-27, 62 (Latin); Raymond M. Tonneau, "Théodore de Mopsueste: Interpretation (du livre) de la Genèse (Vat. Syr. 120, ff. I–V)," *Le Muséon* 66:1-2 (1953): 45-64; Taeke Jansma, "Théodore de Mopsueste, Interprétation du livre de la Genèse: Fragments de la version syriaque (B.M. Add. 17,189, fol. 17-21)," *Le Muséon* 75:1-2 (1962): 63-92. Psalms: Lucas Van Rompay (ed.), *Théodore de Mopsueste: Fragments syriaques du Commentaire des Psaumes (Psaume 118 et Psaumes 138-148)* (CSCO 435, Syr. 189; Louvain: Peeters, 1982), 14, *11*-83, *21* and idem, *Théodore de Mopsueste* (trans.) 18-100. Ecclesiastes: Werner Strothmann (ed.), *Das syrische Fragment des Ecclesiastes-Kommentars von Theodor von Mopsuestia: Syrischer Text mit vollständigem Wörterverzeichnis* (Göttinger Orientforschungen, I; Reihe: Syriaca 28; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1988) and idem (ed.), *Syrische Katenen aus dem Ecclesiastes-Kommentar des Theodor von Mopsuestia: Syrischer Text mit vollständigem Wörterverzeichnis* (Göttinger Orientforschungen, I; Reihe: Syriaca 29; Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1988). John: Jean Baptiste Chabot (ed.), *Commentarius Theodori Mopsuesteni in Evangelium D. Johannis in libros VII partitus: Versio syriaca juxta codicem parisiensem CCCVIII edita. Tomus I: Textus syriacus* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1897); Jacques Marie Vosté (ed.), *Theodori Mopsuesteni Commentarius in Evangelium Iohannis Apostoli* (CSCO 115-116, Syr. 62-63; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1940). For a further discussion concerning Aḥob's use of Theodore's Old Testament exegetical works, see Chapter 5, Subsections 5.4.1.1. Theodore of Mopsuestia's *Commentary on Psalms* and 5.4.1.3. Theodore of Mopsuestia's *Commentary on Genesis*.

[67] Becker, *Fear of God*, 13, 88-90, 115.

on prose works, especially commentaries in their varying forms.[68] Furthermore, by the late 6th century, certain teachers (most notably Ḥenana of Adiabene) adopted a type of allegorical exegesis (commonly found in the Alexandrian exegetical tradition) that conflicted with the historical approach of Theodorean (i.e. Antiochene) exegesis,[69] and, along with various theological controversies surrounding Ḥenana, many teachers ultimately left the School, while Ḥenana was its Director.[70]

Along with biblical exegesis, the reader and the exegete in the School of Nisibis taught the East Syriac liturgy. However, the liturgy was not viewed as a distinct area of study. Rather, it was understood as being intertwined with introductory and advanced biblical studies, likely for two related reasons: the liturgy contained passages of the Peshitta, and the Peshitta was taught according to the liturgical year.[71]

Beyond biblical and liturgical studies, medicine may have been taught in the School of Nisibis, though there is no concrete evidence to support this theory.[72] The earliest point (when it could have been added to the curriculum) would have been during Abraham of Beth Rabban's time as Director of the School,[73] largely due to Sergius of Resh'ayna's (d. 536) Syriac translations of the Galenic corpus, which established the predominant way by which East Syriac writers came to comprehend the sciences.[74] Canons 19 and 20 of the School (which were added while Ḥenana was the School's Director) offer further possible evidence, in that they mention that biblical/liturgical studies and medical studies, as well as the students who pursued these subjects, were to be intentionally separated: whereas biblical and liturgical studies were preparatory for a monastic, ecclesiastical, or academic life, medical studies laid the foundation for a secular life.[75]

The School of Nisibis likely functioned as the model for a variety of other schools and centers of East Syriac exegesis in the sixth century.[76] These can be broadly categorized as independent schools (i.e. institutions which did not depend upon a church or monastery and

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[68] Ibid., 89-90.

[69] Ibid., 90 and Jeff W. Childers, "Ḥenana," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 194.

[70] Becker, *Sources for the Study of the School of Nisibis*, 10.

[71] Becker, *Fear of God*, 94, 205.

[72] Brock, "The Theological Schools of Antioch, Edessa and Nisibis," 158.

[73] Reinink, "Edessa Grew Dim and Nisibis Shone Forth," 77, n. 3 and ibid., 80, 95.

[74] Galen's (129-ca. 210) Greek medical works were first translated into Syriac by Sergius. See Henri Hugonnard-Roche, *La logique d'Aristote du grec au syriaque. Études sur la transmission des textes de l'Organon et leur interprétation philosophique* (Textes et traditions 9; Paris: Vrin, 2004), 125-127. While Sergius himself was a West Syriac writer and translator, he was in close contact with East Syriac writers.

[75] Becker, *Fear of God*, 84, 86, 95.

[76] Becker, "Nisibis, School of," 311 and ibid., 155.

which taught both basic and advanced forms of learning), monastic schools, and village schools (i.e. institutions which taught either basic literacy or advanced forms of learning).[77] Concerning independent schools, these include the School of Seleucia,[78] the School of Arbela, the School of Kashkar, the School of Balad, the School of Beth Sahde of Nisibis, and the School of Dinawar.[79] Concerning monastic schools, these include the schools in the monastery of Salak, in the village of Beth ʻAynata, in the monastery built by Daniel the Penitent, in Ḥirta, and possibly in the monastery of Gaṣṣa of Ishoʻzeka.[80] The only village school known from this period was in Beth Rastak. While it is situated in the early seventh century, one can presume that it was founded and became active in (at minimum) the late sixth century.[81] If other village schools existed in the sixth century, they would have likely been structured in an informal manner.[82] Though these various institutions are often referred to as schools, Becker notes that "in some of the sources it is not clear whether a city had an actual school or was simply a center of learning where teachers and students would gather from afar."[83] In other words, it is quite possible that some of the formal schools listed above might actually be better categorized as informal centers of East Syriac exegesis, the details of which are largely unknown.

There is also one instance of what might be called a scholarly milieu, which existed in the region of Beth Qaṭraye[84] from at least the late 6th century through the late 7th century.[85] While several writers emerged from Beth Qaṭraye during this period, no formal East Syriac school or informal center of learning is known to have existed in this region at this time. Nevertheless, one can conclude that – based on the varied writings of such figures as Gabriel the Interpreter of Mahoze (first half of the 7th century), Gabriel bar Lipah Qaṭraya (first half of the 7th century), and Isaac of Nineveh (late 7th century) – some form of education was available in Beth Qaṭraye for roughly a hundred years.

[77] Becker, *Fear of God*, 156-157, 160, 163.
[78] For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.2. The Original Purpose of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.
[79] Becker, *Fear of God*, 155-160.
[80] Ibid., 161-163.
[81] Ibid., 163.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid., 160.
[84] For a further discussion, see Introduction, Christianity in Beth Qaṭraye.
[85] For a further discussion, see Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.4. The Scholarly Milieu of Beth Qaṭraye.

Christianity in Beth Qaṭraye

The region of Beth Qaṭraye included the peninsula of Qatar, the island of Bahrain, and the surrounding northeastern Arabian coast,[86] encompassing such towns and local areas as Dayrin, Hagar, Hatta, and Mashmahig.[87] Christianity likely came to Beth Qaṭraye in the late fourth century,[88] for the Acts of the Synod of Seleucia-Ctesiphon in 410 mention an Elia, bishop of Mashmahig, as a signatory and a Batay, another bishop of Mashmahig, as being anathematized.[89] Only a few details are known about sixth-century Christianity in Beth Qaṭraye. These include an Elisha (fl. ca. 522/523-536/537)[90] who was both a rival Catholicos to Narsai[91] and consecrated and deposed bishops and metropolitans who, respectively, supported and resisted him in several places – one of which was Bahrain;[92] a Sergius, bishop of Mashmahig and an Isaac, bishop of Hagar and Hatta, both of whom were signatories of the Synod of 576;[93] an unnamed Persian translator for Al-Nuʿmān III ibn al-Mundhir (Laḥmid king; r. 582-ca. 602), who was a (presumably East Syriac) Christian and originated from Beth Qaṭraye;[94] and a Jacob, bishop of Darin (fl. 585), who wrote questions concerning liturgical practices to the Catholicos, Ishoʿyahb I (only Ishoʿyahb I's response survives, along with 20

[86] See Theodor Nöldeke, "Die von Guidi herausgegebene syrische Chronik übersetzt und commentiert," *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlich Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 128.9 (1893): 25, n. 2 and 47, n. 2; Jean Baptiste Chabot (ed.), *Synodicon orientale ou recueil de synodes nestoriens* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902), 680. Cf. Mario Kozah et al., "Preface," in Mario Kozah, Abdulrahim Abu-Husayn, Saif Shaheen Al-Murikhi, and Haya Al Thani (eds.), *An Anthology of Syriac Writers from Qatar in the Seventh Century* (Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 39; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2015), xi-xii and Gustav Ernst Samuel Diettrich, *Išôʿdâdh's Stellung in der Auslegungsgeschichte des Alten Testamentes an seinen Commentaren zu Hosea, Joel, Jona, Sacharja 9-14 und einigen angehängten Psalmen* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft 6; Giessen: J. Ricker [Alfred Töpelmann], 1902), xxix, n. 1.

[87] For a further description of these places, see R. A. Carter, "Christianity in the Gulf during the First Centuries of Islam," *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 19 (2008): 101-102 and Joëlle Beaucamp and Christian Robin, "L'évêché nestorien de Mâšmâhîg dans l'archipel d'al-Baḥrayn (Ve–IXe siècle)," in Daniel T. Potts (ed.), *Dilmun: New Studies in the Archaeology and Early History of Bahrain* (Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderen Orient 2; Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1983), 171-176. For the historical background of this region from the third to the seventh century, see D. T. Potts, *The Arabian Gulf in Antiquity: From Alexander the Great to the Coming of Islam*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 197-263.

[88] For the sources for Christianity in East Arabia, see Hamad M. Bin Seray, "Christianity in East Arabia," *ARAM* 8 (1996): 316-317.

[89] Brock, "Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye," 85.

[90] Elisha's dates vary slightly among sources. See Addai Scher (ed.), *Histoire nestorienne (Chronique de Séert): Seconde partie, I* (Patrologia Orientalis 7.2; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1911), 60/152.

[91] He should not be confused with Narsai, the poet and teacher, who died in 502.

[92] Scher, *Chronique de Séert: Seconde partie, I*, 55/147-58/150 and Jean Maurice Fiey, "Diocèses syriens orientaux du Golfe Persique," in F. Graffin (ed.), *Memorial Mgr Gabriel Khouri-Sarkis (1898-1968)* (Leuven: Imprimerie Orientaliste, 1969), 210.

[93] Bin Seray, "Christianity in East Arabia," 321; Brock, "Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye," 85; Carter, "Christianity in the Gulf during the First Centuries of Islam," 101-102.

[94] Lucas Van Rompay, "Beth Qaṭraye," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 73.

canons).[95]

The majority of the extant evidence focuses on the seventh century,[96] during which time a number of Christian writers – including Gabriel the Interpreter of Mahoze, Gabriel bar Lipah Qaṭraya, Gabriel Qaṭraya (ca. first half of the 7th century), Abraham bar Lipah (7th century), (another) Gabriel Qaṭraya (ca. 7th century), Isaac of Nineveh (late 7th century), Dadisho‘ Qaṭraya (late 7th century), and possibly Isho‘panah Qaṭraya (unknown date) and Jacob Qaṭraya (unknown date) – who were either from or connected to Beth Qaṭraye, produced a wide range of writings, from biblical commentaries to liturgical and monastic works.[97] Perhaps the most extensive evidence for seventh-century Christianity in Beth Qaṭraye is provided by Catholicos Isho‘yahb III (649-659), who produced 106 letters, 5 of which address three separate groups in Beth Qaṭraye:[98] Letter 17, to the bishops; Letters 18 and 19, to the people in general; and Letters 20 and 21, to the monks.[99] Each of these letters discuss a variety of ecclesiastical matters, such as acceptable bishopric ordinations (Letter 17), dealing with rebellious bishops (Letters 18 and 19), encouraging the monks to oppose the rebellious bishops (Letter 20), and responding to a growing schism among the local monastic community (Letter 21).[100] Isho‘yahb III’s successor, Catholicos Giwargis (661-680), traveled to Beth Qaṭraye, where he presided over a local synod in Dayrin in 676.[101] One of the signatories of this synod was Thomas, metropolitan of Beth Qaṭraye, and, as Sebastian Brock has suggested, his title as “metropolitan” reveals that Beth Qaṭraye had become independent of the metropolitan see of Rev Ardashir, likely under Giwargis rather than Isho‘yahb III, the latter of whom had opposed this particular ecclesiastical development in his Letter 21.[102]

While no specific evidence for eighth-century Christianity in Beth Qaṭraye has yet emerged, Christians were still living in this region in the ninth century, as demonstrated by Isho‘ bar Nun’s (d. 828) liturgically-related letter to Isaac, the “Visitor” of Beth Qaṭraye;[103] the

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[95] Bin Seray, “Christianity in East Arabia,” 321 and Brock, “Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye,” 94. For Jacob’s chronological placement among the other known writers of Beth Qaṭraye, see Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.3. Date.

[96] Cf. Brock, “Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye,” 95.

[97] For a further discussion, see Chapter 1, Subsections 1.1.3. Date and 1.1.4. The Scholarly Milieu of Beth Qaṭraye.

[98] Brock, “Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye,” 85 and John F. Healey, “The Christians of Qatar in the 7th Century A.D,” in Ian Richard Netton (ed.), *Studies in Honour of Clifford Edmund Bosworth. Vol. 1: Hunter of the East: Arabic and Semitic Studies* (Leiden / Boston / Köln: Brill, 2000), 227-229.

[99] Brock, “Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye,” 86-87 and Healey, “The Christians of Qatar in the 7th Century A.D,” 229-232.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Brock, “Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye,” 87 and Healey, “The Christians of Qatar in the 7th Century A.D,” 232-233.

[102] Brock, “Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye,” 87.

[103] Ibid., 95, n. 56.

presence of Christian pearl divers around Bahrain in 833/835;[104] and the kind treatment of Christians in Yamana and Bahrain by the rebel Shah Abū Saʿīd Ḥasan ibn Bahrām al-Jannābī (r. before 899-913) during the time of Catholicos Yoḥannan III (893-899).[105] After the ninth century, however, there is no reliable evidence for Christianity in Beth Qaṭraye, due to Islamic influences.

Overview of Chapters

Since Aḥob of Qatar's surviving biographical data have not been thoroughly examined by previous scholarship and considering the fact that his Old Testament exegetical works are primarily scholia that have been exploited in various ways by later East Syriac writers, this material is best introduced and most comprehensively studied in 5 chapters – each of which are divided into a varying number of sections and subsections – and an Appendix. Due to the manner by which Aḥob's life and Old Testament exegetical works are presented and discussed, Chapters 1 and 2 are noticeably shorter than Chapters 3-5, partially because the text and translation of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works are re-presented (in whole or in part) in many of the subsections within Chapters 3-5. In a related manner, Chapters 3 and 4 technically function as one continuous chapter but have been arbitrarily divided to make them as equal in length as possible, without dividing up any particular section. Aḥob's surviving biographical data, his edited Old Testament exegetical works, their use and development within the East Syriac exegetical tradition, and his sources are presented in separate chapters so that their extent can be readily observed and their contents easily navigated.

Chapter 1 ("Aḥob of Qatar") examines the surviving biographical data relating to Aḥob's life and works, including the details of his early references, the original spelling of his name, his date, his connection to the scholarly milieu of Beth Qaṭraye, and his works.

Chapter 2 ("Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works") encompasses two main sections. The first section identifies the specific places where Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works are preserved within the Syriac manuscript tradition, which includes eight writers and manuscript traditions in the East Syriac exegetical tradition. The second section presents an annotated edition and English translation of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* and 35 surviving

[104] Beaucamp and Robin, "L'évêché nestorien de Mâšmâhîg," 186-187 and Carter, "Christianity in the Gulf during the First Centuries of Islam," 100.

[105] Fiey, "Diocèses syriens orientaux du Golfe Persique," 211.

attributed Old Testament scholia, followed by an exploration of several disputed scholia and spurious scholia.

Chapter 3 ("Aḥob of Qatar and the East Syriac Exegetical Tradition (up to ca. 850)") is divided into four primary sections, each of which analyzes Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works as they were used and developed by four later East Syriac writers and manuscript traditions, namely, Nathniel of Shirzor's *Cause of the Psalms*, *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*, Theodore bar Koni's *Scholion*, and the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary*. Nathniel only uses Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, while *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* relies on both of Aḥob's known Genesis scholia. Bar Koni utilizes one of Aḥob's Genesis scholia and his *Cause of the Psalms*, while the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary* (along with one of its preceding documents) relies on nineteen of Aḥob's Psalm-related writings.

Chapter 4 ("Aḥob of Qatar and the East Syriac Exegetical Tradition (ca. 850-1439/1440)") includes four main sections and continues the examination of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works as they were used and developed by four more later East Syriac writers and manuscript traditions, namely, Isho'dad of Merv's *Commentary on Genesis*, *1 Samuel*, and *Psalms*, the *Anonymous Commentary*, Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*, and Isaac Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem on God's Governance from 'In the Beginning' until Eternity*. Isho'dad relies, whole or in part, on both of Aḥob's known Genesis scholia, his only known 1 Samuel scholion, and fourteen of his Psalm-related writings, while the *Anonymous Commentary* uses both of Aḥob's known Genesis scholia, one of his Numbers scholia, his only known 1 Samuel scholion, and his only known Bar Sira scholion. Bar Bahlul relies on eleven Aḥob scholia, which are presented as either etymological glosses of proper names or brief definitions of various biblical words and/or phrases, and Isaac Shbadnaya utilizes Aḥob's Calendrical and Eschatological scholia.

Chapter 5 ("The Distinctiveness of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works") is presented in eight primary sections. The first and second sections investigate the original form and purpose, respectively, of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works. The third section considers the Peshitta Old Testament underlying his Old Testament exegetical works. The fourth section examines the multiple Greek, Syriac, and other sources used by Aḥob to produce his Old Testament exegetical works. These include Theodore of Mopsuestia's *Commentary on Genesis* and *Psalms*, Basil of Caesarea's (ca. 330-379) Prologue to Psalm 1, the *Physiologus* (2nd or 3rd century), the East Syriac liturgy, cosmology, church architecture, Jewish exegesis and customs, Hebrew and Greek readings, medical phraseology, the language of Qatar, a rare word of uncertain etymology, and Coptic, Persian, and miscellaneous references. The fifth,

sixth, and seventh sections explore Aḥob's Christology, polemics, and eschatology, respectively. The eighth section analyzes the many distinctive exegetical tendencies of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works, one of which is Aḥob's willingness to critique Theodore of Mopsuestia – a likely reason (among others) as to why at least some of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works have survived.

The Appendix ("An Edition of the Introduction and Select Parts of Thirteen Psalms from the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary*") presents an edition of the Introduction and select parts of thirteen psalms from the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary*, to which Aḥob's Psalm scholia are connected.

CHAPTER 1

AḤOB OF QATAR

This chapter will examine Aḥob of Qatar, an important, though to-date largely neglected, East Syriac biblical commentator. Concluding remarks will be reserved for the conclusion of this chapter, which will be presented in Section 1.2. Conclusion below.

1.1. Aḥob of Qatar's Surviving Biographical Data

Although Ter Haar Romeny has produced four publications that briefly discuss his life and works,[1] the following aims to be a more comprehensive discussion of Aḥob. The early references to Aḥob's life will be surveyed, and the debates surrounding the original spelling of his name and his dates will be explored. Following a consideration of Aḥob's connection to the scholarly milieu of Beth Qaṭraye, his works will be discussed.

1.1.1. Early References

While the specific details of Aḥob's life are largely unknown, there are a few pieces of reliable evidence for his existence and writings. In his *Catalogue of Books*, the East Syriac bishop, ʻAbdishoʻ bar Brika (1250-1318), references an Aḥob Qaṭraya (ܐܚܘܒ ܩܛܪܝܐ) and his writings in the following brief entry:[2]

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[1] Bas ter Haar Romeny, "The Hebrew and the Greek as Alternatives to the Syriac Version in Išoʻdad's Commentary on the Psalms," in Ada Rapoport Albert and Gillian Greenberg (eds.), *Biblical Hebrews, Biblical Texts: Essays in Memory of Michael P. Weitzman* (Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series 333; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 450-452; idem, "Aḥob Qaṭraya," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 12; Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 134-137; idem, "Introduction to the *Book of the Aims of the Psalms* by Aḥūb Qaṭraya," in Mario Kozah et al. (eds.), *An Anthology of Syriac Writers from Qatar in the Seventh Century* (Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 39; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2015), 89-90.

[2] Josephus Simonius Assemani (ed.), *Bibliotheca orientalis Clementino-Vaticana, in qua manuscriptos codices syriacos, arabicos, persicos, turcicos, hebraicos, samaritanos, armenicos, æthiopicos, Graecos, ægyptiacos, ibericos & malabaricos*, 3.1 (Roma: Typis Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, 1725), 175; Yusuf Habbi, *Fihris al-mu'allifīn ta'līf li-'Abd Yašū' al-Ṣūbāwī* (Maṭbūʻāt al-Maǧmaʻ al-ʻIlmī al-ʻIrāqī: al-Hay'ah al-Suryānīyah; Baghdād: Maṭbaʻat al-Maǧmaʻ al-ʻIlmī al-ʻIrāqī, 1986), 98, *793-796* (Syriac) {Arabic edition of this entry: ibid., 203, *793-796*}. The oldest known manuscript containing ʻAbdishoʻ's *Catalogue of Books* is ms. Vat. Syr. 176, which is dated to 1476. See Hubert Kaufhold, "Abraham Ecchellensis et le *Catalogue des livres* de ʻAḇdīšōʻ bar Brīḵā," in Bernard Heyberger (ed.), *Orientalisme, science et controverse: Abraham Ecchellensis (1605-1664)* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2010), 121.

ܐܒܘܗܒ ܩܛܪܝܐ ܚܒܪ	Aḥob Qaṭraya composed
ܥܠ ܟܠ ܚܕܬܐ ܘܥܬܝܩܐ	a commentary of the whole New (Testament)
ܘܥܠ ܟܠ ܚܡܫܐ ܣܦܪܐ ܘܟܠ ܢܒܝܐ	and of the Pentateuch and all the Prophets,
ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܦܫܩܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܒ	apart from[3] a commentary on the *Beth Mawthbe*.

The 9th-11th-century *Chronicle of Seert* mentions an individual named Ayyūb (ايوب), who was an Exegete (مفسر), a relative (قرابة) of Narsai (399-502), and lost the candidacy for the see of Catholicos of Seleucia in 580/581[4] to Isho‘yahb I (former bishop of Arzun; d. 595).[5] Earlier scholarship has identified this Ayyūb with Aḥob:[6]

ولما استتاح حزقيال الجاثايق	After the death of Ezekiel, the Catholicos,
اجتمع الناس لوقوع الاختيار على من يعقد	some of those who had gathered together to choose
له الجثلقة فاختار بعضهم ايوب المفسر	a Catholicos elected Ayyūb the Exegete
الذي كان بالمدائن وهو قرابة مار نرسي	of Seleucia[7] and the relative of Mar Narsai;
واختار اخرون ايشوعيب اسقف ارزن	and the others chose Isho‘yahb, bishop of Arzun.
وانتهى الامر الى الملك	And the dispute was taken to the king,
فامر ان ينصب فى	(and) he ordered that the bishop of Arzun
الجثلقة اسقف ارزن	was (to be) consecrated Catholicos.

The 11th-century *Kitāb al-Mağdal* (*The Book of the Tower*) preserves two similar records, though Ayyūb’s relation to Narsai and the date of 580/581 are only mentioned in select manuscripts:[8]

[3] In this entry in their respective editions of ‘Abdisho‘’s *Catalogue of Books*, Abraham Ecchellensis (1605-1664) and Assemani (1687-1768) translated ܚܠ ܠܗܝ as the Latin “praeter,” meaning “besides.” More recently, Ter Haar Romeny rendered this phrase as “in addition to,” followed by “except for,” though the latter translation was placed within parenthesis, likely to indicate that it was not the primary meaning of this phrase in this entry. Furthermore, the only other instance where ‘Abdisho‘ uses ܚܠ ܠܗܝ in his *Catalogue* is in an entry entitled “Books which (are) not mentioned” (ܕܠܐ ܡܬܝܡܪ ܘܠܐ ܟܬܒ), where the relevant lines state, “…and, again, we have histories, which (are) more than hundreds, apart from these which (are) written in the two books of Paradise” (ܘܫܒܬܐ ܐܚܪܝܬܐ ܐܝܬ ܟܬܒ ܚܕܬ ܚܕܬ ܫܠܡ ܚܠ ܠܗܝ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܒܬܪܝܢ ܣܦܪ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܝܡܪ). Thus, in the context of ‘Abdisho‘’s Aḥob entry, ܚܠ ܠܗܝ likely means “apart from,” rather than its usual meaning of “except for.” See Abraham Ecchellensis, *Incipimus scribere tractatem continentem catalogum librorum Chaldæorum, tam ecclesiasticorum, quam profanorum* (Rome: Typis S.C. de Propaganda Fide, 1653), 82, *7* (Syriac), 83 (Latin); Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 3.1, 175; Ter Haar Romeny, “Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar,” 134; Habbi, *Fihris al-mu’allifīn ta’līf li-‘Abd Yašū‘ al-Ṣūbāwī*, 98, *796*; 128, *1122*, *1127*-129, *1130*.

[4] According to Elijah of Nisibis’s (975-1046) *Chronography*, this occurred “in the fourth year of (the reign of) Hormizd” (في سنة ا[ر]بع [لهر]مزد / [ܒܫܢܬ ܐ]ܪܒܥ ܠܗܘܪ[ܡܙܕ]), which equates to 582/583. See E. W. Brooks (ed.), *Eliae metropolitae Nisibeni opus chronologicum* I (CSCO 62, Syr. 21 [III.7]; Paris: Typographeo Reipublicae, 1909), 52, *16*, *20*; idem (ed.), *Eliae metropolitae Nisibeni opus chronologicum* I (CSCO 63, Syr. 23 [III.7]; Paris: Typographeo Reipublicae, 1910), 30; Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, 228.

[5] Addai Scher (ed.), *Histoire nestorienne (Chronique de Séert): Seconde partie, II* (Patrologia Orientalis 13.4; Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1919), 118/438. My English translation is based on Scher’s French translation.

[6] For a further discussion, see Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.2. Name.

[7] In Arabic, this city is known as al-Madā’in.

[8] Ayyūb is mentioned in the Arabic text of *Kitāb al-Mağdal* twice. See Henricus Gismondi (ed.), *Maris Amri et Slibae de patriarchis nestorianorum commentaria ex codicibus vaticanis* (Roma: C. de Luigi, 1896), 44, *17*-45, *1* (Arabic); idem (ed.), *Maris Amri et Slibae de patriarchis nestorianorum commentaria ex codicibus vaticanis* (Roma: C. de Luigi, 1897), 44, *17*-45, *1* (Arabic), 26 (Latin); Henricus Gismondi (ed.), *Maris Amri et Slibae de patriarchis nestorianorum commentaria ex codicibus vaticanis* (Roma: C. de Luigi, 1899), 55, *21-22* (Arabic), 49 (Latin). Narsai and the date 580/581 are not mentioned in Gismondi’s 1899 edition. Gismondi based his work on ms. Neofiti 54 (*olim* 41), an 18th-century manuscript unknown to Assemani. See Gianmaria Gianazza

فلما استناح حزقيال	Therefore, when Ezekiel died,
اجتمع الاباء والمومنون للاختيار	the fathers and the believers assembled for an election
فوقع الاختيار على ايوب المفسر	(and) the choice fell on Ayyūb the Exegete
بالمداين وكان [من] قرابة مار نرسي	of Seleucia and relative of Mar Narsai,
الملفان [وعلى] ايشوعياب	the (ecclesiastical) doctor, and Isho‘yahb,
اسقف ارزن ونهي الامر الى هرمزد	bishop of Arzun. The news reached Hormizd,[9]
ابن انوشروان	the son of Anushirvan,[10]
[وان] في السنة الاولى لملكه	in the first year of his reign,
امر بتصيير ايشوعياب	(and) he ordered that Isho‘yahb be brought
فالبس بيرون بنفسجي	and he was vested publicly with a purplish robe.
واسيم فطركا بالمداين	He was named patriarch to Seleucia
سنة اثنين وتسعين وثانماية يونانية	in the year 892, according to the Greek reckoning.

فلما مات حزقيال	When Ezekiel died,
ووقع التشاجر في معناه	there occurred a dispute concerning his qualifications
ومعنى ايوب المفسر	and the qualifications of Ayyūb the Exegete.
وانتهى الامر الى الملك وامر	The affair reached the king, and he ordered that
باجلاس ايشوعيب	Isho‘yahb (be set) on the (patriarchal) throne.

The 14th-century *Kitāb Asfār al-asrār* (*The Book of Mysteries*)[11] preserves a similar account to the longer record found in the *Kitāb al-Mağdal*:[12]

> At the death of Ezekiel, the Fathers and the faithful gathered for the election, and the choice fell on Ayyūb the Exegete of Seleucia, a relative of Mar Narsai, the doctor, and on Isho‘yahb, bishop of Arzun. The choice was referred to Hormizd, son of Anushirvan, who was in the first year of his reign, and he gave orders that Isho‘yahb was to be patriarch. Dressed in a purplish pontifical robe, he was consecrated to Seleucia in the year 892, in the Easter calculation 11.4.4.

Duval made the initial suggestion that the Syriac Ayyub (ܐܝܘܒ), which is used several times in Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*, should be considered the same person as the Arabic Ayyūb the Exegete (ايوب المفسر),[13] the head of the School of Seleucia.[14] He based his argument on Henricus

(ed.), *Ṣalībā ibn Yūḥannā al-Mawṣilī (XIV^e s.): Asfār al-asrār: I: Préface, Table des matières, Livre premier et Livre second* (Patrimoine Arabe Chrétien 33; Beirut: CEDRAC, 2018), 9-10.

[9] This is Hormizd IV, who reigned from 579-590.

[10] This is the father of Hormizd IV, whose fuller name is Khosrow I Anushirvan. He reigned from 531-579.

[11] Gianazza has published a critical edition of the *Kitāb Asfār al-asrār*, as well as the Arabic text of Books 1 and 2, based on ten manuscripts. His base manuscript is the 14th century Vat. Ar. 110, arguably the autograph of Ṣalībā. See Gianmaria Gianazza (ed.), *Ṣalībā ibn Yūḥannā al-Mawṣilī: I libri dei misteri (Kitāb asfār al-asrār): Introduzione, traduzione, note e indici* (Patrimonio Culturale Arabo Cristiano 12; Canterano: Aracne Editrice, 2017), 41-44 and idem, *Asfār al-asrār*, 22-26.

[12] Gianazza, *I libri dei misteri*, 439. A critical edition of the Arabic text of Book 5, which is where Ayyūb is mentioned, is forthcoming. My English translation is based on Gianazza's Italian translation.

[13] Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix.

[14] Cf. Chabot, *Synodicon orientale*, 391, n. 3 and Jean-Maurice Fiey, "Topographie chrétienne de Mahozé," *L'Orient Syrien* 12 (1967): 407. For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.2. The Original Purpose of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

Gismondi's 1897 edition (and Latin translation) of the *Kitāb al-Mağdal*.[15] Roger Cowley agreed with and expanded Duval's proposal, insisting that the Syriac ܐܝܘܒ and ܐܝܘܒ were two different spellings for the same person, namely the Arabic ايوب المفسر.[16] Beyond Duval's suggestion, the basis for Cowley's argument lay in the *Chronicle of Seert* and in a rejection of Josephus Simonius Assemani's ('Abdisho''s second Latin editor; 1687-1768) proposal of a late 10th-century context for Aḥob.[17]

If the *Chronicle of Seert* and the later Arabic witnesses[18] are correct, Aḥob may well have been born in Qatar and later moved to Seleucia.[19] If one accepts that Aḥob was Ayyūb, the Exegete, there is no reason to doubt the date of 580/581 (or 582/583) given in these sources.[20] However, their claim concerning Aḥob's relation to Narsai needs to be evaluated. Narsai is attested as having lived in northern Mesopotamia: he was born in 'Ayn Dulba (modern Dahuk Governorate, Iraq) and became a noted teacher and exegete in the Schools of Edessa and later Nisibis, where he ultimately died.[21] While at face value it seems unlikely that someone from Qatar would be related to someone from northern Mesopotamia, it is conceivable that one of Narsai's descendants travelled to Qatar and settled there. Thus, even though there is a dearth of evidence concerning Narsai's later blood relatives, Aḥob's relation to Narsai is possible, though it cannot be established with any degree of certainty.

1.1.2. Name

Abraham Ecchellensis ('Abdisho''s first Latin editor; 1605-1664) referred to him as Aḥob Qaṭraya (ܐܝܘܒ ܩܛܪܝܐ).[22] Assemani's edition superseded that of Ecchellensis, and he called

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[15] Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix.

[16] Roger W. Cowley, "Scholia of Aḥob of Qaṭar on St John's Gospel and the Pauline Epistles," *Le Muséon* 93:3-4 (1980): 338.

[17] Ibid., 338-340. Aḥob's date is discussed in more detail in Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.3. Date.

[18] Gismondi's 1896 publication is Ṣalībā's text, notwithstanding some differences as witnessed in ms. Vat. Ar. 110. Earlier scholarship noted the similarities and differences between *Kitāb al-Mağdal* and the *Kitāb Asfār al-asrār* and largely concluded that Ṣalībā had plagiarized and/or inflated earlier records to produce his own. Gianazza and other recent scholars have critiqued this view, arguing that Ṣalībā's work should be considered a unique product of the 14th century. See Gianazza, *Asfār al-asrār*, 9 (esp. n. 19)-17; idem, "Ṣalībā est-il un plagiaire?," *Parole de l'Orient* 42 (2016): 237-254; Bo Holmberg, "A Reconsideration of the *Kitāb al-Mağdal*," *Parole de l'Orient* 18 (1993): 255-273.

[19] Cowley, "Scholia of Aḥob of Qaṭar," 338 and Ter Haar Romeny, "Aḥob Qaṭraya," 12.

[20] For reasons which will be discussed in the following subsections, I accept that Aḥob was Ayyūb, the Exegete, who was a candidate for the Catholicosate in 580/581 or 582/583.

[21] The main sources for reconstructing the life of Narsai are the "Ecclesiastical History" and the "Cause of the Foundation of the Schools," both of which are attributed to Barḥadbshabba 'Arbaya (late 6th/early 7th century). See Becker, *Sources for the Study of the School of Nisibis*, 47-72, 150-152.

[22] Ecchellensis, *Incipimus scribere tractatem*, 82, *5* (Syriac), 83 (Latin). The source of Ecchellensis' edition was ms. Vat. Syr. 456, which is dated to 1593. See Kaufhold, "Abraham Ecchellensis," 122, esp. n. 18.

him Ayyub Qaṭraya (ܩܛܪܝܐ ܐܝܘܒ).[23] Assemani footnoted Ecchellensis' rendering of the name but did not interact with it.[24] The spelling of the name as ܐܝܘܒ remained the standard for nearly two centuries, until Duval edited Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* in the early 20th century. In the preface to his edition, Duval stated that his work relied on fourteen manuscripts, at least four of which alternate between the spellings of ܐܝܘܒ and ܐܝܘܒ.[25] However, Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) did not view the spelling of ܐܝܘܒ to be the most authoritative. Rather, as Duval noted, they preferred the spelling of ܐܝܘܒ, as well as a third rendering of the name, Ḥob (ܚܘܒ), which is used eight times throughout the *Lexicon*.[26] While Duval relied on Assemani's work for the publication of his third volume, he did not show a reliance upon Ecchellensis.[27] Furthermore, all of the manuscripts used by Duval are later in date than Ecchellensis' base manuscript, namely, ms. Vat. Syr. 456. Somewhat interestingly, Duval concluded that all three names were to be regarded as variant forms indicating the same person and so did not offer an original spelling.[28] Building on Duval's observations, Jean Baptiste Chabot evaluated the evidence for reconstructing the original spelling of the name. He noted the three spellings offered by Duval and suggested that Assemani had likely chosen the spelling ܐܝܘܒ, rather than Ecchellensis' spelling, for the main body of his edition, because it was a familiar Syriac name, since this is the spelling of the biblical name of Job.[29] He dismissed Duval's insistence on the spelling of ܚܘܒ as a legitimate spelling, pointing out instead that its original form was likely ܐܝܘܒ and that the initial ܐ had been lost due to the carelessness of an otherwise unknown copyist.[30] Chabot concluded that ܐܝܘܒ should be regarded as the authentic spelling, based on ms. Paris, BnF Syr. 315 (which contains 'Abdisho''s *Catalogue of Books* and was the only 'Abdisho' manuscript available to him; dated to 1884), Ecchellensis and Assemani's respective editions, Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* (vol. 3), Vandenhoff's partial edition of the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary*,[31] and a number of relevant 19th-century manuscripts containing this spelling of

[23] Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 3.1, 175. The basis for Assemani's edition was ms. Vat. Syr. 176. See Kaufhold, "Abraham Ecchellensis," 121, 131.

[24] Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 3.1, 175, n. 4.

[25] Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vols. 1-3), ii-iii, xix, xxvi-xxxix, 1646, *1*, 1792, n. 22, 2092, n. 14.

[26] Ibid., (vols. 1-2), 223, *13*; 397, *12*; 1077, *16*; 1143, *4*; 1212, *3*; 1400, *5*; 1937, *3*; 2092, *3*.

[27] For instance, Duval cites Assemani's edition concerning Aḥob, but he does not mention Ecchellensis' edition. See ibid., (vol. 3), xix.

[28] Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix.

[29] J.-B. Chabot, "Éclaircissements sur quelques points de la littérature syriaque," *Journal Asiatique* 10.8 (1906): 273.

[30] Ibid.

[31] See ibid., 274, n. 1, where Chabot cites this source via another one of his articles: idem, "Gannat bussame: Note sur l'ouvrage syriaque intitulé Le Jardin des Délices," in Carl Bezold (ed.), *Orientalische Studien:*

the name.[32] In 1986, Yusuf Habbi produced a Syriac-Arabic critical edition of ‘Abdisho‘’s *Catalogue of Books*,[33] and he referred to him as Aḥob Qaṭraya (ܩܛܪܝܐ ܐܚܘܒ) in Syriac and Ayyūb / Aḥūb Qaṭraya (ايوب / احوب القطري) in Arabic.[34] Among other sources, Habbi relied on the editions of both Ecchellensis and Assemani, as well as ms. Vat. Syr. 176 (Assemani’s base manuscript).[35] More recent scholars, such as Cowley, Sebastian Brock, and Ter Haar Romeny, agree with Chabot’s assessment and maintain that ܐܚܘܒ is the most authentic rendering of the original name.[36]

Before a conclusion can be reached, it should be noted that the oldest witness containing the name ܐܚܘܒ, namely, ms. (*olim*) Diyarbakir 22 (e.g. the *Anonymous Commentary* from Exod 9:28-end; 10th century) was produced several centuries after Aḥob lived.[37] In it, Aḥob is referenced by name three times: on f. 53v, *1* (Num 21:19) he is called ܐܚܘܒ, on ff. 83v-84r, lower margins (1 Sam 8:1, 6) he is called ܩܛܪܝܐ ܐܚܘܒ, and on f. 133r, upper and outside margins (Bar Sira 14:12, 18) he is called ܐܚܘܒ.[38] Furthermore, outside of Bar Bahlul, the spelling of ܐܚܘ is not attested elsewhere in the manuscript tradition as a reference to this writer from Qatar. Though Bar Bahlul’s specific source(s) for this spelling is/are unknown, Chabot’s

Theodor Nöldeke zum siebzigsten Geburtstag (2. März 1906) gewidmet von Freunden und Schülern (Gieszen: Alfred Töpelmann, 1906), 495.

[32] Chabot, “Éclaircissements sur quelques points de la littérature syriaque,” 273-274. Chabot notes (274, n. 1) four manuscripts he has consulted: Seert 121 (1800), Alqosh 36 (*olim* 20) (1884), Alqosh *olim* 21 (1893), and Alqosh 34 (*olim* 22) (1887).

[33] Prior to Habbi’s edition, ‘Abdisho‘’s *Catalogue of Books* was translated into English by George Percy Badger. See idem, *The Nestorians and Their Rituals, with the Narrative of a Mission to Mesopotamia and Coordistan in 1842-1844 and of a Late Visit to Those Countries in 1850*, 2 vols. (London: Joseph Masters, 1852). It was also printed in Mosul by Yawsep d-Beth Qelayta in 1924. Qelayta may have printed it sixteen years earlier in Urmia (1908) as well, but this is uncertain. Yawsep’s 1924 publication was later translated into English by Ishai Shimun (1965), who was also aware of Badger’s translation. Qelayta and Shimun’s works rely on Assemani’s edition, while Badger’s work shows a number of differences from Assemani’s base manuscript. While it is unclear which manuscript(s) he used, it is clear that these works present no new evidence related to the original spelling of the name currently being investigated. See Kaufhold, “Abraham Ecchellensis,” 131-133.

[34] The Arabic equivalent of ܐܚܘܒ is احوب. Habbi, *Fihris al-mu’allifīn ta’līf li-‘Abd Yašū‘ al-Ṣūbāwī*, 98, *793* (Syriac), 203, *112 Title*, *793* (Arabic). There is also an Arabic-only version of this text, which was published in the same year (1986). However, it lists Aḥob’s entry on p. 91, not p. 98.

[35] Habbi’s edition was based on three earlier editions and five manuscripts. See Habbi, *Fihris al-mu’allifīn ta’līf li-‘Abd Yašū‘ al-Ṣūbāwī*, 15.

[36] Cowley, “Scholia of Aḥob of Qaṭar,” 338; Brock, “Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye,” 92-93; Ter Haar Romeny, “Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar,” 134. For examples of recent scholars who use the transliterated name only, see Levene, *The Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis*, 5, 10, 14, 21, 47, *15*, 88; Van den Eynde, *Genèse* (trans.), v, 161, n. 7; idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), xxii-xxiii, xxxiv-xxxvii; Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), xliii.

[37] Macomber, “Newly Discovered Fragments of the Gospel Commentaries of Theodore of Mopsuestia,” 443, n. 11 and Van Rompay, “A Hitherto Unknown Nestorian Commentary,” 54.

[38] In later stages of the *Anonymous Commentary* (from the early 16th-early 20th centuries), when the Genesis section of the commentary was fully restored, Aḥob’s name is also referenced in Gen 15:9-10 and Gen 50:10, both places of which it is spelled ܐܚܘܒ. Cf. Ter Haar Romeny, “Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar,” 137-142.

suggestion as to its origin is entirely possible. While a definite original spelling for the name cannot be conclusively determined due to a lack of early witnesses, the available evidence suggests that Aḥob (ܐܚܘܒ) is the most authentic rendering of his name, and the graphically similar form, Job (ܝܘܒ), was introduced by scribes – long before Assemani – who were unfamiliar with the original name but very familiar with the biblical figure, and this gave rise to the Arabic form, Ayyūb (ايوب), in the *Chronicle of Seert* and the later Arabic witnesses.[39] The spelling of Aḥob (ܐܚܘܒ) will be adopted throughout this study.

1.1.3. Date

In a footnote in his edition and Latin translation of ‘Abdisho‘’s *Catalogue of Books*, Assemani suggested that Aḥob lived roughly around the year 990.[40] While he does not cite any immediate supporting evidence to validate his claim, Assemani does propose (in another footnote on the same page) that Abraham of Basra, whose entry directly precedes that of Aḥob’s, lived in the year 990.[41] However, Assemani does not appear to have presumed that ‘Abdisho‘ arranged his entries chronologically. For instance, Denḥa’s entry immediately follows Aḥob’s, and Assemani believed he lived around the year 740.[42]

Cowley demonstrated that since Isho‘dad of Merv (fl. ca. 850) selectively quotes his exegetical works, Aḥob could not have lived over a hundred years after him.[43] Cowley further suggested that this Aḥob should be identified with Ayyūb, the Exegete of Seleucia, who lived at the end of the 6th century.[44] Ter Haar Romeny agrees with Cowley’s assertion of a 6th-century timeframe for Aḥob, on the basis of Jean Maurice Fiey’s historical study, which shows that by the early 10th century Christianity had succumbed to Islamic influences in the region of Beth

[39] “Aḥob” is an unusual Syriac name in antiquity. While there are possible connections in other Semitic languages, especially pre-Classical Arabic, the main issue is that the inscriptions are written in consonants only. Thus, vowels and/or diphthongs could be added in a number of combinations to produce a given word. So, the name ’ḥb could be completed with any number of the following vowels: ’ a/i/u ḥ a/i/u b. Other parallel examples include ḥb, and ḥbb. See G. Lankester Harding, *An Index and Concordance of Pre-Islamic Arabian Names and Inscriptions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), 24, 172. There is also a parallel with the name Hb in image number 0005290 (which translated states, “By Hb son of ’rb son of Mz son of ’ll”) on The Khalili Research Centre, “Online Corpus of the Inscriptions of Ancient North Arabia (OCIANA): #0005290,” accessed 27 September 2021, http://krc.orient.ox.ac.uk/ociana/corpus/pages/OCIANA_0005290.html. Other parallels to Aḥob exist in pre-Islamic literature. See Werner Caskel, *Ǧamharat an-nasab: das genealogische Werk des Hišām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī*, vol. 2 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966), 145 (esp. Aḥabb and al-Aḥabb).

[40] Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 3.1, 175, n. 4.

[41] Ibid., n. 1.

[42] Ibid., n. 5. Brock disagrees with at least some of Assemani’s dates and insists that ‘Abdisho‘ organized his *Catalogue of Books* chronologically. See Sebastian Brock, *A Brief Outline of Syriac Literature*, 2nd ed., rev. and enlarged (Mōrān ’Eth’ō 9; Baker Hill, Kottayam: St. Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute, 2011), 69.

[43] Cowley, “Scholia of Aḥob of Qaṭar,” 339.

[44] Ibid., 338.

Qaṭraye.[45] However, even if Christianity still existed in Beth Qaṭraye in the late 9th century,[46] it still precedes Assemani's suggested date for Aḥob by roughly a hundred years. Aḥob cannot be dated earlier than the mid-6th century, because he references the production of *'Onyata*, and the earliest composer of *'Onyata* chants was likely John of Beth Rabban (d. ca. 566/567).[47] The earliest writer to rely on and quote Aḥob (albeit anonymously) is Nathniel of Shirzor (ca. 600), whose *Cause of the Psalms* title states that he was martyred during the time of Khosrow II, who reigned from 590-628.[48] If Aḥob's *'Onyata* reference and Nathniel's use of Aḥob are considered along with Duval and Cowley's assertation that the Syriac Aḥob is the same person as the Arabic Ayyūb, one can reasonably situate Aḥob in the second half of the 6th century, though perhaps more accurately in the late 6th century. Further evidence for an early date for Aḥob consists of the following:

- The form of Aḥob's two Persian nouns – "brocade" (ܒܘܪܟܢ) and "dasāg" (ܕܣܟ) – can be dated to a pre-Arabic, i.e. Middle Persian, context.[49]
- The earliest manuscript tradition to quote Aḥob (also anonymously) is *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*, which Lucas Van Rompay has dated to the first half – or even possibly closer to the beginning – of the eighth century.[50]
- Aḥob's Old Testament scholia are not encyclopedic in nature, as is the case for later East Syriac commentators, such as Theodore bar Koni (fl. end of the 8th century) and Isho'dad of Merv;[51] the non-encyclopedic nature of his Old Testament scholia suggests an early date.
- Thomas Carlson has hinted at an early date for Aḥob, on the basis of a quotation attributed to Aḥob and Gabriel Qaṭraya (first half of the 7th century),[52] as preserved in Isaac Shbadnaya's (fl. 1439/1440) prose commentary on his *Poem on God's Governance from 'In the Beginning' until Eternity*.[53] This quotation, which Carlson labels Passage 4, reflects Shbadnaya's knowledge of Gabriel's exegesis, the latter

[45] Fiey, "Diocèses syriens orientaux du Golfe Persique," 211-212 and Ter Haar Romeny, "Aḥob Qaṭraya," 12.

[46] For a further discussion, see Introduction, Christianity in Beth Qaṭraye.

[47] For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.8. Miscellaneous References.

[48] For a further discussion, see Chapter 3, Section 3.1. The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's *Cause of the Psalms* in Nathniel of Shirzor's *Cause of the Psalms*.

[49] For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.6. Coptic and Persian References.

[50] Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), lii-liii.

[51] Ibid., liii; Van Rompay, "Between the School and the Monk's Cell," 31; Butts, "Theodoros bar Koni," 405.

[52] Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), lii.

[53] Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 169-193.

of which likely relied on Aḥob's earlier exegesis of the same subject.[54]

Although he does not offer an immediate reason to support his claim, Brock disagrees with Cowley's assertation that Aḥob is to be identified as a 6th-century figure.[55] Earlier, in his 1999 *ARAM* article, Brock questioned whether Aḥob was "the same person as the monk at the monastery of Rab Kennare (in Beth Huzzaye) who requested Dadisho' Qaṭraya [late 7th century] to write his Commentary on the Asceticon of Abba Isaiah."[56] This particular Aḥob (who is the only other Aḥob attested in antiquity) is arguably a different, and later, Aḥob than the focus of this present study. The main reasons for this are twofold: 1) Nathniel of Shirzor (ca. 600) relies on Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* for his own introductory treatise to the book of Psalms,[57] and 2) Aḥob's extant Old Testament scholia tie him to biblical interpretation and not to any aspect of the ascetic tradition.[58] Thus, Aḥob the Exegete, who lived in the late 6th century, and Aḥob the monk, who lived in the late 7th century, cannot be the same person.

A 6th-century setting for Aḥob would place him as a contemporary, or slightly earlier contemporary, of other influential writers from Beth Qaṭraye, such as Gabriel Qaṭraya, Isaac of Nineveh, and Dadisho' Qaṭraya. In order to historically situate Aḥob, the following table (based on studies conducted by Brock and Mario Kozah) lists the known writers of Beth Qaṭraye in rough chronological order:[59]

Name	Date(s)	Work(s)	Relation
Aḥob Qaṭraya	Ca. 580/581 or	Author of Old and New Testament scholia and an	

[54] Ibid., 178-180. For a further discussion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.3.3. Isaac Shbadnaya Scholion.

[55] Brock, "Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye," 93, n. 39. In an earlier study, Brock situated Aḥob as one of the most important 6th-century biblical commentators. See Brock, *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition*, (SEERI Correspondence Course on Syrian Christian Heritage 1; Kottayam: St. Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute, 1988), 67.

[56] Brock, "Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye," 92, n. 37; René Draguet (ed.), *Commentaire du livre d'Abba Isaïe (logoi I-XV) par Dadišo Qatraya (VIIe s.)* (CSCO 326, Syr. 144; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1972), 1, *6*; 206, *20*; idem (ed.), *Commentaire du livre d'Abba Isaïe (logoi I-XV) par Dadišo Qatraya (VIIe s.)* (CSCO 327, Syr. 145; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1972), 1, 159.

[57] For a further discussion, see Chapter 3, Section 3.1. The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's *Cause of the Psalms* in Nathniel of Shirzor's *Cause of the Psalms*.

[58] Due to the fact that Aḥob the monk made a request of Dadisho' Qaṭraya, it is possible that he knew Dadisho' and was also from Qatar. If accepted, this may indicate that the name, Aḥob, was being used by Christians in Qatar, which is why it was so unfamiliar to later East Syriac writers who were not from Qatar.

[59] Brock and Kozah have presented these writers in a largely alphabetized and graded manner, respectively. See Brock, "Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye," 88-96; idem, "Abraham bar Lipah," "Dadisho' Qatraya," "Gabriel Qaṭraya," "Isḥaq of Nineveh," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 8, 111, 171, 213-214; Mario Kozah, "The Syriac Writers of Beth Qaṭraye in the Seventh Century: An Overview of the Current State of Studies," in Herman G. B. Teule and Elif Keser-Kayaalp and Kutlu Akalin and Nesim Doru and Mehmet Sait Toprak (eds.), *Syriac in Its Multi-Cultural Context: First International Syriac Studies Symposium, Mardin Artuklu University, Institute of Living Languages, 20-22 April 2012, Mardin* (Eastern Christian Studies 23; Leuven: Peeters, 2017), 64-79.

	582/583[60]	Introduction to the Psalms	
Jacob, bishop of Darin	Fl. 585	Wrote questions concerning liturgical practices to the Catholicos, Isho‘yahb I (only Isho‘yahb I’s response survives, along with 20 canons)	
Gabriel the Interpreter of Mahoze (also known as Gabriel Arya and Rabban Gabriel Qaṭraya)	First half of the 7th century	Biblical commentator on the Old and New Testaments	Relative of Isaac of Nineveh, which is his only connection to Beth Qaṭraya
Gabriel bar Lipah Qaṭraya	First half of the 7th century	Author of a Commentary on the Liturgy (in 5 *memre*) in the form of a series of questions and answers	Likely related to Abraham bar Lipah
Gabriel Qaṭraya	Ca. First half of the 7th century	Owner and collator of a Peshitta New Testament manuscript written in 614/615	
Abraham bar Lipah	7th century	Author of an abbreviated version of Gabriel bar Lipah Qaṭraya’s Commentary on the Liturgy	Likely related to Gabriel bar Lipah Qaṭraya
Gabriel Qaṭraya	Ca. 7th century	Author of two theological treatises: “A Discourse on the Union” and “Resolutions to Questions on the Matter of the Faith”	
Anonymous Monk[61]	Ca. 7th century	Translator of the “Law Book of Shem‘on of Rev Ardashir” from Persian into Syriac	
Isaac of Nineveh	Late 7th century	Author of Monastic Spiritual texts, possibly in 5 Parts[62]	Relative of Gabriel the Interpreter of Mahoze
Dadisho‘ Qaṭraya	Late 7th century	Author of several Monastic texts, including a “Commentary on the Asceticon of Isaiah of Scetis,” a “Commentary on the	

[60] Cf. Aḥob’s date is derived from Scher, *Chronique de Séert, Seconde partie, II*, 438, n. 5; Gismondi, *Maris Amri et Slibae* (1896), 44, *17*-45, *1* (Arabic); idem, *Maris Amri et Slibae* (1897), 44, *17*-45, *1* (Arabic), 26 (Latin); Gismondi, *Maris Amri et Slibae* (1899), 55, *21-22* (Arabic), 49 (Latin); Gianazza, *I libri dei misteri*, 439; Brooks, *Eliae metropolitae Nisibeni opus chronologicum* I (text), 52, *16*, *20*; idem, *Eliae metropolitae Nisibeni opus chronologicum* I (trans.), 30; Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, 228.

[61] There is also another monastic figure, a certain Rabban Bar Sahde, who lived in the mid-7th century. He was a merchant-turned-monk who founded a monastery near Baruqa, a village in the area of Hira. No record survives of any written works attributed to him. See Brock, “Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye,” 95.

[62] ‘Abdisho‘’s *Catalogue of Books* states that Isaac wrote seven books. See Habbi, *Fihris al-mu’allifīn ta’līf li-‘Abd Yašū‘ al-Ṣūbāwī*, 79, *597-600*.

		Paradise of the Fathers" (compiled by 'Enanisho' [7th century]), "Discourses on Stillness," and a "Letter to Abqosh"	
Isho'panah Qaṭraya	Unknown date	Author of several now-lost works	
Jacob Qaṭraya	Unknown date	Quoted by Isaac Shbadnaya but otherwise unknown	

Modern scholarship remains divided over a date for Aḥob. Those who advocate for a 10th-century setting, such as Chabot and Vosté, seem to largely reproduce Assemani's suggested date.[63] Other scholars (with the exception of Brock and Taeke Jansma[64]) have accepted a 6th-century setting or, at minimum, a pre-Islamic context.[65] Unless new evidence surfaces, this study will assume a late 6th-century setting for Aḥob.

1.1.4. The Scholarly Milieu of Beth Qaṭraye

Fiey and Brock have demonstrated that Syriac Christianity existed in Beth Qaṭraye from (at least) the late 4th to the late 9th centuries.[66] However, the above table reveals that all of Beth Qaṭraye's known writers flourished from the end of the 6th through the 7th centuries. Does such a remarkable concentration of learned writers, whose varied and sophisticated works range from biblical commentaries to monastic and liturgical writings, evidence the possibility of a school that existed in the Beth Qaṭraye region at that time?[67] Brock believes there was a school

[63] Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 5, n. 1 (Latin); François Nau, "Note sur un manuscrit syriaque (commentaire des Psaumes d'après Théodore de Mopsueste) appartenant à M. Delaporte," *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* II, 1:3 [11] (1906): 314; Chabot, "Éclaircissements sur quelques points de la littérature syriaque," 274; Jacques Marie Vosté, "Sur les titres des Psaumes dans la Pešitta surtout d'après la recension oriental," *Biblica* 25 (1944): 229; idem, "Les oracles de Balaam d'après Mar Išo'dad de Merw (c. 850): (Num. 22-24)," *Biblica* 29:3 (1948): 191; Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), xxxiv. Rubens Duval misquotes Assemani with the suggestion of the year 900. See Duval, *La littérature syriaque: des origines jusqu'à la fin de cette littérature après la conquête par les Arabes au XIIIe siècle* (Bibliothèque de l'enseignement de l'histoire ecclésiastique: Anciennes littératures chrétiennes 2; Paris: V. Lecoffre, 1899), 84 and idem, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix.

[64] Jansma does not offer any suggested date for Aḥob but rather claims (somewhat strangely on the basis of Anton Baumstark) that nothing is known about his life. See Jansma, "Investigations into the Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis," 86 and n. 45.

[65] Anton Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur, mit Ausschluß der christlich-palästinensischen Texte* (Bonn: A. Marcus und E. Webers Verlag, 1922), 132, n. 1; Luise Abramowski and Alan e. Goodman (eds.), *A Nestorian Collection of Christological Texts: Cambridge University Library Ms. Oriental 1319* (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 19; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), xxix; Ter Haar Romeny, "Aḥob Qaṭraya," 12; idem, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 135-136, 150.

[66] Fiey, "Diocèses syriens orientaux du Golfe Persique," 209-211 and Brock, "Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye," 85. See also Introduction, Christianity in Beth Qaṭraye.

[67] Brock, "Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye," 95-96 and Kozah, "The Syriac Writers of Beth Qaṭraye in the Seventh Century," 59.

in Beth Qaṭraye, and he has suggested that it was conducted in one, or possibly multiple, location(s), principal of which would have been local churches and/or monasteries.[68] It is equally possible that this school could have been the result of learned families, i.e. uncles teaching their nephews.[69] Becker has shown that, from the mid-6th century onwards, several East Syriac schools (beyond the Schools of Edessa[70] and Nisibis[71]) emerged in the Mesopotamian region.[72] However, due to a lack of manuscript and archeological evidence for a specific school of Beth Qaṭraye, it is difficult to both argue for its existence and assess how it may have compared with the Schools of Edessa and Nisibis, though one could argue that the School of Nisibis was a model for what developed in Beth Qaṭraye.[73] While discussions of a school of Beth Qaṭraye are arguably problematic, one can reasonably state that the above-mentioned writers were part of a scholarly milieu in Beth Qaṭraye, which collectively produced some of the most technical and influential Syriac works of the late 6th and 7th centuries.[74] Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works, in particular, reflect a knowledge of such subjects as linguistics and medicine, not to mention theology. This alone evidences some form of schooling, though it is unclear by what means (and where) he was educated. Compared with the prominent Syriac writers of the late 7th century (i.e. Isaac of Nineveh and Dadisho' Qaṭraya), the 8th century witnessed comparably little literary activity in the Beth Qaṭraye region.[75] Such a rapid decline in literary productivity suggests that the size of the scholarly milieu of Beth Qaṭraye significantly decreased by the early 8th century.

1.1.5. Works

As mentioned in Subsection 1.1.1. above, Aḥob is said to have authored several Old and New Testament commentaries. 'Abdisho' presents these works according to the various divisions of

[68] Brock, "Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye," 95.

[69] Cf. Similar classroom settings existed in the School of Nisibis and the Upper Monastery in Mosul. See Becker, *Fear of God*, 92-93.

[70] Due to the fact that the School of Edessa closed in 489, the School of Beth Qaṭraya could not have rivaled it as a contemporary School, though one could argue for a rivalry via their respective legacies.

[71] For a further discussion of Schools of Edessa and Nisibis, see Introduction, Schools and Centers of East Syriac Exegesis.

[72] Becker, *Fear of God*, 155-203. See also Introduction, Schools and Centers of East Syriac Exegesis.

[73] Cf. Becker, *Fear of God*, 3-4, 155.

[74] Kozah, "The Syriac Writers of Beth Qaṭraye in the Seventh Century," 59.

[75] Similar to the 6th century, there are almost no surviving East Syriac exegetical sources originating from the first half of the 8th century; the main exegetical text that is extant from this time is *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*. It is not until the end of the 8th century that the biblical commentaries of Theodore bar Koni and Isho' bar Nun are produced, both of which rely on earlier Greek and Syriac exegetical works. Neither of these writers were from Beth Qaṭraye. See Molenberg, "The Silence of the Sources," 145 and Sebastian Brock, *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition*, 2nd rev. ed. (Gorgias Handbooks 7; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2006), 76-77.

biblical books which they span:[76]

ܐܗܘܒ ܩܛܪܝܐ ܚܒܪ ܥܠ ܟܠܗ ܥܬܝܩܐ ܘܚܕܬܐ ܘܥܠ ܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܘܟܠ ܢܒܝܐ ܚܘܼܠܦ ܡܢ ܦܫܩܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܒܐ ܕܝܠܗ	Aḥob Qaṭraya composed a commentary of the whole New (Testament) and of the Pentateuch and all the Prophets, apart from a commentary on the *Beth Mawthbe*.

Within this entry, the title of "*Beth Mawthbe*" (ܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܒܐ) requires further description. *Beth Mawthbe* (meaning "The Book of Sessions") refers to the following biblical books: Job, Joshua, Judges, 1-2 Samuel, 1-2 Kings, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Ruth, Song of Songs, and Bar Sira.[77] Brock has noted that the reasons surrounding the origin of the name *Beth Mawthbe* and its designated biblical books are unknown.[78] Concerning Aḥob's commentary on the *Beth Mawthbe*, three scholia have been identified in Job 28:18, 1 Sam 8:1, 6 and Bar Sira 14:12, 18; the first is preserved in Bar Bahlul, cols. 1645, *23*-1646, *1*, and the final two are preserved in ms. (*olim*) Diyarbakir 22, ff. 83v-84r, lower margins, and in f. 133r, upper and outside margin. Other Aḥob scholia may be preserved in the *Beth Mawthbe* of the *Anonymous Commentary*, but, if so, they have been anonymized. Until all of the books preserved in the *Anonymous Commentary* are edited (which is beyond the scope of this present study), it is impossible to know whether any of its anonymized scholia could be shown, through comparative syntax and word choice, to have originated from Aḥob. There are several other East Syriac commentaries on the *Beth Mawthbe* from the early to high medieval periods, including Theodore bar Koni's *Scholion*,[79] Isho' bar Nun's *Selected Questions*,[80] Isho'dad of Merv's *Commentary on the Books of Sessions*,[81] Ḥenanisho' bar Seroshway's (late 9th century) *Questions on the*

[76] Habbi, *Fihris al-mu'allifīn ta'līf li-'Abd Yašū' al-Ṣūbāwī*, 98, *793-796*.

[77] Brock, *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition*, 2nd rev. ed., 117 and Heleen Murre-van den Berg, *Scribes and Scriptures: The Church of the East in the Eastern Ottoman Provinces (1500–1850)*, (Eastern Christian Studies 21; Louvain: Peeters, 2015), 228.

[78] Brock, *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition*, 2nd rev. ed., 117.

[79] Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (Syr. II, 65), 190, *1*-261, *8*; 323, *6*-338, *7*; Hespel and Draguet, *Théodore bar Koni (recension de Séert)* (vol. 1), 181-229, 273-284; Hespel, *Théodore bar Koni (recension d'Urmiah)* (text), 58, *1*-70, *20*; 79, *1*-120, *25*; idem, *Théodore bar Koni (recension d'Urmiah)* (trans.), 40-49, 56-88. For an index of citations from the *Beth Mawthbe* in the collections of excerpts annexed to the Urmiah recension and attributed to Sylvain of Qardu, see Hespel, *Théodore bar Koni: Les collections annexées par Sylvain de Qardu* (trans.), 5, n. 2; 9, n. 2, 3, 5; 16, n. 6; 19, n. 11, 13; 22, n. 26; 23, n. 2; 26, n. 2; 35, n. 2, 3; 65, n. 4.

[80] This work is preserved in one manuscript, which has not yet been edited. See ms. Cambridge, University Library, Add. 2017 (1706), ff. 26v, *13*-46r, *4*.

[81] Van den Eynde, *Livres des Sessions* (text) and idem, *Livres des Sessions* (trans.).

Economy,[82] and the *Opuscula nestoriana*.[83] Due to their selectivity of passages chosen for commentary, they do not always allow for a proper study between two given texts. For instance, while Bar Sira 14:12, 18 (and commentary) is found in the *Anonymous Commentary*,[84] no parallel text is found in any other East Syriac commentary on Bar Sira in the list of works above.[85]

Beyond the *Beth Mawthbe*, 'Abdisho''s entry reveals that Aḥob authored a number of Old and New Testament commentaries. However, these exegetical works were arguably (and largely) produced in the form of scholia,[86] rather than continuous commentaries.[87] With one

[82] This work is preserved anonymously in ms. Vat. Syr. 150 (1709), ff. 107r, *14*-175r, *16*. Assemani suggested that its author was Ḥenanisho', due to the fact that 'Abdisho''s *Catalogue of Books* attributes him with the authorship of a work entitled, *Questions on the Text of Scripture*. G. J. Reinink critiqued Assemani's view and argued, on the basis of the comparable ms. Vat. Syr. 504 (1885), f. 78r and ms. Mingana Syr. 556 (ca. 1680), f. 101v, that the work could not be dated any earlier than the 12th century, because the youngest writer quoted in the work is John bar Zo'bi (12th-13th century), thus ruling out the possibility of Ḥenanisho' as its author. Unless it can be identified elsewhere, Ḥenanisho''s *Questions on the Test of Scripture* is likely lost. The *Questions on the Economy* remains unedited. See G. J. Reinink, *Studien zur Quellen- und Traditionsgeschichte des Evangelienkommentars der Gannat Bussame* (CSCO 414, Subs. 57; Louvain: Secrétariat du CorpusSCO, 1979), 185, n. 9; Lucas Van Rompay, "Ḥenanisho' bar Seroshway" in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 195; Sergey Minov, "Bar Sarōšway on Melchizedek: Reception of Extra-Biblical Material in the East-Syrian Tradition of Scriptural Exegesis," in Lorenzo DiTommaso, Matthias Henze, and William Adler (eds.), *The Embroidered Bible: Studies in Biblical Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Honour of Michael E. Stone* (Studia in Veteris Testamenti Pseudepigrapha 26; Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2018), 720-721.

[83] Johann Georg Ernst Hoffmann (ed.), *Opuscula nestoriana syriace tradidit* (Kiel: G. von Maack / Paris: Maisonneuve, 1880), 95, *1*-107, *10*; 116, *23*-118, *20*. The original date of this work is unknown. See Van Rompay, "Development of Biblical Interpretation in the Syrian Churches of the Middle Ages," 571. Among other East Syriac commentaries on the *Beth Mawthbe*, Van den Eynde lists the *Gannat Bussame*. However, the *Gannat Bussame* is a commentary on the East Syriac lectionary. As such, it does not contain a lengthy commentary on the *Beth Mawthbe*, though it does have scattered references to these books. For a summary of the *Beth Mawthbe* passages used (from Joshua, Judges, 1-2 Samuel, 1-2 Kings, and Bar Sira) in the *Gannat Bussame*, see G. J. Reinink (ed.), *Gannat Bussame 1: Die Adventssonntage* (CSCO 502, Syr. 212; Louvain: Peeters, 1988), 131, 133.

[84] Ms. Vat. Syr. 578 (1917) contains, among other things, a commentary on Bar Sira on ff. 104v, *10*-114r, *16*. Arnold van Lantschoot suggested that this manuscript as a whole is likely a copy of ms. (*olim*) Diyarbakir 22. I compared several folios of the two manuscripts and conclude that (aside from a slight difference of the beginning of Bar Sira) Van Lantschoot's theory is correct, at least concerning the main textual commentary on Bar Sira. Ms. Vat. Syr. 578 does not include the marginal comments frequently found in ms. (*olim*) Diyarbakir 22, especially Aḥob's Bar Sira 14:12, 18 scholion, which is the *Anonymous Commentary's* only commentary on Bar Sira 14:12, 18. See Arnold van Lantschoot, *Inventaire des manuscrits syriaques des fonds Vatican (490-631), Barberini oriental et Neofiti* (Studi e Testi 243; Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1965), 106-107.

[85] Cf. Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (Syr. II, 65), 331, *4*-334, *9*; Hespel and Draguet, *Théodore bar Koni (recension de Séert)* (vol. 1), 279-281; Hespel, *Théodore bar Koni (recension d'Urmiah)* (text), 93, *14*-94, *9*; 113, *3*; idem, *Théodore bar Koni (recension d'Urmiah)* (trans.), 66-67, 81, n. 5; Hespel, *Théodore bar Koni: Les collections annexées par Sylvain de Qardu* (text), 41, *16-17*; Hespel, *Théodore bar Koni: Les collections annexées par Sylvain de Qardu* (trans.), 35, n. 3; Van den Eynde, *Livres des Sessions* (text), 180, *26*-181, *14*; idem, *Livres des Sessions* (trans.), 214-215; G. J. Reinink (ed.), *Gannat Bussame 1: Die Adventssonntage* (CSCO 501, Syr. 211; Louvain: Peeters, 1988) 39, *21-23*; idem, *Gannat Bussame* (trans.), 47, n. 9; Hoffmann, *Opuscula nestoriana syriace tradidit*, 104, *5*-107, *10*.

[86] For an edition of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works and other scholia, see Chapter 2, Section 2.2. Aḥob of Qatar's Exegetical Works.

[87] For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.1. The Original Form of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

exception, none of these works have survived in their entirety. In the Syriac manuscript tradition, Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* – which is his only complete (and undisputed) work to have survived intact – is included in a diverse collection of Psalm-related documents that precedes the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary* (first half of the 9th century?). This anonymous collection of documents bears the name, *The Book of the Causes of the Psalms of the blessed David, king and prophet and heart of the Lord*, which was edited by Vandenhoff (with a Latin translation) in 1899.[88] However, his edition, which serves as an Exemplar, is based on a single (otherwise unknown) Syriac manuscript that was produced in Alqosh in 1891.[89] It is unclear if Vandenhoff was aware of other (lost or extant) manuscripts that contain *The Book of the Causes of the Psalms*. In order to discuss the controversies surrounding the authorship of select parts of this text, its individual documents' names, including page and line numbers, are listed in the following table, according to the Vandenhoff Exemplar:[90]

Document 1	Aḥob Qaṭraya's *Cause of the Psalms* (3, *1*-9, *8*)
Document 2	(Anonymous), A brief interpretation of the Psalms adapted from the divine dispensation through history[91] (9, *9*-11, *19*)
Document 3	(Anonymous), A listing of persons by which the prophet David spoke those Psalms[92]

[88] Hereafter shortened to *The Book of the Causes of the Psalms*. It is also preserved in ms. British Library, Or. 9354, ms. Mingana Syr. 58, ms. Strasbourg Syr. 4121, and ms. Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1318. It should be noted that the manuscript tradition does not always follow Vandenhoff's base text.

[89] In September and October of 1896, Vandenhoff copied (at least parts of) his edition's base manuscript (presumably in Rome) from a manuscript in the possession of Father Samuel Giamil, who brought it with him from Alqosh. See Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 3-4 (Latin). For the remainder of this study, the Vandenhoff Exemplar's date will be cited according to its base manuscript's production date of 1891, rather than its publication date of 1899.

[90] The page and line numbers in the table follow the Syriac portion of the Vandenhoff Exemplar, and the document titles largely follow Vandenhoff's Latin summary. For the latter, see idem, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 5-8 (Latin).

[91] While Vandenhoff hints at the origin of this Document, Van den Eynde was the first to state that it was an extract from the *Expositio officiorum ecclesiae* (9th century), which was edited by Richard Hugh Connolly. See Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 6 (Latin); Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), xxxiv-xxxv, xl; Richard Hugh Connolly (ed.), *Anonymi auctoris Expositio officiorum ecclesiae Georgio Arbelensi vulgo adscripta* (CSCO 64, 71, 72, Syr, 25, 28, 29; Paris: Typographeo Reipublicae, 1911, 1913). Van Rompay's suggested line numbers (where Vandenhoff's edition equals Connolly's editions) are amended in the following: Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 9, *11*-11, *19* (Syriac) / 20, *20*-22, *9* (Latin) = Connolly (CSCO, 64) 117, *5*-118, *23* (Syriac) / (CSCO, 71) 93, *23*-94, *30* (Latin); Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 22, *10*-23, *18* (Latin) is a summary of Connolly (CSCO, 71) 94, *31*-106, *3* (Latin). Van den Eynde further suggested that the remainder of Vandenhoff's Document 2 – 23, *18*-24, *4* (Latin) – is generalized in Connolly (CSCO, 72) 159, *15-28* (Syriac) and (CSCO, 72) 144, *4-18* (Latin). Van Rompay has noted that this section is missing from ms. Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1318. See Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), xl, n. 138 and Van Rompay, *Théodore de Mopsueste* (trans.), x, n. 26. It should also be noted that Document 2 in the Vandenhoff Exemplar is only a fraction of the length of the equivalent Document 2 preserved in ms. British Library, Or. 9354, ms. Mingana Syr. 58, ms. Strasbourg Syr. 4121, and ms. Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1318.

[92] Vandenhoff briefly describes this Document but gives neither the Syriac text nor a Latin translation of it. Vosté edited part of this Document, using the (now inaccessible) Alqosh *olim* 21 (1893). See Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 6 (Latin) and Vosté, "Sur les titres des Psaumes," 228-233.

Document 4	(Anonymous), Why is Psalm 118 ordered according to the letters of the alphabet?[93] (12, *1*-*20*)
Document 5	Nathniel of Shirzor's *Cause of the Psalms* (13, *1*-15, *19*)
Document 6	Psalm 151[94] (15, *20*-16, *12*)
Document 7	(Anonymous), A refutation of the Allegorists who ignorantly approach the interpretation of the divine Scriptures, especially Origen[95] (16, *13*-18, *5*)
Document 8	(Anonymous), A list of thirty-three names of Doctors, Orthodox Fathers, whose opinions were used for this Psalms commentary[96] (18, *6*-19, *4*)

Due to similarities in the text, Alphonse Mingana and Vosté believed Document 2 was a continuation of Document 1 and so credited it to Aḥob.[97] Both further argued that Aḥob authored Document 3, principally based on its anonymity and placement in conjunction with Document 2.[98] However, Vandenhoff suggested and Van den Eynde later demonstrated that the source of Document 2 was not Aḥob but the *Expositio Officiorum Ecclesiae* (9th century).[99] Ter Haar Romeny insists that this discovery invalidates Mingana and Vosté's claim that Aḥob could be the author of Document 3.[100] While dismissing Aḥob's authorship of Document 3, Van den Eynde does maintain that Documents 2 and 4 originated from Aḥob for similar reasons that Mingana and Vosté argued for Document 3: they are anonymous and placed after a known Aḥob writing (i.e. Document 1). However, at the same time that he makes this assertion, Van den Eynde admits that both treatises can be traced to known sources other than Aḥob, namely the *Expositio Officiorum Ecclesiae* (Document 2) and Isho' bar Nun's *Selected Questions*

[93] Van den Eynde recognized this Document (which has a lacuna at the end) to have originated from Isho' bar Nun's *Selected Questions*. See Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), xxxv.

[94] Vandenhoff only hints that this Document is based on the Septuagint. Van den Eynde states it more clearly and highlights the variants in verses 2 and 3. See Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 26, n. 1 (Latin) and Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), xxxv.

[95] Van Rompay edited this Refutation from ms. Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1318. See idem, *Théodore de Mopsueste* (text), 1, *6*-14, *10* and Van Rompay, *Théodore de Mopsueste* (trans.), 1-18.

[96] The order of these Documents is slightly different in ms. Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1318. With the addition of an extract of Theodore bar Koni's *Scholion* and some brief notes, as well as a list of authors who commented on the Psalms, (both of which, respectively, begin and end *The Book of the Causes of the Psalms*), the extract of the *Expositio officiorum ecclesiae* (Document 2 above) is arranged before Aḥob Qaṭraya's *Cause of the Psalms* (Document 1 above). All other Documents follow the same order as above. See Van Rompay, *Théodore de Mopsueste* (trans.), ix-xi.

[97] Alphonse Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts now in the Possession of the Trustees of the Woodbroke Settlement, Selly Oak, Birmingham* 1: *Syriac and Garshūni Manuscripts* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1933), col. 157 and Vosté, "Sur les titres des Psaumes," 228.

[98] In ms. Mingana Syr. 58, the equivalent of Vandenhoff's Document 2 follows Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*; in Vosté's edition, it precedes Aḥob's treatise. See Mingana, *Catalogue* (vol. 1), col. 158; Vosté, "Sur les titres des Psaumes," 228. See also Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 148-149.

[99] Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 6 (Latin) and Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), xxxiv-xxxv, xl. See also Connolly (CSCO, 64) 117, *5*-118, *23* (Syriac) / (CSCO, 71) 93, *23*-106, *3* (Latin) / (CSCO, 72) 159, *15*-*28* (Syriac) / (CSCO, 72) 144, *4*-*18* (Latin).

[100] Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 149.

(Document 4).[101]

While the source of Document 4 has been established, Documents 2 and 3 need to be critically evaluated to see if they could have originated from Aḥob.[102] I compared Document 2 with Document 1 and noted several shared themes between both Documents, including the following:

1) David as prophet and king

2) The use of the Psalms more than other biblical books in the liturgy

3) The many genres contained in the Psalms

4) The Creator and his creation

5) Select teachings of the Church Fathers concerning the Psalms

Aside from common East Syriac words utilized to describe the Psalms and their use in the Church, such as "prophecy" (ܢܒܝܐܘܬܐ) and "Christ" (ܡܫܝܚܐ), parallel phraseology is rare.[103] The prose style of both Documents is comparable, though (with the exception of the last 11 lines) the broad syntax of Document 2 is less complicated than Document 1. Document 2 also uses far less imagery than does Document 1, especially concerning the usefulness of the Psalms for people. Perhaps the most telling aspect of Document 2 is its passing allusion to previously discussed material, which is not found in Document 1. It states: "In 60 *marmyata*, 6 (orders) of rational (beings are) bound (and) joined fitly together in an equal and straightforward number, as it was said by us above: a person, a legion of demons, three spiritual Churches, and God the Creator of all" (ܒܟ ܡܬܩܫܪ ܀ ܡܬܠܬܗ ܡܢܝܢ ܒܫܘܝܐ ܘܒܥܕ ܡܬܚܒܪ ܘܐܬܝܪ ܘܒܥܕ ܡܕܡ ܘܒܥܕ ܡܬܚܒܪ ܘܡܬܫܘܝ ܒܫܘܝܐ ܘܒܡܢܝܢ ܘܒܫܘܝܐ ܘܒܡܫܘܝ ܘܒܫܘܝܐ ܘܒܡܫܘܝ ܘܒܫܘܝܐ ܘܒܡܫܘܝ

Officiorum Ecclesiae is borrowing Document 2 from (an) earlier source(s), I would argue that Aḥob is likely not its author.

Concerning Document 3, its format and purpose are completely different from that of Document 1 (or 2). Vosté described it as "a kind of logical index, a systematic classification of the Psalms according to Theodorian exegesis."[104] Since Vosté only presents part of this Document in his edition, I will base my comparative observations on the two oldest complete versions of this Document, which are found in ms. British Library Or. 9354 (1895) and ms. Mingana Syr. 58 (1895), both of which present this Document in two parts: 1) a classification of the Psalms according to 17 categories and 2) a listing of persons for whom the prophet David spoke many of the Psalms.[105] Examples from each part include the following: 1) "Concerning admonition. 1 psalm. Concerning the people of Babylon. 65 psalms" (ܥ ܫ ܟܬܒ ܥܠ ܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܒܒܠ. ܥܠ ܥܠ ܕܐܡܪ)[106] and 2) "(Psalm) 61. God heard my prayer. A prophecy concerning the ones for whom it came to pass. (Psalm) 63. God, you (are) my God. A prophecy of the virtuous (things) which (are) in them" (ܟܬܒ ܐ ܠܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܒܒܠ ܥ ܟܬ

3, Section 3.1., Nathniel uses Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* to produce his own *Cause of the Psalms*.[110] The combination of these details suggests that Aḥob could not have been the final compiler of *The Book of the Causes of the Psalms*.[111] Thus, Vandenhoff's claim that Aḥob compiled *The Book of the Causes of the Psalms* is untenable.

Along with his *Cause of the Psalms,* Aḥob's scholia are preserved in several later writings, primarily the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary* and the Arabic biblical commentaries of Abū al-Faraj ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Ṭayyib al-ʿIrāqī (d. 1043). Ibn al-Ṭayyib's commentaries were translated into Gə'əz and subsequently into Amharic, from which they were incorporated into the *Anděmta* commentary tradition.[112] Within the Syriac tradition, Aḥob's exegetical works are also preserved in Nathniel of Shirzor's *Cause of the Psalms, The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32,* Theodore bar Koni's *Scholion,* Isho'dad of Merv's biblical commentaries, the *Anonymous Commentary*, Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*,[113] and Isaac Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem on God's Governance from 'In the Beginning' until Eternity*.[114]

1.2. Conclusion

Aḥob of Qatar is an early East Syriac biblical commentator. While his surviving biographical data (in both Syriac and Arabic sources) is extremely fragmented, it is likely that he was born in Qatar and later moved to Seleucia, where he became known for his biblical interpretations in the late 6th century. From an early point in the manuscript tradition, confusion developed over the spelling of his name, arguably due to the fact that ܐܗܘܒ is an unusual Syriac name and similar to the more recognizable biblical name of ܐܒܗܘ. Aḥob represents the earliest known individual within the scholarly milieu of Beth Qaṭraye, which was an influential group of East Syriac writers who produced a variety of exegetical, monastic, liturgical, and other technical

[110] Nathniel may have also used Aḥob's Psalm scholia in his Psalm commentary, whose existence 'Abdisho' later records. However, since this work is no longer extant, this cannot be confirmed. See Habbi, *Fihris al-mu'allifīn ta'līf li-'Abd Yašū' al-Ṣūbāwī*, 115, *985-988*.

[111] Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 144-150 and idem, "Introduction to the *Book of the Aims of the Psalms*," 93, n. 8. For a brief discussion of the likely compiler of *The Book of the Causes of the Psalms,* see Chapter 5, Section 5.1. The Original Form of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

[112] Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 150. For a brief description of the nature of the *Anděmta* commentary tradition, see Kirsten Stoffregen-Pedersen, *Traditional Ethiopian Exegesis of the Book of Psalms* (Äthiopistische Forschungen 36; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1995), 1-8.

[113] Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix.

[114] Carlson, "A Light from 'The Dark Centuries,'" 201-207, 210-211; idem, "Nature of the Church (of the East) in Ishaq Shbadnaya's 'Poem on the Divine Economy,'" *The Harp* 27 (2011): 197-198; Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 178-184, 190-191.

works in the late 6th and 7th centuries.[115] Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works reflect a thorough knowledge of the Peshitta text, as well as a familiarity with such topics as medicine, linguistics, and cosmology. Such varied insights evidence a formal education, though the manner and specific location of his schooling are unknown. While certain scholars have suggested that two anonymous works – namely Documents 2 and 3, which precede the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary* – originate from Aḥob, these proposals cannot be sustained upon a close comparison with his attributed Old Testament exegetical works. Aḥob's Old and New Testament exegetical works are preserved in Syriac, Arabic, Gəʿəz, and Amharic manuscript traditions.

[115] Kozah, "The Syriac Writers of Beth Qaṭraye in the Seventh Century," 59.

CHAPTER 2

AḤOB OF QATAR'S OLD TESTAMENT EXEGETICAL WORKS

This chapter will explore the extent of Aḥob of Qatar's extant Old Testament exegetical works, which are largely in the form of scholia. The first section will collect all known Aḥob Old Testament exegetical works in the Syriac manuscript tradition. The second section will present an edition of these writings, and disputed scholia and spurious scholia connected to Aḥob will also be assessed. Concluding remarks for both sections will be reserved for the conclusion of this chapter, which will be presented in Section 2.3. Conclusion below.

2.1. Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works in the Syriac Manuscript Tradition

In order to reconstruct what can be known of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works in the Syriac manuscript tradition, I will first list the edited texts and unedited texts containing his Old Testament exegetical works. Both types of texts will focus primarily on the fragments of Aḥob's exegetical works that are preserved within them, and both types of texts will be described by means of a table. For the edited texts, this will include a siglum for the text, its name, date of publication, page/column and line numbers, and specific Aḥob material. For the unedited texts, this will focus on the relevant manuscripts and will include a siglum for the text, its/their name, date of origin, page/folio numbers, and specific Aḥob material. Each table will be listed chronologically according to the original writer's date(s) of living or, if the writer is unknown, according to the manuscript(s) date of copying, if known.

The following eight writers and manuscript traditions preserve Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works in the Syriac manuscript tradition:

1) Nathniel of Shirzor's (ca. 600) *Cause of the Psalms*
2) *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* (first half of the 8th century)
3) Theodore bar Koni's *Scholion* (792/793)
4) The *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary* (first half of the 9th century?)
5) Isho'dad of Merv's (fl. ca. 850) *Commentary on Genesis*, *1 Samuel*, and *Psalms*
6) The *Anonymous Commentary* (10th century)[1]

[1] The dates given here (as well as in Introduction, The East Syriac Exegetical Tradition) for *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*, the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary*, and the *Anonymous Commentary* refer to the earliest form of these commentaries and not to the date(s) of their extant physical manuscript(s).

7) Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* (mid-10th century-early 20th century)

8) Isaac Shbadnaya's (fl. 1439/1440) prose commentary on his *Poem on God's Governance from 'In the Beginning' until Eternity*.[2]

Nathniel of Shirzor is the earliest writer to preserve fragments of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* (in an anonymized form) in his own *Cause of the Psalms*. In total, Nathniel uses five Aḥob fragments in his *Cause of the Psalms*:

Siglum	Name of Manuscript	Date of Origin	Page/Folio and Line Numbers	Specific Aḥob Material
V	Vandenhoff Exemplar	1891	13, *7-18* 13, *18-23* 13, *23*-14, *9* 14, *18*-15, *4* 15, *7-9*	*Cause of the Psalms*
L	British Library, Or. 9354	1895	15v, *6-15* 15v, *15-19* 15v, *19*-16r, *5* 16r, *13-20* 16r, *23-25*	*Cause of the Psalms*
M	Mingana Syr. 58	1895	15v, *7*-16r, *3* 16r, *3-7* 16r, *7-14* 16r, *21-28* 16v, *3-5*	*Cause of the Psalms*
S	Strasbourg Syr. 4121	1898	28r, *4-10* 28r, *10-13* 28r, *13*-29r, *1* 29r, *7-12* 29r, *14-16*	*Cause of the Psalms*
C	Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1318	1890s	18v, *4-11* 18v, *11-14* 18v, *14-20* 19r, *5-10* 19r, *13-14*	*Cause of the Psalms*

The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32 is the earliest manuscript tradition to preserve Aḥob's Genesis scholia (albeit anonymously). It contains two Aḥob scholia:

Siglum	Name of Edition	Date of Publication	Page and Line Numbers[3]	Specific Aḥob Material
R	*Le commentaire sur Genèse–Exode 9,32 du*	1986	73, *25*-74, *15* 128, *17*	Genesis 15:9-10 Genesis 50:10

[2] Brief introductions to these East Syriac writers and manuscript traditions are presented in Introduction, The East Syriac Exegetical Tradition.

[3] These page and line numbers are taken from Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (text).

	manuscrit (*olim*) *Diyarbakir 22*			

Theodore bar Koni is the only known 8th-century writer to use anonymized fragments of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works, which are preserved in his *Scholion*. Bar Koni's Aḥob fragments are found in the *Scholion's* Seert and Urmiah recensions, both of which use nearly identical wording.[4] None of these Aḥob fragments are preserved in the collections of excerpts annexed to the *Scholion* and attributed to Sylvain of Qardu.[5] Bar Koni's Genesis section and Psalm section contain a total of five Aḥob fragments:

Siglum	Name of Edition	Date of Publication	Page and Line Numbers[6]	Specific Aḥob Material
T	*Theodorus bar Kōnī. Liber Scholiorum* (Series Secunda – Tomus LXV)	1910	130, *22*-131, *1* 131, *4-6* 131, *11-14* 131, *17-18*[7] 353, *14*-354, *8*	Genesis 15:9-10 *Cause of the Psalms*

The most important Syriac witness to Aḥob's Psalm-related writings is the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary* (hereafter shortened to the *DGC*),[8] which preserves Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* (at the beginning of its preluding documents) and eighteen of his Psalm scholia,[9] several of which are lengthy. Concerning the accessible *DGC* manuscripts which contain Aḥob's Psalm-related writings,[10] there are five, which are the same manuscripts that preserve Nathniel's *Cause of the Psalms*:

[4] Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (Syr. II, 65), 130, *16*-131, *21*; 353, *14*-354, *8*; Hespel and Draguet, *Théodore bar Koni (recension de Séert)* (vol. 1), 138-139, 294-295; Hespel, *Théodore bar Koni (recension d'Urmiah)* (text), 42, *18-22*; 121, *11-12*; idem, *Théodore bar Koni (recension d'Urmiah)* (trans.), 28; Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), xxxiv and 4, n. 1.

[5] Hespel, *Théodore bar Koni: Les collections annexées par Sylvain de Qardu* (trans.), v-x, 71.

[6] These page and line numbers are taken from Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (Syr. II, 65).

[7] Bar Koni borrows four Aḥob fragments for his commentary on Gen 15:9-10.

[8] There will be scattered instances in this study where the *DGC* will continue to be referred to as the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary*.

[9] Van den Eynde surveyed ms. Mingana Syr. 58 and reported that there were 19 Aḥob scholia in it: 5 long passages inserted into the main text and 14 marginal notes. However, after an in-depth analysis of this manuscript, I would argue that it contains only 18 Aḥob scholia: 6 long passages inserted into the main text and 12 marginal notes. 2 of these long passages are divided into two parts and spread across two pages. Other manuscripts containing the *DGC* do not always follow this model. For instance, the total number of Aḥob scholia in the Vandenhoff Exemplar cannot be known, because it does not reflect its base manuscript in its entirety. Furthermore, ms. Strasbourg Syr. 4121 preserves 19 Aḥob scholia (two of which, though on separate pages, are identical), while ms. Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1318 only preserves 16 Aḥob scholia. See Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), xxxvi, the *DGC* table below, and Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.3.2. Anonymous Hebrew and Greek Readings in the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary*.

[10] For a list of the inaccessible and destroyed *DGC* manuscripts, see Introduction, The East Syriac Exegetical Tradition.

Siglum	Name of Manuscript	Date of Origin	Page/Folio and Line Numbers	Specific Aḥob Material
V	Vandenhoff Exemplar[11]	1891	3, *1*-9, *8* 34, n. 4 38, n. 7 46, *11*-47, *5* 48, n. 2	*Cause of the Psalms* Psalm 45 Prologue Psalm 45:9 Psalm 110 Prologue Psalm 110:3
L	British Library, Or. 9354	1895	1v, *1*-3v, *16* 20v^{mg} 44v^{mg} 46r^{mg} 56r^{mg} 56v, *7-26* 57r, *14-26* 58v^{mg} 60r, *19-26* 63v^{mg} 64r^{mg} 67r^{mg} 78r, *8-17* 78r^{mg} 87v^{mg} (2x) 128r, *4-26* 132r^{mg} 140r, *21*-140v, *6* 140v^{mg}	*Cause of the Psalms* Psalm 5:4 Psalm 29:9 Psalm 31:6 Psalm 39:2 Psalm 39:4-6 Psalm 39:6 Psalm 40:8 Psalm 42:2 Psalm 45 Prologue Psalm 45:9 Psalm 48:4 Psalm 58:4 Psalm 58:5-6 Psalm 68:14 Psalm 68:16-17 Psalm 104:2-3 Psalm 105:17-19 Psalm 110 Prologue Psalm 110:3
M	Mingana Syr. 58	1895	1v, *1*-3v, *16* 20v^{mg} 45r^{mg} 46r^{mg} 56v^{mg} 56v, *20-26* 57r, *5-26* 58v^{mg} 60v, *2-11* 63v^{mg} 64r^{mg} 67r^{mg} 77r, *22-28* 77v^{mg} 86r^{mg} (2x) 126r, *6-25* 126v, *6-7* 130r^{mg} 138r, *28*-138v, *13* 139r, *3-7*	*Cause of the Psalms* Psalm 5:4 Psalm 29:9 Psalm 31:6 Psalm 39:2 Psalm 39:4-5 Psalm 39:6 Psalm 40:8 Psalm 42:2 Psalm 45 Prologue Psalm 45:9 Psalm 48:4 Psalm 58:4 Psalm 58:5-6 Psalm 68:14 Psalm 68:16-17 Psalm 104:2-3 Psalm 105:17-19 Psalm 110 Prologue Psalm 110:3
S	Strasbourg Syr. 4121	1898	1r, *1*-5r, *5* 38r^{mg} 85r^{mg} 87r^{mg}	*Cause of the Psalms* Psalm 5:4 Psalm 29:9 Psalm 31:6

[11] Vandenhoff's handwritten edition only preserves portions of his base text. See idem, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 3, *1*-65, *20* (Syriac).

			106v^{mg} 107r, *15-21* 108r, *1-8* 110r^{mg} 111r^{mg} 112v^{mg} 118v-119r^{mg} 120r^{mg} 126r^{mg} 145r, *9-14* 145r^{mg} 162r^{mg} (2x) 235r, *13-21* 240r^{mg} 256r, *9-18* 256v^{mg}-257r^{mg}	Psalm 39:2 Psalm 39:4-6 Psalm 39:6 Psalm 40:8 Psalm 40:10 Psalm 42:2 Psalm 45 Prologue Psalm 45:9 Psalm 48:4 Psalm 58:4 Psalm 58:5-6 Psalm 68:14 Psalm 68:16-17 Psalm 104:2-3 Psalm 105:17-19 Psalm 110 Prologue Psalm 110:3
C	Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1318	1890s	12v, *1*-14r, *20* 24r^{mg} 44r^{mg} 45r^{mg} 54r^{mg} 54r, *21-27* 54v, *1-10* 57r^{mg} 59v^{mg} 60r^{mg} 72r, *26-29* 72v^{mg} 80r^{mg} (2x) 113v, *12-20* 116r^{mg} 123r, *26*-123v, *9* 123v^{mg}	*Cause of the Psalms* Psalm 5:4 Psalm 29:9 Psalm 31:6 Psalm 39:2 Psalm 39:4-6 Psalm 39:6 Psalm 42:2 Psalm 45 Prologue Psalm 45:9 Psalm 58:4 Psalm 58:5-6 Psalm 68:14 Psalm 68:16-17 Psalm 104:2-3 Psalm 105:17-19 Psalm 110 Prologue Psalm 110:3

Later in the same century, Isho'dad of Merv produced a *Commentary on Genesis*, *1 Samuel*, and *Psalms*, in which (among many sources) he selectively references Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works on several occasions, though he never cites him by name. In Van den Eynde's editions of these three Isho'dad Old Testament commentaries, he footnoted many (though not all of the) instances where Isho'dad uses Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works.[12] Overall, Isho'dad references Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works more than any other known Syriac writer:[13]

[12] The footnoted instances include the following: Van den Eynde, *Genèse* (trans.), 161, n. 7; 241 and idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), xxxiv; 3, n. 1; 4, n. 1; 5, n. 2-3; 58, n. 11; 60, n. 2; 69, n. 3-4; 70, n. 6; 72, n. 4; 74, n. 2; 112, n. 15; 113, n. 16; 114, n. 23; 115, n. 28; 161, n. 1; 167, n. 4; 172, n. 1; 173, n. 3.

[13] If other Syriac writers, either before or after Isho'dad, quoted Aḥob more than Isho'dad, their manuscripts have either not survived or have not yet been properly catalogued.

Siglum	Name of Edition	Date of Publication	Page and Line Numbers[14]	Specific Aḥob Material
I	*Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament, I: Genèse*	1950	149, *6-14*, *16-26* 222, *8*	Genesis 15:9-10 Genesis 50:10
I^2	*Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur l'Ancient Testament, III: Livres des Sessions*	1962	47, *15-21*	1 Samuel 8:1, 6
I^3	*Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur l'Ancient Testament, VI: Psaumes*	1981	3, *4-10* 4, *2-4* 4, *16-17* 4, *21-22* 4, *22-23* 4, *26-27* 5, *4*[15] 24, *15-18* 49, *10-12* 50, *26*-51, *1* 59, *17-18* 59, *22*-60, *1* 60, *1-5* 60, *18* 60, *20-21* 60, *26*-61, *2* 61, *3-7* 61, *7-11*[16] 62, *22-23* 64, *3-9* 70, *2* 101, *25-26* 102, *4-5*[17] 103, *9-10* 147, *8-11* 147, *15-19*[18] 152, *23-24* 157, *23*-158, *4* 159, *24* 159, *28-30* 160, *11-12*[19]	*Cause of the Psalms* Psalm 5:4 Psalm 29:9 Psalm 31:6 Psalm 39:4-6 Psalm 40:8 Psalm 42:2 Psalm 45:9 Psalm 68:14 Psalm 68:16-17 Psalm 104:2-3 Psalm 105:19 Psalm 110 Prologue Psalm 110:3

[14] These page and line numbers are taken from Vosté and Van den Eynde, *Genèse* (text); Van den Eynde, *Livres des Sessions* (text); idem, *Psaumes* (text).

[15] Isho'dad borrows seven Aḥob fragments for his Psalm introduction.

[16] Isho'dad borrows eight Aḥob fragments for his commentary on Ps 39:4-6.

[17] Isho'dad borrows two Aḥob fragments for his commentary on Ps 68:14.

[18] Isho'dad borrows two Aḥob fragments for his commentary on Ps 104:2-3.

[19] Isho'dad borrows three Aḥob fragments for his commentary on Ps 110:3.

The *Anonymous Commentary* (hereafter shortened to the *AC*)[20] *on Genesis*, *Numbers*, *1 Samuel*, and *Bar Sira* preserves five Aḥob Old Testament scholia:

Siglum	Name of Manuscript	Date of Origin	Folio and Line Numbers	Specific Aḥob Material
D	(*olim*) Diyarbakir 22[21]	11th-12th century	53v, *1-5* 83v^{mg}-84r^{mg} 133r^{mg}	Numbers 21:19 1 Samuel 8:1, 6 Bar Sira 14:12, 18
O	Mosul 1[22]	1701	17v, *2-3* 17v, *18*-18r, *19* 47v, *16-17* 377v, *19*-378r, *1*[23]	Genesis 15:10 Genesis 15:9-10 Genesis 50:10 Numbers 21:19
K	Kirkuk 8	1706	20v, *19-20* 21r, *16*-21v, *20* 56v, *17-18* 158v, *16*-159r, *1*	Genesis 15:10 Genesis 15:9-10 Genesis 50:10 Numbers 21:19
P	St. Petersburg (*olim* Diettrich 2)	Ca. 1700	23r, *19-20* 23v, *9*-24r, *5* 49r, *8-9*	Genesis 15:10 Genesis 15:9-10 Genesis 50:10

[20] There will be scattered instances in this study where the *AC* will continue to be referred to as the *Anonymous Commentary*.

[21] While Diyarbakir 22 is a manuscript comprising a commentary on the whole Old and New Testament, the shorthand name "Diyarbakir 22" generally refers to the Gen 1:1-Exod 9:32 section of this manuscript, which is the oldest part. The rest of the manuscript contains the *AC* and begins on f. 29r with a brief section on Exod 9:28 before continuing on with select verses from Exod 10. See Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), xi, xiii and idem, *Anonymous Commentary on the Pentateuch: Exodus*.

[22] Youbert Ieo, a deacon in Iraq, recently discovered a copy of the *AC on the Pentateuch*, namely, ms. CPB 00445 (dated to 1717) of the Chaldean Patriarchate of Babylon Collection, which (as noted by Father Columba Stewart in an email) "suffered terrible damage when it was placed in an underground chamber before the 2003 invasion" of Iraq. I compared CPB 00445 with ms. Mosul 1 and found that they are exactly alike, down to the number and use of words on each line. I concluded that CPB 00445 is either ms. Mosul 1 or an exact copy of it. Van Rompay agrees with the first part of my assessment and believes the two to be the same manuscript, as suggested to Youbert via email. If this proposal is accepted, Van Rompay has further suggested (in the same email) that the discrepancy of dates between ms. Mosul 1 and CPB 00445 may be due to two separate colophons. The emails consulted are as follows: Youbert Ieo, email message to Lucas Van Rompay, 2 February 2019; Lucas Van Rompay, email message to Seth M. Stadel, 4 February 2019; Seth M. Stadel, email message to Lucas Van Rompay, 4 February 2019; Columba Stewart, email message to Lucas Van Rompay, 5 February 2019; Lucas Van Rompay, email message to Youbert Ieo, 5 February 2019; Virtual Hill Museum & Manuscript Library, "CPB 00445," accessed 31 January 2021, https://www.vhmml.org/readingRoom/view/503239.

[23] For the Aḥob scholia, as preserved in ms. Mosul 1, I rely on two sources, which represent two stages of the same manuscript: Van Rompay's photoprints of Genesis and the Virtual Hill Museum & Manuscript Library's digitized copy of Numbers in ms. CPB 00445. According to Addai Scher's catalogue, Mosul 1 is divided into two parts: the Peshitta text of the Pentateuch and a commentary on the difficult words in the Pentateuch (i.e. the *AC on the Pentateuch*). Van Rompay's photoprints begin their numbering with the *AC on the Pentateuch*, while CPB 00445 begins its numbering with the Peshitta text of the Pentateuch. This accounts for the significant range in folio numbers, as represented in the table above. Van Rompay's photoprints of Genesis (and Exodus) are the only known copy of ms. Mosul 1 prior to its severe damaging, which has mutilated the top half of every folio. CPB 00445 is the only source for what remains of Aḥob's Numbers 21:19 scholion in ms. Mosul 1. The line numbers of CPB 00445, 377v-378r have been reconstructed, based on Van Rompay's photoprints, the folios of which consistently show 24 lines of writing, discounting the initial and final folios of the individual biblical books represented in the *AC on the Pentateuch*. Van Rompay's photoprints of Genesis equal CPB 00445 in the following manner: 17v-18r = CPB 00445 262v-263r and 47v-48r = CPB 292v-293r. See Addai Scher, "Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques conservés dans la bibliothèque du Patriarcat chaldéen de Mossoul," *Revue des bibliothèques* 17 (1907): 227-228.

			118v, *10-14*	Numbers 21:19
A	Chaldean Archdiocese of Erbil 21[24]	1886	18v, *3* 18v, *17*-19r, *18* 49r, *4-6* 139r, *6-12*	Genesis 15:10 Genesis 15-9-10 Genesis 50:10 Numbers 21:19
V	Vat. Syr. 578[25]	1917	6v, *1-2* 53r, *5-8*	Genesis 50:10 Numbers 21:19
V^2	Vat. Syr. 502	1926	20v, *17-18* 21r, *11*-21v, *11* 52v, *15-16* 143r, *2-7*	Genesis 15:10 Genesis 15:9-10 Genesis 50:10 Numbers 21:19
M^2	Mingana Syr. 553[26]	1930	12r, *3* 12r, *15*-12v, *6* 31v, *11-13* 89v, *10-14*	Genesis 15:10 Genesis 15:9-10 Genesis 50:10 Numbers 21:19

Scattered among the entries of Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* are eleven Aḥob (also Ayyub and Ḥob) scholia, each of which are used to describe a particular word, name, or phrase under discussion.[27] These Aḥob scholia are laid out alphabetically[28] in the following table:

Siglum	Name of Edition	Date of Publication	Column and Line Numbers[29]	Specific Aḥob Material
B	*Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule: e pluribus codicibus edidit et notulis instruxit* (Tomus I-II)	1901	223, *13-15* 397, *12-13* 1077, *16-18* 1143, *4* 1212, *3-4* 1400, *5-6* 1407, *24* 1450, *5-6* 1645, *23*-1646, *1* 1937, *3-4*	Psalm 45:9[30] Daniel 1:7 Daniel 1:7 Maccabees Scholion Nebuchadnezzar Scholion Daniel 1:7 Numbers 9:22 Exodus 29:40 Job 28:18 Daniel 1:7

[24] Ms. Aïn Qawa is likely the original name of ms. Chaldean Archdiocese of Erbil 21, which was previously thought to be lost. See Jansma, "Investigations into the Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis," 73 and Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 139.

[25] This manuscript begins with a discussion of Gen 43:14. It is unclear why the preceding sections of Genesis are not preserved.

[26] Abraham Levene published Gen 1-18 of this manuscript. For his brief discussion of Aḥob, see Levene, *The Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis*, 10, 21. Mingana's catalogue does not account for Aḥob's Genesis text on folio 31v. See Mingana, *Catalogue* (vol. 1), col. 1023. Jansma seems to have partially misread Mingana's *Catalogue* (vol. 1), col. 1023, concerning ms. Mingana syr. 553. See Jansma, "Investigations into the Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis," 87.

[27] Duval conveniently lists the word entries, as well as their column and line numbers, in his brief description of Aḥob. See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix.

[28] Duval's description of Aḥob does not list his scholia in a consistently alphabetized order. See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix.

[29] These column and line numbers are taken from Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vols. 1-2).

[30] Duval attributes Aḥob's definition to Gen 37:25, on the basis of the Hexapla. See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix.

			2092, *3-4*	Tarshish Scholion

Isaac Shbadnaya is the last known writer to utilize Aḥob scholia, which are preserved in his prose commentary on his *Poem on God's Governance from 'In the Beginning' until Eternity*. While Shbadnaya credits three scholia to Aḥob in his prose commentary, only two of them are attributed solely to Aḥob:[31]

Siglum	Name of Edition	Date of Publication	Page and Line Numbers[32]	Specific Aḥob Material
F	"The Future of the Past: The Reception of Syriac Qaṭraye Authors in Late Medieval Iraq"	2014	182, *2-16* 190, *9-14*	Calendrical Scholion Eschatological Scholion

2.2. Aḥob of Qatar's Exegetical Works

In the following section, Aḥob's exegetical works are divided into four categories: 1) Old Testament exegetical works; 2) Other scholia; 3) Disputed scholia; 4) Spurious scholia. Each scholion, as well as Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, will be presented in its edited form[33] in Syriac or Arabic, with a facing English translation.

2.2.1. Old Testament Exegetical Works

The following presents an edition and English translation of the 35 known Old Testament scholia attributed to Aḥob, as well as his one complete work, *Cause of the Psalms*. These are listed in their biblical order, according to 7a1. The exceptions to this order are as follows: 1) the *Cause of the Psalms* will be placed before Aḥob's Psalms scholia; 2) the Tarshish Scholion will be placed after his Psalms scholia; 3) the Nebuchadnezzar Scholion will be placed after his Daniel scholia; 4) the Maccabees Scholion will be placed after the Nebuchadnezzar Scholion.

[31] For a discussion of the third scholion, which is partially credited to Aḥob, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.3.3. Isaac Shbadnaya Scholion.

[32] These page and line numbers are taken from Carlson, "The Future of the Past."

[33] The base manuscript for each Aḥob writing is the first (or only) manuscript listed for that particular exegetical work.

2.2.1.1. Genesis Scholia

Genesis 15:9-10[34]

Manuscripts: O, ff. 17v, *2-3*, *18*-18r, *19*; K, ff. 20v, *19-20*, 21r, *16*-21v, *20*; P, ff. 23r, *19-20*, 23v, *9*-24r, *5*; A, ff. 18v, *3*, *17*-19r, *18*; V^2, ff. 20v, *17-18*, 21r, *11*-21v, *11*; M^2, ff. 12r, *3*, *15*-12v, *6*
Editions: R, pp. 73, *25*-74, *15* and I, p. 149, *6-14*, *16-26*

	ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܢܣܒ ܠܟ ܬܠܝܬܐ ܥܓܠܬܐ ܘܬܝܣܐ ܘܐܝܠܐ ܘܬܪ̈ܢ ܓܘܙ̈ܠܐ [15:9] ܕܐܢ ܠܐ ܬܫܠܡ ܠܝ ܐܡ ܠܐ ܬܫܠܡ ܠܝ ܐܡ ܠܐ ܬܫܠܡ ܠܝ ܐܡ

	.ܒܝܚܕܐ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܘܠ[60].ܥܡܪܡ		*Kohath*, and *Amram*.[88] [10] But that (phrase) *he*[89] *divided them equally*, that (is) to say, that the parts of each one of them are arranged one opposite the other and as if that (animal) is alive. (There were) three rows, as the (Eucharistic) bread is arranged in the paten upon the altar. He[90] places *(each) member opposite its fellow*, that (is) to say, (each) member which was cut off from its fellow, he[91] placed it opposite the member from which it was cut off. By means of their division, he[92] makes known their[93] vexation and their misery, which they were going to endure in Egypt. But that (phrase) they were placed *opposite* each other (makes known) that, though they were looking at each other,
	ܕ[61]ܡ ܗܘ ܕ[62]ܦܠܓ ܐܝܟ [10]		
	ܕ[66]ܫܠܫ .ܕ[65]ܒܚܝܕ[64].[63]ܒܪܥ		
× V² f. 21v	× ܡܒܩܥ ܕ[68]ܒܝܬ ܕ[67]ܐܝܟ		
	ܕ[71]ܚܝܐ .[70]ܕ ܠܥܡܪ[69]ܕ	20	
	ܫܠܫ .[72]ܡܥܒܕ ܕܫ ܗܘ		
	ܕܒܪܟܬܐ ܚܡ ܕ. ܐܝܟ		
	ܕܫܪܝ [73]ܠ ܫܒܩ		
	ܕܒܪ ܡ ܕ[74]ܒܟ .ܕܦܠܓ		
	ܕ[75]ܒܪܡ ܒܟܪ .ܡܒܟ ܠܥܡܪ	25	
	ܡܟܡ .ܡܒܟ ܟ ܫܦܪ ܗܘ		
	.ܦܪܫ ܡܒܪ ܕ[76]ܒܪܡ ܠܥܡܪ		
	ܕ[78]ܡܦܠܓ [77]ܕ ܒ		
× M² f. 12v	ܕ[80]ܡܫܥܒܕ ܠܓ × .[79]ܥܡܪ		known their[93] vexation and their misery,
	ܐ[82]ܡܡ ܡ[81]ܒܒܚܪ . ܕ[83]ܡܫܥܒܕ	30	which they were going to endure in
× P f. 24r	ܠܥܡܪ × ܒܟܝ[84]ܡ .ܡ[83]ܗ		Egypt. But that (phrase) they were placed
	.[86]ܐܡ ܡܟܡ ܒܪܒܪ[85] ܕܠܥܡܪ		*opposite* each other (makes known) that,
	ܒ[87]ܪ ܒܪ ܗ[87]ܓ ܠ ܒ[87]ܪ		though they were looking at each other,

[60] RI] add .ܐ P: ܒܝ OKAV²M²

[61] R] om IOKPAV²M²

[62] R] ܦܠܓ IOKPAV²M²

[63] ROKPAV²M²] ܒܪܥ I

[64] ROKPAV²M²] add ܐܝܟ ܠܥܡܪ ܒܪܡ ܡܡܪ ܗ ܠܐ ܒܩܐ ܕܒܝܕ ܒܪܚܐ ܕܥܡ ܠܡܗܝ ܒܚܝܕܐ ܗ ܒܪܡ ܒܝܬ ܕܐ ܐܝܟ I

[65] RI] ܐ OKPAV²M²

[66] R] ܫ ܫ ܠܫ I: om ܫ init OKPAV²M²

[67] ROKPAV²M²] ܒܬܪ ܒܪܝܫ ܡܠܐ ܒ I

[68] RI] ܒܡ OKPAV²M²

[69] ROKPAV²M²] om ܪ fin I

[70] ROKPAV²M²] om ܪ fin I

[71] R] ܚܝܪܐ OKPAV²M²: om ܐ init I

[72] ROKPAV²M²] om I

[73] ROKPAV²] add ܠ dit M²

[74] R] ܡܡ OKPAV²M²

[75] R] om ܒ init OKPAV²M²

[76] R] add ܕܐ OKPAV²M²

[77] R] om ܠܥܡܪ ܡܟܡ ܡܒܪ ܒܟ ܦܪܫ ܕܐ ܒܪܡ ܒܚܝܕ ܡܒܪ ܠܥܡܪ ܒܪܡ ܡ ܒܟܪ ܒܪܟܬܐ ܠ ܒ ܒ ܦܪܫ ܡܒܪ ܒܪܡ I

[78] ROKPAV²M²] add ܕ init I

[79] ROKPAV²M²] ܥܡܪ ܡ ܒ I

[80] ROKPAV²M²] ܒܫܥ I

[81] ROKPAV²M²] ܒܒܚܪ I

[82] RP] ܐܡ OKAV²M²: om I

[83] ROKPAV²M²] ܡܫܥ I

[84] ROKPAV²M²] om I

[85] ROKPAV²] om ܒ init M²

[86] RP] ܐܡ OKAV²M²: add ܥܡ I

[87] R] add ܒ OKPAV²M²: ܒ ܗ ܠ ܒ ܒ I

[88] Cf. Exod 6:16, 18.

[89] Namely, Abram.

[90] Namely, Abram.

[91] Namely, Abram.

[92] Namely, Moses.

[93] Namely, the Israelites.

	ܡ[94]ܐܐ ܟ. ܚܥܚܡ[95] ܕܚܙܢ[96] ܣ[97] ܠܫܡ. ܚܙܝܐ ܥܡ ܠܐ ܕ[98]ܠܠ. ܕ[99]ܟ ܚܠ ܐܝܡܐ ܕ[100]ܐܝܡܐ. ܚܙܢ ܕܚܚܢ ܕ[101]ܐܐ ܚܒܡ ܚܒܐ ܕ[102]ܡ ܐ[103] ܠܚܙܢ[104] ܟ ܚܙܝ ❖	35 40	none was able to help its fellow. But (that phrase) *he*[105] *did not divide the birds* indicates their[106] unanimity and unified sojourning in the wilderness, for they were indeed going, somehow, to fly from Egypt.

Genesis 50:10[107]

Manuscripts: O, f. 47v, *16-17*; K, f. 56v, *17-18*; P, f. 49r, *8-9*; A, f. 49r, *5-6*; V, f. 6v, *1-2*; V^2, f. 52v, *15-16*; M^2, f. 31v, *12-13*
Editions: R, p. 128, *15-17* and I, p. 222, *8*

]ܐܟ ܚܙܝ ܒܐ ܡܚܐ[108].	*Aṭar* in the Egyptian language (is) a tomb.
]ܐܡ ܠܗ ܐܡ ܐܒܗܡ ܐܚܡ ܐܡ ܐ[109].	He[111] calls (Joseph's) coffin or casket a "*dufnā*."[112]
]ܐܡ ܡܚܐ ܐܟ ܐ ܐܡ[110]	*The threshing floors of Aṭar*, the tomb.

2.2.1.2. Exodus Scholion

ܚܡܐ[113]

Edition: B, col. 1450, *5-6*

خُمس القفيز زاد المروزى المعشار.	A fifth of the *qafīz*[114]; the *Marwazi* (measure)[115] is another tenth larger.

[94] R] ܐ ܡ ܐ ܐ ܡ OKAV²M², ܐ ܡ ܐ ܐ ܡ IP
[95] R] ܚ ܥ ܚ ܣ OKPAV²M²: add ܐ ܡ OKPAM²: add ܐ ܡ ܐ ܐ I
[96] R] ܚ ܙ ܢ OKPAV²M²
[97] ROKPAV²M²] om I
[98] R] ܠ ܠ ܚ IOKPAV²M²
[99] ROKPAV²M²] add ܚ I
[100] RIOKPV²M²] ܐ ܝ ܡ ܐ A
[101] RIP] ܐ ܡ OKAV²M²
[102] RI] om ܒ init OKPAV²M²
[103] R] add ܒ init IOKPAV²M²
[104] ROKPAV²M²] ܚ ܡ ܚ ܡ ܚ I
[105] Namely, Abram.
[106] Namely, the Israelites.
[107] For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.2.2. Genesis 50:10 and Chapter 4, Subsections 4.1.2. Genesis 50:10 and 4.2.2. Genesis 50:10.
[108] R] ܐ ܟ ܚ ܙ ܝ ܚ ܠ ܥ ܚ ܡ ܐ ܚ ܡ ܐ ܚ ܠ. ܥ ܡ ܐ ܟ OV, ܐ ܟ ܚ ܙ ܝ ܚ ܠ ܥ ܚ ܡ ܐ ܚ ܠ. ܥ ܡ KPA, ܐ ܟ ܚ ܙ ܢ ܥ ܡ ܠ ܐ ܚ ܠ ܥ ܚ ܡ ܐ ܚ ܙ ܝ V²M², ܐ ܟ ܚ ܙ ܝ ܚ ܠ ܥ ܚ ܡ ܐ ܚ ܠ ܐ ܥ ܡ ܠ I
[109] R] om OKPAVV²M²I
[110] OKPAVV²M²] ܐ ܚ ܡ ܐ ܐ ܟ R: om I
[111] Namely, Moses.
[112] Meaning "mummy case." Gen 50:26.
[113] See Exod 29:40 and Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1450, under the entry ܚ ܡ ܐ ܐ. For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.3.8. ܚ ܡ ܐ ܐ.
[114] A qafīz is an Arabian measure of grain.
[115] This is an otherwise unattested measurement used in the ancient city of Merv, now in Turkmenistan.

2.2.1.3. Numbers Scholia

[116]ܫܢܬܐ ܫܢܬܝܢ

Edition: B, col. 1407, *24*	
سنة سنتان.	A year or two years.

Numbers 21:19[117]

Manuscripts: D, f. 53v, *1-5*; O, ff. 377v, *19*-378r, *1*; K, ff. 158v, *16*-159r, *1*; P, f. 118v, *10-14*; A, f. 139r, *6-12*; V, f. 53r, *5-8*, V[2], f. 143r, *2-7*; M[2], f. 89v, *10-14*

	ܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܐܝܟ ܕ[118]ܡܝ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܐܝܟ ܕ[119]ܡ. ܐܝܟ ܕ[120]ܡ[121]. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܫܐ ܕ[122]ܡܝ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܐܝܟ ܕ[123]ܡ. ܐܝܟ ܕ[124]ܐܝܟ ܕ[125]ܡ. ܐܝܟ ܕ[126]ܡ ܐܝܟ ܕ[127]ܡ ܐܝܟ ܕ[128]ܡ.	5 10	He[129] calls them *waters* of *the stone*,[130] that is to say, *it will give its waters*.[131] That is to say, because they would go out from it, like that (passage), *he made* waters *come out from the rock*.[132] And like that (passage) *about Elisha*, who healed the bitter *waters* with salt,[133] so also here. Although nothing was visible from the outside, that stone alone was (ever) seen to spout and pour forth water.
× O f. 378r			
× K f. 159r			

2.2.1.4. Job Scholion

[134]ܟܬܡܐ

Edition: B, col. 1646, *1-2*	
ܗܝ ܟܬܡܐ.	It is brocade.
ܟܬܡܐ ܗܝ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܙܘܓܐ	Multicolored cloth, that is to say, every colored garment

[116] See Num 9:22 and Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1407, under the entry ܫܢܬܐ ܫܢܬܝܢ. For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.3.7. ܫܢܬܐ ܫܢܬܝܢ.

[117] For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.2.3. Numbers 21:19.

[118] D] ܐܡܪ OKPAVV[2]M[2]

[119] DOKAVV[2]M[2]] ܡ P

[120] DOKAVV[2]] s. sey P: ܡܫܐ M[2]

[121] DOKAVV[2]M[2]] ܡ P

[122] DP] ܐܡܪ OKAVV[2]M[2]

[123] DOKPAVV[2]] c. sey M[2]

[124] OKAVV[2]M[2]] s. sey D: add ܕܐܝܟ dit P

[125] Only ܐܢܘܢ is readable in D.

[126] Unreadable in D.

[127] DP] ܒܗ OKAVV[2]M[2]

[128] O is physically damaged after ܐܡܪ, meaning the phrase ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ is lost.

[129] Namely, Moses.

[130] Cf. Num 20:8. It is also possible that this phrase is a mistranslation of the Num 20 heading in 7a1 (as well as 5b1 and 6b1), which states "the stone of waters" (ܐܝܟ ܕܡܝ).

[131] Num 20:8.

[132] Cf. Ps 78:16.

[133] Cf. 2 Kgs 2:19-22.

[134] See Job 28:18 and Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), cols. 1645-1646, under the entry ܟܬܡܐ. For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.3.9. ܟܬܡܐ.

2.2.1.5. 1 Samuel Scholion

1 Samuel 8:1, 6[135]

Manuscript: D, ff. 83v[mg]-84r[mg]			
	ܘܒܬܪ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܕܒܪ ܥܠ ܒܝܫ ܥܒܕܝ ܒܢܝ ܥܠܝ ܕܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܗܠ̈ܝܢ ܕܫܕܪ ܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܕܡ̈ܢ ܥܠ ܐܝܟ ܕܣܒ ܘܗܘܐ ܒܙܩܘܬ ܝܘܡ̈ܝ ܘܫܠ̈ܛ ܥܠ ܐܝܟ ܕܪܒܘ ܒܝܫ̈ܬܗ̈ܘܢ ܕܥܡܐ ܗܘ ܕܢܬܒ̈ܥܘ ܠܡ̈ܠܟ ܥܠ̈ܝܗ̈ܘܢ ܘܒ̈ܥܘ ܡܢ ܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܠܗ̈ܘܢ ܡ̈ܠܟ ܘܐܬ̈ܝ ܘܫܡܥ ܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܘܥ̈ܠ ܕܒ̈ܥܘ ܠܡ̈ܠܟ ܠ̈ܗ ܘܐܬܪ̈ܥܡ ܘܨ̈ܠܐ ܩ̈ܕܡ ܡܪܝܐ	136 [8:1] [6]	And after other things he discusses the evil way of life of the sons of Samuel,[137] these whom Samuel appointed (as) [8:1] *judges over Israel*, when he reached old age, so that, due to the greatness of their iniquity, the people should be compelled to ask that they should have a king.[138] (On account of) this – when [6] *Samuel* heard that they had asked to have *a king* for themselves – he was grieved, *and* therefore he *prayed before the Lord*.
× D f. 84r		5 10	

2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia

Cause of the Psalms[139]

Manuscripts: L, ff. 1v, *1*-3v, *16*; M, ff. 1v, *1*-3v, *16*; C, ff. 12v, *1*-14r, *20*; S, ff. 1r, *1*-5r, *5* Edition: V, pp. 3, *1*-9, *8*			
	ܣܦܪ ܡܙܡ̈ܪ̈ܐ ܕܐܬ̈ܪ̈ܥܝܬܐ ܕܡ̈ܠܝ̈ܐ ܕܒ̈ܪ̈ܟ̈ܐ ܕܕ̈ܘܝ̈ܕ ܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܘܢ̈ܒܝܐ ܘܩ̈ܕܝ̈ܫܐ	140	*The Book of the Causes of the Psalms of the blessed David, king and prophet and*

[135] For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 4, Subsections 4.1.3. 1 Samuel 8:1, 6 and 4.2.4. 1 Samuel 8:1, 6.

[136] While it preserves an early anonymized reference to this text, the wording of I^2 is only a summary and, thus, cannot be used for reconstructing this Aḥob scholion.

[137] Cf. 1 Sam 8:3, 5.

[138] Cf. 1 Sam 8:4-5.

[139] Ter Haar Romeny produced an English translation of this text; however, it was only based on the Vandenhoff Exemplar. See idem, "Introduction to the *Book of the Aims of the Psalms*," 90-95. In editing all known, complete versions of this text, my translation differs in several places from Ter Haar Romeny's. For a further discussion of this Aḥob exegetical work, see Chapter 3, Section 3.1. The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's *Cause of the Psalms* in Nathniel of Shirzor's *Cause of the Psalms* and Subsections 3.3.2. *Cause of the Psalms* and 3.4.1. *Cause of the Psalms* and Chapter 4, Subsection 4.1.4. *Cause of the Psalms*.

[140] Due to the fact that this text is preserved complete in five reliable witnesses (VLMCS), Nathniel's *Cause of the Psalms* (in VLMCS), Bar Koni's *Scholion* (T), and Isho'dad's *Commentary on Psalms* (I^3) will not be used in this edition for two reasons: 1) they do not preserve any reliable, alternative reading, and 2) their wording and structure are either partially or entirely dissimilar from the parallel text of Aḥob's complete treatise. For a more detailed discussion of Nathniel, Bar Koni and Isho'dad's use of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, see Chapter 3, Section 3.1. The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's *Cause of the Psalms* in Nathniel of Shirzor's *Cause of the Psalms*, Subsection 3.3.2. *Cause of the Psalms*, and Chapter 4, Subsection 4.1.4. *Cause of the Psalms*.

	ܕܐ – [141]ܒܫܡ ܡܪܝ ܥܙܪܢ – ܫܪܝܪܐ ܠܡܪܝ ܐܢ ܠܝ [142]ܫܪܝܪܐ ܡܬܠ ܫܠܝ[1] [143]ܫܦܝܪ ܫܪܝܪ ܡܪܝ[1] [144]ܫܪܝܪܐ ܕܠܒܐ ܕܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ ܕܡ [145]ܫܪܝܪ ܐܡܪ ܡܠܐ ܫܡܥ ܠܝ ܡܪܝ ܘܥܙܪܢܝ ܫܪܝܪܐ ܕܫܘܝܬ ܠܟ : ܫܪܝܪ ܫܪܝܪ ܕܡ ܠܟ ܕܐ ܕܫܪܝܪ ܕܐ [146]ܕܡܪ ܡܠܐ ܫܪܝܪ ܕܡܪ, [147]ܫܪܝܪ ܕܫܪ ܕܡ [148]ܕܡ ܫܪܝܪ ܕܡ [149]ܡ ܕܐ ❖ ܕܡ ܫܪܝܪ ܡܠܐ ܫܪܝܪ ܕܫܪ [150]ܕܠܒ [152]ܫܘܝ [151]ܫܪܝܪ ܡܪ ܕܡ .ܕܫܪܫܪ [153]ܕܡܪ ܫܪܝܪ	5 10 15 	*heart of the Lord*. Our Lord, help me![157] When I first instruct you, O, my lord the diligent reader, (about) the *Cause of the Psalms* of Mar Aḥob Qaṭraya,[158] before everything it is necessary to speak about the utility of the book and about the abundant advantages which those who seek after the study and examination of its holy words acquire from it. But while all the Holy Scriptures, which were uttered and written by the grace of the Spirit, are beneficial to rational (people) for the acquiring of the fear of God[159] – according to the word of the blessed Paul: *Every book, which is written by the Spirit*

[141] The following are the titles preserved in LMS. Aside from a few punctuation differences, LM are identical in wording:

L	M	S
ܡܬܒܪܟ ܫܡܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܫܡܗ ܕܡܪܝ ܐܫܪܝ ܘܐܥܙܪܢ ܠܡܟܬܒ ܣܦܪܐ ܗܕܐ ܕܫܒܚܐ ܕܕܘܝܕ ܢܒܝܐ ܘܡܠܟܐ ܘܪܝܫ ܟܠ ܡܠܐ ܕܫܪܝܪ. ܡܪܝ ܥܙܪܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܫܪܝܪ ܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܐܫܪܝ ܘܐܬܡ ܒܟ : ܫܪܝܪ ܕܡ ܠܟ ܕܐ ܕܫܪܝܪ ܐܡܪ:	ܡܬܒܪܟ ܫܡܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܫܡܗ ܕܡܪܝ ܐܫܪܝ ܘܐܥܙܪܢ ܠܡܟܬܒ ܣܦܪܐ ܗܕܐ ܕܫܒܚܐ ܕܕܘܝܕ ܢܒܝܐ ܘܡܠܟܐ ܘܪܝܫ ܟܠ ܡܠܐ ܕܫܪܝܪ. ܡܪܝ ܥܙܪܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܫܪܝܪ ܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܐܫܪܝ ܘܐܬܡ ܒܟ : ܫܪܝܪ ܕܡ ܠܟ ܕܐ ܕܫܪܝܪ ܐܡܪ:	ܡܬܒܪܟ ܫܡܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܫܡܗ ܕܡܪܝ ܐܫܪܝ ܘܐܥܙܪܢ ܠܡܟܬܒ ܣܦܪܐ ܗܕܐ ܕܫܒܚܐ ܕܕܘܝܕ ܢܒܝܐ ܘܡܠܟܐ ܘܪܝܫ ܟܠ ܡܠܐ :ܕܫܪܝܪ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܟ ܫܪܝܪ ܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܐܫܪܝ ❖ ܘܐܬܡ ܒܟ ❖ ܫܪܝܪ ܕܡ ܠܟ ܕܐ ܕܫܪܝܪ ܐܡܪ:

[142] V] ܫܪ ܫܪܐ LM, ܫܪ ܫܪܐ S

[143] C does not preserve a title, though it does differ from V in its initial six words: ܫܠܝ ܥܙܪܢ ܫܠܡ ܠܟ ܫܪ ܫܪܝܪ

[144] VLMS] ܫܪܝܪܐ ܕܠܒܐ ܕܡܠܐ C

[145] VMS] ܫܪܝܪ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ LC

[146] VLMC] add ܕܡܪ dit S

[147] VLMC] c. sey S

[148] LMC] c. sey V

[149] V] ܫܪ LMCS

[150] LMCS] ܕܠܒ V, which is likely only a clerical error.

[151] V] ܫܪܝܪ LMCS

[152] V] add ܐ init LMCS

[153] VS] ܕܡܪ ܫܪܝܪ LMC

[154] V] ܕܠܒ ܫܪܝܪ LMCS

[155] VLMC] s. sey S

[156] VLMS] add ܫܠܡ C, which has small, vertical, red lines above it, presumably to mark it as a scribal mistake.

[157] This title appears to be the work of a later scribe but likely reflects Aḥob's original (now lost) title. The following are the title translations:

LM	S
By the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, we begin to write a book of the Causes of the Psalms of the blessed David, king and prophet and heart of the Lord. Our Lord, help me, so that just as I started in you, I will end in you. Amen.	By the power of our Lord Jesus Christ, we begin to write a book of the Causes of the Psalms of the blessed David, king and prophet and heart of the Lord. Our Lord, help us, so that just as I started in you, I will end in you. Amen.

[158] The attribution to Mar Aḥob Qaṭraya arguably postdates the original treatise (as is particularly evidenced by the use of the title "Mar"), though it was likely added at an early date.

[159] Cf. Prov 1:7.

	[160]ܡܠܗ ܪܒܐ ܟܠ ܗܝ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܦ ܟܠ ܗܢ ܕܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܩܕܝܫ̈ܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܝܬܪ̈ܐ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܫܪ̈ܪܐ ܘܡܫܠܡ̈ܐ ܘܡܬ̈ܪ̈ܒ̈ܐ ܒ̈ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒ̈ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܐܝܟ

	ܕܫܡܝ[184] ܕܒܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܕܒܗܝܢ ܕܐܬ̈ܪ̈ܟ̈ܬ̈ܐ ܕ[185]ܐܝܟ ܗܝ ܕ[186]ܐܝܬ ܒܗܝܢ ܕ[187]ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬ̈ܝ ܠܡܐܡܪ ܘܠܡܨܠܝ ܘܠܒܥܝ[188] ܘܠܡܘܕܝ ܒ[189]ܗ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܬ̈ܝ ܕܒ̈ܟ̈ܬ̈ܒ̈ܐ ܕ[190]ܒܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܒ[191]ܟ̈ܠܗܝ ܕܒ̈ܟ̈ܬ̈ܒ̈ܐ ܕ[192]ܒܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܒ[193]ܟ̈ܠܗܝ ܕ[194]ܒܗ ܗܘ ܕ[195]ܒܗ ܕ[196]ܒܗ ܗܘ ܕ[197]ܒ ܗ ܕ[198]ܒ ܗ ܕ[199]ܒ ܗ ܕ[200]ܒ ܗ ܕ[201]ܒ ܗ ܕ[202]ܒ ܗ ܕ[203]ܒ ܗ ܕ[204]ܒ ܗ ܕ[205]ܒ ܗ ܕ[206]ܒ ܗ ܕ[207]ܒ ܗ		past histories, and, again, in the books of
		50	the histories there is also found prophecy
			of things, which (are) to come, with
			exhortation and petition and
			thanksgiving; these are found scattered in
			all the Scriptures. But in this book of
		55	Psalms all these (are) collectively set, and
			it is composed, as it were, of some
			members and parts from all these. For it
			also teaches about the Creator, and it
			explains about the Ruler and puts an end
× C f. 13r	×	60	to the opponent of these (things). I am
			speaking, then, of (the ones) who say that
			this world is eternally existing and moves
			along without the bridles of a ruler. And,
			again, (the book of Psalms) teaches about
		65	the reward of the diligent (ones) and
			about the punishment of the wicked
			(ones) and that we should refrain from
			detested (things) and should draw near to
			good (things) and about love, which (is
		70	directed) towards God and friendship,
× V p. 5	×		which (is directed) towards people. And
			in it there is prophecy of (those things)
			which (are) to come, together with
			histories of past deeds. And in it there are
		75	also (several) kinds of praise and
			thanksgiving, together with admonition
			about (appropriate) ways of life and
			frequent and continuous (examples) of
			(things) which we should ask (for) and

[184] LMCS] c. sey V
[185] VCS] ܕܒ̈ܟ̈ܬ̈ܒ̈ܐ LM
[186] V] ܒ̈ܗܝܢ LMCS
[187] VLM] ܐ ܐ ܕ CS
[188] VLCS] ܘܠܒ̈ܥܝ M
[189] VLMS] add ܒ dit C
[190] VCS] ܕܒ̈ܟ̈ܬ̈ܒ̈ܐ L, ܕܒ̈ܟ̈ܬ̈ܒ̈ܐ M
[191] VLMS] c. sey C
[192] VCS] ܕܒ̈ܟ̈ܬ̈ܒ̈ܐ LM
[193] VLMS] s. sey C
[194] LMCS] ܕܒ̈ܗ̈ܘ̈ܗ̈ܝ V
[195] VS] ܕܒ̈ܗ̈ܘ LMC
[196] CS] ܕܒ̈ܗ̈ܘ̈ܗ̈ܘ V: ܕܒ̈ܗ̈ܘ̈ ܗ̈ܘ LM
[197] V] ܐ̈ܝ LMCS
[198] V] ܒ̈ܟ̈ܬ̈ܒ̈ܐ ܗ LMCS
[199] VLMC] om S
[200] V] ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܝ LC, ܒ̈ ܐ̈ܝ MS
[201] LMCS] c. sey V
[202] V] ܒ̈ܐ ܒ̈ ܗ LMCS
[203] V] ܒ̈ܗ̈ LMCS
[204] V] ܒ̈ ܗ LMCS
[205] VCS] ܕܒ̈ܗ̈ܝ L, ܕܒ̈ ܗ̈ܝ M
[206] V] ܒ̈ ܐ̈ ܗ LMCS
[207] VS] ܕܒ̈ ܟ̈ LM, ܕܒ̈ ܟ̈ C

× M f. 2v	× ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܕܐܠ̈ܗܐ ܟܠ̈ܗܝܢ [208]ܕܡܬܫܠܚܢܝܐ [209]ܟܡ	80	how we should ask and wait for (them). While all the divine books (are) the
× L f. 2v	[210]ܕܡܨܘܪܬܐ × [211]ܕܝܬܝܐ. ܡܠ̈ܐ ܕܡܬܟܠ̈ܝܢ ܕܡܬܚܙ̈ܝܢ ܕܡܬܨ̈ܒ̈ܝܢ ܕܐ: ܕܡܝ̈ܐ ܠܐܢ ܟܡ̈ܐ ܠܐܢ		image and mirror of divine knowledge, this (one is) more accurate than all (the others). And like an image or statue of a
	[212]ܕܡܠ̈ܟ ܕܡ̈ܠܐ ܕܫ̈ܒ ܥ̈ܡ̈ܠ ܕܡ̈ܠ̈ܐ ܕܒ̈ܝܬ̈ܐ ܕܡ̈ܣ̈ܟ̈ܝ̈ܐ ܕܒ̈ܝ̈ܬ̈ܐ ܕܡ̈ܣ̈ܟ̈ܝ

	ܠܡܥܒܕ[226] ܕܡܐ[227] ܚܠ[228] ܒܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܚܝܢ ܕܥܡܗܘܢ[229] : ܗܘܐ ܕܐܦ[230] ܕܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܪܥ[231] ܕܐܢܫ ܕܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܒܗܘ ܙܒܢܐ ܕܐܢܘܢ[232] ܚܝܘ ܕܐܢܫ	120	worthy of the grace of the Holy Spirit, just as in fact it happened to them and today happens to many (people). For who is not acquainted with the manner of life of blessed people – those who, while they
	ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ ⁘ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܡܬܬܒ ܚܝܢ ܕܐܦ ܒܦܓܪܐ ܗܘ ܒܚܕ ܡܬܕܡܘ ܠܡܠܐܟܐ[233] ܘܒܙܒܢ ܕܐܢܘܢ ܕܦܓܪܐ ܗܘ[234] ܕܡܬܓܠܝ ܠܗܘܢ[235] ܠܡܢ ܕܗܓܝܢ ܒܗ ܕܥܠ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ ܕܐܢܘܢ ܕܡܬܬܒ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܡܐ ܕܐܬ ܗܕܐ ܡܢ[236] ܕܡܙܡܝܪ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܗܘ ܣܦܪܐ ܕܬܫܒܚܬܐ ܡܠܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܗܢܐ ܣܦܪܐ ܕܬܫܒܚܬܐ ܡܠܐ ܗܘ ܕܒܪܟܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܘܫܠܡ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܚܢ ⁘ ܐܒܗܬܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܒܗ ܫܪܝܪ ܐܫܟܚܘ ܕܐܢܘܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܬ ܕܒܗ

	[252]ܗܘ [251]ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܬܝ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ : ܠܡܗܘܐ		(for) all these peoples were going to perceive them. Grace rightly caused
* S f. 4r	* [253]ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܒܫܡܐ ܕܢܛܘ [254]ܒܢܝܢ ܕܢܓܘܢ ܒܫܡ ܕܐܝܬ :		(him) to compose his words in meters (accompanied) by the sounds of (various)
	[255]ܗܘ ܕܢܓܘܢ ܠܡܐ ܕܐܝ ܗܘ. ܕܐ ܕܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܗ ܐܡܪ ܕܐ	150	kinds of music and different melodies, so that when heard in such delightful form,
	[256]ܕ [257]ܐܡܪ ܕܐ ܕܐܡܪ [258]ܗܘ [259]ܐ [260]ܐ ܕܐ		they would not quickly satiate the hearers, so that through their abundant
	ܕܐ ܕܐ ܕܐ ,ܠܡܐ ܕܐ ܕܐ ܕܐ ܕܐ	155	delightfulness they would be easily enticing (them) to the love of his
	[261]ܗ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܗ. ܕܐ ܕܐ ܕܐ ܠܐ		teaching. As also now there are many to (be) found who carry in their mouth
	[262]ܐ ܕܐ ܕܐ ܕܐ [263]ܐ [264]ܐ ܐ ܐ		debauched songs, and although their words are abominable and unacceptable
	ܐ ܐ ܕ ܐ ❖[265]ܐ	160	to the discerning, their repetition,
	[266]ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ [267]ܐ ܐ ܐ ,ܐ		however, does not satiate people, because they are composed of sweet sounds. For
	[268]ܐ [269]ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ		according to report, through the sweetness of his[278] words, he awoke the
	ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ .[270]ܐ	165	drowsiness of the Hebrews at that time.
	ܐ [271]ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ [272]ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ		But (concerning) the words of other books, because they were spoken in
	❖ ,ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ [273]ܐ [274]ܐ ,ܐ		meters and because of the words which are combined within them, everyone
	[275]ܐ [276]ܐ ܐ ܐ	170	received them with pleasure in his
* V p. 8	* ❖ [277]ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ		memory, so that they are also easily

[251] VS] ܗܠܝܢ LC, ܗܠܝܢ M
[252] VLMC] c. sey S
[253] VLMS] ܐܡܪ ܠܗ C
[254] VLMS] ܒܢܝ C
[255] LMCS] ܗܘ V
[256] VLCS] s. sey M
[257] V initially presents this word as ܐܡܪ ܐ, but the ܐ is later crossed out, leaving it as ܐܡܪ ܐ.
[258] VS] ܗܘ ܗܠܝܢ LMC
[259] VLMC] ܐ S
[260] VMCS] ܐ L
[261] LMCS] s. sey V
[262] C adds a marginal gloss: ܐ ܕ ܗ.
[263] VMCS] s. sey L
[264] VS] ܐ LM, ܐ C
[265] V] add ܐ init LMCS
[266] V initially presents this word as ܐ, but the ܐ is later crossed out.
[267] S initially presents ܐ, but an ܐ is later added in the space above the letters ܐ.
[268] VLMC] s. sey S
[269] V] c. sey LMCS
[270] V] ܐ LMCS
[271] LMCS] s. sey V
[272] V] ܐ LMS, ܐ C
[273] V] ܐ LMCS
[274] V] add ܐ init LMCS
[275] V] ܐ LMCS
[276] V] add ܐ init LMCS
[277] LMCS] add ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ dit V
[278] Namely, David.

⁎ C f. 14r	⁎ ܗܠܝ ܟܬܒܝ ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܕܢܫܬܟܚܘܢ ܗܠܝ ܒܟܠ ܡܕܝܢ̈ܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܣܘܓܝܬܐ ܐܘ ܥܘܢܝܬܐ ܠܡ ܢܣܒ ܡܠ̈ܐ ܡܢ̈ܗܘܢ ܘܒܡ̈ܠ̈ܐ ܕܡܢ̈ܗܘܢ ܡܫܘܐ ܠܗ ܠܡ ܫܒ̈ܚ ܗܠ̈ܝ ܕܡܢ̈ܗܘܢ ܡܬܩܢ̈ܐ ܗܘ ܠܗ ܠܥܢܝܬܗ ܗܠ̈ܝ ܕܡ̈ܢ ܕܡ̈ܬܩܢ̈ܐ ܡ̈ܢ ܕܥܢ̈ܓܐ ܕܝܠܗ̈ܘܢ ܠܐ ܡܫܒ̈ܥ ܐܦ̈ܠ ܡ̈ܢ ܕܡ̈ܬܩܢ̈ܐ ܐ̈ܢ ܐ̈ܢܘ

	: ܡܫܝܚܐ [304]ܕܡܢ ܙܪܥܗ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ [305]ܚܟܡܬܐ ܘܬܪܝܨ ܕܒܗ [306]ܢܒܝ ܐܡܪ ܥܠ ܐܠܗܘܬܗ ܘܥܠ ܒܢܝܢܫܬܗ ܘܥܠ ܚܫܘܢܗ ܘܥܠ ܡܘܬܗ ܘܥܠ ܩܝܡܬܗ ܘܥܠ ܣܠܩܬܗ: ܕܢܬܠ ܠܢ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܝܗܒ [307]ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ⁘ ܠܥܩܠܐ ⁘ ܕܢܬܩܕܫ ⁘ ⁘ ⁘

Psalm 29:9[326]

Manuscripts: L, f. 44v^{mg}; M, f. 45r^{mg}; C, f. 44r^{mg}; S, f. 85r^{mg} Edition: I^3, p. 49, *10-12*		
ܗܟܬܝܠ ܐܢ. ܡܢܝܡ[328] ܟܕܘ[327] ܐܟܬܢ ܕܒܫܝ ܐܝܟ. ܕܒܪ ܣܘ ܒܫ. ܕܒܫܝ[329] ܚܝܪܘܩܐ[330] ܕܒܠܡ. ܚܕ ܐܟܬܝܠ ܐܢ. ܕܒܫ[331] ܐܝܬܘ[332] ❖ ܚܝܬ ܚܝܬ[333]	5	On the other hand,[334] (do) we read *'ylt'* either (in the sense of) trees,[335] which (are) young in their plantings, like that in which *Absalom was hung*,[336] or (in the sense of) hinds[337] *and* ibexes,[338] which dwell in the forests?

Psalm 31:6[339]

Manuscripts: L, f. 46r^{mg}; M, f. 46r^{mg}; C, f. 45r^{mg}; S, f. 87r^{mg} Edition: I^3, pp. 50, *26*-51, *1*			
⁎ I^3 p. 51	ܕܒܫ[342] ܀ ܀[341] ܀ ܀[340] ܕܒܫ ܚܕܬ[1] ܣܘ ܒܫ[343] ܕܒܫ ❖ ܐܝܬܘ ܚܝܬ[345] ܐ ⁎ ⁎[344] ܚܣܪ	5	*I have caused (my spirit) to be guarded*, that is to say, I have guarded. *I have caused (my spirit) to be guarded* is like that (verse), Gehazi *took (the silver) and caused (it) to be guarded in the house*.[346]

Psalm 39:2

Manuscripts: L, f. 56r^{mg}; M, f. 56v^{mg}; C, f. 54r^{mg}; S, f. 106v^{mg}	
ܠܣܥܬ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ.	He[347] says, "My thoughts."[348]

[326] For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.3. Psalm 29:9 and Chapter 4, Subsection 4.1.6. Psalm 29:9.

[327] LCI^3] s. sey MS. The vowel pointing is corrupt in LM, both of which present the initial alaph (in East Syriac) as ܐ, suggesting "hinds," not "shrubs."

[328] LMCS] ܡܡ I^3

[329] LMCI^3] c. sey S

[330] LMI^3] s. sey CS

[331] The vowel pointing is corrupt in LM, both of which present the yod (in East Syriac) as ܝ, suggesting "shrubs," not "hinds."

[332] LMCS] om I^3

[333] LMCS] s. sey I^3

[334] The adverb ܟܕܘ could also be translated here as "again." Due to its presentation as a standalone scholion, it is unclear which option is the more appropriate translational choice.

[335] I.e. *ʾilātā*.

[336] Cf. 2 Sam 18:9.

[337] I.e. *ʾaylātā*.

[338] Cf. Prov 5:19.

[339] For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.4. Psalm 31:6 and Chapter 4, Subsection 4.1.7. Psalm 31:6.

[340] LMCS] ܡܘܝ ܕܒܫ I^3

[341] LMCS] ܐܡ I^3

[342] MCS] ܕܒܫ L, ܕܒܫ I^3

[343] LMS] ܕܒܫ C: om I^3

[344] MCS] tr ܚܕܬ ܚܣܪ L: ܚܣܪ I^3

[345] LMCS] ܠܟ ܐܝܬܘ I^3

[346] 2 Kgs 5:24.

[347] Namely, David.

[348] Aḥob is interpreting the Peshitta "my way" (ܡܘܝ) as "my thoughts" (ܠܣܥܬ). For a further discussion of this scholion, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.5. Psalm 39:2.

Psalm 39:4-6[349]

Manuscripts: L, ff. 56v, *7-26*, 57r, *14-26*; M, ff. 56v, *20-26*, 57r, *5-26*; C, ff. 54r, *21-27*, 54v, *1-10*; S, ff. 107r, *15-21*, 108r, *1-8*
Edition: I[3], pp. 59, *17-18*, *22*-60, *1*, *1-5*, *18*, *20-21*, *26*-61, *2*, *3-7*, *7-11*

	[39:4] ܐܡܪ[350] ܒܠܫܢܝ [5] ܘܐܬܝܕܥ ܠܝ ܡܪܝܐ ܣܘܦܝ ܘܡܕܡ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܐܠܐ ܗܫܐ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܗܢܐ ܘܠܡܚܪ ܐܙܠ ܘܠܐ ܡܫܬܐܪ ܕܐܢ ܐܬܝ ܠܡܚܙܐ ܠܝ ܗܐ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܡܪ ܗܐ

	.ܒܢܝ ܐ[372]ܘܡ ܐ[371]ܡܬܚ		nature, so that we would not die together
	[375]ܡܬܡܫܐ [374]ܐܠܐ [373]ܐܠܐ		with our (physical) being. Nor should we
	ܡܒܢܝܢ ܒܢܝ ܠܐ .ܐܣ		live without a limit. But according to the
	: [377]ܡܙܓܐ [376]ܡܒܢܝܐ		soundness and the equality of the
	[378]ܐܣ ܡܒܢܝ ܡܒܢܝ ܒ[ܐ	25	mixture, according to the functioning of
	.[380]ܡܒܢܝ ܐ[379]ܡܒܢ		nature, life is stretched out or is cut short.
	ܒ[ܐ [381]ܡܒܢ ܐ[ܐ		For just as a house, if it is built well, then
* C f. 54v	* ܡܒܢ[ܐ ܒܢܝ .ܐܒܢ ܐ		according to the soundness of its
	ܒ[ܐ [383]ܡܒ[ܐ [382]ܡܬ ܐ		structure, thus also it remains. In this way
	ܡ[ܐ ܒ[ܐ ܐ[ܒ .ܡܒ	30	also the bodies of people, according to
	[384]ܡ[ܐ .ܒܢ ܐ[		their structure and the equality of their
	.[386]ܐ[ܒ [385]ܡ[ܐ		mixture, endure. In proportion to their
* S f. 108r	* ܡ[ܐ[ܡ[ܐ [387]ܒܢ		feebleness (do) they perish. For if
	ܐ[ܐ ܐ[.[388]ܐ[ܒ [389]ܐ[ܐ		everyone had a (fixed) measure (of life),
	ܡ[ܐ ܐ[.[391]ܐ[[390]ܡ[	35	and he[398] fixed how much he[399] should
	: ܡ[.[392]ܐ[		live, he[400] would be considered to be
	ܐ[.[393]ܐ[ܐ[ܐ[		wicked, (for) to one (person) he
	[394]ܐ[ܐ[ܡ[ܐ ܐ[		increased (the length of life) and to
	ܡ[ܐ[ܐ[ܡ[		another he reduced (the length of life).
	ܐ[.[395]ܡ[ܐ[	40	And, again, if he[401] was giving one equal
* L f. 57r	ܐ[.[396]ܡ ܐ[ܒ[* [397]ܐ[		(measure of life) to all, not even pains

[371] LMCS] om ܐ init I[3]
[372] LMCS] ܡ[ܐ I[3]
[373] LMSI[3]] add ܒܢ dit C, which is subsequently crossed out.
[374] LMCS] om ܐ init I[3]
[375] LMCS] om ܢ fin I[3]
[376] LMCS] ܢܒܢܝ ܐ[I[3]
[377] LMI[3]] c. sey CS
[378] LMCS] om I[3]
[379] LMCS] ܡ[ܒܢ I[3]
[380] LMCS] add ܐ[ܒܢ et end of extract in I[3]
[381] LMCS] ܢܒ[ܒ[ܐ ܒܢ et start of extract in I[3]
[382] LCS] add ܡ[ܐ dit M, which is subsequently crossed out.
[383] LMCS] ܡ[ܐ ܒ[ܒܢ I[3]
[384] LMCS] ܐ[ܡ[ܒ[ܒ[ܐ[I[3]
[385] LMCS] add ܡ[ܒ I[3]
[386] LMCS] add ܐ init I[3]
[387] LMCS] add ܐ init I[3]
[388] LMCS] add ܐ[ܡ[ܒ[ܒ[ܐ[et end of extract in I[3]
[389] Start of extract in I[3]
[390] S] ܢ[LM, ܢ[C, ܐ[I[3]
[391] LMCS] ܐ[ܒ[I[3]
[392] LMCS] add ܐ init I[3]
[393] LMCS] ܐ[ܒ[ܐ I[3]
[394] LMCS] ܒ[I[3]
[395] LMCS] ܐ[ܐ[ܡ[ܐ[I[3]
[396] LMCS] om I[3]
[397] LMCI[3]] ,ܒ S
[398] Namely, God.
[399] Namely, a given person.
[400] Namely, God.
[401] Namely, God.

	ܐ̈ : [402]ܡܬܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܕܢܫܬ [403]ܒܟܝܢ ܕܒܫܡܗ ܕܡܫ ܐܦ ܐܢ [404]ܡܬ : ܠܐ ܡܬܥܒܕ ܕܢܫܬ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܢ [405]ܐܠܦ ܕܐܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܓ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܓ ܐܦ ܠ̈ܐ ܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܠܦ ܫܢ ܠܥܡܝ [406]ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܒܫܡܗ ܕܐܒ ܠ ܒܟܠ ܐܠܐ [407]ܡܢ [408]ܐܬܬܝܚܝ [410]ܕܐܬܐ [409]ܡܢ ܐܬܬܝܚܝ : ܕܓ ܡܢ ܫܢ [412]ܐܠܦ [411]ܐܠܐ ܒܥܦ [413]ܐܠܦ [415]ܐ[414]ܣܬܝ ܐܐܠ [416]ܡܢ ܐܠܐܠܐ ܐܐܠ ܐܐ [419]ܫܢ [418]ܐ[417]ܒܫܠ [420]ܐ[422]ܡܢ [421]ܒܐܬܐ ܠ[423]ܡ ܠ ܐܐ ܫܢ ❖ [424]ܐ[423]ܡ ܠ ܐܐ	45 50 55 60 65	and sicknesses would befall us, and (this possibility) would be taken away, that on behalf of Christ we should suffer in our bodies. That (passage), therefore, *Behold! With a measure you have given my days*: he[425] does not speak about the measure of the life of each individual of humanity, but (about the fact) that in comparison with (former) generations, and the succession of ages, the lifespans of humans also change, since the measure (of life) of the first (humans) is not equal (in comparison) with that of the intermediate (ones), (and) neither, again, is that of the intermediate (ones equal) with that of the later (ones). Neither (within) each individual (one) of the generations are all (its members) equal in lifespan. For just as by time and birth, together with a change of air, the afflictions of blindness and deafness, together with chances of sicknesses, are bestowed, so also life and death, although the providence of God is mixed in all of them. Also, for us, it is not given to us to know all things exactly.

[402] End of extract in I^3
[403] S] ܒܟܝܢ LMC
[404] LMS] s. sey C
[405] LM] ܫܢ ܠܐ CS
[406] LMCS] om ܐ init et start of extract in I^3
[407] LMCS] om I^3
[408] LMCS] ܐܬܬܝܚܝ I^3
[409] LMCS] om I^3
[410] LMC] ܐܬܝܗܒ S, ܐܬܐ et end of extract in I^3
[411] LMCS] ܐܠ ܒܐ et start of extract in I^3
[412] LM] ܫܢ ܠܐ CS
[413] LMS] add ܒܥܦ C, which is marked with a line over it, presumably to show it is a scribal mistake.
[414] LM] ܐܠܦ ܫܢ ܠܐ ܐܬܬܝܚܝ ܕܐܒ ܐ ܡܢ ܐܠܦ ܫܢ ܠܥܡܝ ܐܠܐ et end of extract in I^3
[415] LMCS] ܐ[414]ܣܬܝ et start of extract in I^3
[416] MCSI^3] add ܡܢ dit L
[417] LMCS] add ܒ fin I^3
[418] LMCS] add ܐ init I^3
[419] I^3] ܒܫܢ LM, ܒܫܐ CS. Leg. ܒܫܢ.
[420] LMCS] ܐܡܪ : ܐܬܝܗܒ ܐܬܬܝܚܝ ܐܒܕ ܐܠܐܠܐ I^3
[421] LMCS] add ܐ fin I^3
[422] LMCS] add ܐ init I^3
[423] MCS] om L
[424] MCS] ܠܥܡ ܢܬܝܗܒ ܠ ܒܟܠ ܫܢ et end of extract in I^3
[425] Namely, David.

Psalm 40:8[426]

Manuscripts: L, f. 58v[mg]; M, f. 58v[mg]; S, ff. 110r[mg], 111r[mg]
Edition: I[3], p. 62, *22-23*

ܕܟܠ[427] ܦܪܫ̈ܐ[428] ܕܟܬܒ̈ܝܐ.	The sections of all the prophets.

Psalm 42:2[429]

Manuscripts: L, f. 60r, *19-26*; M, f. 60v, *2-11*; C, f. 57r[mg]; S, f. 112v[mg]
Edition: I[3], p. 64, *3-9*

ܡ[430] ܗܠ ܐܝܟ ܕ[431]ܒܥܝ̈ܐ ܕܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܕ[432]ܐܝܠ̈ܐ ܕ[433]ܒܥܝ̈ ܠܡ̈ܝܐ ܕ[434]ܒܥܝ̈ ܡ̈ܝ[435]. ܕܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܕܒܥ̈ ܠ[436]ܡ ܕ[437]ܒܥܝ̈ ܕܒ̈ ܕܒܥ̈ ܠ[438]ܡ ܕ[439]ܒܥ̈ ܕ ܡ̈ܝ ܕ ܒ̈ܥ̈ ܕ[440]ܒ̈ ܕ[441]ܒܥ̈ ܕ[442]ܒ̈ ܕ[443]ܒ̈ ܕ[444]ܒ̈ ܕ[445]ܒ̈ ܕ[446]ܒ̈ ܕ[447]ܒ̈ ܕ[448]ܒ̈ ܕ[449]ܒ̈ ܕ[450]ܒ̈ ܕ[451]ܒ̈	5	Because, then, stags are by nature more dry and hot than other animals, they especially long for a drink *of water* when they have eaten of harmful reptiles. Like that which is the gall of snakes, which pollutes and adheres to the roof of their palate, it doubles upon them the heat which is in their nature. It is appropriate (that),

[426] While LMI[3] preserve 1 instance of this Aḥob scholion (in connection with Ps 40:8 or Ps 40:10), S preserves 2 instances of this Aḥob scholion, the first in connection with Ps 40:8 and the second with Ps 40:10. For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.7. Psalm 40:8 and Chapter 4, Subsection 4.1.9. Psalm 40:8.

[427] SI[3]] s. sey LM

[428] LMI[3]] s. sey S

[429] For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.8. Psalm 42:2 and Chapter 4, Subsection 4.1.10. Psalm 42:2.

[430] LMCS] ̈ I[3]

[431] LMCS] tr ̈ I[3]

[432] LMCS] om I[3]

[433] LMCI[3]] s. sey S

[434] LMC] S: et tr I[3]

[435] LMCS] ̈ I[3]

[436] LMCS] om I[3]

[437] LMCS] I[3]

[438] LMCS] add I[3]

[439] LMCS] add ̈ init I[3]

[440] LMC] S: om I[3]

[441] LMC] s. sey S: om I[3]

[442] LMCS] ̈ init et tr I[3]

[443] LMCS] om I[3]

[444] LMCS] s. sey I[3]

[445] LMCS] add ̈ init I[3]

[446] LMCS] om I[3]

[447] LMCS] om ̈ init et fin I[3]

[448] LMCS] om I[3]

[449] LMCS] om ̈ init et add I[3]

[450] LMCS] add I[3]

[451] LMC] S, I[3]

ܒܗܕܐ ܕܡܬܐ ܠܗ[454] ܕܒܫܡ[453] ܗܘ[452] ❖[455]	10	by the example of *the stag*, (these things) were used (by David) to make known his[456] love.[457]

Psalm 45 Prologue[458]

Manuscripts: L, f. 63v[mg]; M, f. 63v[mg]; C, f. 59v[mg]; S, ff. 118v-119r[mg]
Edition: V, p. 34, n. 4

ܐܝܟ ܕܟܬܒ ܠܫܠܡܘܢ ܘܠܐ[459] ܕܡܨܪܝܬܗ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܥ ܒܗ ܡܕܝܢ[460] ; ܐܠܐ ܡܟܚܫ ܠܗ ܕܡܬܟܚܫ ܒܫܘܠ ܘܒܫܘܠ ܕܡܬܟܚܫ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܕܒܪ ܕܟܬܒ ܐܠܐ ܡܬܟܚܫ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܕܒܪ ܕܟܬܒ : ܕܐܡܪ ܒܪܫ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܠܒܝ ܐܬܪ[461] ❖ ܕܐܡܪ[462]	5	But the Jews in their madness take this psalm (to be) concerning Solomon and concerning his Egyptian wife. But they are proved wrong by the words, especially by the beginning: *My heart overflowed*, etc.

[452] LCS] ܗܘ M: om I[3]

[453] LMCS] om ܐ fin I[3]

[454] LMCS] add ܐܡܪ ܒܝܕ ܕ I[3]

[455] Attached to the end of this Aḥob scholion is a colophon, which varies slightly among *DGC* manuscripts. It is written in the form of a poem. For LCS, it consists of 4 lines of 7 syllables; for M, it consists of 5 lines of 7 syllables. Each line ends with the rhyme "–*aya*" (ܐ-). Since the poem is rhymed, it must be roughly 9th century or later in origin. See Sebastian P. Brock, "Poetry," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 334:

L	M	C	S
❖ ܥܒܕ ܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܠܟܬܒܐ. ܠܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܫܐܠ ܠܗ ܠܚܛܝܐ ܐܝܣܝ ܘܠܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܟܬܒ ܠܗ ܠܚܛܝܐ ܐܝܣܝ ܘܠܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܟܬܒ ܠܗ ܠܚܛܝܐ ܐܝܣܝ ❖	❖ ܥܒܕ ܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܠܟܬܒܐ. ܠܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܫܐܠ ܠܗ ܠܚܛܝܐ ܐܝܣܝ ❖	❖ ܥܒܕ ܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܠܟܬܒܐ. ❖	❖ ܥܒܕ ܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܠܟܬܒܐ : ❖

[456] Namely, David's.

[457] The colophon translations of LMCS:

L	M	C	S
Praise the Lord, O readers, and seek forgiveness from him for the weak scribe and sinner, the minister, Isa, the despised.	Praise the Lord, O reader, and seek forgiveness from him for the scribe, Isa, the sinner and for the writer, Nimrod, the virtuous. Grant (them O, Lord,) their reward in the heavens of heaven. Amen.	Praise the Lord, O, reader, and seek forgiveness from him for the week scribe and sinner, Daniel, the neglected and the despised.	Praise the Lord, O reader, and seek forgiveness from him for the weak scribe (and) sinner, Humu, the feeble and the despised.

[458] For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.9. Psalm 45 Prologue.

[459] LM] ܕܡܨܪܝܬܗ VC, ܕܡܨܪܝ S

[460] VLMC] ,ܡ S

[461] LMCS] om ܒܢܝܢܘ ܕܟܬܒ ܒܫܡܗ hapl V

[462] V] ܒܪܟܬܐ LMC: ܒܪܟ̈ܬ̈ܐ ܒܪܟܬܐ S

Psalm 45:9[463]

Manuscripts: L, f. 64r[mg]; M, f. 64r[mg]; C, f. 60r[mg]; S, f. 120r[mg] Editions: V, p. 38, n. 7; I[3], p. 70, *2*; B, col. 223, *13-15*		
]ܫܠܟ ܙܥܘ[464] ܀ ܚܕ ܟܬܝ ܚܕ ܐܝ ܕܡ ܕܡ ܕܡ

ܗܟܢ ❖ ܐ[486]	10	so here, he says likewise concerning the wicked (ones), that they were known by God from their creation that they would do this. But instead of *they were separated*, the Hebrew says, "they were estranged."[487]

Psalm 58:5-6[488]

Manuscripts: L, f. 78r[mg]; M, f. 77v[mg]; C, f. 72v[mg]; S, f. 145r[mg]		
ܡܫܡܪ [58:5] ܕܡ ܚܠ[489] ܗܟܢܐ ܕܚܝܬ ܡܚܠ[490] ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܒܪܝܬܗ ܕܐܦܥܐ[491] ܕܡܫܡܪ ܕܚܪܒܐ ܠܐ[492] ܠܫܥܪ [6] ܡܢ ܕܦܫܚܢܐ. ܗܘ ܕܦܪܣܝ ܒܠܫܢܐ ܕܦܪܣ.	5	But it is said, concerning the [58:5] *asp*, that according to the nature it received from God the *asp* will not be controlled by charms, which (are produced) by [6] a *charmer*.[493] And asp in the Persian language is *dasāg*.[494]

Psalm 68:14[495]

Manuscripts: L, f. 87v[mg]; M, f. 86r[mg]; C, f. 80r[mg]; S, f. 162r[mg] Edition: I[3], pp. 101, *25-26*, 102, *4-5*		
ܒܝܢ ܕܚܙܝ. ܠܐ ܒܝܢ ܕܚܙܝ ܡܢ[496] ܚܙܝܢ ❖ ܗܟܢ ܕܡܠܐ[497] ܒܝܢ ܕܚܙܝ ܠܐ ܒܝܢ ܕܚܙܝ ܡܢ[498] ܒܝܢ ܕܚܙܝ		But instead of *among the thorns*, the Hebrew says, "among the manure

[486] In CS, this Aḥob scholion ends with a brief colophon. S differs from C only by its placement of ❖:

C	S
ܒܝܢ ܕܚܙܝ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܟܬܒ ❖ ܒܚܒܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܝܐ ❖ ܐܡܝܢ ܀	ܒܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ❖ ܕܟܬܒ ❖ ܒܚܒܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܝܐ ❖ ܐܡܝܢ ܀

[487] See MT Ps 58:4. The colophon translation of CS:

Pray, reader, that it is written down with Christian love. Amen.

[488] For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.13. Psalm 58:5-6.

[489] LCS] ܗܟܢܐ M

[490] LMC] ܡܚܠ S

[491] LMS] ܕܐܦܥܐ C

[492] LMC] c. sey S

[493] Cf. Eccl 10:11; Jer 8:17.

[494] Meaning "dragon." The underlying Pahlavi noun is likely "*dahāg*" (دهاگ), though the spelling of "*ažđahāg*" (اژدهاگ) and "*ažđahā*" (اژدها) are its longer and more common forms. See F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary, Including the Arabic words and phrases to be met with in Persian literature*, 1st ed., 2nd imp. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1930), 45 and Prods Oktor Skjærvø "The Story of Aži Dahāka in the 9th Book of the *Dēnkard* and Pahlavi *āyēb* 'Blaze, Conflagration,'" in Brigitte Huber, Marianne Volkart, and Paul Widmer (eds.), *Chomolangma, Demawend und Kasbek, Festschrift für Roland Bielmeier zu seinem 65 Geburtstag*, vol. 2 (Beiträge zur Zentralasienforschung 12; Halle / Saale: International Institute for Tibetan and Buddhist Studies, 2008), 535. For a further discussion of this word, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.6. Coptic and Persian References.

[495] For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.14. Psalm 68:14 and Chapter 4, Subsection 4.1.12. Psalm 68:14.

[496] LMCS] om I[3]

[497] LMC] ܕܡܠܐ SI[3]

[498] LMC] om SI[3]

❖ ܟܬܪ[500] ܚܠ ܒܝܬ[499] ܥܬܩ	5	pile."[501] But instead of *among the thorns*, the Greek says, "between the lots."[502]

Psalm 68:16-17[503]

Manuscripts: L, f. 87v[mg]; M, f. 86r[mg]; C, f. 80r[mg]; S, f. 162r[mg]
Edition: I[3], p. 103, *9-10*

ܚܢܢ ܗܘ ܕ[504]ܒܫܢ ܗܪ ܥܬܩ ܠܡ[505] ܬܬܪ [17] ܗܪ ܕܒܪ[506]. [68:16] ܟܬܪ. ❖ ܟܬܪ[508] ܪܚܫ[507] ܕܒܪ ܗܪ [67:16] ܥܬܩ ܕܒܪ	5	But the Hebrew clearly says, [68:16] "Mountains of Bashan, [17] why (are) you arguing?"[509] But the Greek says, [67:16] "Fat mountains, mountains of curd."[510]

Psalm 104:2-3[511]

Manuscripts: L, f. 128r, *4-26*; M, ff. 126r, *6-25*, 126v, *6-7*; C, f. 113v, *12-20*; S, f. 235r, *13-21*

	❖[512] ܟܬܪ ܟܡ[513]. [104:2] ܡܫܚ ܐܢ ܚܠ[514] ܒܪ ܚܢ. ܠܗ ܚܠ[516] ܡܫܚܬܒܪ[515] ܟܬܒܐ ܚܠ ܡܠܠ ܚܠ ܐܠ ܒܫ. ܚܢ ܐܫ ܚܠ ܡܬܒܫ ܒܪ ܚܢ. ܚܠ ܥܬܩ ܒܪ ܚܢ. ܚܠ ܥܬܩ ܒܪ	5	For, indeed, he[517] says [104:2] *(he*[518] *stretched out heaven like) a curtain*, not (in order) to make known the form of its setting up, but he proclaims the swiftness of its construction. For it is said, concerning that exalted (heaven),

[499] LMCI[3]] s. sey S
[500] I[3]] s. sey LMCS
[501] See MT Ps 68:14.
[502] See LXX Ps 67:14.
[503] The chapter and verse numbering are taken from the MT and LXX, respectively. For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.15. Psalm 68:16-17 and Chapter 4, Subsection 4.1.13. Psalm 68:16-17.
[504] LMCS] om ܗܘ ܕܒܫܢ I[3]
[505] LMCS] om I[3]
[506] LMCS] add ܕܒܥܬܩ I[3]
[507] LMC] s. sey S
[508] After ܪܚܫ, the remaining word in S is unreadable, due to the manuscript's binding.
[509] See MT Ps 68:16-17.
[510] See LXX Ps 67:16.
[511] For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.16. Psalm 104:2-3 and Chapter 4, Subsection 4.1.14. Psalm 104:2-3.
[512] While it does preserve an early usage of this text, the wording and structure of I[3] are too dissimilar, in comparison with the more reliable witnesses (LMCS), to be used for editing this Aḥob scholion. For a more detailed discussion of Isho'dad's use of Aḥob's exegesis on these two verses, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.1.14. Psalm 104:2-3.
[513] LMC] ܒܟ S
[514] LCS] add ܗܡܬܠ homtel M, which is subsequently circled in red, presumably to show it is a scribal mistake.
[515] LM] ܟܬܒܐ CS
[516] LM] ܡܫܚܬܒܪ CS
[517] Namely, David.
[518] Namely, God.

	ܕܫܡܝܐ[519] ܕܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܓܠܬܐ ܕܐܦ[520] ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܥܠ ܗܢܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܕܢܪܐܝ ܠܥܝܢ ܗܢܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܢܬܐ ܐܘ ܐܗܠܐ ܕܥܠ ܡܝ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܥܠ ܓܒܝ ܪܝܫܗ ܕܫܡܝܐ[521] ܕܐܦ ܥܠ ܡܝ ܡܝ ܕܥܠ ܫܡܝܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ

Psalm 105:17-19[538]

Manuscripts: L, f. 132r[mg]; M, f. 130r[mg]; C, f. 116r[mg]; S, f. 240r[mg]
Edition: I[3], p. 152, *23-24*

[539]ܠܐ [540]ܡܛܠ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܒ[541]ܫܠܚ [105:17][1] ܘܡܟ [542]ܒܥܡܪ ܘܐܦ [18] ܒܬܘܠ ܗܘ ܕܢܗܘܐ [543]ܠܥܒܕ ܒܫܠܫܠܬܐ ܘܒܟܪܟ[1] [19] ܐܠܐ .[544]ܕܒܚܢܗ ܕܡܠܬܗ ܒ[545]ܟܬܒ ܗܘ ܕܝܠܗ ܘܒܟܪܟ .[546]ܡܡܫ ❖ ܠܒܚܢܗ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܡܠܬܗ ܕܡܪܝ	5	For (it is) not due to (Joseph's) evil (that) God punished him and turned away from him that he might be [105:17] *sold*, [18] *and* he might be *bound* in slavery as *with shackles*.[547] But [19] *the word of the Lord examined him*. But he says *his word* with regard to his purpose concerning him.

Psalm 110 Prologue[548]

Manuscripts: L, ff. 140r, *21*-140v, *6*; M, ff. 138r, *28*-138v, *13*; C, ff. 123r, *26*-123v, *9*; S, f. 256r, *9-18*
Editions: V, pp. 46, *11*-47, *5* and I[3], p. 157, *23-26*[549]

⁎ M f. 138v ⁎ C f. 123v	[550]ܕܩܡ ܟܬܒ ܒܗ ܐܝܟ ܕ ܠܟ ܟܠ ܕܝܠܗ .[551]ܟܬܒ ⁎ ܠܟ ܟܠ ܕܝܠܗ ܟܬܒ ܕ ܟܠ ܕܡܠܟ ܟ ܕ ܡܢ ܟ[552]ܟܬܒ ܟ ܕ ܐ ܕ ; ܕ ܟ[553]ܡܟ ܕ ܕ ܟ ܕ .[554]ܟ ܕ ܟ ܕ ܟ ⁎ ܟ ܕ ܟ ܕ .	5	When he[555] proclaims in it[556] the honor which came to pass for humanity, he[557] also indicates concerning the eternal begetting of God the Word, and the high priesthood of his humanity like that of the Jews,[558] and concerning the judgment which will come to pass by his

[538] For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.17. Psalm 105:17-19 and Chapter 4, Subsection 4.1.15. Psalm 105:19.

[539] Start of extract in I[3]

[540] LMCS] add ܐ I[3]

[541] LMCS] om ܐܠܐ and add ܐ I[3]

[542] LMCS] om ܐ init I[3]

[543] MCS] ܒܥܒܕ L

[544] LMCS] om ܐܠܐ ܕܒܚܢܗ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܥܒܕ ܒܬܘܠ I[3]

[545] LMCS] om ܟܬܒ ܒܗ ܐܝܟ I[3]

[546] LMCS] ܠܒܚܢܗ et end of extract in I[3]

[547] Cf. Gen 37:28.

[548] For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.18. Psalm 110 Prologue and Chapter 4, Subsection 4.1.16. Psalm 110 Prologue.

[549] The only word used from I[3], p. 157, *24* is "Jews" (ܝܗܘܕ).

[550] VLMC] ܕܩܡ S

[551] CS] ܟܬܒ VLM

[552] LMCS] ܟ V

[553] S] ܟ V, ܟ L, ܟ M, ܟ C

[554] LMCS] ܝܗܘܕ V

[555] Namely, David.

[556] Namely, this psalm.

[557] Namely, David.

[558] Cf. Heb 4:14-5:10; 7:1-10:18.

	: ܠܡܪܝܡ[559] ܕܫܡܗ ܕ ܒܥܠ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡ[560] ܕܢܬܝܗ ܠܗ ܕ ܫܪܐ ܗܘ[561] ܒܗ ܕ ܐܡ[562] ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ ܕ : ܒܫܡܗ ܡܬܒ ܕܒܪܟܬ ܠܗ[563] ܕܐܦܪܝܡ ܕ ܐܠܗ ܠܐ ܗܘ[564] ܐܡܪ ܡܬܒ]ܐ. ܒܗ[566]]ܐ[565] ܡܬܒ ܡ ܕ ܒܫܡܗ ܕ	10	hands, and the honor that will be given to the saints. But the stupid Jews take it[576] as (being spoken) in the persona of the servant of Abraham, when he went to betroth Rebecca,[577] that (is) as if these words were spoken by him. But they are refuted by the beginning of the psalm, in that it is confessed by them that there are four letters in the alphabet of their own way of writing, by (which) the name of God alone is written by them, which is equally written as *the Lord* and as *my Lord*,[578] whenever (a person) wants to call God by the name *my Lord* or *the Lord*, just as here (in this psalm) they also tell (the ones) who know (the name), *the Lord*, that by (these four) letters these names are written[579] (as) *the Lord* and (as) that of *my Lord*.
	;ܣܐ .[568] ܕܐܬܝܬ[567] ܕܐܡܪ]ܐ[569] ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܒܓܕ : ܒܗ[570] ܕܒܓܕ ⁎ ܐܡܪ]ܐ[571]]ܐ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ]ܐ ܐܠܗ ܕܐܠ ܕܐܬܝ : ܐܠܗ]	15	
⁎ L f. 140v	⁎ V p. 47 / ⁎ I[3] p. 158	.[573] ܐܠܗ ⁎]ܐ[572] ܐܒܓܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܬܒܓܕ[574] ܒܐܪܒܥ ܠ ܒܓܕ ܠܐ ܀ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܐ ܕܐܢ ܐܢ ܕܐܬ ܕܐܠ ܐܢ ܫܪܐ ܕܐܒ ܕܐ ܕܐܢܐ ܐܠܗ ܐܒܓܕ ܐܒ ܓܪ ܐܬ ܕܐܢܓ ܐܫܬ ܐܠܗ ܐܒܓܕ[575] ܕܒܓܕ ⁘ ܐܢ ;ܐ ܕܐܢ ܕܐܬ	20 25	

[559] VCS] ܐܫܒܓܕ LM

[560] LMS] ܕܢܬܝܗ VC

[561] VLMCS] om ܕ init et start of extract in I[3]

[562] VLMCS] om I[3]

[563] End of extract in I[3]

[564] V] ܐܒܓܕ LM

[565] VLM] om ܡܬܒ ܕ ܒܫܡܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܒܓܕ dit CS: add ܐܒܓܕ dit M, which is subsequently crossed out: start of extract in I[3]

[566] VLMCS] om I[3]

[567] VLMCS] ;ܐܬܝܬ I[3]

[568] VLMCS] om ܕ init I[3]

[569] VLMCS] om ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܒܓܕ I[3]

[570] VLMCS] ܒܓܕ I[3]

[571] VCS] ܐܠܗ ܐܠܗ LM: ܕܐܒܪ ܕܐܦܪ I[3]

[572] VLMCS] om ܐܒܓܕ ܐܫܬ ܕܐܠ ܕܐܬ ܐܠܗ ܕܐܬܒܓܕ I[3]

[573] VLMCS] add ܕ init et end of extract in I[3]

[574] LMCS] pr ܐ V, which is subsequently crossed out and a ܕ is inserted in its place. While it does preserve an early usage of this text, the wording and structure of I[3], within the final part of this second extract (on p. 158, *1-4*), are too dissimilar, in comparison with the more reliable witnesses (LMCS), to be used for reconstructing this section of this Aḥob scholion. For a more detailed discussion of Isho'dad's use of this Aḥobian Prologue, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.1.16. Psalm 110 Prologue.

[575] LMCS] om ܕ init V

[576] Namely, this psalm.

[577] Cf. Gen 24.

[578] This is a reference to the divine appellations, YHWH and Adonai.

[579] Implying "understood."

Psalm 110:3[580]

Manuscripts: L, f. 140v[mg]; M. f. 139r *3-7*; C, f. 123v[mg]; S ff. 256v[mg]-257r[mg] Edition: V, p. 48, n. 2 and I[3], pp. 159, *24*, *28-30*, 160, *11-12*		
ܐܦ ܡܢ ܥܠܡ ܘ̣ ܡܢ ܥܠܡ ܘܡܢ ܛܒܥ ܕ ̈ ̈ ̈

2.2.1.7. Tarshish Scholion

[601]ܬܪܫܝܫ

Edition: B, col. 2092, *3-4*	
ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝܡܐ ܬܪܫܝܫ	He[602] calls the sea coast "*Tarshish.*"

2.2.1.8. Daniel Scholia

[603]ܒܠܛܫܨܪ

Edition: B, col. 397, *12-13*	
ܫܪܟ ܙܒ ܚܫܬܐ ܕܢܚܐܠ ܒܠܛܫܨܪ ܗܘ ܫܡܗ ܕܐܬܪ ܨܠܡ ܕܒܝܠ	The chief *of the eunuchs gave Daniel the name, Belteshazzar*, and it is translated (as) "the image of Bel."

[604]ܚܢܢܝܐ

Edition: B, col. 1937, *3-4*	
ܪܒ ܚܫܬܐ ܕܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ ܫܡܗ ܠܫܢܐ ܚܢܢܝܐ. ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܡܐ	The chief *of the eunuchs* of Nebuchadnezzar called *Hananiah* by this name, (that is to say), a delegate.

[605]ܡܝܫܐܝܠ

Edition: B, col. 1077, *16-18*	
ܪܒ ܚܫܬܐ ܕܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ ܫܡܗ ܠܡܝܫܐܝܠ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܡܐ. ܡܫܝܚ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܪ	*The chief of the eunuchs* of Nebuchadnezzar called *Mishael* by this name, that is to say, the anointer of the land.

[606]ܥܒܕ ܢܓܘ

Edition: B, col. 1400, *5-6*	
ܫܡܗ ܕ ܚܫܬܐ ܠܥܙܪܝܐ ܥܒܕ ܢܓܘ ܗ ܥܒܕ ܚܢܐ	*The chief of the eunuchs* gave *Azariah* the name, *Abednego*, that is to say, the common servant.

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[601] See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 2092, under the entry ܬܪܫܝܫ. For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.3.11. ܬܪܫܝܫ.

[602] Depending on the biblical verse Aḥob is referencing (which is unknown), this "he" could be David, Isaiah, or some other known figure from the Old Testament.

[603] See Dan 1:7 and Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 1), col. 397, under the entry ܒܠܛܫܨܪ. For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.3.2. ܒܠܛܫܨܪ.

[604] See Dan 1:7 and Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1937, under the entry ܚܢܢܝܐ. For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.3.10. ܚܢܢܝܐ.

[605] See Dan 1:7 and Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1077, under the entry ܡܝܫܐܝܠ. For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.3.3. ܡܝܫܐܝܠ.

[606] See Dan 1:7 and Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1400, under the entry ܥܙܪܝܐ. For a further discussion of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.3.6. ܥܒܕ ܢܓܘ.

2.2.1.9. Nebuchadnezzar Scholion

ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ[607]

Edition: B, col. 1212, *3-4*	
ܡܬܬܪܓܡ ܗܘ ܨܠܡܗ ܕܢܒܘ.	It is translated (as) the image of Nabu.

2.2.1.10. Bar Sira Scholion

Bar Sira 14:12, 18[608]

Manuscript: D, f. 133r^{mg}		
[14:12] ܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܝܬ ܐܬܝܕܥ ܕܥܕ ܗܫܐ ܠܐ ܚܙܝܬ ܡܘܬܐ ܘܓܙܪ̈ܬܐ ܕܫܐܘܠ ܠܐ ܐܬܓܠܝ ܠܟ. ܘܐܡܪ̈ ܕܢܐ ܕܐܦ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܚܙܝ ܡܘܬܐ ܘܫܐܘܠ ܠܐ ܚܙܝ ܗܘ ܕܐܝ ܕܗܘ ܐܬܪ ܡܩܒܪ̈ܬܐ ܐܦ ܗܟܝ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܚܙܝ ܐܦ ܗܟܝ ܐܬ ܒܕܝܢ ܕܡܝܬ ܘܠܐ ܬܚܙܐ ܐܦ ܗܟܝ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܢܬܬܒܥ

2.2.2. Other Scholia

There are two scholia attributed to Aḥob that are not primarily exegetical in nature and so cannot be classified as scholia on any particular verse(s), though the first scholion references the biblical text three times.

2.2.2.1. Calendrical Scholion[612]

Edition: F, p. 182, *2-16*

ܗܘ ܕܟܬܝ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܪܒܥܐ ܕܗܘ ܒܗ ܡܝܬ ܐܢܫ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܟܕ ܗܘ ܒܥܐ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܫܒܬܐ ܒܗ ܒܫܒܬܐ ܕܐܬܟܢܫ

	30 35 40	were handing down to eat for those who were far off and were not (going to) be found in Jerusalem (during) the fast at the time of the fourteenth. When they set (one) necessity with the (other) necessity, the necessity of the Sabbath (was) for those who (were) in Judea, and the necessity of the Holy Place (was) for the ones who were near (to it). And, in this way, Jews in every place also do (this) until now.

2.2.2.2. Eschatological Scholion[621]

Edition: F, p. 190, *9-14*		
ܕܟܬܒܝܢ ܕܩܪܒܢܐ ܘܬܘܕܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܢ ܠܢ ܫܒܩ ܘܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܢ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܡܪܢ ܥܠ ܕܝܠܢ. ܗܠܝܢ ܢܫܪܝܢ ܠܡܐܬܬ ܫܢ̈ܐ ܐܠܦ ܘܬܫܥ ܡ̈ܐܐ ܘܬܫܥܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܐ ܕܡܢ ܫܪܝܪܘܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܗܢ ܕܟܬܒܝܢ ܕܐܝܟ

Beth Rabban (6th century), Aḥob Qaṭraya, or Theodore of Mopsuestia (350-428).[623] However, none of these scholars put forward any substantial evidence to support their claims.[624] Van den Eynde accepted Gustav Ernst Samuel Diettrich's proposal and argued that this "Qaṭraya" should be equated with Rabban Gabriel Qaṭraya, an influential biblical commentator who likely lived in the first half of the seventh century (i.e. several decades after Aḥob).[625] The basis for Van den Eynde's argument was a comparative study he conducted between Isho'dad's *Commentary on Exodus-Deuteronomy* (in which "Qaṭraya" is cited thirty times)[626] and two *AC* manuscripts[627] containing commentaries on the same biblical books. While Isho'dad consistently refers to this writer as "Qaṭraya," the *AC* either calls him "Qaṭraya" or "Rabban" in the same verses. He tested his theory further in Isho'dad's *Commentary on Genesis*, using the same two *AC* manuscripts. Though Isho'dad does not cite "Qaṭraya" by name in his *Commentary on Genesis*, the corresponding *AC* manuscripts name "Rabban" (in four different ways[628]) across several verses, beginning in Gen 6:14.[629] Van den Eynde recognized that "Rabban" and/or "Rabban Gabriel" + "Qaṭraya" arguably referred to Rabban Gabriel Qaṭraya.[630] Van den Eynde made similar arguments, concerning the identity of "Qaṭraya," in his other Isho'dad biblical commentary introductions.[631]

Beyond Isho'dad, there are two other sources which preserve "Qaṭraya" fragments, namely, the *AC* of ms. (*olim*) Diyarbakir 22 and Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem*. In ms. (*olim*) Diyarbakir 22, there are two brief "Qaṭraya" fragments, the first of which is found on f. 227r and the second on f. 228r. On f. 227r, *16-17*, the *AC* preserves a brief commentary

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[623] Diettrich, *Išô'dâdh's Stellung*, xxviii-xxix; Mingana, *Catalogue* (vol. 1), col. 1023; Vosté, "Les oracles de Balaam d'après Mar Išo'dad de Merw," 191; Levene, *The Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis*, 8-9, 344-345; Jansma, "Investigations into the Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis," 87-89; Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, 141-142, n. 23; Cf. Brock, "Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye," 89 and Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), xxvii-xxxii, l-li.

[624] Jansma, "Investigations into the Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis," 87-89; Van den Eynde, *Exode-Deutéronome* (trans.), viii-xi and Van Rompay, "A Hitherto Unknown Nestorian Commentary," 77, n. 64.

[625] Van den Eynde, *Exode-Deutéronome* (trans.), ix-x. See also the table in Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.3. Date.

[626] Van den Eynde, *Exode-Deutéronome* (trans.), viii-ix.

[627] These two *AC* manuscripts are ms. (*olim*) Diyarbakir 22 (10th-12th centuries) and ms. Mingana Syr. 553 (1930).

[628] These include "Rabban Gabriel," "our Rabban Gabriel," "our Rabban," and "Rabban." See Van den Eynde, *Exode-Deutéronome* (trans.), ix. Cf. Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), xxvii.

[629] Van den Eynde, *Exode-Deutéronome* (trans.), ix-x. See also Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), xxix-xxxi. "Qaṭraya" is not cited, at least by name, in Isho'dad's *Commentary on Psalms* and *John*. In later *AC* manuscripts, such as ms. Mosul 1, "Rabban" (ܪܒܐ) is cited earlier in Genesis, beginning with Gen 5:29.

[630] Van den Eynde, *Exode-Deutéronome* (trans.), x. See also the table in Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.3. Date.

[631] Van den Eynde, *Livres des Sessions* (trans.), xiii-xiv; idem, *Isaïe et les Douze* (trans.), ix-x; Van den Eynde, *Jérémie, Ézéchiel, Daniel* (trans.), xiv.

on Ezek 23:20, which states, "Qaṭraya: He calls 'their slaves' the idols of the Egyptians" (ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܩܛܪܝܐ ∗ ܥܒܕܝܗܘܢ ܐܠܝܢ ܕܡܨܪܝܐ). On f. 228r, *8-9*, the *AC* preserves a brief commentary on Ezek 27:5, which states, "Qaṭraya: namely, *zupar*" (ܩܛܪܝܐ. ܙܘܦܪ ܠܚ).

While the *AC* remains little studied, Van den Eynde and Levene's studies have argued that (the majority of Old Testament books of) the *AC* noticeably depend upon Isho'dad's Old Testament commentaries, though the exact nature of this dependence has yet to be shown.[632] So, perhaps not surprisingly, the two "Qaṭraya" fragments preserved in the *AC on Ezekiel* are also found in Isho'dad's *Commentary on Ezekiel*. For instance, concerning the *AC's* "Qaṭraya" fragment on Ezek 23:20, Isho'dad states, "Qaṭraya: He calls 'their slaves' the idols of the Egyptians" (ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܩܛܪܝܐ : ܥܒܕܝܗܘܢ ܐܠܝܢ ܕܡܨܪܝܐ). Furthermore, concerning the *AC's* "Qaṭraya" fragment on Ezek 27:5, Isho'dad (albeit in a slightly expanded manner) states, "Qaṭraya: namely, *dupar*. *Dupar* is in the Persian language" (ܒܠܫܢܐ ܦܪܣܝܐ ܗܝ. ܙܘܦܪ ܠܚ. ܙܘܦܪ : ܩܛܪܝܐ). Though the latter *AC* fragment is truncated and ܙܘܦܪ has been incorrectly written as ܙܘܦܪ, if one accepts that the above *AC* "Qaṭraya" fragments derive from Isho'dad, then, on the basis of Van den Eynde and Van Rompay's arguments concerning the identity of "Qaṭraya" in Isho'dad's biblical commentaries, the source of these fragments is likely Rabban Gabriel Qaṭraya.

Turning to Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem*, Carlson has established that it preserves three "Qaṭraya" fragments. He calls them Passage 2, Passage 3, and Passage 5 and provides an English translation for each of them:[633]

Passage 2

ܩܛܪܝܐ ∗ ܒܫܬܐ ܕܟܢܘܢ ܐܚܪܝܐ ܒܗ ܐܬܥܡܕ ܡܪܢ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܕܫܒܬܐ.	Qaṭraya: On the sixth of latter Kanun[634] our Savior was baptized, on the day of the Sabbath.

Passage 3

ܩܛܪܝܐ ∗ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܐܬܚܒܫ ܒܒܝܬ ܣܗܪܘܬܐ ܫܢܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܘܐܬܩܛܠ ܩܕܡ ܫܢܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܠܡܪܢ.	Qaṭraya: John was locked in prison one year, and he was killed one year before the passion of our Lord.

[632] Van den Eynde, *Exode-Deutéronome* (trans.), xiv-xv, xxiv-xxv; idem, *Livres des Sessions* (trans.), xxxv-xxxvi; Van den Eynde, *Isaïe et les Douze* (trans.), xviii; idem, *Jérémie, Ézéchiel, Daniel* (trans.), xxiv-xxv; Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), xxxvii; Abraham Levene, "Remarques sur deux commentaires syriaques de la Genèse (Le commentaire de Iš'odad, évêque de Hadatta, et Ie manuscrit Mingana 553)," *L'Orient Syrien* 5 (1960): 55-62; idem, "Some Observations on the Commentaries of Isho'dad Bishop of Hadatta and of the Manuscript Mingana 553 on Genesis," *Studia Patristica* 4:2 (1961): 136-142.

[633] Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 176-177, 180-181. My English translation of Passage 2 and Passage 5 differs slightly from Carlson's English translation. While these three Passages primarily discuss New Testament material, they are included in this study, because they present three further examples of disputed Qaṭraya scholia.

[634] Namely, January.

Passage 5

ܩܛܪܝܐ ܟܕ ܗܪܘܕܣ ܘܒܪܗ ܐܪܟܠܐܘܣ ܡܠܟܘ ܥܠ ܝܗܘܕ ܐܬܒܥܘ ܝܗܘܕܝܐ ܡܢ ܩܣܪ ܕܢܫܒܘܩ ܠܗܘܢ ܢܘܡܘܣܗܘܢ ܒܐܝܕܝܗܘܢ ܘܒܥܕܢܐ ܕܦܨܚܐ ܢܥܒܕܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܘ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܪܢ ܐܬܘ ܠܗ ܠܦܝܠܛܘܣ ܘܝܕܥ ܗܘ ܒܢܡܘܣܗܘܢ ܕܢܫܪܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܚܕ ܒܫܢܬܐ ܕܢܫܒܘܩ ܚܕ ܘܢܩܛܘܠ ܐܢܘܢ ܘܟܕ ܫܐܠ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܐܝܢܐ ܕܢܫܒܘܩ ܠܗ ܐܡܪܘ ܠܗ ܒܪܒܐ ܐܠܐ ܢܫܘܥ ܢܬܨܠܒ ܘܟܕ ܠܐ ܐܫܟܚ ܒܗ ܥܠܬܐ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܐܡܪܘ ܢܡܘܣ ܐܝܬ ܠܢ ܘܠܦܢ ܢܡܘܣܢ ܢܬܚܝܒ ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܗܕܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܢ ܕܒܗ ܝܘܡܐ ܢܥܒܕ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܥܝ ܘܟܕ ܩܒܠ ܐܝܟ ܕܗܘ ܕܡܐ ܕܐܬܚܝܒ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܢܨܠܒ ܠܗ ܘܫܕܪ ܠܗ ܠܝܫܘܥ ܠܨܒܝܢܗ ܘܐܫܠܡ ܠܗ ܠܨܒܝܢܗ.	5 10 15 20	Qaṭraya: When Herod and his son Archelaus ruled over Judah, the Jews requested from Caesar that he would leave their laws in their hands, and on the day of Passover they might perform their ritual. And when they arrested our Lord, they brought him before Pilate. He was familiar with their custom, that they would choose two prisoners, and one they would crucify and the other they would release. And when he was asking, 'Which of them shall I release?' they said, 'Barabbas, but Jesus should be crucified.' And when he found no reason that he deserved death, they shouted, 'We have a law, and according to what is in our Law he is condemned to death.' That is, 'This is our custom, that on this day we can do as we please.' And when they had accepted the blood of the innocent one (upon themselves),[635] he scourged him and delivered Jesus over to their will.

While Shbadnaya relies on Isho'dad in several places in his prose commentary on his *Poem*,[636] he does not rely on him as a source for these three "Qaṭraya" fragments, though Isho'dad does preserve a similar formulaic phrase in Matt 14:10 that parallels the second half of Passage 3 above: "for John was killed two years after the baptism of our Lord" (ܫܢܬܐ ܬܪܝܢ ܒܬܪ ܡܥܡܘܕܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܢܚܢܐ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ).[637] Though this hardly proves dependency, it is possible that Shbadnaya shares a similar source with Isho'dad at this point.

While Shbadnaya's specific source(s) for these three Passages has yet to be determined, Carlson suggested that each originated from either Aḥob Qaṭraya or Gabriel Qaṭraya, the exegete.[638] In his extant scholia, Aḥob never mentions any month of the year, though in his Calendrical scholion (preserved in Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem*), he does discuss both a specific day of the month and its connection to the Sabbath, both of which find a parallel in Passage 2. In the same scholion, Aḥob uses the phrase "in the year our Lord suffered" (ܒܫܢܬܐ ܕܐܬܚܫ ܒܗ ܡܪܢ), which roughly parallels the second part of Passage 3, namely "one year before the suffering of our Lord" (ܫܢܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܩܕܡ ܥܕܢܐ ܕܡܪܢ ܕܐܬܚܫ ܒܗ). Again, in his Calendrical

[635] Cf. Matt 27:25.

[636] Carlson, "A light from 'the Dark Centuries,'" 203.

[637] Gibson, *Isho'dad of Merv* (*Volume II: Matthew and Mark in Syriac*), 102, *15-16* and idem, *Isho'dad of Merv* (*Volume 1: Translation*), 61.

[638] Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 176-177, 181.

scholion, Aḥob uses the word "custom" (ܚܘܕܝܐ) in relation to the Jews; this same word is used twice in connection to the Jews in Passage 5. Furthermore, in his 1 Samuel 8:1, 6 scholion, Aḥob essentially summarizes the whole of 1 Sam 8; a similar approach, concerning summarizing a large portion of the biblical text, is preserved in Passage 5. Aḥob also often clarifies a given word or phrase with "that is/that is to say" (ܗܝܢܘ); Passage 5 preserves an instance of this. Are these few parallels enough to suggest a similarity of thought, style, and vocabulary, and thus that these three "Qaṭraya" fragments should be attributed to Aḥob?

Before reaching a conclusion, one must also account for two other related issues. The first issue is Shbadnaya's literary creativity and the probability that he does not preserve his "Qaṭraya" fragments verbatim from his source(s), whether original or intermediary.[639] Erik ten Napel established this fact, with respect to Shbadnaya's use of Emmanuel bar Shahhare's *Hexaemeron,* and Carlson has conducted similar studies on Shbadnaya's use of Theodore bar Koni's *Scholion*.[640] Nevertheless, Shbadnaya's longer excerpts are arguably more authentic than his shorter ones.[641] In the case of his "Qaṭraya" fragments, since Shbadnaya's source(s) is/are, to date, unknown, it is not possible to know the extent to which he may or may not have altered it/them.

The second issue concerns the name "Qaṭraya." In the East Syriac tradition, Aḥob Qaṭraya is always introduced as "Aḥob Qaṭraya," "Mar Aḥob Qaṭraya," or "Aḥob," as well as the incorrect "Ḥob/Ayyub."[642] This may be due to the fact that since Aḥob's name was perceived as being so unique among East Syriac commentators no other name was needed to distinguish him from another writer by the same name. Contrary to this, there were a number of Gabriels who originated from or were connected to Qatar. Not surprisingly, confusion arose over the various Gabriels, which is reflected in more recent studies on the subject.[643] It is not unreasonable to conjecture that the exegete, Gabriel Qaṭraya, was given the nickname "Qaṭraya" (or "Rabban" in other sources) to distinguish him from other Gabriels of Qatar. Whether one accepts the exegete, Gabriel Qaṭraya, or another writer from Qatar as the original source behind Shbadnaya's "Qaṭraya" fragments, it is reasonably certain that this "Qaṭraya"

[639] Carlson, "A light from 'the Dark Centuries,'" 204 and idem, "The Future of the Past," 171-172.

[640] Ten Napel, "Some Remarks on the Quotations," 204-210 and Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 171, n. 2.

[641] Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 171-172.

[642] For a further discussion, see Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.2. Name and Chapter 5, Section 5.1. The Original Form of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

[643] Brock has highlighted this confusion in the most succinct manner. See idem, "Syriac Writers from Beth Qaṭraye," 89-92.

was not Aḥob Qaṭraya.[644]

2.2.3.2. Anonymous Hebrew and Greek Readings in the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary*

Isho'dad opens his commentary on Ps 68:23[645] by stating, "*The Lord said, 'Between the teeth'*" (ܐܡܪ ܒܝܢ ܫܝܢܝ ܐܡܪ ܝܗ̈ܘܐ).[646] Van den Eynde footnotes that a marginal note attached to the parallel text in the *DGC* states, "But instead of *teeth*, the Hebrew and the Greek say, 'Bashan'" (ܒܫܢ ܐܡܪ ܝܘܢܝܐ ܘܥܒܪܝܐ ׃ ܐܠܐ ܒܫܢ ܐܡܪ).[647] In the same footnote, Van den Eynde claims that, in the *DGC*, this marginal scholion is credited to Aḥob.[648] However, Van den Eynde's assertion is arguably incorrect, because none of the accessible *DGC* manuscripts attribute Aḥob as its author. Rather, they present this reading as anonymous. While Van den Eynde's claim cannot be immediately substantiated, it does raise an interesting question: Could this marginal scholion have originated from Aḥob? In the *DGC*, there are five Aḥob scholia which either include or are (in their totality) Hebrew and/or Greek readings of a given Peshitta word or phrase. These are Psalm 45:9; 58:4; 68:14, 16-17; 110:3. If these readings are collected and compared, they appear as follows:

Psalm 68:23 Marginal Scholion	Aḥob's Hebrew and Greek Readings[649]	
"But instead of *teeth*, the Hebrew and the Greek say, 'Bashan'" (ܐܠܐ ܒܫܢ ׃ ܐܡܪ ܝܘܢܝܐ ܘܥܒܪܝܐ ܒܫܢ ܐܡܪ)	"Instead of *finest*, the Hebrew says, 'ivory'" (ܫܢ ܐܡܪ ׃ ܥܫܩ ܐܡܪ ܥܒܪܝܐ)	Psalm 45:9 / MT, 45:9
	"But instead of *they were separated*, the Hebrew says, 'they were estranged'" (ܐܡܪ ܥܒܪܝܐ ׃ ܐܬܪܚܩܘ ܐܬܢܟܪܘ ܐܡܪ)	Psalm 58:4 / MT, 58:4
	"But instead of *among the thorns*, the Hebrew says, 'between the manure pile.' But instead of *among the thorns*, the Greek says, 'between the lots'" (ܐܡܪ ܒܝܢ ܓܠܠܝ. ܐܡܪ ׃ ܥܒܪܝܐ ܐܡܪ ܒܝܢ ܓܠܠܝ ׃ ܘܥܒܪܝܐ ܐܡܪ ܒܝܢ ܚܠܩܝ)	Psalm 68:14 / MT, 68:14 / LXX, 67:14

[644] In stating this, it is not impossible that Rabban Gabriel Qaṭraya, or another writer from Qatar, relied on Aḥob's exegetical works to produce his own writings. However, the extent to which this writer from Qatar may or may not have relied on Aḥob is not possible to determine.

[645] Van den Eynde lists this verse as Ps 68:22. See idem, *Psaumes* (text), 104, *3* and Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 115.

[646] My translation is based on Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 104, *3* and idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 115.

[647] See L, f. 88r^{mg}; M, f. 87r^{mg}; C, f. 80v^{mg}; Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 115, n. 28. S does not preserve this marginal scholion.

[648] Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 115, n. 28.

[649] The Syriac texts are taken from the edition of Aḥob's Psalm 45:9, 58:4, 68:14, 68:16-17, and 110:3 scholia, which are presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia, and the English translations of the Syriac are my own.

	"But the Hebrew clearly says, [68:16] 'Mountains of Bashan, [17] why (are) you arguing?' But the Greek says, [16] 'Fat mountains, mountains of curd'" (ܥܡ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܐܡܪ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܒܫܢ [68:16]. ܛܘܪܐ ܓܒܢܢܝܐ ܠܡ ܡܕܥܡ [17] ܩܕܡ ܥܡ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܐܡܪ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܫܡܢ [16] ܛܘܪܐ ܓܒܝܐ ܕܓܠܐ)	Psalm 68:16-17 / MT, 68:16-17 / LXX, 67:16
	"But the Greek says, 'From the womb and before the morning star I begot you'" (ܩܕܡܝܐ ܥܡ ܐܡܪ ܡܢ ܒܛܢܐ ܘܩܕܡ ܠܐܝܠܬܐ ܕܨܦܪܐ ܝܠܕܬܟ)	Psalm 110:3 / LXX, 109:3

As the table above reveals, Aḥob did not consistently use the same formulaic approach for his Hebrew or Greek readings. However, Aḥob's Psalm 58:4, 68:14, and 68:16-17 readings share three common features: each begins with "Hebrew" (ܥܡ ܩܕܡܝܐ) or "Greek" (ܩܕܡܝܐ) followed by the postpositive preposition "but" (ܥܡ), and each concludes with the verb of "Hebrew," namely, "says" (ܐܡܪ). These same features appear in the anonymous Ps 68:23 marginal scholion, with the exception that "Hebrew" and "Greek" form a compound subject and, thus, "says" is pluralized: "say" (ܐܡܪܝܢ). The most notable difference between the form of the anonymous Ps 68:23 marginal scholion and Aḥob's Hebrew and Greek readings is that in the two instances where both a Hebrew and a Greek reading are included in the same scholion (i.e. Psalm 68:14, 16-17), Aḥob consistently separates the two readings, likely for the simple reason that each reading states a different word or phrase, compared to the Peshitta word or phrase under discussion. Furthermore, where the Hebrew and the Greek agree against the Peshitta in his scholia above (i.e. in Psalm 45:9; 58:4),[650] Aḥob only cites the Hebrew – rather than the Hebrew and the Greek. Since no known Aḥob scholion exists where he combines a Hebrew and Greek reading, a further comparison of similarities and/or differences cannot be made.

The immediate origin of the anonymous Ps 68:23 marginal scholion is hinted at by Van den Eynde: the *DGC* manuscript tradition incorporated it from the margin of one or two manuscripts containing Isho'dad's *Commentary on Psalms*.[651] Since this marginal scholion is preserved, possibly in its earliest form, in Isho'dad's *Commentary on Psalms,* it would be beneficial to briefly consider a few examples of Isho'dad's non-Aḥobian Hebrew and Greek readings in the Psalms, particularly in comparison to Aḥob's.[652] While Isho'dad often uses a

[650] In Ps 45:9; 58:4, the Hebrew and the Greek use equivalent words for "ivory" (שֵׁן / ἐλεφαντίνων) and "they were separated" (זרו / ἀπηλλοτριώθησαν), respectively.

[651] Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 115, n. 28. Van den Eynde labels these manuscripts "J" and "L," the former of which is dated to 1380 and the latter of which is dated to the 17th-18th century. See idem, *Psaumes* (text), v.

[652] For a study of Isho'dad's use of Aḥob's Hebrew and Greek readings, see Chapter 4, Section 4.1. The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's Exegesis in Isho'dad of Merv's Old Testament Exegesis.

similar formulaic approach to Aḥob – in that he begins each reading with "Hebrew" and/or "Greek," and he concludes a given reading with "says," such as in Ps 50:2; 73:6[653] – there are notable exceptions to this approach. For instance, in Ps 78:55,[654] he cites two Greek readings, neither of which include a "says."[655] Also, unlike Aḥob, he does combine Hebrew and Greek readings, so long as they state the same word or phrase. Two examples of this can be found in Ps 78:8; 83:7.[656] In both of these instances, Isho'dad does not use "but," and in the latter example he also does not employ "say."[657] Isho'dad does make use of "but" in his Ps 93:3 Hebrew reading,[658] though this does not appear to be his preferred approach.

Even with these minor variants, Isho'dad's formulaic approach to non-Aḥobian Hebrew and Greek readings is, at least at times, very similar to Aḥob's. Nevertheless, since it is unclear if Isho'dad included the anonymous Ps 68:23 scholion as a marginal gloss in his *Commentary on Psalms*, another plausible explanation is that the scribe of Isho'dad manuscript "J," dated to 1380, recognized the formulaic approaches of Aḥob and Isho'dad, concerning Hebrew and Greek readings of the Peshitta, and (at minimum) added this one reading to the margin of his manuscript, using an otherwise unknown source. This argument would account for why this reading is: 1) preserved in the margin, as opposed to the main text of Isho'dad's *Commentary on Psalms*; 2) anonymous in two Isho'dad manuscripts; 3) similar to several Aḥob and Isho'dad Hebrew and Greek readings; 4) anonymous in all *DGC* manuscripts. Concerning number four and given the fact that there are multiple witnesses of the *DGC*, it is unlikely that this scholion would have remained anonymous in every *DGC* manuscript if it were an authentic Aḥob scholion. This can be known, because the *DGC* manuscript tradition is likely using a now lost

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[653] Isho'dad's Ps 50:2 Hebrew reading states, "Instead of *crown*, the Hebrew says, 'beauty'" (ܟܬܝܪ ܫܠܡ ܐܡܪ ܥܒܪܝܐ ܫܦܝܪܘܬܐ), and his Ps 73:6 Greek reading states, "The Greek says, 'they put on'" (ܐܡܪ ܝܘܢܐ ܠܒܫܘ ∴ ܝܘܢ). My translations are based on Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 77, *23-24*; 112, *17* and idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 87, 124.

[654] Van den Eynde lists this verse as Ps 78:54. See idem, *Psaumes* (text), 122, *8* and Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 134.

[655] Isho'dad's Ps 78:55 Greek readings state, "The Greek (says), 'With a rope he caused them to inherit a division by lot'" (ܐܝܟ ܒܚܒܠܐ ܐܫܟܚ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܪܥܐ ∴ ܝܘܢ) and "The Greek (says), 'And he made the tribes of Israel dwell in their tents'" (ܘܐܦ ܥܒܕ ܫܒܛܝ ܒܢܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ∴ ܝܘܢ). My translations are based on Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 122, *10*, *11-12* and idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 134.

[656] Van den Eynde lists the latter of these two verses as Ps 83:6. See idem, *Psaumes* (text), 127, *14* and Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 140.

[657] Isho'dad's Ps 78:8; 83:7 Hebrew and Greek readings state, "The Hebrew and Greek say, 'His spirit did not believe in God'" (ܥܒܪܝܐ ܐܡܪ ܣܥܪ ܒܛܝܗ ܠܐ ∴ ܝܘܢ ܐܡܪ) and "Instead of *Arabs and Gadarites*, the Hebrew and the Greek (say), 'Ishmaelites and Hagrites'" (ܐܫܡܥܐܝܐ ∴ ܗܓܪܝܐ ܐܡܪ ∴ ܝܘܢ ܐܡܪ ܗܓܪܝܐ), respectively. My translations are based on Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 120, *7-8*; 127, *14-15* and idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 132, 140.

[658] Isho'dad's Ps 91:3 Hebrew reading states, "But, instead of *purity*, the Hebrew says, 'they were humbled'" (ܐܡܪ ܡܟܒܥܝܢ ܗܘܘ ∴ ܡ ܐܡܪ). My translation is based on Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 139, *9* and idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 152.

or inaccessible source from which it derived – and subsequently marked – all of the Aḥob scholia in its tradition; the anonymous Ps 68:23 marginal scholion was arguably not among these Aḥob scholia.[659]

Ter Haar Romeny notes that of the six comparable Hebrew readings found in both the *DGC* and Isho'dad in Ps 1-81,[660] four – specifically those connected to Ps 45:9, 58:4; 68:14, 16-17 – are attributed to Aḥob in the *DGC*.[661] He postulates that Aḥob's name was omitted from the other two readings – those connected to Ps 66:11;[662] 68:23 – "because they begin with the word *'Ebrāyā*, next to which the attribution to Aḥob may have seemed redundant."[663] Though this assertion is interesting, it is unclear how it makes sense of the available data. For instance, why would the *DGC* manuscript tradition cite Aḥob's name in four out of six instances? Why not cite his name in the first instance only?[664] Furthermore, since Aḥob is credited as the author of two separate scholia in Psalm 68, why not only attribute the first of these to him? While Ter Haar Romeny's hypothesis is problematic, one could argue that Aḥob's name was accidentally overlooked and, thus, both of these scholia were preserved anonymously by mistake. However, this proposition is an argument from silence and, otherwise, unsupported by the available evidence. Rather, as was stated above, it seems more likely that the *DGC* manuscript tradition recognized that it was not an Aḥob reading and, thus, because its author was unknown, it was left anonymous when it was added as a marginal gloss in the *DGC*.

The anonymous manner in which the *DGC* manuscript tradition includes the Ps 66:11; 68:23 marginal scholia is arguably an indicator concerning Aḥob's potential connection to the other anonymized Hebrew and Greek marginal or in-text scholia scattered throughout the *DGC*:[665] just as it is unlikely that Aḥob is the source of the anonymous Ps 66:11; 68:23 marginal

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[659] For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.1. The Original Form of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

[660] Ps 45:9; 58:4; 66:11; 68:14, 16-17, 23.

[661] Ter Haar Romeny, "The Hebrew and the Greek as Alternatives to the Syriac Version," 450 and n. 67.

[662] The Hebrew reading in the *DGC's* anonymous Ps 66:11 marginal scholion states, "The Hebrew says, 'And you made a belt for our loins'" (ܐܡܪ ܥܒܪܝܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܡܬܢܐ ⁘ ܠܚܨܝܢ). See L, f. 85v[mg]; M, f. 84v[mg]; C, f. 78v[mg]; S, f. 159r[mg], the last of which uses ܐܡܪ instead.

[663] Ter Haar Romeny, "The Hebrew and the Greek as Alternatives to the Syriac Version," 450.

[664] For instance, Aḥob's full name – Aḥob Qaṭraya – is attached to his Psalm 5:4 scholion, which is the first of his scholia to be included in the *DGC*. Subsequent to this, the *DGC* manuscript tradition credits each Aḥob scholion to "Aḥob," meaning it omits "Qaṭraya" because it is implied. For a further discussion, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.2. Psalm 5:4.

[665] There are a number of other anonymized Hebrew and Greek marginal or in-text scholia in the *DGC*. For the Hebrew readings, they are connected to the following verses: Ps 83:3 (M, f. 105v[mg]; C, f. 97r[mg]; S, f. 199r[mg]); Ps 83:7 (L, f. 108r[mg]; M, f. 106r[mg]; C, f. 97v[mg]; S, f. 199r[mg]); Ps 91:6 (L, f. 117r[mg]; M, f. 115r[mg]; C, f. 105r[mg]; S, f. 215r[mg]); Ps 92:11 (L, f. 118v[mg]; M, f. 116v[mg]; C, f. 106r[mg]; S, f. 218r[mg]); Ps 93:3 (L, f. 119r[mg]; M, f. 117r[mg]; C, f. 106v[mg]; S, f. 219r[mg]); Ps 118 Prologue (L, f. 146v, *14-18*; M, f. 145r, *16-20*; C, f. 131r[mg]; S, f. 269r[mg]);

scholia, it is equally unlikely that he is the source of any other anonymized marginal or in-text scholia preserved in the *DGC*.

2.2.3.3. Isaac Shbadnaya Scholion

In his edition of the Beth Qaṭraye writers in F, pp. 178, *15*-179, *2*, Carlson presents the following scholion:[666]

ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܐܝܠܝܐ ܘܓܒܪܝܐܝ ܩܛܪܝܐ ܡܪܢ ܠܐ ܥܠ ܐܝܟ ܕܩܐܡ ܠܥܠܡ ܠܐܝܠܝܐ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܥܢܝܐ ܠܐܠܥܙܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܩܐܡ ܠܐܠܥܙܪ ܐܡܪ ܐܝܢ ܕܚܙܘ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܙܠܘ ܠܘܬ ܟܗܢܐ ܘܠܘܬ ܦܪܝܫܐ ܘܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܟܠܗܘ ܒܚܕ ܘܡܬܝܬܥܨܝܢ ܥܠ ܩܛܠܗ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܝܫܘܥ ܕܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܗܠܟ ܓܠܝ ܒܝܢ ܝܗܘܕܝܐ ܐܠܐ ܠܐܦܪܝܡ ܩܪܝܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܬܩܪܝ ܐܦܪܝܡ ܘܣܓܝܐܝܢ ܗܘ ܕܢܬܡܠܝ ܥܕ ܕܢܫܠܡ ܗܠܝܢ ܝܘܡܝ ܘܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܗܘ ܐܙܠ ܠܒܝܬ ܥܢܝܐ ܘܥܒܕܘ ܠܗ ܣܘܦܪ ܒܗ ܘܐܚܕ ܡܢ ܣܥܪ ܗܘ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܘܒܝܘܡܐ ܕܫܒܬܐ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܠܐܝܠܝܐ ܘܢܦܩ ܡܢ ܬܡ ܘܐܬܐ ܠܐܪܝܚܐ ܘܐܬܐ ܠܒܝܬ ܦܓܐ ܘܐܬܐ ܠܒܪ ܛܝܡܝ ܘܐܬܐ ܠܗ ܠܝܫܘܥ ܘܐܬܐ

Shbadnaya credits this scholion to "Aḥob and Gabriel Qaṭraya" (ܐܚܘܒ ܘܓܒܪܐܝܠ ܩܛܪܝܐ). Carlson rightly points out that its double attribution is problematic, because there is no known work co-written by these two authors.[674] Carlson further suggests that the source of this scholion may originate from a commentary produced by Gabriel Qaṭraya, who relies on Aḥob's exegetical material at this point.[675] This is entirely possible, given Aḥob's influence on later East Syriac biblical commentators. However, without further evidence, it is impossible to distinguish which parts of this scholion originate from Aḥob and which parts originate and/or were subsequently developed by Gabriel. Thus, as it stands, this scholion should be viewed as the exegetical product of Gabriel Qaṭraya, which was later altered (at least to some degree) by Shbadnaya.[676]

2.2.4. Spurious Scholia

The following section explores the known instances where select texts are wrongly attributed to Aḥob by later East Syriac scribes.

2.2.4.1. Kirkuk 8, Chaldean Archdiocese of Erbil 21, and Vat. Syr. 578 Aḥob Attribution

In their commentary on Lev 10:1-2, K, ff. 110v, *14*-111r, *3*; A, f. 96v, *11-21*; V, f. 32r, *17-22* attribute the following text to Aḥob Qaṭraya:[677]

	ܐܚܘܒ ܩܛܪܝܐ ܕܗܘ ܦܪܣܝܐ ܣܒܐ: ܕܡܛܠ ܕܫܠܝ ܐܢܘܢ ܒܡܫܡܫ̈ܢܐ ܐܫ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܕܩܪܒܢܐ ܠܐ ܐܫܟܚ ܠܗ ܗܘ ܐܫ ܕܢܚ ܒܛܗܪܘ ܘܠܐ ܡܫ ܒܗ ܐܦ ܟܕ ܚܙܘ ܕܩܪܒܢ̈ܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܟܠ ܐܫ ܐܚܪ̈ܬܐ ܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܗ ܕܢܫܪܘ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܡܘܫܐ ܠܡܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܟܠ ܩܪܒܢ̈ܐ ×ܕ K f. 111r	5 10	Aḥob Qaṭraya, who is the Persian Sage:[678] Since (Nadab and Abihu) were negligent in the administering of the offerings, the fire came down as usual at the time of the offering, but it did not find their offering (to have been made) in purity, and it did not touch them. And when they saw that the offerings were not being consumed, they brought strange fire to consume (them) so that they should not be accused by Moses (as) to why the offerings had not been

[674] Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 179.

[675] Ibid.

[676] Ibid., 171-172, 179. While this scholion only discusses New Testament material, it is included in this study, because it presents one example of how a presumed Aḥob scholion was utilized and likely developed by two later East Syriac exegetes.

[677] My translation is based on Van Rompay, "Aphrahat, 'A Student of the Holy Scriptures': The Reception of his Biblical Interpretation in Later Syriac Tradition," in Carmela Baffioni, Rosa Bianca Finazzi, Anna Passoni Dell'Acqua, and Emidio Vergani (eds.), *Storia e pensiero religioso nel Vicino Oriente. L'età Bagratide – Maimonide – Afraate* (Milan: Bulzoni, 2014), 263.

[678] V presents this attribution in black ink.

	ܐܠܐ ܒܠܚܕ ܫܒܚ ܡܢ ܫܡܝ ܡܒܪܟܐ ܫܒܚ ܠܗ. ܘܐܢ ܕܡܢ ܫܡܝ ܐܟܠ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܐܟܠ ܠܗ ܚܡܫ ܡܐܐ ܘܥܣܪܝܢ ܕܐܬܚܠܩܘ ܥܠ ܡܘܫܐ ܘܥܠ ܐܗܪܘܢ.	15	consumed. And (then) the strange fire consumed the offerings. And that which (is) from heaven consumed them,[679] as (it consumed) *the two hundred and fifty (men)*[680] who were divided against Moses and against Aaron.

Aside from one minor variant,[681] D, ff. 41r, *36*-41v, *1* preserves the same text. However, rather than "Aḥob Qaṭraya" (ܐܚܘܒ ܩܛܪܝܐ), it attributes this text to "Aphrahat" (ܦܪܗܬ); D, K, A, and V further clarify that this writer is the one "who is the Persian Sage" (ܕܗܘ ܚܟܝܡܐ ܦܪܣܝܐ) All other extant *AC* manuscripts attribute this text to Aphrahat as well.[682] Grigory Kessel has demonstrated that this text originates from Aphrahat's *Demonstration* 4.3 ("On Prayer") in two forms: a citation of col. 141, *16-25* and a rewording of col. 144, *1-6*,[683] which states the following:[684]

⁎ Col. 144	ܘܐܫܬܟܚ ܕܢ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܐܬ ܥܠ ܦܘܪܥܢܐ ܕܐܗܪܘܢ ܢܕܒ ܘܐܒܝܗܘ ܕܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܠܡܩܪܒ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܠܐ ܐܫܟܚ ܒܗ ܠܐ ܒܛܗܪܘܬܐ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܡܫ ܒܗ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܘ ܕܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܟܠ ܐܬܝܘ ܠܡܥܒܕ ܐܬ ܢܘܪܐ ܙܪܐ ܕܢܬܩܪܒ ܠܗ ܕܠܡܐ ܢܗܘܘܢ ⁘ ⁘ ⁘

Since this text clearly originates from Aphrahat's *Demonstration* 4.3, a simple question must be asked: Why do the scribes of K, A, and V attribute this text to Aḥob Qaṭraya? There are three possible answers, all of which will be given in descending order of likelihood: 3) all three scribes simply wrote the wrong name, perhaps because, while transcribing the beginning of this text, they looked away at another source where Aḥob's full name was written; 2) all three scribes were aware of a now lost (and otherwise unattested) Aḥob scholion that contained similar wording/phraseology as this Aphrahat text, and they mistakenly sought to correct what they perceived to be the wrong attribution, i.e. Aphrahat, as presented in their respective exemplars; 1) all three scribes were copying their respective manuscripts from (an) exemplar(s), in which this text was attributed to Aḥob Qaṭraya. Due to the fact that three separate *AC* scribes make the same mistake in unrelated manuscripts, i.e. one is not copying from the other, 3) can be safely eliminated. Though there was once arguably more Aḥob scholia than what is now extant,[686] it is unconvincing to assume the existence of a lost Aḥob scholion on the basis of a contested attribution alone, especially since the manuscript tradition never attaches the epithet "who is the Persian Sage" to Aḥob; therefore, 2) seems improbable. Since scribal errors (small or large) are a frequent part of any manuscript tradition, 1) is the most likely answer, though it is admittedly an argument from silence. It is possible that this scribal error began in ms. Seert 21 (1605) – which is the earliest known (and now lost) *AC* manuscript subsequent to D,[687] as well as the exemplar from which A was copied – and was corrected in subsequent *AC* manuscripts, such as O, P, etc. It is also possible that this scribal error predates D. Either way, one or more early *AC* scribes (prior to those who produced K, A, and V) attributed this text to Aḥob, perhaps for one of the following two reasons:

- He/They relied on (an) exemplar(s) – which was/were produced prior to D – wherein this text was attributed to an individual simply known as "the Persian Sage," and he/they presumed that this epithet referred to Aḥob Qaṭraya, who famously came from Persian territory and knew some Persian vocabulary.
- He/They relied on (an) exemplar(s) – which was/were produced subsequent to D – wherein this text was attributed to "Aphrahat, who is the Persian Sage," but, due to a mechanical error, only the "A" (ܐ) of "Aphrahat" could be read, and so Aḥob (rather than Aphrahat) was presumed to be the author of this text for 2 related reasons: 1) this/these scribe(s) did not know that Aphrahat was the author of this

[686] For a further discussion, see Chapter 3, Section 3.5. Conclusion, Chapter 4, Section 4.5. Conclusion, and Chapter 5, Section 5.1. The Original Form of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

[687] Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 139.

text,[688] and 2) this/these scribes(s) knew that Aḥob's name begins with "A" and that he was well known in the East Syriac exegetical tradition for his exegetical works.

While this proposal cannot definitively prove the manner by which this text came to be attributed to Aḥob at some early point in the *AC* manuscript tradition, it does reveal that Aḥob's connection to this particular text is arguably erroneous.

2.2.4.2. ܐܚܘܒ Aḥob Attribution

In Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*, the definitions of ܐܚܘܒ (including this entry word) state, "ܐܚܘܒ: 'Grains of wheat which (are) parched,' according to (Ḥenanisho') bar Seroshway. Fried wheat or burnt wheat."[689] In the Arabic phrase that follows Bar Seroshway's fragment, there is a footnote connected to the preposition "or" (او), which states, "PS 'And Aḥob (P And Ayyub) says' *instead of* 'or'" (PS ܘܐܚܘܒ (P ܘܐܝܘܒ) ܘܐܝܘܒ *loco* او).[690] In other words, the two Bar Bahlul manuscripts, P and S, assert that, rather than "or burnt wheat" (او حنطة مشيّطة), the phrase "burnt wheat" should be attributed to Aḥob/Ayyub: "And Aḥob / And Ayyub says, 'burnt wheat'" (ܘܐܚܘܒ حنطة مشيّطة / ܘܐܝܘܒ). The scribes of P and S likely mistook او to be a shortened version of "Ayyub" (ايوب) and, furthermore, wished to clarify any potential ambiguities caused by the Arabic phrase او حنطة مشيّطة, which may explain why they preserve Aḥob/Ayyub's name in Syriac, rather than Arabic. Of the 14 manuscripts used by Duval for his edition of Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*, P and S are among the later manuscripts, dating to 1886 and 1796, respectively.[691] Given the fact that there are a number of earlier, more reliable Bar Bahlul manuscripts which present the word as او, and not ܐܚܘܒ / ܐܝܘܒ or even ايوب, Aḥob's connection to this particular phrase is probably erroneous.

2.3. Conclusion

Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament exegetical works are preserved in eight writers and manuscript traditions in the Syriac manuscript tradition: 1) Nathniel of Shirzor's *Cause of the Psalms*; 2)

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[688] It is possible that this/these scribe(s) was/were knowledgeable of older manuscripts, which credited the *Demonstrations* to Jacob of Nisibis (d. 338), rather than to Aphrahat. See Sebastian P. Brock, "Aphrahaṭ," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 24.

[689] The text of this entry, which is found in Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1792, *10-11*, states:

ܐܚܘܒ ܫܒܠ ܕܡܚܠܡ ܒܝܒ ܚ ܗܢܐ حنطة مقلوّة او حنطة مشيّطة.

[690] Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1791, n. 22.

[691] For all of the manuscripts, and their dates, used by Duval in his edition of Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*, see Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xxvi-xxxix.

The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32; 3) Theodore bar Koni's *Scholion*; 4) the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary*; 5) Isho'dad of Merv's *Commentary on Genesis*, *1 Samuel*, and *Psalms*; 6) the *Anonymous Commentary*; 7) Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*; 8) Isaac Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem on God's Governance from 'In the Beginning' until Eternity*. Along with Aḥob's genuine works – which encompass 35 known Old Testament scholia, as well as one complete work, *Cause of the Psalms*, there are a number of disputed texts, including Qaṭraya scholia, anonymous Hebrew and Greek readings in the *DGC*, and a scholion in Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem*. Of these texts, only the Shbadnaya scholion can be said to contain an authentic Aḥobian core. However, due to the fact that this scholion is attributed to both Aḥob and Gabriel Qaṭraya and has likely been subsequently reworked by Shbadnaya, it is impossible (in its current state) to distinguish Aḥob's exegesis from the others and, thus, the present form of this scholion likely reflects the exegesis of Gabriel and Shbadnaya more than that of Aḥob. Beyond the disputed texts, there are two spurious scholia, each of which claims Aḥob as its writer; one is preserved in three *AC* manuscripts' commentary on Lev 10:1-2, and the other is footnoted in the ܡܠܬܐ entry of Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*. The former clearly originates from Aphrahat's *Demonstration* 4.3; the latter is anonymous, and Aḥob is only credited as its author in two later Bar Bahlul manuscripts, arguably the product of scribal errors. As such, Aḥob's connection to these two particular scholia should be rejected.

CHAPTER 3

AḤOB OF QATAR AND THE EAST SYRIAC EXEGETICAL TRADITION (UP TO CA. 850)[1]

This chapter and the following chapter will analyze Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament exegetical works (which are largely in the form of scholia) as they have been used and preserved by eight writers and manuscript traditions within the East Syriac exegetical tradition. The examination of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works[2] in the present chapter will be presented in four sections, which are arranged in the following chronological order:[3]

1) Nathniel of Shirzor's (ca. 600) *Cause of the Psalms*

2) *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* (first half of the 8th century)

3) Theodore bar Koni's *Scholion* (792/793)

4) The *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary* (first half of the 9th century?).[4]

Each section will have a number of subsections, depending on how many Aḥob scholia and/or fragments the respective writer and/or manuscript tradition used. Aside from discussions pertaining to Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* (in Nathniel of Shirzor's *Cause of the Psalms*, Theodore bar Koni's *Scholion*, and the *DGC*), each subsection will be presented according to the order of the books, chapters, and verses of the Peshitta. Concluding remarks for each section will be reserved for the conclusion of this chapter, which will be presented in Section 3.5. Conclusion below.

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[1] The division of Chapters 3 and 4 at ca. 850 is strictly arbitrary. Due to the nature of this study, a detailed examination of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works in the East Syriac exegetical tradition produces a chapter whose length is nearly twice that of other chapters in this study. As a result, Chapters 3 and 4 have been divided in a manner that makes them as equal in length as possible, without dividing up any particular section.

[2] Aḥob's sources will, in large part, be discussed in Chapter 5, Section 5.4. The Sources of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

[3] This is, in part, the same order presented in Chapter 2, Section 2.1. Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works in the Syriac Manuscript Tradition.

[4] While Aḥob's Psalm-related writings were not added to the *DGC* until the late 19th century (possibly beginning with ms. Mosul 20 in 1875), the *DGC's* Aḥob Psalm-related writings are presented here for two reasons: 1) the *DGC's* original date is historically situated between the time of Bar Koni and Isho'dad, and 2) the *DGC* preserves the presumed original form of Aḥob's Psalm-related writings, whereas Isho'dad usually alters these same writings in his *Commentary on Psalms*. See Van Rompay, *Théodore de Mopsueste* (trans.), xiii.

3.1. The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's *Cause of the Psalms* in Nathniel of Shirzor's *Cause of the Psalms*

Nathniel of Shirzor's only surviving work is his *Cause of the Psalms*, which is an introductory treatise to the book of Psalms.[5] While previous scholarship has noted its similarities to Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, no definitive proposal has yet been offered to explain the corresponding relationship of these two texts.[6] In this section, I will compare Nathniel and Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* and suggest that their textual relationship is best explained by Nathniel directly depending on Aḥob, rather than Aḥob borrowing from Nathniel or both drawing on a mutual source.

The following translation of Nathniel's *Cause of the Psalms* is based on the text of ms. British Library, Or. 9354 (i.e. L),[7] and comparable passages to Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* have been offset in bold and italicized brackets, to highlight their general placement within this treatise:[8]

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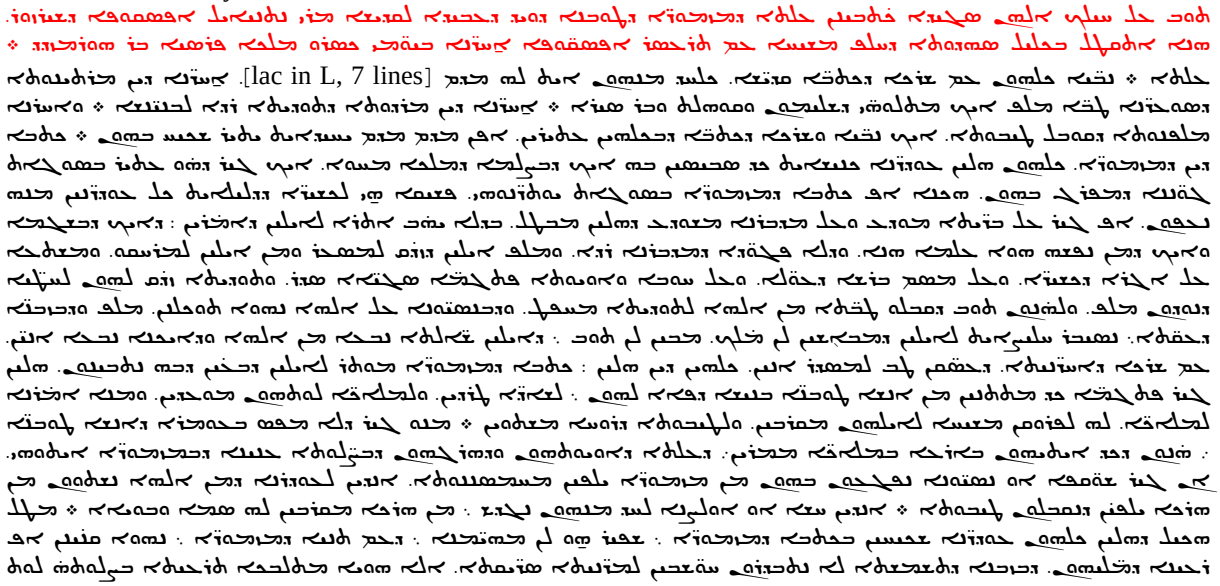
[5] For a further discussion of Nathniel's life and work, see Introduction, The East Syriac Exegetical Tradition.

[6] Van den Eynde recognized the similarities between Aḥob and Nathniel's *Cause of the Psalms* but did not compare the two texts. See Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 4, n. 1. Ter Haar Romeny initially suggested that Aḥob may be relying on Nathniel, though he did not offer any proof to support his proposition. However, in a subsequent publication, he seems to have altered his position: he footnoted a few comparable (English) phrases of Nathniel's *Cause of the Psalms* in his translation of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* and hinted at the possibility that Nathniel relies on Aḥob. See Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 151 and idem, "Introduction to the *Book of the Aims of the Psalms*," 93, n. 8-9.

[7] Vandenhoff edited and produced a Latin translation of this text, based on a single (otherwise unknown) Alqosh manuscript, the latter of which is partially preserved in the Vandenhoff Exemplar (i.e. V). See idem, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 13, *1*-15, *19* (Syriac), 24-26 (Latin). While V preserves the oldest, extant witness of this text, it contains abbreviated forms, rearranged phraseology, and some misspelled words, all of which render it less reliable than L, which is the second-oldest, extant witness preserving this text. My translation differs in several places from Vandenhoff's. For a further discussion, see Chapter 2, Section 2.1. Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works in the Syriac Manuscript Tradition.

[8] The full Syriac text of this treatise, which is found in L, ff. 15v, *1*-16v, *5*, states:



Again, by your power, our worshipped Lord, we write the *Cause of the Psalms of the blessed David*, which is composed by the holy Mar Nathniel, bishop of Shirzor. This (one) was killed with the crown of martyrdom for Christ with twelve other bishops in the days of the Persian king, Khosrow,[9] the son of Hormizd.[10] Introduction: {1}*[*All the prophets, together with the other holy books, each one of them has a certain [lacuna in L]. But another offers exhortation of good works, such as the Proverbs of Solomon and Qohelet and Bar Sira. However, another provides instruction in the confession (of faith) to people. And another (offers) the teaching of thanksgiving, such as (the books of) the prophets and the other Scriptures, which are rich in all these (respects), although a certain (benefit) might be found individually to be more abundant in (one of) them. But the book of Psalms shows all these benefits, while they are packed together in it*]* (ܟܬܒ ܡܙܡܘܪ̈ܐ ܕܕܘܝܕ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܕܒܗ ܡܫܒܚ̈ܝܢ ܠܡܪܢ. ܕܚܒ ܠܗ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ̈ܝܐ ܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܫܠܡ̈ܐ ܐܚ̈ܪ̈ܢ ܕܐܝ ܕܡܬܝܬܪ ܒܚܕ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ❖ ܐܝܟ ܕܐ ܕܡܬܝܬܪ ܩܕܡ̈ܝܐ ܐܚ̈ܪ̈ܢ ܡܫܠ̈ܝ ܘܩܘܗܠܬ ܘܒܪ ܣܝܪܐ ❖ ܐܚ̈ܪ̈ܢ ܕܡܬܝܬܪ ܠܗ ܠܡ̈ܢ ܡܠܦ̈ܢܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܘܬܦ̈

ܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܙܡܘܪ̈ܐ ܕܡܫܬܘܕܥ ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܗ̇ܘ

	(ܕܡܬܐ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܥܡܠ ܕܟܠ ܥܠܡܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܢ ܕܠܝܬ. ܒܗ ܠܐ ܒܢܝ ܥܡܠ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܝܬ ܗܘ ܥܠܡܐ ܕܐܬܒܪܝ ܐܘ ܟܐܝܠܘ ܡܢ ܓܘܪܡܗ ❖ ܕܠܝܬ ܐܦ ܒܝܠܝܢ ܥܡܠ ܒܗ ܘܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܠܡܥܒܕ ❖ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܘܕܥ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܕܠܝܬ ܠܥܡܠ ܕܡܬܐ ❖ ܕܡܬܠ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܟܠ. ܕܡܚܠܨ ܒܗ ܒܟܠ ܒܟܠ ܫܥ. ܒܝܕܥ ܡܫܟܚ ܥܡܠ ܕܐܝܬ ❖ ܥܡܠ ܫܦܪ ܒܝܕ ܒܢܝ ܕܐܢܫ ❖ ܕܐܝܬ ܥܡܠ ܕܐܡܪ. ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܫܬܘܕܥ ܕܐܢܫ ...ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܢܝ)	ܕܠܐ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܥܡܠ ܠܝ ܒܢܝ ܡܫܬܥܐ ܡܢ ܕܐ ܐܢ ...ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ ܕܐܝܬ ܡܫܬܘܕܥ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܒܪܝ ܐܘ ܟܐܝܠܘ ܡܢ ܓܘܪܡܗ: ❖ ܕܐܝܬ ܐܦ ܒܝܠܝܢ ܥܡܠ ܒܗ ܘܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܠܡܥܒܕ ❖ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܘܕܥ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܕܠܝܬ ܠܥܡܠ ܕܡܬܐ ❖ ܕܡܬܠ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܟܠ. ܕܡܚܠܨ ܒܗ ܒܟܠ ܒܟܠ ܫܥ. ܒܝܕܥ ܡܫܟܚ ܥܡܠ ܕܐܝܬ ❖ ܥܡܠ ܫܦܪ ܒܝܕ ܒܢܝ ܕܐܢܫ ❖ ܕܐܝܬ ܥܡܠ ܕܐܡܪ. ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܫܬܘܕܥ ܕܐܢܫ ...ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܢܝ)
Passage 2	“as in an image of a king. For just as that (image) is rich with a multitude of colors through which it shines, thus also the book of Psalms, with the multitude of its advantages: it is simple for the diligent (ones) to easily gather all (kinds of) benefits from it” (...ܗܘ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܗܘ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܒܗ ܕܡܬܠ ܒܝܕ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܟܠ ܕܡܬܠ ܐܦ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܕܫܦܝܪ. ܥܡܠ ܠܚܝܟܐ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܙܡܘܪ. ,ܡܫܬܘܕܥ ܒܝܕ ܥܡܠ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܡܫܬܘܕܥ ܠܟ ܒܝܕ ܡܫܬܘܕܥ ܠܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܕܡܙܡܘܪ)	“like an image or statue of a king, which because of the great beauty of the colors and complexion of the material by which it is adorned, it is able, this (one), more than all other images and statues, to show to onlookers the true likeness of the king, so (also) the likenesses which are in this (book) are (more) accurate and the colors, by which the image of the divine knowledge is composed, (are) both (more) beautiful and (more) admirable” (ܠܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܕܐܪܡܠܬܐ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܕܒܝܕ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܥܡܠ ܠܐ ܒܢܝ ܗܘ ܐܡ : ܕܟܠܝܟ ܥܡܠ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܠܟ ܒܝܕ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܐܡ : ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܫܦܝܪ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܥܡܠ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܒܝܕ ܒܢܝ ܕܐܢܫ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܕܫܦܝܪ)
Passage 3	“For it also tells about creatures and it explains about the Ruler, who puts an end (to the opponent of) these (things), for it does not give an opportunity to (the ones) who say that this world came into being by chance or as though from itself and moves along without the bridles of a ruler. And it teaches those (things) which (are) right to do and from which (things it is right) to distance oneself. And it tells about the reward of the diligent (ones) and about the punishment of the wicked (ones) and it sets forth many words about love and unity” (ܕܫܦܝܪ ܠܟ ܐܦ ܒܝܕ ܒܢܝ ܕܐܢܫ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܠܟ ܐܦ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܥܡܠ ܠܐ ܒܢܝ ܗܘ ܐܡ : ܕܟܠܝܟ ܥܡܠ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܠܟ ܒܝܕ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܐܡ : ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܫܦܝܪ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܥܡܠ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܒܝܕ ܒܢܝ ܕܐܢܫ)	“For it also teaches about the Creator, and it explains about the Ruler and puts an end to the opponent of these (things). I am speaking, then, of (the ones) who say that this world is eternally existing and moves along without the bridles of a ruler. And, again, (the book of Psalms) teaches about the reward of the diligent (ones) and about the punishment of the wicked (ones) and that we should refrain from detested (things) and should draw near to good (things) and about love, which (is directed) towards God and friendship, which (is directed) towards people” (ܕܫܦܝܪ ܠܟ ܐܦ ❖ ܠܐ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܒܝܕ ܒܢܝ ܕܐܢܫ ❖ ܕܐܝܬ ܐܦ ܒܝܠܝܢ ܥܡܠ ܒܗ ܘܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܠܡܥܒܕ ❖ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܘܕܥ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܕܠܝܬ ܠܥܡܠ ܕܡܬܐ ❖ ܕܡܬܠ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܟܠ. ܕܡܚܠܨ ܒܗ ܒܟܠ ܒܟܠ ܫܥ. ܒܝܕܥ ܡܫܟܚ ܥܡܠ ܕܐܝܬ ❖ ܥܡܠ ܫܦܪ ܒܝܕ ܒܢܝ ܕܐܢܫ ❖ ܕܐܝܬ ܥܡܠ ܕܐܡܪ. ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܫܬܘܕܥ)

	ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܩܕܝ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܕܡܢ ܠܟ̇ ܕܒ̈ܪ̈ܟ̈ܐ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܟܬ̈ܒ̈ܐ)	
Passage 4	“For these words, when they are recited by blessed people with the purpose which (is) proper for them, drive away demons and gather angels to them. And why do I speak of the angels, for (these words) draw our redeemer, Christ himself, to their aid, and they will be deemed worthy of the grace of the Spirit. For who is not acquainted with the manner of life of blessed people – those who, while they are on the earth, they imitate the angels, (those for) whom the cause of their unity and their musing in prayers is the study of the psalms?” (ܐܢ ܠܡ ܟܬ̈ܒ̈ܐ ܩܕܝ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܕܐܢ ܥܡ ܒ̈ܢ̈ܝ ܐ̈ܢܫ̈ܐ ܒ̈ܪ̈ܟ̈ܐ ܒ̈ܬ ܛܥܡܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ̈ܘܢ ܕܪ̈ܕܝܢ ܫ̈ܕ̈ܐ ܘܟܢܫ̈ܘ ܠܗ̈ܘܢ ܡ̈ܠ̈ܐܟ̈ܐ ܛ̈ܒ̈ܐ ܘܐܠ̈ܦ̈ ܠܟ̇ ܡܐ ܕ̈ܐܡ̈ܪ ܐ̈ܢܐ ܥ̈ܠ ܡ̈ܠ̈ܐܟ̈ܐ ܡ̈ܛ̈ܠ ܕܗ̈ܢ̈ܘܢ ܡ̈ܠ̈ܬ̈ܐ ܡ̈ܫ̈ܟ̈ܚ̈ܝܢ ܠܢ ܦ̈ܪ̈ܩ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܕܝ̈ܠ̈ܢ ܒ̈ܪ̈ܝ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܕܒ̈ܪ̈ܝ̈ܬ̈ܐ ܕܒ̈ܗ̈ܘܢ ܡ̈ܛ̈ܠ ܕܒ̈ܗ̈ܘܢ ܡ̈ܫ̈ܟ̈ܚ̈ܝܢ ܠܡ̈ܫ̈ܝ̈ܚ̈ܐ ܦ̈ܪ̈ܩ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܕܝ̈ܠ̈ܢ ܒ̈ܪ̈ܝ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܕܒ̈ܪ̈ܝ̈ܬ̈ܐ ܕܒ̈ܗ̈ܘܢ ܡ̈ܫ̈ܟ̈ܚ̈ܝܢ ܠܡ̈ܫ̈ܝ̈ܚ̈ܐ ܦ̈ܪ̈ܩ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܕܝ̈ܠ̈ܢ ܒ̈ܪ̈ܝ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܕܒ̈ܪ̈ܝ̈ܬ̈ܐ ܕܒ̈ܗ̈ܘܢ ܡ̈ܫ̈ܟ̈ܚ̈ܝܢ ܠܡ̈ܫ̈ܝ̈ܚ̈ܐ ܦ̈ܪ̈ܩ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܕܝ̈ܠ̈ܢ ܒ̈ܪ̈ܝ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܕܒ̈ܪ̈ܝ̈ܬ̈ܐ ܕܒ̈ܗ̈ܘܢ ܡ̈ܫ̈ܟ̈ܚ̈ܝܢ ܠܡ̈ܫ̈ܝ̈ܚ̈ܐ)	“For these words, when they are recited by blessed people with the purpose which (is) proper for them, drive away rebellious demons and gather holy angels to them. And why do I speak of the angels, for (these words) also draw Christ himself, the redeemer of all, to their aid, and they will be deemed worthy of the grace of the Holy Spirit, just as in fact it happened to them and today happens to many (people). For who is not acquainted with the manner of life of blessed people – those who, while they are on the earth, dwell in heaven in thought, and while they are corporeal they become like the angels, those (for) whom the cause of their musing on spiritual (things) is the repetition of the Psalms?” (ܐܢ ܠܡ ܟܬ̈ܒ̈ܐ ܩܕܝ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܕܐܢ ܥܡ ܒ̈ܢ̈ܝ ܐ̈ܢܫ̈ܐ ܒ̈ܪ̈ܟ̈ܐ ܒ̈ܬ ܛܥܡܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ̈ܘܢ ܕܪ̈ܕܝܢ ܫ̈ܕ̈ܐ ܘܟܢܫ̈ܘ ܠܗ̈ܘܢ ܡ̈ܠ̈ܐܟ̈ܐ ܛ̈ܒ̈ܐ ܘܐܠ̈ܦ̈ ܠܟ̇ ܡܐ ܕ̈ܐܡ̈ܪ ܐ̈ܢܐ ܥ̈ܠ ܡ̈ܠ̈ܐܟ̈ܐ ܡ̈ܛ̈ܠ ܕܗ̈ܢ̈ܘܢ ܡ̈ܠ̈ܬ̈ܐ ܡ̈ܫ̈ܟ̈ܚ̈ܝܢ ܠܢ ܦ̈ܪ̈ܩ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܕܝ̈ܠ̈ܢ ܒ̈ܪ̈ܝ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܕܒ̈ܪ̈ܝ̈ܬ̈ܐ ܕܒ̈ܗ̈ܘܢ ܡ̈ܫ̈ܟ̈ܚ̈ܝܢ ܠܡ̈ܫ̈ܝ̈ܚ̈ܐ ܦ̈ܪ̈ܩ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܕܝ̈ܠ̈ܢ ܒ̈ܪ̈ܝ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܕܒ̈ܪ̈ܝ̈ܬ̈ܐ ܕܒ̈ܗ̈ܘܢ ܡ̈ܫ̈ܟ̈ܚ̈ܝܢ ܠܡ̈ܫ̈ܝ̈ܚ̈ܐ)
Passage 5	“But if pain or suffering should happen to one of them, they bring a medicine and a consolation to him from here” (ܟ̈ܠ̈ܡ̈ܐ ܐ̈ܘ ܟܪ̈ܒ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܢ̈ܦ̈ܠ ܠܚ̈ܕ̈ܐ ܡ̈ܢ̈ܗ̈ܘܢ ܟ̈ܐܒ̈ ܐ̈ܘ ܚ̈ܕ̈ܘܬ̈ܐ ܠ̈ܗ̈ ܡ̈ܢ ܗ̈ܪ̈ܟ̈ܐ)	“There is in him…a medicine for all pains” (ܒ̈ܗ̈ ܐ̈ܝܬ ܐ̈ܣ̈ܝ̈ܐ…ܠ̈ܟ̈ܠ ܟ̈ܐܒ̈)

There are approximately thirteen themes shared between Nathniel and Aḥob’s *Cause of the Psalms*. These include the following:

1) Other biblical books teach partially, while the Psalms teaches completely

2) An image of a king

3) A multitude of colors and their shining

4) The Ruler

5) Polemics against heretical views of creation and the divine economy

6) Contrasts between the diligent and the wicked

7) The teaching of love

8) Blessed people reciting the Psalms

9) Reciting the Psalms drives away demons

10) Those who recite the Psalms gather angels to them

11) The words of the Psalms invite Christ himself

12) The manner of life of blessed people

13) Pain being cured by medicine

Along with these shared themes, Nathniel and Aḥob also use similar[20] (though, more often, the same) wording on seventeen occasions:

	Nathniel	Aḥob
Passage 1	"All the prophets" (ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܕܢܒ̈ܝܐ) "(the books of) the prophets" (ܢܒ̈ܝܐ)	"In the books of the prophets" (ܒܟܬ̈ܒ̈ܐ ܕܢܒ̈ܝܐ)
	"exhortation" (ܡܘܥܒܬܐ)	"exhortation" (ܡܘܥܒܬܐ)
	"thanksgiving" (ܡܘܕܝܢܘܬܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ)	"thanksgiving" (ܡܘܕܝܢܘܬܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ)
	"the other Scriptures" (ܟܬ̈ܒ̈ܐ ܕܫܪ̈ܝܢ)	"in all the Scriptures" (ܒܟܬ̈ܒ̈ܐ ܟܠܗܝܢ)
	"But the book of Psalms…all these" (ܗܠܝܢ ܟܠܗܝܢ. ܣܦܪ ܬܫܒ̈ܚܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܟܬ̈ܒ̈ܐ)	"But in this book of Psalms all these" (ܗܠܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܗܠܝܢ ܣܦܪ ܬܫܒ̈ܚܬܐ ܗܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܟܬ̈ܒ̈ܐ)
Passage 2	"as in an image of a king" (ܐܝܟ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ)	"like an image or statue of a king" (ܐܝܟܐ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܨܠܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ)
	"colors" (ܨܒܥ̈ܐ)	"colors" (ܨܒܥ̈ܐ)
	"its advantages" (ܛܒ̈ܝܬܗ̇ܘܢ)	"advantages" (ܡܘܛܒ̈ܬܐ)[21]
Passage 3	"For it also tells about creatures and it explains about the Ruler, who puts an end (to the opponent of) these (things)" (ܐܦ ܥܠ ܕܒ̈ܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܡܘܕܥ ܗܘ ܘܥܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܣܝܡ ܣܘܦ ܠܗ̇ܠ ܡܠ̈ܝܐ ܕܥܒ̈ܕ ܡܢ ܕܠܐ)	"For it also teaches about the Creator, and it explains about the Ruler and puts an end to the opponent of these (things)" (ܐܦ ܥܠ ܕܒ̈ܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܗܘ ܡܠܦ ܘܥܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܣܝܡ ܣܘܦ ܠܗ̇ܠ ܡܠ̈ܝܐ ܕܥܒ̈ܕ ܠܡܢ ܕܠܐ)
	"this world came into being by chance or as though from itself and moves along without the bridles of a ruler" (ܗܢ ܥܠܡܐ ܕܐܬܝ ܡܢ ܩܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܐܘ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܢ ܢܦܫܗ. ܘܗܠܟ ܒܠܐ ܠܓܡ̈ܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ)	"this world is…and moves along without the bridles of a ruler" (ܗܘ ܗܠܟ ܥܡ ܐܝ ܕܡܢ ܩܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܠܓܡ̈ܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ)
	"about the reward of the diligent (ones) and about the punishment of the wicked (ones) and" (ܥܠ ܐܓܪܐ ܕܙܕ̈ܝܩ̈ܐ ܘܥܠ ܥܢܫܐ ܕܚܝܒ̈ܐ. ܘܥܠ ܚܒ̈ܒ̈ܐ)	"about the reward of the diligent (ones) and about the punishment of the wicked (ones) and" (ܥܠ ܐܓܪܐ ܕܙܕ̈ܝܩ̈ܐ ܘܥܠ ܥܢܫܐ ܕܚܝܒ̈ܐ ܘ)
	"about love" (ܥܠ ܚܒ̈ܐ)	"about love" (ܥܠ ܚܒ̈ܐ)
Passage 4	"For these words, when they are recited by blessed people with the purpose which (is) proper for them, drive away demons and gather angels to them. And why do I speak of the angels, for (these words) draw	"For these words, when they are recited by blessed people with the purpose which (is) proper for them, drive away rebellious demons and gather holy angels to them. And why do I speak of the angels, for (these words) also draw Christ

[20] This includes synonyms.

[21] This Aḥob word is taken from the first comparable Aḥob text (i.e. Passage 1) above.

	our redeemer, Christ himself, to their aid, and they will be deemed worthy of the grace of the Spirit” (ܡܢ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܥܕܢ ܒܥܕܢ ܗܘ ܦܪܘܩܢ ܟܠܗ ܠܐ ܒܣܝܥ ܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܒ

- The book of Psalms contains prophecy, histories, praise, thanksgiving, admonition for appropriate ways of life, and examples of what to ask for in prayer, as well as examples of how to wait for them. All divine books are the image and mirror of divine knowledge, but the book of Psalms is more accurate than them. (*77-87*)
- The book of Psalms is a guide, a lamp, a depicter of the power, grace, justice, and patience of God, an entrance into divine knowledge and activity, and a promiser of advantages from serving God. Its holy words clothe people as with armor, so that they can confidently triumph in all wars. (*98-109*)
- The holy Fathers justly determined that people should recite the psalms more than any other biblical book. A person needs to be able to recite the psalms in order to draw near to one of the ecclesiastical ranks, be considered a student, or a minister of the Church. David delivered his prophecy with pleasant sounds of various kinds of music, which quickly satiate the hearers and easily entice them to love his teaching. Secular songs do not satiate people, even though they too have sweet sounds. The sweetness of the psalms awoke the Hebrews from their drowsiness in the time of David. The psalms are easily recited, because they were spoken in meters. A teacher who seeks to compose a *Sogita* or an *'Onita*, takes material from the phrases of the psalms; however, these compositions do not satiate the perfect ones. The psalms contain all good things, including petition, fasting, prayer, repentance, imploring, worship, love, faith, clemency, hope, goodness, grace, understanding, knowledge, life, healing, and forgiveness of sins. (*128-195*)
- Eden (*195-196*)
- The psalms are a bandage for wounds. David is the heart of God, and he is one who does God's will. The Fathers handed down the tradition that the psalms should be chanted more than any of the prophetic books for two broad reasons: 1) Christ is from the Davidic seed, and 2) David prophesied about Christ's divinity, humanity, passion, martyrdom, resurrection, and ascension. (An extended thanks to God for his divine goodness towards people.) (*197-215*)

Concerning the above evidence, there are three possible ways to explain the textual relationship between Nathniel and Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*: 1) both Nathniel and Aḥob

depend on a mutual source, 2) Aḥob borrows from Nathniel, or 3) Nathniel borrows from Aḥob. I will discuss each of these options.

The first possibility is that Nathniel and Aḥob share a mutual source. However, since there is no extant text with which one can compare with Nathniel and Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* nor is there a known text that once existed which can credibly be said to have contained all of the shared words and phrases detailed above, this proposal (in its present state) is an argument from silence and, thus, can safely be categorized as the least likely of the three options.

The second possibility is that Aḥob borrows from Nathniel. While this proposal seems theoretically reasonable, it has one noticeable issue: the large amount of material found in Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* that is not used in Nathniel's *Cause of the Psalms*, as is shown above. Though there are instances of East Syriac writers slightly developing a given Syriac source,[22] it is unlikely that Aḥob would expand Nathniel's text to such a significant degree and, thus, this proposal is arguably untenable.

The third possibility is that Nathniel borrows from Aḥob. Nathniel's five comparable passages to Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* encompass the majority of his treatise, wherein they are largely presented in the same order as Aḥob's text (as is shown by the line numbers of the parallel Aḥob text in the first table above). While Nathniel uses similar and identical words and phrases from Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, he often abbreviates Aḥob's parallel text. This includes 1) preserving the general theme of a passage while reworking its content, which is most notably seen in Passage 1, 2) omitting select adjectives, such as Aḥob's description of the demons and the angels as being "rebellious" (ܡܬܪܕܢܐ) and "holy" (ܩܕܝܫܐ), respectively, and 3) omitting verbose phraseology, such as Aḥob's description of the blessed people being those who "dwell in heaven in thought, and while they are corporeal" (ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܡܬܝܬܒܝܢ ܒܪܥܝܢܐ ܘܒܙܒܢ ܕܦܓܪܐ ܗܘ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܠܐܟܐ). Though Nathniel's third and fifth comparable passages are slight developments of the parallel text of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, his first, second, and fourth comparable passages are more concise than their parallel Aḥob text, suggesting that he preferred to abbreviate and/or rework particular parts of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* that interested him. This adheres to the general pattern that is found among later East Syriac writers, such as Theodore bar Koni, Isho' bar Nun, and Isho'dad of Merv: they tend to abbreviate, rework, and/or summarize their earlier

[22] One example is that of Isho'dad's use of Aḥob's Psalm 5:4 scholion. For a further discussion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.1.5. Psalm 5:4.

Syriac sources.[23] While the available evidence does not provide absolute proof that Nathniel borrows from Aḥob, it does allow one to conclude that the most reasonable explanation for the textual relationship of Nathniel and Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* is that Nathniel borrows from Aḥob. If this is accepted, Vandenhoff's remark that Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* is simply Nathniel's *Cause of the Psalms*, with some additions,[24] can no longer be sustained.[25]

It is also worth noting that Van den Eynde suggested that, along with Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, Nathniel's *Cause of the Psalms* may be relying on Basil of Caesarea's (330-379) Prologue to Psalm 1 (which precedes his *Homily 10*).[26] Syriac translations of Basil's Prologue to Psalm 1 were produced in the fifth century (which were quite free and prone to expansion by the inclusion of additional material), and they were likely known to Nathniel.[27] A comparison between Nathniel's *Cause of the Psalms* and Basil's Syriac Prologue to Psalm 1 reveals a few shared themes:

Nathniel (15v, *6-15* and *15*, 16r, *1-5*, *13-15*, *21*, *25-26*)[28]	Basil of Caesarea (141r, col. 1, *21*-col. 2, *10*, 142r, col. 1, *26-27* and *30*-col. 2, *2* and *13-15* and 143r, col. 1, *26-29* and col. 2, *19-32*, 142r, col. 2, *23-29*, 143r, col. 1, *7-10* and *31-32*, 141r, col. 1, *11* and *13-17*)[29]
"All the prophets, together with the other holy books, each one of them has a certain [lacuna in L]. But another offers exhortation of good works, such as the Proverbs of Solomon and Qohelet and Bar Sira. However, another provides instruction in the confession (of faith) to people. And another (offers) the teaching of thanksgiving, such as (the books of) the prophets and the other Scriptures, which are rich in all these (respects), although a certain (benefit) might	"Now, the instruction which we learn from the prophets is one thing, and the improving stories (which we learn) from the book of Judges and the book(s) of Kings are different in form, and the admonition from the (books of) Law is (of) another order, and the Proverbs and allegories that (derive) from the wisdom of Solomon are a different form. And although the fear of God is inscribed in all of them, in all (their) different-forms, yet their narrative-styles differ from one another.

[23] See, for instance, Chapter 3, Section 3.3. The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's Exegesis in Theodore bar Koni's *Scholion*, Chapter 4, Section 4.1. The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's Exegesis in Isho'dad of Merv's Old Testament Exegesis, and Corrie Molenberg, "The Interpreter Interpreted: Išo' bar Nun's Selected Questions on the Old Testament" (Doctoraat in de Letteren; Rijksuniversiteit Groningen, 1990), 335.

[24] Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 5-7 (Latin).

[25] Vandenhoff situated Aḥob in the late 10th century (following Assemani) and viewed him as largely depending upon Nathniel. See Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 5, n. 1; 7, n. 1 (Latin).

[26] Van den Eynde may have made this observation based (in part) on an earlier comment by Vandenhoff, the latter of whom noted that several similarities existed between Nathniel and Basil. See Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 7, n. 2 (Latin) and Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 4, n. 1.

[27] For a further discussion of the Syriac translational stages of Basil's Prologue to Psalm 1, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.1.2. Basil of Caesarea's Prologue to Psalm 1.

[28] The text, folios, and line numbers are taken from L, ff. 15v, *1*-16v, *5*, and the English translation is taken from the translation presented at the beginning of this section.

[29] The text, folios, columns, and line numbers are taken from ms. British Library, Add. 14,543 (6th century), ff. 141r, col. 1, *1*-144r, col. 1, *8*, and the English translation is taken from an unpublished translation of this text, which was produced by Seth M. Stadel and David G. K. Taylor.

be found individually to be more abundant in (one of) them. But the book of Psalms shows all these benefits, while they are packed together in it” (ܟܬܒܐ ܕܬܫܒ̈ܚ̈ܬܐ ܗܝ ܕܡ̈ܠܝ̈ ܟܠ ܗ̈ܠܝܢ ܛ̈ܒ̈ܬ̈ܐ ܒ̈ܟ̈ܠܗ̈ܝ ܒ̈ܗ ܡ̈ܬ̈ܟ̈ܢ̈ܫ̈ܝ̈ܢ ܘ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈ܟ̈ܢ̈ܫ̈ܝ̈ܢ ܗ̈ܘ ܒ̈ܟ̈ܠܗ̈ܝ)	But in the book of the holy Psalms (that which is) beneficial is gathered together from all the Scriptures, and the discernment of all of them is inscribed in it” (ܟܬܒ̈ ܡ̈ܫ̈ܚ̈ ܕ̈ܩ̈ܕ̈ܫ̈ܝ̈ܢ ܕ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈ܟ̈ܢ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܟ̈ܠ ܟ̈ܬ̈ܒ̈ܝ̈ ܘ̈ܡ̈ܬ̈ܟ̈ܢ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܒ̈ܗ)
“And it teaches those (things) which (are) right to do and from which (things it is right) to distance oneself. And it tells about the reward of the diligent (ones) and about the punishment of the wicked (ones) and it sets forth many words about love and unity. And it teaches a confession (that is) right for sinners to confess” (ܘ̈ܡ̈ܠܦ̈ ܠ̈ܗ̈ ܕ̈ܥ̈ܒ̈ܕ̈ܝ̈ܢ ܕ̈ܫ̈ܦ̈ܝ̈ܪ̈ ܘ̈ܕ̈ܡ̈ܢ̈)	“And they are instruction for those who are uninstructed…For the psalms are consolidators of friendship, and they are bringers together of those who are distanced, and they are the unification of those who are divided, and they are the conciliators of (those in) enmity… For the greatest of good things, which is true love…or whether they show the manner of true repentance… and in them is harshly set down the threat of future judgement; and in them is encouragingly written the hope of the resurrection; and they justly expound the fear of present torment; and in them the promises of the glorious life are perceived; and in them the unveilings of the glorious mysteries are evident” (ܐ̈ ܟ̈ܬ̈ܒ̈ܐ…ܡ̈ܢ ܕ̈ܠ ܡ̈ܠ̈ܝ̈ ܥ̈ܠ̈ ܟ̈ܠ)
“For these words, when they are recited by blessed people with the purpose which (is) proper for them, drive away demons and gather angels to them” (ܕ̈ ܟ̈ܬ̈ܒ̈ܐ)	“The psalms, then, are truly banishers of demons, and in the same manner as angels is the help that we receive from them” (ܟ̈ܬ̈ܒ̈ܐ)
“they learn endurance from the psalms” (ܟ̈)	“For what can you not learn from the psalms in their truth?... or whether (they reveal) the measure of patience” (ܠ̈)
“Therefore, because all of these remedies are found in the book of Psalms” ( )	“that all people should find cures for the sicknesses of their sins from the holy Scriptures” ( )

The themes shared between Nathniel and Basil in the above table are the following:

1) Other biblical books teach partially, while the Psalms teach completely

2) Contrasts between the diligent and the wicked

3) Love, unity, and repentance

4) Reciting the Psalms drives away demons

5) Those who recite the Psalms gather angels to them

6) Endurance from the Psalms

7) Remedies

While the above examples demonstrate that Nathniel draws from and reworks Basil's Syriac Prologue to Psalm 1, it appears to have minimally influenced his *Cause of the Psalms*. For instance, both Basil and Nathniel mention such things as 1) the book of Proverbs, 2) unity/unification, 3) sinners repenting, 4) the acquisition of endurance/patience, and 5) remedies/remedy, none of which are found in Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*. As a result, it can be reasonably established that Nathniel's predominant source was Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* and, secondarily, Basil's Syriac Prologue to Psalm 1.[30] Nathniel's large number of borrowed themes from Aḥob (compared to Basil) offers further evidence that he draws primarily from Aḥob and not Basil.

3.2. The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's Exegesis in *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*

In the following examination of Aḥob's scholia in *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*,[31] each subsection will contain four parts, with the third part consisting of three subparts: 1) the Peshitta text of the verse(s) under discussion, with a facing English translation; 2) *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32's* commentary on the same verse(s), in which an Aḥob scholion is preserved; 3a) an examination of the physical placement of each Aḥob scholion within *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*, b) an analyzed discussion of each Aḥob scholion, c) if known, a proposal for the intended meaning of each Aḥob scholion; 4) the possible reason(s) why and the manner by which the unknown author of *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* included each Aḥob scholion in his commentary on (a) particular verse(s).

[30] It is also possible that Nathniel draws on lost or unknown introductions to the Psalms.

[31] The critical editions used in this section are the following: Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (text) and idem, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.).

3.2.1. Genesis 15:9-10

According to the Peshitta, Gen 15:9-10 states:

[9] ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܣܒ ܠܝ.	[9] And he[32] said to him,[33] "Take
ܥܓܠܐ ܬܠܬ ܫܢܝܢ ܘܬܝܠ ܬܠܬ ܫܢܝܢ	a three-year-old calf and a three-year-old ram
ܘܥܙܐ ܬܠܬ ܫܢܝܢ.	and a three-year-old goat
ܘܬܪܐ ܒܪ ܝܘܢܐ ܘܓܘܙܠܐ.	and a turtle dove and a young dove."
[10] ܘܢܣܒ ܠܗ ܟܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܘܦܠܓ ܠܗܘܢ.	[10] And he[34] took all these (animals),
ܘܣܡ ܐܢܘܢ ܐܝܫ ܠܡܘܠ ܦܓܪܗ ܘܠܐ	and he divided them equally and he placed
ܦܠܓ ܠܛܝܪܐ.	(each) member opposite its fellow.
	But he did not divide the birds.

The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32 on these same verses states:[35]

> [9] And because, being a man, he was still doubtful in his mind, concerning all these promises that God had promised him, (and wondering) how and when these (things) could be (realized, God) then takes away his uncertainty and speaks (to him) by means of three victims that he commands him to offer. Therefore, he commanded (Abram) to offer him (three) different animals: *a calf* (ܥܓܠܐ), *a ram* (ܬܠܝ), *a goat* (ܥܙ), *and* (also) *a turtle dove and a young dove*. (He says) *take a three-year-old* (ܬܠܬ ܫܢܝܢ) *calf*, that is to say, (one that is) three years old. But by *the calf*, he[36] indicates that generation, which first entered Egypt (ܕܥܠ ܩܕܡ ܕܥܠ ܡܨܪܝܡ ܐܬܐ). which thus, as it were, possessed strength, in that it was not yet subdued (ܕܠܐ ܐܬܟܒܫ ܒܥܓܠܐ), like a new calf, which has not yet been bound to the yoke (ܕܠܐ ܐܬܩܛܪ ܥܠ ܢܝܪ). But, again, by the *ram* he[37] indicates the second generation (ܕܬܪܝܢ ܐܬܐ ܥܠ ܬܠܝ), which although (a ram is) smaller and tamer than a calf (ܐܦ ܥܓܠܐ ܙܥܘܪ ܘܡܬܝܠ), it is, however, better and stronger than a goat (ܘܛܒ ܘܚܫܝܚ ܡܢ ܥܙ). But by the *goat* he[38] indicates the harsh subjection of the third generation (ܕܬܠܬ ܐܢܫܝ ܕܐܬܥܒܕ ܥܠ ܐܬ[39]ܝ). Therefore, in like manner,

[32] Namely, God.

[33] Namely, Abram.

[34] Namely, Abram.

[35] The Syriac text of these verses, which is found in Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (text), 73, *19*-74, *15*, states:

[9] ܐܦ ܡܛܠ ܕܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܗܘܐ ܥܕܝܢ ܒܣܟܠܗ ܡܬܪܕܕ ܒܟܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܗܘܢ ܒܛܝܚܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܬܛܝܚ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܡܬܪܕܕ ܒܗ ܘܡܬܬܡܗ ܐܝܟ ܘܡܬܝ ܢܗܘܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ

by means of (the words) three and *three years old* (ܬܠܬܝܢ), he[40] makes known the three generations (ܬܠܬ ܐܠܦܝܢ): *Levi* (ܠܘܝ), and *Kohath* (ܩܗܬ), and *Amram* (ܥܡܪܡ).[41] [10] But that (phrase) *he*[42] *divided them equally* (ܒܬܪ ܕܦܠܓ ܠܗܘܢ), that (is) to say, that the parts of each one of them are arranged one opposite the other and as if that (animal) is alive (ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܚܝܘܬ ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܬܩܛܥ ܠܡܚܕ ܡܢ ܚܒܪܗ). (There were) three rows (ܬܠܬ ܐܠܦܝܢ), as the (Eucharistic) bread is arranged in the paten upon the altar (ܐܝܟ ܕܣܕܪܝܢ ܠܚܡܐ ܥܠ ܡܕܒܚܐ ܩܕܫܐ). *He*[43] *places (each) member opposite its fellow* (ܡܣܬ ܠܡܚܕ ܕܩܛܝܥ…ܡܢ), that (is) to say, (each) member which was cut off from its fellow, he placed it opposite the member from which it was cut off (ܡܣܬ ܕܩܛܝܥ ܠܡܚܕ ܡܢ ܚܒܪܗ). By means of their division (ܒܦܠܓܗ), he[44] makes known their[45] vexation and their misery, which they were going to endure in Egypt (ܕܥܬܝܕܝܢ ܒܡܨܪܝܐ ܒܡܫܥܒܕܘܬܐ ܘܒܡܫܬܥܒܕܘܬܐ ܩܫܝܐ ܠܡܚܙܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܗܘ). But (that phrase) they were placed *opposite* each other (makes known) that, though they were looking at each other, none was able to help its fellow (ܡܣܬ ܠܐ ܝܟܠ ܚܕ ܠܡܥܒܕ ܠܚܒܪܗ). But (that phrase) *he*[46] *did not divide the birds* (ܠܐ…ܦܠܓ) indicates their[47] unanimity and unified sojourning in the wilderness (ܚܕ ܒܬ ܚܕ ܕܝܬܒܝܢ ܒܐܚܕܘܬܐ ܘܒܗܠܟܬܐ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܒܡܨܪܝܐ), for they were indeed going, somehow (ܐܝܟ ܡܚܐ), to fly from Egypt (ܠܡܦܪܩ ܡܢ ܡܨܪܝܡ).[48]

The later commentary tradition (i.e. the *Anonymous Commentary*) ascribes this text to Aḥob;[49] Van Rompay has also made this observation.[50] Furthermore, the style and exegetical approach are consistent with Aḥob's exegetical tendencies.[51] For these reasons, Aḥob is arguably the source of *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32's* insights into the second half of v. 9 and all of v. 10 of Gen 15.[52] In v. 9 of this lengthy scholion, Aḥob seeks to understand what the "calf" (ܥܓܠܐ), the "ram" (ܬܠܝܬܐ), and the "goat" (ܥܬܘ) represent. He suggests that each of these three animals, which are each "three years old" (ܬܠܬܝܢ), depicts "three generations" (ܬܠܬ ܐܠܦܝܢ) of Israelites, namely "Levi" (ܠܘܝ), "Kohath" (ܩܗܬ), and "Amram" (ܥܡܪܡ). The calf represents Levi, in that it "indicates that generation, which first

[40] Namely, Moses.
[41] Cf. Exod 6:16, 18.
[42] Namely, Abram.
[43] Namely, Abram.
[44] Namely, Moses.
[45] Namely, the Israelites.
[46] Namely, Abram.
[47] Namely, the Israelites.
[48] My translation is based on Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), 95-96.
[49] For a further discussion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.2.1. Genesis 15:9-10.
[50] See Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), xlii-xliii.
[51] For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.8. The Exegetical Distinctiveness of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.
[52] There is a further discussion of aspects of v. 9, specifically concerning the "turtle dove" (ܬܪܬܘܪܐ) and the "young dove" (ܒܪܬ ܝܘܢܩܐ), following v. 10. However, it is unlikely that this particular text originates from Aḥob for two reasons: 1) it is placed after v. 10, and 2) with one brief exception (found in his Psalm 68:16-17 scholion), Aḥob never returns to comment on a preceding verse once he has moved on to another verse. For a further discussion of Aḥob's Psalm 68:16-17 scholion, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.15. Psalm 68:16-17.

entered Egypt” (ܠܡܨܪܝܡ ܒܝܬ ܩܗܬ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܬܠܬ). The ram represents Kohath, in that it “indicates the second generation” (ܡܫܝܚ ܕܪ̈ܝܫ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܬܪ̈ܝܢ). The goat represents Amram, in that it “indicates the harsh subjection of the third generation” (ܡܫܝܚ ܕܫܥܒܘܕ ܩܫܐ ܕܪ̈ܒܥܝܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܬܠܝܬ).[53] Aḥob pairs the calf with Levi, based on perceived similar imagery: just as Levi did not experience bondage, so a calf is “not yet subdued…(and) has not yet been bound to the yoke” (ܕܥܕܝܢ ܠܐ ܐܬܟܒܫ ܠܐ…ܠܐ ܐܬܩܛܪ ܠܢܝܪ). In a similar way, he pairs the ram with Kohath: just as Kohath is younger than Levi, so a ram is “smaller and tamer than a calf” (ܡܟܘܟ ܝܬܝܪ ܡܢ ܥܓܠ). Aḥob also insists that a ram is “better and stronger than a goat” (ܡܢ ܓܕܝ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܕܟܝ). Unlike the pairing of calf/Levi and ram/Kohath, Aḥob only alludes to the pairing of the goat with Amram by suggesting that the goat is the smallest and/or weakest of the three animals, as attested by the harsh subjection of the third generation (i.e. Amram).

In his commentary on v. 10, Aḥob begins by suggesting the phrase “he divided them equally” (ܒܡܫܘܐ ܦܠܓ ܠܗܘ) means that the animal parts were “arranged one opposite the other and as if that (animal) is alive” (ܕܡܣܬܟܠ ܟܕ ܐܝܟ ܕܚܝ ܕܐܬ ܠܟܠ ܐܬ ܡܚܕܐ ܠܚܕܐ). While it is not fully clear what he means by the phrase “as if that (animal) is alive” (ܟܕ ܐܝܟ ܕܚܝ ,ܕܡܣܬܟܠ), Aḥob may be trying to understand the meaning of the Peshitta word “equally” (ܒܡܫܘܐ). If this is accepted, he likely seeks to explain that the animals were equally divided and carefully arranged in a manner that gave the appearance of them still being whole (i.e. alive). In conveying this, Aḥob arguably wishes to assert that Abram did not aimlessly divide the animals and/or pile their parts in an unequal manner. He then asserts that these animals were arranged in “three rows” (ܬܠܬܐ ܫܘܪ̈ܝܢ). He draws this detail, not from the Peshitta, but from a reflection on the common Eucharistic practice of his time, in which (as he states) “the (Eucharistic) bread is arranged in the paten upon the altar” (ܟܕ ܡܣܬܟܠ ܠܚܡܐ ܩܕܫܐ ܒܦܝܢܟܐ ܥܠ ܡܕܒܚܐ).[54] In the second half of his commentary on v. 10, Aḥob largely focuses on the Peshitta phrase “he places[55] (each) member opposite its fellow” (ܐܝܫ ܠܡܘܟܠ ܕܡܣܬܟܠ…ܡܦܠܓ). He suggests this phrase means that when the animals were cut apart, their respective members were set “opposite the member from which it was cut off” (ܡܢ ܐܝܕܐ ܕܐܬܩܛܪ ܡܘܟܠ ܠܗ). By “their division” (ܒܦܠܓܗܘܢ) and separation into facing parts, Aḥob argues that these dismembered

[53] Amram is Moses and Aaron’s father. See Exod 6:20.

[54] For a further discussion of Aḥob’s understanding of the Eucharistic bread, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.2.1. The East Syriac Liturgy.

[55] Aḥob uses ܡܦܠܓ, i.e. the active participle form, rather than ܦܠܓ, which is the standard Peshitta rendering of this word. The only exception is a 10th-century Peshitta manuscript (10l1), in which the phrase “he placed (each) member opposite its fellow” (ܐܝܫ ܠܡܘܟܠ ܕܡܣܬܟܠ ܦܠܓ) is omitted.

animal parts depict two things about the Israelites: 1) "their vexation and their misery, which they were going to endure in Egypt" (ܕܝܢܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ ܠܡܗܘ ܕܗܘ ܕܥܬܝܕܝܢ ܠܡܬܚܙܝ ܘܠܡܬܥܒܕܘܬܐ), and 2) their collective bondage restricted any particular individual from being "able to help its fellow" (ܡܢ ܠܡܫܕܐ ܠܚܒܪܗ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܥ). Aḥob concludes his scholion with a ray of hope for the Israelites, in that he briefly focuses on the Peshitta phrase "he did not divide the birds" (ܠܐ ܦܠܚ…ܛܦܪܐ). He suggests that this phrase "indicates their unanimity and the unified sojourning in the wilderness" (ܕܡܪܡܙ ܠܚܕ ܠܒܐ ܘܠܚܕ ܗܘܝܢܗ ܕܐܝܟ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܐܙܠܝܢ). While Aḥob is certain that they will be freed from their bondage in Egypt, he does not find any specific allusions, in Gen 15:9-10, as to how exactly the Israelites will ultimately "fly from Egypt" (ܕܝܢܐ ܡܢ ܡܨܪܝܢ ܠܡܦܪܩ).[56] Since he knows it will occur, Aḥob suggests – likely based on the fact that he finds no indicators up to this point in the text of Peshitta Genesis – that it will happen "somehow" (ܒܡܐ ܕܗܘ).

The unknown author of *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* has taken over Aḥob's Genesis 15:9-10 scholion, in large part, as his own commentary on these same verses. While it is unclear if he alters it in any way (due to the fact that this is the earliest attestation of this Aḥob scholion), he arguably views this scholion as authoritative in its own right and, thus, he presents it in an anonymized form, without commenting on it. He does, however, offer some introductory and concluding remarks on v. 9, both of which bracket Aḥob's scholion: the former, in many ways, functions as an extended discussion of vv. 7-8;[57] the latter clarifies the symbolic meaning of the "turtle dove" (ܫܒܢܐ) and the "young dove" (ܒܪܬ ܝܘܢܐ), neither animal of which was commented on, by name,[58] by Aḥob.

[56] Aḥob seems to be using (or at least bordering on using) allegorical interpretation in his discussion of the "birds" (ܛܦܪܐ) and its indication that the Israelites were going "to fly" (ܠܡܦܪܩ) from Egypt. For a discussion of Aḥob's typological exegesis, see Chapter 5, Section 5.8. The Exegetical Distinctiveness of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

[57] Gen 15:7-8 states, "[7] And he said to him, 'I am the Lord, your God, who brought you out from Ur of the Chaldeans to give you this land to possess it.' [8] And Abram said, 'Lord God, by what (means) will I know that I will possess it?'" ([8] .ܒܡܐ ܐܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܪܬ ܠܐ ܠܡܐܚܙ. ܐܡܪ ܐܒܪܡ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܐܘܪ ܕܟܠܕܝܐ ܐܝܬ ܐܢܐ ܡܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܟ [7] .ܠܟ ܕܐܪܬ ܢܚܬ ܐܢܐ ܐܝܬ. ܐܡܪ ܐܝܬ. ܢܚܬ ܐܡܪ).

[58] While Aḥob briefly comments on the Peshitta phrase "he did not divide the birds" (ܠܐ ܦܠܚ ܛܦܪܐ) at the end of his Genesis 15:9-10 scholion, he does not discuss the turtle dove and the young dove by name, as he had done with the calf, the ram, and the goat.

3.2.2. Genesis 50:10

According to the Peshitta, Gen 50:10 states:

ܐܬܪ ܓܘܪܢ ܕܐܛܪ ܗܘ ܥܒܪ ܕܝܪܕܢ. ܘܣܦܕܘ ܬܡ ܣܦܕ ܪܒ ܘܬܝܪ ܘܥܒܕܘ ܠܐܒܝܗܝ ܫܒܥܐ ܝܘܡܝܢ.	And they[59] came to the threshing floors of Aṭar, which (are) beyond the Jordan. And they mourned there (with) a great and loud mourning. And he[60] made a lamentation for his father[61] (for) seven days.

The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32 on this same verse states:[62]

> *And they came to the threshing floors of Aṭar* (ܐܬܪ ܓܘܪܢ), *which (are) beyond the Jordan*. *Aṭar* in the Egyptian language (is) a tomb (ܩܒܪܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܐܬܪ), as he[63] calls (Joseph's) coffin or casket (ܐܪܓܙܐ ܕܠܚܢܛܘܬܐ ܕܗܘ) a "*dufnā*" (ܕܦܢܐ, mummy case).[64] That (phrase) *beyond the Jordan*, that is to say, from that place there is a ford (by) which people cross *the Jordan*. He[65] says *the threshing floors* of the tomb (ܓܘܪܢ ܕܩܒܪܐ), given that that tomb was in a field, while threshing floor(s) were surrounding it, where the piles (of sheaves) are put. But there, in front of that tomb, *he made a lamentation for his father*, although up till then the corpse was not (yet) introduced into the tomb, *(for) seven days*.[66]

For nearly the same reasons presented in Subsection 3.2.1. above,[67] *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32's* anonymized references to the meaning of Aṭar and to *dufnā* (all of which are inserted within *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32's* own commentary on Gen 50:10) arguably originate from Aḥob. In his three fragments on Genesis 50:10, Aḥob is trying to understand two things: 1) the reason why Joseph and a company of people stopped at some "threshing floors" (ܓܘܪܢ) to mourn Jacob's death and 2) the meaning of Aṭar (ܐܬܪ),[68] the latter of which is part of the Peshitta phrase "the threshing floors of Aṭar" (ܐܬܪ ܓܘܪܢ). Since threshing floors are not an obvious place for mourning, Aḥob reinterprets what is clearly a

[59] Namely, Joseph and a company of people, including his brothers and the elders of the land of Egypt.

[60] Namely, Joseph.

[61] Namely, Jacob.

[62] The Syriac text of this verse, which is found in Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (text), 128, *14-21*, states:

ܐܬܪ ܓܘܪܢ ܕܐܛܪ ܗܘ ܥܒܪ ܕܝܪܕܢ. ܕܐܬܪ ܗܘ ܒܠܫܢ ܡܨܪ ܩܒܪ ܒܝܬ ܐܬܪ ܗܘ ܕܩܪܐ ܐܪܓܙܐ ܕܠܚܢܛܘܬܐ ܕܗܘ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܕܦܢܐ. ܕܥܒܪ ܝܘܪܕܢ ܗܝ ܕܐܬܪ ܗܘ ܥܒܪ ܝܘܪܕܢ ܕܥܒܪ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܐܬܪ ܕܥܒܪ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܐܬܪ ܕܡܥܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܠܡܥܒܪ ܒܗ ܐܬܪ ܗܘ ܕܩܒܪܐ ܗܘ ܓܘܪܢ ܕܩܒܪܐ ܕܒܗ ܐܬܪ ܗܘ

place name as a reference to a tomb: "the threshing floors of the tomb" (ܐܬܪܬ ܕܓܪܢ). The preposition "of" (ܕ) in this phrase is very important to Aḥob, because he does not view the threshing floors themselves as the tomb; they surround the tomb. Additionally, Aḥob draws attention to Gen 50:26,[69] and he cites "coffin" (ܐܠܡܢܐ) and "casket" (ܐܪܓܙ) – which are the usual Syriac words for a coffin – as the interpretation for the *hapax legomenon* "*dufnā*" (ܕܘܦܢܐ), meaning "mummy case." The internal logic of Aḥob's Genesis 50:10 fragments suggest that he is making two further observations: 1) he perceives the threshing floors of Aṭar as being part of the burial ground in which Jacob was ultimately buried,[70] and 2) he makes the logical connection that, since Joseph was put in a mummy case in Egypt, the location of Jacob's tomb would also bear an Egyptian name. Thus, he insists that "*Aṭar* in the Egyptian language (is) a tomb" (ܐܬܪ ܒܠܫܢ ܡܨܪܝܐ ܩܒܪ).

The unknown author of *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* also seeks to understand the meaning of the Peshitta phrase "the threshing floors of Aṭar" (ܩܒܪ ܐܬܪ ܕܓܪܢ). He selects three relevant phrases from Aḥob's Genesis 50:10 scholion[71] – a scholion that was once arguably longer in its original form[72] – and he alters their order (from their likely original presentation) for the purpose of furthering his own discussion of the threshing floors of Aṭar; his preservation of parts of Aḥob's Genesis 50:10 scholion is the earliest attestation of this scholion in general. While it can only be assumed that the unknown author of *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* reworks two of the original Aḥobian phrases to arrive at "*Aṭar* in the Egyptian language (is) a tomb" and "he calls (Joseph's) coffin or casket a '*dufnā*,'" it can be known that his phrase "the threshing floors of the tomb" is a slight revision of the original, which arguably stated, "The *threshing floors of Aṭar*, the tomb" (ܐܬܪ ܕܓܪܢ ܐܬܪ ܩܒܪ).[73] Beyond this, he does not engage with these three Aḥobian phrases; rather, he presents them as glosses for Aṭar, dufnā, and threshing floors, likely because the precise meaning of these words was unclear to him.

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[69] Gen 50:26 states, "And Joseph died at 110 years (of age). They embalmed him, and they placed him in a mummy case in Egypt" (ܒܡܨܪܝܢ ܕܦܝܢ ܘܐܬܒܩ ܐܬܪ ܒܐܪܓܙ ܘܐܬܣܡ ܘܡܬ ܝܘܣܦ ܒܢ ܡܐܐ ܘܥܣܪ ܫܢܝܢ).

[70] According to Gen 50:13, Jacob was "buried in the double cave of the field, which (is) the field Abraham bought (to have as) property for a tomb" (ܐܬܪ ܩܒܪ ܠܗ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܥܡ ܚܩܠ ܕܒܪ ܡܥܪܬܐ ܕܒܚܩܠ ܕܒܝܬ ܐܠ ܡܡܪܐ ܕܒܥܐ ܐܬ ܚܩܠ ܕܒܪ ܡܥܪܬܐ).

[71] It is unclear why the unknown author of *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* does not reference Aḥob by name as his source for parts of his discussion of Gen 50:10. He takes a significantly different stance with respect to the title "Rabban," which he cites (in various forms) 103 times throughout what is extant of his commentary. See Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), xxvii.

[72] For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.1. The Original Form of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

[73] For a further discussion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.2.2. Genesis 50:10.

3.3. The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's Exegesis in Theodore bar Koni's *Scholion*

In the following examination of Aḥob's exegetical works in Theodore bar Koni's *Scholion*,[74] both subsections will be arranged according to the general order set forth in the *Scholion*. Subsection 3.3.1. Genesis 15:9-10 will contain four parts: 1) the Peshitta text of the verses under discussion, with a facing English translation; 2) Bar Koni's question and answer on the same verses, in which fragments of an Aḥob scholion are preserved; 3) a presentation of the phrases which Bar Koni has either altered or omitted from this Aḥob scholion, with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian phrase; 4) the possible reason why and the manner by which Bar Koni included this Aḥob scholion in his *Scholion*. Due to the nature of the text, Subsection 3.3.2. *Cause of the Psalms* will be presented in a slightly modified format.

3.3.1. Genesis 15:9-10

According to the Peshitta, Gen 15:9-10 states:

[9] ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܣܒ ܠܝ.	[9] And he[75] said to him,[76] "Take
ܬܠܬܐ ܥܓܠܬܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܕܟܝ	a three-year-old calf and a three-year-old ram
ܬܠܬܐ ܥܙܐ.	and a three-year-old goat
ܘܬܪܐ ܘܓܘܙܠܐ ܨܥܝܪܐ.	and a turtle dove and a young dove."
[10] ܘܣܒ ܠܗ ܟܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܘܦܠܓ.	[10] And he[77] took all these (animals),
ܘܦܠܟ ܒܝܬ ܦܓܪܐ ܕܡܕܡ ܠܩܒܠ.	and he divided them equally and he placed
ܐܝܟ ܕܐܚܕ ܠܡܩܒܠ ܗܘܐ.	(each) member opposite its fellow.
ܘܥܦܪܐ ܠܐ ܦܠܓ.	But he did not divide the birds.

Bar Koni's commentary on these same verses in *Memra* II, 139 states:[78]

[74] The critical editions used in this section are the following: Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (Syr. II, 65); Hespel and Draguet, *Théodore bar Koni (recension de Séert)* (vol. 1); Hespel, *Théodore bar Koni (recension d'Urmiah)* (text); Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (text).

[75] Namely, God.

[76] Namely, Abram.

[77] Namely, Abram.

[78] The Syriac text of this verse, which is found in Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (Syr. II, 65), 130, *16*-131, *21*, states:

ܡܫܐܠܬܐ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ ܠܐ ܫܡܥ ܕܐܡܪ ܩܪܒܢܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܗ. ܫܡܥ ܕܟܬܒ ܒܣܦܪ ܕܒܪܝܫܝܬ ܒܦ ܥܠ ܦܣܩܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܢܥܒܕ ܐܢܫ ܒܨܠܡܢ ܘܕܕܡܘܬܢ ܘܢܪܕܘ ܒܝܡ ܕܕܓܐ ܒܢܗܘܢ ܘܒܥܘܦܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܢܬܪ ܒܗܡ ܐܠܗ ܒܪܝܬ

What is the reason for those three sacrifices, which Abraham offered? (ܡܢܐ ܗܘ ܥܠܬ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܕܩܪܒ ܬܫܥ ܕܐܠܗ ܥܠ ܐܒܪܗܡ) Because many promises were (made) to Abraham concerning the abundance of his race and the advantage(s) of the land of Canaan and, indeed, as a man, he was doubtful (about) how these (things) could happen and when, in advance (of) our Lord God dissolving the uncertainty of the member of his[79] (divine) household, by means of the three sacrifices which he[80] commanded him[81] to offer. And, as if in a figure, he[82] indicated for him[83] by this sacrifice all (the things) which his offspring were going to endure (ܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܥܠ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܕܢܩܪܒ ܠܗ ܬܠܬ ܥܪܩܬܐ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܡܩܪܒ). But the three different animals that he commanded him to offer (were) [9] *a calf, a ram, a goat, and* (also) *a turtle dove and a young dove*, and each one of the animals was *three years old*. But their threeness indicated the three generations who were going to be enslaved in Egypt: *Levi*, and *Kohath*, and *Amram*[84] (ܕܡܢܐ ܐܠ ܕܬܠܬ ܥܪܩܬܐ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܡܩܪܒ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܠܗ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܐܒܪܗܡ ܕܢܩܪܒ ܠܗ ܬܠܬ ܥܪܩܬܐ ܕܒܥܐ ܠܡܩܪܒ[85]). Likewise, (the fact) that they were three (animals also) makes this known. But that he commanded him to offer these animals was a sign that he also desired his sons to offer these (sacrifices) to him. [10] But that (phrase) *he divided them equally and he placed (each) member opposite its fellow* bore the indication of the twelve tribes.[86] But their division makes known the vexation and the misery they (were) going to endure in Egypt (ܕܒܬܪ ܕܢܩܪܒ ܠܗ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܥܠ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬ ܒܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬ ܒܝܢ ܠܡܨܪܝܡ). But that (phrase) they were placed *opposite* each other (makes known) that, even when they (were) looking at each other, none was able to help its fellow (ܕܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬ ܒܝܢ ܠܡܨܪܝܡ ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬ ܒܝܢ ܠܡܨܪܝܡ). But (that phrase) *he did not divide the birds*, as he was commanded by God. For, also in the Law, (a bird) was not divided: *He*[87] *will tear it apart between its wing(s), but he will not divide (it)*.[88] And by means of the *birds* he[89] indicated for him[90] that they would fly from Egypt (ܕܐܦ ܥܠ ܦܪܚ ܐܠܗ ܠܗ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܕܢܦܪܚ ܡܢ ܡܨܪܝܡ). But he took the *turtle dove* on account of their being in the desert, for it loves the wilderness. But (he took) the *(young) dove* for those who entered and inherited the promised land, since (the dove) loves cultivated land.[91]

The following tables present the phrases which Bar Koni alters or omits in his preservation of Aḥob's Genesis 15:9-10 scholion (as found in *The Commentary on Genesis-*

[79] Namely, God.
[80] Namely, God.
[81] Namely, Abraham.
[82] Namely, God.
[83] Namely, Abraham.
[84] Cf. Exod 6:16, 18.
[85] This is an otherwise unattested word. It is the pa'el infinitive of ܬܠܬ + a connecting ܐ and a 3fp suffix, meaning "their threeness."
[86] That is, 3 animals, each with 4 limbs, which equals 12 limbs.
[87] Namely, the priest.
[88] Lev 1:17.
[89] Namely, God.
[90] Namely, Abraham.
[91] My translation is based on roughly the first half of *Memra* II, 139 as presented in Hespel and Draguet, *Théodore bar Koni (recension de Séert)* (vol. 1), 138-139. It is worth noting that the later Urmiah recension of this text is said to be "substantially identical" to the Seert recension. However, Hespel does not give the actual text (or its translation); he only hints at it. See idem, *Théodore bar Koni (recension d'Urmiah)* (text), 42, *20-21*.

Exodus 9:32),[92] with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian phrase. Each verse will be presented separately, and the order will follow Bar Koni's text:

Genesis 15:9

Bar Koni (130, *22*-131, *1*, *1-4*, *4-5*, *6-9*)[93]	Aḥob (74, *2-3*, *3-4*, 73, *25*-74, *2*)[94]
"And, as if in a figure, he indicated for him by this sacrifice all (the things) which his offspring were going to endure" (ܗܘ̈ܢ ܕܒܡܬܠܐ ܠܗ ܒܗ̇ܕܐ ܟܠ ܡܕ̈ܡ ܕܙܪܥܗ ܥܬ̈ܝܕ ܠܡܬ̈ܚܡܠ)	"But by the *goat* he indicates the harsh subjection of the third generation" (ܕܟ̈ ܕܡ ܚܕ̈ ܕܫܘܥܒܕܐ ܕܬ̈ܠܬ̈ܝܬ̈ܐ ܕܪ̈ܥܝܬ̈ܐ)
"But the three different animals that he commanded him to offer (were) *a calf, a ram a goat, and* (also) *a turtle dove and a young dove*, and each one of the animals was *three years old*" (ܐܠ̈ܐ ܕܬ̈ܠܬ̈ܐ ܚ̈ܝ̈ܘ̈ܬ̈ܐ ܕܦ̈ܩ̈ܕ ܠܗ ܠܡܩ̈ܪܒ ܥ̈ܓ̈ܠܐ ܘ̈ܐܝ̈ܠ̈ܐ ܥ̈ܙ̈ܐ ܘ̈ܬ̈ܘܪ̈ܬ̈ܐ ܘ̈ܒ̈ܢ̈ܝ ܝ̈ܘ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܘ̈ܟ̈ܠ ܚ̈ܕ ܡ̈ܢ ܗ̈ܢܘܢ ܕ̈ܒ̈ܥ̈ܠ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܗ̈ܘ̈)	(Does Not Use)
"But their threeness indicated the three generations who were going to be enslaved in Egypt" (ܕ̈ܬ̈ܠ̈ܬ̈ ܕ̈ܡ̈ܢ ܠ̈ܗ ܕ̈ܡ ܕ̈ܡ̈ܫ̈ܥ̈ܒ̈ܕ̈ܢ̈ ܕ̈ܗ̈ܘ̈ ܕ̈ܪ̈ܥ̈ܝ̈ܬ̈ ܕ̈ܡ̈ܥ̈ܬ̈ܝ̈ܕ̈)	"Therefore, in like manner, by means of (the words) three and *three years old*, he makes known the three generations" (ܗ̈ܟ̈ ܗ̈ܟ̈ ܕ̈ܒ̈ ܕ̈ܬ̈ܠ̈ܬ̈ ܠ̈ܗ ܕ̈ܡ̈ܢ̈ ܕ̈ܪ̈ܥ̈ܝ̈ܬ̈)
"Likewise, (the fact) that they were three (animals also) makes this known. But that he commanded him to offer these animals was a sign that he also desired his sons to offer these (sacrifices) to him" (ܗ̈ܟ̈ ܕ̈ ܗ̈ ܕ̈ ܗ̈)	(Does Not Use)
(Omits)	"But by the *calf*, he indicates that generation, which first entered Egypt, which thus, as it were, possessed strength, in that it was not yet subdued, like a new calf, which has not yet been bound to the yoke. But, again, by the *ram* he indicates the second generation, which although (a ram is) smaller and tamer than a calf, it is, however, better and stronger than a goat" (ܕ̈ ܗ̈)

[92] Van Rompay notes the parallels between Bar Koni and *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* at this point, but he does not develop their specifics. See idem, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), 95-96.

[93] The text, pages, and line numbers (for both tables) are taken from Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (Syr. II, 65), 130, *16*-131, *21*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from the preceding paragraph.

[94] The text, pages, and line numbers (for both tables) are taken from Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (text), 73, *19*-74, *15*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from Chapter 3, Subsection 3.2.1. Genesis 15:9-10.

Genesis 15:10

Bar Koni (131, *9*, *10-11*, *11-12*, *13*, *15-17*, *17*, *18-21*)	Aḥob (74, *8*, *10-11*, *12-13*, *14-15*, *5-10*)
"*and he placed*" (ܐܣܡ)	"He places" (ܡܣܡ ܗܘ)
"bore the indication of the twelve tribes" (ܣܝܡܐ ܕܫܒܛ̈ܐ ܬܪܬܥܣܪ ܗܘܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܡܕܥ)	(Does Not Use)
"But their division makes known the vexation and the misery they (were) going" (ܡܕܥ ܡܫܟܚ ܗܘ ܒܦܠܓܘܬܗ ܕܥܒܕ ܗܘ ܕܐܙܠ ܥܡ ܡܪܝܪܘܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܦܠܓܘܬܗ)	"By means of their division, he makes known their vexation and their misery, which they were going" (ܒܦܠܓܘܬܗ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܕܐܙܠ ܗܘ ܕܥܒܕ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܡܪܝܪܘܬܐ ܘܥܝܢ ܕܐܙܠ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܡܫܟܚ)
"when they (were) looking at each other" (ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܡܬܚܙ̈ܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕ)	"they were looking at each other" (ܡܬܚܙ̈ܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ)
"as he was commanded by God. For, also in the Law, (a bird) was not divided: *He will tear it apart between its wing(s), but he will not divide (it)*" (ܐܦ ܒܢܡܘܣܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܦܠܓ ܐܝܬ ܕܥܠ ܐܝܟ ܕܦܩܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܡܪ ܒܗ ܠܐ ܢܦܠܓ ܢܦܠܓ ܒܝܢ ܟܢܦܘܗܝ ܢܦܪܨ ܐܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܢܦܠܓ)	(Does Not Use)
"And by means of the *birds* he indicated for him that they would fly" (ܕܢܦܪܚܘܢ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܒܨܦܪ̈ܐ ܐܦ ܒܗܝ)	"indicates their unanimity and unified sojourning in the wilderness, for they were indeed going, somehow, to fly" (ܕܢܦܪܚܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܦ ܒܗܝ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܐܚܝܕܝܐ ܘܫܪܝܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܙܠ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܙܠ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܡܦܪ)
"But he took the *turtle dove* on account of their being in the desert, for it loves the wilderness. But (he took) the *(young) dove* for those who entered and inherited the promised land, since (the dove) loves cultivated land" (ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܡܦܪ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܒܨܦܪ̈ܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܕܐܙܠ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܒܨܦܪ̈ܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܕܐܙܠ ܗܘ ܒܗ

from *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*,[95] which (as discussed in Chapter 3, Subsection 3.2.1. Genesis 15:9-10) preserves the oldest, extant witness to this text,[96] or a (now lost) exegetical collection that would have been comparable to *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*.[97]

Bar Koni seems to have intended his *Scholion* to be used in the classroom setting[98] as a single volume in which is contained, among other things, "the doctrines of the fathers, whom we may take to have been the major thinkers whose works were utilized in the Nestorian tradition."[99] More specifically, he reveals that *Memra* I-IX were meant to be an introduction to Theodore of Mopsuestia's (350-428) biblical commentaries.[100] Given this fact, it is not surprising that Bar Koni quotes four fragments of Aḥob's Genesis 15:9-10 scholion in his *Memra* II, 139, because Theodore interpreted these two verses in a similar, typological manner.[101] While Bar Koni likely includes these fragments because he is interested in their explanation of parts of Gen 15:9-10, he does not simply reproduce them from *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*. Rather, as is shown by the alternating sections of Aḥob and non-Aḥobian material above, he both summarizes and weaves these Aḥob fragments in and out of his own commentary on these same verses. Though he largely summarizes the content of these Aḥob fragments, on two occasions (in connection with the same fragment from v. 10) he retains

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[95] Bar Koni's Gen 15:9-10 text borrows several words and phrases from the parallel text in *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*. These include: "promises" (ܡܝܡܪ̈ܐ), "he was doubtful" (ܡܫ ܫܟܝܟ), "how these (things) could happen and when" (ܐܝܟܢܐ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܠܗ ܘܡܬܝ ܢܗܘܐ; Bar Koni omits the seyame on ܡܬܝ), "by means of the three sacrifices which he commanded him to offer" (ܒܬܠܬ ܕܒܚ̈ܐ ܕܦܩܕ ܠܗ ܠܡܩܪܒ; Bar Koni changes ܓܘܡ to ܓܘܡܪ), "*a calf, a ram, a goat, and* (also) *a turtle dove and a young dove*" (ܥܓܠܐ ܘܐܝܠܐ ܘܥܬܘܕܐ ܘܓܘܙܠ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܘܒܢܝ ܝܘܢܩܐ), "in the desert" (ܒܡܕܒܪܐ), "loves the wilderness" (ܕܪܚܡ ܡܕܒܪܐ; Bar Koni changes the participle ܪܚܡ to ܪܚܝ). One example of a comparable phrase is that *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* refers to "the land of Canaan" (ܐܪܥ ܟܢܥܢ), while Bar Koni changes it to "the promised land" (ܐܪܥ ܕܡܘܥܕܐ). For *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* text, see Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (text), 73, *19*-74, *19*.

[96] Since *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* anonymizes this text, it is unclear if Bar Koni himself knew that it originated from Aḥob.

[97] Cf. Ter Haar Romeny, "Exegesis, Old Testament," 158 and Butts, "Theodoros bar Koni," 405.

[98] Sidney Harrison Griffith, "Theodore bar Kônî's *Scholion*: A Nestorian *Summa Contra Gentiles* from the First Abbasid Century," in Nina G. Garsoïan, Thomas F. Mathews, and Robert W. Thomson (eds.), *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period. Dumbarton Oaks Symposium, 1980* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982), 66-68 and Bas ter Haar Romeny, "Question-and-Answer Collections in Syriac Literature," in Annelie Volgers and Claudio Zamagni (eds.), *Erotapokriseis: Early Christian Question-and-Answer Literature in Context. Proceedings of the Utrecht Colloquium, 13-14 October 2003* (Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 37; Louvain: Peeters, 2004), 156-158.

[99] Griffith, "Theodore bar Kônî," 67.

[100] Bar Koni states near the beginning of *Memra* X that he wrote his *Scholion*, among other reasons, for "those who have just begun to meditate on the reading of the Blessed Interpreter's explanations" (ܡܦܫܩܢܐ ܕܡܦܫܩܢܐ ܡܒܪܟܐ ܕܡܬܚܙܐ ܠܗ ܠܡܩܪܝ ܘܡܬܝ ܢܗܘܐ ܕܡܬܚܙܐ ܠܗ ܠܡܩܪܝ ܘܡܬܝ ܢܗܘܐ). See Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (Syr. II, 65), 231, *19-20* and Hespel and Draguet, *Théodore bar Koni (recension de Séert)* (vol. 1), 172.

[101] For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.1.3. Theodore of Mopsuestia's *Commentary on Genesis*.

the same phraseology found in *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*: 1) "But that (phrase) they were *placed opposite* each other (makes known)" (ܗ ,ܡ ܥܕܝ ܡܬܩܒܠ ܗܘܐ ܕܟܬ̈ܒ ܐ̈ܚܕ ܠܐ) and 2) "none was able to help its fellow" (ܠܐ ܟܬ̈ܒ ܐ̈ܚܕ ܕܝܟ ܠܡܣܥ ܠܚܒܪܗ). Bar Koni also periodically uses similar wording to that which is found in *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*. One example of this is the Aḥob phrase from v. 10, "their vexation and their misery, which they were going to endure" (ܠܡܗܘ ܕܐܝܟ ܥܬ̈ܝܕ̈ܝܢ ܠܡܚܙܐ ܘܠܡܟܐܒ̈ܐ); Bar Koni states the phrase as "the vexation and the misery they (were) going to endure" (ܠܡܗܘ ܕܐܝܟ ܥܬ̈ܝܕ̈ܝܢ ܠܡܚܙܐ ܘܟܐܒ̈ܐ). It is also worth noting that (as shown above) Bar Koni omits two lengthy sections from Aḥob's scholion. The simplest explanation for this is that he does not view their content as material which aids in answering the question that he asks at the beginning of *Memra* II, 139: "What is the reason for those three sacrifices, which Abraham offered?" (ܐܝܢܐ ܗܘ ܛܥܡܐ ܕܫܠܝܫ ܕܒ̈ܚ̈ܐ ܗ̈ܠܝܢ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ ܩܪܒ).

3.3.2. *Cause of the Psalms*

Theodore bar Koni's *Scholion* preserves one fragment of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*. It is situated as the first question and answer of Bar Koni's section on the Psalms,[102] which Hespel and Draguet present as *Memra* V, 17.[103] Though Aḥob is not mentioned by name, Bar Koni's dependency upon his *Cause of the Psalms* is shown by the large number of borrowed themes which he uses to construct *Memra* V, 17:

Bar Koni (353, *14*-354, *8*)[104]	Aḥob (*84-136* and *141-143* and *151-160*)[105]

[102] Scher does not include a subsection heading entitled "Psalms" in his edition of Bar Koni's *Memra* V, though he does include subsection headings in this *Memra* for Bar Sira, Qohelet, Job, and Daniel. See idem, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (Syr. II, 65), 331, *4*; 334, *10*; 336, *15*; 338, *8*; 353. Along with Scher's subsection headings, Hespel and Draguet include subsection headings for Proverbs and Psalms in their edition, all of which are presented within parentheses. See eidem, *Théodore bar Koni (recension de Séert)* (vol. 1), 274, 279, 281, 283, 285, 294.

[103] Hespel and Draguet, *Théodore bar Koni (recension de Séert)* (vol. 1), 294-295. While Scher does not number the various sections within each of Bar Koni's *memre*, he does number each *memra*, and *Memra* V, 17 is the seventeenth question-and-answer section within *Memra* V.

[104] The text, pages, and line numbers are taken from Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (Syr. II, 65), 353, *14*-354, *8*, and the English translation below it is based on Hespel and Draguet, *Théodore bar Koni (recension de Séert)* (vol. 1), 294-295. The Urmiah recension adds a sentence near the end of this section, the content of which is not found in Aḥob: "U + Because the blessed Apostles had remarked that it was indeed him (David) the ancestor of Christ, they had established that it (the Psalter) would be used in the Church." See Hespel and Draguet, *Théodore bar Koni (recension de Séert)* (vol. 1), 295, n. 17. The Syriac text is not given in Hespel, *Théodore bar Koni (recension d'Urmiah)* (text), though it is hinted at on page 121, *11-12*. My English translation is based on Hespel and Draguet's French translation.

[105] The text and line numbers are taken from the edited text presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia, and the English translation below it is my own.

“While all the divine books (are) the image and mirror of divine knowledge, this (one is) more accurate than all (the others). And like an image or statue of a king, which because of the great beauty of the colors and complexion of the material by which it is adorned, it is able, this (one), more than all other images and statues, to show to onlookers the true likeness of the king, so (also) the likenesses which are in this (book) are (more) accurate and the colors, by which the image of the divine knowledge is composed, (are) both (more) beautiful and (more) admirable. And it is like a guide for the blind, and (it is) like a lamp for (the one in) darkness for drawing near to God. While, as in an image, it depicts (and) shows us the power and grace (of God), along with the justice and patience of God, and it brings us, as it were, little by little to knowledge of him and towards his (divine) activity. And it promises us advantages, which (come) from his service, and it clothes us with its holy words as with tried pieces of armor. And through them it gives us confidence to triumph (in) all wars. For these words, when they are recited by blessed people with the purpose which (is) proper for them, drive away rebellious demons and gather holy angels to them. And why do I speak of the angels, for (these words) also draw Christ himself, the redeemer all, to their aid, and they will be deemed worthy of the grace of the Holy Spirit, just as in fact it happened to them and today happens to many (people). For who is not acquainted with the manner of life of blessed people – those who, while they are on the earth, dwell in heaven in thought, and while they are corporeal they become like the angels, those (for) whom the cause of their musing on spiritual (things) is the repetition of the psalms? For as this book of Psalms is full of all these benefits, our holy Fathers, since they were the true discoverers of these divine (matters), also rightly and justly determined that we should recite only this book more than the others…But it is necessary to discuss this also, for what reason did he deliver his prophecy with the pleasant sounds of (various) kinds of music?…Grace rightly caused (him) to compose his words in meters (accompanied) by the sounds of (various) kinds of music and different melodies, so that when heard in such delightful form, they would not quickly satiate the hearers, so that through their abundant delightfulness they would be easily enticing (them) to the love of his teaching” (ܟ ܡܪܝ ܕܟܠ ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܩܕܝ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܘܡܪܝܐ ܕܟܠ ܚܟܡܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܘܡܫܬܟܚ ܠܟܠ ܐܢܘܢ ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܨܠܡܐ ܐܘ ܕܕܝܘܢܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܒܫܘܒܚ ܕܫܘܓܐ ܕܫܦܝܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܕܨܒ̈ܥܘܗܝ ܕܐܬܬܩܢ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܫܪ̈ܝܪ̈ܐ ܕܨܠܡ̈ܐ ܘܕܕܝ̈ܘܢ̈ܐ ܐܚܪ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܗܢ ܕܒܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܗܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܨܠܡ̈ܐ ܘܕܕܝ̈ܘܢ̈ܐ ܕܡܠܟ̈ܐ ܕܒܫܘܒܚ ܕܫܘܓܐ ܕܫܦܝܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܕܨܒ̈ܥܘܗܝ ܕܐܬܬܩܢ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܫܪ̈ܝܪ̈ܐ ܕܨܠܡ̈ܐ ܘܕܕܝ̈ܘܢ̈ܐ ܐܚܪ̈ܢ̈ܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܗܢ ܕܒܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܗܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܕܒܪ̈ܢܐ ܠܥܘܝܪ̈ܐ ܘܐܝܟ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ ܠܡܢ ܕܒܚܫܟܐ ܗܘ ܡܫܪܝ ܠܢ ܒܬܪ ܡܢ ܫܒ̈ܝܠ ܕܡܕܡ̈ܐ ܠܡܕܡ̈ܐ ܠܬܘܒ̈ܐ ܠܡܪܕ̈ܬܐ ܕܐܠܗ̈ܐ ܘܠܡܠ̈ܐܟ̈ܐ ܩܕܝ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܠܬܘܒ̈ܐ ܡܩܪ̈ܒ ܐܢܘܢ ܘܡܫܟ̈ܚ ܠܢ ܠܥܙܪ̈ܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܦܪܩܢ ܟܠ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܠܗܠ ܕܐܬܪ̈ܚܫ ܠܗ ܘܠܗܠ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܗ ܘܠܗܠ ܕܐܬܚܫܒ

❖ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܡܫܬܐܠ ܠܡܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܡܙܡܘܪ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܘܛܒ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܒܣܦܪ ܕܚܝܐ ܘܕܡܘܬܐ ܘܕܓܙܪ ܘܕܕܝܢ ܘܕܩܝܡܬܐ ܘܕܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܟܬܒܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ❖ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܠܟܐ ❖ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܕܡ ܕܥܠ ܕܥܠ ❖ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܕܡ ܕܥܠ ܕܥܠ ❖ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܕܡ ܕܥܠ ܕܥܠ ❖ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܕܡ ܕܥܠ ❖ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܕܡ ❖ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ❖ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܐܝܬ ❖ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ❖)	❖ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ❖)

There are approximately twelve themes in *Memra* V, 17 which Bar Koni borrows from Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*. These include the following:

1) The Psalms are a collection of all spiritually good things

2) An image of a king

3) The notion of entering into greater knowledge of something

4) Theodore of Mopsuestia's concept of the two ages

5) Victory over inward and outward wars via the words of the Psalms

6) Varying topics of the Psalms apply to all people

7) The holy Fathers say the Psalms should be recited more than other biblical books

8) The Psalms were composed in meters

9) The words of the Psalms are pleasing

10) Reciting the Psalms drives away demons

11) Those who recite the Psalms invite angels to come to them

12) The words of the Psalms invite Christ himself

Bar Koni's *Memra* V, 17 introduces his readers to the importance of the Psalms. Bar Koni wished to establish the Psalms as the biblical book *par excellence* in comparison with all other biblical books, and he viewed Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* as an accessible source to aid in his explanation of this theological position.[106] There are likely two reasons why he only presents selected parts of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* in a rearranged and reformatted manner: 1) his genre of choice is not prose, which Aḥob used, but that of questions and answers,[107] and 2) he is only interested in select aspects of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*. Since Bar Koni likely intended that his *Scholion* be a one-volume compendium of the great thinkers whose writings

[106] Cf. Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 4, n. 1.

[107] Bar Koni's first nine *memre* are presented in the form of questions and answers. *Memra* 10 and 11 are presented in a different format, due to the nature of their content. See Butts, "Theodoros bar Koni," 405-406.

were used by East Syriac writers[108] – most important of which were Theodore of Mopsuestia's works – he summarizes select parts of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* (in his *Memra* V, 17), because he arguably views Aḥob as both a significant thinker and an authoritative writer, whose *Cause of the Psalms* is perceived to be the paramount introduction to the Peshitta Psalter.[109]

Van den Eynde suggested that, along with Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, Bar Koni's *Memra* V, 17 may be relying on Basil's Prologue to Psalm 1.[110] Bar Koni was clearly aware of at least one of Basil's translated works, because he relies on Basil's *Hexaemeron* in a number of places in his *Memra* I.[111] Furthermore, a comparison between Bar Koni's *Memra* V, 17 and Basil's Syriac Prologue to Psalm 1[112] reveals a number of shared themes:

Bar Koni (353, *14*-354, *8*)[113]	Basil of Caesarea (141r, col. 1, *21*-141v, col. 1, *31* and col. 2, *6-19* and 142r, col. 2, *23-29*)[114]
"Why, of all the holy books, was David transmitted to be recited and sung in the Church? First, because he is the fullness and the sum of all the prophets after him and that what these partially expressed, he had said in advance globally; second, because in him is defined and gathered the wealth of all the spiritual goods, and he shows as by an image of a king. For in him the knowledge of the two ages is depicted and he teaches how to endure before natural passions and against wars coming from outside. In	"Now, the instruction which we learn from the prophets is one thing, and the improving stories (which we learn) from the book of Judges and the book(s) of Kings are different in form, and the admonition from the (books of) Law is (of) another order, and the Proverbs and allegories that (derive) from the wisdom of Solomon are a different form. And although the fear of God is inscribed in all of them, in all (their) different-forms, yet their narrative-styles differ from one another. But in the book of the holy Psalms (that which is) beneficial is gathered together from all the Scriptures, and the discernment of all of them is inscribed in it. For it prophesies about future (events) and it also retells those things which have happened. And within it is justly recreated and found the import of the Law, and within it are rightly stored up the events of ancient (times). And in short, it is a storehouse of the doctrine of good things, for benefits are found from it for the one who is careful to apply them to his pains through his searching (of it). For through it also are

[108] Griffith, "Theodore bar Kônî," 67.

[109] *Memra* V, 18 also introduces various aspects of the Psalms. However, this section appears to be Bar Koni's own summary of a traditional Antiochene approach to interpreting the Psalms, which he likely bases on a close reading of the biblical text.

[110] Van den Eynde also suggested that Nathniel of Shirzor's *Cause of the Psalms* may be a source for Bar Koni in *Memra* V, 17. However, there does not appear to be any words or phrases that Bar Koni takes from Nathniel's *Cause of the Psalms* for his *Memra* V, 17, suggesting he was either unaware of this treatise or chose not to use it. See Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 4, n. 1 and Chapter 3, Section 3.1. The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's *Cause of the Psalms* in Nathniel of Shirzor's *Cause of the Psalms*.

[111] Hespel and Draguet, *Théodore bar Koni (recension de Séert)* (vol. 1), 284.

[112] For a further discussion of the Syriac translational stages of Basil's Prologue to Psalm 1, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.1.2. Basil of Caesarea's Prologue to Psalm 1.

[113] The text, pages, and line numbers are taken from Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (Syr. II, 65), 353, *14*-354, *8*, and the English translation is taken from the Bar Koni translation presented in the first table of this subsection.

[114] The text, folios, columns, and line numbers are taken from ms. British Library, Add. 14,543, ff. 141r, col. 1, *1*-144r, col. 1, *8*, and the English translation is taken from an unpublished translation of this text, which was produced by Seth M. Stadel and David G. K. Taylor. For a discussion of the Syriac translational stages of Basil's Prologue to Psalm 1, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.1.2. Basil of Caesarea's Prologue to Psalm 1.

him is encouragement for the afflicted ones, reproach for the evil ones, and incentive for the weak ones. And because the holy Fathers saw that the whole purpose of virtue is collected and concealed within his verses, they committed to recite and to sing it more than all the rest within the Churches. His songs are also pleasing and alluring, because he composed them in meters, according to the methods of singing. For this is not hidden how, by the recitation of the holy words, they drive away all the rebellious demons and gather holy angels to them. That is to say, (they) also (invite) Christ our Lord" (	cured those in whom the ulcers of sins have grown old, and by it are healed those in whom the wounds of failings are new, and those who are unharmed in their righteousness are preserved by its admonitions. And, in short, (this book) is a purifier of wicked passions, however much they might defile the souls of those who possess them. And through (the psalms) a person is able to aid his soul by means of (their) righteous and sweet melody, through thought (motivated by) pure desire. Now, because the Holy Spirit saw that (only) with difficulty was the human race brought to upright-behavior, and because in the world neglectful desire due to foul melodies outweighs in them (the inclination) that they should attain to correct ways of life, she took—under the name of the holy Psalms—melodies of a seemly nature and she mixed with them the precepts of salvation, so that by pleasant and sweet means our human hearing might long to receive the benefit that is due to the words within them…Thus, in this (same) manner, the precepts were combined for us with the seemly melodies of the psalms by the divine Providence, so that into either those to whom youth with its age adheres, or (into) those who in their thinking are young with regard to virtuous discernment, the Word of God might insinuate itself through song for the instruction of their souls…The psalms, then, are truly banishers of demons, and in the same manner as angels is the help that we receive from them" (

The themes shared between Bar Koni and Basil in the above table are the following:

1) The Psalms are to be chanted

2) The greatest of the biblical books is the Psalms

3) The Psalms assists the needy

4) The Psalms help one overcome the passions

5) The Psalms protect one from demons

6) The Psalms invite the angels to one's aid

7) The need for virtue is found in the Psalms

8) The Psalms are pleasing to hear

While it is certainly possible that Bar Koni was at least aware of Basil's Syriac Prologue to Psalm 1, it is unclear to what extent it may or may not have directly influenced his *Memra* V, 17. Rather, it seems more likely that Bar Koni's *Memra* V, 17 was indirectly influenced by Basil via Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, which arguably relies on Basil's Prologue to Psalm 1.[115] This is evidenced both by Bar Koni's large number of borrowed themes from Aḥob (compared to Basil) and his similar choice in nouns, which shares more of a parallel with Aḥob than with Basil.[116]

3.4. The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's Exegesis in the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary*

In the following examination of Aḥob's exegetical works in the *DGC*,[117] each subsection will contain four parts, with the third part consisting of three subparts: 1) the Peshitta text of the verse(s) under discussion, along with an English translation; 2) the *DGC's* commentary[118] on the same verse(s), to which each Aḥob scholion is attached; 3a) an examination of the physical placement of each Aḥob scholion[119] within (V)LMS(C), b) an analyzed discussion of each Aḥob scholion, c) a proposal for the intended meaning of each Aḥob scholion;[120] 4) the possible reason(s) why and/or the manner by which each Aḥob scholion is utilized in (V)LMS(C) in (a)

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[115] It is also possible that Bar Koni draws on lost or unknown introductions to the Psalms. For a further discussion of Aḥob's use of Basil's Prologue to Psalm 1, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.1.2. Basil of Caesarea's Prologue to Psalm 1.

[116] For instance, Bar Koni shares identical nouns with Aḥob, such as "knowledge" (ܡܕܥܐ) and "meters" (ܡܫܩܠܬܐ), as well as synonym nouns, such as "image" (Bar Koni: ܕܡܘܬܐ; Aḥob: ܨܠܡܐ and ܐܝܩܘܢܐ). He also shares select phrases with Aḥob, such as "rebellious demons" (ܫܓܝܐ ܕܣܛܢܐ) and "holy angels" (ܩܕܝܫ ܕܡܠܐܟ), though Aḥob includes a seyame on ܣܛܢܐ; Basil refers to them simply as "demons" (ܣܛܢܐ) and "angels" (ܡܠܐܟ).

[117] Following on discussions of the *DGC* manuscripts presented in Chapter 2, the following sigla will be used in this section for their equivalent edition/manuscripts: P = ms. Paris, BnF Syr. 367 (*olim* Seert 29); P^2 = ms. Paris, BnF Syr. 351; V = Vandenhoff Exemplar; L = ms. British Library, Or. 9354; M = ms. Mingana Syr. 58; S = ms. Strasbourg Syr. 4121; C = ms. Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1318.

[118] For the edited text of each translated *DGC* verse (along with all rubricated words), see Appendix.

[119] In the *DGC* manuscript tradition, the name of "Aḥob Qaṭraya" and/or "Aḥob" is always written in red ink.

[120] In the discussion of several *DGC* Aḥob scholia, the likely intended meaning is stated as part of the discussion of the scholion itself.

particular verses(s). The exception to this format will be Subsection 3.4.1., in which Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* is discussed.

3.4.1. *Cause of the Psalms*[121]

Aḥob's only surviving complete work is his *Cause of the Psalms*,[122] which is a literary text introducing the book of Psalms. The fullest version of this work is found prefixed in its apparent entirety, without any scribal comments, to the *DGC*, and it is the first of 8 documents[123] given to introduce the Psalms and its importance. Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* is placed as the first of these 8 documents in VLMSC, likely because it is viewed as the paramount Psalms introduction. Aḥob attributes the authorship of each Psalm to David, which is emphatically stated in his opening words: "The Book of the Causes of the Psalms of the blessed David, king and prophet and heart of the Lord" (ܣܦܪ ܥܠܬܐ ܕܡܙܡܪܐ ܕܕܘܝܕ ܛܘܒܢܐ ܢܒܝܐ ܘܟܪܝܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ),[124] as well as several times later in the work in the form of metonymy.[125] If a specific recipient was intended, the name is now unknown; Aḥob simply addresses the treatise to "O, my lord the diligent reader" (ܐܝ ܡܪܝ ܡܪܝ ܙܩ ܣܟܠ), which is a general title of respect likely intended for any potential reader.

In his *Cause of the Psalms*, Aḥob insists that the Psalms summarize the whole Old Testament, though not the New Testament. He uses the phrase "the Holy Scriptures" (ܟܬܒ ܩܕܫܐ) only in reference to the Old Testament, because he perceives the Psalms as dividing the Old Testament into four kinds (ܐܪܒ…ܣܓ) of categories: "prophecy…and history…and law writing…wisdom" (ܚܟܡܬ ܡܠܦ ܢܒܝ ܡܠ ܐܓܪ…ܐܒ), all of which comprise the totality of the Old Testament. Furthermore, other Old Testament "books teach partially and

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[121] Vandenhoff offered the first (extremely brief) overview of this text in Latin. Subsequently, Ter Haar Romeny produced two overviews of this text in English, both of which were based on the Vandenhoff Exemplar (i.e. V) alone. See Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 5-6 (Latin); Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 149; idem, "Introduction to the *Book of the Aims of the Psalms*," 89-90. Having edited all known, complete versions of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* (as presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia), my overview aims to be a more comprehensive discussion of this text. All line numbers are taken from Aḥob's edited text in Chapter 2.

[122] Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* is too lengthy to reproduce here. For the Syriac text and translation of this work, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

[123] See Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.5. Works.

[124] While it is likely that this lengthy phrase from the title of the *Cause of the Psalms* is the work of a later scribe, it is also likely that Aḥob would have included a title (now lost), which would have credited David as the sole author of all the psalms.

[125] Examples of this include the following: "And know that in David there are all good (things)" (ܘܬܕ ܒܗ ܟܠ ܡܫܠ ܛܘܒܐ ܒܗ), "and there is in him…" (ܘܒܗ ܐ), "There is in him…" (ܒܗ ܐ), "that we should chant from him…" (ܕܢܙܡܪ ܒܗ). See Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, *186-187*, *189*, *195*, *200*.

particularly, but this (one) [i.e. the Psalms] proclaims completely" (ܒܟܠܗ ܒܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܕܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܒܟܠܚܕ ܡܢ ܕܡ ܡܫܟܚ). The Psalms can function in such a capacity, because "it suffices to be in the approximate rank of the head (in relation) to the body of the Holy Scriptures" (ܕܡ ܒܟܦܐ ܡܐܒܪ ܕܥܡ ܩܕܡ ܕܒܥܠ ܕܥܝ ܒܢ ܕܫܟܚ). Similar comparisons are made with a human head to the human body and with the fruits of Paradise to other fruits found elsewhere. In short, while varying aspects of prophecy, history, law writing, and wisdom "are found scattered in all the Scriptures…this book of Psalms…is composed, as it were, of some members and parts from all these" (ܕ…ܒܓܘ ܕܡ…ܕܒܟ ܕܒܟ ܫܟܚ ܒܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܒܟܠ ܕܐ ܒܢ ܕܒܟ ܡܢ ܕܡ ܫܟܚ ܒܟ ܕܒܟ…). Aḥob then lists a large number of topics on which the Psalms teach, ranging from "the Creator" (ܕܐܬ) to moralistic modes for living/detestable manners of life to avoid, to "(several) kinds of praise and thanksgiving… and frequent and continuous (examples) of (things) which we should ask (for) and how we should ask and wait for (them)" (ܒܟ ܕܥܝ ܒܟ ܕܒܟܬܒܟ ܕܒܟ…ܕܒܟܫܟܚ ܕܒܟ ܕܒ ܕܒܟ ܕܥܝ). He does not seem deterred by the fact that the Psalms do not present these biblical topics in any sort of order. The reason that Psalms is the paramount Old Testament book is that its ability to be "the image and mirror of divine knowledge…(is) more accurate than all" (ܒܟ ܫܟ ܒ…ܕܒܟ ܕܒܟ ܕܒ ܕܒ) other Old Testament books. As a result, Aḥob insists that "it brings us, as it were, little by little to knowledge of him [i.e. God] and towards his (divine) activity" (ܒ ܕܒ ܒܟܒ ܕܒ ܕܒ ܕܒ ܕܥܝ). Recitation of the Psalms will "drive away rebellious demons" (ܕ ܕܐ ܕ), allowing "holy angels" (ܕ ܕ) and "Christ himself" (ܕ ܒ) to come to a person's aid. Furthermore, it prepares a person to be able to receive "the grace of the Holy Spirit" (ܕ ܕ ܒ). Thus, Aḥob implicitly asserts a Trinitarian aspect to the Psalms. For all of these reasons, he agrees with the "holy Fathers…that we should recite only this book more than the others" (ܕ…ܕ ܒ ܒ ܕ ܕ…ܕ ܕ). Aḥob then shifts his focus to the musical component of the Psalms, suggesting that David was caused "to compose his words in meters (accompanied) by the sounds of (various) kinds of music and different melodies" (ܒ ܕ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܕ). Such music and melodies "would not quickly satiate the hearers" (ܕ ܒ) but would, instead, draw them deeper into a genuine "love of his [i.e. David's] teaching" (ܕ). Aḥob contrasts the Psalms with concurrent secular songs, which appear to have competed (at some level) with the

Church's steadfast insistence on chanting the Psalms.[126] He maintains that, whereas the secular songs are unfulfilling – beyond the momentary pleasure of their sounds, the melodies of the Psalms never cease to fulfill, and the ones who sing their words "sing the same (words) as though they had never (before) been spoken" (ܡܙܡܪܝܢ ܡܫܡ ܕ ܡܫܡ...ܟܐܝܢ ܗܘ ܠܐ ܐܬܡܪ). Among the many reasons why the Psalms should be chanted, Aḥob states that it prophesies about the life and ministry of Christ. However, this is only meant to be a part of the Psalms and not their sole purpose. Aḥob concludes his *Cause of the Psalms* with a praise to God for making it possible, via "the observance of the commandments" (ܢܛܘܪܬ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ), to be able to receive the many gifts "of his treasures" (ܡܢ ܓܢܙܘܗܝ) and to obtain mercy, as "the prophet, David, found mercy" (ܐܫܟܚ ܢܒܝܐ ܕܘܝܕ).

3.4.2. Psalm 5:4

According to the Peshitta, Ps 5:4 states:

ܝܗ ܒܩܪ ܬܫܡܥ ܡܠܝ ܒܨܠܘܬܝ. ܘܒܩܪ ܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܟ ܘܐܬܚܙܐ ܠܟ.	Lord, in the morning you will hear my voice, and in the morning I will prepare myself and I will be seen by you.

The *DGC* on this same verse states:[127]

> *Lord, in the morning* (ܒܩܪ) *you will hear my voice* and you will clearly show me your salvation, *and in* another *morning I will prepare myself* with vows and offerings *and I will show myself to you* in Jerusalem.[128]

This Aḥob scholion[129] is the first one preserved in the texts of LMSC, which is made apparent by its full attribution of "Aḥob Qaṭraya" (ܐܚܘܒ ܩܛܪܝܐ).[130] While it is not marked with any reference marker (either in the scholion or in the texts of LMSC), this marginal scholion[131] is visually connected to Ps 5:4, in that it seeks to unpack the multifaceted meanings of the

[126] For a further discussion of Syriac secular songs, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.8. Miscellaneous References.

[127] For the Syriac text of this verse, see Appendix, Psalm 5:4.

[128] This translation is my own.

[129] Aḥob's Psalm 5:4 scholion states, "For the (word meaning) *morning* is understood in three (ways) in the Scriptures. That is to say, either concerning splendor or concerning that (which is) this *morning*. But, (on) this (occasion), he speaks about swiftness." For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

[130] All subsequent Aḥob scholia in the *DGC* shorten this attribution to "Aḥob" (ܐܚܘܒ).

[131] In LMSC, this Aḥob scholion is written as a marginal gloss in the *DGC*.

masculine singular noun, "morning" (ܩܕܡ).[132] Aḥob suggests that the Scriptures (ܟܬܒ̈ܐ) present three possible meanings for morning: "splendor" (ܩܕܡ̈ܐ), "this morning" (ܩܕܡ ܗܢܐ), and "swiftness" (ܩܕܠܘܬ). He suggests the first two meanings in an either-or arrangement: "[it is used] either concerning splendor or concerning that (which is) this morning" (ܗܢܐ ܩܕܡ، ܐܘ ܥܠ ܩܕܡ̈ܐ ܗܘ ܐܘ). While the meaning of "this morning" for ܩܕܡ is arguably self-evident, Aḥob's usage of "splendor" is less clear, though he may be implying the beauty of an early morning (i.e. the sunrise, various species of wildlife awakening, etc.). However, without an addendum explanation, he immediately dismisses both of these options and settles on the third meaning, namely "swiftness," as the most appropriate way to describe ܩܕܡ in this verse. Aḥob's insistence that "swiftness" should be regarded as the primary meaning of ܩܕܡ in Ps 5:4 arguably introduces a subtle shift in the focus of the verse: whereas the Peshitta translators follow the MT בֹּקֶר and likely intend for ܩܕܡ to be understood in a straightforward manner, i.e. as the initial part of a day, Aḥob rejects this approach and instead concentrates on the manner by which ܩܕܡ comes. In other words, Aḥob focuses on the speed of ܩܕܡ, namely that it arrives with "swiftness."[133] In this way, Aḥob suggests that it is not a particular time of the day that the Psalmist should speak or present himself before God. Rather, when he speaks and presents himself before God, he will be quickly noticed by God, i.e. with "swiftness."

The inclusion of Aḥob's Psalm 5:4 scholion in the margins of LMSC highlights the varying nuances of ܩܕܡ and offers an alternative way through which to understand this masculine singular noun. The implied result is that this Aḥob scholion likely functions as a corrective to the perceived difficult[134] ܩܕܡ and to the broader understanding of Ps 5:4 in the *DGC* manuscript tradition as well.

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[132] There are no recorded variants for ܩܕܡ in the Peshitta, or its related words, בֹּקֶר and πρωὶ, in the MT and LXX, respectively.

[133] It is unclear if Aḥob is using other similar passages from the Psalms to arrive at his conclusion concerning the use of ܩܕܡ in Ps 5:4. Other examples, where "morning" could be understood in a parallel way as "swiftness" in the Psalms, are the following: Ps 30:6; 49:15; 90:5-6.

[134] It remains unclear why ܩܕܡ was viewed as a difficult word. For instance, was it the repetition of this word in Ps 5:4? Was it the implication that God might not hear and see something? Was it a concern about how one should prepare for being seen by God? Unfortunately, the texts of LMSC do not provide further commentary on this verse that would answer these questions.

3.4.3. Psalm 29:9

According to the Peshitta, Ps 29:9 states:

ܩܠܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܕܡܬܒܪ ܐܝܠܢܐ ܘܡܚܣܦ ܝܥܪܬܐ. ܘܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܒܗܝܟܠܗ ܐܡܪ ܫܒܚܐ.	The voice of the Lord that shakes the hinds and uproots the forests. And everyone in his temple says, “Glory!”

The *DGC* on this same verse states:[135]

> *The voice of the Lord shakes the hinds* (ܐܝܠܢܐ) by means of a hidden plague, (by) which they were struck by an angel, *and it uproots the forests*, into which they fled that they should become messengers in the world. He calls “*hinds*” the weak men who (are) in the camp of the Assyrians, because like *hinds* he made them suddenly flee. And (he calls them) “*forests*,” because of their multitude. Alternatively, the *ʾylt’* are being called trees which (are) young in their plantings, and he calls “*forests*” thick and diverse trees. *And everyone in his temple says*, “*Glory!*,” (on account of) his victory, which they gained over the Assyrians.[136]

Aḥob’s scholion[137] is visually connected to the first phrase of Ps 29:9, specifically the word “hinds” (ܐܝܠܢܐ).[138] This scholion is either fragmented at its beginning or referencing back to another, now lost, scholion (possibly on an earlier verse in Ps 29 as well) as is noted by the postpositive adverb “on the other hand” (ܕܟܐ).[139] Aḥob may have been looking at an unvowelled text and, thus, highlights the ambiguity of ܐܝܠܢܐ by suggesting one of two translational options in the form of a question: 1) “trees” (i.e. *ʾilātā*) “which (are) young in their plantings” (ܐܝܠܢܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܒܣܝܦܐ) or 2) “hinds” (i.e. *ʾaylātā*; ܐܝܠܢܐ), namely, female deer. He describes the first option as something akin to the type of tree in which Absalom became hung.[140] Along with the second option he attaches the (female) animal species, “ibexes”

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[135] For the Syriac text of this verse, see Appendix, Psalm 29:9. The biblical setting of this verse is established by the Ps 29 heading in the *DGC*, which states, “Spoken by David in the persona (of) Hezekiah, as it was proper for him, after the death of the Assyrians, to summon the people to bring sacrifices to God for its deliverance.” For the Syriac text of this psalm heading, see Appendix, Psalm 29.

[136] This translation is my own.

[137] Aḥob’s Psalm 29:9 scholion states, “On the other hand, (do) we read *ʾylt’* either (in the sense of) trees, which (are) young in their plantings, like that in which *Absalom was hung*, or (in the sense of) hinds *and* ibexes, which dwell in the forests?” For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

[138] In the text of the *DGC*, ܐܝܠܢܐ is marked in L with a siglum in the form of a sideways red “z,” which is above the word, while in MSC it is marked with a red dot above it. The equivalent word in Aḥob’s scholion, which is written as a marginal gloss in LMSC, is not marked.

[139] Due to the manner in which this Aḥob scholion is preserved, it is unclear whether ܕܟܐ should be translated as “on the other hand” (suggesting fragmentation at the beginning) or “again” (suggesting a reference to another, now lost, scholion). I have chosen the first translational option of “on the other hand.” For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.1. The Original Form of Aḥob of Qatar’s Old Testament Exegetical Works.

[140] Cf. 2 Sam 18:9. The word to which Aḥob is referencing in 2 Sam 18:9 is ܐܝܠܢܐ.

(ܐܝܠܬܐ),[141] which he perceives as dwelling in the "forests" (ܚܘܪܫ). Based on Prov 5:19,[142] it is likely that Aḥob understood ibexes to be a synonym of hinds, which would explain why he singles them out (as opposed to some other related animal species) for mentioning at this point in his scholion. Broadly speaking, Aḥob is trying to understand whether God is shaking *ʾilātā* or whether he is shaking *ʾaylātā*, the latter of which would only make sense if the *ʾaylātā* live in the forests. While he recognizes the ambiguity concerning ܐܝܠܬܐ in Ps 29:9 and seeks to clarify possible misconceptions that would arise from inadvertently misunderstanding the word's meaning in context,[143] Aḥob does not decide on any particular translational option.[144]

Confusion surrounding the spelling and, thus, the meaning of ܐܝܠܬܐ is also present in the texts of LMSC.[145] As a result, they compare ܐܝܠܬܐ to both weak men in the Assyrian camp and young trees in the same verse. Based on the vowel pointing, this feminine plural noun is rendered as "hinds" (ܐܲܝܠܳܬܳܐ) in LMC,[146] though they do not explain how "hinds" are comparable to young trees.[147] S does not include vowels with its usages of ܐܝܠܬܐ in this verse, possibly because its scribe, Augustinus, forgot to include them or because his exemplar did not present this noun with vowels. Aḥob's Psalm 29:9 scholion is likely included in the margins of LMSC to clarify that there are two possible readings of the consonantal text of ܐܝܠܬܐ.

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[141] The only place where ܐܝܠܬܐ and ܐܝܬܝܐ are paired together (both in the singular form) in the Old Testament is Prov 5:19, the context of which is an imperative for a young man to love the wife of his youth and not be ensnared by an adulteress.

[142] Prov 5:19 states, "A lovely hind and a lovely ibex. Learn (from) her ways always, and feed on her love" (ܐܝܠܬ ܚܢܝܢܬ ܘܝܥܠ ܚܣܝܢ ܠܟ ܥܡ ܕܪܟܝܗ ܐܝܠܬܐ ܘܐܝܬܝܐ ܚܢܝܢܬ ܐܝܠܬܐ).

[143] The Peshitta preserves a few variant readings of ܐܝܠܬܐ: Peshitta 8t1 omits the seyame from ܐܝܠܬܐ and 12t5 renders ܐܝܠܬܐ as ܐܝܠܠܝܬ, which is arguably an inner Syriac scribal error. The MT אַיָּלוֹת and the LXX ἐλάφους also contain variant spellings of this word. The MT reads: prp אַיָּלוֹת = אֵילִים, and the LXX reads: ελαφους *ceruos* GaHiAug] *cedros* La: ex 5. It is unclear if Aḥob was aware of any of these variants.

[144] While it is unclear if this scholion is fragmented at its beginning (i.e. Aḥob's use of ܗܘ), it should also be noted that it is possible that this scholion is fragmented at its end, which would explain why Aḥob does not settle on any particular translational option. It is also possible that he intentionally did not want to argue for any particular option but only wanted to highlight the translational difficulties connected to ܐܝܠܬܐ in Ps 29:9. The lack of context surrounding this Aḥob scholion makes it difficult to speculate any further on this particular point.

[145] It is worth noting that the earliest, extant Syriac Masora manuscript (which is written in East Syriac script) vowel points this pluralized noun as ܐܲܝܠܳܬܳܐ, i.e. *ʾaylātā*. Later West Syriac Masora manuscripts inconsistently present this pluralized noun as both ܐܲܝܶܠܳܬܳܐ, i.e. *ʾilātā*, and ܐܲܝܠܰܬܳܐ, i.e. *ʾaylātā*. See Jonathan Loopstra, *An East Syrian Manuscript of the Syriac 'Masora' Dated to 899 CE: A Facsimile Reproduction of British Library, Add. MS 12138* (vol. 1; Piscataway, New Jersey: Gorgias Press, 2014), ix, 255, *3*; ms. Damascus Syr. 7/16 (1004), f. 57r, col. 2, *19*; ms. Mosul 41 (1014), f. 51v, col. 2, *5* and related marginal note.

[146] P, f. 75v, *11-20* seems to suggest that the meaning should be "hinds" (ܐܲܝܠܳܬܳܐ). This psalm is not preserved in P^2.

[147] It is possible that, due to their similar spellings, an error crept into an early (now lost) *DGC* exemplar, and LMSC simply preserve these variations. In this verse the Peshitta makes no comparison between hinds and young trees; in fact, young trees are not even mentioned in this Peshitta verse! It is also possible that the vowels of the two nouns are being mixed together in LMSC, thus inadvertently creating more confusion in an already confusing verse.

3.4.4. Psalm 31:6

According to the Peshitta, Ps 31:6 states:

ܘܐܝܩܝܪ ܠܟ.	And I have caused my spirit to be guarded by you.
ܐܦܕܬܢܝ ܡܪܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܪܪܐ.	And you redeemed me, Lord God of truth.

The *DGC* on this same verse states:[148]

> *And I have caused (it) to be guarded* (ܐܝܩܝܪ)[149] *by you* (ܠܟ), this is to say, I caused *my spirit* to be patient (ܘܐܝ ܐܝܩܝܪ), so that you might redeem it (ܐܦܕܬܢܝ), even today, as you are willing. *And you redeemed me, Lord God*, the maker *of truth* and righteousness. Therefore, he[150] prophesied about a deliverance from captivity, and he[151] says.[152]

Aḥob's scholion[153] is visually connected to the aph'el perfect verb "I have caused (it) to be guarded" (ܐܝܩܝܪ).[154] In his scholion, Aḥob seeks to understand why the aph'el perfect form of ܐܝܩܝܪ, rather than the p'al perfect form of ܐܝܩ, is used in Ps 31:6. Along with this, he strives to clarify the meaning of ܐܝܩܝܪ, and, to this end, Aḥob makes two brief comments:[155] first, he offers a parallel definition: "I have guarded" (ܐܝܩ), and, second, he compares ܐܝܩܝܪ to 2 Kgs 5:24: "Gehazi *took (the silver) and caused (it) to be guarded in the house*" (ܘܐܫܬ ܠܟܣ ܒܒܝܬܐ ܐܝܩܝ). Aḥob assumes his readers will understand the context of his reference to 2 Kgs 5:24. Furthermore, he likely does not intend, here, to emphasize Gehazi's wrongdoing, which was deceiving Naaman into giving him a large amount of silver and some clothing for personal gain.[156] Rather, Aḥob overlooks these details and, instead, focuses on two corresponding points between Ps 31:6 and 2 Kgs 5:24: 1) both use the aph'el perfect form of ܐܝܩ and 2) the causative usage of ܐܝܩ in Ps 31:6 does not mean that someone else is doing the guarding; rather, Aḥob

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[148] For the Syriac text of v. 6, see Appendix, Psalm 31:6.

[149] Namely, my spirit.

[150] Namely, David.

[151] Namely, David.

[152] This translation is my own. The *DGC* continues with an immediate quotation from v. 7.

[153] Aḥob's Psalm 31:6 scholion states, "*I have caused (my spirit) to be guarded*, that is to say, I have guarded. *I have caused (my spirit) to be guarded* is like that (verse), Gehazi *took (the silver) and caused (it) to be guarded in the house*." For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

[154] In the text of the *DGC*, this word is marked in LMSC with a red dot above it. The equivalent word in Aḥob's scholion, which is written as a marginal gloss in LMSC, is not marked.

[155] Though the Peshitta and the MT do not preserve any variants connected to ܐܝܩܝܪ and אַפְקִיד, respectively, the LXX παραθήσομαι does, which reads: παραθησομαι] παρατιθημι L^{pau}, *commendo* La Uulg(sed Ga -*dabo*): ex Luc. 2346, ubi mss. παρατιθεμαι uel -τιθημι et *commendo* praebent; + *domine* La^{G}. However, it is unclear if Aḥob would have been aware of, or influenced by, these LXX variants.

[156] See 2 Kgs 5:1-23.

suggests that, like the p‘al perfect form, it just means that David himself is guarding his own spirit, just like Gehazi guarded the silver in the house in 2 Kgs 5:24.

The texts of LMSC also seek to clarify the meaning of ܛܢܨܪ,[157] in conjunction with "by you" (ܠܟ). They unpack the Peshitta phrase "I have caused (it) to be guarded by you" (ܠܟ ܛܢܨܪ) by suggesting that it means "I caused *my spirit* to be patient, so that you might redeem it" (ܫܪܝܬ ܪܘܚܝ ܛܢܨܪ). The place from which David is seeking to be redeemed is, according to the texts of LMSC on the preceding verse – namely v. 5,[158] Babylonian captivity. While there are no known variants of ܛܢܨܪ in this Peshitta verse,[159] this Aḥob scholion is likely included in the margins of LMSC as an alternative explanation for ܛܢܨܪ.

3.4.5. Psalm 39:2

According to the Peshitta, Ps 39:2 states:

ܐܡܪܬ ܐܐܡܪ ܒܐܘܪܚܝ ܛܢܨܪ ܠܠܫܢܝ. ܐܫܡܪ ܦܘܡܝ ܒܟܡܐ ܕܐܬ ܩܕܡܝ ܚܛܝܐ ܕܩܡܝ ܠܘܬ.	I said, "I will guard my way and not sin with my tongue. I will guard my mouth from wickedness, on account of the wicked ones who (are) against me."

The *DGC* on this same verse states:[160]

> *I said*, "*I will guard my way*," (ܒܐܘܪܚܝ) that is to say, my way of life, (ܐܘܪܚܬܐ), "*and not sin with my tongue*." And he said words that (are) a stumbling block, for the ones who (are) wicked flourish, and the righteous are delivered into their hands. "*I will guard my mouth from wickedness*" – and he (has) not said something impious – "*on account of the wicked (ones)* of the house of Saul, *who (are) against me*, are standing."[161]

While Aḥob's Psalm 39:2[162] scholion[163] is visually connected to the first part of LMSC's insights on the same verse,[164] Aḥob is arguably clarifying the nature of the entire verse

[157] See P, f. 77r, *22*, which preserves this word as ܛܢܨܪ.

[158] The *DGC* on Ps 31:5 states, "*And carry me out of this net*, which (is) captivity, *which* the Babylonians *hid for me, because you are my helper*" (ܕܬܦܩ ܠܝ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܫܒܝܐ ܕܛܡܪ ܠܝ ܒܒܠܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܢ ܥܘܕܪܐ ܐܢܬ ܠܝ). See P, f. 77r, *20-22*.

[159] Like Aḥob, it is unclear if the scribes of LMSC were aware of, or influenced by, the variants in the LXX Psalms.

[160] For the Syriac text of this verse, see Appendix, Psalm 39:2.

[161] This translation is my own.

[162] It is worth noting that there is a thematic link between Ps 31:6; 39:2 with the use of ܛܢ in both verses. However, it is unclear if this influenced Aḥob's interest in commenting on these two verses.

[163] Aḥob's Psalm 39:2 scholion states, "He says, 'My thoughts.'" For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

[164] In the text of the *DGC*, ܐܘܪܚܬܐ is marked in LMC with a siglum in the form of a sideways red "z," which is above the word; S marks it with a red "x" above it. C connects this verse with Aḥob's scholion by placing a

by elaborating on the unexplained meaning of "my way" (ܐܘܪܚܝ) in the Peshitta.[165] He suggests that ܐܘܪܚܝ should be understood as "my thoughts" (ܣܥܪܬܝ). This is interesting, given the fact that in the rest of the verse David wishes to guard himself from sinning with his tongue or his mouth. This would imply not sinning through words. How has Aḥob come to such an, otherwise, unusual conclusion at this point?

I would argue that the answer to this question lies in an examination of ܐܘܪܚܝ in the rest of the Peshitta Old Testament. While the feminine singular noun "way" (ܐܘܪܚܐ) is a very common word in the Peshitta Old Testament, its feminine singular construct form, with a common first singular ending, only occurs ten times.[166] For eight of these occurrences, the meaning refers to a physical path, a righteous life, and/or the manner by which Abraham's servant would chose a wife for Isaac. The two remaining verses in question are Ps 39:2; 139:3. Ps 139:3 states, "You know my way and my paths, and you investigate all my ways" (ܐܘܪܚܝ ܘܫܒܝܠܝ ܡܠܗܬ ܘܒܟܠ ܕܪܟܝ ܬܬܚܙܐ). This verse, in itself, does not lend any further insight into understanding the use of ܐܘܪܚܝ in Ps 39:2, because both (in their respective verses only) use ܐܘܪܚܝ somewhat enigmatically. A clue may lie in Ps 139:2, which states, "You know my sitting down and my rising up; you understand my thoughts from heaven" (ܐܢܬ ܝܕܥ ܐܢܬ ܬܝܒܬܝ ܘܩܝܡܬܝ ܡܢ ܪܚܝܩ ܡܫܬܥܝ ܫܠܝܛܐ ܐܢܬ ܒܝܢ ܘܐܬܒܘܢܢ). While it is unclear which form of the Peshitta Psalms text Aḥob was using, it is possible that Aḥob viewed Ps 139:2b and Ps 139:3a as a couplet and thus an explanation of each other. If this is the case and he is applying this interpretation to Ps 39:2, he is likely doing so from memory, which would explain why he has replaced "my thoughts" (ܡܫܬܥܝ; as found in Ps 139:2) with the synonym ܣܥܪܬܝ.[167]

Aḥob is not alone in his desire to more fully understand ܐܘܪܚܝ in Ps 39:2. The text of P also seeks to clarify the meaning of ܐܘܪܚܝ and so adds the following explanatory statement directly after it: "that is to say, my way of life" (ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܕܚܝܝ).[168] With the exception of a minor

similar marking over his name in the margin; S connects this verse with Aḥob's scholion (which is written on the facing, blank page of its manuscript) by placing a red "x" above Aḥob's name. LM do not place an equivalent mark on any part of Aḥob's scholion. This Aḥob scholion is written as a marginal gloss in LMSC.

[165] The MT reads "my ways" (דְּרָכַי), and the LXX reads "my ways" (τὰς ὁδούς μου). Also, it should be noted that there are no recorded textual variants for these words. The Peshitta ܐܘܪܚܝ, however, has a few variants. Peshitta 10t3 has (*vid*) seyame (i.e. plural like the MT and LXX). 9t2 10t1 11t1 have "my spirit" (ܪܘܚܝ), which is clearly an inner Syriac change. While this is interesting to consider, it is arguably not the cause of Aḥob's reading of the text.

[166] Gen 24:42, 56; 2 Sam 22:33; 2 Chron 7:19; 24:20; Job 23:10; Ps 18:33; 39:2; 139:3; Zech 3:7.

[167] It is also possible that Aḥob viewed ܐܘܪܚܝ as a metonym for ܣܥܪܬܝ. However, if this is the case, why does he not view other similar usages (such as that which is found in Ps 139:3) in the same way? If he does, why has the *DGC* manuscript tradition not preserved an Aḥob Psalm 139:3 scholion, whereby he states something akin to his Psalm 39:2 scholion?

[168] P, f. 93r, 9. This psalm is not preserved in P[2].

variant, the same phrase is also preserved in the texts of LMSC.[169] However, unlike the text of P, this Aḥob scholion is likely added to LMSC as a corrective for the otherwise difficult ܫܝܐܪ.

3.4.6. Psalm 39:4-6

According to the Peshitta, Ps 39:4-6 states:

[4] ܫܪ ܠܒ ܚܡ ܗܘܐ	[4] My heart became hot within me
ܘܢܘܪ ܒܥܪ ܒܓܘܫܝ.	and a fire seized my body.
ܐܡܪܬ ܒܠܫܢܝ [5] ܐܘܕܥ ܠܝ	I thought with my tongue [5] and the Lord showed me
ܡܐ ܩܨ ܝܘܡܝ ܡܘܕܥ ܠܝ. ܗܝܢ	my end and what is the measure of my days,
ܐܝܟ ܐܚܕܠ ܐܢܐ.	that I might know why I remain.
[6] ܗܐ ܒܬܟܝܠ ܝܡܝ ܣܝܡܬ ܠܝ.	[6] Behold! With a measure you have given my days.
ܘܩܝܡܬܝ ܐܝܟ ܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܩܕܡܟ.	And my lingering is like nothing before you,
ܐܟ ܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܚܝ	because all people
ܒܛܠ ܡܬܚܙܝ ܣܠܐ.	like vapor are rising.

The *DGC* on these same verses states:[170]

> [4] *My heart became hot within me and a fire seized my body*, as long (as) I was considering these (things) which were happening. *I thought* (ܐܘܕܥ), that is to say, I spoke *with my tongue* (ܒܠܫܢܝ), and I prayed, [5] *and the Lord showed me my end* (ܐܡܪܬ ܝܘܡܝ ܡܘܕܥ ܠܝ ,ܗܝܢ), that I (will) not live forever. *And what is the measure of my days*, except as it were to meditate, *that I might know why I remain* (ܐܝܟ ܐܚܕܠ ܐܢܐ), and how much time I have to live that I should be comforted from my evils. [6] *Behold! With a measure you have given my days* (ܗܐ ܒܬܟܝܠ ܝܡܝ ܣܝܡܬ ܠܝ), that (is), not as (one) for whom there is not an end to my life, (for) you fashioned me (and) how much will they[171] be stretched out. *And my lingering is like nothing before you* in comparison (with) your own life. He calls (it) "*lingering*" on account of the mutability of his life, *because all people like vapor are rising* and vanishing. He calls "*vapor*" the steam of a pot, that which arises from moisture or heat or steam which passes from the mouth in the time of intense cold.[172]

[169] Concerning this phrase, the Syriac of LMC reads: ܐܬܐ ܒܝ ܗܘ. S preserves the same spelling of ܗܘ as does P.

[170] For the Syriac text of these verses, see Appendix, Psalm 39:4-6.

[171] Namely, my days.

[172] This translation is my own.

Aḥob's Psalm 39:4-6 scholion[173] is the first of his scholia to be included within the texts of LMSC,[174] albeit in a smaller script and divided into two parts.[175] In vv. 4-5, Aḥob is trying to understand how v. 4b and the beginning of v. 5a function together. The sections of these two verses in question are the following: "I thought with my tongue and the Lord showed me my end" (ܐܡܪ ܒܠܫܢܝ ܐܘܕܥ ܠܝ ܡܪܝ ܣܘܦܝ ܘܡܕܡ). Aḥob clarifies these two adjoining verse sections by stating, "That is to say, I brought to memory what is my life and the end that is kept for me, that I might stand and condemn that which exists *today but* tomorrow departs" (ܗܝ ܕܐܡܪ ܀ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܝ ܠܝ ܀ ܕܐܬܕܟܪ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܚܝܝ ܘܣܘܦܝ ܕܐܬܢܛܪ ܠܝ ܕܐܝܬ ܗܘ ܕܢܩܘܡ ܘܕܢܕܝܢ ܕܗܘ ܕܥܒܪ ܗܘ ܕܢܬܩܝܡ ܘܕܢܬ

Luke 12:28.[178] Aḥob then explains v. 5a: "he [i.e. David] says [this] (to indicate) that the knowledge of our lives is fixed in (human) nature" (ܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܕܝܕ ܕܝܕܥܬܐ ܕܚܝܝܢ ܒܛܒܝܥܬ ܐܢܫ). Concerning vv.4b-5a, Aḥob recognizes that it is the knowledge of one's finite life, which is innately tied to human nature, that leads one to seek out the reason for one's existence. His comment on v. 5a arguably functions as a substitute for v. 5b,[179] which he does not otherwise reference. Turning to v. 5c – "that I might know why I remain" (ܕܐܝܟ ܐܢܐ ܐܬܠ ܒܛܝܠ) – Aḥob draws out the meaning of this Peshitta phrase with his own insights: "that is to say, not only is it not right for me to complain, as though about something which persists, but not even my *remaining* in this life is wanted by me, so that I should not see evils such as these" (ܗܝ ܠܐ ܕܠܡ ܐܬܚܙܐ ܠܝ ܒܗܕ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܩܒܝܠ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܡܬܪܥܐ ܠܝ ܗܝ ܕܐܦ ܠܐ ܒܚܝܐ ܗܕܐ ܐܬܪܥܝ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܐܬܚܙܐ ܠܝ ܒܗ ܒܝܫܐ ܐܠܐ ܗܟܝ ܕܐܢ

ܒܟܪ ܐܠܐ ܠܟܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܀ ܗܘ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܕܟܬܒ ܒܫܒ). Similarly, Aḥob believes God would be unjust if he set the same length of life for all people, because sickness and pain would not be experienced, and, as a result, people would have no need to suffer for Christ in their bodies: “And, again, if he was giving one equal (measure of life) to all, not even pains and sicknesses would befall us, and (this possibility) would be taken away, that on behalf of Christ we should suffer in our bodies” (ܟܬܒ ܠܟܠ ܗܘ ܕܫ ܠܟ ܐܒܝܕ ܐܢ ܕܐ ܠܡ ܐܦ ܚܫ ܠܢ ܐܬܝ ܘܐܬܒܛܠ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܢ ܒܓܠܝܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ). In other words, all people would have equal lifespans, and the possibility of a virtuous life would be reduced. Humanity would, consequently, become exalted in its perception of itself and so fall into sin. Thus, Aḥob is keen to show that the lifespan of humans has changed since the earliest figures of the Bible, because there is no general span of life for humans. In the end, Aḥob maintains that it is “the providence of God” (ܡܠܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ) which justly establishes all things, even if human knowledge does not fully understand it. With regard to comparing one’s length of life against another’s, humanity is simply meant to know, as is stated in Ps 39:6a, that their days are given by God for a limited time.

Concerning Ps 39:4-5, the texts of LMSC also want to better understand how these verses function together. They faithfully preserve the same explanatory and transitionary phrases on vv. 4b-5a, as found in the text of P. However, they clearly seek to develop the tradition at this point. Concerning Ps 39:6, the texts of LMSC preserve comments on each phrase of this verse, as opposed to Aḥob’s comments on v. 6a alone. Their gloss on v. 6a is identical to that which is found in the text of P. Since Aḥob’s comments on v. 6a are a continuation of his comments on vv. 4b-5a, the whole of his Psalm 39:4-6 scholion is likely inserted into the texts of LMSC (albeit in a visually distinctive way) for two reasons: 1) it presents a more definitive explanation for the exegetical dilemma posed by vv. 4b-5a and the theological dilemma posed by v. 6a than is found in the *DGC* manuscript tradition, and 2) it is easier to copy such a large scholion into the texts of LMSC, rather than into the margin, meaning the manner of its inclusion in the texts of LMSC is technical, rather than ideological, in nature.

3.4.7. Psalm 40:8

According to the Peshitta, Ps 40:8 states:

ܗܵܐ ܐܲܝܟܲܐ ܐܲܡܲܪ ܒܲܪ̈ܫ̈ܝܬ̈ܐ. ܟܬܒ ܥܠܝ.	Then I said, "Behold! I have come. For in the beginning of the books it is written about me."

The *DGC* on this same verse states:[180]

> *Then I said,* "*Behold! I have come,* according to your will, as *in the beginning of the Scriptures* (ܒܪܫ ܟܬܒ), which is the book of the Law (ܟܬܒ ܢܡܘܣܐ), *it is written about me* (ܟܬܒ ܥܠ), and it proclaims me, that I (will) return."[181]

Aḥob's brief scholion, which states, "the sections of all the prophets" (ܟܠ ܢܒ̈ܝܐ ܦ̈ܣ̈ܩܐ ܕ̈ܐ), is written in the margins of LMS,[182] and it is not visually connected to any particular word or phrase in the texts of LMS.[183] Nevertheless, this scholion is arguably tied to two things: 1) the Ps 40:8 Peshitta phrase, "in the beginning of the books it is written about me" (ܒܪܫ ܟܬܒ ܥܠ ܟܬܒ) and 2) the Peshitta Ps 40 heading, which states: "He[184] prophesies about the people and affirms as if in person about their[185] deliverance from exile" (ܟܬܒ ܥܠ ܟܬܒ ܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܡܫܝܚ ܥܠ ܡܬܝܚܕ ܙܒܢ ܫܒܝ ܕܒܒܠ).[186] While it is unclear what he implies by the word "sections" (ܦ̈ܣ̈ܩܐ) in his scholion, Aḥob is likely suggesting that "in the beginning of the books" (ܒܪܫ ܟܬܒ) should be equated with the Old Testament prophetic books (hence his reference to "all the prophets" [ܟܠ ܢܒ̈ܝܐ ܕ̈ܐ]), rather than with the Law, which is the more obvious allusion implied by this Peshitta phrase.[187] In this way, Aḥob is suggesting that the Old Testament prophetic books foretold the exilic return of the Israelites, which is personified by David's Ps 40:8 phrase: "in the beginning of the books it is written about me."

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[180] For the Syriac text of this verse, see Appendix, Psalm 40:8.

[181] This translation is my own.

[182] Given its inclusion of all the other Aḥob scholia, it is unclear why this particular Aḥob scholion is not included in C. There are two possibilities that explain its absence: 1) the unknown scribe of C accidentally overlooked it, or 2) his exemplar did not include this Aḥob scholion.

[183] In the text of the *DGC*, there are no marks on any word connected to this Aḥob scholion. Similarly, this Aḥob scholion, which is written as a marginal gloss in LMS, is unmarked.

[184] Namely, David.

[185] Lit. his.

[186] Harry F. Van Rooy, *The East Syriac Psalm Headings* (Texts and Studies 8; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2013), 89.

[187] For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.1.1.3. Psalm 40:8. It should be noted that the use of ܦ̈ܣ̈ܩܐ (always in the singular) is not found in any of the Old Testament prophetic books; it is only found in the Psalms, and Aḥob is arguably not referencing the Psalms (as a whole) in his Psalm 40:8 scholion.

Somewhat like Aḥob, the texts of LMS rely, at least in part, on the Ps 40 heading (though they use a slightly different heading from that which is preserved in the Peshitta Ps 40 heading), the relevant part of which states: "He[188] prophesies concerning the people, who (were) in Babylon, who recount their afflictions and give thanks that they have reached the return (to Israel)" (ܗܘ ܠܗܕܐ ܥܡܐ ܕܒܒܠ ܕܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܥܠ ܥܝܬܗܘܢ ܘܡܘܕܝܢ ܕܡܛܘ ܠܗܦܟܐ). Unlike Aḥob, they clarify the meaning of the phrase "in the beginning of the books" as a reference to "the book of the Law" (ܣܦܪ ܢܡܘܣܐ), which likely has two implications: 1) it conveys the implied sense of "in the beginning of the books," and 2) it is a rejection of (the immediate sense of) Theodore of Mopsuestia's commentary on this phrase – whose Greek equivalent states, "In the scroll of the book" (Ἐν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου)[189] – which suggests that it is a reference to the Old Testament prophetic books that prophesied about the exilic return of the Israelites.[190] However, while they discard the Theodorean notion that the Peshitta phrase "in the beginning of the books" itself refers to the prophetic books, they seem to accept its general premise that the Old Testament prophetic books prophesied about the exilic return. Thus, Aḥob's Psalm 40:8 scholion is likely preserved in the margins of LMS for two reasons: 1) it establishes that many Old Testament books, beyond the Law, prophesied about the exilic return, and 2) it reinterprets and summarizes Theodore's interpretation of this phrase.[191] In this way, Aḥob's Psalm 40:8 scholion likely functions as a corrective to the *DGC* manuscript tradition's understanding of the Peshitta phrase "in the beginning of the books."[192]

It is also worth noting that L appears to preserve this Aḥob scholion in connection with Ps 40:10; S takes a similar approach, except it presents this Aḥob scholion twice: the first is connected to Ps 40:8, and the second appears to be connected to Ps 40:10.[193] However, it is

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[188] Namely, David.

[189] This is also the sense of the MT (upon which the Peshitta relies), though it is unclear if the scribes of LMSC had access to the MT. See also LXX Ezek 2:9 for the same idiom.

[190] See Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Commentary on Psalms 1-81*, trans. Robert Charles Hill (Writings from the Greco-Roman World 5; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2006), 496, *7-9* (text) and 497 (trans.). Cf. Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 72, n. 4. It is unclear why Theodore reaches this conclusion, because such a reading is not implied by the LXX. Also, the Syriac translation of Theodore's commentary on Ps 40 does not survive, though the Greek and a few fragments of its Latin translation have been preserved.

[191] Isho'dad arguably approaches Aḥob's Psalm 40:8 scholion in the same manner. See Chapter 4, Subsection 4.1.9. Psalm 40:8.

[192] P, ff. 94r, *23*-94v, *3* presents the same reading of Ps 40:8 as what is later preserved in LMSC. The *DGC* on Ps 40:8 (and, more broadly, Ps 40) is not extant in P^2.

[193] Ps 40:10 states, "I have declared your righteousness in the great assembly, and my lips I have not restrained. You are the Lord; you know" (ܐܢܐ ܒܫܪܬ ܐܢܐ ܨܕܩܬܟ ܒܟܢܫܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ ܗܐ ܣܦܬܝ ܠܐ ܐܟܠܐ ܐܬ ܝܕܥܬ ܐܢܬ ܡܪܝ). The *DGC* on Ps 40:10 states, "*I have declared your righteousness* and I have proclaimed the sentence which your righteousness decreed upon them in the sight of Belshazzar and a thousand of his nobles, by which you brought us back *to the great assembly*, which is Jerusalem, *and my lips I have not restrained* from my being a proclaimer of (the fact) that their kingdom is given to Media and Persia (and) from your praise and the narrations of your

unclear why this Aḥob scholion would be associated with Ps 40:10 in LS. If the parallel *DGC* texts of Ps 40:8, 10 (concerning Israel's return from exile) are noted, then Ps 40:10 may have been viewed as an extension of Ps 40:8 and, thus, this Aḥob scholion would apply to both verses.

3.4.8. Psalm 42:2

According to the Peshitta, Ps 42:2 states:

ܐܝܟ ܕܬܪܥܐ ܠܛܠܝܐ ܥܠ ܐܦܝܩܝ ܡܝܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܢܦܫܝ ܥܠܝܟ ܐܠܗܝ ܀	As a stag calls out for a stream of water, thus, also my soul calls out to you, Lord.

The *DGC* on this same verse states:[194]

> *As a stag* (ܐܝܠ) which eats snakes and burns and *calls out* in its thirst *for a stream of water* and seeks to be refreshed by it. He calls the "*stream of water*" the water that is collected in the valleys in many places, and by the descent of rain and rushing streams, on account of the torrents, it[195] increases their depth, and they[196] keep the water in them in the time of summer. *Thus, also my soul calls out to you, Lord*. On account of the love which I have for you, you will save me from Babylon.[197]

Aḥob's scholion[198] is inserted into LMSC, though it is written in a smaller script and distinguished from the *DGC* texts of LMSC.[199] In this scholion, Aḥob discusses the "stags" (ܐܝܠܐ),[200] specifically the reasons underlying their great thirst for water. He suggests that they "are by nature more dry and hot than other animals" (ܡܢ ܛܒܥܐ ܕܝܒܫܐ ... ܘܚܡܝܐ ܡܢ ܫܪܝܪ ܥܠ ܫܪܝܪ). He further insists that "they especially long for a drink *of water* when they have

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wonders. *You are the Lord; you know* (the things) which I have put in my mind, which I will observe when I have been redeemed." For the Syriac text of this verse, see Appendix, Psalm 40:10. See also Dan 5:1.

[194] For the Syriac text of this verse, see Appendix, Psalm 42:2.

[195] Namely, the water.

[196] Namely, the valleys.

[197] This translation is my own.

[198] Aḥob's Psalm 42:2 scholion states, "Because, then, stags are by nature more dry and hot than other animals, they especially long for a drink *of water* when they have eaten of harmful reptiles. Like that which is the gall of snakes, which pollutes and adheres to the roof of their palate, it doubles upon them the heat which is in their nature. It is appropriate (that), by the example of *the stag*, (these things) were used (by David) to make known his love." For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

[199] In L, it is contained within red frames on f. 60r, *19-26*. In M, it is contained within red frames on f. 60v, *2-11*. In S, it is the only text written on f. 112v. It is situated perpendicular to lines 13-21 of the facing folio (f. 113r), and, in this space, encompasses 8 short lines. In C, it is written perpendicular to lines *7-26* on f. 57r, and, in this space, encompasses 5 lines, the last of which is shorter than the others. No word or phrase, either within the text of the *DGC* or in this Aḥob scholion, is marked in LMSC to show a physical link between the two texts.

[200] Aḥob pluralizes the Peshitta ܐܝܠ.

eaten of harmful reptiles” (ܐܝܟ ܕܐܟܠ ܐܝܠܐ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܪܓܠܐ ܕܡܢ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܒܘܒ...ܕܚܝܬܐ). As the stags eat the harmful reptiles – which Aḥob equates with “snakes” (ܚܝܬܐ) – their gall is released into the mouth of the stags, and it subsequently “adheres to the roof of their palate” (ܘܡܬܠܨ ܒܣܝܥ ܦܘܡܗ), all of which causes them to feel an even greater sensation of heat.[201]

Aḥob’s purpose for discussing the stags mentioned in Ps 42:2 is likely to highlight their perceived moral qualities, particularly as they correspond to David’s love, presumably for God.[202] For instance, just as the stags have an increased thirst for water when the gall of snakes is released into their mouths, so, in a similar way, David’s soul longs for God. It is not entirely clear how Aḥob intends to link the snakes to David’s historical setting. It is possible that he simply means to equate the snakes to the wicked ones (ܪܫܝܥܐ), which he briefly alludes to in his *Cause of the Psalms* as being those who will receive punishment.[203]

The texts of LMSC interpret Ps 42:2 in a similar manner to that of Aḥob. However, their interpretation does not offer any details as to why the consumption of snakes causes stags to burn and thirst for water.[204] Aḥob’s Psalm 42:2 scholion is included in LMSC, likely because it functions as a corrective to the *DGC* manuscript tradition, in that it offers a more detailed elaboration on the source of the stags’ thirst for water. Furthermore, and somewhat comparable to Aḥob’s Psalm 39:4-6 scholion, Aḥob’s Psalm 42:2 scholion is likely inserted within the texts of LM (though markedly offset by red frames), because it was viewed as being too large a scholion to write in the margin. In other words, it was placed within the texts of LM for technical, rather than ideological, reasons. However, this same Aḥob scholion is situated on an adjacent blank page and/or as a marginal gloss in SC, either because their exemplar(s) preserved it in a similar manner or because it was perceived as being short enough to be presented as a marginal scholion.

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[201] For a discussion of Aḥob’s use of the *Physiologus* in this scholion, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.1.4. The *Physiologus*.

[202] For a further discussion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.1.10. Psalm 42:2.

[203] See Aḥob’s *Cause of the Psalms*, *73-74*: “and about the punishment of the wicked (ones)” (ܘܥܠ ܡܚܠ ܕܪܫܝܥܐ).

[204] P preserves the same translation of Ps 42:2 that is presented above, with the exception of one word: whereas LMSC use the word “snakes” (ܚܝܬܐ), P prefers “animals” (ܒܥܝܪܐ). See P, ff. 96v, *17*-97r, *2*. This psalm is not preserved in P[2].

3.4.9. Psalm 45 Prologue

According to the Peshitta, Ps 45:2 states:

ܐܚܕ ܠܒܝ ܫܦܪ̈ܐ ܛܒ̈ܐ ܒܥ̈ܐ.	My heart overflowed (with) good words,
ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܥܒ̈ܕܝ ܠܡܠܟܐ.	and I will speak the works of the king.
ܠܫܢܝ ܩܠܡ ܣܦܪ ܡܗܝܪ.	My tongue (is like) the pen of a skilled scribe.

The *DGC* on this same verse states:[205]

> You *caused my heart to pour forth* (ܐܚܕ…ܠܒ). I exhort you to bring forth *good words*. *And I will speak (of) my works* to *the King* Messiah,[206] which he is going to perform when he is revealed, which are his teachings and his exalted gifts. *My tongue (is like) the pen of a skilled scribe,* which is the Holy Spirit.[207]

Though this Aḥob scholion[208] is not visually connected to any word or phrase in the texts of VLMSC, its usage of the Peshitta phrase "My heart overflowed" (ܐܚܕ ܠܒ) connects it to Ps 45:2,[209] though the scholion itself was likely meant (in its original state) as an introductory comment on Ps 45 as a whole.[210] In this scholion, Aḥob attacks the Jews, who attribute this psalm to "Solomon and…his Egyptian wife" (ܫܠܡܘܢ ܘ ܐܢܬܬܗ…ܡ ܡܨܪܝܬܐ).[211] Aḥob is likely not polemicizing against any particular group of Jews. Rather, he seems to be citing a received tradition which (within the Jewish community) viewed Ps 45 as primarily discussing the natural love shared between Solomon and one of his wives.[212] While he does not explicitly state the reason(s) in this scholion, I would argue that the basis on which he rejects this Jewish attribution is (in agreement with traditional Antiochene exegesis of this verse) that he likely views Ps 45 as a Messianic psalm. Thus, it does not speak about Solomon and/or one of his wives but about Jesus. Furthermore, Aḥob's usage of "etc." (ܐܚܪܢ) at the

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[205] For the Syriac text of this verse, see Appendix, Psalm 45:2.

[206] For a study of the phrase "King Messiah" (ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܠܟܐ), see Sebastian Brock, "Syria and Mesopotamia: The Shared Term *Malka Mshiḥa*" in Markus Bockmuehl and James Carleton Paget (eds.), *Redemption and Resistance: The Messianic Hopes of Jews and Christians in Antiquity* (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 171-182.

[207] This translation is my own.

[208] Aḥob's Psalm 45 Prologue scholion states, "But the Jews in their madness take this psalm (to be) concerning Solomon and concerning his Egyptian wife. But they are proved wrong by the words, especially by the beginning: *My heart overflowed*, etc." For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

[209] In V, this Aḥob scholion is presented as a footnote, implying that V's exemplar preserved it as a marginal note. Aside from the footnote number, it is not marked with any reference marker, either in Aḥob's scholion or in the text of the *DGC*. While LMSC preserve this Aḥob scholion in the margin, no word or phrase, either within the text of the *DGC* or in this Aḥob scholion, is marked to show a connection between the two texts.

[210] For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.1.1.4. Psalm 45 Prologue.

[211] For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.1.2. Psalm 45 Prologue.

[212] For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.1.1.4. Psalm 45 Prologue and Section 5.6. The Polemics of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

end of his scholion is important, because the Peshitta text, after "my heart overflowed," goes on to state "I will speak the works of the king" (ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܥܒܕܝ ܠܡܠܟܐ). Since Solomon was a king, Aḥob likely wishes to avoid any mention of the word "king" (ܡܠܟܐ) in his scholion. This would explain why he bases his argument for rejecting the Jewish attribution on the first two words of this psalm, namely "my heart overflowed" (ܒܥܐ ܠܒܝ).[213]

The texts of VLMSC also understand Ps 45 to be a Messianic psalm, which they explicitly state when they designate the Peshitta noun "king" (ܡܠܟܐ) as "Messiah" (ܡܫܝܚܐ). They further elaborate this point by describing what the Messiah will come to do: "to perform…his teachings and his exalted gifts" (ܠܡܥܒܕ ܬܘܕܝܗܝ ܘܡܬܢܝܗ…ܪܡܝܐ).[214] However, since the *DGC* manuscript tradition does not have an introduction to Ps 45, a portion of Aḥob's original Psalm 45 Prologue scholion[215] is likely included in VLMSC,[216] near Ps 45:2, for three reasons: 1) it offers a brief introductory note on Ps 45 as a whole;[217] 2) it quotes a phrase from Ps 45:2; and 3) it offers support – not found in the earlier *DGC* manuscript tradition – for viewing Ps 45 as a Messianic psalm, meaning that it functions as a theological corrective to the *DGC* manuscript tradition's exegesis of this psalm.[218]

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[213] Aḥob does not cite key words in Ps 45:2, likely because he expects his readers to know them.

[214] P, f. 101v, *7-9* preserves the same descriptions of ܡܠܟܐ. This psalm is not preserved in P^2.

[215] If this proposal is accepted, I would further argue that this Aḥob scholion is fragmented at its beginning and end. The fragmentation at its beginning is revealed by the postpositive "but" (ܐܝܟ), which suggests that he is contrasting one thing with another, the former of which is now lost. The fragmentation at its end is revealed in two ways: 1) its abrupt ending and 2) (as I have argued above) Aḥob's likely belief that Ps 45 is a Messianic psalm. Concerning the latter, this can be known because his scholion, as a whole, follows a traditional Antiochene exegetical approach to Ps 45, a tradition which viewed Ps 45 as Messianic in nature. However, this Aḥob scholion ends before such an argument is likely presented.

[216] It is also possible that the scribes of VLMSC are merely copying from their respective exemplars, meaning they have no further knowledge of or access to the originally larger collection of Aḥob's Psalms scholia.

[217] Cf. Ter Haar Romeny, "The Hebrew and the Greek as Alternatives to the Syriac Version," 452, n. 75.

[218] It is unlikely that this Aḥob scholion is included in VLMSC for the purposes of polemicizing against any particular localized Jewish group in the late 19th century. This can be known for three reasons: 1) VLMS each have a known location of origin: VLM were produced in Alqosh, and S originates from Urmia, and both centers of living are roughly 160 miles apart. It is unclear why copyists of the *DGC* (who likely do not know of each other) would preserve the exact same portion of this Aḥob scholion, as if they are waging the same theological war in two cities against similarly-minded groups of Jews. 2) It is unclear if earlier, now lost, copies of the *DGC* (which contained Aḥob scholia) also contained the same portion of this particular scholion. If they did, it would mean the latter, extant copies of the *DGC* are simply copying earlier texts, marginal scholia included, for the purposes of preserving earlier texts, not for the purposes of polemicizing against current theological issues. 3) The *DGC*, as a whole, does not include a lot of material that openly attacks Jewish interpretations of the Psalms. One would suspect that if the *DGC* were polemical in nature, it would include more polemical material, either in-text or in its marginalia. Neither appears to be the case.

3.4.10. Psalm 45:9

According to the Peshitta, Ps 45:9 states:

ܡܪ̈ܝܪ̈ܐ ܘܩܨܝܥܐ ܘܩܠ̈ܘܣ̈ܛܝ.	Myrrh and cassia and stacte
ܟܠ ܠܒ̈ܘ̈ܫ̈ܟ̈ܝ ܡܬܒ̈ܣ̈ܡ̈ܝܢ ܠܟ̈ܝ.	perfume all your garments.
ܡܢ ܗ̈ܝܟܠܐ ܕܥ̈ܢ̈ܝ̈ܐ	From the finest temple
ܘܡܢ ܩ̈ܕ̈ܡ̈ܝ ܫ̈ܒ̈ܚ̈ܘ ܠܟ̈ܝ.	and from my presence, they made you glad.

The *DGC* on this same verse states:[219]

> *Myrrh* (ܡܪ̈ܝܪ̈ܐ) for your embalming *and cassia* (ܘܩܨܝܥܐ) *and stacte* (ܘܩܠ̈ܘܣ̈ܛܝ) – a glorious and fragrant smell, which, on account of your Passion,[220] is going to be (spread) through all the habitable earth. *Myrrh* is well known. *Cassia* in the Arabic language (is) *salīkha yābisa* (ܣ̈ܠ̈ܝܟ̈ܐ ܝ̈ܒ̈ܣ̈ܐ, dry gum tree).[221] *And stacte* (in the Arabic language is) *lubnā* (ܠ̈ܒ̈ܢ̈ܐ, storax).[222] But by this it indicates the embalming spices (ܫ̈ܒ̈ܚ̈ܐ) that Nicodemus brought.[223] *They perfume all your garments*, that is to say, your body, for within it,[224] as within a veil, the nature of the divinity is hidden and concealed from onlookers. *From the finest* (ܕܥ̈ܢ̈ܝ̈ܐ) *temple, from my,* God's (ܩ̈ܕ̈ܡ̈ܝ), *presence, they made you glad*, Christ, (namely) all the nations who build temples for your name and they arise and glorify you by their splendid way of life. And, also, the young children and infants who cried out with Hosannas at your entrance to Jerusalem.[225] For by the one temple he indicates many temples.[226]

Aḥob's marginal scholion[227] is visually (and correctly) connected to the LMSC (and Peshitta) word "finest" (ܕܥ̈ܢ̈ܝ̈ܐ),[228] as well as incorrectly to the proper noun (here functioning as an adjective), "God's" (ܩ̈ܕ̈ܡ̈ܝ) in V.[229] His Psalm 45:9 scholion is presented in two parts: 1) a philological note on the Syriac word "finest" and 2) brief explanations of "stacte" (ܘܩܠ̈ܘܣ̈ܛܝ) and "cassia" (ܘܩܨܝܥܐ). In the first part, Aḥob compares the Syriac ܕܥ̈ܢ̈ܝ̈ܐ with a comparable

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[219] For the Syriac text of this verse, see Appendix, Psalm 45:9.
[220] Cf. Mark 16:1; Luke 23:56; John 19:39-40.
[221] The underlying Arabic phrase is سليخة يابسة.
[222] The underlying Arabic noun is لبنى.
[223] Cf. John 19:39-40.
[224] Namely, the body.
[225] Cf. Matt 21:8-9; Mark 11:8-10; Luke 19:37-38; John 12:13.
[226] This translation is my own.
[227] Aḥob's Psalm 45:9 scholion states, "Instead of *finest*, the Hebrew says, 'ivory.' Here, the grammatical point was changed and this letter, which (was) a nun, was shortened. *Stacte* (is) *asinat* in the language of Qatar. But *cassia* (is) peeled-off rind." For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.
[228] L marks ܕܥ̈ܢ̈ܝ̈ܐ with a black dot above it, while M marks it with a siglum in the form of a sideways red "z," which is above the word. SC mark ܕܥ̈ܢ̈ܝ̈ܐ with a red dot above it. While the equivalent word in Aḥob's scholion is not marked in LMSC, C does mark ܘܩܠ̈ܘܣ̈ܛܝ and ܘܩܨܝܥܐ in Aḥob's scholion with a red dot above each word.
[229] V connects Aḥob's Psalm 45:9 scholion to ܩ̈ܕ̈ܡ̈ܝ and presents it in a footnote, implying that V's exemplar preserved it as a marginal note. Aside from the footnote number, it is not marked with any reference marker, either in Aḥob's scholion or in the text of the *DGC*.

Hebrew reading, ܫܥܪ, meaning "ivory."[230] Aḥob is interested in figuring out why there is such a stark difference in the spelling (and thus the meaning) of these two nouns. He suggests that two changes were made to ܫܥܪ: the dot of the dalath (ܕ) was placed above the letter, turning it into a resh (ܪ), and the letter nun (ܢ) was made shorter, turning it into a yod (ܝ). Thus, ܫܥܪ became ܫܥܝ, and the variant meaning of "finest," from "ivory," was established. In short, Aḥob thinks that the correct (and likely original) Peshitta reading of this word is ܫܥܪ, and that this was later corrupted in Syriac to ܫܥܝ.[231]

In the second part of his scholion, Aḥob reverses the Peshitta order of stacte and cassia and then simply defines them: stacte is *asinat* (ܐܣܝܢܬ, stacte) according to "the language of Qatar" (ܠܫܢܐ ܕܩܛܪ),[232] and cassia is "peeled-off rind" (ܩܠܦܐ ܕܐܣܟܠܝܐ). He offers no further insights into why he deems these particular glosses as authoritative at this point, other than the likely presumption that his readers will recognize and understand the sense of these two glosses more readily than the perceived elusive meanings of the Peshitta cassia and stacte.

While the texts of VLMSC are not interested in the grammatical formation of ܫܥܝ, they do seek to better understand what stacte and cassia denote, and they follow the Peshitta order in their discussion. To this end, they suggest a Garshuni gloss for each word: cassia is "dried cinnamon bark" (ܩܠܦ ܕܩܪܘܦ ܕܩܝܢܡܘܢ), while stacte means "storax" (ܣܛܪܐ). Along with "myrrh" (ܡܘܪ), they suggest that these were the "spices" (ܒܣܡܐ) which Nicodemus used to embalm Christ's body. Thus, the texts of VLMSC (as well as the earlier *DGC* manuscript tradition) view cassia and stacte as largely Christological in nature, though to a certain degree historical as well.[233] Aḥob's Psalm 45:9 scholion is likely included in VLMSC for two reasons: 1) it explains the origin of ܫܥܝ, which is something the *DGC* manuscript tradition does not discuss, and 2) its glosses of cassia and stacte provide further, supplementary information to help identify these spices.

[230] The Hebrew for "ivory," as preserved in MT Ps 45:9, is שֵׁן. For a discussion of Aḥob's source(s) for this Hebrew reading, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.2. Hebrew Readings.

[231] Incidentally, this conjecture for an original reading of this word is not listed in the Leiden edition of Psalms.

[232] For a further discussion of *asinat*, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.5.1. Gloss on ܐܣܝܢܬ.

[233] With the exception of a few minor differences (largely in word order), P, f. 102v, *4-18* preserves the same commentary on Ps 45:9.

3.4.11. Psalm 48:4

According to the Peshitta, Ps 48:4 states:

ܐܬܝܕܥ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܡܬܪܬܗ ܒܐܪܡܢܬܗ ܐܠܗܐ	Within its[234] citadels, God makes his power known.

The *DGC* on this same verse states:[235]

> *Within the sāḥrātāh* (ܒܡܬܪܬܗ) of Jerusalem, *God makes his power known* to its inhabitants, and he destroys his enemies. The *sāḥrātā* are called valleys (ܐܬܪ̈ܬܐ ܐܬܟܣܝ ܡܬܩܪܝ); but, in the Arabic language, (they are called) *ṣakhra* (ܨܚܪ̈ܐ, a rock).[236]

Aḥob's marginal scholion[237] is visually connected to the Peshitta ܒܡܬܪܬܗ.[238] In this scholion, Aḥob recognizes that the word ܒܡܬܪܬܗ is an unusual word and in need of clarification. He suggests that it should be understood as "big buildings" (ܒܬ̈ܝܐ ܪ̈ܒܐ), likely because he is aware of passages like 2 Kgs 15:25[239] and Isa 13:22,[240] both of which strongly suggest that ܒܡܬܪܬܗ are palaces or big buildings.

The texts of LMS also seek to clarify the meaning of the Peshitta ܒܡܬܪܬܗ. The *DGC* manuscript tradition understands this word to be referring to "valleys" (ܐܬܟܣܝ),[241] presumably those which surround Jerusalem, as is mentioned in Ps 48:3.[242] However, from any early date, there was scribal confusion surrounding the meaning of ܒܡܬܪܬܗ, as is evidenced by the Garshuni gloss, ܨܚܪ̈ܐ (Arabic: صخرة), meaning "rock" but also having the connotation of a "citadel."[243]

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[234] Namely, Jerusalem.

[235] For the Syriac text of this verse, see Appendix, Psalm 48:4.

[236] The underlying Arabic noun is صخرة. This translation is my own.

[237] Aḥob's Psalm 48:4 scholion states, "Palaces (that is to say) big buildings." For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

[238] L marks ܐܬܪ̈ܬܐ with a black dot over it; MC mark it with a red dot over it, though the unknown scribe of C failed to subsequently write this Aḥob scholion in the margin. S does not mark the word. The equivalent word in Aḥob's marginal scholion is not marked in LMS.

[239] 2 Kgs 15:25 states, "And Pecah, the son of Remaliah, his mighty man, rebelled against him, and he killed him in Samaria, in the citadel of the palace. And he took Argob and Arieh and, with him, fifty men from the people of Gilead, and he killed him and he reigned in his place" (ܡܠܟ̈ܐ ܕܒܬ̈ܝܐ ܪ̈ܒܐ ܕܐܦ ܗܘ ܒܫܡܪ̈ܝܢ ܒܡܒܨܪ̈ܬܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܐ ܥܡ ܬܪ̈ܥܝܢ ܓܒܪ̈ܐ ܡܢ ܒܢܝ ܓܠܥܕ ܘܩܛܠ ܐܢܘܢ ܘܡܠܟ ܬܚܘܬ ܗܘ).

[240] Isa 13:22 states, "And sirens will respond in their palaces and jackals in the palaces of their pleasures; its time to come is near, and also its days will not be extended" (ܘܥܢܝ ܨܝܐ ܒܐܪ̈ܡܢܬܗ ܘܬܢ̈ܝܢ ܒܗܝܟ̈ܠܝ ܥܘܢܓܬܗ ܘܩܪܝܒ ܠܡܬܐ ܙܒܢܗ ܘܝܘܡ̈ܝܗ ܠܐ ܢܬܪ̈ܚܩܘܢ).

[241] See P, f. 107r, *4-5*. The *DGC* on Ps 48 is no longer extant in P[2].

[242] Lit. "Mount Zion" (ܛܘܪ ܨܝܘܢ).

[243] Cf. Hans Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic (Arabic-English)*, 4th rev. ed., ed. J. Milton Cowan (Urbana, IL: Spoken Language Services, Inc., 1994), 590. P, f. 107r, *5* and outside margin present a slightly different Garshuni word (ܨܚܪ̈ܐ) and Arabic gloss (صجاري). S, f. 126r, *7* preserves a different spelling of this Garshuni word: ܨܚܪܐ, which also means "rock." It is unclear if P was the first *DGC* manuscript to incorporate this (and other) Garshuni glosses into its text or if they were copied from an earlier source.

This Garshuni gloss may have been utilized, because it was considered a popular explanation for another set of meanings implied by ܟܐܣܛܪܐ: "citadel, palace" as well as "arch, vault" and "building."[244] The use of both "rock" and "big buildings" to define ܟܐܣܛܪܐ suggests that the texts of LMS are seeking to preserve two traditions of interpretation surrounding ܟܐܣܛܪܐ: one denoting something natural, namely, the rocky valleys around Jerusalem (i.e. ܛܘܪܝ), and the other referring to physical buildings within Jerusalem (i.e. ܒܝܬܐ ܩܕܫ). Since the meaning of ܟܐܣܛܪܐ is uncertain, Aḥob's brief Psalm 48:4 scholion is likely included in the margins of LMS, because it functions as a corrective to the *DGC* manuscript tradition's understandings of this word.

3.4.12. Psalm 58:4

According to the Peshitta, Ps 58:4 states:

ܙܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܟܠܬܐ ܐܬܦܠܓܘ ܪܫܝܥܐ. ܘܡܢ ܒܛܢܐ ܐܬܬܥܘ ܕܐܓܪܐ ܕܡܠܠ ܕܫܩܪ ܡܡܠܠܝܢ.	The wicked (ones) were separated from the belly, and they went astray from the womb, for they speak falsehood.

The *DGC* on this same verse states:[245]

> *The wicked (ones) were separated from the belly* (ܙܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܟܠܬܐ ܐܬܦܠܓܘ), and they persecuted Moses, and in the wilderness the house of Aaron, and in the promised land Samuel, and today (in this psalm) David. But *the wicked (ones) were* not *separated from the belly* to do wickedness, but from the time that their discernment began to know (the difference between) good and evil. *And they went astray from the womb, for they speak falsehood*. But from (the time) they possessed understanding in a continual manner, they were rejoicing in evil (things), like the *calf* which they[246] *made* in the wilderness, *and they worshipped it*[247] and were proclaiming, "*(This)* is *your God, O Israel, who brought you up from the land of Egypt*."[248]

[244] Michael Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon: A Translation from the Latin, Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann's Lexicon Syriacum* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns / Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2009), 994. Sokoloff associates the meaning of "citadel, palace" with Ps 48:4. The Garshuni ܛܘܪܝ is a false cognate for ܟܐܣܛܪܐ: the ܣ in Syriac becomes a س in Arabic; it cannot become a ص, which (in Syriac) equates to ܨ. While it is very unlikely that an Arabic word with س could be a cognate of a Syriac word with ܣ, this was not obvious to early exegetes who produced etymologies such as this one.

[245] For the Syriac text of this verse, see Appendix, Psalm 58:4.

[246] Namely, the Israelites.

[247] Exod 32:8.

[248] Exod 32:8. The translation of this *DGC* text is my own.

Aḥob's scholion[249] is inserted into LMSC, though it is written in a smaller script and distinguished from the *DGC* texts of LMSC.[250] While it is not visually connected to any word or phrase in the texts of LMSC,[251] Aḥob's usage of the Peshitta phrase "the wicked (ones) were separated from the belly" (ܪܫܥ̈ ܡܢ ܟܠܐ ܐܬܦܠܓܘ) likely connects it with Ps 58:4. In this scholion, Aḥob focuses on what it means that the "wicked (ones)" (ܟܠܐ) "were separated from the belly" (ܪܫܥ̈ ܡܢ…ܐܬܦܠܓܘ). He suggests that David spoke this phrase "against the sons of their people" (ܠܒܢ̈ܝ ܥܡܗ̇ܘܢ), likely implying the Jews.[252] Using phrases from Prov 1:7[253] and Bar Sira 1:14,[254] Aḥob contrasts the wicked (ones) with the "righteous (ones)" (ܙܕܝ̈ܩܐ) and "wisdom" (ܚܟܡܬܐ), both of whom were created alongside each other "from the belly of their mother" (ܒܛܢܐ ܕܐܡܗ̇ܘܢ ܡܢ)[255] and "with the fear of God" (ܕܚܠܬ ܐܠܗܐ).[256] The implication here is that these verses state a similar concept as the Ps 58:4 phrase "the wicked (ones) were separated from the belly," though they focus on the righteous (ones). While Aḥob insists that the wicked (ones) "were known by God from their creation" (ܝܕܝܥ̈ܝܢ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܒܪܝܬܗ̇ܘܢ), he does not imply that God created them to be wicked, just as (inferred by Prov 1:7 and Bar Sira 1:14) he does not suggest that God created others to be righteous. Rather, in both cases, Aḥob wishes to say that God knows what all people (whether righteous or wicked) will do,

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[249] Aḥob's Psalm 58:4 scholion states, "*The wicked ones were separated from the belly*. He spoke this against the sons of their people. For just as it is said concerning the righteous ones that *from* the belly of *their mother wisdom was created with* them, for with the fear of God they began before every (thing), so here, he says likewise concerning the wicked, that they were known by God from their creation that they would do this. But instead of *they were separated*, the Hebrew says, 'they were estranged.'" For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

[250] In L, it is contained within red frames on f. 78r, *8-17* and, in this space, encompasses 12 short lines. In M, it is contained within red frames on f. 77r, *22-28* and, in this space, encompasses 8 short lines. In S, it is written perpendicular to lines *9-14* on f. 145r and, contained within black frames, encompasses 12 short lines. In C, it is written parallel to lines *26-29* on f. 72r in a smaller script, and, in this space, encompasses 6 short lines.

[251] Though it is likely not meant as a marker, LMC present the plural ܟܠܐ as ܟܠܐ̈, in both the text of the *DGC* and Aḥob's scholion. While S also uses ܟܠܐ̈ in the *DGC*, it does not include a seyame on this same word in Aḥob's scholion.

[252] For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.6. The Polemics of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

[253] Prov 1:7 states, "The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord, but the wicked ones despise knowledge and chastisement" (ܟܠܐ ܡܠܦ̈ ܫܘܪܝܬܐ ܡ ܫܘܪܝ ܫܘܪ̈ ܚܟܡܬܐ ܘܡܠܦ̈ ܫܘܪ̈ ܚܟܡܬܐ ܘ).

[254] Bar Sira 1:14 states, "The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord, and she was created with the faithful ones from the belly of their mother" (ܫܪ̈ܝܫܝܬ ܚܟܡ̈ܬܐ ܕܚ̈ܬ ܐ ܕܒܛ̈ܢ ܐ ܕܐ ܡ ܐ ܘ ܫ ܘ ܫ ܘ ܚ ܘ). See Calduch-Benages, Ferrer, and Liesen, *Wisdom of the Scribe*, 66. My English translation differs slightly from their English translation.

[255] Aḥob's reference to the righteous ones and wisdom in this context is arguably a partial quotation, from memory, of Bar Sira 1:14. It is likely that Aḥob is quoting this verse from memory, because he states, "it is said" (ܐܡܪ) and then quotes two parts of the verse in reverse order, though maintaining the sense of the verse.

[256] Aḥob's phrase "the fear of God" (ܕܚܠܬ ܐܠܗܐ) is likely a dual reference to both Prov 1:7 and Bar Sira 1:14. Aḥob is likely quoting these verses from memory; one example that supports this proposal is that he uses the noun "God" (ܐܠܗܐ) instead of the Peshitta "Lord" (ܡܪܝܐ) in the phrase "fear of the Lord" (ܪܫܝܬ ܫܘܪ̈ܝ). There are no recorded variants for the word ܡܪܝܐ in Prov 1:7, and a critical edition of Bar Sira has not yet been produced.

because he is omniscient. However, at the same time, he wishes to avoid equating God's omniscience with God predetermining the actions of people, because he perceives people's free will to be the determining factor that causes some to become righteous and others to become wicked. Aḥob concludes his scholion with a brief Hebrew reading: whereas the Peshitta states "they were separated" (ܐܬܦܠܓܘ), "the Hebrew says, 'they were estranged'" (ܐܬܦܠܓܘ...ܥܠܬ ܒܗ).[257] Aḥob likely includes this Hebrew reading to further highlight both the ambiguity of the Peshitta "they were separated" and to emphasize his particular interpretation of it, namely, that the general force of the ethp'el perfect verb is that of being alienated. While he includes this Hebrew reading, he does not engage with it but, instead, abruptly ends his scholion.

The texts of LMSC also seek to better understand the Peshitta phrase "the wicked ones were separated from the belly." However, unlike Aḥob – who largely focuses on the two abstract groups of the wicked ones and the righteous ones, the texts of LMSC center their interpretation on the people who were wicked from the time of Moses to the time of David, with an emphasis on the Israelites. Aḥob's Psalm 58:4 scholion is included in LMSC, likely because it presents an alternative explanation for the phrase "the wicked ones were separated from the belly." Furthermore, and somewhat comparable to his Psalm 39:4-6 and Psalm 42:2 scholia, Aḥob's Psalm 58:4 scholion is likely inserted within the texts of LMSC (though markedly offset by red/black frames and/or in a smaller script), because it was viewed as being too large a scholion to write in the margin. In this way, this Aḥob scholion is placed within the texts of LMSC for technical, rather than ideological, reasons.

3.4.13. Psalm 58:5-6

According to the Peshitta, Ps 58:5-6 states:

[5] ܕܡܬܗ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܗܘ ܒܥܝܬܗ. ܘܐܝܟ ܐܦܥܐ ܕܐܛܝܡ ܕܣܬܡ ܐܕܢܘܗܝ ܕܠܐ ܢܫܡܥ ܩܠ ܚܫܐ ܕܡܚܫܫ ܫܝܠ. [6] ܘܠܐ ܢܫܡܥ ܩܠ ܡܠܚܫ ܘܡܚܒܪ ܚܒܪ ܘܡܣܡܣ ܘܡܚܫܒ ܚܫܒ.	[5] Their anger is like (that) of a basilisk and like (that) of a deaf asp that stops its ears, [6] so that it will not hear the voice of the charmer or the conjuror or the magician.

The *DGC* on these same verses states:[258]

> [5] Thus David (said) *the fury* of the Jews and the Gentiles, against the Maccabees, was (as) fierce *as (that) of a basilisk* (ܕܡܬܗ ܕܚܝܬܐ), whose gall (is) more evil than that of

[257] The Hebrew of this verb, as used in MT Ps 58:4, is זרו. For a discussion of Aḥob's source(s) for this Hebrew reading, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.2. Hebrew Readings.

[258] For the Syriac text of these verses, see Appendix, Psalm 58:5-6.

other (serpents) – that (serpent) which also flies in the air, as (some) say, and jumps from tree to tree. *And (their anger)* is *like (that) of an asp* (ܐܦܥܐ), a *deaf* snake (ܐܛܡ), that which (is) short in its length. In the Arabic language, (it is) *af'a* (ܐܦܥܐ, viper).[259] *That stops its ears*, one (being) buried in the dust and the other (being blocked) with its tail, [6] *so that it will not hear*. Others say that God fashioned it without the sense of hearing. *The voice of the charmer or the conjuror or the magician*. He calls him a "*charmer*," because of his incantations. A *charmer* in the Arabic language (is) *rāq*.[260] And (he calls him) a "*conjuror*," because he allied himself with Satan, and (he calls him) a "*magician*," because of his skill with incantations. Thus, also are these (ones); *they stopped up their ears so that they would not hear*[261] the good words which were being spoken to them.[262]

Aḥob's Psalm 58:5-6 scholion[263] is visually connected to the Peshitta "asp" (ܐܦܥܐ).[264] In this scholion, Aḥob briefly states that "the *asp* will not be controlled by charms" (ܐܦܥܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܬܚܫ ...ܒܚܫܐ), especially those produced "by a *charmer*" (ܒܚܫܐ); his wording is a paraphrasing of Ps 58:6.[265] He suggests that the asp acts in such a way, because "it received" (ܩܒܠ) its "nature from God" (ܟܝܢܗ ܡܢ ...ܐܠܗܐ). In other words, despite its fierceness, the asp is still one of God's creatures. Aḥob does not offer any further explanation as to why God gave the asp a nature that will not be controlled by charms, possibly because it was a commonly accepted trope in his time. While it is unclear why he switches from the use of the Peshitta ܐܦܥܐ to ܐܣܦܐ (the latter of which also means "asp") in the second part of his scholion,[266] he concludes with a brief reference to its perceived Persian equivalent: "And asp in the Persian language" (ܘܐܦܥܐ ܒܠܫܢܐ ܦܪܣܝܐ) is "*dasāg*" (ܕܣܓ, dragon).[267] Aḥob likely intends that his Psalm 58:5-6 scholion will underscore what this asp is and why it cannot be charmed.

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[259] In P, f. 123r, *14*, the underlying Arabic noun, افعى, is written directly after the Garshuni ܐܦܥܐ. P[2], f. 11v, *10* does not include this Arabic gloss.

[260] Meaning "sorcerer" (ܩܣܝ). The underlying Arabic noun is راق.

[261] Zech 7:11.

[262] This translation is my own.

[263] Aḥob's Psalm 58:5-6 scholion states, "But it is said, concerning the [58:5] *asp*, that according to the nature it received from God the *asp* will not be controlled by charms, which (are produced) by [6] a *charmer*. And asp in the Persian language is *dasāg*." For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

[264] L marks ܐܦܥܐ with a black dot over it; MC mark it with a red dot over it. S does not mark the word. The equivalent word in Aḥob's marginal scholion is not marked in LMSC.

[265] While Aḥob's reference to the asp, the charms, and the charmer are drawn from Ps 58:5-6, he may also be referring secondarily to a combination of Eccl 10:11 and Jer 8:17 from memory, with the addition of his own insights on these verses. Eccl 10:11 states, "And if a snake bites without a charm, there is no advantage for the charmer" (ܐܢ ܢܫܟ ܚܝܐ ܒܠܐ ܠܚܫܐ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܝܬܪ ܠܒܥܠ ܠܫܢܝܢܐ), and Jer 8:17 states, "'Because, behold! I am sending snakes upon you, basilisks that do not receive charms, and they will bite you,' said the Lord" (ܐܡܪ ܡܪܝ ܗܐ ܐܢܟܝ ܫܠܚ ܒܟܝ ܚܝܐ ܒܣܝ ܕܠܐ ܡܩܒܠ ܠܚܫܐ ܘܢܫܟܘܟܝ).

[266] There are no recorded variants for ܐܦܥܐ or its equivalent MT פֶּתֶן and LXX ἀσπίδος.

[267] For a further discussion of Aḥob's use of ܕܣܓ, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.6. Coptic and Persian References.

In their commentary on Ps 58:5-6, the texts of LMSC mention three different types of serpent-like creatures: 1) "basilisk" (ܐܘܪܝܐ ܕܣܪܛܢܐ), 2) "asp" (ܐܦܥܐ), and 3) "snake" (ܚܘܝܐ). Only the basilisk and the snake are given brief descriptions. Aḥob's Psalm 58:5-6 scholion is likely included in the margins of LMSC for three related reasons: 1) it offers a brief description of asp, which was not included in the *DGC* manuscript tradition's exegesis of Ps 58:5-6;[268] 2) the texts of LMSC equate the Arabic افعى (which underlies the *DGC* "viper" [ܐܦܥܐ]) with Aḥob's Syriac ܐܦܥܐ;[269] 3) the texts of LMSC view Aḥob's usage of the Persian loan word "dragon" (ܕܪܟܘܢܐ) as a corrective for ܐܦܥܐ.

3.4.14. Psalm 68:14

According to the Peshitta, Ps 68:14 states:

ܐܢ ܬܫܟܒܘܢ ܒܝܢ ܬܚܘܡܐ ܕܥܓܐ. ܐܝܟ ܟܢܦܝ ܝܘܢܩܐ ܕܡܬܦܦܐ ܒܟܣܦܐ. ܘܒܝܫܝ ܕܒܥܝܪ ܒܕܗܒܐ.	If you should lie down among the thorns, the wings of a dove are overlaid with silver and its feathers with refined gold.

The *DGC* on this same verse states:[270]

> *If you should lie down*, that is to say, (if) you should be at rest *among the thorns* (ܒܝܢ ܬܚܘܡܐ ܕܥܓܐ), which are the enemies who surrounded you. Instead of plaster (ܕܟܠܟܐ), (Scripture states) *the wings of a dove are overlaid with silver* (ܐܝܟ ܟܢܦܝ ܝܘܢܩܐ ܕܡܬܦܦܐ ܒܟܣܦܐ), that is to say, with silver (ܟܣܦܐ), *and its feathers with refined gold*, (with) which they will work in the temple of God[271] when it is rebuilt and there is (a time) when (it will be) in your houses, due to the abundance and the riches and the good (things), which will be given to you from God. And he calls "*refined gold*" the finest flawless gold.[272]

While Aḥob's marginal scholion[273] is visually connected to the Peshitta "thorns" (ܬܚܘܡܐ) of Ps 68:14,[274] it focuses on the broader prepositional phrase "among the thorns" (ܒܝܢ ܬܚܘܡܐ). Though Aḥob knows what the phrase "among the thorns" states in Syriac, he appears to be

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[268] See P, f. 123r, *9-14* and P[2], f. 11v, *5-10*.

[269] Cf. Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1648, *14* and Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, 1268.

[270] For the Syriac text of this verse, see Appendix, Psalm 68:14.

[271] Cf. 1 Kgs 6:20-21.

[272] This translation is my own.

[273] Aḥob's Psalm 68:14 scholion states, "But instead of *among the thorns*, the Hebrew says, 'between the manure pile.' But instead of *among the thorns*, the Greek says, 'between the lots.'" For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

[274] L marks ܬܚܘܡܐ with a red "v" over it; MSC mark it with a red dot over it. LMC mark the equivalent word in Aḥob's scholion with either a black or red dot above it; S does not mark this word in Aḥob's scholion.

uncertain as to what it means in the context of this verse.[275] In order to establish the sense of "among the thorns," he turns to comparable Hebrew and Greek readings. The equivalent phrases in MT Ps 68:14 and LXX Ps 67:14 state, "between the sheepfolds" (בֵּין שְׁפָתָיִם)[276] and "between the lots" (μέσον τῶν κλήρων), respectively. Aḥob's Hebrew and Greek readings state, "among the manure pile" (ܒܝܢ ܡܙܒܠܐ)[277] and "between the lots" (ܒܝܢ ܟܐܦ̈ܐ),[278] respectively. Though he clearly knows that the MT and LXX of this phrase state something different than the Peshitta, he does not offer any further explanation, especially as to whether his Hebrew or Greek reading should be regarded as the preferred reading for understanding "among the thorns."

The texts of LMSC also appear to be confused over aspects of Ps 68:14, the focal point of which is the phrase "the wings of a dove are overlaid with silver" (ܟܕ ܐܝܟ ܕܣܦܝܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܚܘܪ ܕܚܦܝ). Before discussing this phrase, they suggest (in passing) that the "wings of a dove" have been described elsewhere as being overlaid with "plaster" (ܓܨܨܐ). The term "plaster" is a rare biblical word,[279] and it is unclear what the texts of LMSC's source or meaning is for it in this context, though it is possible that they are referring to Theodore of Mopsuestia's commentary on this verse, which uses the phrase "doves in plaster" (περιστερὰς ἀπὸ γύψου).[280] After stating the Peshitta phrase "the wings of a dove are overlaid with silver," the texts of LMSC immediately qualify "silver" (ܟܣܦܐ) with another word meaning "silver" (ܟܣܦܐ). Though both nouns are used in the Peshitta, ܟܣܦܐ came to mean "money" (in the general sense) and so was confusing to later readers.[281] Thus, the texts of LMSC clarify its meaning with a more well-known noun that has the particular meaning of "silver," namely, ܟܣܦܐ.

Given their interest in clarifying the meaning of the phrase "the wings of a dove are overlaid with silver," it is striking that LMSC do not include an Aḥob scholion that focuses on this particular phrase. Instead they incorporate one that focuses on a different phrase in this

[275] There are no recorded variants for Ps 68:14 in the Peshitta.

[276] Aside from Ezek 40:43, this is the only time the Hebrew noun שְׁפָתַיִם is used in the Hebrew Old Testament, and its meaning is uncertain, though many modern translators render it as "sheepfolds." It is possible that the Peshitta ŠPYʾ is an attempt to find a word close to the Hebrew ŠPTYM.

[277] For a discussion of Aḥob's source(s) for this Hebrew reading, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.2. Hebrew Readings.

[278] For a discussion of Aḥob's source(s) for this Greek reading, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.3. Greek Readings.

[279] The noun ܓܨܨܐ (with the meaning of "plaster") is only used five times in the Peshitta Old Testament, in Deut 27:2, 4; Isa 27:9; 33:12; Dan 5:5. See Robert Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879), col. 1751.

[280] Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Commentary on Psalms 1–81*, 872, *14* (text) and 873 (trans.). The exact role of the Peshitta phrase "the wings of a dove are overlaid with silver" in this verse is uncertain.

[281] Cf. Michael P. Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament: An Introduction* (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 56; Cambridge / New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 174.

verse. This may evidence the fact that Aḥob never produced a scholion on the phrase "the wings of a dove are overlaid with silver"; if he did, it is almost certain that it would have been included in LMSC at this point.[282] It is also likely that Aḥob's Psalm 68:14 scholion was once longer and only a portion of it is preserved in LMSC.[283] Thus, Aḥob's Psalm 68:14 scholion is likely included in the margins of LMSC, because, like LMSC's discussion of the phrase "the wings of a dove are overlaid with silver," it highlights a general uncertainty surrounding otherwise difficult phraseology in Ps 68:14.

3.4.15. Psalm 68:16-17

According to the Peshitta, Ps 68:16-17 states:

[16] ܛܘܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܛܘܪܝ ܒܫܢ ܛܘܪܐ	[16] mountain of God. Mountains of Bashan!
ܛܘܪܝ ܓܒܢܝܡ. ܛܘܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܛܘܪܐ	Mountains of Gebanyam! Mountains of Bashan!
[17] ܠܡܐ ܡܕܡ ܨܒܝܬ	[17] What (do) you want
ܒܛܘܪܐ ܕܓܒܢܝܡ.	in the mountains of Gebanyam,
ܛܘܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܒܥܐ ܠܫܟܘܢ ܒܗ.	the mountain in which God chose to dwell?
ܐܦ ܓܒܪ ܢܫܟܘܢ ܒܗ ܠܥܠܡ.	The Lord will dwell in it forever.

The *DGC* on these same verses states:[284]

> [16] The *mountain of God* (ܛܘܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ). The Gentiles – the inhabitants of the *mountains of Bashan*, the kingdom of Og (ܥܘܓ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܒܫܢ)[285] – are the *mountains of Gebanyam* (ܛܘܪܝ ܓܒܢܝܡ), which surround the mountain of Zion (ܛܘܪܐ ܨܝܢ). *Mountains of Bashan!* [17] *Why do you, mountains of Gebanyam, want* (ܛܘܪܝ ܓܒܢܝܡ ܠܡܐ ܨܒܝܬ) to uproot the people in your envy (ܒܩܢܝܬܟ), who have now been newly planted (here)? These are (the names of) regions. (Concerning) *the mountain in which God chose* from all the mountains of Jerusalem *to dwell*, even if you seek to do evil to it ten thousand times, it will not be able to be harmed. *The Lord will dwell in it forever*, and it will not be conquered by its enemies.[286]

[282] It is also possible that, if Aḥob did comment on this phrase, it has been lost, meaning the scribes of LMSC (and/or the scribe(s) of their exemplar(s)) would not have known of its existence.

[283] Given Aḥob's propensity for ending a scholion with a corrective quote from another dialect, language, and/or biblical source (i.e. his Psalm 45:9; 58:4, 5-6; 68:14, 16-17 scholia), it is possible that this scholion (in its present state) is only the original ending. I would argue that there was once a further explanation which preceded and was connected to what is extant of this scholion.

[284] For the Syriac text of these verses, see Appendix, Psalm 68:16-17.

[285] Cf. Josh 13:30.

[286] This translation is my own.

Aḥob's marginal scholion[287] visually connects "you (are) arguing" (ܬܬܡܪܥ) with the LMSC (and Peshitta) "you want" (ܬܬܪܥܐ).[288] Though he does not state it outright, Aḥob seeks to understand two things in this scholion: 1) the meaning of the final two phrases of Ps 68:16: "Mountains of Gebanyam! Mountains of Bashan!" (ܛܘܪܐ ܕܓܒܢܡ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܒܫܢ), and 2) the manner by which these phrases tie into the beginning of v. 17: "what (do) you want?" (ܡܢܐ ܕܒܥܐ ܬܬܪܥܐ). In order to better understand the end of v. 16 and the beginning of v. 17 in the Peshitta, Aḥob turns to comparable Hebrew and Greek readings. The equivalent phrase in MT Ps 68:16-17 states, "Mountain of Bashan! [17] Why do you look with envy" (הַר־בָּשָׁן׃ [17] לָמָּה תְּרַצְּדוּן);[289] the relevant phrase in LXX Ps 67:16 states, "fat mountain, curdled mountain" (ὄρος πῖον, ὄρος τετυρωμένον). Aḥob's Hebrew and Greek readings state, "Mountains of Bashan, [17] why (are) you arguing?" (ܛܘܪܐ ܕܒܫܢ [17] ܡܢܐ ܕܬܬܡܪܥ)[290] and "fat mountains, mountains of curd" (ܛܘܪܐ ܕܫܡܢ. ܛܘܪܐ ܕܓܒܢܡ),[291] respectively. While he knows that the MT and LXX state something different than the Peshitta at this point, he does not suggest whether his Hebrew or Greek reading should be regarded as the preferred reading in this context, nor does he offer any further insights concerning Ps 68:16-17.

Though modern translations render the phrase הָרִים גַּבְנֻנִּים as "many-peaked mountains," the meaning of גַּבְנֻנִּים was not clear to the Peshitta translators, who understood it to be a proper noun: "Gebanyam" (ܓܒܢܡ). The texts of LMSC follow the Peshitta and interpret it as a proper name of a particular range of mountains surrounding Jerusalem. As a result, it appears to have raised some confusion, on their part, as to why the Peshitta discusses so many different types of mountains (presumed to be in close geographical proximity to each other) in Ps 68:16: "the mountain of God" (ܛܘܪ ܐܠܗܐ), "mountains of Bashan" (ܛܘܪܐ ܕܒܫܢ), and the "mountains of Gebanyam" (ܛܘܪܐ ܕܓܒܢܡ). They sort out this problem by suggesting that the "mountains of Bashan" and the "mountains of Gebanyam" represent the Gentile peoples – specifically the

[287] Aḥob's Psalm 68:16-17 scholion states, "But the Hebrew clearly says, [68:16] 'Mountains of Bashan, [17] why (are) you arguing?' But the Greek says, [67:16] 'Fat mountains, mountains of curd.'" For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

[288] L marks ܬܬܡܪܥ with a black dot over it; M marks it with a red dot over it. C marks it with a siglum in the form of a sideways red "z," which is above the word; S does not mark the word. The equivalent word in the *DGC*, ܬܬܪܥܐ, (as well as "of Gebanyam" [ܕܓܒܢܡ]) is marked as follows: LMC place a siglum in the form of a sideways red "z" above both words; S does not mark either word.

[289] Aside from Sir 14:22, this is the only time the Hebrew verb תְּרַצְּדוּן is used in the Hebrew Old Testament, and its meaning is uncertain.

[290] For a discussion of Aḥob's source(s) for this Hebrew reading, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.2. Hebrew Readings.

[291] For a discussion of Aḥob's source(s) for this Greek reading, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.3. Greek Readings.

descendants of Og (ܥܘܓ) – who live on them and who are hostile to Mount Zion and the Israelites, who have recently settled there.[292]

Turning to Ps 68:17, the texts of LMSC suggest that "you want" is used as a synonym for "your envy" (ܚܣܝܕܟ), as if the personified "mountains of Gebanyam" desire to live on "the mountain of God," where God's people have settled.[293]

Similar to the discussion of Aḥob's Psalm 68:14 scholion, it is likely that Aḥob's Psalm 68:16-17 scholion was once longer and only the final portion of it is preserved in LMSC.[294] This Aḥob scholion is likely included in the margins of LMSC, because it functions as a corrective to the *DGC* manuscript tradition's interpretation of Ps 68:16-17.

3.4.16. Psalm 104:2-3

According to the Peshitta, Ps 104:2-3 states:

[2] ܡܠܒܫ ܢܘܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܣܕܝܢܐ.	[2] He was clothed (in) light as (with) a cloak;
ܡܫܚ ܫܡܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܫܟܐ.	he stretched out heaven like a curtain.
[3] ܕܒܡܝܐ ܥܠܝܢ ܡܫܟܢ ܓܘ̈ܗ̇ܝ.	[3] On the waters he constructed his habitations,[295]
ܘܥܠ ܥܢܢܐ ܣܝܡ ܪܟܒܗ.	and upon the clouds he placed his chariot
ܘܡܗܠܟ ܥܠ ܟܢ̈ܦܝ ܪܘܚܐ.	and he walks upon the wings of the wind.

The *DGC* on these same verses states:[296]

> [2] You *were clothed* (with) intangible *light, as (with) a cloak*, that is to say, a garment, instead of the glorious purple garments and magnificent vestments with which earthly kings are adorned. You *stretched out the heavens like a tent* (ܡܫܚܐ) of hair (ܥܙܐ), from *in the beginning*[297] with great easiness in the sudden twinkling of an eye. *Tent* in the Arabic language (is) *šiqqa* (ܫܩܩܐ, an oblong piece of cloth from which a tent is made).[298] [3] *On the waters* (ܒܡܝܐ) which are above the firmament (ܕܥܠ ܟܠ ܪܩܝܥܐ) *he constructed his habitations*[299] (ܓܘ̈ܗ̇ܝ...ܕܒܡܝܐ), which is that highest heaven (ܫܡܝܐ ܕܫ ܥܠܝܢ). *And he set his chariot upon the clouds*, and he moves them[300] and directs

[292] Aside from minor spelling and word choice differences, P, ff. 136r, *19*-136v, *5* and P[2], ff. 25r, *21*-25v, *9* preserve the same commentary on Ps 68:16-17.

[293] The Peshitta does not preserve any significant variations related to the phrases ܗܘ̈ܪ ܓܒܢܝܡ ܗܘ̈ܪ ܚܣܝܕܟ or ܗܘ̈ܪ ܕܥܡ ܐܠܗܐ in Ps 68:16-17. There are also no recorded variants for the equivalent MT הַר גַּבְנֻנִּים הַר־ בָּשָׁן or לָמָּה תְּרַצְּדוּן or the LXX ὄρος τετυρωμένον, ὄρος πῖον or ἵνα τί ὑπολαμβάνετε.

[294] See Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.14. Psalm 68:14.

[295] The plural noun + 3ms suffix ܓܘ̈ܗ̇ܝ could also be translated as "his floors."

[296] For the Syriac text of these verses, see Appendix, Psalm 104:2-3.

[297] Gen 1:1.

[298] The underlying Arabic noun is شقّة. See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 1), col. 852 (under the entry ܡܫܚܐ) and Edward William Lane and Stanley Lane-Poole, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (Book 1, Part 4; Lahore, Pakistan: Islamic Book Centre, 1978), 1578 (col. A).

[299] Or "his floors."

[300] Namely, the clouds.

(them)[301] *and he walks upon the wings of the wind*, and he changes them in accordance with our need. *Wings*,[302] that is to say, wings.[303] In the Arabic language, *ajniḥa wa-aktāf*[304] which (are) under it.[305]

Aḥob's scholion[306] is inserted into LMSC, though it is written in a smaller script and distinguished from the *DGC* texts of LMSC.[307] While only M visually connects it to the feminine singular noun, "curtain," (ܪܥܝܬܐ)[308] in v. 2, this scholion is also likely connected (though not via any sigla) to the phrase "on the waters he constructed his habitations" (ܒܐܝܡܝܐ ܒܢܐ ,ܡܫܟܢܬܐ) in v. 3.[309] In the first part of his scholion, Aḥob seeks to understand the contextual meaning of the Peshitta noun, "curtain." He suggests that it does not refer to "the form of its [i.e. heaven's] setting up" (ܡܗܝܟܪܢܘܬ ܕܣܝܡܘܗܝ); rather, it alludes to "the swiftness [i.e. the speed] of its construction" (ܡܗܝܪܘܬ ܒܢܝܢܗ). He then turns to Isa 40:22, where similar phraseology to Ps 104:2 is used: "he stretched out heaven like a vault" (ܪܒܘ ܟܡܐ ܕܟܐܦܐ ܫܒ); however, Aḥob insists that Isaiah was speaking about "that exalted (heaven)" (ܗܘ…ܕܡ) – where God dwells, whereas David (in Ps 104:2) is speaking about "this visible firmament" (ܗܢܘ ܪܘܡ ܕܐܝܬ), i.e. the firmament which can be seen by people. In other words, Aḥob

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[301] Ezekiel witnessed something similar in his throne-chariot vision. See Ezek 1:4-28.

[302] The Syriac of this plural noun is ܟܢܦܐ.

[303] The Syriac of this plural noun is ܟܢܦ. The plural noun ܟܢܦܐ was considered archaic to the *DGC* manuscript tradition, so the plural noun (and synonym) ܟܢܦ was included because it has the more particular meaning of "wings" and, thus, clarifies the meaning of ܟܢܦܐ.

[304] Meaning "wings and the shoulders" (ܟܬܦܐ ܘܣܥܪܐ). The underlying Arabic phrase is اجنحة واكتاف.

[305] This translation is my own.

[306] Aḥob's Palm 104:2-3 scholion states, "For, indeed, he says [104:2] *(he stretched out heaven like) a curtain*, not (in order) to make known the form of its setting up, but he proclaims the swiftness of its construction. For it is said, concerning that exalted (heaven), that *he stretched out heaven like a vault*, that is to say, like a dome. But he says this concerning (that) which is this visible firmament. (It is) not possible that it would be in the shape of a vault or a tent, on account of the waters which (are) above its highest ridge. [3] *On the waters he constructed his habitations*, not of that exalted heaven since that is the roof of the firmament, that which is like the earth (in relation) to the waters which (are) above it. He calls them 'habitations,' as also the structures which (are) above the earth (are) the habitations of the firmament, since the whole of its own roof is the floor of the house which (is) under it. But that exalted heaven (is) much greater than this, and (it is like) the shape of a canopy (which) surrounded all creation. But this (visible firmament, which is) in a round shape, (is) circular in the middle and is level from every place, so that the waters, which are above, should not slip away or fall down from its highest ridge. An example to consider, which (is) like this, (is found) in the sanctuary of churches, which in the shape of the exalted heaven rises (over) the whole (church). And under its own dome a level roof rises and does not form a dome which is the ceiling for the floor (of the sanctuary)." For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

[307] In L, it is contained within red frames on f. 128r, *4-26*. In M, it is contained within red frames on f. 126r, *6-25* and f. 126v, *6-7*. In S, it is contained within red frames on f. 235r, *13-21* and, in this space, encompasses 12 short lines. In C, it is contained within red frames on f. 113v, *12-20* and, in this space, encompasses 16 short lines.

[308] The Peshitta does not preserve any variants related to ܪܥܝܬܐ. There are also no recorded variants for the equivalent MT יְרִיעָה and the LXX δέρριν.

[309] M marks ܪܥܝܬܐ with a siglum in the form of a sideways red "z," which is above the word; LSC do not mark the word. The equivalent word in Aḥob's scholion is equally marked in M, as well as equally unmarked in LSC.

views the Peshitta noun, curtain, as being synonymous with this visible firmament. He continues his discussion of curtain by insinuating that it cannot refer to that exalted heaven, because that exalted heaven is "in the shape of a vault or a tent" (ܟܟܒܬܐ ܐܘ ܟܘܟܐ ܟܚܡܝܟ) and so the waters on which God's habitations rest – those "which (are) above its [i.e. this visible firmament's] highest ridge" (ܥܠ ܡܢ ܫܠܝܬܐ) – would run down below it.[310]

Having only alluded to v. 3, he then turns to an open discussion of the v. 3 phrase "on the waters he constructed his habitations." His interest in this phrase lies primarily in understanding the contextual meaning of the plural noun, "habitations" (ܡܫܟܢܬܐ). Aḥob suggests that these habitations were not made from "that exalted heaven since that is the roof of the firmament" (ܟܐܦܝ ,ܡܐܟܢ ܟܠܗ ܐܦ ;ܗܘ ܟܠ ܐܡ ܟܟܒ). He qualifies this statement with a further description of the firmament: its relation to that exalted heaven "is like the earth (in relation) to the waters [i.e. the firmament] which (are) above it" (ܟܬܠ ,ܡܐܟܢ ܟܐܪ ܥܡ ܡܢ ܫܠܝܬܐ). The use of ܟܐܪ here seems to have a dual sense of "earth" and "floor" as its meaning. In order to understand David's use of "habitations" in v. 3, Aḥob makes another comparison of the earth with the firmament above it: "the structures which (are) above the earth (are) the habitations of the firmament" (ܟܐܦܝ ,ܡܫܟܢܬܐ ܟܐܪ ܡܢ ܫܠܝܬܐ ܕܫܡܝ). He describes the habitations of the firmament further: "the whole of its own roof is the floor of the house which (is) under it" (,ܡܐܟܐܘܬܐ ܟܠ ܕܝܠܗ ܐ ܐܠܐ ܟܠܗ ܕܠ). Aḥob seems to be suggesting that these habitations of the firmament functioned simultaneously as both a ceiling and a floor. He continues by insisting that "that exalted heaven (is) much greater than this" (ܟܟܒ ܐܦ...ܕ ,ܗܠ ܐܐ ܡܢ ܫܠ), the latter of which presumably refers back to "the habitations of the firmament." Aḥob describes "that exalted heaven" (ܫܠ ܟܟܒ ܐܦ)[311] as a "canopy" (ܣܕܟܦܐ)[312] "(which) surrounded all creation" (ܟܠܗ ܫܚ ܠܟܠ ܒܪܝ). He contrasts this with the visible firmament, "(which is) in a round shape, (is) circular in the middle,[313] and is level from every place [i.e. flat], so that the waters, which are above, should not slip away or fall down from its highest ridge" (ܠܡܥܒܪ ܕܠ ܥܡ .ܥܡ ܕܠ ܡܢ ܟܐܐ ܟܠܗ ܕܟܝܟܘ ܫܠܝ ܫܠܝܬ ܟܚܡܝܟ ܡܢ ܫܠܝܬܐ ܡܢ ܠܡܥܠܐ). Aḥob concludes his cosmological discussion with comparisons to three architectural features in "the sanctuary of churches" (ܟܡܩܕܫ ܟܗܢ); he invokes these

[310] For a discussion of Aḥob's cosmology and its sources, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.2.2. Cosmology.

[311] In v. 3 of his Psalm 104:2-3 scholion, Aḥob writes the phrase "that exalted heaven" as ܫܠ ܐܦ ܟܟܒ and ܫܠ ܟܟܒ ܐܦ.

[312] For a further discussion of this noun, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.7. A Rare Word of Uncertain Etymology.

[313] It is unclear what Aḥob means by "circular in the middle" (ܟܠܟܝܟ ܫܠ).

connections likely because he seeks to solidify the meanings of his abstract concepts with recognizable, visual representations: just as that exalted heaven is above this visible firmament,[314] so the "dome" (ܟܘܒܐ) of the sanctuary "rises (over) the whole (church)" (ܡܪܝ ܟܠܗ). In other words, the uppermost part of the sanctuary's vaulted ceiling corresponds to that exalted heaven. Furthermore, just as God made this visible firmament in a level manner, so inside the sanctuary "a level roof rises and does not form a dome which is the ceiling for the floor (of the sanctuary)" (ܟܝܢܐ ܟܘܒ ܠܥܠ ܕܠܐ ܡܩܝܡ ܟܘܒ ܕܗܘ ܣܝܡܐ ܠܪܫܝܡ ܡܪܝ). Here, Aḥob is likely referencing the flat roof of the altar baldachin,[315] which corresponds to this visible firmament.[316] Finally, just as "the floor (of the sanctuary)" (ܐܪܥ) is under the altar baldachin, so the earth is beneath this visible firmament. In other words, the floor of the sanctuary corresponds to the earth.

The texts of LMSC also seek to better understand the meaning of ܟܘܬܢܐ in the context of v. 2 and the implications of the phrase "on the waters he constructed his habitations" (ܒܡ ,ܡܝܐ ܒܢܐ ܟܘܬܢܗ) in v. 3. In v. 2, they render ܟܘܬܢܐ as "tent" and describe it as being made of "hair" (ܥܙܐ), which is likely a reference to camel or goat hair, like that which is employed to make the famous black tents in Iraq and Turkey.[317] They also equate "tent" with the Garshuni gloss ܫܥܪܐ, meaning "an oblong piece of cloth from which a tent is made." Furthermore, they elaborate on the speed of the creation of this "tent," which occurred "from *in the beginning* with great easiness in the sudden twinkling of the eye" (ܒܫܥ ܚܕ .ܟܘܬܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܒܪܫ ܒܥܓܠܐ ܒܡ ܒܪܝܫ ܡܝ). In v. 3, they simply equate "on the waters" with those waters "which are above the firmament" (ܡܝ ܕܥܠ ܠܪܩܝܥ) and "he constructed his habitations" with "that highest heaven" (ܫܡܝ ܫܡܝܐ ܕܝܢ).

Considering these things, Aḥob's Psalm 104:2-3 scholion is included in LMSC, likely because it offers a slightly nuanced understanding of the Peshitta noun, "curtain," and phrase, "on the waters he constructed his habitations," and, thus, it functions as a corrective for vv. 2-3 in the *DGC* manuscript tradition.[318] Furthermore, and somewhat comparable to his Psalm

[314] This is alluded to in v. 2 of his Psalm 104:2-3 scholion.

[315] For a photographic example of the type of altar baldachin that Aḥob describes, see Hans Hollerweger, *TURABDIN: Lebendiges Kulturerbe / Living Cultural Heritage / Canli Kültür Mirasi* (Linz, Austria: Freunde des Turabdin, 1999), 222.

[316] For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.2.3. Church Architecture.

[317] See, for instance, William Lancaster and Fidelity Lancaster, *People, Land and Water in the Arab Middle East: Environments and Landscapes in the Bilâd ash-Shâm* (The Netherlands: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1999), 240-241.

[318] Aside from minor variants, P, f. 196r, *14-22* and P[2], ff. 88r, *21*-88v, *6* preserve the same commentary on Ps 104:2-3 as LMSC.

39:4-6, Psalm 42:2, and Psalm 58:4 scholia, Aḥob's Psalm 104:2-3 scholion is likely inserted within the texts of LMSC (though markedly offset by red frames and in a smaller script), because it was viewed as being too large a scholion to write in the margin. In this way, it was placed within the texts of LMSC for technical, rather than ideological, reasons.

In contrast to other Aḥob scholia, a diagrammatic illustration of Aḥob's Psalm 104:2-3 scholion is included in LMSC:[319]

[319] The following images (in the order of LMSC) are taken from the Christian Middle East collection, British Library; the Mingana Collection of Middle Eastern Manuscripts, Cadbury Research Library, University of Birmingham; les manuscrits orientaux, Collections patrimoniales, Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg; the Jenks collection of Syriac manuscripts, Cambridge University Library. The edition and translation, which immediately follows these images, is based on L, f. 128v.

S, f. 236r

L, f. 128v

C, f. 113v

M, f. 126v

ܗܐ ܨܘܪܬܐ ܕܩܕܡ ܐܢܬ ܀	Behold! The image (which is) before you
ܗܕܐ ܫܡܝܐ ܪܡܐ ܕܪܘܚ ܘܦܫܝܩ ܠܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܘܒܗ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܕܡܬܚܙܐ ܐܝܟ ܓܠܓܠܐ ❖	This is the exalted heaven which (is) great and broad and circles the whole of creation and (creation) is within it, in the likeness of a canopy, that is to say, a wheel.
ܗܕܐ ܫܡܝܐ ܥܠܝܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܀	This (is) the highest heaven of heavens
ܗܕܐ ܪܩܝܥܐ ܕܥܠ ܡܝܐ ܀	This is the firmament over which (are) the waters
ܘܗܕܐ ܕܬܚܝܬ ܪܩܝܥܐ ܕܟܘܟܒܐ ܀	And this, which (is) under the firmament, (is) the region of the stars
ܘܗܕܐ ܕܥܢܢܐ ܘܡܙܓܐ ܘܪܘܚܐ ܀	And this (is the region) of the clouds and mists and winds
ܘܗܕܐ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܥܠ ܟܠ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܀	And this is the earth above which (is) everything[320]

The simplest explanation for the inclusion of the above illustrations in LMSC is that they offer a visual aid to understanding the theoretical arguments which Aḥob presents in his Psalm 104:2-3 scholion. While these illustrations are unique, they have comparable features with similar illustrations produced by the Greek merchant Cosmos Indicopleustes in the 6th century.[321] For this reason, one could argue that Aḥob himself authored the original version of these illustrations.[322] There are three pieces of evidence that support this proposal: 1) these particular illustrations are only found in late 19th-century *DGC* manuscripts, which is also when Aḥob's exegetical works were added; P and P^2 do not contain these illustrations; 2) the usage of the noun ܐܝܟ ܓܠܓܠܐ is only attested in Aḥob's Psalm 104:2-3 scholion and these illustrations; 3) the fact that these illustrations have features which are comparable to some of Indicopleustes' illustrations suggests an early date. Although these pieces of evidence are persuasive, they do not conclusively prove that Aḥob authored the original version of these illustrations. For instance, a later scribe (prior to the production of late 19th-century *DGC* manuscripts) could have modeled his exemplar of these illustrations on Aḥob's Psalm 104:2-3 scholion, with an awareness to earlier (now lost) illustrations – the same ones upon which Indicopleustes may have also drawn,[323] meaning he could make his design of these illustrations' exemplar look early. Furthermore, this same scribe could have used Aḥob's noun ܐܝܟ ܓܠܓܠܐ in his exemplar of these illustrations to ensure that his readers connected it to Aḥob's Psalm 104:2-3 scholion. While the evidence for a later, unknown scribe being the author of the

[320] The colored blobs in L, f. 128v, M, f. 126v, and C, f. 113v are likely the mountains of the earth.

[321] See, for instance, Maja Kominko, *The World of Kosmas: Illustrated Byzantine Codices of the* Christian Topography (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 242-245.

[322] The West Syriac writer, Mushe bar Kipho (d. 903), also produced cosmological drawings of the world in his writings, though these are less sophisticated than Aḥob's illustration. They remain unpublished. For cosmological drawings that are influenced (in part) by Bar Kipho, see J.-B. Chabot, "Notice sur une mappemonde syrienne du XIIIe siècle," *Bulletin de géographie historique et descriptive* (1897): 98-112.

[323] Cf. Kominko, *The World of Kosmas*, 13-17.

original version of these illustrations is noteworthy, it is arguably less compelling than the evidence in favor of Aḥob being its author. Therefore, unless new evidence can be found to suggest otherwise, one should likely credit the original version of these illustrations to Aḥob.[324]

3.4.17. Psalm 105:17-19

According to the Peshitta, Ps 105:17-19 states:

[17] ܓܒܪ ܩܕܡܝܗܘܢ ܐܫܕܪ ܠܥܒܕܐ.	[17] He sent a man before them;
ܠܝܘܣܦ ܕܐܬܙܒܢ ܠܥܒܕܘܬܐ.	Joseph, (who) was sold into slavery.
[18] ܥܠ ܟܒܠܐ ܓܪܘ ܪܓܠܘܗܝ ܒܣܝܪܐ.	[18] They bound his feet with shackles,
ܘܒܦܪܙܠ ܥܠ ܢܦܫܗ ܥܠܬ.	and in irons his soul entered
[19] ܥܕ ܕܐܬܐ ܡܠܬܗ ܫܪܝ.	[19] until his word was loosed.
ܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܒܩܗ ܠܝܘܣܦ.	The word of the Lord examined him.

The *DGC* on these same verses states:[325]

> [17] *He sent a man,* Joseph, *before them* for the safeguard of their lives. *Joseph was sold into slavery* by his brothers,[326] that by him they would be delivered from the famine (ܕܐܬ ܒܗ ܒܝܥܘܬܐ ܕܡ).[327] [18] *They bound* (ܓܪܘ) *his feet with shackles* (ܟܒܠܐ) in the prison.[328] He calls the "*shackles*" bonds. *And in* these *irons* and by means of them *his soul entered* into distress[329] [19] *until* (ܥܕ) the *word* of God *was loosed* on account of him.[330] *The word* (ܡܠܬܐ) *of the Lord examined him* that it might be seen that he is esteemed worthy of honor (ܕܢܬܒܪ ܒܥܬ ܪܡܘܬ).[331]

Somewhat interestingly, Aḥob's marginal scholion[332] is visually connected to the first word in v. 19 – "until" (ܥܕ) – even though he never uses this word in his scholion.[333] In his scholion, Aḥob elaborates on the reason undergirding God's punishing of Joseph, who is first

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[324] There are three levels of these diagrammatic illustrations which Aḥob does not discuss. These include "the highest heaven of heavens" (ܫܡܝܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ), "the region of the stars" (ܪܩܝܥܐ ܕܟܘܟܒܐ), and "(the region) of the clouds and mists and winds" (ܥܢܢܐ ܘܥܪܦܠܐ ܘܪܘܚܐ). It is possible that he examined these levels in the earliest form of this scholion, but later scribes chose not to preserve his explanation of them. For a further discussion of the original form of this Aḥob scholion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.1. The Original Form of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

[325] For the Syriac text of these verses, see Appendix, Psalm 105:17-19.

[326] Cf. Gen 37:28.

[327] Cf. Gen 41:57; 42:6.

[328] Cf. Gen 39:20.

[329] Cf. Gen 40:14-15.

[330] Cf. Gen 41:10-13.

[331] This translation is my own.

[332] Aḥob's Psalm 105:17-19 scholion states, "For (it is) not due to (Joseph's) evil (that) God punished him and turned away from him that he might be [105:17] *sold*, [18] *and* he might be *bound* in slavery as *with shackles*. But [19] *the word of the Lord examined him*. But he says *his word* with regard to his purpose concerning him." For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

[333] LMC mark ܥܕ with a red dot over it; S does not mark this word in the *DGC*. No related word in Aḥob's scholion is marked in LMSC.

introduced in v. 17 of Ps 105. He suggests that it was "not due to (Joseph's) evil (that) God punished him" (ܐܠܗܐ ,ܒܝܫܬܗ ܠܐ ܡܛܠ ܕ). Furthermore, Joseph was not sold into slavery because God "turned away from him" (ܐܠܗܐ ,ܡܢ ܐܬܪܚܩ). Rather, Aḥob insists that even though Joseph "would be *bound* in slavery…*the word of the Lord examined him*" (ܡܢ ܐܬܪܚܩ…ܡܠܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܒܚܗ ,ܐܬܣܪ). He concludes by clarifying the meaning of the Peshitta term "his word" (ܡܢ ܐܬܪܚܩ): this is spoken in reference to God's "purpose" (ܡܗܝܡܢܘܬܗ) for Joseph.[334] While it is clear that Aḥob wishes to establish that God did not needlessly punish Joseph, it is less clear why he clarifies what "his word" means in this verse, though it is possible that Aḥob was intentionally ruling out any possible Christological interpretation of "his word" in this verse, i.e. viewing it as a theological synonym of "the Logos" (ܡܠܬܐ), the latter of which (in connection with God) is a common interpretation among West Syriac writers.[335]

The texts of LMSC are also interested in why God tested Joseph to such a degree, as is stated in Ps 105:17-19. The *DGC* manuscript tradition offers two reasons for God's treatment of Joseph, in regards to slavery: 1) "by him they [Joseph's brothers] would be delivered from the famine" (ܡܢ ܒܟܦܢܐ ܕܢܬܦܪܩܘܢ ܒܗ) and 2) "it might be seen that he [Joseph] is esteemed worthy of honor" (ܕܢܬܚܙܐ ܝܩܝܪ ܗܘܐ). While the texts of LMSC agree with and largely preserve the same content as the earlier *DGC* manuscript tradition on these three verses,[336] Aḥob's Psalm 105:17-19 scholion is likely included in the margins of LMSC, because it functions as a corrective to the earlier *DGC* manuscript tradition's understanding of Ps 105:17-19, specifically why God tested Joseph in such a manner.

3.4.18. Psalm 110 Prologue

According to the Peshitta, Ps 110:1 states:

ܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ ܠܡܪܝ,	The Lord said to my Lord,
ܬܘܒ ܠܝܡܝܢܝ.	"Sit at my right hand,
ܥܕ ܐܫܝܡ ܒܥܠܬܟ ܣܢܝܐ,	until I should set your enemies
ܗܕܘܡ ܠܪܓܠܝܟ.	(as) a footstool for your feet."

[334] There are no variants for ܡܢ ܐܬܪܚܩ in the Peshitta, as well as its equivalent word אִמְרָת in the MT and λόγιον in the LXX.

[335] See, for instance, see Arthur Adolphe Vaschalde (ed.), *Three Letters of Philoxenus Bishop of Mabbôgh (485-519): Being the Letter to the Monks, the First Letter to the Monks of Beth-Gaugal, and the Letter to Emperor Zeno* (Facultas Philosophiae 2; Roma: Tipografia della R. Accademia dei Lincei, 1902), 132, *4* (text), 96 (trans.) and David G. K. Taylor (ed.), *The Great Psalm Commentary of Daniel of Ṣalaḥ* (in preparation for CSCO), specifically the commentary on Psalm 1. Daniel flourished in the mid-6th century.

[336] LMS change ܥܡܪ (as found in P) to ܐܡܪ, and they preserve ܡܚܠܠܗ (as found in P), ignoring its corrupted spelling, ܡܫܚܠܠܗ, in P^2. See P, f. 200v, *16*, *18* and P^2, f. 93r, *1*, *3*.

The *DGC* on this same verse states:[337]

> *The Lord*, the Father, *said to my Lord*, who is Christ in the flesh, "*Sit at my right hand*, in the power and in the honor of the kingdom, *until I should set your enemies*, the ones who are standing against you – whether demons or evil people (ܕܩܡܝܢ ܥܠ ܒܥܠ ܕܒܝܫ ܕܩܡ) – because of the inclination[338] and the error in this age, *(as) a footstool for your feet*."[339]

Unlike all of his other scholia, this Aḥob scholion[340] is inserted into the texts of VLMSC, immediately following the Ps 110 heading.[341] It is written in the same size script as the surrounding texts of VLMSC, and its placement (though not via any sigla) makes it visually connected to Ps 110:1.[342] In his scholion, Aḥob boldly states that Ps 110 is meant to be understood as a Messianic psalm. He establishes this fact by summarizing five aspects of Ps 110:

1) "he [David] proclaims in it the honor which came to pass for humanity" (ܡܕ ܐܡܪ ܒܗ ܝܩܪܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܠܐܢܫܘܬܐ)

2) "he also indicates concerning the eternal begetting of God the Word" (ܠܐ ܡܫ ܐܡܪ ܐܦ ܥܠ ܝܠܕܘܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ)

3) "(he indicates concerning) the high priesthood of his humanity like that of the Jews" (ܟܗܢܘܬܐ ܪܡܬܐ ܕܒܫܪܗ ܡܗܝܡܢܘ ܕܗܘ̈ܝܢ ܗܟܝ)

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[337] For the Syriac text of this verse, see Appendix, Psalm 110:1.

[338] The noun, here, is spelled ܕܗܝܠܝܢܘ. For a further study of the related noun, "inclination" (ܝܨܪܐ), see Adam H. Becker, "The 'Evil Inclination' of the Jews: The Syriac Yatsra in Narsai's Metrical Homilies for Lent," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 106:2 (2016): 179-207 and David G. K. Taylor, "'Inclination' (*yaṣrā*) in the Syriac Tradition," in James Aitken, Hector M. Patmore, and Ishay Rosen-Zvi (eds.), *The Evil Inclination in Early Judaism and Christianity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 262-279.

[339] This translation is my own.

[340] Aḥob's Psalm 110 Prologue scholion states, "When he proclaims in it the honor which came to pass for humanity, he also indicates concerning the eternal begetting of God the Word, and the high priesthood of his humanity like that of the Jews, and concerning the judgment which will come to pass by his hands, and the honor that will be given to the saints. But the stupid Jews take it as (being spoken) in the persona of the servant of Abraham, when he went to betroth Rebecca, that (is) as if these words were spoken by him. But they are refuted by the beginning of the psalm, in that it is confessed by them that there are four letters in the alphabet of their own way of writing, by (which) the name of God alone is written by them, which is equally written as *the Lord* and as *my Lord*, whenever (a person) wants to call God by the name *my Lord* or *the Lord*, just as here (in this psalm) they also tell (the ones) who know (the name), *the Lord*, that by (these four) letters these names are written (as) *the Lord* and (as) that of *my Lord*." For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

[341] V marks the end of this Aḥob scholion with ⁘; LC mark its conclusion with ⁘ ⁘ ⁘. M marks the end of this Aḥob scholion with a red line that stretches the width of the page; S does not mark the end of this Aḥob scholion.

[342] In V, Aḥob's scholion encompasses pp. 46, *11*-47, *5*. In L, it is found on ff. 140r, *21*-140v, *6*; in M, it is preserved on ff. 138r, *28*-138v, *13*. In S, it is found on f. 256r, *9-18*; in C, it is preserved on ff. 123r, *26*-123v, *9*.

4) “(he indicates) concerning the judgment which will come to pass by his hands” (ܥܠ ܕܕܝܢܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܒܝܕܘܗܝ)

5) “(he indicates) the honor that will be given to the saints” (ܒܬܘܫܒܚܬܐ ܕܢܬܝܗܒ ܠܩܕܝܫܐ).

He contrasts his interpretation of Ps 110 with that of “the stupid Jews” (ܝܗܘܕܝܐ…ܛܦܫܐ), who (according to Aḥob) believe this psalm was “(being spoken) in the persona of the servant of Abraham, when he went to betroth Rebecca” (ܒܦܪܣܘܦ ܥܒܕܐ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ ܟܕ ܐܙܠ ܠܡܚܬܢ ܠܪܒܩܐ). While he does not state it outright, he presumably concludes that Ps 110 (according to Jewish exegesis) speaks about either Isaac or Rebecca. Aḥob refutes this theological position by alluding to the “four letters in the alphabet of their own way of writing, by (which) the name of God alone is written by them” (ܐܬܘܬܐ ܐܪܒܥ ܒܐܠܦܒܝܬܗ ܕܟܬܒܢܘܬܗ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ ܕܒܗܢ ܐܬܟܬܒ ܫܡܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܠܒܪ). While he does not specifically state it, this is arguably a reference to the tetragrammaton (i.e. YHWH). Aḥob knows that YHWH is traditionally understood to mean “the LORD” but is read as “Adonai,” meaning “my Lord.” In other words, “the LORD” and “my Lord” are one word from Aḥob’s perspective, since both names are “equally written” (ܒܫܘܝܝܘܬܐ ܒܪܡܙܐ) with the same four letters, namely YHWH. Just as the Jews can use the letters YHWH to refer to God as “the LORD” and “my Lord” at any time, Aḥob argues that “(these four) letters” (ܐܬܘܬܐ) also encapsulate the equivalent titles in Peshitta Ps 110:1, namely “the Lord” (ܡܪܝ) and “my Lord” (ܠܡܪܝ).[343] In this way, Aḥob insists that “the Lord” and “my Lord” do not refer to any particular Old Testament individuals (whether a patriarch or his to-be wife); rather, these titles refer to Christ,[344] and, as a result, the Jews’ non-Messianic approach to understanding Ps 110 cannot be sustained.

The texts of VLMSC also understand Ps 110 to be a Messianic psalm, as is emphasized by the earlier *DGC* manuscript tradition.[345] However, since the *DGC* manuscript tradition does not have an introduction to Ps 110, this Aḥob scholion is likely inserted into the texts of VLMSC – directly after the Ps 110 heading – for four reasons: 1) it offers an introductory note on Ps 110 as a whole; 2) it describes the Messianic themes of Ps 110 and quotes select words from Ps 110:1; 3) it refutes a particular understanding of Ps 110, which was endorsed by specific enemies of Christ, namely the “Jews” (ܝܗܘܕܝܐ), who had only been generally

[343] There are no recorded variants for ܡܪܝ and ܠܡܪܝ in the Peshitta, as well as the equivalent words יְהוָה and אֲדֹנָי in the MT.

[344] For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.5. The Christology of Aḥob of Qatar’s Old Testament Exegetical Works.

[345] See P, f. 213v, *10-11*, *16-20* and P^2, f. 107v, *10-12*, *17-20*.

mentioned in somewhat vague terms in the earlier *DGC* manuscript tradition of Ps 110:1;[346] 4) it was easier to copy this lengthy scholion into the texts of VLMSC, rather than into the margin, implying that the manner of its inclusion in the texts of VLMSC is technical, rather than ideological, in nature.

3.4.19. Psalm 110:3

According to the Peshitta, Ps 110:3 states:

ܥܡܟ ܫܦܝܪ ܫܥܒܕ ܒܝܘܡ ܚܝܠܐ. ܒܗܘܪ ܩܕܫܐ ܡܢ ܒܛܢ ܫܚܪ. ܠܟ ܝܠܕܬ ܛܠ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܝܘܡ.	Your people will be glorious on the day of power, in the splendors of holiness from the womb. From the first, I begot you, a child.

The *DGC* on this same verse states:[347]

> *Your people will be glorious*, for they have faith in you; *on the day of power* you will make them glorious *through the splendors of* the *holiness* of the Godhead. *From the womb* of baptism this glorious people will be raised up for you. Or, thus, *in the splendors of holiness from the womb*, that is to say, from your fashioning, you will be seen (to) be splendid and holy, and then he[348] cites in the persona of the Father, and he says, "*From the first* (ܡܢ ܩܕܡ), *I begot you* (ܝܠܕܬ), *a child* (ܛܠ), from everlasting and from eternity (ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܝܘܡ ܥܠܡ)." But he[349] called him[350] a "*child*" in order that he might make known that he is a son who will not change like an infant amongst us (ܕܢܘܕܥ ܗܘ ܒܪ ܕܠܐ ܫܚܠܦ ܐܝܟ ܛܠ ܐܢܫ ܒܝܢ ܢܐ ܕܛܠ).[351]

Aḥob's scholion[352] is visually connected to the word "first" (ܡܢ ܩܕܡ) in Ps 110:3.[353] In his scholion, Aḥob begins by extoling the eternality of Christ in four descriptive phrases:

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[346] See P, f. 213v, *14* and P[2], f. 107v, *14-15*, which refer to Christ's enemies as "demons or evil people" (ܫܕܐ ܒܝܫܐ…ܐ ܕܝܢ) in Ps 110:1.

[347] For the Syriac text of this verse, see Appendix, Psalm 110:3.

[348] Namely, David.

[349] Namely, David.

[350] Namely, Christ.

[351] This translation is my own.

[352] Aḥob's Psalm 110:3 scholion states, "The Son is from everlasting and from eternity, and from the nature of the Father, and he is eternally begotten before creatures and (is) beyond all moments and seconds (of time). But the Greek says, 'From the womb and before the morning star I begot you.' He called him a '*child*' in order to show that he does not age or change from his being a Son, as we (do)." For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

[353] In V, this Aḥob scholion is presented in a footnote, implying that V's exemplar preserved it as a marginal note. Aside from the footnote number, it is not marked with any reference marker in the text of the *DGC*. LSC present this Aḥob scholion in the margin. C marks the *DGC* ܡܢ ܩܕܡ with a siglum in the form of a sideways red "z," which is above the word; LS do not mark any word in the text of the *DGC* in connection with this Aḥob scholion. M presents this Aḥob scholion within the text of the *DGC* on f. 139r, *3-7*, albeit within red frames and in a slightly smaller script; no word in the text of the *DGC* is marked in connection with this Aḥob scholion. VLMSC do not mark the related word ܡܢ ܩܕܡ – or any other word – in this Aḥob scholion.

1) he is "from everlasting and from eternity" (ܡܢ ܥܠܡ ܘܡܢ ܕܪ̈ܐ)

2) he is "from the nature of the Father" (ܡܢ ܟܝܢܐ...ܕܐܒܐ)

3) "he is eternally begotten before creatures" (ܐܝܟ ܕܒܪ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ)

4) he "(is) beyond all moments and seconds (of time)" (ܠܐ ܡܢ ܙܒܢ ܘܥܕܢ ܠܐ).

Aḥob then turns to a Greek reading of part of this verse: "From the womb and before the morning star I begot you" (ܡܢ ܒܛܢܐ ܩܕܡ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܝܠܕ̈ܬܐ ܕܪ̈ܘܙ ܐ).[354] Without discussing this Greek reading's significance (to any degree), he continues by focusing on the masculine singular noun "child" (ܝܠܕ̈ܐ) in the Peshitta. Aḥob insists that David refers to Christ as a child "in order to show that he does not age or change from his being a Son, as we (do)" (ܕܐܦ ܥܠ ܦܘܡ ܕܐܢܚܢ ܡܫܬܢܝܢ ܒܟܝܢܘܬܗ ܡܢ ܒܪܘܬܗ ܕܐܝܟ ܐ). In other words, David's use of "child" indicates Christ's divine eternality. Aḥob's opening and closing phrases arguably contrast Christ's divinity with peoples' humanity: Christ is "from everlasting and from eternity" and, thus, he does not age or change from his being a Son"; people (in their humanity), on the other hand, have aged and have changed.

The texts of VLMSC are also interested in better understanding the Christological implications of the phrase "from the first, I begot you" (ܡܢ ܩܕܡ...ܐܝܬ ܠܟ) in Ps 110:3. They emphasize their interpretation of its meaning by using the same phraseology that Aḥob uses to begin his extant Psalm 110:3 scholion, namely, "from everlasting and from eternity." The texts of VLMSC then draw out the meaning of "from the first, I begot you" by highlighting the importance of the Peshitta noun "child": "But he called him a '*child*' in order that he might make known that he is a son who will not change like an infant amongst us (,ܐܦ ܥܠ ܦܘܡ ܝܠܕ̈ܐ ܐܡܪ ܕܒܪ ܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܫܢܝ ܒܟܝܢܘܬܗ ܕܠܐ ܐܦ ܟܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܠ ܐܡܪ ܕܐܢܚܢ ܒܝܢ ܥܘ̈ܠܠ ܐ)." They insist on the usage of child, rather than "infant" (ܥܘ̈ܠܠ), likely because they do not want to imply that Christ was somehow literally born (in a human sense) from the Father. Thus, Christ (though begotten as a child) is eternal, which rules out any nuances for him being created. In this way, he is distinct from humanity in that he was never an infant and he will not change.

Somewhat similar to the discussions of his Psalm 68:14 and Psalm 68:16-17 scholia, it is likely that Aḥob's Psalm 110:3 scholion was once longer. Since its extant form begins with the abrupt phrase "from everlasting and from eternity," one can reasonably assume that the original beginning of this scholion has been removed. Due to the fact that Aḥob quotes the

[354] The Greek of this phrase, as used in LXX Ps 109:3, is ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐξεγέννησά σε. While there are variants recorded for Ps 110:3 in the Peshitta and its equivalent verse in the LXX, (for the purposes of this study) neither of these likely influenced Aḥob's interpretation of this verse. For a discussion of Aḥob's source(s) for this Greek reading, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.3. Greek Readings.

equivalent Greek phrase “from the womb and before the morning star” as a comparison, it is almost certain that his scholion originally began with the Peshitta phrase “From the first, I begot you, a child” (ܡܟܘܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܝܠܕܬܟ), though it is unclear if (following this Peshitta phrase) there is any Aḥobian commentary that has also been removed. It is likely that the beginning of this Aḥob scholion had already been abbreviated (intentionally or carelessly by (a) scribe(s)) prior to it being included in VLMSC.

While the texts of VLMSC offer a few interpretations on the meaning of “child” in Ps 110:3, they do not explain the meaning of “I begot you” to the same degree. Thus, a portion of Aḥob’s Psalm 110:3 scholion[355] is likely included in VLMSC for two reasons: 1) it offers a terse explanation of “I begot you,” and 2) it functions as a corrective to the *DGC* manuscript tradition’s understanding of this verse.

It is also worth noting that the only significant (and lengthy) variant found in an Aḥob scholion is preserved in S at this point. The wording is that of Aḥob’s Psalm 110:3 scholion, as found in VLMC; however, it is presented in a noticeably reworked manner. For instance, rather than Christ being “the Son…and he is eternally begotten before creatures” (ܐܝܬ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ), S states that he is “the Son…creatures” (ܒܪܝܬܐ ܐܝܬ). Or, again, in VLMC, the ending of this Aḥob scholion states, “he does not age and is not changed from his being a Son, as we (do)” (ܠܐ ܥܬܝܩ ܐܝܬ ܒܫܘܚܠܦܐ ܕܠܐ ܒܪܘܬ ܕܢ). But the ending of this scholion in S states, “he does not age and is (not) changed from his being a Son and (being) eternally begotten before the morning star like us” (ܒܪܝܒܪܝܐ ܥܬܝܩ ܐܝܬ ܒܫܘܚܠܦܐ ܒܪܘܬ ܕܢ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܟ ܕܚܢܢ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܟܠ). Since such a pronounced variant only occurs in S, one must ask why it deviates so far from the corresponding Aḥob scholion, as preserved in VLMC. In considering this, it is likely that this variant is the result of a mechanical error on the part of Augustinus, the scribe of S. For instance, if the Syriac text of Aḥob’s Psalm 110:3 scholion, as presented in S, were given the line numbers of the corresponding Aḥob Psalm 110:3 scholion (as presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia), it would appear as follows:

(lines 1-2) ܐܝܬ ܐܡܪ ܕܐ ܡܫܝ ܩܕܡ ܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܩܕܡ ܟܠ ܟܘܟܒܐ ܕܨܦܪ
(lines 3-5) ܩܕܡ ܐܚܝܬ ܩܕܡ ܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܠܗ ܩܕܡ ܟܠ ܠܒܪ ܐܝܬ ܒܪܝܬܐ
(lines 6-8) ܥܬܝܩ ܐܝܬ ܒܫܘܚܠܦܐ ܒܪܘܬ ܠܐ ܐܦ ܐܢܚܢ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܚܠܦ ܡܢ ܒܪܘܬܐ
(lines 2-3) ܒܪܘ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܟ

[355] While it is unclear what may have immediately preceded the extant text of this scholion in its originality, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.9. Psalm 45 Prologue for a discussion surrounding its likely original ending.

ܕܫܟܐ ܕܚܚܐ (line 5)
ܘ ܐܚܚܕ (line 8)

One can clearly see that Augustinus skipped over parts of lines (through line 8) and then returned to line 2 again, where (from line 3) he then skipped to line 5 and then concluded with the final word of line 8. What would cause such a significant transcriptional error? I propose that in Augustinus' exemplar, this Aḥob scholion was written on two sides of a marginal lacuna in the text.[356] If the above Syriac text were reordered (according to its original presentation, as presented in Chapter 2) and placed on two sides of a marginal lacuna in the text, it would appear as follows:

(Left Column)		(Right Column)
ܡܢ ܡܢ ܫܠ ܒܪܒܪܐ ܕܫܟܐ ܕܚܚܐ ܡܢ ܐܚܚܕ	(Marginal lacuna in the text)	ܕܝܢ ܕܟܪ ܐܦ ܫܡܝ ܡܢ : ܡܠ ܡܢ ܡܢ ܡܢ ܕܟܝܢ ܡܢ ܝܫܪ ܡܐ ܕܫܐ ܒܥܝܪ ܒܪ ܡܢ ܡ ܫܡܢܝ ܡܢ ܫܠܒܚܢ ܕܟܦ ܠ ܐܦ ܕܐܡ ܕܫܠ ,ܫܝܢ ܗܒܫ

Augustinus likely recognized that Aḥob's scholion encompassed both the right and the left columns, probably because it appeared to be written by the same hand. Thus, he did not confuse Aḥob's scholion as two distinct scholia. However, since there was likely no visible link connecting ܕܝܢ to ܒܪܒܪܐ, Augustinus mistakenly read this Aḥob scholion going down the right column and then continuing to the top of the left column, rather than reading across the marginal lacuna in the text. Furthermore, in the left column, he omitted the second ܡܢ (on line 2), probably on the assumption that it was an earlier scribal error (i.e. dittography) which needed to be corrected; his incorrect transcription of ܫܠܒܚܢ ܠܐ as ܫܠܒܚܢܐ (on line 3) is likely the result of haplography, due to the fact that two words earlier (in Aḥob's scholion) a ܠ is used. Such an approach would explain how Augustinus produced such a reworked version of Aḥob's Psalm 110:3 scholion.[357]

Further to this point, it should be emphasized that S's preservation of Aḥob's Psalm 110:3 scholion (in its reworked form) cannot represent a slightly altered recension of Aḥob's original Psalm 110:3 scholion – resulting from careless scribal transmission – for three reasons: 1) this Aḥob scholion was likely not added to the *DGC* until 1875 (possibly beginning with

[356] It is possible that Aḥob's Psalm 110:3 scholion was written around an earlier non-Aḥobian marginal note in Augustinus' exemplar. However, since Augustinus does not preserve any other marginalia for his commentary on Ps 110, he was either uninterested in this marginal note or it evidences the fact that there was no other marginal note (aside from Aḥob's) connected to this psalm in his exemplar.

[357] Augustinus makes a similar mechanical error in his transcription of the Leviathan excerpt in Ps 104. See S, ff. 237v^{mg}-238r^{mg}.

ms. Mosul 20),[358] and it is implausible that so many errors could have crept in to this particular scholion in twenty-three years,[359] especially if one considers both the length of time it could take a scribe to produce a copy of the *DGC*[360] and the pronounced care with which Aḥob's other Psalm scholia are preserved in S, as well as in VLMC; 2) scribal errors in this scholion cannot be known or examined before 1895, which is the date of L, the oldest extant *DGC* manuscript to preserve this Aḥob scholion; 3) somewhat related to number 2, if such scribal errors occurred prior to being added to the *DGC*, there is no way of knowing why or how this occurred and, thus, it is an argument from silence.

3.5. Conclusion

Due to the fact that Nathniel of Shirzor and Aḥob are situated as contemporaries of each other, the textual relationship between their respective *Cause of Psalms* texts is not readily apparent. A comparison of these two texts reveals that they share five comparable passages, thirteen themes, and seventeen similar and/or identical words and phrases in common. There are also passages which Nathniel and Aḥob do not share in common. The evidence suggests that proposals for a mutual source or Aḥob borrowing from Nathniel are untenable. Rather, it seems most likely that Nathniel borrows from Aḥob, meaning Nathniel preserves the earliest witness to any of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works. His general approach in his five comparable passages is to abbreviate and/or rework particular parts of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, specifically in regards to select adjectives and verbose phraseology. Nathniel's comparable passages largely follow the order of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, though he does reorder one of them. While he likely uses Basil's Syriac Prologue to Psalm 1, it appears to have been a secondary source for him, whereas Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* functioned as his primary source. Beyond Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, it is unclear if Nathniel had access to either Aḥob's Psalms scholia or the originally larger collection of his Old Testament exegetical works.

The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32 preserves the earliest witness to Aḥob's two extant Genesis scholia, namely those commenting on Genesis 15:9-10 and Genesis 50:10. In this commentary, Aḥob's scholia are used for two purposes: 1) the primary means by which particular words and phrases of Gen 15:9-10 are explained, and 2) a source for understanding

[358] Van Rompay, *Théodore de Mopsueste* (trans.), xiii.

[359] S was completed in 1898.

[360] For instance, Vandenhoff states that the scribe of his exemplar began copying his manuscript in 1884 and completed it in 1891, a span of seven years. See Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 4 (Latin).

the difficult word (and meaning of) Aṭar in Gen 50:10. While it is unclear if this commentary's unknown author alters Aḥob's Genesis 15:9-10 scholion, he has arguably altered and selected only a portion of Aḥob's original Genesis 50:10 scholion for inclusion. Even though this commentary is lost after Exod 9:32, one can reasonably postulate (given the strong parallels it shares with the later *Anonymous Commentary*)[361] that its unknown author may well have used other Aḥob Old Testament scholia (extant or lost) in this commentary on select subsequent biblical verses.

Bar Koni's *Scholion* (in *Memra* II, 139) preserves the earliest instance of a secondary use of Aḥob's Genesis 15:9-10 scholion in the East Syriac exegetical tradition. His source for this Aḥob scholion is likely *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* or an otherwise unknown (and lost) exegetical collection that would have been quite similar to *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*. Bar Koni also relies on a portion of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* in his *Memra* V, 17, which has been clearly adapted for the purposes of his *Scholion*. Bar Koni's *Memra* V, 17 shares twelve themes in common with its parallel text from Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, all of which is noticeably more than the themes shared in common with Basil's Syriac Prologue to Psalm 1, a text which has likely only indirectly influenced Bar Koni via Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*. Bar Koni's usage of Aḥob's Genesis 15:9-10 scholion and *Cause of the Psalms* reveals that he had access to, at least, some of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works, though it is possible that he also had access to the originally larger collection of his Old Testament exegetical works but only selected a few fragments that interested him for inclusion in his *Scholion*.

The *DGC* of (V)LMS(C), along with the first of its preceding documents, preserves the largest number of Aḥob's exegetical works on the Psalms, including Aḥob Psalms scholia (specifically) and Aḥob Old Testament scholia (in general), in a commentary on a single biblical book. His *Cause of the Psalms*, along with seven subsequent (non-Aḥobian) documents, is presented as a prelude to the *DGC*; its placement as the first of these eight documents suggests that it was viewed as the preferred Psalms introductory treatise. Of the 18 Aḥob scholia contained in the *DGC* of (V)LMS(C), 13 are marginal notes (i.e. Psalm 5:4; 29:9; 31:6; 39:2; 40:8[, 10]; 45 Prologue; 45:9; 48:4; 58:5-6; 68:14, 16-17; 105:17-19; 110:3[362]) and 5 are longer passages (i.e. Psalm 39:4-6; 42:2;[363] 58:4; 104:2-3; 110 Prologue) inserted into the main text, and (with the exception of S's utilization of Aḥob's Psalm 110 Prologue) each of

[361] See Chapter 4, Section 4.2. The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's Exegesis in the *Anonymous Commentary*.
[362] M inserts this Aḥob scholion into the main text of the *DGC*, albeit within red frames.
[363] SC preserve this Aḥob scholion as a marginal note.

these 5 longer passages are placed within red frames, written perpendicular to or in a smaller script in comparison to the main text, or sectioned off from the surrounding *DGC* text by the use of scribal markers, such as a red line or ❖ ❖ ❖. While Aḥob's Psalm scholia are primarily used as correctives for difficult words and/or phrases in particular verses of the *DGC* of (V)LMS(C), his scholia are also utilized for polemical purposes (i.e. against the Jews) and to expand the *DGC* manuscript tradition in places where it does not include a commentary (i.e. prologues to individual psalms). For the various purposes that they are used, Aḥob's Psalm scholia are visually amplified by being placed in the margin or within red frames in the text of the *DGC* of (V)LMS(C), as opposed to being directly included into the main text of the *DGC* of (V)LMS(C) itself. Due to the fact that Aḥob's Psalms scholia were not added to the *DGC* until the late 19th century (possibly beginning with ms. Mosul 20 in 1875), it is unclear if the 18 Aḥob scholia that are now extant in the *DGC* of (V)LMS(C) were selected – implying there were others that could have been included but were omitted – or if these represent the entire original collection of Aḥob's Psalms scholia. Either way, it reveals that there was previously unused Aḥob material available within the East Syriac exegetical tradition into the late modern period, suggesting that the entire collection of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works was likely both quite extensive in its originality and only selectively used by various East Syriac writers and manuscript traditions through the centuries.

CHAPTER 4

AḤOB OF QATAR AND THE EAST SYRIAC EXEGETICAL TRADITION (CA. 850-1439/1440)[1]

This chapter is a continuation of Chapter 3 and will continue to analyze Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament exegetical works (which are largely in the form of scholia) as they have been used and preserved by eight writers and manuscript traditions within the East Syriac exegetical tradition. The examination of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works[2] in the present chapter will be presented in four sections, which are arranged in the following chronological order:[3]

1) Isho'dad of Merv's (fl. ca. 850) *Commentary on Genesis*, *1 Samuel*, and *Psalms*

2) The *Anonymous Commentary* (10th century) *on Genesis*, *Numbers*, *1 Samuel*, and *Bar Sira*

3) Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* (mid-10th-early 20th centuries)

4) Isaac Shbadnaya's (fl. 1439/1440) prose commentary on his *Poem on God's Governance from 'In the Beginning' until Eternity*.

Similar to the sections of Chapter 3, each section in this chapter will have a number of subsections, depending on how many Aḥob fragments the respective manuscript tradition and/or writer used. Aside from discussions pertaining to Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* (in Isho'dad's *Commentary on Psalms*), each subsection will be presented either biblically (according to the order of the books, chapters, and verses of the Peshitta), alphabetically (for Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* only), and/or systematically (for Isaac Shbadnaya's prose commentary only). Concluding remarks for each section will be reserved for the conclusion of this chapter, which will be presented in Section 4.5. Conclusion below.

4.1. The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's Exegesis in Isho'dad of Merv's Old Testament Exegesis

In the following examination of Aḥob's exegetical works in Isho'dad of Merv's Old Testament biblical commentaries,[4] each subsection (with one exception) will contain four parts: 1) the

[1] The end date of 1439/1440 is when Isaac Shbadnaya flourished.

[2] Aḥob's sources will, in large part, be discussed in Chapter 5, Section 5.4. The Sources of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

[3] This, in part, is the same order presented in Chapter 2, Section 2.1. Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works in the Syriac Manuscript Tradition.

[4] The critical editions used in this section are the following: Vosté and Van den Eynde, *Genèse* (text); Van den Eynde, *Genèse* (trans.); Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (text); Van den Eynde,

Peshitta text of the verse(s) under discussion, with a facing English translation; 2) Isho‘dad’s commentary on the same verse(s), in which an Aḥob scholion is preserved; 3) a presentation of the words and/or phrases which Isho‘dad has either altered or omitted from each Aḥob scholion, with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian word or phrase; 4) the possible reason(s) why and the manner by which Isho‘dad included a given Aḥob scholion in his *Commentary on Genesis*, *1 Samuel*, and *Psalms* on (a) particular verse(s).[5] The exception to this format will be Subsection 4.1.4., in which Isho‘dad’s use of Aḥob’s *Cause of the Psalms* is discussed.

4.1.1. Genesis 15:9-10

According to the Peshitta, Gen 15:9-10 states:

[9] ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܣܒ ܠܝ	[9] And he[6] said to him,[7] “Take
ܬܠܬܐ ܥܓܠܬܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܕܟܝ	a three-year-old calf and a three-year-old ram
ܘܥܬܘܕܐ ܬܠܬܐ.	and a three-year-old goat
ܘܬܪܬܐ ܘܓܘܙܠܐ ܙܥܘܪܐ.	and a turtle dove and a young dove.”
[10] ܘܣܒ ܠܗ ܟܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܘܦܠܓ	[10] And he[8] took all these (animals),
ܠܢܨܦܝܗܝܢ. ܘܣܝܡ ܐܝܫ ܦܓܪܗ	and he divided them equally and he placed
ܩܕܡ ܚܒܪܗ. ܘܠܛܝܪܐ	(each) member opposite its fellow.
ܠܐ ܦܠܓ.	But he did not divide the birds.

Isho‘dad’s commentary on these same verses states:[9]

> [9] And because, being a man, he was still doubtful about the promise, about how these (things) could be (realized, God) removed his uncertainty by means of the three victims, which he ordered him to offer and (by which) he indicated to him all that his

Livres des Sessions (text); idem, *Livres des Sessions* (trans.); Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text); idem, *Psaumes* (trans.).

[5] The Aḥob scholia themselves will not be discussed in this section, because, aside from his use of select parts of Aḥob’s *Cause of the Psalms*, Isho‘dad does not preserve any new, unaltered Aḥob scholion that is not found in the earlier East Syriac exegetical tradition, as presented in Chapter 3. Nevertheless, it should be stated that Isho‘dad makes a passing reference to Aḥob’s 1 Samuel 8:1, 6 scholion, which is preserved in a fuller form in the later *Anonymous Commentary*. For this reason, this Aḥob scholion will be discussed in Chapter 4, Subsection 4.2.4. 1 Samuel 8:1, 6.

[6] Namely, God.

[7] Namely, Abram.

[8] Namely, Abram.

[9] The Syriac text of these verses, which are found in Vosté and Van den Eynde, *Genèse* (text), 149, *3-29*, states:

ܡܠܐ ܡܫܬ ܒܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܝܟ ׃ ܕܡܫܬܠ ܠܝܡ ܒܝܬ ܡܝܡܪ ׃ ܕܒܥܕܥ ܕܡܐ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ ܒܚܠ ܕܒܥܐ ܒܡܐ ܠܗܘ [9]
ܒܫܡ ܒܡܫܟ ׃ ܒܝܢ ܠܡܚܫܒ ܒܚܠ ܐܡ ܐܝܟ ܠܐ ܒܟܝ ܡܢ ܚܠܫܗ. ܚܠܫܒ ܠܡܚܫܒ ܡܚܒ ܬܠܬ ܒܚܫܐ ܕܫܡ ׃ ܒܝܢ ܠܡܚܫܒ ܒܚܠ ܐܡ ܐܝܟ ܠܐ ܒܟܝ ܡܢ ׃ ܚܠܫܗ
׃ ܚܠܫ ܒܝ ܒܚܫܐ ܐܒܐ ܒܗ ܒܡܐ ܒܝܬ ܐܝܟ ܐܝܟ ܒܒܥܐ. ܒܡܐ ܫܡ ܚܠܫ ܒܡܐ ܒܚܫ ܠܗ ܠܡܚܫܒ ܒܚ ܫܡ ׃ ܫܡ ܒܡܐ ܫܡ
ܒܡܐ ܒܗ ܒܫܡ. ܒܥܝ ܒܡܐ ܙ. ܒܡܐ. ܒܡܐ ܐܝܟ ܫܡܐ ܒܒܚܒܗ ܠܚ ܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܒܫܡ. ܒܫܡ ܒܝ ܒܗܘܒ ܐܡ ܒܐ ܒܡ
ܒܡܐ ܠܚ ܒܫܡ. ܒܗܒ ܒܗ ܒܡ ܒܐ ܒܚ ܐܝܟ ׃ ܒܗ ܒܗ ܒܝ ܒܡ ׃ ܒܚ ܒܡ ׃ ܒܡ ׃ ׃ [10] ׃ ׃ ׃

> descendants would have to bear. By the *calf*, then, he[10] indicates that generation which first entered Egypt, which thus, as it were, possessed strength, in that it was not yet subdued, like a new calf. And by the *ram* he[11] indicates the second generation, for even though (the ram is) smaller and tamer than a calf, it is, however, better and stronger than a goat. By the *goat*, then, he[12] indicates the harsh subjection of the third generation. A *tultā*, that is to say, three years old.[13] In like manner, by means of (the words) three and *tultā*, he[14] makes known the three generations: *Levi*, and *Kohath*, and *Amram*.[15] [10] That (phrase) *he*[16] *divided them equally* is an indication of the twelve tribes, in that he divided each animal into four parts. That (phrase) *(each) member* was placed *opposite its fellow*, that is to say, (opposite) that from which it was cut off, is so that he might say that the parts of each of these three kinds (of animals) are arranged one opposite the other, as if that (animal is) alive. (There were) three rows, as the (Eucharistic) bread is arranged. But by their division, he[17] declares the vexation and misery, which they[18] (were) going to endure in Egypt. And by that (phrase) they were placed *opposite* each other, he[19] also declared that although they were looking at each other, none was able to help its fellow. But (that phrase) *he*[20] *did not divide the birds* indicates their[21] unanimity and unified sojourning in the wilderness, for they were indeed going, somehow, to fly and go out from Egypt. But, also, because the (Hebrew) people (would) not be mingled with (other) peoples, (whether) in the desert or in the inhabited land. But, also, because that fourth generation (would) no longer be divided but they (would) be governed by the rulers of the people.[22]

The following tables present the words and/or phrases which Isho‘dad alters or omits in his preservation of Aḥob’s Genesis 15:9-10 scholion (as found in *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*), with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian word or phrase. Each verse will be presented separately, and the order will follow Isho‘dad’s text:

Genesis 15:9

Isho‘dad (149, *9*, *9*, *12*, *12*, *13*)[23]	Aḥob (73, *27-28*, *28*, *28*, *28*-74, *1*, *3*, *3-4*)[24]

[10] Namely, Moses.
[11] Namely, Moses.
[12] Namely, Moses.
[13] The noun *tultā* (ܬܘܠܬܐ) usually means “one third,” which is likely why Isho‘dad offers a gloss for it at this point. See Jessie Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902), 306-307.
[14] Namely, Moses.
[15] Cf. Exod 6:16, 18.
[16] Namely, Abram.
[17] Namely, Moses.
[18] Namely, the Hebrew people.
[19] Namely, Moses.
[20] Namely, Abram.
[21] Namely, the Hebrew people.
[22] My translation is based on Van den Eynde, *Genèse* (trans.), 161-162.
[23] The text, page, and line numbers (for both tables) are taken from Vosté and Van den Eynde, *Genèse* (text), 149, *3-29*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from the preceding paragraph.
[24] The text, pages, and line numbers (for both tables) are taken from Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (text), 73, *19*-74, *15*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from Chapter 3, Subsection 3.2.1. Genesis 15:9-10.

(Omits)	“which has not yet been bound to the yoke” (ܕܠܐ ܡܬܚܒܫ ܥܠ ܢܝܪܐ)
“And by the *ram*” (ܘܒܕܟܝܐ)	“by the *ram*” (ܒܕܟܝܐ)
(Omits)	“But again” (ܗܠܝܢ ܕ)
“he indicates the second generation” (ܡܚܘ ܕܬܪܬܝ ܐܝܠ)	“he indicates the second generation” (ܡܚܘ ܕܬܪܬܝ ܐܝܠ ܠܐ)
“A *tultā*, that is to say, three years old” (ܬܠܬ ܫܢܝܢ ܐ. ܗܝ. ܬܠܬܐ)	(Does Not Use)
“In like manner” (ܐܝܟܢܐ)	“Therefore, in like manner” (ܠܗܟܝ ܐܝܟܢܐ)
“the three generations” (ܐܝܠ ܬܠܬܐ)	“the three generations” (ܕܐ ܬܠܬܐ)

Genesis 15:10

Isho‘dad (149, *14*, *14-16*, *16*, *16*, *17-19*, *20-21*, *21*, *22-23*, *24*, *25-26*)	Aḥob (74, *5*, *8*, *8-9*, *9*, *5-7*, *7-8*, *10-11*, *11*, *12-13*, *14*, *15*)
“That (phrase) *he divided them equally*” (ܗܘ ܕܐܦܠܓ ܠܗܘܢ ܫܘܝܐ)	“But that (phrase) *he divided them equally*” (ܐܠܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܦܠܓ ܠܗܘܢ ܫܘܝܐ)
“is an indication of the twelve tribes, in that he divided each animal into four parts” (ܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܬܪܥܣܪ ܫܒܛܝ. ܕܒܗ ܦܠܓ ܠܟܠ ܚܕ ܒܪܒܥ ܦܓܪܝ ܚܝܘܬܐ)	(Does Not Use)
“That (phrase)…was placed” (ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܗܘ)	“He places” (ܡܣܬ)
(Omits)	“that (is) to say, (each) member which was cut off from its fellow” (ܗܘ ܕܐܬܪܡ. ܐܝ ܕܐܬܪܡ ܡܢ ܚܒܪܗ ܕܐܦܠܓ)
“that is to say, (opposite) that” (ܗܘ .ܐܝ)	“he placed it opposite the member” (ܡܣܬ ܐܬܪܡ ܠܐܦܠܓ)
“that the parts of each of these three kinds (of animals) are arranged one opposite the other, as if that (animal is) alive” (ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܒܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܠܝܢ ܬܠܬ ܓܢܣ ܕܚܝܘܬܐ ܡܬܩܒܠ ܒܚܕ ܠܐܦܠܓ ܒܚܕ ܡܢ ܓܘ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܗܘ)	“that the parts of each one of them are arranged one opposite the other and as if that (animal) is alive” (ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܪܡ ܐܝ ܕܐܦܠܓ ܠܐ ܡܬܩܒܠ ܒܚܕ ܠܐ ܐܝ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܗܘ ,ܚܝ)
(Omits)	“in the paten upon the altar” (ܒܕܟܝܐ ܥܠ ܡܕܒܚܐ)
“But by their division, he declares the vexation and misery, which they (were) going” (ܐܠܐ ܒܦܠܓܗܘܢ ܗܘ ܡܫܡܥ ܥܠ ܥܝܢܝ ܘܡܫܟܠ ܕܗܠܟܝܢ)	“By means of their division, he makes known their vexation and their misery, which they were going” (ܒܕ ܒܦܠܓܗܘܢ ܡܫܡܥ ܥܠ ܥܝܢܝ ܘܡܫܟܠ ܕܗܠܟܝܢ ܗܘ)
“And by that (phrase)” (ܘܗܠܝܢ)	“But that (phrase)” (ܐܠܐ ܗܘ)
“he also declared that although they were looking at each other, none was able to help its fellow” (ܐܦ ܗܘ ܡܫܡܥ ܕܒܕ ܗܘ ܠܥܝܢܝ ܐܚܕ ܒܐܚܕ ܕܐܦ ܟܕ ܗܘ ܡܣܟܠ ܠܐ ܐ. ܕܫܬ)	“(makes known) that, though they were looking at each other, none was able to help its fellow” (ܠܐ ܐ. ܐܦ ܡܫܡܥ ܕܫܬ ܗܘ ܥܠ ܐܚܕ ܒܐܚܕ ܟܕ ܡܣܟܠ ܒܕ ܠܡܚܕ)
“indicates” (ܡܚܘ ܒܕ)	“indicates” (ܡܚܘ)
“somehow, to fly and go out” (ܐܦܐ ܠܡܦܪ ܘܠܡܦܩ)	“somehow, to fly” (ܐܦܐ ܠܡܦܪ)

Though he is not named, Aḥob is arguably the source of Isho'dad's insights into the second half of v. 9 and all of v. 10 of Gen 15.[25] Like the unknown author of *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*, Isho'dad uses Aḥob's Genesis 15:9-10 scholion, in large part, as his own commentary on these same verses. While he only alters minor details (more so in v. 10 than in v. 9) of that which is preserved in *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*, he likely views this scholion as authoritative in its own right and, thus, he presents it in an anonymized form, with one lengthy comment attached to the end. Furthermore, like *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*, he does offer some introductory and concluding remarks on v. 9, both of which bracket Aḥob's scholion: the former, in many ways, functions as an extended discussion of vv. 7-8;[26] the latter clarifies the symbolic meaning of the "turtle dove" (ܬܪܬܐ) and the "young dove" (ܒܪܬ ܝܘܢܐ), neither of which was commented on, by name,[27] by Aḥob.

4.1.2. Genesis 50:10

According to the Peshitta, Gen 50:10 states:

ܐܬܘ ܥܕ ܓܘܪܢܐ ܕܐܛܪ ܗܘ ܒܥܒܪ ܝܪܕܢ. ܘܣܦܕ ܬܡܢ ܣܦܕܐ ܪܒܐ ܘܬܩܝܦܐ ܠܐܒܘܗܝ ܫܒܥܐ ܝܘܡܝܢ.	And they[28] came to the threshing floors of Aṭar, which (are) beyond the Jordan. And they mourned there (with) a great and loud mourning. And he[29] made a lamentation for his father[30] (for) seven days.

Isho'dad's commentary on this same verse states:[31]

[25] Since Isho'dad's commentary on Gen 15:9-10 is almost identical to that of *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*, it is arguable that it was the main source for Isho'dad at this point. As such, Aḥob would be its original author. See Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), xlii-xliii and Cowley, "Scholia of Aḥob of Qaṭar," 339. There is a further discussion of aspects of v. 9 in Isho'dad, specifically on the "turtle dove" (ܬܪܬܐ) and the "young dove" (ܒܪܬ ܝܘܢܐ), following v. 10. However, it is unlikely that this particular text originates from Aḥob for the same reasons discussed in Chapter 3, Subsection 3.2.1. Genesis 15:9-10.

[26] Gen 15:7-8 states, "[7] And he said to him, 'I am the Lord, your God, who brought you out from Ur of the Chaldeans to give you this land to possess it.' [8] And Abram said, 'Lord God, by what (means) will I know that I will possess it' ([8] ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢܐ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܟ ܕܦܩܬܟ ܡܢ ܐܘܪ ܕܟܠܕܝܐ ܕܢܬܠ ܠܟ ܠܡܪܬܗ ܗܕܐ. [7] ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܢܐ ܡܪܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܒܪܗܡ ܕܐܦܩ ܡܢ ܐܘܪ ܕܟܠܕܝܐ ܕܢܬܠ ܠܟ ܠܡܪܬܗ ܗܕܐ)?"

[27] While Aḥob briefly comments on the Peshitta phrase "he did not divide the birds" (ܦܠܓ ܠܐ ܐܚܝܩ) at the end of his Genesis 15:9-10 scholion, he does not discuss the turtle dove and the young dove by name, as he had done with the calf, the ram, and the goat.

[28] Namely, Joseph and a company of people, including his brothers and the elders of the land of Egypt.

[29] Namely, Joseph.

[30] Namely, Jacob.

[31] The Syriac text of this verse, which is found in Vosté and Van den Eynde, *Genèse* (text), 222, *3-16*, states:

ܐܬܘ ܥܕ ܓܘܪܢܐ ܕܐܛܪ ܗܘ ܒܥܒܪ ܝܪܕܢ. ܘܣܦܕ ܬܡܢ ܣܦܕܐ ܪܒܐ ܘܬܩܝܦܐ ܠܐܒܘܗܝ ܫܒܥܐ ܝܘܡܝܢ. ܘܚܙܐ ܒܝܬ ܟܢܥܢ ܠܐܒܠ ܡܨܪܝܡ ܐܒܠ ܙܥܘܪ ܗܘ ܒܥܒܪ ܝܪܕܢ ܘܐܡܪ ܐܒܠ ܡܨܪܝܡ ܗܢ ܐܒܠ ܙܥܘܪ ܒܝܬ ܟܢܥܢ ܗܘ ܕ

> That (phrase) *they came to the threshing floors of Aṭar* (ܐܛܪ), *which (are) beyond the Jordan* (ܥܒܪ ܝܪܕܢ), (is) because the ford of the Jordan is there to enter the land of Canaan. But *there they mourned*, (is) because that great encampment, with animals and with chariots and wagons, was not able to cross over to the land of Canaan, (which) is full of mountains, etc. But *Aṭar* is not a "tomb" in the Egyptian language (ܐܛܪ ܠܐ ܗܝ ܒܠܫܢ ܡܨܪܝܐ ܩܒܪܐ ܗܘ ܡܨܪܝܢ), as some (ܐܝܬܝܢ) (say). But *Aṭar* was called "Aṭaṭ" (ܐܛܛ), that is to say, a bramble (ܣܢܐ). And now it is called "Beth-Ḥgālā" (ܒܝܬ ܚܓܠܐ), that is to say, the place of the circle, because there, while they mourned over Jacob, they formed a circle. And there is in it a spring of sweet water, and to this day there is a large bramble there, that which is called "Aṭaṭ" in the Canaanite language (ܒܠܫܢ ܟܢܥܢܝ ܩܪܝ), so that because of it the place is called "Aṭaṭ." And (this place) is four milestones distant from Jericho and two milestones from the Jordan.[32]

The following table presents the phrases which Isho'dad alters or omits in his preservation of Aḥob's Genesis 50:10 scholion (as found in *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*), with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian phrase. The order will follow Isho'dad's text:

Isho'dad (222, *8*)[33]	Aḥob (128, *15*, *15-16*, *17*)[34]
"But *Aṭar* is not a 'tomb' in the Egyptian language" (ܒܠܫܢ ܡܨܪܝܐ ܩܒܪܐ ܗܘ ܐܬܪ ܠܐ ܗܝ ܐܛܪ)	"*Aṭar* in the Egyptian language (is) a tomb" (ܐܬܪ ܗܘ ܒܠܫܢ ܡܨܪܝܐ ܩܒܪܐ)
(Omits)	"He calls (Joseph's) coffin or casket a '*dufnā*'" (ܩܪܝ ܗܘ ܠܐܪܘܢܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܐ ܕܩܪܐ ܕܦܢܐ)
(Omits)	"*The threshing floors* of the tomb" (ܐܓܪ ܕܩܒܪܐ)

While he does not reference him by name, Isho'dad likely refers to Aḥob (among others) by the cryptic term "some" (ܐܝܬܝܢ). Furthermore, Isho'dad is aware of at least one of Aḥob's extant Genesis 50:10 fragments but disagrees with it; it is unclear if he had further knowledge of the other two extant Aḥob Genesis 50:10 fragments or if he simply chose to ignore them, possibly because they did not interest him or because he viewed one of them as being similar enough to the Aḥob Genesis 50:10 fragment with which he does interact. Concerning the Aḥob Genesis 50:10 fragment that Isho'dad does preserve, he presents it in a slightly reworked form: "But *Aṭar* is not a 'tomb' in the Egyptian language" (ܒܠܫܢ ܡܨܪܝܐ ܩܒܪܐ ܗܘ ܐܬܪ ܠܐ ܗܝ ܐܛܪ); he states

ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܝܬܝܢ ܕܒ ܡܨܪ. ܐܛܪ ܐܬܪ ܗܘ ܒܠܫܢ ܡܨܪܝܐ ܩܒܪܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܪ ܠܐ ܗܝ ܒܠܫܢ ܡܨܪܝܐ ܩܒܪܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܪ ܠܐ ܗܝ ܐܛܪ ܐܝܬܝܢ ܕܒ ܡܨܪ. ܐܛܪ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܪ ܐܛܛ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܝܬܝܢ ܕܒ ܡܨܪ. ܗܫܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܪ ܒܝܬ ܚܓܠܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܝܬܝܢ ܕܒ ܡܨܪ. ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܝܬܝܢ ܕܒ ܡܨܪ ܐܬܪ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܝܬܝܢ ܕܒ ܡܨܪ. ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܝܬܝܢ ܕܒ ܡܨܪ ܐܬܪ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܝܬܝܢ ܕܒ ܡܨܪ.

[32] My translation is based on Van den Eynde, *Genèse* (trans.), 241.

[33] The text, page, and line number are taken from Vosté and Van den Eynde, *Genèse* (text), 222, *3-16*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from the preceding paragraph.

[34] The text, page, and line numbers are taken from Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (text), 128, *14-21*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from Chapter 3, Subsection 3.2.2. Genesis 50:10.

this Aḥobian fragment in order to refute it. In its place, he suggests that the word is better understood as "Aṭaṭ" (ܐܛܛ), which is pronounced as such "in the Canaanite language" (ܒܠܫܢܐ ܟܢܥܢܝܐ). Isho'dad likely concludes that Aṭaṭ cannot be Egyptian (as Aḥob viewed the comparable noun Aṭar), because it is not located in Egypt. Rather, it is "beyond the Jordan" (ܥܒܪ ܝܪܕܢܐ), implying the land of Canaan, and, therefore (according to Isho'dad) it must be a Canaanite word. The further details he presents concerning Aṭar, such as its modern name of "Beth-Ḥgālā" (ܒܝܬ ܚܓܠܐ) and its distance from Jericho and the Jordan river, appear to be drawn from Epiphanius of Salamis' *On Weights and Measures*[35] and are likely meant to establish Isho'dad's interpretation as correct over and above those who suggest that Aṭar is a "tomb" (ܩܒܪܐ).

4.1.3. 1 Samuel 8:1, 6

According to the Peshitta, 1 Sam 8:1, 6 states:

[1] ܘܗܘܐ ܟܕ ܣܒ ܫܡܘܐܝܠ.	[1] And it came to pass that when Samuel grew old,
ܘܡܢܝ ܒܢܘܗܝ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܕܝܢܐ ܠܝܣܪܝܠ.	he made his sons judges over Israel.
[6] ܘܒܥܝܢ ܠܐ ܛܒ ܡܠܬܐ	[6] But the word was evil
ܒܥܝܢܝ ܫܡܘܐܝܠ.	in the eyes of Samuel
ܟܕ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܗܒ ܠܢ ܡܠܟ ܕܢܕܝܢ ܠܢ	when they said to him, "Give us a king to judge us,
ܟܠ ܥܡܡܐ.	like all the nations."
ܘܨܠܐ ܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܩܕܡ ܡܪܝܐ.	And Samuel prayed before the Lord.

Isho'dad's relevant commentary on these same verses[36] states:[37]

> For that (comment) that (it was) because of the impudence of the sons of Samuel (that) the people were moved to ask (for) a king is set forth "causally" (ܥܠܬ ܗܝ ܕܡܣܒܪ),[38]

[35] See James Elmer Dean (ed.), *Epiphanius' Treatise on Weights and Measures: The Syriac Version* (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 11; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935), 73b, *39*-73c, *18* (Syriac), 71 (English).

[36] Isho'dad presents a lengthy summary of 1 Sam 8 (without distinguishing specific verses) that largely focuses on why God was angry with the Israelites for asking for a human king and then why he gave them a human king. Cf. Van den Eynde, *Livres des Sessions* (trans.), 57-59. It is only the final section of his commentary on 1 Sam 8 that is relevant for this particular study.

[37] The Syriac text of this passage, which is found in Van den Eynde, *Livres des Sessions* (text), 47, *15-21*, states:

ܕܐܡܪ ܗܢܐ ܕܒܓܠܠ ܗܢܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܡܠܟ ܠܡܫܕܪ ܥܡܐ ܕܫܐܠܘ ܠܡܠܟ ܐܬܝܫܒ ܒܩܛܓܘܪܝܐ ܘܗܝ ܕܒܫܘܠ ܡܠܟ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܠܟ ܒܩܛܓܘܪܝܐ ܐܬܝܫܒ ܒܓܠܠ ܕܒܢܝ ܥܡܐ ܕܫܐܠܘ ܠܡܠܟ ܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܠܟ ܒܓܠܠ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܠܐ ܐܢܘܢ ܒܠ ܐܢܬ ܡܠܟ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܠܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܠܟ ܒܗܘܢ ܘܗܘ ܡܫܕܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܠܟ ܐܝܟ

like others which (are) like this. For they were not evil like the sons of Eli,[39] and Saul was also two years old when he became corrupt.[40] Therefore, for this (man) there was (divine) support (ܡܫܬܥܐ), which accomplished everything. Samuel was displeased when they sought a king (ܡܠܟܐ ܕܒܥܘ ܠܗ ܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܕܐܬܐ), because he knew that they would forsake God and they would serve demons and they would judge like kings worshipping creatures (ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܒܩܘܢ ܘܦܠܚܝܢ ܠܥܒܕ̈ܐ ܕܥܒ̈ܕܝ ܐܝܟ ܡܠ̈ܟܐ ܕܡܣܓܕ̈ܝܢ ܠܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ).[41]

Since he only presents a summary of Aḥob's 1 Samuel 8:1, 6 scholion,[42] a table presenting the words and/or phrases which Isho'dad alters or omits in his preservation of this Aḥob scholion cannot be given.

In this section of his commentary on 1 Sam 8, Isho'dad mentions (by way of an anonymized summary) at least part of Aḥob's 1 Samuel 8:1, 6 scholion.[43] While he epitomizes it as being "set forth 'causally'" (ܡܬܚܫܒ ܒܥܠܬܐ), Isho'dad insists that an interpretation of the Israelites' desire to have a king – based strictly on a reaction to the ungodly behavior of Samuel's sons – is untenable, because it does not account for "(divine) support" (ܡܫܬܥܐ), which (Isho'dad suggests) is the main protagonist in the narrative of 1 Sam 8. In short, Isho'dad states this brief summary of part of Aḥob's scholion in order to refute it. Beyond his summary of the first part (i.e. v. 1) of Aḥob's scholion (with which he disagrees), it is unlikely that Isho'dad relies on Aḥob for his understanding of v. 6 for two related reasons: 1) his brief summary of v. 6 – "Samuel was displeased when they sought a king" (ܡܠܟܐ ܕܒܥܘ ܠܗ ܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܕܐܬܐ

[39] Cf. 1 Sam 2:12-17, 22-25. Isho'dad is stating that the sons of Samuel were not as evil as the sons of Eli, and the wickedness of the sons of Eli had not pushed the Israelites to ask for a king, so there must be another reason.

[40] This strange statement depends on 1 Sam 13:1, where the Hebrew states that "Saul was a year old when he began to reign, and he reigned two years over Israel" (בֶּן־שָׁנָה שָׁאוּל בְּמָלְכוֹ וּשְׁתֵּי שָׁנִים מָלַךְ עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל). Isho'dad knows of this reading through the Syriac translation of Symmachus, and he adds the explanation: "(This) signifies that at that time when he began to reign Saul was a simple man, unexperienced with evil things, and conducted himself with such a will for two years. But afterwards he changed and was rejected by God" (ܗܘ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܒܗ ܕܒܗ̈ܝ ܙܒܢܐ ܕܫܪܝ ܡܠ̈ܟ ܫܐܘܠ ܗܘ ܓܒܪܐ ܦܫܝܛܐ ܕܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܒܒ̈ܝܫ̈ܐ ܘܗܟܢܐ ܐܬܢܗܓ ܒܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܒܨܒܝܢܗ ܘܒܬܪ ܗܕܐ ܐܫܬܚܠܦ ܘܐܬܪ̈ܚܩ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ). The logic is that if God knew that Saul would become corrupt so quickly, why did God then approve of the request for a king? (The discussion of this logic forms the basis of Isho'dad's exegesis at the start of his commentary on 1 Sam 8.) See Van den Eynde, *Livres des Sessions* (text), 46, *20*-47, *15*; 49, *10-15* and idem, *Livres des Sessions* (trans.), 57-58, 60-61.

[41] My translation is based on Van den Eynde, *Livres des Sessions* (trans.), 58-59.

[42] Aḥob's 1 Samuel 8:1, 6 scholion states, "And after other things he discusses the evil way of life of the sons of Samuel, these whom Samuel appointed (as) [8:1] *judges over Israel*, when he reached old age, so that, due to the greatness of their iniquity, the people should be compelled to ask that they should have a king. (On account of) this – when [6] *Samuel* heard that they had asked to have *a king* for themselves – he was grieved, *and* therefore he *prayed before the Lord*." For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.5. 1 Samuel Scholion. For a discussion of the key elements of this scholion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.2.4. 1 Samuel 8:1, 6.

[43] It can be known that this part of Isho'dad's text refers (among others) to Aḥob's 1 Samuel 8:1, 6 scholion, because the full scholion is preserved (with Aḥob Qaṭraya's name attached to it) in the *Anonymous Commentary on 1 Samuel*. For a further discussion of this scholion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.2.4. 1 Samuel 8:1, 6.

ܡܠܟ ܫܚ) – is likely drawn from the Peshitta text of vv. 4-5[44] (i.e. verses upon which Aḥob does not comment) in connection with v. 6, and 2) he elaborates on Samuel's reaction to the Israelites' request for a human king with details not found (or even hinted at) in Aḥob's 1 Samuel 8:1, 6 scholion, namely "because he knew that they would forsake God and they would serve demons and they would judge like kings worshipping creatures" (ܟܠ ܕܢܕܥ ܗܘܐ ܕܒܛܠܝܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܠܦܓܪ̈ܐ ܘܢܗܘܘܢ ܕܕܝܢܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܡܠܟ̈ܐ ܕܣܓܕܝܢ ܠܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ).

4.1.4. *Cause of the Psalms*

Isho'dad preserves seven fragments from Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* in the multi-sectioned introduction to his *Commentary on Psalms*.[45] The first is situated as (roughly) the first third of his fourth introductory section (ܪ);[46] the other six are scattered, in a reordered manner, within (roughly) the first two-thirds of his fifth introductory section (ܡ).[47] Though Aḥob is not mentioned by name, Isho'dad's dependency upon his *Cause of the Psalms* is shown (like that of Theodore bar Koni) by a number of borrowed themes, which he uses to construct part of his fourth introductory section. However, unlike Bar Koni, he also preserves several similar (and at times, identical) words and phrases in both sections that arguably originate from Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*.[48] If Isho'dad's first Aḥob fragment is compared with Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, it appears as follows:

	Isho'dad's Chapter 4: The Advantages of Chanting (3, *4-10*)[49]	Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* (*141-143* and *151-171*)[50]

[44] 1 Sam 8:4-5 states, "[4] And all the elders of the sons of Israel were gathered and they came to Samuel at Ramah [5] and they said to him 'Behold! You have grown old and your sons do not walk in your ways. Now, give us a king to rule (over) us, like all the nations'" (ܘܟܠ ܣܒܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܘܐܬܘ ܠܘܬ ܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܠܪܡܬܐ [4] ܘܐܡܪܘ ܠܗ ܗܐ ܐܢܬ ܣܒܬ ܘܒܢܝܟ ܠܐ ܗܠܟܝܢ ܒܐܘܪܚܬܟ ܗܫܬ ܠܢ ܡܠܟ ܕܕܝܢ ܠܢ ܟܟܠ ܥܡܡܐ [5] ܕܐܝܟ).

[45] Van den Eynde notes the parallels between Aḥob and Isho'dad, but he does not develop their specifics. See idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 3, n. 1, 4, n. 1, 5, n. 3.

[46] Though it is not given in the Syriac text, Van den Eynde gives the heading, "Chapter 4: The Advantages of Chanting," in a footnote of his translation. See idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 3 (above n. 1).

[47] Though it is not given in the Syriac text, Van den Eynde gives the heading, "Chapter 5: The Incomparable Value of the Psalter," in a footnote of his translation. See idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 4 (above n. 1).

[48] Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* fragments will be presented in the order of their appearance within Isho'dad's introduction to his *Commentary on Psalms*. Van den Eynde notes these parallels but does not develop their specifics. See idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 3, n. 1 and 4, n. 1.

[49] The Syriac text is taken from Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 3, *4-10*, and the English translation below it is based on idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 3. The same applies for the other tables displaying the Syriac text and English translations of Isho'dad's use of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* in this subsection, with the exception that Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 4, *2*-5, *4* and idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 4-5 are used for Fragments 2-7.

[50] The text and line numbers are taken from the edited text presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia, and the English translation below it is my own. The same applies for the other tables displaying the Syriac text and English translations of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* in this subsection.

Fragment 1	"And it is asked why (David) put the psalms to music. We say so that it might easily entice the hearers to the love of his teaching through their abundant delightfulness, as also debauched songs especially entice and drag many (people) to these hostile ones.[51] And as a sweet taste pleases the palate, so also subtle and naturally melodious sounds (are pleasing) for the ears. But, again, because the Jews are especially dense and they need childish inducements" (ܕܫܐܠܝܢ ܠܡܐ ܥܒܕ ܗܘ ܕܘܝܕ ܠܡܙܡܘܪ̈ܐ ܠܗܢ. ܐܡܪ̈ܝܢ ܐܢܚܢ ܕܒܕ ܗܟܝ ܢܗܘܐ ܣܠܝܩ ܕܢܫܒܘܥ ܠܫܡܥ̈ܝܗ ܠܪܚܡܐ ܕܬܘܠܦܢܗ ܒܟܠ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܒܗ. ܘܐܦ ܕܫܝܪ̈ܐ ܕܫܟܝܪ̈ܘܬܐ ܒܪ̈ܒ̈ܝܢ ܡܫܟ̈ܚܝܢ ܘܡܫܕ̈ܝܢ ܠܐ ܠܚܕ̈ܐ ܐܠܐ ܠܟܠ ܥܡ̈ܡܐ ܒܪ̈ܒ̈ܝܢ ܠܘܬ ܗܠ̈ܝܢ ܒܥ̈ܝܢ. ܘܟܡܐ ܕܛܥܡܐ ܛܒ ܠܦܘܡܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܘܫܦܝܪ̈ܐ ܘܛܒ̈ܥܝ̈ܐ ܠܫܡ̈ܥܐ. ܐܠܐ ܕܬܘ ܡܛܥܢ ܕܒܕ ܗܘ ܕܝܠܢ ܕܝܗܘܕ̈ܐ ܣܓ̈ܝ ܟܬ̈ܝܡ ܠܫܡ̈ܥܐ ܘܡ̈ܛܠ ܗܢܘ ܒܥ̈ܝܢ ܡܫܟ̈ܚܝܢ ܠܗ ܠܡܙܡܘܪ̈ܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܠܡ̈ܐ ܕܐܦ ܗܫܐ ܒܪ̈ܒ̈ܝܢ ܐܫܟ̈ܚܝ ܕܐܝܬ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܡܪ̈ܥ̈ܝܢ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܩܒ̈ܠܝܢ ܠܡ̈ܐ ܕܒܥ̈ܝ ܚܟ̈ܝܡܐ ܐܦ ܗܟܢܐ ܕܒ̈ܝܢ ܕܒ̈ܝܢ ܡ̈ܐ ܕܒ̈ܝܢ ܕܒ̈ܝܢ ܡ̈ܐ ܕܒ̈ܝܢ ܕܒ̈ܝܢ ܡ̈ܐ ܕܒ̈ܝܢ)	"But it is necessary to discuss this also, for what reason did he deliver his prophecy with the pleasant sounds of (various) kinds of music?…Grace rightly caused (him) to compose his words in meters (accompanied) by the sounds of (various) kinds of music and different melodies, so that when heard in such delightful form, they would not quickly satiate the hearers, so that through their abundant delightfulness they would be easily enticing (them) to the love of his teaching. As also now there are many to (be) found who carry in their mouth debauched songs, and although their words are abominable and unacceptable to the discerning, their repetition, however, does not satiate people, because they are composed of sweet sounds. For according to report, through the sweetness of his words, he awoke the drowsiness of the Hebrews at that time" (ܐܠܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܢ ܠܡܡܠܠ ܐܦ ܗܠܝܢ. ܠܡܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܘܝܕ ܐܡܪ ܠܡܙܡܘܪ̈ܐ ܠܗܢ…ܛܒ̈ܥܝ̈ܐ ܕܫܦܝܪ̈ܐ ܘܡ̈ܛܠ ܗܢܘ ܒܥ̈ܝܢ ܡܫܟ̈ܚܝܢ ܠܗ ܠܡܙܡܘܪ̈ܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܠܡ̈ܐ ܕܐܦ ܗܫܐ ܒܪ̈ܒ̈ܝܢ ܐܫܟ̈ܚܝ ܕܐܝܬ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܡܪ̈ܥ̈ܝܢ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܩܒ̈ܠܝܢ ܠܡ̈ܐ ܕܒܥ̈ܝ ܚܟ̈ܝܡܐ ܐܦ ܗܟܢܐ ܕܒ̈ܝܢ)

There are approximately five themes in this fragment which Isho'dad borrows from Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*. These include the following:

1) David composed the Psalms to music

2) The music of the Psalms entices hearers to love the Psalms

3) Debauched songs also entice people, though in ungodly ways

4) The music of the Psalms is composed of sweet sounds

5) David composed the Psalter music to entice the Jewish people

Along with these shared themes, Isho'dad also uses similar (and sometimes, the same) wording as Aḥob on six occasions within his Aḥob fragment:

Isho'dad	Aḥob
"through their abundant delightfulness" (ܒܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܒܗ)	"through their abundant delightfulness" (ܒܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܒܗ)
"it might easily entice" (ܕܢܗܘܐ ܣܠܝܩ)	"they would be easily enticing" (ܣܠܝܩ ܕܢܗܘܐ)

[51] Usually implying demons.

“the hearers” (ܫܡܥܐ)	“the hearers” (ܫܡܥܐ)
“to the love of his teaching” (ܠܚܘܒܗ ܕܝ ܡܠܦܢܗ)	“to the love of his teaching” (ܠܡܠܦܢܗ ܚܘܒܗ)
“debauched songs” (ܙܡܝܪ̈ ܒܛܠܐ)	“debauched songs” (ܙܡܝܪ̈ ܒܛܠܐ ܕܒܝܫ̈ܐ)
“the Jews” (ܝܗ̈ܘܕ̈ܝܐ)	“the Hebrews” (ܥܒ̈ܪܝܐ)

Isho‘dad’s fourth introductory section introduces his readers to the advantages of chanting the Psalms.[52] In order to explore these advantages, Isho‘dad turns to Aḥob’s *Cause of the Psalms* and draws a number of themes – as well as select Aḥobian terminology – (albeit in a rearranged and slightly reformatted manner) to begin his discussion of this topic. This is significant, because it reveals that Isho‘dad viewed this text as being an authoritative source from which he could develop his own ideas about chanting the Psalms and its advantages.

Turning to (roughly) the first two-thirds of his fifth introductory section (ܐ), Isho‘dad’s main source is Theodore bar Koni’s *Memra* V, 17, as is shown by the underlined text below.[53] However, interspersed in this same section, Isho‘dad utilizes six fragments from Aḥob’s *Cause of the Psalms*. These fragments are numbered (continuing from the first fragment preserved in Isho‘dad’s fourth introductory section presented above) and offset in bold and italicized brackets to highlight their general placement within the following portion of his fifth introductory section:[54]

> **{2}*[***And it is asked why the Church is ordered to recite only David, while one of the clerics may not approach (to be consecrated to) any of the ecclesiastical ranks without (having mastered) the recitation of the psalms***]*** (ܘܐܝܟ ܕܐܬ ܫܐܠ ܠܡܢܐ ܒܥܕܬܐ ܡܫܬܒܚ ܐܢ ܕܘܝܕ ܒܠܚܘܕܗ ܘܚܕ ܡܢ ܟܗ̈ܢܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܠܡ ܠܡܫܠܡ ܠܐ ܠܐ ܠܐ ܠܟܠ ܕܪ̈ܓܐ ܕܟܗ̈ܢܘܬܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܠܐ ܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܐܬ ܠܗ ܠܡܙܡܪ̈ ܕܕܘܝܕ ܒܠܚܘܕܗ

[52] The first three sections of his introduction focus on the following themes: “Chapter 1: The Division of the Psalms; Chapter 2: The Origin of the Liturgical Chanting; Chapter 3: The Origin of the Double Mode of Chanting.” See Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 1-2.

[53] The parallel Syriac text (and an English translation) of these Bar Koni fragments will be given in footnotes within this subsection, strictly for the purpose of establishing their observational similarity to Isho‘dad; beyond this, they will not be discussed.

[54] The Syriac text of this Isho‘dad passage, which is found in Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 4, *2*-5, *4* states:

ܟܡ ܐܬ ܫܐܠ ܠܡܢܐ ܒܥܕܬܐ ܡܫܬܒܚ ܐܢ ܕܘܝܕ ܒܠܚܘܕܗ ܘܚܕ ܡܢ ܟܗ̈ܢܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܠܡ ܠܡܫܠܡ ܠܐ ܠܐ ܠܐ ܠܟܠ ܕܪ̈ܓܐ ܕܟܗ̈ܢܘܬܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܠܐ ܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܐܬ ܠܗ ܠܡܙܡܪ̈ ܕܕܘܝܕ ܒܠܚܘܕܗ ܀ ܐ̈ܢ ܕܐ̈ܢ ܐ̈ܢ ܕܐ̈ܢ ܐ̈ܢ ܕܐ̈ܢ

ܫܘܐ ܡܢ ܐܠܐ ܕܐܦ ܡܢ ܕܬܪ ܡܫܬܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܐܡܪ ܐܠܐ ܕܒܪܫ ܕܐܦ ܕܒܪ ܕܐܬܐܡܪ ܒܙܡܝܪ̈ ܘܒܣܓ̈ܝ̈ ܘܐܬܐܡܪ ܘܐܬܐ ܠܫܒܚܬܐ). It (was) not (ordered) hastily nor rashly. But, first, indeed, because (the psalter) was spoken by David in melodies and in meters, and his words are divided and are ordered metrically and (are) suitable for worship.[55] But the other books (are recited less often), because they were spoken in reproof and were transmitted in a sending to people; and, again, (because) in those which were written in the form of histories are found various unsuitable (things); and, again, (because they) were not spoken by their authors in (various) kinds of song(s), they are less suitable for this work. Second, in that all the books are divided into ten "theories," as we said in introduction to the Book of Creation, and each one speaks a partial (teaching). But in the Book of Psalms all the aims of the Scriptures are hidden. And it is the fullness and the total and the collection of all the prophets who (came) after it,[56] and (it is) the bond of the two Testaments; and **{3}***[*it is the head of the whole body of the Holy Scriptures*]* (ܩܕܡܝܐ ܟܠܗ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܩܕܫ̈ܐ). Third, in it is contained and is gathered the wealth of all the spiritual goods; in it is depicted the knowledge of the two worlds;[57] in it creation is spoken about and (also) the (divine) economy which (was fulfilled) in it. In it there is encouragement for the afflicted (ones) and reproach for the evil (ones) and incentive for the weak (ones)[58] and humiliation for the powerful (ones) and (the means) by which we should resist the passions[59] and the demons and receive **{4}***[*the medicine for the healing of (our) pains*]* (ܐܣܝܘܬܐ ܕܚܠܝ̈ܐ ܕܢܦ̈ܫܢ). For **{5}***[*it speaks*]* ⟨about the appearance of our Savior in the flesh⟩ (ܥܠ ܓܠܝܘܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܢ ܒܦܓܪܐ),[60] and **{5 cont.}***[*about the greatness of his divinity and about the abasement of his humanity*]* (ܘܥܠ ܪܘܡܡ̈ܘܬܗ ܘܥܠ ܙܥܘܪ̈ܘܬ ܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ) and about his inseparable unity and about all his (divine) economy (in which) the offerings were fulfilled. In short, all (things) – former things and latter things – are found in it. And because **{6}***[*it is like Paradise adorned with flowers and jasmines and all (other) species*]* (ܐܝܟ ܓܢܬܐ ܕܡ̈ܠܝ ܟܠ ܡܝܢ̈ܐ ܘܣܡ̈ܐ), and as the head in which is the end (of) all the difference(s) of the senses and in which operates

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[55] The parallel Bar Koni text states, "His songs are also pleasing and alluring, because he composed them in meters, according to the methods of singing" (ܘܐܦ ܙܡܝܪ̈ܗ ܫܦ̈ܝܪ̈ܝܢ ܘܡ̈ܫܟ̈ܢܢ ܕܚܒܪ ܠܗ ܒܙܡܝܪ̈ܐ ܒܣܓ̈ܝ̈ ܠܦ ܣܕܪ̈ܐ ܕܙܡܪܐ). See Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (Syr. II, 65), 354, *3-5* and Chapter 3, Subsection 3.3.2. *Cause of the Psalms*.

[56] The parallel Bar Koni text states, "[H]e is the fullness and the sum of all the prophets after him" (ܗܘ ܡܠܝܐ ܘܟܠܗ ܕܟܠ ܢܒ̈ܝܐ ܕܒܬܪܘܗܝ ܐܬܐ). See Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (Syr. II, 65), 353, *16-17* and Chapter 3, Subsection 3.3.2. *Cause of the Psalms*.

[57] The parallel Bar Koni text states, "[I]n him is defined and gathered the wealth of all the spiritual goods…For in him the knowledge of the two ages is depicted" (ܒܗ ܐܬܚܕ ܘܐܬܟܢܫ ܟܠ ܦܣܩ ܛܒ̈ܐ ܕܪܘܚ̈ܢ…ܒܗ ܐܬܚܙܝ ܝܕܥܬܐ ܕܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܥܠܡ̈ܝܢ). See Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (Syr. II, 65), 353, *18-19* and *20-21* and Chapter 3, Subsection 3.3.2. *Cause of the Psalms*.

[58] The parallel Bar Koni text states, "In him is encouragement for the afflicted ones, reproach for the evil ones, and incentive for the weak ones" (ܒܗ ܐܝܬ ܠܬܒ̈ܝܐ ܠܥܢ̈ܝ̈ܐ ܘܠܚܣ̈ܝ̈ܐ ܠܒ̈ܝܫ̈ܐ ܘܠܚܠ̈ܫ̈ܐ ܠܚܫ̈ܝ̈ܐ). See Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (Syr. II, 65), 353, *22-23* and Chapter 3, Subsection 3.3.2. *Cause of the Psalms*.

[59] The parallel Bar Koni text states, "[A]nd he teaches how to endure before natural passions" (ܘܠܡܕ ܠܡܣܒܪ ܩܕܡ ܛܒ̈ܥ̈ܝ ܕܒܪ̈ܝ̈ܬܐ). See Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (Syr. II, 65), 353, *21* and Chapter 3, Subsection 3.3.2. *Cause of the Psalms*.

[60] Van den Eynde suggested that Basil of Caesarea's Prologue to Psalm 1 may be a source for Isho'dad's fifth introductory section. However, if accepted, Isho'dad only borrows (and then modifies) the above phrase from Basil's Syriac Prologue to Psalm 1, the parallel text and translation, of which, state, "concerning Christ, that he will appear in the flesh" (ܥܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܢܬܚܙܐ ܒܦܓܪܐ). See Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 4, n. 1, ms. British Library, Add. 14,543, f. 143r, col. 2, *13-15*, and an unpublished translation of this phrase (and broader Prologue), which was produced by Seth M. Stadel and David G. K. Taylor. For a discussion of the Syriac translational stages of Basil's Prologue to Psalm 1, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.1.2. Basil of Caesarea's Prologue to Psalm 1.

the insignificant intellect which resides in the brain, and as an image of a king[61] is painted {with a multitude of pigments}(ܕܟܬܒܐ ܒܟܠܗܝܢ ܨܒܥܐ),[62] and as the door that gives access to the divine dwellings, (it is) very suitable (that this book) be established (as) the example of the sound foundation for the whole structure of the liturgy. For by reciting its words, the saints drive the demons away and they gather angels together to them, and they bring Christ[63] {7}***[***to their aid***]*** (ܠܗܘܢ ܡܣܬܝܥ).[64]

If the words and phrases, within the bold and italicized brackets, are compared with Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, they appear as follows:

	Isho'dad's Chapter 5: The Incomparable Value of the Psalter (4, *2-4*, *16-17*, *21-22*, *22* and *23*, *26-27*, 5, *4*)	Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* (*131-132* and *134-138*, *26-27*, *196*, *204-205*, *37-42*, *117*)
Fragment 2	"And it is asked why the Church is ordered to recite only David, while one of the clerics may not approach (to be consecrated to) any of the ecclesiastical ranks without (having mastered) the recitation of the psalms" (ܟܬܒ ܩܕܡ ܕܠܡܐ ܟܢܫܬܐ ܕܒܥܐ ܕܬܐ ܕܡܙܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܕܘܝܕ ܒܠܚܘ ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܟܗܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܗ ܕܢܩܪܒ ܠܚܕ ܡܢ ܣܕܪ ܟܗܢܘܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܒܠܝ ܩܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܕܡܙܡܪ ܠܚܕ ܡܢ ܙܡܝܪ)	"our holy Fathers…also rightly and justly determined that we should recite only this book more than the others. And without (the ability of complete) recitation of its words, a person would not be able to draw near to one of the ecclesiastical ranks" (ܒܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܛܒܬܐ ܕܐܒܗܬܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ…ܕܐܦ ܒܠܚܘ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܩܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܒܠܚܘ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܠܗ ܕܢܩܪܒ ܠܚܕ ܡܢ ܣܕܪ ܟܗܢܘܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܒܠܝ ܩܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܕܡܙܡܪ ܠܚܕ ܡܢ ܙܡܝܪ)
Fragment 3	"it is the head of the whole body of the Holy Scriptures" (ܗܘ ܠܚܕ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܓܘܫܡܐ ܕܟܬܒ ܩܕܫܐ)	"the head (in relation) to the body of the Holy Scriptures" (ܪܫܐ ܕܩܫܝܪ ܠܓܘܫܡܐ ܕܟܬܒ ܩܕܫܐ)
Fragment 4	"the medicine for the healing of (our) pains" (ܣܡܐ ܕܐܣܝܐ ܕܚܫܝܢ)	"a medicine for all pains" (ܣܡܐ ܕܟܠ ܚܫܝܢ)
Fragment 5	"it speaks…about the greatness of his divinity and about the abasement of his humanity" (ܡܡܠܠ ܗܘ…ܒܪܘܡ ܐܠܗܘܬܗ ܘܒܙܥܘܪ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ׃ ܐܠܗܘܬܗ)	"he prophesied about (Christ's) divinity and about (his) humanity" (ܐܬܢܒܐ ܥܠ ܐܠܗܘܬܗ ܘܥܠ ܐܢܫܘܬܗ)
Fragment 6	"it is like Paradise adorned with flowers and jasmines and all (other)	"Or as one might speak about Paradise, that which abounds with all species of fruits, (which are) sweet to the taste *and*

[61] The parallel Bar Koni text states, "[A]n image of a king" (ܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ). See Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (Syr. II, 65), 353, *19-20* and Chapter 3, Subsection 3.3.2. *Cause of the Psalms*.

[62] Van den Eynde suggested that Nathniel of Shirzor's *Cause of Psalms* may be a source for Isho'dad's fifth introductory section. However, if accepted, Isho'dad only borrows (and then modifies) the above phrase from Nathniel's *Cause of Psalms*, the parallel text and translation, of which, state, "in a multitude of colors" (ܒܟܠܗܝܢ ܨܒܥܐ ܕܫܘܚܪ). See Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 4, n. 1, ms. BL Or. 9354 (i.e. L), 15v, *16*, and a translation of this phrase (and broader *Cause of the Psalms*) in Chapter 3, Section 3.1. The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's *Cause of the Psalms* in Nathniel of Shirzor's *Cause of the Psalms*.

[63] The parallel Bar Koni text states, "For this is not hidden how, by the recitation of the holy words, they drive away all the rebellious demons and gather holy angels to them. That is to say, (they) also (invite) Christ our Lord" (ܠܗܘܢ ܕܡܣܬܝܥ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ׃ ܒܫܡܗ ܕܡܪܢ ׃ ܕܐܦ ܗܘ ׃ ܕܒܫܡ ׃ ܒܫܡ ܗܢ ܕܟܬܒ ׃ ܕܒܫܡ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ ׃ ܕܐܦ ܗܘ ׃ ܕܒܫܡ ׃ ܕܠܐ ׃ ܕܫܡ ׃ ܕܐܦ ׃ ܕܡܫܟܚ ׃ ܕܐܦ ׃ ܕܡܙܡܪ

	species” (ܗܘ ܕܡܕܡܪ ܟܡܝܢ ܥܡ ܫܓܪ ܒܟܠ ܐܬܪܐ ܕܫܪܝܪܐ)	desirable to the sight, in comparison with those (fruits) which are found in part in various (other) places” (ܥܡ ܕܐ ܫܓܪ ܒܟܠ ܐܬܪ ܕܐ ܟܡܝܢ ܠܐ ܫܪܝܪ ܠܫܘܠ ܐܚܪ ܐܬܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܐ ܒܦܪܫ ܒܟܠ ܐܬܪ ܕܫܪܝܪ ܐܦ ܗܢܘ ܒܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ)
Fragment 7	“to their aid” (ܠܥܘܠܡܗ)	“to their aid” (ܠܥܘܠܡܗ)

In his fifth introductory section, Isho‘dad expounds upon the value of the Psalter. One of the ways in which he accomplishes this end is that he includes rearranged material from Aḥob’s *Cause of the Psalms*, as is shown by the line numbers of the parallel Aḥob fragments in the table above. In each of these six fragments, Isho‘dad uses similar or exact wording from Aḥob’s *Cause of the Psalms*, though he simultaneously abridges and/or slightly develops select parts of these fragments. While Isho‘dad uses Aḥob’s *Cause of the Psalms*, his preferred source for phraseology in this section is Bar Koni. For instance, his first Bar Koni reference above, namely, “(the psalter) was spoken by David in melodies and in meters, and his words are divided and are ordered metrically, and (are) suitable for worship” (ܗܘ ܕܡܫܬܟܚ ܗܘ ܕܩܦ ܒܡܙܡܪ̈ܐ ܘܒܫ̈ܘܒ̈ܚ̈ܐ ܘܡܠܘܗܝ ܡܬܦܠܓ̈ܐ ܘܡܬܣܕܪ̈ܐ ܒܡܫ̈ܩ̈ܠ̈ܐ ܘܡܬܩܢ̈ܢ ܠܫܒ̈ܚ̈ܐ ∴ ܘܒܣܝܡ̈ܐ ܡܢ ܟܬܒ̈ܐ), has a partial parallel text in Aḥob’s *Cause of the Psalms*: “Grace rightly caused (him) to compose his words in meters (accompanied) by the sounds of (various) kinds of music and different melodies” (ܕܗܫܟܚ ܟܟܠ ܡܕ ܠܡܐ ܥܡ ܟܬ ܒܬ ܕܗܘ ܒܗܠ ܕܗܘ ܒܗ ܕ ܒܗ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܒ ܕ). Aḥob uses the same phr, namely, “(the psalter) was spoken by David in melodies and in meters, and his words are divided and are ordered metrically, and (are) suitable for worship” (ܗ ܕ). Aḥob uses the same phrase (twice), though he selects two different nouns for “image”: ܕ and ܕ.[66] On the occasions when Bar Koni’s *Memra* V, 17 and Aḥob’s *Cause of the Psalms* present similar texts, Isho‘dad consistently choses to rely on Bar Koni’s phraseology, likely because he appreciates the terseness of Bar Koni’s wording, an approach which Isho‘dad himself often employs in his biblical commentaries.[67] Nevertheless, it must be emphasized that (for his fifth introductory section) Isho‘dad had access to Aḥob’s *Cause of the Psalms* and did not glean any

[65] See Aḥob’s *Cause of the Psalms*, *151-154*.

[66] See ibid., *88* and *88*, *94* and *95*.

[67] One example of Isho‘dad’s terse exegesis is found in his commentary on Gen 22. See Vosté and Van den Eynde, *Genèse* (text), 172, *1*-176, *2* and Van den Eynde, *Genèse* (trans.), 185-189.

Aḥob fragments from Bar Koni's *Memra* V, 17. This can be known because the Aḥob fragments presented in the table above are without parallel in Bar Koni.[68]

There are three broad patterns that emerge from these two sections of Isho'dad's introduction to his *Commentary on Psalms*, in relation to Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*: 1) Isho'dad selectively chooses fragments from Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* that he believes will be useful for his introduction to his *Commentary on Psalms*; 2) Isho'dad uses these Aḥob fragments to expand his borrowed, reworked presentation of Bar Koni's *Memra* V, 17 in his fifth introductory section;[69] 3) Isho'dad begins both his fourth and fifth introductory sections with an Aḥob fragment, likely because Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* was understood (in the East Syriac exegetical tradition) as an authoritative source from which he could develop his discussions on the topics of chanting the Psalms and the value of the Psalter.

4.1.5. Psalm 5:4

According to the Peshitta, Ps 5:4 states:

ܡܪܝ ܒܨܦܪܐ ܫܡܥ ܩܠܝ.	Lord, in the morning you will hear my voice,
ܘܒܨܦܪܐ ܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܟ	and in the morning I will prepare myself
ܘܐܬܚܙܐ ܠܟ.	and I will be seen by you.

Isho'dad's commentary on this same verse[70] states:[71]

> *Lord, in the morning*. For *morning* (ܨܦܪܐ) is understood in four ways in the Scriptures (ܒܟܬܒܐ ܩܕܫܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܫܬܟܚ): concerning swiftness or concerning joy and cheerfulness (ܥܠ ܣܘܪܝܘܬܐ ܐܘ ܥܠ ܚܕܘܬܐ) or concerning zeal (ܥܠ ܩܢܝܘܬܐ) or concerning the (actual) time of the morning (ܨܦܪܐ). But, here, he speaks about swiftness and about being early (ܡܕܒܪ ܐܢܐ ܒܨܦܪܐ ܠܨܠܘܬܟ ܩܕܡ). "I am zealously rising early to prayer before you. But you, like the swiftness of the *morning* (ܐܝܟ ܨܦܪܐ ܕܢܗܪܐ), have shown forth for me the light of deliverance from the Babylonian(s)."[72]

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[68] Bar Koni does rely on part of Aḥob's fragment 2 and all of his fragment 7 in the table above. However, the manner by which he rearranges and reformats these Aḥob fragments (as well as other parts of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*) makes it impossible for later writers to draw any original Aḥob phraseology from Bar Koni's *Memra* V, 17. For a further discussion, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.3.2. *Cause of the Psalms*.

[69] It is also possible that Isho'dad draws on lost or unknown introductions to the Psalms.

[70] Van den Eynde lists this verse as Ps 5:3. See idem, *Psaumes* (text), 24, *15* and Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 28.

[71] The Syriac text of this verse, which is found in Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 24, *15-20*, states:
ܡܪܝ ܒܨܦܪܐ ܫܡܥ ܩܠܝ. ܒܨܦܪܐ ܐܬܟܢܫ ܠܟ ܘܐܬܚܙܐ ܠܟ. ܒܟܬܒܐ ܩܕܫܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܫܬܟܚ ܨܦܪܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܥܠ ܬܠܬ ܫܘܢܝ ܐܘ ܥܠ ܚܕܘܬܐ ܘܥܠ ܣܘܪܝܘܬܐ ܐܘ ܥܠ ܩܢܝܘܬܐ ܐܘ ܥܠ ܙܒܢܐ ܕܨܦܪܐ ܒܪܡ ܐܢܐ ܡܕܒܪ ܒܨܦܪܐ ܠܨܠܘܬܟ ܩܕܡ. ܐܝܟ ܨܦܪܐ ܕܢܗܪܐ ܐܢܬ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܕܝ ܘܐܬܚܙܐ ܠܝ ܢܗܪ ܦܘܪܩܢ ܡܢ ܒܒܠ ܘܐ.

[72] My translation is based on Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 28-29.

The following table presents the phrases which Isho‘dad alters in his preservation of Aḥob’s Psalm 5:4 scholion, with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian phrase. The order will follow Isho‘dad’s text:

Isho‘dad (24, *15*, *16-17*, *17*, *18*)[73]	Aḥob (*1*, *2-4*, *4*)[74]
“is understood in four ways” (ܐܬ ܪܥܝܢ ܡܬܬܚܙܐ)	“is understood in three (ways)” (ܬܠܬܐ ܡܬܬܚܙܐ)
“concerning swiftness or concerning joy and cheerfulness or concerning zeal or concerning the (actual) time of the morning” (ܐܘ ܠ ܫܘܝܢܐ ܐܘ ܠ ܫܘܪܪܐ ܐܘ ܠ ܚܡܝܬܐ ܐܘ ܠ ܙܒܢܐ ܕܨܦܪܐ)	“That is to say, either concerning splendor or concerning that (which is) this *morning*” (ܕܐܝܬ ,ܫܡܠ ܐܘ ܠܫܘܚܢܐ. ܐܘ ܠ ܗܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܨܦܪܐ)
“But, here” (ܗܪ ܗܟ)	“But (on) this (occasion)” (ܗܪ ܗܫ)
“and about being early” (ܐܘ ܠ ܡܒܟܪ)	(Does Not Use)

Though he does not name him, Isho‘dad is relying, in part, on Aḥob’s Psalm 5:4 scholion for his own commentary on this verse, likely because he views it as an authoritative explanation of the meaning of ܐܝܬ in Ps 5:4. He quotes over half of Aḥob’s Psalm 5:4 scholion. However, he does not simply reproduce Aḥob’s words; he develops them by suggesting “four” (ܐܪܒܥ) – instead of Aḥob’s “three” (ܬܠܬ) – possible meanings by which ܐܝܬ can be understood in this verse.[75] Furthermore, Isho‘dad changes one of Aḥob’s meanings, namely, “splendor” (ܫܘܚܢܐ), to the phrase “joy and cheerfulness” (ܫܘܝܢܐ ܘܫܘܪܪܐ) – which is arguably a development from one of Theodore of Mopsuestia’s possible meanings for (the equivalent of) “in the morning” (ܨܦܪܐ)[76] – and adds the descriptor “zeal” (ܙܒܢܐ) to the list of possible meanings. He concludes, like Aḥob, that ܐܝܬ is best understood as “swiftness” (ܨܦܪܐ). However, unlike Aḥob, he adds the additional phrase “and about being early” (ܐܘ ܠ ܡܒܟܪ). Furthermore, whereas Aḥob’s scholion abruptly ends at this point, Isho‘dad offers an explanation as to how “swiftness” ties into an understanding of ܐܝܬ: God is “like the swiftness of the morning” (ܐܝܬ ܨܦܪܐ ܐܝܟ), in that he quickly revealed to David – through prayer –

[73] The text, page, and line numbers are taken from Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 24, *15-20*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from the preceding paragraph.

[74] The text and line numbers are taken from the edited text of Aḥob’s Psalm 5:4 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia, and the English translation of the Syriac is my own.

[75] Ter Haar Romeny notes these parallels but does not develop their specifics. See idem, “The Hebrew and the Greek as Alternatives to the Syriac Version,” 451-452 and Ter Haar Romeny, “Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar,” 148.

[76] While it is only preserved in Latin, one of Theodore’s three meanings for “in the morning” (*mane*) is “joy” (*laetitiam*). See Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Commentary on Psalms 1–81*, 54, *17* (text) and 55 (trans.).

that the Israelites would be delivered from Babylonian captivity, the final part of which is a reference to the heading of Ps 5.[77]

4.1.6. Psalm 29:9

According to the Peshitta, Ps 29:9 states:

ܩܠܗ ܕܡܪܐ ܕܡܥܒܕ	The voice of the Lord that shakes
ܐܝܠܐ ܘܡܦܪܩ ܐܓܡܐ ܕܚܫ.	the hinds and uproots the thickets.
ܘܟܠ ܕܒܗܝܟܠܗ ܐܡܪ ܫܒܚ ܠܗ.	And everyone in his temple says, "Glory!"

Isho'dad's commentary on this same verse states:[78]

> He calls *'ylt'* (ܐܝܠܬ) the weak (ones) in the camp of the Assyrians, and (he calls) "*thicket*" (ܚܫ) the strong (ones). But (do) we read *'ylt'* either (in the sense of) trees,[79] which (are) young in their plantings, like that in which *Absalom was hung*,[80] or (in the sense of) hinds,[81] which dwell in the forest? (ܐܘ ܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܕܐܝܠܬ ܒܓܢܒܐ ܕܐܝܠܬ ܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܕܐܝܠܬ ܒܝܥܪܐ) For in many forms he[82] declares his[83] anger against them.[84] For just as when the forest was *uprooted* and burned, the animals fled from the sound of the breaking of the trees, so also the Assyrians suddenly fled, with shame (on) their faces, from the sound of the (angelic) hosts,[85] in the likeness of *hinds* which hasten to flee, and the place where they were camping remains (deserted), like a forest (emptied) of animals. The Greek (says), "The voice of the Lord strengthens the hinds and will reveal the forests."[86]

The following table presents the phrases which Isho'dad alters in his preservation of Aḥob's Psalm 29:9 scholion, with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian phrase. The order will follow Isho'dad's text:

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[77] While Isho'dad does not preserve a heading for Ps 5, a comparable Ps 5 heading is preserved in the *DGC*, which states, "Concerning the people who prophesied in Babylon (and) asked from God (for) a return." For the Syriac text of this psalm heading, see Appendix, Psalm 5.

[78] The Syriac text of this verse, which is found in Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 49, *9-18*, states:
ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ׃ ܩܠ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܡܥܒܕ ܐܝܠܐ ܘܡܦܪܩ ܐܓܡܐ ܕܚܫ. ܘܟܠ ܕܒܗܝܟܠܗ ܐܡܪ ׃ ܫܒܚ ܠܗ ׃ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ׃ ܐܝܠܬ ܐܝ ܒܐܝܠܢ ׃ ܕܢܛܝܢ ܒܢܛܝܬܗܘܢ ׃ ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܐܒܫܠܘܡ ׃ ܐܘ ܒܐܝܠ ׃ ܕܒܝܥܪܐ ׃ ܕܝܬܒ ׃ ܐܘ ܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ ׃ ܕܐܝܠܬ ׃ ܒܓܢܒܐ ׃ ܕܐܝܠܬ ׃ ܐܘ ܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ ׃ ܕܐܝܠܬ ׃ ܒܝܥܪܐ ׃ ܐܘ ׃ ܒܟܠ ׃ ܙܒܢ ׃ ܕܐܝܠܬ ׃ ܒܓܢܒܐ ׃ ܕܐܝܠܬ ׃ ܒܟܠ ׃

Isho‘dad (49, *10*, *11-12*)[87]	Aḥob (*1*, *3-4*)[88]
“But… *’ylt*” (ܐܝܠܬ ܐ̈)	“On the other hand… *’ylt*” (ܐ̈ ܐ̈)
“hinds, which dwell in the forest” ( )	“hinds *and* ibexes, which dwell in the forests” ( )

In his commentary on this verse, Isho‘dad anonymously quotes Aḥob’s Psalm 29:9 scholion almost verbatim.[89] The simplest explanation for his reliance on Aḥob in this verse is that he, like Aḥob, is unclear on how to translate ܐ̈ and, thus, Aḥob’s scholion offers a concise range of possible meanings. However, unlike Aḥob, Isho‘dad does not simply pose a question regarding its possible meanings; he states the Aḥobian question and then offers an answer to the translational dilemma by comparing ܐ̈ with the fleeing Assyrians. Since “trees” (i.e. *ʾilātā*) “which (are) young in their plantings” ( ) cannot flee – as the Assyrians did – Isho‘dad implicitly asserts that ܐ̈ must convey the meaning of “hinds” (i.e. *ʾaylātā*).[90]

4.1.7. Psalm 31:6

According to the Peshitta, Ps 31:6 states:

ܒܝܕܟ ܐ̈ ܐ̈ ܐ̈

> That (phrase), *I have caused my spirit to be guarded* (ܐܛܥܪ) *by you*, that is to say, I have guarded (ܛܥܪ), like that (verse), Gehazi *caused (the silver) to be guarded in the house* (ܒܒܝܬܐ ܐܛܥܪ ܠܗ ܘܐܙܠ ܓܚܙܝ). [93] If I had not guarded it, that is to say, (if) I had (not) entrusted my soul to you, I would have perished by the hands of the Babylonians. For our Lord, while on the cross, used this word, not that it prophesied about him, but because in that moment it was adapted (to his circumstances), so that he could say it. The Greek (says), "Into your hands I will entrust my spirit."[94] Again, that (phrase), *I have caused (my spirit) to be guarded by you*, that is to say, like the treasure he[95] *causes to be guarded* by the person *in the house*,[96] so, also, I by you – *I have caused (my spirit) to be guarded* for me by you alone in watchfulness and in love. And just as the one who possesses a treasure endures all trials whatsoever (that) can happen on account of it through the consolation of that treasure, so, also in all my trials, I have been refreshed in you, as in a treasure. And it is like that (phrase), *Something which (is) caused to be guarded*,[97] etc.[98]

The following table presents the words and/or phrases which Isho'dad alters or omits in his preservation of Aḥob's Psalm 31:6 scholion, with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian word or phrase. The order will follow Isho'dad's text:

Isho'dad (50, *26*, *26*, 50, *26*-51, *1*)[99]	Aḥob (*1*, *1*, *2*, *2-3*)[100]
"That (phrase), '*I have caused my spirit to be guarded by you*'" (ܕܐܡܪ ܐܛܥܪ ܪܘܚܝ ܗܝ)	"*I have caused (my spirit) to be guarded*" (ܐܛܥܪ)
"that is to say, I have guarded" (ܐܛܥܪ ܗܘ)	"that is to say, I have guarded (ܐܛܥܪ ܀)
(Omits)	"*I have caused (my spirit) to be guarded*" (ܐܛܥܪ)
"Gehazi *caused (the silver) to be guarded*" (ܒܒܝܬܐ ܐܛܥܪ ܠܗ ܘܐܙܠ ܓܚܙܝ)	"Gehazi *took (the silver) and caused (it) to be guarded*" (ܒܒܝܬܐ ܐܛܥܪ ܘܐܙܠ ܓܚܙܝ ܘܫܕܪ)

In seeking to understand the meaning of the Peshitta "I have caused (it) to be guarded" (ܐܛܥܪ), Isho'dad anonymously relies on Aḥob's Psalm 31:6 scholion,[101] likely because it offers a concise explanation of this verb. Rather than reproducing Aḥob's scholion in its totality, Isho'dad reworks aspects of it, focusing largely on Aḥob's reference to Gehazi's actions in 2

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[93] 2 Kgs 5:24.

[94] The Greek of this phrase, as used in LXX Ps 30:6, is εἰς χεῖράς σου παραθήσομαι τὸ πνεῦμά μου.

[95] Namely, Gehazi.

[96] 2 Kgs 5:24.

[97] Ps 109:8.

[98] My translation is based on Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 59-60.

[99] The text, pages, and line numbers are taken from Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 50, *26*-51, *11*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from the preceding paragraph.

[100] The text and line numbers are taken from the edited text of Aḥob's Psalm 31:6 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia, and the English translation of the Syriac is my own.

[101] Van den Eynde notes this parallel but does not develop its specifics. See idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 60, n. 2.

Kgs 5:24. The likeliest reason for Isho‘dad’s abridgment of this Aḥob scholion in this verse is that he is only interested in certain parts of it. For instance, Isho‘dad focuses on Aḥob’s Gehazi reference, because it helps to clarify the ambiguity raised by ܒܝܫܐ: just as Gehazi caused silver to be guarded in a house, so one can cause his/her spirit to be guarded by God. In this way, while Isho‘dad abbreviates parts of Aḥob’s Psalm 31:6 scholion, he simultaneously draws out its exegetical implications, something that Aḥob does not detail in his extant Psalm 31:6 scholion.

4.1.8. Psalm 39:4-6

According to the Peshitta, Ps 39:4-6 states:

[4] ܣܡ ܠܒܝ ܚܡ ܒܓܘ.	[4] My heart became hot within me
ܘܢܘܪܐ ܒܥܪ ܒܓܫܝ.	and a fire seized my body.
ܐܡܪܬ ܒܠܫܢܝ [5] ܘܐܬܝܕܥ ܠܝ ܡܪܝܐ	I thought with my tongue [5] and the Lord showed me
ܡܐ ܗܘ ܫܘܠܡ ܝܘܡܝ. ܘܡܐ	my end and what is the measure of my days,
ܗܝ ܡܕܘܬ ܝܘܡܝ. ܕܐܝܕܥ	that I might know why I remain.
ܐܢܐ ܡܕܝ ܐܫܬܐܪ.	[6] Behold! With a measure you have given my days.
[6] ܗܐ ܒܫܘܠܡ ܝܘܡܝ ܣܝܡܬ.	And my lingering is like nothing before you,
ܘܩܝܡܬܝ ܐܝܟ ܠܝܬ ܩܕܡܟ.	because all people
ܐܦ ܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܚܝ ܟܠ	like vapor are rising.
ܗܒܠ ܡܫܬܟܚ.	

Isho‘dad’s lengthy commentary on these same verses[102] (where references to Theodore of Mopsuestia’s commentary on these verses are underlined[103] and references to Aḥob’s Psalm 39:4-6 scholion have been offset in bold and italicized brackets, to highlight their general placement within the following[104]) states:[105]

[102] Van den Eynde lists these verses as Ps 39:3a-5. See idem, *Psaumes* (text), 59, *10*, *16*, *22* and Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 69.

[103] Van den Eynde notes that Isho‘dad relies on Theodore in his commentary on Ps 39:6, but he does not offer specific examples. See idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 69, n. 4. The parallel English translation (with the Greek text) of these Theodorean fragments will be given in footnotes within this subsection, strictly for the purpose of establishing their observational similarity to Isho‘dad’s wording; beyond this, they will not be discussed.

[104] Each Aḥob fragment is also numbered.

[105] The Syriac text of these verses, which is found in Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 59, *10*-61, *19*, states:

ܐܡܪ ܡܪ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܕܣܘܪ ܕܡ ܐܝܟܐ ܕܐ ܠܡ ܒܝܫ ܀ ܘܟܕ ܫܡܥ ܗܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐ ܠܡ ܒܝܫ ܀ ܘܐܡܪ ܒܠܒ ܕܝ ܐܬܠܗܛ ܒܝ ܘܐܫ ܀ ܘܒܠܫܢܝ ܐܡܪܬ ܀ ܐܬܝܕܥ ܠܝ ܡܪܝܐ ܡܐ ܗܘ ܫܘܠܡ ܝܘܡܝ ܀ ܘܡܐ ܗܝ ܡܕܘܬ ܝܘܡܝ ܀ ܕܐܝܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܡܕܝ ܐܫܬܐܪ ܀ ܗܐ ܒܫܘܠܡ ܝܘܡܝ ܣܝܡܬ ܀ ܘܩܝܡܬܝ ܐܝܟ ܠܝܬ ܩܕܡܟ ܀ ܐܦ ܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܚܝ ܟܠ ܗܒܠ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܀ ܐܝܟ ܡܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܕܒܪ ܕܐ ܠܡ ܒܝܫ ܀ ܐܠܐ ܕܒܪ ܕܐ ܕܒܪ ܕܐ ܠܡ ܒܝܫ ܀ ܐܡܪ ܡܪ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܕܣܘܪ ܕܡ ܐܝܟܐ

[4] That (phrase), *My heart became hot within me*, etc. Because, when we are moved by rage, our heart becomes hot, while being kindled by the blood which surrounds it and by the gall which is dispersed by the liver and then is sent away to the heart. He[106] says this, that when sufferings were pressing upon me, *my heart* became *hot* with anger and with sadness, and (it is) as if from the breath of my thoughts *a fire* was lit in all *my body*. That (phrase) *I thought with my tongue*, that is to say, I sought from the Lord that he would make known to me how much time I have to live so that while I was being oppressed by the suffering, I might stretch out my mind to the end of my life and hence I would receive consolation,[107] in that I think that with the end of (my) time even the evils which surround me will of course come to an end. [5] < **{1}***[The Lord showed me my end*, that is to say, that the knowledge of the brevity of our lives is fixed in (human) nature, etc.*]* (ܐܡܪ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܒܪ ܢܫܐ ܕܢܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܕܒܣܦ ܐܢܐ ܡܢ ܥܠܡ ܘܥܕ ܥܠܡ ܐܢܐ ܡܬ ܘܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܡܬ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܬ ܠܗ ܠܒܪ ܢܫܐ ܕܢܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܕܒܣܦ ܐܢܐ ܡܢ ܥܠܡ ܘܥܕ ܥܠܡ ܐܢܐ ܡܬ ܘܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܡܬ). >[108] [6] **{2}***[Behold! With a measure you have given (my days)*. You gave me limited life. And not free and simple like the angels*]* (ܐܡܪ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܒܪ ܢܫܐ ܕܢܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܕܒܣܦ ܐܢܐ ܡܢ ܥܠܡ ܘܥܕ ܥܠܡ ܐܢܐ ܡܬ ܘܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܡܬ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܬ ܠܗ ܠܒܪ ܢܫܐ ܕܢܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܕܒܣܦ ܐܢܐ ܡܢ ܥܠܡ ܘܥܕ ܥܠܡ ܐܢܐ ܡܬ ܘܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܡܬ). **{3}***[*For if everyone had a (fixed) measure (of life), and he[109] fixed how much he[110] should live, he[111] would be considered to be wicked, (for) to one (person) he increased (the length of life) and to another he reduced (the length of life). And, again, if he[112] had given one equal (measure of life) to all, not even pains and sicknesses would befall us, and (this possibility) would be taken away, that on behalf of Christ we should suffer in our bodies*]* (ܡܫܟܚ ܠܡܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܒܪ ܢܫܐ ܕܢܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܕܒܣܦ ܐܢܐ ܡܢ ܥܠܡ ܘܥܕ ܥܠܡ ܐܢܐ ܡܬ ܘܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܡܬ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܬ ܠܗ ܠܒܪ ܢܫܐ ܕܢܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܕܒܣܦ ܐܢܐ ܡܢ ܥܠܡ ܘܥܕ ܥܠܡ ܐܢܐ ܡܬ ܘܐܢ ܐܢܐ ܡܬ).

ܕܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡ ܡܬܐ ܕܥܠܡ ܡܢ ܐܝ ܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܠ ܕܥܠܡ ܕܥܠܡ ܡܬ ܕܥܠܡ ܕܥܠܡ ܡܬ ܕܥܠܡ ܕܥܠܡ ܡܬ

ܕܢ ܚܫܚܬܡ) and we would be held back from the crowns of martyrdom, etc. Again, if we were without pains and sufferings, we would also not be able to be corrected from evils or (be able) to proceed in virtue. If, then, now – when myriads of sufferings harass us – we dare to perform vile things without fear, how much more if we were distanced from difficult (things, and) one ray of good were not visible in us? But, now, the lives of people are universally limited by death, in view of various advantages.[113] Again, (it is) not in one way, but for each one of the generations the number of years of their lives was reduced or increased. For those first (generations), he[114] increased the length of their years, so that they would multiply by means of the succession of their years. But for the others, he[115] diminished the number of their years and weakened their (ability) to bear offspring. And perhaps, also, it was nature (itself), according to its own strength, (that) proceeded according to these types, (namely) **{4}***[*the first (humans) and the intermediate (ones) and the later (ones)*]* (ܩܕܡܝܐ ܘܡܨܥܝܐ ܘܐܚܪܢܐ), until having already attained extreme old age and it became weak from the force of its course,[116] like a web nearly ready to be cut off. **{5}***[*And, also, (for) all those who belonged to each one of the generations, the number (of the years) of their lives is not equal*]* (ܕܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܫܘܝܐ ܠܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܕܪܐ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܫܢܝ ܚܝܝܗܘܢ ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܕܪܐ ܕܝܢ

assaults it is able to deprive it of life.[117] {6}*[*Thus, he[118] formed nature so that it would not die together with its (physical) being, nor should it live without a limit. But according to the soundness and the insolubility of the mixture, life is stretched out or is cut short, etc.*]* (ܗܘ ܕ ܟܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬ ܒܗ ܒܪܝܬ ܛܒܝܥܬ ܡܙܓܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܬܚܠܠ ܥܡ ܦܓܪܗ ܘܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܒܠܐ ܣܘܦܐ ܐܠܐ ܟܕ ܟܝܢ ܘܠܐ ܕܐܪܟܐ ܘܠܐ ܕܩܨܝܪ ܐܠܐ ܟܕ ܣܒܝܪ ܘܠܐ ܕܚܣܪ ܐܠܐ ܟܕ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܘܠܐ ܕܡܬܩܨܐ ܐܠܐ ܟܕ ܣܒܪ ܕܡܙܓܐ). And just as an arrow that is shot flies according to the strength or weakness of the arm, {7}*[*or just as a house – if it is built well – according to the soundness of its structure, also remains, thus also bodies, according to the soundness of their structure and the equality of their mixture, remain and endure, or, in proportion to their feebleness, (do) they perish, according to the functioning of nature*]* (ܐܝܟ ܕܒܝܬܐ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܒܢܝܢܗ ܐܦ ܓܘܫܡܐ ܒܪܝܐ ܩܐܡ ܘܣܒܝܪ ܕܟܕ ܒܢܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܝܬܐ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܒܢܝܢ ܗܟܢܐ ܓܘܫܡܐ ܒܪܝܐ ܩܐܡ ܘܣܒܝܪ ܕܟܕ ܒܢܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܝܬܐ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܒܢܝܢ ܗܟܢܐ ܓܘܫܡܐ ܒܪܝܐ ܩܐܡ ܘܣܒܝܪ ܕܟܕ ܒܢܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܝܬܐ ܕܫܦܝܪ ܒܢܝܢ ܗܟܢܐ ܓܘܫܡܐ ܒܪܝܐ ܩܐܡ ܘܣܒܝܪ ܕܟܕ ܒܢܝܢ). {8}*[*And just as by time and birth, together with a change of air, blindness and the rest of the other afflictions are bestowed, so also life and death, although the providence of God is mixed in all of them. Also, we do not know those (things) exactly*]* (ܐܝܟ ܕܒܙܒܢܐ ܘܒܝܠܕܐ ܥܡ ܫܚܠܦܐ ܕܐܘܝܪܐ ܘܫܐܪ ܟܠ ܐܠܝܢ ܕܥܠ ܓܘ ܡܬܝܗܒ ܟܕ ܐܦ ܚܝܐ ܘܡܘܬܐ ܐܦ ܗܟܝ ܕܒܗ ܐܦ ܗܢ ܡܫܓܚ ܗܘ ܥܡ ܟܠ ܐܠܝܢ ܘܠܐ ܝܕܥܝܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܐܠܐ ܟܕ ܐܦ ܗܢ ܡܬܝܗܒ). That the words of the prophet[119] are said with this intention, their order makes known. For after he[120] said, *my lingering*, that is to say, the mutability of my life, *is like nothing before you*, that is to say, in comparison with the boundless life of your Being,[121] he[122] adds: *because all people like vapor*, etc. Steam, either that of a pot or of the mouth or of the earth, is produced by heat and moisture, (and) it disappears in the blink of an eye. Through all this he[123] wants to show the beginning and the mutability of our nature.[124]

The following tables present the words and/or phrases which Isho‘dad alters or omits in his preservation of eight fragments from Aḥob’s Psalm 39:4-6 scholion, with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian word or phrase. Each verse (beginning with v. 5a)[125] will be presented separately, and the order will follow Isho‘dad’s text:

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[117] The parallel Theodore text states, “God, of course, manages affairs by a certain plan, making our nature subject to a sentence of death…He limited the number of years he wanted our life to last…by allowing all persons to run the course of their own lives as their makeup permits, and the ailments natural to our mortal condition and the sickness and decease arising from circumstance to run their course in us, the result being that some have shorter lives than others” (Ὁ γάρ τοι Θεὸς λόγῳ τινὶ κρατίστης οἰκονομίας, θανάτου μὲν ἅπαξ ἀποφάσει τὴν ἡμετέραν φύσιν ὑποβαλών…Τὸν δέ γε τῶν ἐτῶν ἀριθμόν, εἰς ὅν διαρκεῖν ἡμῶν ἠβουλήθη τὴν ζωήν...ἕκαστον ὡς ἄν ἔχοι κράσεως ἀποπληροῦν τὸν τῆς οἰκείας ζωῆς ἀριθμὸν συγχωρήσας καὶ τὰ πάθη κρατεῖν ἐν ἡμῖν ἅτε δὴ ὡς ἐν φύσει θνητῇ καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν συμπτωμάτων ἀρρωστίας τε καὶ θανάτους, ἀφ᾽ ὧν ἐπ ἔλαττόν τινας ἑτέρων ζῆν συμβαίνει). See Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Commentary on Psalms 1-81*, 470, *11-13*, *21*, col. 1, *24-34* (text) and 471 (trans.).

[118] Namely, God.

[119] Namely, David.

[120] Namely, David.

[121] The parallel Theodore text states, “[M]y existence and constitution are counted as nothing in comparison with you” (τὴν ἐμὴν ὕπαρξιν καὶ σύστασιν μηδὲν λελογίσθαι ἀντικρύ σου). See Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Commentary on Psalms 1-81*, 476, col. 1, *31*; 478, col. 1, *1-2* (text) and 477, 479 (trans.).

[122] Namely, David.

[123] Namely, David.

[124] My translation is based on Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 69-71.

[125] Isho‘dad preserves the same Peshitta wording of Ps 39:4 as Aḥob’s brief reference to it.

Psalm 39:5a

	Isho‘dad (59, *17-18*)[126]	Aḥob (*7-9*)[127]
Fragment 1	“that the knowledge of the brevity of our lives is fixed in (human) nature, etc.” (ܕܝܕܥܬܐ ܕܚܝܝܢ ܫܪܝܪ ܒܟܝܢܘܬ ܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܒܛܒܥܐ ܐܬܬܩܢܬ ܘܟܕ)	“that the knowledge of our lives is fixed in (human) nature” (ܕܝܕܥܬܐ ܕܚܝܝܢ ܫܪܝܪ ܒܛܒܥܐ ܐܬܬܩܢܬ)

Psalm 39:6a

	Isho‘dad (60, *1*, *2*, *3*, *3*, *4*, *5*, *18*, *20-21*, *26-27* and *27*, 61, *1*, *1* and *2*, *3*, *4*, *5*, *5*, *6*, *6-7*, *7*, *8*, *8-9*, *10*, *10-11*)	Aḥob (*16*, *35*, *36*, *37*, *38-39*, *40*, *41*, *49-50*, *51-53*, *19-22* and *23*, *24*, *25*, *26*, *27*, *28-29*, *30-31*, *31*, *32-33*, *53*, *55*, *56-57*, *59*, *60-61*)
Fragment 2	(Omits)	“*my days*, (as though) he should say” (ܝܘܡܝ ܐܡܪ)
Fragment 3	“had a (fixed) measure (of life)” (ܡܫܚܐ ܐܝܟ)	“had a (fixed) measure (of life)” (ܡܫܚ ܐܝܟ)
	“he should live” (ܢܚܝܐ)	“he should live” (ܢܚܐ)
	“and to another” (ܘܠܐܚܪܢ)	“and to another” (ܘܠܐܚܪ)
	“he had given” (ܝܗܒ ܐܬܐ)	“he was giving” (ܡܝܗܒ ܐܬܐ)
	“would befall us” (ܠܡܐ ܢܬܝ ܥܠܝܢ)	“would befall us” (ܥܠܝܢ ܡܝܬܝ ܠܡܐ)
	“that” (ܕ)	“that” (ܕܡ ܐ)
Fragment 4	“and the intermediate (ones) and the later (ones)” (ܘܐܡܨܥܝܐ ܘܐܚܪܢܐ)	“with that of the intermediate (ones), (and) neither, again, is that of the intermediate (ones equal) with that of the later (ones)” (ܥܡ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܕܐܡܨܥܝܐ. ܠܐ ܕܐܡܨܥܝܐ ܥܡ ܐܚܪܢܐ)
Fragment 5	“And, also, (for) all those who belonged to each one of the generations, the number (of the years) of their lives is not equal” (ܘܥܡ ܟܠ ܐܠܝܢ ܕܐܬܝܠܕܘ ܒܟܠ ܕܪ ܘܕܪ ܠܡܢܝܢ ܕܚܝܝܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܫܘܝܐ ܗܘ ܒܡܢܝܢ ܕܫܢܝܗܘܢ ܕܚܝܝܗܘܢ)	“Neither (within) each individual (one) of the generations are all (its members) equal in lifespan” (ܠܐ ܒܟܠ ܚܕ ܘܚܕ ܕܐܢܫ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܒܕܪ ܘܕܪ ܠܡܢܝܢ ܕܚܝܝܗܘܢ)
Fragment 6	“Thus, he formed nature so that it would not die together with its (physical) being, nor should it live” (ܗܟܢܐ ܨܒܪ ܠܗ ܒܪܝܬܗ ܕܠܐ ܢܡܘܬ ܥܡ ܦܓܪܗ ܘܠܐ ܢܚܝܐ)	“thus the Creator formed our nature, so that we would not die together with our (physical) being. Nor should we live” (ܗܟܢܐ ܨܒܪܗ ܕܒܪܝܬܢ ܕܠܐ ܢܡܘܬ ܥܡ ܦܓܪܢ. ܘܠܐ ܢܚܝܐ)
	“the insolubility” (ܕܠܐ ܐܬܪܝ)	“the equality” (ܕܐܬܪܝ)
	(Uses in a Subsequent Fragment in this Verse)	“according to the functioning of nature” (ܒܪܒܝܪܘܬ ܥܒܕܐ ܕܒܪܝܬܐ)

[126] The text, pages, and line numbers (for both tables) are taken from Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 59, *10*-61, *19*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from the preceding paragraph.

[127] The text and line numbers (for both tables) are taken from the edited text of Aḥob’s Psalm 39:4-6 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia, and the English translation of the Syriac is my own.

	"is stretched out…etc." (ܡܬܬܚ…ܡܫܬܚܐ)	"is stretched out" (ܡܫܬܚܐ)
Fragment 7	"or just as a house" (ܐܝܟ ܐܦ ܒܝܬܐ)	"For just as a house" (ܒܝܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܦ)
	"according to the soundness of its structure, also" (ܐܦ ܠܦܘܩ ܒܢܝܢܗ ܫܠܡ)	"then according to the soundness of its structure, thus also" (ܐܦ ܒܢܝܢܗ ܫܠܡ ܠܦܘܩ ܐܦ ܗܟܢܐ ܐܬܐ)
	"bodies" (ܦܓܪܐ)	"the bodies of people" (ܦܓܪܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ)
	"the soundness of their structure" (ܫܠܡܘܬܗܘܢ ܒܢܝܢܗ)	"their structure" (ܒܢܝܢܗ)
	"remain and endure, or, in proportion to" (ܩܝܡ ܘܣܒܪ ܠܦܘܩ)	"endure. In proportion to" (ܩܝܡ. ܠܦܘܩ)
	"according to the functioning of nature" (ܐܦ ܟܕ ܡܬܢܗܓ ܒܥܠܡ)	(Uses Earlier in this Verse)
Fragment 8	"And just as" (ܘܐܝܟ)	"For just as" (ܐܝܟ ܕܐܦ)
	"a change of air" (ܐܘܪܐ ܕܐܝܪ)	"a change of air" (ܐܘܪ ܐܝܪ)
	"blindness and the rest of the other afflictions…so" (ܕܥܡܐ ܘܫܐܪ ܕܐܢ ; ܐܝܟ ܕܟܢ)	"the afflictions of blindness and deafness, together with chances of sicknesses…so" (ܕܟܢ ܐܝܟ ܒܟ. ܘܫܐܪ ܕܐܢ ; ܕܥܡܐ ܘܫܐܪ ܕܟܢ ܥܡ. ܕܥܘܒܪ)
	"the providence of God" (ܐܠܗܐ ܡܬܢܗܓ)	"the providence of God" (ܐܠܗܐ ܡܬܢܗܓ)
	"we do not know those (things) exactly" (ܥܡܝܩ ܠܐ ܡܕܥܝܢ ܥܡ ܗܠܝ)	"for us, it is not given to us to know all things exactly" (ܗܠܝ ܠܟܠܗܘ ܡܕܥܝܢ ܠܐ ܠܢ ܠܡܝܕ ܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ)

In his commentary on Ps 39:4-6, Isho'dad preserves eight fragments from Aḥob's Psalm 39:4-6 scholion, which accounts for roughly three quarters of this Aḥob scholion.[128] Setting aside the fact that Aḥob's only comment on Ps 39:4 is the Peshitta phrase "I thought with my tongue" (ܐܡܪ ܒܠܫܢܝ) and Isho'dad also uses this phrase (with additional commentary), these Aḥob fragments are found in Isho'dad's commentary on Ps 39:5a and 6a. For v. 5a, his only

[128] The sections of Aḥob's Psalm 39:4-6 scholion, which were not used by Isho'dad, include the following from v. 5: "That is to say, I brought to memory what is my life and the end that is kept for me, that I might stand and condemn that which exists *today but* tomorrow departs. Now, that (phrase)…he says (to indicate)…*That I might know why I remain*, that is to say, not only is it not right for me to complain, as though about something which persists, but not even my remaining in this life is wanted by me, so that I should not see evils such as these" (ܐܡܪ ܐܝܬܝ ܠܡܒܥܐ ܕܟܪܢܐ ܕܚܝܘܬܝ ܘܣܘܦܗ ܕܡܬܛܪ ܠܝ ; ܕܐܝܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܡ ܫܦܝܪ ܠܝ ܕܐܦ ܠܐ ܠܡܬܚ ܠܝ ܠܡܐܡܪ ܟܐܠܘ ܥܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܩܐܡ ; ܐܠܐ ܕܐܦ ܠܐ ܒܗܕܐ ܚܝܘܬܐ ܕܐܦ ܒܩܝܬܝ ܠܐ ܨܒܐ ܠܝ ; ܕܠܐ ܐܚܙܐ ܒܝܫܐ ܗܟܢܐ…ܡܐ ܕܐܡ ܥܠܡ ܐܝܬ ܒܝ ܕܐܦ ܠܐ ܐܬܝ ܠܝ ܠܡܐܡܪ ܥܠ ܡܐ). From v. 6: "That (passage), therefore, *Behold! With a measure you have given my days*: he does not speak about the measure of the life of each individual of humanity, but (about the fact) that in comparison with (former) generations, and the succession of ages, the lifespans of humans also change, since the measure (of life) of…is not equal" (ܐܡܪ ܐܝܬܝ ܗܟܢ ; ܠܐ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܕܐܢܫܝ ܐܠܐ ܥܠ ܗܘ ܕܐܦ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ ܒܢܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܦ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ ܒܢܝ

commentary is a reworked presentation of Aḥob's comments on the same verse, though he preserves a number of the same words. In v. 6a, Isho'dad largely oscillates between phraseology and concepts found in Aḥob and Theodore's parallel commentary, though he certainly contributes his own ideas on the meanings and implications of the Peshitta text of v. 6a as well. While it is not highlighted in the Isho'dad translation above, Aḥob fragments 2-5, most of 6, and 7 present an abbreviated and reworked version of Theodore's commentary on the equivalent verse (i.e. Ps 38:6).[129] These bracketed sections of Isho'dad's text have also not been underlined, because, while the underlying concepts are similar, the actual wording in these bracketed sections (as preserved by Isho'dad) is Aḥobian – not Theodorian – in nature. In other words, in each of these fragments, Isho'dad consistently gravitates to the wording of Aḥob's scholion, rather than to the wording of Theodore's commentary.

Concerning the presentation of these eight Aḥob fragments in vv. 5a-6a, Isho'dad inconsistently follows the order of Aḥob's logic (as is shown by the non-sequential line numbers of the parallel Aḥob fragments in the tables above). He combines fragments 2 and 3, though if fragment 1 is restored to its original place (as is shown in the translation above) this would be extended to fragments 1-3; fragments 7 and 8 are also merged. Isho'dad inserts Aḥob fragment 4 into the midst of a reworked Theodore fragment. Aḥob fragment 6 is presented as a follow-up summary to Isho'dad's preceding summary of Theodore on the same topic, namely, that human nature cannot live forever but will die according to one's natural ability (or inability) to preserve and/or fight off anything that would rob it of life. It should also be noted that Isho'dad varies his approach to the preservation of these fragments: in fragments 1-4 and 6-8, he preserves many of the words or select phrases from their parallel Aḥob texts, while in fragment 5 he presents a summarized form of the parallel Aḥob text.

Isho'dad includes the majority of Aḥob's Psalm 39:4-6 scholion in his commentary on these same verses, because he likely views it as both an authoritative gloss of v. 5a and as a convincing explanation of the theological difficulties posed by v. 6a. His preference for Aḥob is acutely shown in Aḥob fragment 4, which is used (instead of Theodore), likely because Aḥob offers a quick summary of Theodore's wordy discussion of the three generations. While he certainly relies on Theodore as well to achieve his developed interpretation of v. 6a, Isho'dad's use of Aḥob is more pronounced, both in the number and length of the combined fragments

[129] For a discussion of Aḥob's use of Theodore's exegesis in his Psalm 39:4-6 scholion, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.1.1.2. Psalm 39:6.

borrowed and in the intentional preservation of specific Aḥobian words and phrases on this verse.

4.1.9. Psalm 40:8

According to the Peshitta, Ps 40:8 states:

ܗܵܐ ܐܵܡܪܸܢ ܒܵܛܠܬ ܐܲܝܟ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܥܠܝ. ܒܪܵܫ ܣܦܪܐ ܐܬܟܬܒ ܥܠܝ. ܕܥܒܕ ܨܒܝܢܟ ܐܠܗܝ.	Then I said, “Behold! I have come. For in the beginning of the books it is written about me.”

Isho‘dad’s commentary on this same verse[130] states:[131]

> *Then I said, “Behold! I have come. That (which is) in the beginning.”*[132] As soon as I had (conceived) such a thought – that it is the will, and nothing else, that you seek in order to bring me back from captivity – then I hoped and I expected that a return would occur for me, while beforehand I did not have this hope. And by this hope the memory of what is written about me *in the beginning of the books* and the sections of all the prophets (ܟܠ ܚܕ ܕܟܬܒ ܒܣܦܪ ܪܫܝܬܐ ܕܢܒܝܐ) was strongly imposed on me: you will return from captivity. (As for) *in the beginning of the books*, (that is) the Law (ܢܡܘܣܐ) in which it is written, “If you keep the Law, you will be blessed and you will be made prosperous.”[133] Alternatively, (this is said) about Christ the Word, whose passion and resurrection and reign, etc. are written in the prophecy of Jacob.[134]

Since he presents the exact same phrase as Aḥob’s Psalm 40:8 scholion, a table presenting the words and/or phrases which Isho‘dad alters or omits in his preservation of this Aḥob scholion will not be given.

In his commentary on this verse, Isho‘dad anonymously quotes Aḥob’s Psalm 40:8 scholion in its entirety.[135] Concerning his Ps 40:8 Peshitta phrase “in the beginning of the books” (ܒܪܫ ܣܦܪ), Isho‘dad is likely aware that Theodore of Mopsuestia understood this phrase – which in the Greek states, “In the scroll of the book” (Ἐν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου)[136] – as

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[130] Van den Eynde lists this verse as Ps 40:7. See idem, *Psaumes* (text), 62, *18* and Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 72.

[131] The Syriac text of this verse, which is found in Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 62, *18*-63, *3*, states: ܗܵܐ ܐܵܡܪܸܢ ܒܵܛܠܬ ܐܲܝܟ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܥܠܝ. ܒܪܵܫ ܣܦܪܐ ܐܬܟܬܒ ܥܠܝ. ܕܥܒܕ ܨܒܝܢܟ ܐܠܗܝ. ܒܪܵܫ ܣܦܪܐ ܐܬܟܬܒ ܥܠܝ ܕܥܒܕ ܨܒܝܢܟ ܐܠܗܝ ܟܠ ܚܕ ܕܟܬܒ ܒܣܦܪ ܪܫܝܬܐ ܕܢܒܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܟܬܒ ܥܠ ܡܫܝܚ

referring to the Old Testament prophetic books that prophesied about the exilic return of the Israelites.[137] However, he rejects the Theodorian notion that the Peshitta phrase "in the beginning of the books" itself refers to the prophetic books, and, instead, he suggests that it refers to the books at the beginning of the biblical canon, namely, the "Law" (ܢܡܘܣܐ). Since he interprets "in the beginning of the books" as a reference to the Law, he likely adds Aḥob's Psalm 40:8 scholion "the sections of all the prophets" (ܟܠܗܘܢ ܦܣܩܐ ܕܢܒܝܐ) to his interpretation of the Peshitta phrase "in the beginning of the books" for two reasons: 1) Isho'dad believes (similarly to Aḥob) that many Old Testament books prophesied about the exilic return of the Israelites, and 2) Isho'dad seeks to include a reinterpreted presentation of Theodore's interpretation of this phrase, and he views its briefest summary as being encapsulated in Aḥob's Psalm 40:8 scholion.[138] It is also worth noting that beyond his use of Aḥob, Isho'dad presents a Christological interpretation of this verse, something that Aḥob (at least in what remains of his Psalm 40:8 scholion)[139] does not do.

4.1.10. Psalm 42:2

According to the Peshitta, Ps 42:2 states:

ܟܐܦܐ ܕܬܪܥܐ ܥܠ ܦܠܓܘܬ ܡܝܐ ܟܕ ܢܦܫܝ ܥܠܝܟ ܐܠܗܝ ܟܐܦ ܐܝܟ ܕܬܪܥ ܥܠ ܦܠܓܘܬ ܡܝܐ ܟܕ ܢܦܫܝ ܥܠܝܟ ܐܠܗܝ.	As a stag calls out for a stream of water, thus, also my soul calls out to you, Lord.

Isho'dad's commentary on this same verse[140] states:[141]

> *As a stag*, etc. For because stags (are) by their nature more hot and dry than the rest of the animals, they especially long for a drink *of water* when they have eaten of snakes and harmful reptiles, and the gall (of the snakes) pollutes the roof of their palate and it doubles the heat of their nature. And when they do not find *water*, they *call out* with

[137] Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Commentary on Psalms 1-81*, 496, *7-9* (text) and 497 (trans.) and Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 72, n. 4. Isho'dad would have been reading the Syriac translation of Theodore's *Commentary on Psalms*, not its original Greek version. However, the Syriac translation of this work does not survive for Ps 40, only the Greek (and its Latin translation).

[138] The *DGC* texts of LMS arguably approach Aḥob's Psalm 40:8 scholion in the same manner. See Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.7. Psalm 40:8.

[139] For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.1. The Original Form of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

[140] Van den Eynde lists this verse as Ps 42:1. See idem, *Psaumes* (text), 64, *3* and Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 74.

[141] The Syriac text of this verse, which is found in Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 64, *3-9*, states:
ܟܐܦܐ ܕܬܪܥܐ ܥܠ ܦܠܓܘܬ ܡܝܐ ܟܕ ܢܦܫܝ ܥܠܝܟ ܐܠܗܝ ܟܐܦ ܐܝܟ ܕܬܪܥ ܥܠ ܦܠܓܘܬ ܡܝܐ ܟܕ ܢܦܫܝ ܥܠܝܟ ܐܠܗܝ. ܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܕܐܝܠܐ ܒܛܒܥܗ ܝܬܝܪ ܚܡܝܡ ܘܝܒܫ ܡܢ ܫܪ ܒܥܝܪ ܘܒܦܪܛ ܟܕ ܐܟܠ ܚܝܐ ܘܡܙܝܩ ܐܝܟ ܕܬܪܥ ܥܠ ܦܠܓܘܬ ܡܝܐ ܟܕ ܢܦܫܝ ܥܠܝܟ ܐܠܗܝ. ܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܕܐܝܠܐ ܒܛܒܥܗ ܝܬܝܪ ܚܡܝܡ ܘܝܒܫ ܡܢ ܫܪ ܒܥܝܪ ܘܒܦܪܛ ܟܕ ܐܟܠ ܚܝܐ ܘܡܙܝܩ ܐܝܟ ܕܬܪܥ ܥܠ ܦܠܓܘܬ ܡܝܐ ܟܕ ܢܦܫܝ ܥܠܝܟ ܐܠܗܝ.

profound suffering. It is appropriate (that David) made use of this example to make known his love for God. And he[142] seeks to be (granted) a return from Babylon.[143]

The following table presents the words and/or phrases which Isho‘dad alters in his preservation of Aḥob’s Psalm 42:2 scholion, with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian word or phrase. The order will follow Isho‘dad’s text:

Isho‘dad (64, *3-4*, *4*, *5*, *5*, *6-7*, *7-8*, *8*, *9*)[144]	Aḥob (*1-2*, *3*, *4*, *5-9*, *9-10*)[145]
“For because stags (are) by their nature (more) hot and dry” (ܟܝ ܕܐܝܠܐ ܒܛܒܥܗܘܢ ܚܡܝܡ ܘܝܒܫ ܝܬܝܪ)	“because, then, stags are by nature (more) dry and hot” (ܟܝ ܐܝܠܐ ܒܛܒܥܗܘܢ ܝܒܫ ܘܚܡܝܡ ܝܬܝܪ)
“especially” (ܒܪܝܫ)	“especially” (ܒܪܝܫ)
“when” (ܟܕ ܕ)	“when” (ܟܕ)
“snakes and” (ܘ ܚܝܐ)	(Does Not Use)
“and the gall (of the snakes) pollutes the roof of their palate and it doubles the heat of their nature” (ܘܡܪܪܝܪܘ ܠܓܘܒ ܡܠܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܘܡܛܡܐ ܠܓܘܒ ܚܡܝܡ ܒܛܒܥܗܘܢ)	“Like that which is the gall of snakes, which pollutes and adheres to the roof of their palate, it doubles upon them the heat which is in their nature” (ܕܚܝܐ ܗܝ ܕܡ ܕܐܝܟ ܡܪܪܝܪ ܘܡܛܡܐ ܠܓܘܒ ܡܠܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܘܚܡܝܡ ܒܛܒܥܗܘܢ ܠܓܘܒ ܚܡܝܡ)
“And when they do not find *water*, they *call out* with profound suffering” (ܘܟܕ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܝܢ ܡܝ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܡܫܬܐ ܩܪܝܢ)	(Does Not Use)
“(…David) made use of this example” (ܐܬܦܥܠ ܒܗܠܝܢ ܡܬܠܐ)	“by the example of *the stag*, (these things) were used” (ܐܬܦܥܠ ܠܗ ܒܛܒܥܐ)
“for God” (ܠܐܠܗܐ ܒܚܩܕ)	(Does Not Use)

In his commentary on this verse, Isho‘dad anonymously quotes Aḥob’s Psalm 42:2 scholion almost entirely.[146] While he adds one sentence internally and slightly reworks other words and phrases, Aḥob’s Psalm 42:2 scholion is presented, in large part, as Isho‘dad’s commentary on this verse, revealing that he likely viewed it as the authoritative commentary on Ps 42:2. It is quite possible that Isho‘dad preserves the original ending of this Aḥob scholion, namely, the prepositional phrase “for God” (ܠܐܠܗܐ ܒܚܩܕ), which functions as the object of David’s love;[147]

[142] Namely, David.

[143] My translation is based on Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 72.

[144] The text, page, and line numbers are taken from Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 64, *3-9*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from the preceding paragraph.

[145] The text and line numbers are taken from the edited text of Aḥob’s Psalm 42:2 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia, and the English translation of the Syriac is my own.

[146] Van den Eynde notes this parallel but does not develop its specifics. See idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 74, n. 2.

[147] Aḥob’s extant Psalm 42:2 scholion ends rather abruptly.

however, it is also possible that Isho‘dad added this prepositional phrase in order to state what Aḥob merely implied in the abrupt ending of his scholion. The final sentence of Isho‘dad’s commentary on Ps 42:2 is not tied to Aḥob’s Psalm 42:2 scholion but is a reflection on the Peshitta Ps 42 heading, which states, “Spoken by David, in the persona of the people in Babylon, (indicating) which (words) were fitting for them to say in the time of captivity” (ܡܢ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܕܘܝܕ ܒܦܘܡܗ ܕܥܡܐ ܒܒܠ ܕܐܝܢ ܡܠܝܢ ܗܘ ܠܡܐܡܪ ܒܙܒܢ ܓܠܘܬܐ).[148]

4.1.11. Psalm 45:9

According to the Peshitta, Ps 45:9 states:

ܡܘܪ ܘܩܨܝܥܐ ܘܟܠ ܣܡܝ ܠܒܘܫܟ.	Myrrh and cassia and stacte
ܡܢ ܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܫܝܙܒ ܥܠ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ.	perfume all your garments.
ܡܢ ܗܝܟܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܫܝܙܒ ܥܠ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ.	From the finest temple
ܡܢ ܗܝܟܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܫܝܙܒ ܥܠ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ.	and from my presence, they made you glad.

Isho‘dad’s relevant commentary on this same verse[149] states:[150]

> *From the finest temple*, that is to say, *from my* own *presence*, God, *they made you glad*, O Christ, (specifically) all the nations who build temples for your name and for the name of your martyrs. For by means of one temple, the Syriac indicates many (temples). Instead of *finest*, the Hebrew says, “ivory temples” (ܗܝܟܠ ܫܝܢܐ ܘܒܝܬ ܫܢ). [151] The Greek also (says), “From ivory palaces (and) from those who, in your honor, made you glad,”[152] (namely) the daughters of kings. Others (say), “When you rose from the grave and went up to heaven and were declared (to be) the Son of God, many will come to make you glad with hymns and praises which they will sing before you, inside adorned temples which are being built for the honor of your name and (that) of your martyrs, with many kinds of gold and precious stones, etc.” This prophecy confirms every person in your faith, which I declared before you when I prophesied

[148] My translation is based on Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 74 (above n. 1). The Syriac text is taken from Van Rooy, *The East Syriac Psalm Headings*, 90.

[149] Van den Eynde lists this verse as Ps 45:8. See idem, *Psaumes* (text), 69, *13* and Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 79. Isho‘dad comments on parts a and b of this verse, namely, “All your garments are fragrant (with) myrrh and cassia and stacte” (ܡܘܪ ܘܩܨܝܥܐ ܘܟܠ ܣܡܝ ܠܒܘܫܟ. ܡܢ ܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܫܝܙܒ ܥܠ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ). However, for the purposes of this study, only his commentary on part c of this verse – “From the finest temple and from my presence, they made you glad” (ܡܢ ܗܝܟܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܫܝܙܒ ܥܠ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ) – is relevant.

[150] The Syriac text of this passage, which is found in Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 69, *28*-70, *10*, states:

ܡܢ ܗܝܟܠ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܫܝܙܒ ܥܠ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ. ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܡܢ ܦܘܡܝ ܐܝ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܟ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܪܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܝ ܘܣܠܩ ܠܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܬܬܒܪ ܒܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܣܓܝܐܝܢ ܢܐܬܘܢ ܠܡܥܒܕ ܠܟ ܫܒܚܬܐ ܘܫܒܚܬܐ ܕܥܠ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܠܟ ܒܓܘ ܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܡܬܒܢܝܢ ܠܫܡܟ ܘܠܫܡ ܩܛܝܪ̈ܟ ܒܣܓܝ ܕܕܗܒܐ ܘܒܐܒܢ̈ܐ ܝܩܪ̈ܐ ܘܟܠ ܕܢܝܢ ܗܢ ܕܒܗ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܗܝ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܩܕܡܟ ܒܟܠ ܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܕܒܟ ܒܟܠ ܡܕ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܩܕܡ ܐܦ ܥܠ ܦܘܡ ܩܒܪܐ ܘܥܠ ܣܠܩܬܟ ܠܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܬܬܒܪ ܒܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܣܓܝܐܝܢ ܢܐܬܘܢ ܠܡܥܒܕ ܠܟ ܫܒܚܬܐ ܘܫܒܚܬܐ ܕܥܠ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܠܟ ܒܓܘ ܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܡܬܒܢܝܢ ܠܫܡܟ ܘܠܫܡ ܩܛܝܪ̈ܟ ܒܣܓܝ ܕܕܗܒܐ ܘܒܐܒܢ̈ܐ ܝܩܪ̈ܐ ܘܟܠ ܕܢܝܢ ܗܢ ܕܒܗ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܗܝ

about your economy. For this (is what) he says in that (phrase) *from my presence*.[153]

The following table presents the phrases which Isho‘dad alters or omits in his preservation of part of Aḥob’s Psalm 45:9 scholion, with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian phrase. The order will follow Isho‘dad’s text:

Isho‘dad (70, *2*)[154]	Aḥob (*1*, *2-5*)[155]
“Instead of *finest*, the Hebrew says, ‘ivory temples’” (ܥܝܪ ܡܚܟܬ ܀ ܥܝܪ ܫܠܕ ܀ ܥܝܪ ܚܙܘ ܚܛ)	“Instead of *finest*, the Hebrew says, ‘ivory’” (ܫܠܕ ܥܝܪ ܀ ܥܝܪ ܚܙܘ ܚܛ)
(Omits)	“Here, the grammatical point was changed and this letter, which (was) a nun, was shortened. *Stacte* (is) *asinat* in the language of Qatar. But *cassia* (is) peeled-off rind” (ܗܟ ❖ ܗܢ ܥܒܕܐ ܥܡ ܒܙܒܐ ܫܠܐ ܥܡܐ ܡܐ ܥܡ ❖ ܒܫܐ ܒܥܝܠ ܚܩܠܐ. ܥܒܠܐ ܥܒܠܬ)

Though he does not name him, Isho‘dad is likely relying, in part,[156] on Aḥob’s Psalm 45:9 scholion for his own commentary on this verse.[157] It is quite likely that Isho‘dad had the entire scholion at his disposal; however, only the Hebrew reading interested him and, as a result, he preserves this one phrase alone. He slightly develops this phrase from Aḥob’s scholion, in that he rearranges some of its word order and adds the plural noun “temples” (ܡܚܟܬ), which the transliterated Hebrew adjective “ivory” (ܥܝܪ) describes.

4.1.12. Psalm 68:14

According to the Peshitta, Ps 68:14 states:

ܐܢ ܬܫܟܒܘܢ ܒܝܢ ܬܚܘܡܐ.	If you should lie down among the thorns,
ܟܢܦܝ ܝܘܢܩܐ ܡܦܪܫܝܢ ܒܟܤܦܐ.	the wings of a dove are overlaid with silver
ܘܒܥܝܒܗ ܒܝܪܩܘܢ ܕܗܒܐ.	and its feathers with refined gold.

[153] My translation is based on Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 80.

[154] The text, page, and line number are taken from Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 69, *28*-70, *10*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from the preceding paragraph.

[155] The text and line numbers are taken from the edited text of Aḥob’s Psalm 45:9 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia, and the English translation of the Syriac is my own.

[156] Molenberg speculates that Isho‘dad uses a source, beyond Theodore and the possibility of Isho‘ bar Nun, in this verse. However, she does not name this source. See idem, “The Interpreter Interpreted,” 253.

[157] Ter Haar Romeny hints at these parallels but does not develop their specifics. See idem, “The Hebrew and the Greek as Alternatives to the Syriac Version,” 450 and n. 67.

Isho‘dad’s commentary on this same verse[158] states:[159]

> *If you should lie down among the thorns, the wings (of a dove)*, that is to say, before we would inherit the land, God had promised us these (things), “When you should dwell in peace, as in the rest of sleep” – when the *thorns*, which are the enemies who have surrounded you, will be removed, that is to say, in the time of Solomon (Scripture says), “The Lord gave him rest on all his sides,”[160] – then the house of the Lord will be built and it (will) have beautiful carvings, which *are overlaid with gold and with* silver. Again, like one (who) will ask when this will be fulfilled, he[161] answers, “When you should dwell in peace and the *thorns* (ܣܟܘܟܐ) will be removed,” and the rest which (is written) above. Instead of *among the thorns*, the Hebrew says, “among the manure pile” (ܒܝܢ ܫܦܬܝܡ ܚܕ ܣܠܩ ܚܕ ܕܢܚܬ),[162] that is to say, although you thought, “we would be lacking from possessions,” etc., “I (will) bring you such stillness and splendor that, from the many riches which you plundered from the nations, you will play and you will take pleasure in silver doves, which are mixed with gold, according to the custom of rich (people).” But from all (possible) images he set down (in writing) only *the wings of doves*, because this surpassing sight is splendid and beautiful when (it is) interwoven with gold and shines from afar. Instead of *among the thorns*, the Greek says, “between the lots” (ܒܝܢ ܟܠܝ ܚܕ ܣܠܩ ܣܟܘܟ ܚܕ ܕܐܝܟ).[163] But Symmachus (says), “among the inheritances.” Again, by means of the dove, he brings to memory the sacrifice of Abraham, who, with other animals, also offered a dove (as) an indication that all these (things that were done) there received fulfillment. But, again, (it is also) because the dove is the most beautiful among birds.[164]

The following table presents the words and/or phrases which Isho‘dad alters in his preservation of Aḥob’s Psalm 68:14 scholion, with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian phrase. The order will follow Isho‘dad’s text:

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[158] Van den Eynde lists this verse as Ps 68:13. See idem, *Psaumes* (text), 101, *17* and Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 112.

[159] The Syriac text of this verse, which is found in Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 101, *17*-102, *9*, states: ܐܦ ܟܕ ܬܫܟܒ ܒܝܢ ܫܦܬܝܡ ܐܝܟ ܓܢܚܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ ܡܫܬܠܚ ܠܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܠ ܝܕ ܢܒܝܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܬܫܪܐ ܒܫܠܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܒܢܘܡ ܕܣܢܝܐ ܐܝ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܩܕܫܐ ܢܬܒܢܐ ܘܐܝܟ ܕܥܒܕ ܒܗ ܕܗܒ ܘܟܣܦ

Isho‘dad (101, *25*, 102, *4*)[165]	Aḥob (*1*, *2*)[166]
“The Hebrew” (ܥܒܪܝ)	“But…the Hebrew” (ܐܠܐ ܥܒܪܝ)
“The Greek” (ܝܘܢ)	“But…the Greek” (ܐܠܐ ܝܘܢ)

In Isho‘dad’s commentary on this verse, he anonymously quotes Aḥob’s Psalm 68:14 scholion almost entirely,[167] likely because it offers alternative sources for understanding the meaning of the difficult Peshitta “thorns” (ܣܟܣܟ) in this verse. The only syntactical aspect of Aḥob’s scholion that Isho‘dad changes is that he removes the twice-used conjunction “But” (ܐܠܐ), which introduces both sentences in this Aḥob scholion. Concerning its presentation, Isho‘dad divides this Aḥob scholion between its Hebrew and Greek readings and inserts them in separate places within his own commentary on this verse. While his inclusion of Aḥob’s Hebrew reading seems to be appropriately situated, his placement of Aḥob’s Greek reading is arguably out of place, suggesting that, at least, this part of Aḥob’s Psalm 68:14 scholion was – in its originality – a marginal scholion.[168]

4.1.13. Psalm 68:16-17

According to the Peshitta, Ps 68:16-17 states:

[16] ܗܘ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܛܘܪܐ ܕܒܫܢ ܛܘܪܐ ܪܗܛܐ.	[16] O, mountain of God. Mountains of Bashan, mountains of Gebanyam. O, mountains of Bashan
[17] ܠܡܐ ܣܒܪܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܛܘܪܐ ܪܗܛܐ ܒܛܘܪܐ ܕܓܒܢܝܡ.	[17] what (do) you want in the mountains of Gebanyam,
ܛܘܪܐ ܕܚܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܫܪܐ ܒܗ ܐܦ ܡܪܝܐ ܫܟܢ ܒܗ ܠܥܠܡ.	the mountain in which God chose to dwell? The Lord will dwell in it forever.

Isho‘dad’s commentary on these same verses[169] states:[170]

[165] The text, pages, and line numbers are taken from Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 101, *17*-102, *9*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from the preceding paragraph.

[166] The text and line numbers are taken from the edited text of Aḥob’s Psalm 68:14 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia, and the English translation of the Syriac is my own.

[167] Van den Eynde notes this parallel but does not develop its specifics. See idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 112, n. 15 and 113, n. 16.

[168] For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.1. The Original Form of Aḥob of Qatar’s Old Testament Exegetical Works.

[169] Van den Eynde lists this verse as Ps 68:16 only. See idem, *Psaumes* (text), 102, *26* and Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 113.

[170] The Syriac text of these verses, which is found in Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 102, *26*-103, *10*, states:

ܗܘ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܛܘܪܐ ܕܒܫܢ ܛܘܪܐ ܪܗܛܐ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܓܒܢܝܡ. ܛܘܪܐ ܕܒܫܢ ܛܘܪܐ ܪܗܛܐ [16]
ܠܡܐ ܣܒܪܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܛܘܪܐ ܪܗܛܐ ܒܛܘܪܐ ܕܓܒܢܝܡ. ܗܘ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܚܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܫܪܐ ܒܗ ܐܦ ܡܪܝܐ ܫܟܢ ܒܗ ܠܥܠܡ. [17]

That (phrase) [16] *mountains of Bashan* (ܛܘܪܐ ܕܒܫܢ), etc. By (mentioning) these mountains, which are close to the promised land, he speaks about the peoples surrounding them, who are strong and prosperous like the *mountains of Bashan* and *Gebanyam*, as if they madly envied this people who were recently planted among them and (who) prevailed over them and surpassed all of them by their prosperity. [17] *Why* did you meditate against this people, while wishing to eradicate them? *The mountain which (God) chose*, etc. Although you sought thousands of times to harm them, it is impossible that they should be hurt, in that God made them his home forever. In the Greek there is no [16] *Bashan* and no *Gebanyam* but "Fat mountains, curdled mountains" (ܛܘܪܐ ܕܓܠܝܒ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܟܬܝܪ ܘܕܫܡܝܢ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܓܒܢܝܡ ܐܠܐ ܕܚܠܒܐ),[171] that is to say, that (which) is full of milk (ܚܠܒܐ). Symmachus (says), "of fine nourishment." The Hebrew says, "Mountains of Bashan, [17] why (are) you arguing?" etc. (ܛܘܪܐ ܕܒܫܢ ܠܡܐ ܡܬܓܐܪܝܢ ܥܠ ܓܒܢܝܡ ܛܘܪܐ).[172]

The following tables present the phrases which Isho'dad alters or omits in his preservation of Aḥob's Psalm 68:16-17 scholion, with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian phrase. Each verse will be presented separately, and the order will follow Isho'dad's text:

Psalm 68:16

Isho'dad (103, *9* and *10*)[173]	Aḥob (*1* and *2*, *3-4*)[174]
"The Hebrew says" (ܐܝܬ…ܛܘܪܐ)	"But the Hebrew clearly says" (ܐܝܬ ܛܘܪܐ ܠܐ…ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܕܫܡܝܢ)
(Uses Similar Phraseology from Another Source)	"But the Greek says, "Fat mountains, mountains of curd" (ܛܘܪܐ ܕܓܠܝܒ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܕܐܡܪ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܚܠܒܐ)

Psalm 68:17

Isho'dad (103, *10*)	Aḥob (*2*)
"you arguing? etc." (ܡܬܓܐܪܝܢ ܥܠ)	"you arguing?" (ܥܠ)

ܒܗ ܓܒܢܝܡ [16] ܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܒܒܫܢ ܘܒܓܒܢܝܡ ܡܝܬܟܝ ܒܗ ܡܝܬ ܟܡܐ ܕܡܫܟܢ ܒܝ ܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܠ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܫܒܚ ܠܗ ܠܗ ܕܒܚܪ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܒܫܢ ܛܘܪܐ ܐܠܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܟܬܝܪ ܘܕܫܡܝܢ ܐܠܐ ܕܚܠܒܐ ܛܘܪܐ [17] ܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܣܘܡܟܘܣ ܒܚܠܒܐ ܘ ܡܬܓܐܪܝܢ ܐܡܠ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܕܐܡܪ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܒܫܢ ܛܘܪܐ ܐܠܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܓܒܢܝܡ ܡܬܓܐܪܝܢ ܥܠ ܕܐܝܬ.

[171] The Greek of this phrase, as used in LXX Ps 67:16, is ὄρος πῖον, ὄρος τετυρωμένον.

[172] The Hebrew of this phrase, as used in MT Ps 68:16-17, is הַר־בָּשָׁן הַר־גַּבְנֻנִּים 16 לָמָּה תְרַצַּדוּן. My translation is based on Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 113-114. I change all of the attached pronoun references to "people" (ܥܡܐ) – namely the Israelites – from the singular to the plural in this text, making it more consistent with English conventions of referencing a people group.

[173] The text, page, and line numbers (for both tables) are taken from Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 102, *26*-103, *10*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from the preceding paragraph.

[174] The text and line numbers (for both tables) are taken from the edited text of Aḥob's Psalm 68:16-17 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia, and the English translation of the Syriac is my own.

In his commentary on these verses, Isho'dad anonymously quotes part of Aḥob's Psalm 68:16-17 scholion, specifically his Hebrew reading,[175] arguably because it presents an alternative source for understanding the meaning of the Peshitta phrase "mountains of Bashan" (ܛܘܪܐ ܕܒܫܢ). He only changes minor aspects of Aḥob's scholion, such as removing the conjunction "but" (ܐܠܐ) and the adverb "clearly" (ܒܨܝܪܘܬܐ), as well as adding the adverb "etc." (ܟܕ ܐܚܪܢܐ). Isho'dad presents a Greek reading in this verse that is comparable to the parallel Greek reading in Aḥob's scholion; however, Isho'dad's wording arguably derives from Theodore, not from Aḥob, especially with its added reference to "milk" (ܚܠܒܐ) which is used by Theodore but not by Aḥob.[176] Isho'dad likely preserves a reworked citation of Theodore's Greek reading, rather than Aḥob's, in this verse, because Theodore (unlike Aḥob) offers some interpretive comments on this Greek phrase, a phrase which Isho'dad sought not only to present but also to briefly discuss. Furthermore, Isho'dad likely reverses the Aḥobian order (which is Hebrew reading then Greek reading) to Greek reading then Hebrew reading, arguably because he views the Greek reading as more interesting (and therefore likely more important) than the Hebrew reading, which Isho'dad uses as a corrective for the Peshitta "mountains of Bashan [17] what (do) you want" (ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܟܬܒ [17] ܛܘܪܐ ܕܒܫܢ).

4.1.14. Psalm 104:2-3

According to the Peshitta, Ps 104:2-3 states:

[2] ܠܒܫ ܢܗܝܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܣܘܬܐ.	[2] He was clothed (in) light as (with) a cloak;
ܡܫܚ ܫܡܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܟܪܟܐ.	he stretched out heaven like a curtain.
[3] ܟܣܐ ܥܠܝܬܗ ܒܡܝܐ.	[3] On the waters he constructed his habitations,[177]
ܘܥܠ ܥܢܢܐ ܫܐܡ ܪܟܒܗ.	and upon the clouds he placed his chariot
ܘܡܗܠܟ ܥܠ ܟܢܦܝ ܪܘܚܐ.	and he walks upon the wings of the wind.

Isho'dad's relevant commentary on these same verses[178] states:[179]

[175] Van den Eynde notes this parallel but does not develop its specifics. See idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 114, n. 23.

[176] Theodore's Greek text states, "Curdled mountain, fat mountain…which by nature does not revert to milk" (Ὄρος τετυρωμένον, ὄρος πῖον…ὅς μὴ πέφυκεν αὖθις ἀναλύειν εἰς γάλα), while Aḥob's scholion simply states "Fat mountains, mountains of curd" (ܛܘܪܐ ܕܚܠܒܐ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܒܫܢ ܛܘܪܐ). See Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Commentary on Psalms 1-81*, 874, *14*, *15-16* (text) and 875 (trans.) and Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia (specifically Aḥob's Psalm 68:16-17 scholion), *4-5*.

[177] The plural noun + 3ms suffix ܥܠܝܬܗ could also be translated as "his floors."

[178] Isho'dad comments on v. 2b and all of v. 3. However, for the purposes of this study, only his commentary on vv.2b-3a – "he stretched out heaven like a curtain. On the waters he constructed his habitations" (ܡܫܚ ܫܡܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܟܪܟܐ. ܟܣܐ ܥܠܝܬܗ ܒܡܝܐ) – is relevant.

[179] The Syriac text of this passage, which is found in Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 147, *8-21*, states:

(You) [2] *stretched out heaven*. [3] *On the waters he constructed his habitations*.[180] By this (phrase) he[181] declares the swiftness of the (Divine) Command in the creation of the (firmament) and not its form. [2] *Like* someone who stretches out the *curtain* of a tent, thus you *stretched out* the firmament with ease and swiftness. But concerning the swift (creation) of the world and the form it has through the Command of its Maker, let the little bubbles which are born suddenly from drops of rain instruct us. And let no one blame the smallness of the example, for behold! *The kingdom of heaven* is compared with *a mustard seed* and consider the properties of *mustard*.[182] But concerning the upper heaven it is said that *he stretched out heaven like a vault*[183] or (like) a canopy that is above the roof. But this is the habitation[184] of that one, just as the region above it will be in the place of the upper floors, in relation to this lower empty space. The Greek (says), [3] "You covered its floors with water,"[185] that is to say, you covered the place, which (is) above this visible heaven, with water.[186]

The following tables present the phrases which Isho'dad alters or omits in his preservation of Aḥob's Psalm 104:2-3 scholion, with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian phrase. Each verse will be presented separately, and the order will follow Isho'dad's text:

Psalm 104:2

Isho'dad (147, *8-11*, *11-15*, *15-17*, *17-19*)[187]	Aḥob (*1-5* and *8-10*, *5-8* and *10-13* and *14-21* and *24-25*, *21-23*)[188]
"By this (phrase) he declares the swiftness of the (Divine) Command in the creation of the (firmament) and not its form. [2] *Like* someone who stretches out the *curtain* of a tent, thus you *stretched out* the firmament with ease and swiftness" (ܗܕܐ ܒܗܠܝܢ ܡܕܒܪ ܒܫܘܪܥܝܬܐ ܕܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܪܩܝܥܐ ܘܠܐ ܒܨܘܪܬܗ ܐܠܐ ܕܒܣܝܪܘܬܐ ܘܒܫܘܪܥܝܬܐ ܪܡ ܠܪܩܝܥܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܦܪܣܐ ܕܡܫܟܢܐ)	"For, indeed, he says *(he stretched out heaven like) a curtain*, not (in order) to make known the form of its setting up, but he proclaims the swiftness of its construction…But he says this concerning (that) which is this visible firmament" (ܗܟܝ ܕܐܡܪ ܒ(ܐܦ ܗܘ ܕܦܪܣ ܫܡܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܕ)ܦܪܣܐ ܠܐ ܠܡܐ ܕܒܗ ܬܘܪܝܬܗ ܕܒܢܝܢܗ ܐܠܐ ܕܒܣܝܪܘܬܐ ܕܒܢܝܢܗ ܡܫܟܚ ...ܗܟܝ ܕܐܡܪ ܥܠ ܗܕܐ ܕܒܣܝܪܘܬܐ)
"But concerning the swift (creation) of the world and the form it has through the	(Does Not Use)

[2] ܒܗ ܗܠܝܢ. ܡܕܒܪ ܒܫܘܪܥܝܬܐ ܕܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܪܩܝܥܐ ܘܠܐ ܒܨܘܪܬܗ ܐܠܐ ܕܒܣܝܪܘܬܐ. [3] ܕܐܡܪ ܒܝܡܐ [2] ܕܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܪܩܝܥܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܦܪܣܐ ܕܡܫܟܢܐ ܒܗ ܠܡܐ ܕܒܣܝܪܘܬܐ ܘܒܫܘܪܥܝܬܐ ܪܡ ܠܪܩܝܥܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܒ(ܐܦ ܗܘ ܕܦܪܣ ܫܡܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܕ)ܦܪܣܐ ܠܐ ܠܡܐ ܕܒܗ ܬܘܪܝܬܗ ܕܒܢܝܢܗ ܐܠܐ ܕܒܣܝܪܘܬܐ ܕܒܢܝܢܗ ܡܫܟܚ ...ܗܟܝ ܕܐܡܪ ܥܠ ܗܕܐ ܕܒܣܝܪܘܬܐ) ܗܟܝ

Command of its Maker, let the little bubbles which are born suddenly from drops of rain instruct us. And let no one blame the smallness of the example, for behold! *The kingdom of heaven* is compared with *a mustard seed* and consider the properties of *mustard*” (ܟܬܒ ܐܠܐ ܐܦ ܡܢ ܩܛܝܪ ܡܛܪܐ ܡܬܚܕ̈ܬ ܒܦܬܐ ܠܢ ܢܠܡܕ̈ ܘܠܐ ܢܫܬܘܩ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܥܠ ܙܥܘܪ̈ܘܬ ܡܬܠܐ ܕܐ ܗܐ ܡܠܟܘܬ ܫܡܝܐ ܕܡܬܡܬܠ ܠܚܕܠ ܙܪܥܐ ܕܚܪܕܠ ܘܬܘ ܚܙܘ ܕܐ ܗܐ ܕܡܬܡܬܠ ܠܚܕܠ ܙܪܥܐ ܕܚܪܕܠ ܘܬܘ ܚܙܘ ܕܐ ܗܐ ܕܡܬܡܬܠ ܠܚܕܠ ܙܪܥܐ ܕܚܪܕܠ ܘܬܘ ܚܙܘ ܕܐ ܗܐ ܕܡܬܡܬܠ ܠܚܕܠ ܙܪܥܐ ܕܚܪܕܠ ܘܬܘ ܚܙܘ ܕܐ ܗܐ ܕܡܬܡܬܠ ܠܚܕܠ ܙܪܥܐ ܕܚܪܕܠ ܘܬܘ ܚܙܘ ܕܐ ܗܐ ܕܡܬܡܬܠ ܠܚܕܠ ܙܪܥܐ ܕܚܪܕܠ ܘܬܘ ܚܙܘ ܕܐ ܗܐ ܕܡܬܡܬܠ ܠܚܕܠ ܙܪܥܐ ܕܚܪܕܠ ܘܬܘ ܚܙܘ ܕܐ ܗܐ ܕܡܬܡܬܠ ܠܚܕܠ ܙܪܥܐ ܕܚܪܕܠ ܘܬܘ ܚܙܘ ܕܐ ܗܐ ܕܡܬܡܬܠ ܠܚܕܠ ܙܪܥܐ ܕܚܪܕܠ ܘܬܘ ܚܙܘ ܕܐ ܗܐ ܕܡܬܡܬܠ ܠܚܕܠ ܙܪܥܐ ܕܚܪܕܠ ܘܬܘ ܚܙܘ ܕܐ ܗܐ ܕܡܬܡܬܠ ܠܚܕܠ ܙܪܥܐ ܕܚܪܕܠ ܘܬܘ ܚܙܘ ܕܐ ܗܐ ܕܡܬܡܬܠ ܠܚܕܠ ܙܪܥܐ ܕܚܪܕܠ ܘܬܘ ܚܙܘ)	
“But concerning the upper heaven it is said that *he stretched out heaven like a vault* or (like) a canopy that is above the roof” (ܠܚ ܫܡܝ ܕܡܥܠ ܠܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܚܕ ܡܢ ܕܡܥܠ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܠܚܕ ܕܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܐ ܐܝܟ)	“For it is said, concerning that exalted (heaven), that *he stretched out heaven like a vault*, that is to say, like a dome…(It is) not possible that it would be in the shape of a vault or a tent, on account of the waters which (are) above its highest ridge…[3] not of that exalted heaven since that is the roof of the firmament, that which is like the earth (in relation) to the waters which (are) above it. He calls them ‘habitations,’ as also the structures which (are) above the earth (are) the habitations of the firmament, since the whole of its own roof…and (it is like) the shape of a canopy (which) surrounded all creation” (ܐܡܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܥܠ ܠܚ ܐܦ ܠܚ ܫܡܝ ܕܡܥܠ ܐܦ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܥܠ ܫܡܝ ܕܡܥܠ ...ܠܐ ܐܦ ܕܡܥܠ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܥܠ ܫܡܝ ܕܡܥܠ ܐܦ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܥܠ ܫܡܝ ܕܡܥܠ ܐܦ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܥܠ ܫܡܝ ܕܡܥܠ ܐܦ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܥܠ ܫܡܝ ܕܡܥܠ ܐܦ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܥܠ ...ܠܐ)
“But this is the habitation of that one, just as the region above it will be in the place of the upper floors, in relation to this lower empty space” (ܗܝܕܝܐ ܕܡܥܠ ܐ ܐܦ ܗܢܘ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܠܡܚܠ ܠܥܠ ܗܢܘ ܒܗܝ ܒܐܘܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܫܡ ܠܚܕ ܠܥܠ ܗܘ ܕܐ)	“[3] is the floor of the house which (is) under it. But that exalted heaven (is) much greater than this” (ܡܢ ܕ ,ܡܐܗܝܡܢ ܗܘ ܚܕ ,ܐ ܠܟ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܠܥܠ ܕܡܥܠ ܐܦ)

Psalm 104:3

Isho‘dad (147, *19-21*)	Aḥob (*25-35*)
“The Greek (says), ‘You covered its floors with water,’ that is to say, you covered the place, which (is) above this visible heaven, with water” (ܐ ,ܡܐܗܝܡܢ ܕܟܬ ܟܠܠ ܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܬܚܙܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܥܠ ܡܢ ܠܚܕ ܗܝܕܝܐ ܒܗܝ ܕܟܬ ,ܡܟܠܠ)	(Does Not Use)
(Omits)	“But this (visible firmament, which is) in a round shape, (is) circular in the middle and is level from every place, so that the waters,

	which are above, should not slip away or fall down from its highest ridge. An example to consider, which (is) like this, (is found) in the sanctuary of churches, which in the shape of the exalted heaven rises (over) the whole (church). And under its own dome a level roof rises and does not form a dome which is the ceiling for the floor (of the sanctuary)" (ܗܘ ܕܡ ܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܒܥܝܢ ܠܡܚܙܝ ܕܗܟܢܐ ܒܒܝܬ ܩܕܫܐ ܕܥܠ ܕܡܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܪܡܐ ܗܘ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܕܡܬܪܡܡ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܗܘ. ܘܬܚܘܗ ܒܟܦܬܗ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܪܡܡ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܟܦܬܐ

extant Psalm 104:2-3 scholion.

4.1.15. Psalm 105:19

According to the Peshitta, Ps 105:19 states:

ܥܕܡܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܡܠܬܗ.	until his word was loosed.[191]
ܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܒܩܪܬܗ.	The word of the Lord examined him.

Isho‘dad’s commentary on this same verse states:[192]

> That (phrase) *until his*[193] *word was loosed*, that is to say, (Joseph) was imprisoned *until* it pleased God to confer a release to his situation. Others (say), “*Until* the *word* of God *was verified* concerning him,[194] for (it is) not due to (Joseph’s) evil (that) he[195] punished him or turned away from him (ܐܘ ܫܒܩ ܡܢܗ ; ܕܠܐ ܠܒܝܫܬܗ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܗ), but on account of (it being) a trial.” The Greek (says), “Until his[196] word came to pass.”[197]

The following table presents the phrases which Isho‘dad alters or omits in his preservation of Aḥob’s Psalm 105:17-19 scholion, with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian phrase. The order will follow Isho‘dad’s text:

Isho‘dad (152, *23*)[198]	Aḥob (*1-2*, *2-6*)[199]
“or turned away” (ܐܘ ܫܒܩ)	“God…and turned away” (ܘܫܒܩ ܐܠܗܐ)
(Omits)	“that he might be [17] *sold*, [18] *and* he might be *bound* in slavery as *with shackles*. But [19] *the word of the Lord examined him*. But he says *his word* with regard to his purpose concerning him” (ܐܡܪ ܕܥܠ ܥܢܝܢܘܬܗ ܥܠ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܐܡܪ ܥܠ ܡܠܬܗ ; ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܒܩܪܬܗ. ܡܠܬܗ ܕܐܡܪ ; ܕܐܬܬܪ ܥܠ ܕܝܠܗ ; ܕܐܬܙܒܢ ; ܕܐܬܙܒܢ ; ܕܐܬܙܒܢ

While he does not refer to him by name, Isho'dad likely references Aḥob, specifically his Psalm 105:17-19 scholion, (along with, at least, one other anonymous author) by the cryptic term "others" (ܐܚܪܢ).[200] However, whereas Aḥob commented on vv. 17-19 of Ps 105, Isho'dad discusses v. 19 alone. Interestingly, Isho'dad only includes the near verbatim brief introductory summary section of this Aḥob scholion, rather than the specific part that focuses on v. 19. The simplest explanation as to why Isho'dad selected this section of Aḥob's Psalm 105:17-19 scholion for inclusion in his commentary is that he perceived it as being an authoritative alternative explanation for the Peshitta verb ܫܪܐ, which (as Isho'dad highlights) can mean both "was loosed" and "was verified." In a similar way, he likely disregards the rest of this Aḥob scholion, because it does not offer any insights on this particular Peshitta verb.

4.1.16. Psalm 110 Prologue

According to the Peshitta, Ps 110:1 states:

ܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ ܠܡܪܝ ܬܒ ܠܝܡܝܢܝ ܥܕܡܐ ܕܐܫܝܡ ܒܥܠܬܟ ܣܝܒܐ ܠܬܪܥܝܟ.	The Lord said to my Lord, "Sit at my right hand, until I should set your enemies (as) a footstool for your feet."

Isho'dad's Prologue to Ps 110 states:[201]

> But that this psalm was not spoken by David about Abraham, nor by the servant of Abraham, when he went to betroth Rebecca (ܕܩܢܝܐ ܠܪܒܩܐ ܠܒܪ ܕܐܕܘܢܗ ܡܪܗ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ ܡܛܠ ܕܡ), as it were, to Isaac, the son of his master,[202] as the Jews (ܝܗܘܕܝܐ) think. But (it was spoken) about Christ, our Lord, (which) is evident even from the beginning of the psalm. Since in the Hebrew language, there are four letters by which alone the name "God" and "Lord" are written (ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܐܪܒܥ ܐܬܘܬ ܕܒܗܢ ܠܒܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܡܪܝܐ ܘܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܡܢ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܡܪܝܐ ܒܣܡ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܠܐ ܒܗܢ ܐܬܘܬ ܟܬܝܒ ܗܘܐ ܗܪ ܗܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܘܠܡܪܝ ܟܬܝܒ ܒܗܢ ܐܬܘܬ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܗܘܐ ܒܠܫܢܐ ܕܐܒܪܝܐ ܐܝ ܡ ܕ ܢ), and if there is (someone who) is called "Lord" (ܡܪܝ) by human authority, (the name) is not written with these letters. But, here, (with regard to) *Lord* (ܡܪܝ) and (with regard to) *my Lord* (ܠܡܪܝ), the two (names) were written in the same way with these letters, that is to say (in Hebrew), *nwm 'dwny*

[200] Van den Eynde notes this parallel but does not develop its specifics. See idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 167, n. 4.

[201] The Syriac text of this passage, which is found in Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 157, *22*-158, *8*, states:

ܡܫܟܚܬ ܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܕܘܝܕ ܥܠ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܡܛܠ ܐܒܪܗܡ ܟܕ ܐܙܠ ܠܡܚܬܢ ܠܪܒܩܐ ܠܒܪ ܕܐܕܘܢܗ ܡܪܗ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ ܐܠܐ ܥܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܪܢ ܗܘ ܕܡܬܚܙܐ ܐܦ ܡܢ ܫܪܝܬ ܡܙܡܘܪܐ ܕܒܠܫܢܐ ܕܥܒܪܝܐ ܐܪܒܥ ܐܬܘܬ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܕܒܗܢ ܠܒܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܡܪܝܐ ܘܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܡܢ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܡܪܝܐ ܒܣܡ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܠܐ ܒܗܢ ܐܬܘܬ ܟܬܝܒ ܗܘܐ ܗܪ ܗܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܘܠܡܪܝ ܟܬܝܒ ܒܗܢ ܐܬܘܬ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܗܘܐ ܒܠܫܢܐ ܕܐܒܪܝܐ ܐܝ ܡ ܕ ܢ ܗ ܘ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܒ ܪ ܗ ܡ ܕ ܐ ܕ ܘ ܢ ܝ

l'dny šwb bymyn,[203] (as) an indication that the Man, who (is) from us, is also Lord and God, because of his union with the Word.[204] *God made him Lord and Christ, this (Jesus)*,[205] etc. And also by the words of our Lord and his apostles, which were spoken by him when he ascended to heaven.[206]

The following table presents the words and/or phrases which Isho'dad alters or omits in his preservation of Aḥob's Psalm 110 Prologue scholion, with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian word or phrase. The order will follow Isho'dad's text:

Isho'dad (157, *23*, *24*, *25*-158, *1*, *1-4*)[207]	Aḥob (*10-12*, *9* and *9*, *14-22*, *22-28*, *1-6*, *6-8*, *9* and *9-10*, *12-14*)[208]
"by the servant of Abraham, when he went to betroth Rebecca" (ܠܐܒ ܕ ܥܒܕܐ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ ܕܟ ܚܒܝܒ ܠܡܚܬܢܘ ܠܪܒܩܐ)	"in the persona of the servant of Abraham, when he went to betroth Rebecca" (ܟܡ ܕܐܒ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܡܚܬܢܘ ܠܪܒܩܐ ܀ ܕ ܚܒܝܒ ܕܟ ܕܐܒ ܕܥܒܕ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ ܕܟ ܚܒܝܒ ܠܡܚܬܢܘ ܠܪܒܩܐ)
"the Jews" (ܝܗܘܕܝܐ)	"the stupid Jews" (ܝܗܘܕܝܐ...ܛܦܫܝܐ)[209]
"from the beginning of the psalm. In the Hebrew language, there are four letters by which alone the name 'God' and 'Lord' are written" (ܒܫܘܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܙܡܘܪܐ ܒܠܫܢܐ ܕܥܒܪܝܐ ܐܪܒܥ ܐܬܘܝܬ ܕܒܗܢ ܠܚܘܕܗ ܐܬܟܬܒ ܫܡܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܡܪܝܐ)	"by the beginning of the psalm, in that it is confessed by them, that there are four letters in the alphabet of their own way of writing, by (which) the name of God alone is written by them, which is equally written as *the Lord* and as *my Lord*" (܀ ܒܫܘܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܙܡܘܪܐ ܒܡܕܡ ܕܐܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܐܪܒܥ ܐܬܘܝܬ ܒܟܬܒܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܒܗܢ ܐܬܟܬܒ ܫܡܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܠܚܘܕܗ ܕܗܝ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܟ ܐܬܟܬܒ ܒܗ ܐܦ ܡܪܝ ܘܡܪܝ ܀ ܘܐܦ ܒܗ ܐܬܟܬܒ ܒܗ ܐܦ ܒܗܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠ

regard) to *Lord* and (with regard) to *my Lord*, the two (names) were written in the same way with these letters" (ܒܗܝ ܒܢ ܐܪܥ ܕܒܟܬܒ ܐ ܀ ܐܝܟ ܐܝܒܟܬ ܐܬܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܐܝܟ ܠܡܪܝ ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܗ ܀ ܐܒܓܕ ܗܘܐ ܐܝܟ

4.1.17. Psalm 110:3

According to the Peshitta, Ps 110:3 states:

ܥܡܟ ܢܗܘܘܢ ܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܒܝܘܡ ܚܝܠܟ. ܒܗܘܪܝ ܩܕܫܐ ܡܢ ܪܚܡ ܫܚܪ. ܠܟ ܝܠܕܬܟ ܛܠ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ.	Your people will be glorious on the day of power, in the splendors of holiness from the womb. From the first, I begot you, a child.

Isho'dad's relevant commentary on this same verse[210] states:[211]

> *From the first, I begot you, a child*. He says (it) as if from the person of the Father to the Son, that is to say, God the Word is eternally generated from the Father, without beginning and (is) beyond time (ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܩܕܡ ܠܗ ܫܪܝܪܐ ܘܥܠ ܙܒܢܐ). For if there was something before him, that (phrase), *From the first*, would not have been said to him. And it resembles that (phrase), *I am the first, and I am the last*,[212] that is to say, without beginning and without end. And because these (ones) who are born among us strip off the youth in which they were born, and they grow old and became fathers of other (people), he called him a "*child*" in order to show that he does not age and is not changed (from) his being a Son, as we (do) (ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܐܦ ܪܫܝܢ ܘܫܝܢ ܘܚܕܬ ܠܒܪܘܬܗ ܕܝܠܕ ܒܬܪ ܝܘܡ ܘܒܬܪ ܫܢܝܢ ܘܐܬܐ ܠܗ ܠܡܗܘܝ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܘܐܒ ܠܐ ܐܬܚܠܦ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܗܘ ܒܪ ܐܠܐ ܒܫܒܒ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܘܐܒ ܠܐ ܐܬܚܠܦ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܗܘ ܒܪ), but he remains eternally in the youth and in the strength of his birth. Alternatively, this holy body, in which God the Word appeared at the end of days, was set apart and prepared for this glorious economy, even before the foundation of the world, as Peter said, *This (one)*[213] *who was set apart for this by the foreknowledge and by the will of God*,[214] etc. And also Paul: *The mystery which was hidden for ages* and generations *in God, who created every (thing)*.[215] And again: *We speak the wisdom of God in a mystery*, in *that it was hidden, and he set it apart before (the ages)*,[216] etc. (from) other (passages as well). For if his birth in a body had not been indicated and prepared beforetime and from eternity, from what (source) were David and the rest of the prophets able to prophesy concerning him generations beforehand? The Greek (says), "From the womb, before the morning star, I begot you" (ܡܢ ܪܚܡ ܩܕܡ ܠܐܝܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܡܪܝܡ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܒ ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܠܐ ܐܬܚܠܦ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܗܘ ܒܪ ܐܠܐ ܒܫܒܒ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܘܐܒ ܠܐ ܐܬܚܠܦ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܗܘ

ܥܠܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܒܛܢ),[217] that is to say, before the sun.[218]

The following table presents the phrases which Isho'dad alters or omits in his preservation of Aḥob's Psalm 110:3 scholion, with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian phrase. The order will follow Isho'dad's text:

Isho'dad (159, *24*, *29*, 160, *11* and *11*)[219]	Aḥob (*2-4*, *7-8*, *4* and *5*, *1-2*)[220]
"without beginning and (is) beyond time" (ܕܠܐ ܫܘܪܝܐ ܘܠܐ ܥܕ ܙܒܢܐ)	"he is eternally begotten before creatures and (is) beyond all moments and seconds (of time)" (ܕܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܘܥܠ ܟܠ ܙܒܢ̈ܐ ܘܫܥ̈ܝܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܕܝܠܕ̈ܘܬܐ)
"is changed" (ܕܡܫܬܚܠܦ)	"is changed from" (ܡܢ ܕܫܬܚܠܦ)
"The Greek (says)…before" (ܩܕܡ ܡܢ…ܕܐܡܪ)	"But the Greek says…and before" (ܘܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܩܕܡ ܡܢ…ܗܝ̈ܠܝ)
(Likely Omits)	"The Son is from everlasting and from eternity, and from the nature of the Father, and" (ܘܒܪܐ ܡܢ ܥܠܡ : ܘܡܢ ܥܠܡ ܘܡܢ ܟܝܢܐ ܕܐܒܐ ܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ)

In his commentary on Ps 110:3c, Isho'dad anonymously quotes several fragments of Aḥob's Psalm 110:3 scholion, likely because he views them as an authoritative explanation of v. 3c. The first fragment is quite reworked, and it is unclear why Isho'dad did not favor Aḥob's specific wording at this point. Isho'dad's second and third fragments are nearly identical to Aḥob's wording, aside from either the removal of select words or one variation in spelling. While Isho'dad does use phraseology regarding the Father and the Son in his commentary on v. 3c, his specific wording is noticeably different from that of Aḥob, suggesting that it is his own commentary and/or it is derived from other sources, such as a Syriac translation of Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho* (or an intermediary source that used this work's phraseology of Christ being begotten "before the sun"), Theodore (whose commentary on Ps 110(109) is

[217] The Greek of this phrase, as used in LXX Ps 109:3, is ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐξεγέννησά σε.

[218] My translation is based on Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), 174-175. Isho'dad identifies the morning star with the sun and suggests that Christ was begotten "before the sun." The notion that Christ existed before the sun appears to have originated with Justin Martyr. See CPG 1076, specifically Edgar J. Goodspeed (ed.), *Die ältesten Apologeten: Texte mit kurzen Einleitungen* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1914), 171, *12*. For an English translation, see St. Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, trans. Thomas B. Falls and ed. Michael Slusser (Selections from the Fathers of the Church 3; Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2003), 64.5.

[219] The text, pages, and line numbers are taken from Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (text), 159, *22*-160, *12*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from the preceding paragraph.

[220] The text and line numbers are taken from the edited text of Aḥob's Psalm 110:3 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia, and the English translation of the Syriac is my own.

lost), and/or one of the Church of the East Synods from the 5th to 7th centuries.[221] Overall, Isho'dad intentionally highlights the Christology of this verse to a greater degree than Aḥob does in his extant Psalm 110:3 scholion, which may reflect changing Christological views contemporaneous to Isho'dad in the 9th century that either did not exist or were unknown to Aḥob in the 6th century.[222]

4.2. The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's Exegesis in the *Anonymous Commentary*

In the following examination of Aḥob's scholia in the *Anonymous Commentary*,[223] there will be two sets of subsections. The first subsection – encompassing Gen 15:9-10; 50:10 – will contain four parts: 1) the Peshitta text of the verse(s) under discussion, with a facing English translation; 2) ms. Mosul 1's (hereafter shortened to O)[224] commentary on the same verse(s), in which an Aḥob scholion is preserved; 3) a presentation of the words and/or phrases that have been either altered or omitted from each Aḥob scholion in the text of O, with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian word or phrase; 4) the possible reason(s) why and/or the manner by which each Aḥob scholion is utilized in the text of O in these verses in Genesis.

The second subsection – encompassing Num 21:19; 1 Sam 8:1, 6; Bar Sira 14:12, 18 – will also contain four parts, with the third part consisting of three subparts: 1) the Peshitta text of the verse(s) under discussion, with a facing English translation; 2) if given, ms. (*olim*) Diyarbakir 22's (hereafter shortened to D)[225] commentary of the verse(s) under discussion,[226] in/near which an Aḥob scholion is preserved; 3a) an examination of the physical placement of each Aḥob scholion[227] within D, b) an analyzed discussion of each Aḥob scholion, and c) a

[221] For instance, see Sebastian P. Brock, "The Christology of the Church of the East in the Synods of the Fifth to Early Seventh Centuries: Preliminary Considerations and Materials," in George Dion Dragas (ed.), *Aksum-Thyateira: A Festschrift for Archbishop Methodios of Thyateira and Great Britain* (London: Thyateira House, 1985), 133-142.

[222] For an overview of Isho'dad's Christology and approach to Messianic psalms, see Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), xiv-xix.

[223] Following on discussions of the *AC* manuscripts presented in Chapter 2, the following sigla will be used in this section for their equivalent manuscripts: D = (*olim*) Diyarbakir 22; O = Mosul 1; K = Kirkuk 8; P = St. Petersburg (*olim* Diettrich 2); A = Chaldean Archdiocese of Erbil 21; V = Vat. Syr. 578; V^2 = Vat. Syr. 502; M^2 = Mingana Syr. 553.

[224] Mosul 1 (dated to 1701) is the earliest of the *AC* manuscripts to contain Genesis. See Chapter 2, Section 2.1. Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works in the Syriac Manuscript Tradition.

[225] Diyarbakir 22 (dated to the 11th-12th centuries) is the earliest of the *AC* manuscripts to contain Numbers, 1 Samuel, and Bar Sira. See Chapter 2, Section 2.1. Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works in the Syriac Manuscript Tradition.

[226] Concerning the three texts of Num 21:19; 1 Sam 8:1, 6; Bar Sira 14:12, 18, the *AC* only preserves a commentary on Num 21:19 and 1 Sam 8:6.

[227] In the *AC* manuscript tradition, the name of "Aḥob Qaṭraya" and/or "Aḥob" is inconsistently written in both red and black ink, though the use of the former is the preferred approach.

proposal for the intended meaning of each Aḥob scholion; 4) the possible reason(s) why and/or the manner by which a given Aḥob scholion is included in D's commentaries on Numbers, 1 Samuel, and Bar Sira.

4.2.1. Genesis 15:9-10

According to the Peshitta, Gen 15:9-10 states:

[9] ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܣܒ ܠܝ	[9] And he[228] said to him,[229] "Take
ܬܠܬܐ ܪܥܝܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܕܟܪ	a three-year-old calf and a three-year-old ram
ܬܠܬܐ ܥܙܐ.	and a three-year-old goat
ܘܬܪܐ ܘܓܘܙܠܐ ܨܥܝܪܐ.	and a turtle dove and a young dove."
[10] ܢܣܒ ܠܗ ܟܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܘܦܠܓ	[10] And he[230] took all these (animals),
ܐܡܨܥ. ܘܣܝܡ ܐܢܘܢ ܟܠ ܚܕ	and he divided them equally and he placed
ܡܘܠ ܚܒܪܗ ܣܝܡ.	(each) member opposite its fellow.
ܐܠܐ ܠܐ ܦܠܓ ܛܦܪܐ.	But he did not divide the birds.

O's relevant commentary[231] on these same verses states:[232]

> [10] But the *division* of the animals indicates the equality of their[233] adversities. But the undivided birds (indicate) their unanimity and unified sojourning in the wilderness (ܗܝܕܝܬܘܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܐܬܘ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ) and in the promised land…But by [9] the *calf*, he[234] indicates that generation, which first entered Egypt, which thus, as it were, possessed strength, in that it was not yet subdued, like a new calf, which has not yet been bound to the yoke. Again, by the *ram* he indicates the second generation, which although (a ram is) smaller and tamer than a calf, it is, however, better and stronger than a goat. But by the *goat* he indicates the harsh subjection of the third generation. By means of (the words) *three years old* and *three years old*, he indicates the three generations: *Levi*, and *Kohath*, and *Amram*.[235] [10] That (phrase) *he*[236] *divided them equally*, that is to say, the parts of each one of them (are) arranged one opposite the other, as if that (animal) is

[228] Namely, God.

[229] Namely, Abram.

[230] Namely, Abram.

[231] O briefly comments on Gen 15:9-10 and then continues on to other verses in Gen 15 and 16 before returning to Gen 15:9-10 a second (and final) time. Its first commentary on Gen 15:9 does not contain any Aḥob fragments.

[232] The Syriac text of these verses, which is found in O, ff. 17r, *24*-17v, *3*, *18*-18r, *19*, states:

ܗܝܕܝܬܘܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܐܬܘ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ: ܘܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܬܥܕܐ ܠܗ. ܐܒܠ ܕܒܗܡܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܚܒܫ ܥܕܝܢ ܠܢܝܪ ܡܫܬܥܒܕ ܐܝܟ ܥܓܠ ܚܕܬ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܩܛܪ ܥܠ ܢܝܪ. ܘܒܟܪ ܒܗ ܡܠܐ ܕܬܪܬܝܢ ܕܪܐ ܕܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܝܟ ܥܓܠ ܨܥܝܪ ܘܦܪܝܨ ܐܠܐ ܕܐܦ ܗܟܝ ܛܒ ܘܚܫܝܚ ܡܢ ܥܓܠ. ܘܒܥܬܘ ܒܗ ܡܠܐ ܕܬܠܝܬܝܐ ܕܪܐ ܕܐܬܝ ܡܢ ܥܙܐ. ܗܘ ܡܠܐ ܕܬܠܬ ܫܢܝ ܘܬܠܬ ܫܢܝ ܡܠܐ ܕܬܠܬ ܕܪܐ: ܠܘܝ ܘܩܗܬ ܘܥܡܪܡ. [10] ܕܦܠܓ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܫܡܥ ܐܝܟ ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܗܢܘܢ ܡܬܣܕܪ ܚܕ ܠܩܒܠ ܚܕ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢ ܗܘ ܥܠ ܐܚܝܗ ܡܣܬܟܠ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܬܦܠܓ

> alive. (There were) three rows, as the (Eucharistic) bread is arranged in the paten upon the altar. *He*[237] *placed (each) member opposite its fellow*, that (is) to say, (each) member which was cut off from its fellow, he placed it opposite that member from which it was cut off. By means of their division, he[238] makes known their[239] vexation and their misery, which they were going to endure in Egypt. But that (phrase) they were placed *opposite* each other (makes known) that, even while they were looking at each other, they were not able to help each his fellow. But (that phrase) *he*[240] *did not divide the birds* indicates their[241] unanimity and unified sojourning in the wilderness, for they were indeed going, somehow, to fly from Egypt.[242]

While it is not stated in the text of O, several subsequent scribes in the *AC* manuscript tradition attribute the second (and longer) portion of this text to Aḥob.[243] If this is accepted, it is important to establish the specific ways in which this text developed from its earliest attestation until O.

The following table presents the words and/or phrases which the text of O alters or omits in its preservation of Aḥob's Genesis 15:9-10 scholion (as found in *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*),[244] with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian word or phrase. Each verse (beginning with v. 9)[245] will be presented separately, and the order will follow the text of O:

Genesis 15:9 (2nd)

AC of O (17v, *19*, *22*, 18r, *2* and *3*)[246]	Aḥob (73, *26*, *28*, 74, *3* and *4*)[247]
"which first entered Egypt" (ܕܥܠܬ ܩܕܡܝܬ ܠܡܨܪܝܡ)	"which first entered Egypt" (ܕܥܠ ܩܕܡ ܠܡܨܪܝܡ)
"Again, by the *ram*" (ܒܗܕ ܟܐܦܐ)	"But, again, by the *ram*" (ܒܗܕ ܡܢ ܟܐܦܐ)
"By means of (the words) *three years old*…he indicates" (ܒܬ…ܡܫܡܥ ܗܘ)	"Therefore, in like manner, by means of (the words) three…he makes known" (ܟܕ ܗܟܢܐ…ܡܫܡܥ ܗܘ ܠܗ)

[237] Namely, Abram.
[238] Namely, Moses.
[239] Namely, the Israelites.
[240] Namely, Abram.
[241] Namely, the Israelites.
[242] Levene previously published this text, with an English translation. However, his edition was based on the most recent *AC* manuscript, namely M^2. See idem, *The Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis*, 3, 47, *15*-46, *6*, 88-89. My English translation differs in a number of places from his.
[243] See P, f. 23v, *9*; V^2, f. 21r, *11*; M^2, f. 12r, *15*.
[244] Cf. Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), xlii-xliii.
[245] While the *AC* preserves one Aḥobian phrase in its first brief commentary on Gen 15:10, its wording is identical to Aḥob and, so, will not be presented in a separate table, though the phrase is given in the *AC's* translation of this verse in the main text above.
[246] The text, folios, and line numbers (for both tables) are taken from O, ff. 17r, *24*-17v, *3*, *18*-18r, *19*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from the preceding paragraph.
[247] The text, pages, and line numbers (for both tables) are taken from Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (text), 73, *19*-74, *15*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from Chapter 3, Subsection 3.2.1. Genesis 15:9-10.

Genesis 15:10 (2nd)

AC of O (18r, *3* and *4-5* and *5*, *8*, *9*, *10*, *14-15*, *18*)	Aḥob (74, *5* and *5-6* and *6*, *8*, *9*, *9*, *12-13*, *15*)
“That (phrase)…that is to say, each one of them (are) arranged…as if” (ܗܠܝܢ ܕ…ܐܝܟ ܕܣܕܪܝܢ ܗܘ ܥܠ ܗܘ)	“But that (phrase)…that (is) to say, that…of each one of them are arranged…and as if” (ܐܝ ܕ…ܗܝ ܕܗܠܝܢ ܕܣܕܪܝܢ ܗܘ ܥܠ ܗܘ ܕ…ܗܝ ܕ)
“*He placed*” (ܐܡ)	“He places” (ܡܣܡ)
“(each) member” (ܐܒܪܐ)	“(each) member” (ܐܒܪܐ)
“that member” (ܗܘ ܐܒܪܐ)	“the member” (ܐܒܪܐ)
“even while they were looking at each other, they were not able to help” (ܐܦ ܡܛܠ ܕܚܕ ܒܚܕ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܐܦ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܐܦ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ)	“though they were looking at each other, none was able to help” (ܡܛܠ ܕܚܕ ܒܚܕ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܐܦ)
“somehow” (ܐܝܟ ܡܚܝ)	“somehow” (ܐܝ ܡܚܝ)

As can be seen from the tables above, a comparison of Aḥob’s Genesis 15:9-10 scholion in the text of O and *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* reveals that they are quite similar, which is likely due to the fact that the *AC on Genesis’* primary source in general is *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*.[248] Concerning this Aḥob scholion, the most noticeable divergence that the text of O makes from *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* is that it uses one Aḥobian phrase twice – namely, “their unanimity and unified sojourning in the wilderness” (ܚܕܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܐܒܗܬ ܚܕ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ) – in its first and second commentaries on v. 10. Aḥob’s Genesis 15:9-10 scholion is likely included in the text of O for three reasons: 1) it is found in *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*; 2) it was probably preserved in the same (or similar) form in D, which (though it is now lost) was likely the source from which this scholion was copied; 3) it was viewed as an authoritative explanation of Gen 15:9-10. While the text of O has been copied from one or more earlier sources, it remains unclear if O’s scribe, Homo, was aware that his slightly revised commentary on Gen 15:9-10 originated from Aḥob.

4.2.2. Genesis 50:10

According to the Peshitta, Gen 50:10 states:

ܘܐܬܘ ܥܕ ܓܘܪܢ ܐܛܕ ܕܥܠ ܝܪܕܢܐ. ܘܥܒܕܘ ܬܡܢ ܒܟܝܐ ܪܒܐ ܘܬܝܪܐ. ܘܥܒܕ ܠܐܒܝܗ ܐܒܠܐ ܫܒܥ ܝܘܡܝܢ.	And they[249] came to the threshing floors of Aṭar, which (are) beyond the Jordan. And they mourned there (with) a great and loud mourning. And he[250] made a lamentation for his father[251] (for) seven days.

[248] Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), liii.
[249] Namely, Joseph and a company of people, including his brothers and the elders of the land of Egypt.
[250] Namely, Joseph.
[251] Namely, Jacob.

O's commentary on this same verse states:[252]

> That (phrase) *they came to the threshing floors of Aṭar* (ܐܛܪ), *which (are) beyond the Jordan*, (is) because the ford of the Jordan is there to enter the land of Canaan. But *there they mourned*, (is) because that great encampment of animals and chariots and wagons was not able to cross over to the land of Canaan, (which) is full of mountains and hills. According to Aḥob, *the threshing floors of Aṭar*, the tomb (ܩܒܪܐ ܕܐܛܪ ܓܘܪܢ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܗ). But *Aṭar* was not a "tomb" in the Egyptian language (ܠܐ ܗܝ ܐܛܪ ܩܒܪܐ ܒܠܫܢ ܡܨܪܝܐ). But they were calling it "Aṭaṭ" (ܐܛܛ), that is to say, a bramble (ܣܢܐ), because there, while they mourned over Jacob, they formed a circle. And there is there a spring of sweet water, and to this day there is a large bramble there, that which is called "Aṭaṭ" in the Canaanite language (ܒܠܫܢ ܟܢܥܢܝܐ), so that because of it the place is called "Aṭaṭ." And (this place) is four milestones distant from Jericho and two milestones from the Jordan.[253]

The following table presents the phrases which the text of O alters or omits in its preservation of Aḥob's Genesis 50:10 scholion[254] (as found in *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*),[255] with the facing, equivalent Aḥobian phrase. The order will follow the text of O:

AC of O (47v, *16*, *16-17*)[256]	Aḥob (128, *17*, *15*, *15-16*)[257]
"According to Aḥob, *the threshing floors of Aṭar*, the tomb" (ܩܒܪܐ ܕܐܛܪ ܓܘܪܢ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܗ)	"*The threshing floors* of the tomb" (ܓܘܪܢ ܩܒܪܐ)
"But *Aṭar* was not 'a tomb" in the Egyptian language" (ܠܐ ܗܝ ܐܛܪ ܩܒܪܐ ܒܠܫܢ ܡܨܪܝܐ)	"*Aṭar* in the Egyptian language (is) a tomb" (ܩܒܪܐ ܗܘ ܒܠܫܢ ܡܨܪܝܐ ܐܛܪ)
(Omits)	"He calls (Joseph's) coffin or casket a '*dufnā*'" (ܕܦܢܐ ܩܪܐ ܠܐܪܘܢܐ ܕܓܡܝܪ)

[252] The Syriac text of this verse (including its rubricated attribution), which is found in O, f. 47v, *10-24*, states:
ܘܥܒܪܘ ܥܡ ܟܦܐ ܕܝܪܕܢ ܕܐܬܘ ܠܚܨܠ ܕܓܪܢ ܐܛܪ ܕܥܒܪ ܝܪܕܢ ܗܘ ܕܥܒܪ ܝܪܕܢ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܐܪܥ ܟܢܥܢ ܘܥܠ ܕܬܡܢ ܒܟܘ ܗܘ ܕܥܠ ܓܡܠܐ ܘܪܟܒܐ ܘܥܓܠܐ ܠܐ ܟܠ ܠܡܥܒܪ ܠܐܪܥ ܟܢܥܢ ܕܡܠܝܐ ܛܘܪܐ ܘܓܒܥܐ ܘܗܘ ܐܛܪ ܩܒܪܐ ܒܠܫܢ ܡܨܪܝܐ ܠܐ ܗܘ ܐܛܪ ܩܒܪܐ ܐܠܐ ܣܢܐ ܘܗܘ ܩܪܝ ܐܛܛ ܕܗܘ ܒܠܫܢ ܟܢܥܢܝܐ ܕܒܗ ܩܪܝ ܠܐܬܪܐ ܐܛܛ ܕܗܘ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܗ ܐܬܩܪܝ ܐܬܪܐ ܐܛܛ ܘܥܠ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܥܝܢ ܡܝ ܚܝܐ ܘܥܕ ܝܘܡܢܐ ܗܢܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܣܢܐ ܪܒܐ ܗܘ ܕܩܪܝ ܐܛܛ

For its commentary on Gen 50:10, the text of O reproduces, with nearly verbatim wording, Isho'dad's commentary on the same verse, meaning that, like Isho'dad, it seeks to better understand the meaning of the Peshitta phrase "the threshing floors of Aṭar" (ܐܬܪ ܓܘܪܢ). The text of O also follows in Isho'dad's footsteps by disagreeing with the notion that Aṭar should be equated with a "tomb" (ܩܒܪܐ) and by insisting that the word is better understood as "Aṭaṭ" (ܐܛܪ), which is pronounced as such "in the Canaanite language" (ܠܫܢܐ ܟܢܥܢܝܐ) and means "bramble" (ܣܢܐ).[258] The text of O even agrees with Isho'dad in its omission of Aḥob's dufnā phrase. The most notable place where the text of O diverges from Isho'dad (in the context of their respective commentaries on Gen 50:10) is that it includes two Aḥob fragments – rather than Isho'dad's lone Aḥob fragment. This development likely reflects a dependency on *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* at this point, in which (as the table above reveals) two similar Aḥob fragments are found. It is also possible that both fragments – in either the same or similar format – were found in D's commentary on Gen 50:10; however, since it is now lost, this unfortunately cannot be verified. By attributing "the *threshing floors of Aṭar*, the tomb" (ܗ ܩܒܪܐ ܐܬܪ ܓܘܪܢ) to Aḥob, the text of O (or the text of D) establishes the authoritative nature of Aḥob's Genesis 50:10 scholion with the intention of disputing it, beginning with the phrase "But *Aṭar* was not a 'tomb' in the Egyptian language" (ܠܫܢܐ ܡܨܪܝܐ ܠܐ ܩܒܪܐ ܐܬܪ ܗܘ̇). It is worth noting that O's development of Isho'dad, concerning Aḥob's Genesis 50:10 scholion, is the only known instance of an Aḥob scholion being used in a tertiary manner (i.e. beginning with *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*, then Isho'dad, and then the *AC*) in the East Syriac exegetical tradition.

4.2.3. Numbers 21:19

According to the Peshitta, Num 21:19 states:

ܘܡܢ ܡܬܬܢܐ ܠܢܚܠܝܠ.	And from Mattanah to Nahaliel,
ܘܡܢ ܢܚܠܝܠ ܠܒܡܘܬ.	And from Nahaliel to Bamoth.

[258] It is unclear if Homo, the scribe of O, was aware that the *AC's* details concerning Aṭar, such as its alternate name of "Aṭaṭ" and its distance from Jericho and the Jordan river, originated from Epiphanius of Salamis' *On Weights and Measures* and not from Isho'dad. For a further discussion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.1.2. Genesis 50:10.

D's commentary[259] on this verse states:[260]

> *And from Mattanah to Nahaliel*. By means of these (words) he makes known that from place to place it[261] was being carried by the rulers of the people, according to the tradition of the teachers. So that from this place to such and such a place one of the nobles carries it,[262] together with those who (were) under him. And in the same way, from that place another carries and brings it[263] to that (next) place. But Rabban (says) *Mattanah* and *Nahaliel* are places in which a full spring of water was flowing and being generated, which was flowing from that mountain. According to Aḥob, he[264] calls them *waters* of *the stone* (ܡܝ ܟܐܦܐ),[265] that is to say, *it will give its waters*.[266] That is to say, because they would go out from it, like that (passage), *he made* waters *come out from the rock*.[267] And like that (passage) *about Elisha*, who healed the bitter *waters* with salt,[268] so also here. Although nothing was visible from the outside, that stone alone was (ever) seen to spout and pour forth water. For it is evident that these waters are not a new creation (ܠܐ ܚܕܬܐ ܗܢܘ ܡܝ ܡܠܝ [ܡܢ ܒܪܝܬܐ] ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܡܝ ܡܠܝ), but they are of the same waters (created by God). Yet angelic activity served to produce them, since they work in the air and produce rain.[269] Although the thing which was there was a miracle and should rightly be attributed to the power of its performer.[270] Two times, then, Moses broke through the stone, as we learn from Scripture: once, in (the

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[259] While the text largely relies on D, select letters, words and phrases have been reconstructed from K, which are shown in the bracketed sections of the Syriac text below. (O, rather than K, would have been preferred for this reconstruction; however, my copy of O's commentary on Num 21:19 is severely damaged. For a further discussion, see Chapter 2, Section 2.1. Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works in the Syriac Manuscript Tradition, specifically the footnotes connected to O in the *AC* subsection.)

[260] The Syriac text of this verse, which is found in D, ff. 53r, *33*-53v, *14* and K, ff. 158v, *6*-159r, *16*, states:

ܡܬܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܡܟܐ ܠܡܟܐ ܡܫܬܠܚ ܡܝ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܡܟܐ ܠܡܟܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬ

> wilderness of) Sin,[271] and the second, therefore, here in Zalmonah.[272] However, there are (those) who have said that (it was) not the same stone (which) Moses broke through but another (one), as if the waters (alone) were traveling around with them in the wilderness from the breach of that first (stone). But because they sinned, the flow of water failed and dried up.[273]

Aḥob's Numbers 21:19 scholion[274] is situated between a comment attributed to Rabban (arguably Rabban Gabriel Qaṭraya)[275] and an anonymous comment, possibly from the unknown author of the *AC* himself. In his scholion, Aḥob is trying to understand how water can come from a "stone" (ܟܐܦܐ), since stones do not naturally produce water. Though he only hints at it, Aḥob seems to equate the "well" (ܒܐܪ) from Num 21:16[276] with a stone that could be carried from place to place.[277] In order to understand how water could come out of a stone, he turns to other, similar Old Testament passages where human agents (i.e. Moses and Elisha) either produce water from a rock or restore undrinkable water to its proper state. Aḥob likely uses these parallels to emphasize two aspects of "the waters of the stone" (ܡܝܐ ܕܟܐܦܐ):[278] 1) they were miraculous, in that they came from a stone, and 2) they came from the waters of the existing created order, which he highlights by commenting on the stone's visibility.

Like Aḥob, D is also interested in better understanding this stone that was a portable well. Its use of Aḥob's scholion in this verse is somewhat striking, given the fact that it does not comment on any part of Num 21:19. For this reason, it is likely that Aḥob's scholion was originally added as a marginal note but was inserted into the text by a later scribe.[279] While it is unclear if the unknown scribe of D included this scholion in the text or copied it as such from

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[271] See Num 20:1, 11.

[272] See Exod 17:1-7. In Exod 17:1, this place is called "Rephidim" (ܪܦܝܕܝܡ). It is unclear why Zalmonah is equated with Rephidim, the former of which is only mentioned as a stopping place in Num 33:41-42. Isho'dad also refers to Zalmonah in his commentary on Exod 17:6, which confused Van den Eynde. See idem, *Exode-Deutéronome* (text), 34, *27* and Van den Eynde, *Exode-Deutéronome* (trans.), 46 and n. 4.

[273] This translation is my own.

[274] Aḥob's Numbers 21:19 scholion states, "He calls them 'the waters of the stone,' that is to say, *it will give its waters*. That is to say, because they would go out from it, like that (passage), 'he made waters come out from the rock' and like that of Elisha who healed the bitter water(s) with salt. Thus, also here. Although nothing was visible from the outside, that stone alone was (ever) seen to spout and pour forth water." For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.3. Numbers Scholia. Following D, all subsequent scribes of extant/accessible *AC* manuscripts also credit this portion of their Num 21:19 commentary to Aḥob. See CPB 00445 (= O), f. 377v, *19*; K, f. 158v, *16*; P, f. 118v, *10*; A, f. 139r, *6*; V, f. 53r, *5*; V^2, f. 143r, *1*; M^2, f. 89v, *10*.

[275] For a further discussion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.3.1. Qaṭraya Scholia.

[276] Num 21:16 states, "And there is (the place of) Beer, that is the well which the Lord said to Moses, 'Gather the people to me, and I will give them water' (ܘܡܢ ܬܡ ܒܐܪ ܗܝ ܒܐܪ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ ܠܡܘܫܐ ܟܢܫ ܠܝ ܠܥܡܐ ܘܐܬܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܝ̈ܐ).

[277] For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.3.1. Numbers 21:19.

[278] For a discussion of the origin of this phrase, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.3. Numbers Scholia.

[279] This Aḥob scholion may have originally been included in the *AC* as a marginal note connected to Num 20:8, upon which it comments. However, since it is now attached to Num 21:19, it should primarily be understood in the context of Num 21:19, rather than that of Num 20:8.

his exemplar, D likely uses this Aḥob scholion in v. 19 because it is understood as an authoritative description of "the waters of the stone" that moved with the Israelites, and v. 19 is the first verse describing the Israelites' movements after God provided this water. D has likely reworked (at least) aspects of this Aḥob scholion, and that which is extant may reflect only a portion of its original length; however, since D preserves the earliest witness of this Aḥob scholion, this cannot be verified. While it does not explicitly state where Aḥob's scholion ends in this verse, D likely intends that the sentence "For it is evident that these waters are not a new creation" (ܠܐ ܚܕܬܐ ܕܡ̈ܝܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܗ̈ܘ [ܕܗ̈ܘܝܢ] ܕܠܐ ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܗܝ) begins a new section, which functions as a broad commentary on the provenance of the water at Beer, as mentioned in Num 21:16.

4.2.4. 1 Samuel 8:1, 6

According to the Peshitta, 1 Sam 8:1, 6 states:

[1] ܘܗܘܐ ܟܕ ܒܛ ܫܡ̈ܘܐܝܠ ܕܣܒ ܒ̈ܝܘܡ̈ܝܐ.	[1] And it came to pass that when Samuel grew old,
ܫܕܐ ܒ̈ܢܘܗܝ ܕ̈ܕ̈ܝܢܐ ܠܝܫ̈ܪܝܠ.	he made his sons judges over Israel.
[6] ܘܒܥܝܢ ܒ̈ܝܫ̈ܐ ܗܘ ܡܠܬܐ	[6] But the word was evil
ܒܥ̈ܝܢܝ ܫ̈ܡ̈ܘܐܝܠ.	in the eyes of Samuel,
ܕܐ̈ܡ̈ܪܝ ܠܗ ܗܒ ܠܢ ܡܠܟ ܕ̈ܢܕ̈ܝܢ ܠܢ	when they said to him, "Give us a king to judge us,
ܟܠ ܥ̈ܡ̈ܡ̈ܐ.	like all the nations."
ܘܨ̈ܠܝ ܫ̈ܡ̈ܘܐܝܠ ܩ̈ܕ̈ܡ ܡܪܝܐ.	And Samuel prayed before the Lord.

D's commentary on v. 6[280] states:[281]

> (The fact) that Samuel was grieved on account of that which he heard – that they[282] had requested a king for themselves – (was) not because of himself, that he would, as it were, be reduced in his honor, but because he was persuaded that it (was) a great change to the government of Israel, due to the custom of the nations. On account of this, he was distressed by them. For the nations, this is lawful, that they should be governed, as it seems, by a king. But for the Israelites, it was right that they should live according to the divine laws, and not according to the command of a king. Therefore, (God) commanded (Samuel) that he should make a king for them,[283] (and) since he[284] was

[280] D does not preserve a commentary on 1 Sam 8:1.

[281] Namely, Samuel. The Syriac text of this verse, which is found in D, f. 83v, *3-18*, states:
ܟ̈ܘܡ ܚܫܒ̈ܬ ܠܗ ܠܗ. ܡ̈ܝܢ ܕܡ ܒ̈ܝ ܒ̈ܟ̈ܝܢ ܒ̈ܟ̈ܪ̈ܝ. ܫ̈ܡ̈ܘܐܝܠ ܠ. ܟܠ ܠ̈ܥ̈ܡ̈ܐ ܕ̈ܢ̈ܕ̈ܝ ܐ̈ܡ̈ܪ̈ܝ ܐ̈ܢ ܠ ܠ̈ܫ̈ܪ̈ܝܐ ܒ̈ܝ̈ܪ̈ܝ ܐ̈ܢ ܟ̈ܘ ܫ̈ܡ̈ܘ[ܐ]ܝܠ ܐ̈ܦ ܒ̈ܢ̈ܘ ܟ̈ܕ̈ܝ ܒ̈ܟ̈ܪ̈ܝ ܠ̈ܫ̈ܪ̈ܝ ܒ̈ܝ̈ܪ̈ܝ ܠ̈ܫ̈ܪ̈ܝ ܠ̈ܫ̈ܪ̈ܝ ܠ̈ܫ

> able to say, "Do not give them (a king)," it was not (commanded) rashly, but because he[285] was familiar with their impudence. (For) if Samuel should not have given them a king, in their audacity they would have raised a king for themselves, and by this cause they would have been distanced from God, as happened in the time of Jeroboam.[286] (God) reckoned that it was advantageous that a king should be given to them by Samuel, so that both the king and they[287] should be put to shame by him.[288] But here God found fault (with) them,[289] because they requested a king for themselves, even though in Deuteronomy he[290] gave permission that they should have (a king).[291] This is the reason: because when they possessed a man such as Samuel (as) a leader, they rejected him and sought a king for themselves. Although they seem (to have been) most obedient and attentive to Eli and his idle sons,[292] they were disobedient to the leadership of this spirit-filled man.[293]

Aḥob's 1 Samuel 8:1, 6 scholion[294] is written in the lower margins of D, ff. 83v-84r, and it is not visibly connected to any word or phrase in D's parallel commentary on v. 6. In his scholion, Aḥob summarizes certain key details of 1 Sam 8, such as Samuel's appointment of his sons to be judges over the Israelites (v. 1) and the Israelites' request – in response to the wickedness of Samuel's sons – to have a king (vv. 3-5). Aḥob then highlights Samuel's response to the Israelites' petition for a king: "he was grieved" (ܥܠ ܚܙܝܗ) and "prayed before the Lord" (ܩܕܡ ܡܪܝܐ ܨܠܝ), the latter of which is a quotation of v. 6. While it abruptly ends at this point, Aḥob likely intends his scholion to emphasize two things concerning this text: 1) the Israelites were foolish to ask for a human king and 2) Samuel was a righteous leader, even though his sons were wicked.

While its commentary on 1 Sam 8:6 above shows that D is also interested in Samuel's response to the Israelites' request for a king, its unknown scribe was either unaware of Aḥob's 1 Samuel 8:1, 6 scholion or he disregarded it, the latter of which would explain why he includes Isho'dad's critique of this Aḥob scholion (albeit in an anonymized, reworked form) in the outer

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[285] Namely, God.
[286] Cf. 2 Kgs 17:21-22.
[287] Namely, the Israelites.
[288] Namely, the king.
[289] Namely, the Israelites.
[290] Namely, God.
[291] Cf. Deut 17:14-15.
[292] Cf. 1 Sam 2:12.
[293] This translation is my own.
[294] Aḥob's 1 Samuel 8:1, 6 scholion states, "And after other things he discusses the evil way of life of the sons of Samuel, these whom Samuel appointed (as) [8:1] *judges over Israel*, when he reached old age, so that, due to the greatness of their iniquity, the people should be compelled to ask that they should have a king. (On account of) this – when [6] *Samuel* heard that they had asked to have *a king* for themselves – he was grieved, *and* therefore he *prayed before the Lord*." For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.5. 1 Samuel Scholion.

margin of D, f. 83v.[295] This Aḥob scholion was arguably added to D by a later, unknown scribe,[296] who was either writing quickly or perhaps was not a very skilled writer. Either way, there are three reasons why it can be known that this Aḥob scholion was written subsequent to the main text: 1) it was written in a different hand than the main text and primary marginal notes in frames;[297] 2) it was introduced with "According to Aḥob Qaṭraya" (ܟܬܝܦ ܩܛܪܝܐ);[298] 3) it was written (with frames) to largely fit around a primary marginal note in frames in the lower margin of D, f. 83v. This later scribe likely included this Aḥob scholion for three reasons: 1) it provides background information for understanding the particulars of v. 6; 2) it, in part, fills a gap where the *AC* manuscript tradition was silent; 3) it offers a counter-corrective to Isho'dad's critique of this Aḥob scholion. Though it is unlikely that Aḥob's 1 Samuel 8:1, 6 scholion has been reworked, it is possible that it was once longer and, perhaps, summarized more details found in 1 Sam 8. Nevertheless, (if accepted) it seems that the source used by this later, unknown scribe contained only what he transcribed onto D, suggesting that this Aḥob scholion had been shortened at some prior time.

4.2.5. Bar Sira 14:12, 18

According to the Peshitta, Bar Sira 14:12, 18 states:[299]

[12] ܐܝܟ ܕܬܕܟܪ ܕܥܕܡ ܠܐ	[12] Remember that until now
ܚܙܝܬ ܠܟ ܡܘܬܐ.	you have not seen death,
ܘܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܫܐܘܠ	and the decree of Sheol
ܠܐ ܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܟ.	has not been shown to you.
[18] ܐܝܟ ܥܠܐ ܕܐܝܠܢܐ ܗܠܝܢ	[18] Like the leaves of the trees,
ܕܢܦܠ ܘܢܦܪܚ ܗܠܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ.	for these fall, and these spring up,
ܗܟܢܐ ܕܪܐ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ	so are the generations
ܕܒܣܪܐ ܘܕܡܐ.	of flesh and blood:
ܚܕ ܕܪ ܡܝܬ	one generation dies
ܘܐܚܪܢ ܐܬܝܠܕ.	and another is born.

[295] Isho'dad's commentary – the English translation of which is taken from Chapter 4, Subsection 4.1.3. 1 Samuel 8:1, 6 – states: "For that (comment) that (it was) because of the imprudence of the sons of Samuel (that) the people were moved to ask (for) a king is casually set (forth), like others which (are) like this. For they were not evil (people), like the sons of Eli or even Saul, (who was) two years (into his reign when) he became corrupt. Therefore, for this (to occur), it is (divine) providence, which accomplishes everything" (ܗܕܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܡܢ ܛܦܫܘܬܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܐܬܝܫܘ ܐܢܫܐ ܠܡܫܐܠ ܡܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܕܕܡܝܢ ܠܗܠܝܢ. ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܒܝܫܐ ܗܘܘ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܒܪ ܫܢܬ ܟܕ ܡܠܟ ܐܬܚܒܠ. ܗܕܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܢ ܛܦܫܘܬܐ ܕܡܬܒܨܥ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ).

[296] The later, unknown scribe likely places this Aḥob scholion in the lower margins of D, ff. 83v-84r, because there was more space there than at the top or side margins of these same pages.

[297] Nearly every page of D has marginal notes, sometimes surrounding three of the four sides of the main text. These marginal notes are typically written within frames, many of which are given additional jagged edges on opposite ends. These marginal notes appear to have been written by the same unknown scribe who produced the main text.

[298] Aḥob's name is presented on D, f. 53v, *1* (in Num 21:19) as "According to Aḥob" (ܟܬܝܦ).

[299] Calduch-Benages, Ferrer, and Liesen, *La Sabiduría del Escriba / Wisdom of the Scribe*, 118, 120-121. My English translation differs in several places from theirs.

D does not preserve a commentary on Bar Sira 14:12, 18.[300]

Aḥob's Bar Sira 14:12, 18 scholion[301] is written in the upper and outside margins of D, f. 133r, and it is not visibly connected to any part of D's Bar Sira commentary. In his scholion, Aḥob presents a commentary on Bar Sira 14:12, 18. In v. 12, he quotes the entirety of the verse (which is the only instance in his extant scholia where he does so), and then he focuses on the reality and inevitability of Sheol. He speaks from the perspective of Bar Sira to his son, who is likely understood to be a young man, on account of the fact that Aḥob (via the voice of Bar Sira) explains to his son what Sheol is: "the place of the dead" (ܐܬܪ ܡܝܬܐ). Just as his son has not yet tasted death, so he has also not yet seen Sheol. Nevertheless, Aḥob (via the voice of Bar Sira) assures his son that he will both die and go to "the place of the dead," because "it is of course decreed concerning you" (ܠܟ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬ ܒܪ ܓܙܪ ܥܠ). Aḥob likely intends his scholion to emphasize the reality of death for all people, after which all proceed to judgment.

In his commentary on v. 18, Aḥob quotes a large portion of the verse and then presents an extended metaphor, comparing human life to leaves as they blossom. The verbs that he uses – which are taken from the verse itself – are also consistent with leaf imagery. For instance, while discussing how "people are not distinguished from the leaves of trees" (ܠܐ ܡܬܦܠܓ ܒܝܢ ܥܠܐ ܕܐܝܠܢ ܕܒܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܢܨܡܚ), Aḥob describes them as "they have sprung up" (ܢܨܡܚ) and "have fallen" (ܢܦܠ). Aḥob concludes by personalizing the "distinction" (ܦܠܓܘܬܐ) between human life and leaves: leaves simply die "without judgement" (ܕܝܢ ܠܐ); however, "after our death…we go to judgement" (ܕܝܢ ܕܢ ܐܬܐ ... ܠܕܝܢ ܢܐܙܠ).

A later, unknown scribe added Aḥob's Bar Sira 14:12, 18 scholion to D, and based on the orthography and manner of inclusion, he is arguably the same scribe who also added Aḥob's 1 Samuel 8:1, 6 scholion. For instance, his writing is clearly different than that of the main text of D, and he fits this Aḥob scholion (without frames) around both the main text and the primary marginal notes in frames on D, f. 133r. The scribe who included this Aḥob scholion likely did

[300] D, f. 133r, which contains the entirety of its commentary on Bar Sira 14, focuses only vv. 1, 3, 10, 19, 27. V, which is arguably a copy of D, preserves the same commentary on the same verses of Bar Sira 14, though it does not contain the marginal notes (including Aḥob's Bar Sira 14:12, 18 scholion) which are found in D. See V, ff. 107v, *23*-108r, *7*; Calduch-Benages, Ferrer, and Liesen, *La Sabiduría del Escriba / Wisdom of the Scribe*, 116, 118-119, 120-121; Van Lantschoot, *Inventaire des manuscrits syriaques des fonds Vatican*, 106-107.

[301] Aḥob's Bar Sira 14:12, 18 scholion states, "[14:12] And *remember that until now you have not seen death, and the decree of Sheol has not been shown to you*,[301] so that we might say, that even though you have not yet seen death, and Sheol – that is, the place of the dead – you have not seen, yet it is of course decreed concerning you that you will die and you will go to the place of the dead. [18] *Like the leaves of trees, for these fall, and these spring up, so are the generations of flesh and blood*. (For) people are not distinguished from the leaves of trees, these who always – when they have sprung up – have fallen. And even if the (common) nature with trees is retained, yet also our distinction is this, that (we are) not, like the leaves, without judgement after our death, but we go to judgement." For the Syriac text of this scholion, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.10. Bar Sira Scholion.

so for two reasons: 1) he found it interesting and 2) he noted that the main text of Bar Sira did not discuss these particular verses, so he was seeking to expand the *AC* manuscript tradition at this point.[302]

4.3. The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's Exegesis in Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*

In the following examination of Aḥob's scholia in Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon,*[303] each subsection will contain four parts, with the third part consisting of two subparts: 1) if known, the Peshitta text on which the Aḥob scholion under discussion focuses, with a facing English translation; 2) the *Lexicon's* (relevant) definition(s) surrounding the same Aḥob scholion in a given entry; 3a) an examination of the physical placement of each Aḥob scholion within the *Lexicon* and b) an analyzed discussion of each Aḥob scholion;[304] 4) the possible reason(s) why Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) included a given Aḥob scholion in particular entries of the *Lexicon*.[305]

[302] Somewhat interestingly, the *AC* does not use any of the known Aḥob Psalms scholia in its brief *Commentary on Psalms* (D, ff. 159v, *4*-165r, *34*), even though this text relies, in part, on Isho'dad's *Commentary on Psalms*. Van den Eynde conducted a preliminary examination of the contents of this (yet) unedited text and noted that it is largely composed of roughly two hundred and fifty "brief scholia, which are most often explanations of words." See idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), xxxvii. Given that one of the most notable things about Aḥob's scholia is their explanations of difficult biblical words and/or phrases, the *AC's* lack of dependence upon Aḥob's Psalm scholia in its *Commentary on Psalms* suggests one of two approaches: 1) the unknown scribe of D did not have access to the originally larger collection of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works, or 2) he had access to the originally larger collection of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works but did not chose to include any of Aḥob's Psalm scholia in the *AC on Psalms*, which (given Aḥob's influence on Psalms interpretation in the East Syriac exegetical tradition) may imply that this *Commentary on Psalms* was primarily written for the purpose of completing the *AC* on the whole Old Testament, rather than it being an encyclopedic compilation of earlier East Syriac writers' insights on various difficult words and/or phrases in the Psalms. See Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), xxxviii.

[303] The critical editions used in this section are the following: Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vols. 1-3); Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (vol. 1); idem, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901).

[304] Due to the (likely) fragmentary nature of Aḥob's scholia in Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*, it is often unclear what Aḥob may have intended a given scholion to mean or a given scholion is itself his proposed meaning. His etymologies encompass the latter. For these reasons (unless it can otherwise be deduced), I will not propose any particular intended meanings for Aḥob's scholia in Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*.

[305] Payne Smith's *Thesaurus Syriacus* (vols. 1-2) also preserves several Aḥob scholia, all of which are included in Duval's edition. Though Payne Smith and Duval relied on overlapping manuscripts for their respective editions, Payne Smith utilized fewer manuscripts than did Duval, and as a result more Aḥob scholia is preserved in Duval's edition. The present study will focus on Duval's edition, though mention will be made of Payne Smith's edition when it preserves a different rendition of a given Aḥob scholion.

4.3.1. ܩܛܦܐ

According to the Peshitta, Ps 45:9 states:[306]

ܡܪ ܘܩܨܝܥܐ ܘܟܠ ܐܣܘܪ ܠܒܘܫܟ.	Myrrh and cassia and stacte
ܡܢ ܗܝܟܠ̈ܝ ܓܒܪ̈ܝܐ ܫܡܚܘ ܠܟ.	perfume all your garments.
ܡܢ ܗܝܟܠ̈ܐ ܕܫܢ̈ܝܐ	From the finest temple
ܘܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܐܦܝ ܫܡܚܘ.	and from my presence, they made you glad.

The *Lexicon's* definitions of ܩܛܦܐ (including this entry word) state:[307]

> ܩܛܦܐ: Storax. (According to) one manuscript, "The oil[308] of myrrh, that is to say, the sweet-smelling gum of sap." Storax. (According to Ḥenanisho') bar Seroshway, "It is said (that) it is called storax of the pomegranate." And Ḥob says, "stacte (is) *asinayith* in the language of Qatar" (ܐܣܝܢܝܬ ܒܠܫܢ ܩܛܦܐ).[309] Storax of the pomegranate. Sergius of Resh'ayna calls stacte "the waters of ash."[310]

Aḥob's (spelled "Ḥob"[311]) comment on ܩܛܦܐ is situated between a fragment from Ḥenanisho' bar Seroshway[312] and an anonymous Arabic phrase defining ܩܛܦܐ, possibly originating from Bar Bahlul himself.[313] In his comment, Aḥob defines ܩܛܦܐ "in the language of Qatar" (ܒܠܫܢ)[314] as "*asinayith*" (ܐܣܝܢܝܬ), presumably meaning stacte. He does not offer any further remarks on either word.

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[306] Duval attributes Aḥob's ܩܛܦܐ comment to Gen 37:25, on the basis of the Hexapla. See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix. This attribution is arguably incorrect for three reasons: 1) Aḥob likely did not read Greek; 2) Aḥob predates the Syro-Hexapla; 3) Ps 45:9 preserves the only instance of this word in the Peshitta. For a further discussion of the first of these three reasons, see Chapter 5, Section 5.4. The Sources of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

[307] The text of this entry, which is found in Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 1), col. 223, *11-16*, states:

ܩܛܦܐ المیعة ܬ̣ ܥܡܥܡܐ ܡܝܥܐ ܕܫܡܐ ܕܩܛܦܐ ܒܠܫܢ ܩܛܐ ܗܝ ܐܣܝܢܝܬ ܕܪܡܢ̈ܐ ويقال لبنى الرمّان ܗܝ ܐܣܝܢܝܬ ܕܪܡܢ̈ܐ ܒܠܫܢ ܩܛܐ ܡܝܥܐ ܕܪܡܢ̈ܐ ܗܝ ܐܣܝܢܝܬ ܒܠܫܢ ܩܛܐ ܡܝ̈ ܕܩܛܦܐ ܗܝ ܐܣܝܢܝܬ ميعة الرمّان ܗܝ ܐܣܝܢܝܬ ܒܠܫܢ ܩܛܐ ܡܝ̈ ܕܐܦܪ̈ܝ.

[308] Though the spelling in the main text (namely ܥܡܥܡܐ) is clearly corrupted, it has been corrected in footnote 9: ܡܝܥܐ. See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 1), col. 223, *11* and n. 9 (below col. 224).

[309] Payne Smith does not preserve this Aḥob comment. See Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (vol. 1), col. 301.

[310] This translation is my own.

[311] For a discussion of this and all subsequent variant spellings of Aḥob's name in this section, see Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.2. Name.

[312] For Bar Seroshway's date, see Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.5. Works.

[313] Cf. Mario Kozah, "Introduction," in Mario Kozah, George Kiraz, Abdulrahim Abu-Husayn, Haya Al Thani, and Saif Al-Murikhi (eds.), *Beth Qaṭraye: A Lexical and Toponymical Survey* (Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 58; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2021), 17 and idem, "A Lexical Survey of *Qaṭrāyīth*," in Mario Kozah, George Kiraz, Abdulrahim Abu-Husayn, Haya Al Thani, and Saif Al-Murikhi (eds.), *Beth Qaṭraye: A Lexical and Toponymical Survey* (Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 58; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2021), 61-62.

[314] For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.5.1. Gloss on ܩܛܦܐ.

Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) recognized ܩܛܝܢܐ to be a difficult word, and he/they sought to define it. He/They relied on Aḥob at this point, among various other early writers, likely because his nuanced explanation (i.e. according to the language of Qatar) was viewed as an authoritative definition of ܩܛܝܢܐ.

Since this is the only Aḥob fragment within Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* that has a parallel elsewhere – namely, Aḥob's Psalm 45:9 scholion in the *DGC* – a comparison can be made between both texts:

Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* (col. 223, *14*)[315]	Aḥob (*1-5*)[316]
"stacte (is) *asinayith* in the language of Qatar" (ܐܣܝܢܝܬ ܐܣܝܢܐ ܩܛܝܢܐ)	"Instead of *finest*, the Hebrew says, 'ivory.' Here, the grammatical point was changed and this letter, which (was) a nun, was shortened. *Stacte* (is) *asinat* in the language of Qatar. But *cassia* (is) peeled-off rind" (ܐܡܪ ܒܗ ܕܥܒܪܝܐ ܫܢ̈ܝ̈ܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܬܚܠܦ ܢܘܢܐ ܗܕܐ ܕܗܘܬ ܢܘܢܐ ܘܐܬܬܩܛܝ ❖ ܐܣܛܘܬ ܐܣܝܢܐ ܗܝ ܒܠܫܢ̈ܐ ܕܩܛܝܢܐ. ܩܣܝܐ ܐܣܝܢܐ ܗܝ ܩܠܦ̈ܐ ❖ ܕܡܬܩܫܪ̈ܐ)

Aside from the fact that both texts are attributed to Aḥob (which is not shown in the table above), one can see that Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) either selected a portion of the original scholion[317] or borrowed this fragment from an intermediate source.[318] This particular portion of Aḥob's Psalm 45:9 scholion (rather than any of its other parts) was used in this entry of the *Lexicon* for the simple reason that it focuses exclusively on ܩܛܝܢܐ. It remains unclear why *asinat* was altered in its spelling from ܐܣܝܢܐ to ܐܣܝܢܝܬ in Bar Bahlul's ܩܛܝܢܐ entry, though it is possible that it reflects an early scribal error in the manuscript tradition[319] or possibly a typesetting error when Duval published vol. 1 of the *Lexicon* in 1888.

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[315] The text, column, and line number are taken from Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 1), col. 223, *11-16*, and the English translation of the Syriac is taken from earlier in this subsection.

[316] The text and line numbers are taken from the edited text of Aḥob's Psalm 45:9 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia, and the English translation of the Syriac is my own.

[317] Due to the fact that Aḥob's Psalm scholia were not added to the *DGC* until (at the earliest) 1875, it is impossible that Bar Bahlul would be relying on the *DGC* for its Aḥob material. Cf. Van Rompay, *Théodore de Mopsueste* (trans.), xiii.

[318] For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.1. The Original Form of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

[319] I do not have access to the oldest manuscripts that Duval used for his edition, so I cannot verify if, in fact, this misspelling originates from a scribal error, at least in the extant manuscript tradition. Curiously, the two Bar Bahlul manuscripts that I have been able to access – labeled B (1883) and P (1886) by Duval – preserve a trimmed-down version of the ܩܛܝܢܐ entry (compared to the published edition), wherein Aḥob's comment is not included. See B, f. 50r, *27*; P, f. 35r, col. 1, *22*; Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xxix-xxxi, xxxviii-xxxix.

4.3.2. ܒܠܛܫܨܪ

According to the Peshitta, Dan 1:7 states:[320]

ܘܫܪܟ ܠܗܘܢ ܪܒ ܣܪܝܤܐ ܫܡܐ.	And the chief of the eunuchs gave names to them.
ܠܕܢܝܐܝܠ ܩܪܐ ܒܠܛܫܨܪ.	He called Daniel "Belteshazzar"
ܘܠܚܢܢܝܐ ܥܙܪ.	and Hananiah "Shadrach"
ܘܠܡܝܫܐܝܠ ܡܝܫܟ.	and Mishael "Meshach"
ܘܠܥܙܪܝܐ ܕܒܢܝܟܘ.	and Azariah "Abednego."

The *Lexicon's* definitions of ܒܠܛܫܨܪ (including this entry word) state:[321]

> ܒܠܛܫܨܪ: According to (Ḥenanisho') bar Seroshway, "the image of Bel, the idol" (ܨܠܡ ܕܒܠ الصنم). And Ḥob says that "the chief *of the eunuchs gave Daniel the name, Belteshazzar*, and it is translated (as) the image of Bel" (ܘܫܪܟ ܪܒ ܣܪܝܤܐ ܫܡ ܠܕܢܝܐܝܠ ܒܠܛܫܨܪ ܕܐܬܦܫܩ ܨܠܡ ܕܒܠ).[322] The image of Bel, the idol (صورة بال الصنم).[323]

Aḥob's (spelled "Ḥob") ܒܠܛܫܨܪ scholion is situated between a fragment from Ḥenanisho' bar Seroshway and an anonymous Arabic gloss of ܒܠܛܫܨܪ, possibly originating from Bar Bahlul himself. In his scholion, Aḥob quotes a portion of Dan 1:7, focusing on the meaning of ܒܠܛܫܨܪ, which he insists "is translated (as) the image of Bel"[324] (ܐܬܦܫܩ ܨܠܡ ܕܒܠ). It is likely that he equates the ܒܠ of ܒܠܛܫܨܪ with "Bel" (ܕܒܠ). It is also possible that he identifies the ܨܪ of ܒܠܛܫܨܪ with the verb "to depict, paint" – which he links to "image" (ܨܠܡ) – and ignores the previous two letters, namely ܒܠ.[325]

Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) also sought to explain the meaning of ܒܠܛܫܨܪ. He/They likely include Aḥob's ܒܠܛܫܨܪ scholion in this entry, because his definition was viewed as both authoritative and in agreement with other accepted definitions of ܒܠܛܫܨܪ. It is unclear if Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) preserved Aḥob's ܒܠܛܫܨܪ scholion as he/they received it or if he/they altered it to any degree. The Arabic phrase "The image of Bel, the idol" (صورة بال

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[320] Duval only mentions that Aḥob's ܒܠܛܫܨܪ scholion comes "from the Book of Daniel" (e *Libro Danielis*). See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix.

[321] The text of this entry, which is found in Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 1), col. 397, *11-13*, states:

ܒܠܛܫܨܪ ܗ ܒ ܕ ܗܦܵܐ ܨܠܡ ܕܒܠ الصنم. ܘܣܡ ܐܚܘ ܪܒ ܣܪܝܤܐ ܫܡ ܠܕܢܝܐܝܠ ܒܠܛܫܨܪ ܕܐܬܦܫܩ ܨܠܡ ܕܒܠ صورة بال الصنم.

[322] Payne Smith does not preserve this Aḥob scholion. See Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (vol. 1), col. 534.

[323] This translation is my own.

[324] For a further discussion of Bel, see Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (vol. 1), col. 518 and Andrew R. George, "Marduk and the cult of the gods of Nippur at Babylon" *Orientalia* 66 (1997): 65.

[325] Aḥob likely uses a similar etymological approach with "Nebuchadnezzar" (ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ) as well. See Chapter 4, Subsection 4.3.5. ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ.

الصنم) likely functions as a full Arabic gloss of Bar Seroshway's fragment "the image of Bel, the idol" (ܨܠܡ ܕܒܠ الصنم).[326]

4.3.3. ܡܫܝܚܐ

According to the Peshitta, Dan 1:7 states:[327]

ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܪܒ ܣܪܝܣܝܢ ܕܫܡ̈ܗ̇ ܗ̇ܘ̈ܐ.	And the chief of the eunuchs gave names to them.
ܘܩܪܐ ܠܕܢܝܐܝܠ ܒܠܛܫܐܨܪ.	He called Daniel "Belteshazzar"
ܘܠܚܢܢܝܐ ܫܕܪܟ.	and Hananiah "Shadrach"
ܘܠܡܝܫܐܝܠ ܡܝܫܟ.	and Mishael "Meshach"
ܘܠܥܙܪܝܐ ܥܒܕ̈ܢܓܘ.	and Azariah "Abednego."

The *Lexicon's* definitions of ܡܫܝܚܐ (including this entry word) state:[328]

> ܡܫܝܚܐ: Ḥob says that "*the chief of the eunuchs* of Nebuchadnezzar called *Mishael* by this name, that is to say, the anointer of the land" (ܕܐܡܪ ܚܘܒ ܕܫܡ ܠܡܝܫܐܝܠ ܗܕܐ ܕܗ̇ܘ̈ ܪܒ ܣܪܝܣܝܢ ܕܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ). The anointer of the land (ماسح الارض).[329]

Aḥob's (spelled "Ḥob") ܡܫܝܚܐ scholion is the first of two definitions given in this entry. It is placed before an anonymous Arabic gloss, possibly originating from Bar Bahlul himself. In his scholion, Aḥob uses a portion of Dan 1:7 to explain the meaning of Mishael's new name, which was given to him by "the chief of the eunuchs of Nebuchadnezzar" (ܪܒ ܣܪܝܣܝܢ ܕܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ). However, instead of stating this new name, i.e. Meshach, Aḥob references it by way of an etymology, which he suggests is "the anointer of the land" (ܡܫܝܚ ܐܪܥܐ). Aḥob clearly links the name Meshach with the similar sounding verb m-š-ḥ (ܡܫܚ), presumably the participle (or substantivized participle in construct), "anointer / anointer of." He then identifies the object anointed as being "the land" (ܐܪܥܐ).

Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) were also interested in the meaning of ܡܫܝܚܐ. He/They likely rely almost exclusively on Aḥob in this entry, because his definition was viewed as the most authoritative description of ܡܫܝܚܐ. It is unclear if Bar Bahlul and/or his later

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[326] It is unclear if this Bar Seroshway fragment has been altered or if it originally contained Syriac and Arabic.

[327] Duval only mentions that Aḥob's ܡܫܝܚܐ scholion comes "from the Book of Daniel" (e *Libro Danielis*). See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix.

[328] There is another ܡܫܝܚܐ entry (two entries above the one currently under discussion) which is unrelated and states, "Meshach: that is to say, from a brother" (ܡܫܝܚ ܥܡ ܐ ܐܚܐ). See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1077, *2*. The text of this entry, which is found in ibid., (vol. 2), col. 1077, *16-18*, states:

ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܚܐ ܣܘ ܐ ܐܚܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܚܘܒ ܕܫܡ ܠܡܝܫܐܝܠ ܗܕܐ ܕܗ̇ܘ̈ ܪܒ ܣܪܝܣܝܢ ܕܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ. ماسح الارض

[329] This translation is my own.

editor(s) preserved Aḥob's ܚܡܥ scholion as he/they received it or if he/they altered it to any degree. The Arabic phrase "The anointer of the land" (ماسح الارض) likely functions as a gloss of Aḥob's final two Syriac words "the anointer of the land."

4.3.4. ܚܩܩܐ

There is no particular Peshitta verse that is connected to this entry.

The *Lexicon's* definition and description of ܚܩܩܐ (including this entry word) states:[330]

> ܚܩܩܐ: Ḥob says that "they are translated (as) zealots" (ܩܢܝܐ ܡܬܬܪܓܡ ܚܒ). And that Judas who went up and destroyed Jerusalem and renewed the sanctuary was called "Maccabee," in (another) m(anuscript), *al māqabī*. The names of the seven Maccabees (are) Gaddai, Tarsai, Maccabee, Hauran, Ḥaphos, Baqir, (and) Jonadab, the sons of 'Abedshalom. And Shmoni their mother[331] and Eleazar the priest, the son of Onias the priest, their teacher, were martyred after the death of 'Abedshalom, their father, at the hands of Antiochus Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus the Greek, that (one) who was a hostage in Rome. And they say that when Mattita, the paternal-uncle of the children, saw that their martyrdom had been accomplished, he replaced the names of his sons with the names of the sons of his brother,[332] because of (his) piety and because of his love for the sons of his brother, because 'Abedshalom and Mattita were brothers, the sons of Simeon the priest, from the family of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar the priest. John was called "Gaddai" and Simeon was called "Tarsai" and Judah was called "Maccabee," and Eleazar was called "Hauran" and Jonathan was called "Ḥaphos," because Mattita had five sons. In (another) m(anuscript), the Maccabees were martyred

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[330] The text of this entry, along with some of its diacritical points and vowels to aid in reading and translating – all of which is found in Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1143, *4-27*, states:

ܚܩܩܐ ܐܝ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܬܬܪܓܡ ܚܒ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܡ ܕܐܬ ܐܠ ماسح الارض ܕܐܪܥ ܘܐܡܪ ܒܝܬ ܐܠ مقبي ܕܐܬ ܐܠ ماسح الارض ܘܐܡܪ ܒܝ

> at the hands of Antiochus, the son of Seleucus the Macedonian in Jerusalem. But they preceded our Lord, then, (by) a hundred and seventy years.[333]

Aḥob's (spelled "Ḥob") ܚܩܦܐ scholion is the only definition given in this entry. It is placed before a lengthy anonymized history of the Maccabean family. In his scholion, Aḥob presents a simple etymology of ܚܩܦܐ, whom he equates with "zealots" (ܩܢܝܐ). On an etymological level, it is unclear why he equates the word Maccabees with zealots.[334]

Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) sought to both define and explain the ܚܩܦܐ. While he/they likely rely on Aḥob's scholion to define the word Maccabees because it was understood as the most authoritative etymological explanation of this plural proper noun, it is unclear if Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) preserved Aḥob's ܚܩܦܐ scholion as he/they received it or if he/they altered it to any degree. He/They arguably add the lengthy anonymized history of the Maccabean family to this entry in order to explain its historical significance. One can arguably know that this second, longer section (at minimum) does not derive from Aḥob, because its encyclopedic nature and structural dissimilarity to other Aḥob scholia suggest a later (and thereby different) writer than Aḥob.[335]

4.3.5. ܢܚܡܪܕܢܝ

There is no particular Peshitta verse that is connected to this entry.[336]

The *Lexicon's* definitions of ܢܚܡܪܕܢܝ (including this entry word) state:[337]

> ܢܚܡܪܕܢܝ: Ḥob says, "it is translated (as) the image of Nabu" (ܐܬܦܫܛ ܗܕܐ ܡܕܝܢܝ). The image of Nabu, he being *'uṭārid* (صورة نابو وهو عُطارد). Another manuscript (says), "he sits in ambushes" (ܝܬܝܒ ܒܟܡܝܢ). Nebuchadnezzar is the son of Cyrus, the first king of the Persians. That (one) to whom Cyrus gave the name Nebuchadnezzar; that (one) who

[333] This translation is my own.

[334] Maccabee, the surname of Judah the leader of the Jewish revolt against the Seleucid Empire (167-160 B.C.), is thought to derive from the Aramaic word מַקָּבָא, meaning "hammer." In Syriac, however, ܩܡܘܨ means "awl, borer" (from ܩܡܨ). The gloss "zealot," thus, probably derives from the activities of the Maccabees, rather than from their assumed name.

[335] For a further discussion of the non-encyclopedic nature of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works, see Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.3. Date.

[336] Duval only mentions that Aḥob's ܢܚܡܪܕܢܝ scholion comes "from the Book of Daniel" (e *Libro Danielis*). See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix.

[337] The text of this entry, which is found in Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1212, *3-8*, states:

ܐܬܦܫܛ ܗܕܐ ܡܕܝܢܝ ܣܡ ܚܙ ܢܚܡܪܕܢܝ. ܝܬܝܒ ܒܟܡܝܢ ܬ ܢܒܘ ܘܗܘ ܥُܛܐܪܕ صورة

is written (about) in Judith[338] and the Jews call him "Cambyses" and the name of his father (was) Nabopolassar.[339]

Aḥob's (spelled "Ḥob") ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ scholion is the first of three definitions given in this entry, all of which precede a brief overview of Nebuchadnezzar's family tree[340] and select later Jewish interpretations of it. In his scholion, Aḥob presents an etymology of ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ, which he insists means "the image of Nabu" (ܨܘܪܬ ܢܒܘ), who was a god in ancient Mesopotamia.[341] He clearly equates the ܢܒ of ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ with the god, "Nabu" (ܢܒ), and it is possible that he identifies the ܟ of ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ with the verb "to depict, paint" – which he links to "image" (ܨܘܪܬ) – and ignores the previous three letters, namely ܢܒܘ.[342]

Somewhat similar to the ܡܚܩܪ entry, Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) sought to both define and explain ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ. He/They likely rely on Aḥob's scholion in this entry, because it was viewed as an authoritative explanation of ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ. It is unclear if Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) preserved Aḥob's ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ scholion as he/they received it or if he/they altered it to any degree.[343] The Arabic phrase "the image of Nabu" (صورة نابو) is likely meant to be a gloss of Aḥob's first two Syriac words in his scholion, namely, "the image of Nabu," and, in this way, it functions as a second definition of ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ, following (but detached from) Aḥob's scholion. The Arabic phrase "he being *'uṭārad*" (وهو عُطارد) refers to the planet Mercury,[344] as well as a proper, old fashioned Arabic name, and, as such, it is unlikely that Aḥob would have used it to define ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ. Rather, it is more likely that Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) included this phrase as a clarification of the Arabic (and non-Aḥobian) phrase "the image of Nabu." Concerning the phrase "he sits in ambushes" (ܡܣܬܪ ܟܡܝܢ), it is unclear how it is connected to the meaning of ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ. It, as well as the rest of the entry, almost certainly does not originate from Aḥob.

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[338] Cyrus is not mentioned in the book of Judith.

[339] This translation is my own.

[340] Nebuchadnezzar's family tree, as presented in Bar Bahlul's ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ entry, bears no relation to either his real family tree or to that which is described in the book of Daniel.

[341] See Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (vol. 2), col. 2268.

[342] Aḥob likely uses a similar etymological approach with "Belteshazzar" (ܒܠܛܫܨܪ) as well. See Chapter 4, Subsection 4.3.2. ܒܠܛܫܨܪ. Both of these glosses offer related insights into his etymological thinking.

[343] While the *Lexicon* does not contain any punctuation between Aḥob's ܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ scholion and the following Arabic phrase, Payne Smith includes a period between these two texts. See idem, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (vol. 2), col. 2269.

[344] The identification of Nabu with the planet Mercury (Hermes) seems to have been a standard part of Mesopotamian astrology. See Francesco Pomponio, *Nabû: Il culto e la figura di un dio del Pantheon babilonese ed assiro* (Studi Semitici 51; Rome: Instituto di studi del Vicino Oriente, Università di Roma, 1978), 227 and Lucinda Dirven, *The Palmyrenes of Dura-Europos: A Study of Religious Interaction in Roman Syria* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 136, n. 43. For the Syriac continuation of the identification of Nabu with the planet Hermes / Mercury (and transcript of *'uṭārad*), see Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (vol. 2), col. 2268 and esp. the Cause of Causes.

4.3.6. ܥܒܕ ܢܓܘ

According to the Peshitta, Dan 1:7 states:[345]

ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܪܒ ܣܪܝܣܝܢ ܫܡܗܝܢ.	And the chief of the eunuchs gave names to them.
ܠܕܢܝܐܝܠ ܩܪܐ ܒܠܛܫܐܨܪ.	He called Daniel “Belteshazzar”
ܘܠܚܢܢܝܐ ܫܕܪܟ.	and Hananiah “Shadrach”
ܘܠܡܝܫܐܝܠ ܡܝܫܟ.	and Mishael “Meshach”
ܘܠܥܙܪܝܐ ܥܒܕܢܓܘ.	and Azariah “Abednego.”

The *Lexicon’s* definitions of ܥܒܕ ܢܓܘ (including this proper name, which is included under the ܥܒܕ entry) state:[346]

> ܥܒܕ ܢܓܘ: According to (Ḥenanisho‘) bar Seroshway, “’A‘bar nebgu (?; ܢܓܘ ܐܒܚܐ), that is to say, the mighty man is great.”[347] He is extremely powerful. And Ḥob says that “*the chief of the eunuchs* gave *Azariah* the name, *Abednego*, that is to say, the common servant” (ܥܒܕ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܪܒ ܣܪܝܣܝܢ ܠܕܢܝܐܝܠ ܫܡ ܥܒܕ ܢܓܘ ܗ ܥܒܕ ܒܗܝܡ ܡܠܟܐ). The common slave (العبد العامىّ). Abednego (was) an inner servant,[348] who entered and went out before the king. Abednego, a slave (acquired) by abduction.[349]

Aḥob’s (spelled “Ḥob”) ܥܒܕ ܢܓܘ scholion is situated between a fragment from Ḥenanisho‘ bar Seroshway and an anonymous Arabic gloss of ܥܒܕ ܢܓܘ, possibly originating from Bar Bahlul himself. In his scholion, Aḥob uses a portion of Dan 1:7 to explain the meaning of Azariah’s new name, which was given to him by “the chief of the eunuchs” (ܪܒ ܣܪܝܣܝܢ). However, unlike his ܡܫܝ scholion, Aḥob states this new name, i.e. Abednego, and then he presents its perceived etymology: “the common servant” (ܥܒܕ ܒܗܝܡ). He clearly equates the ܥܒܕ of ܥܒܕ ܢܓܘ with “servant” (ܥܒܕ), and it is possible that he links the ܗ of ܥܒܕ ܢܓܘ with “common” (ܒܗܝܡ) and ignores the ܕ of ܢܓܘ.

Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) were also interested in the meaning of ܥܒܕ ܢܓܘ. He/They likely include Aḥob’s ܥܒܕ ܢܓܘ scholion (in the ܥܒܕ entry), because his definition

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[345] Duval only mentions that Aḥob’s ܥܒܕ ܢܓܘ scholion comes “from the Book of Daniel” (e *Libro Danielis*). See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix.

[346] The text of this entry, which is found in Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1400, *3-9*, states:

ܥܒܕ ܢܓܘ ܕ ܗܲܝ ܕ ܗܲܝ ܕ ܗܲܝ

was viewed as both authoritative and in agreement with other accepted definitions of ܚܕ ܒܗ, which itself was viewed as a variation of ܚܕ. It is unclear if Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) preserved Aḥob's ܚܕ ܒܗ scholion as he/they received it or if he/they altered it to any degree. The Arabic phrase "The common slave" (العبد العامىّ) likely functions as a gloss of Aḥob's final two Syriac words "the common servant." The rest of this entry, concerning ܚܕ ܒܗ, is almost certainly not from Aḥob.

4.3.7. ܒܪ ܫܢܐ

According to the Peshitta, Num 9:22 states:[350]

ܐܘ ܝܘܡܡ ܐܘ ܬܪܝܗܝܢ ܝܪܚܐ.	Either days or months
ܐܘ ܒܪ ܫܢܐ ܐܘ.	or from season to season –
ܕܥܠܬ ܥܠܝܗ ܥܢܢܐ	as long (as) the cloud continued
ܠܡܫܟܢ ܥܠ ܡܫܟܢܐ.	to dwell over the tabernacle,
ܒܢܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܬܘ ܫܪܘ	thus, the people of Israel remained
ܘܠܐ ܢܣܥܘ.	and did not set out.
ܘܒܥܠܬ ܥܢܢܐ ܐܬܪܡܡ ܢܣܥܘ.	And when the cloud lifted, they[351] set out.

The *Lexicon's* definitions of ܒܪ ܫܢܐ (including this entry word) state:[352]

> ܒܪ ܫܢܐ: In one manuscript, according to Aḥob, "a year or two years" (سنة سنتان). And according to (Ḥenanisho') bar Seroshway, "from festival to festival." From time to time every year. For a time, times and a half time, that is to say, seven and a half years. A time. Six months during which I was saying the time. In one manuscript, time. Time to time, that is to say, from year to year. In one manuscript, the whole year.[353]

Aḥob's (spelled "Aḥob" in Arabic)[354] ܒܪ ܫܢܐ scholion is the first of several definitions given in this entry, and it precedes the only other definition in this entry with an attribution, which in this case is Ḥenanisho' bar Seroshway. In his scholion, Aḥob seeks to understand the meaning of the Peshitta phrase ܒܪ ܫܢܐ. He suggests that it means "a year or

[350] Duval suggests this is the underlying verse for Aḥob's ܒܪ ܫܢܐ scholion, and it is also the first verse in which this phrase is used in the Peshitta. See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix.

[351] Namely, the people of Israel.

[352] The text of this entry, which is found in Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), cols. 1407, *24*-1408, *4*, states:

ܒܪ ܫܢܐ ܫܢܬܐ ܫܢܝܢ ܥܠ ܩܘܠ ܐܚܘܒ. ܘܐܝܬ ܕܐ ܡܢ ܙܒܢܐ ܠܙܒܢܐ ܒܟܠ ܫܢܬܐ ܘܫܢܬܐ. ܒܙܒܢܐ ܚܕ ܙܒܢܐ ܘܦܠܓ ܙܒܢܐ ܘܦܠܓ ܙܒܢܐ ܗܝ ܐܝܬ ܫܢܝ ܫܒܥ ܫܢܝܢ ܘܢܨܦ. ܙܒܢܐ ܫܬܐ ܐܫܗܪ ܘܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܙܒܢܐ. ܒܟܬܒ ܐܚܪ ܙܒܢܐ ܗ ܡܢ ܙܒܢܐ ܠܙܒܢܐ. ܫܢܬܐ ܫܢܬܐ ܐܘ ܒܫܢܬܐ ܫܢܬܐ ܫܢܬܐ

two years” (سنة سنتان). It is unclear why, from among the varied meanings of this phrase, Aḥob settles on this particular meaning.

Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) also sought to understand the meaning of ܚܕ ܚܕ. He/They likely include Aḥob’s ܚܕ ܚܕ scholion in this entry, because it offers a nuanced definition of this otherwise difficult phrase. While his original scholion has likely been translated from Syriac into Arabic,[355] it is unclear if Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) altered the content of Aḥob’s scholion to any degree. The Syriac and/or Arabic definitions following Bar Seroshway’s definition are anonymous and likely reflect the work of Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s), rather than Aḥob.

4.3.8. ܚܡܫܝܐ

According to the Peshitta, Exod 29:40 states:[356]

ܘܥܡ ܚܡܫܝܐ ܕܟܒܫܐ	And for the first lamb a tenth measure of fine (flour),
ܒܫܡܝܐ ܕܒܠܝܠ ܒܚܕ ܕܗܝܢ	which (is) mingled with a quarter of a hin
ܙܝܬ ܕܫܚܝܛ.	of beaten oil
ܘܣܟ ܕܚܡܪܐ ܕܢܣܟ	and a quarter of a hin
ܚܡܪܐ ܕܝܝܢ ܠܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܫܬܝܐ. ❊	of wine (for) a drink offering.

The *Lexicon’s* definitions of ܚܡܫܝܐ (including this entry word) state:[357]

> ܚܡܫܝܐ: According to (Ḥenanisho‘) bar Seroshway, “that is to say, one (part) from ten of a *qafiz*.” Tithes. A tenth part. In one manuscript, a tenth part. Aḥob (says), “a fifth part of the *qafiz*; the *Marwazi* (measure) is another tenth larger” (خُمس القفيز زاد المروزى المعشار). In the Pentateuch, *fine (flour) which (is) mingled with a quarter of a hin (of) oil*.[358]

Aḥob’s (spelled “Aḥob”[359]) ܚܡܫܝܐ scholion is situated between a Garshuni gloss of ܚܡܫܝܐ (given as ܚܡܫ)[360] and a quotation from Exod 29:40. In his scholion, Aḥob seeks to

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[355] For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.4. The Sources of Aḥob of Qatar’s Old Testament Exegetical Works.

[356] Duval suggests this and Num 28:21 are the underlying verses for Aḥob’s ܚܡܫܝܐ scholion. However, since Exod 29:40 is the first verse (among many in the Pentateuch) in which this noun is used in the Peshitta, it is likely the underlying verse for this Aḥob scholion. See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix.

[357] Exod 29:40. The text of this entry, which is found in Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1450, *4-7*, states:
ܚܡܫܝܐ ܗܝ ܡܐܬ ܩ ܡܢ ܥܫܪ ܥܡܪܐ ܕܡܬܪܐ ܚܡܫܝܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܚܕ ܡܢ ܥܫܪ ܥܡܪܐ ܕܩܦܝܙ ܙܕ ܚܡܫ ܕܡܪܘܙܝ ܕܥܫܪ. ܚܡܫܝܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܚܕ ܡܢ ܥܫܪ ܥܡܪܐ ܕܩܦܝܙ ܙܕ ܚܡܫ ܕܡܪܘܙܝ ܕܥܫܪ. ❊

[358] This translation is my own.

[359] In a footnote connected to Aḥob’s name in this entry, one later Bar Bahlul manuscript spells his name as ܐܚܘܒ. Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1450, n. 12, and ibid., (vol. 3), xxvi-xxxix.

[360] Payne Smith presents this word in Arabic as عشير. See idem, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (vol. 2), col. 2941.

understand the meaning of ܚܡܫܝܐ. He suggests a meaning by equating it with two things: 1) "a fifth part of the *qafīz*" (خُمس القفيز), with the "*qafīz*" (قفيز) being an Arabian measure of grain,[361] and 2) "the *Marwazi* (measure) is another tenth larger" (زاد المروزى المعشار), with "the *Marwazi* (measure)" (المروزى) being an otherwise unattested measurement used in the ancient city of Merv, now in Turkmenistan. In essence, Aḥob equates ܚܡܫܝܐ – which he likely understands to be a reference to the biblical tithe, i.e. a tenth of something[362] – with two varying measurements: the *qafīz* and the *Marwazi* (measure), the latter of which is an indication that in Merw it was used for a larger measure, i.e. 30% rather than 20% of something. Aḥob likely mentions the *qafīz* and the *Marwazi* (measure), because both were recognizable measurements used in his time.

Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) also sought to explain the meaning of ܚܡܫܝܐ. He/They likely include Aḥob's ܚܡܫܝܐ scholion in this entry, because it offers a nuanced definition of this difficult word. While his original scholion has likely been translated from Syriac into Arabic,[363] it is unclear if Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) altered the content of Aḥob's scholion to any degree. If they did, it is possible that they updated the (now) unknown, underlying Syriac noun to the Arabic *qafīz*.

4.3.9. ܟܬܡܬܟ

According to the Peshitta, Job 28:18 states:[364]

ܠܟܡ ܡܢ ܣܟܠܬܐ ܥܡ ܟܬܡܐ ܠܚܝܐ.	Wisdom is better than precious stones.
ܠܐ ܦܣܘ ܠܗ ܟܬܡܬܟ ܕܡܐ.	Incomparable to it is a shining *ptāwtkā*,
ܘܠܐ ܡܬܚܠܦ ܒܡܚܪܨܐ ܘܒܦܬܟܐ	and (it) cannot be exchanged
ܠܐ ܒܟܣܠܟܐ.	with emeralds and with chalcedonies.
ܠܟܡ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܣܟܠܬܐ ܥܡ ܚܠ ܡܕܡ.	For wisdom is better than everything,
ܘܡܕܡ ܠܐ ܦܣܘ ܠܗ.	and nothing is comparable to it.

The *Lexicon's* definitions of ܟܬܡܬܟ (including this entry word) state:[365]

[361] According to Walther Hinz, *Islamische Masse und Gewichte: umgerechnet ins Metrische System* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1955), 48, "The oldest reliable information about this volume relates to the *qafīz* of the Ḥaǧǧāǧ, according to which the *qafīz* = *ṣā*' of the Prophet, i.e. = 4.2125 liters."

[362] See, for example, Lev 27:30. Aḥob is likely not referencing the plural form of ܚܡܫܝܐ, as presented in Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*, because this form does not occur in the Peshitta; rather, only the forms ܚܡܫܝܐ and ܚܡܫܝܣ are used. See Exod 29:40; Lev 14:10; 23:13, 17; 24:5; Num 15:4, 6, 9; 28:9, 12, 20, 28; 29:3, 9, 14.

[363] For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.4. The Sources of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

[364] Duval suggests this is the underlying verse for Aḥob's ܟܬܡܬܟ scholion. See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix. It is also the first verse in which this word is used in the Peshitta.

[365] The text of this entry, which is found in Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), cols. 1645, *22*-1646, *14*, states:

ܟܬܡܘܬܐ: According to (Ḥenanisho‘) bar Seroshway, “clothing of the ark.” Something elevated, highly colored, and shining. And Ayyub says, “it is brocade” (ܐܦܘܕ ܒܪܘܟܐ). And in his dialect, he calls it “multicolored cloth, that is to say, every colored garment” (ܒܪܘܟܐ ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܒܨܒܥ ܟܬܡܘܬܐ). Other splendid brocade. *Ptāwtkā* in another fashion (is) a chain, that is to say, a belt and long outer garments interwoven from various colors of embroidered dyed wool and every item which (is) extremely desirable and adorned with many colors or with the images which (are depicted) on robes or with precious stones, which is varicolored with desirable colors or with emeralds, and in the Arabic language it is called *dībāj*.[366] “*Ptāwtkā dahyā*,” according to (Ḥenanisho‘) bar Seroshway, that is to say, shining, (with reference) to a garment which (is) adorned with colors and shines and its beauty is splendid, that is to say, *there is nothing which (is) comparable to wisdom*.[367] The high pattern with the different type of brocade. According to (Ḥenanisho‘) bar Seroshway, “*ptāwtkā* with ungodliness (is something) mixed between bad and good.”[368]

Aḥob’s (spelled “Ayyub”[369]) ܟܬܡܘܬܐ scholion is situated between two anonymous Arabic glosses of ܟܬܡܘܬܐ, both of which possibly originate from Bar Bahlul himself. In his scholion, Aḥob offers a brief explanation of ܟܬܡܘܬܐ. He suggests that it should be understood as “brocade” (ܒܪܘܟܐ).[370] He describes this further, according to the language of Qatar, as “multicolored cloth, that is to say, every colored garment” (ܒܪܘܟܐ ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܒܨܒܥ ܟܬܡܘܬܐ). Aḥob does not view ܟܬܡܘܬܐ as a type of stone (as it is presented in Job 28:18); rather, he understands it to be a very ornate cloth, one type of which appears to have been produced in Qatar in his time.

Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) also sought to explain the meaning of ܟܬܡܘܬܐ. He/They likely include Aḥob’s ܟܬܡܘܬܐ scholion in this entry, because it offers a nuanced definition of this otherwise difficult word. At a minimum, Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) has/have notably summarized Aḥob’s ܟܬܡܘܬܐ scholion as part of its inclusion in this entry. Beyond this, it is unclear if he/they altered the content of this Aḥob scholion to any further

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ܫܡܚܬܐ ܠܐ ܪܝܩܐ ܐܦܘܕ ܒܪܘܟܐ ܕܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܐܝܘܒ ܒܠܫܢܗ ܕܒܗ ܡܬܟܠܡ ܘܫܝ ܡܪܬܦܥ ܟܬܝܪ ܕܨܒܝܥ ܘܡܫܘܚܪ ܘܟܠ ܕܡܝܬ ܒܗ ܣܓܝ ܡܢ ܨܒܘܥ ܐܘ ܒܕܡܘܬ ܐܢܫܐ ܐܘ ܒܐܒܢܐ ܝܩܪܐ ܕܡܬܟܬܒ ܥܠ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܐܘ ܒܐܒܢܐ ܝܩܪܐ ܕܡܫܬܟܠ ܒܨܒܘܥ ܣܓܝ ܘܫܘܚܪ ܘܫܦܝܪ ܘܟܠ ܕܡܝܬ ܒܗ ܣܓܝ ܡܢ ܨܒܘܥ ܐܘ ܒܨܘܪ

degree. The anonymous Syriac and Arabic glosses of ܕܢܝܐܝܠ, which follow Aḥob's scholion, are almost certainly not from Aḥob.

4.3.10. ܫܝܙܒ

According to the Peshitta, Dan 1:7 states:[371]

ומשׂם להם רב הסרסים שמות.	And the chief of the eunuchs gave names to them.
ולדניאל קרא בלטשאצר.	He called Daniel "Belteshazzar"
ולחנניה שדרך.	and Hananiah "Shadrach"
ולמישאל מישך.	and Mishael "Meshach"
ולעזריה עבדנגו.	and Azariah "Abednego."

The *Lexicon's* definitions of ܫܝܙܒ (including this entry word) state:[372]

> ܫܝܙܒ: According to (John) bar Daqnana,[373] "a delegate." A messenger. According to (Ḥenanisho') bar Seroshway, "Shadrach, a delegate." He has sent you as a messenger.[374] And Ḥob says that "the chief *of the eunuchs* of Nebuchadnezzar called *Hananiah* by this name, (that is to say), a delegate" (ܫܕܪܟ ܗܘ ܫܡܐ ܕܐܬܩܪܝ ܠܗ ܪܒ ܣܪܝܣܝܢ ܕܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ ܠܚܢܢܝܐ ܗܕܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܫܠܝܚܐ. ܐܚܪܝܬ ܟܬܒܐ ܐܡܪ ܫܪܝܪ). (Another) manuscript (says), a righteous brother.[375]

Aḥob's (spelled "Ḥob") ܫܝܙܒ scholion is situated between an anonymous Arabic gloss of ܫܝܙܒ, possibly originating from Bar Bahlul himself, and an anonymous Syriac gloss of ܫܝܙܒ. In his scholion, Aḥob uses a portion of Dan 1:7 to explain the meaning of Hananiah's new name, which was given to him by "the chief of the eunuchs of Nebuchadnezzar" (ܪܒ ܣܪܝܣܝܢ ܕܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ). However, instead of stating this new name, i.e. Shadrach, Aḥob references it by way of an etymology, which he insists is "a delegate" (ܫܠܝܚܐ). Aḥob may have arrived at this etymology, because he equated the root of ܫܠܝܚܐ – which is ܫܠܚ – with the first three letters of ܫܝܙܒ, namely ܫܠܚ.

Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) were also interested in the meaning of ܫܝܙܒ. He/They likely include Aḥob's ܫܝܙܒ scholion in this entry, because his definition was viewed

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[371] Duval only mentions that Aḥob's ܫܝܙܒ scholion comes "from the Book of Daniel" (e *Libro Danielis*). See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix.

[372] The text of this entry, which is found in Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1937, *1-5*, states:

ܫܝܙܒ ܗܘ ܒܠܫܢ ܫܠܝܚܐ ارسلك رسول. ܐܡܪ ܫܝܙܒ ܐܢ ܗܕܐ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܪܒ ܣܪܝܣܝܢ ܕܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ ܗܘ ܫܡܐ ܕܐܬܩܪܝ ܠܗ ܒܗܕܐ ܫܡܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܫܠܝܚܐ. ܐܚܪܝܬ ܟܬܒܐ ܐܡܪ ܫܪܝܪ.

[373] Very little is known about John bar Daqnana. See Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 3.1, 232, n. 2.

[374] This Arabic phrase could also be translated as "I am sending you as a messenger" (ارسلك رسول). The person and tense of the verbs is/are ambiguous. See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1937, *2*. The Syriac equivalent of "he has sent you" is ܫܝܙܒ.

[375] This translation is my own.

as both authoritative and in agreement with other accepted definitions of ܬܪܫܝܫ. It is unclear if Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) preserved Aḥob's ܬܪܫܝܫ scholion as he/they received it or if he/they altered it to any degree. The anonymous Syriac gloss of ܬܪܫܝܫ, which follows Aḥob's scholion, is almost certainly not from Aḥob.

4.3.11. ܒܪܥܝܫ

There is no particular Peshitta verse that is connected to this entry.[376]

The *Lexicon's* relevant definitions of ܒܪܥܝܫ (including this entry word) state:[377]

> ܒܪܥܝܫ:…In one manuscript, From the lands of the Romans.[378] Ḥob says that "he[379] calls the sea coast '*Tarshish*'" (ܐܡܪ ܕܝܡ ܠܚܘܦ ܒܪܥܝܫ).[380] Some people have claimed it is China but I am not sure of that. One manuscript (says), Tāhart.[381] Tarshish, that is to say, the shores of the sea. It is one city beside the sea, and its name is set down in Scripture instead of each coastal-district, as a kind of indication. A city on the coast of the sea.[382]

Aḥob's (spelled "Ḥob"[383]) ܒܪܥܝܫ scholion is situated between two anonymous Arabic glosses of ܒܪܥܝܫ, either of which may have originated from Bar Bahlul himself. In his scholion, Aḥob seeks to explain the importance of ܒܪܥܝܫ. He does not view it as a city (as it is understood by modern scholarship); rather, he suggests that the biblical writer (whoever this may be) regarded it as a thing, i.e. a "sea coast" (ܕܝܡ ܚܘܦ). Such a view likely implies that Aḥob himself also regarded ܒܪܥܝܫ as a non-specific place or region.

Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) were also interested in the meaning of ܒܪܥܝܫ. He/They likely include Aḥob's ܒܪܥܝܫ scholion in this entry, because his definition offers a

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[376] While Duval suggests that the background verse for Aḥob's ܒܪܥܝܫ scholion is Ps 72:10, it is unclear how this specific verse, rather than any other Peshitta verse mentioning ܒܪܥܝܫ (such as 1 Kgs 10:22; 22:49; Ps 48:8; Isa 2:16, etc.), is connected to this Aḥob scholion. See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 3), xix.

[377] The relevant text of this entry, which is found in Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 2092, *2-8*, states:

ܒܪܥܝܫ…حتّ من بلاد الروم. ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܕܝܡ ܠܚܘܦ ܒܪܥܝܫ ܐܢܘ ܣܝܢ. وقد زعم قوم انّها الصين ولا احقّ ذلك. تج تاهرت. ܒܪܥܝܫ ܬ ܚܘܦ ܕܝܡ ܐܚܕ ܡܕܝܢܬ ܥܠ ساحل البحر.

[378] This is almost certainly a reference to Byzantium.

[379] Depending on the biblical verse Aḥob is referencing (which is unknown), this "he" could be David, Isaiah, or some other known figure from the Old Testament.

[380] The exact biblical citation that Aḥob is quoting at this point is unknown.

[381] This city is more commonly spelled Tahert, which is a famous city in North Africa (modern-day Tiaret, Algeria).

[382] This translation is my own.

[383] In a footnote connected to Aḥob's name in this entry, two later Bar Bahlul manuscripts spell his name as either ܐܚܘܒ or ܐܚܘܒ. See Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 2092, n. 14, and ibid., (vol. 3), xxvi-xxxix.

nuanced insight into understanding the importance of ܥܕܝܕ. While it is likely that Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) either received this Aḥob scholion in its current form or has/have only selected a small portion of the original text, it is unclear if he/they altered the extant Aḥob scholion to any degree. The anonymous Syriac and Arabic glosses of ܥܕܝܕ, which follow Aḥob's scholion, are almost certainly not from Aḥob.

4.4. The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's Exegesis in Isaac Shbadnaya's Prose Commentary on His *Poem on God's Governance from 'In the Beginning' until Eternity*

In the following examination of Aḥob's scholia in Isaac Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem*,[384] each subsection[385] will contain four parts, with the third part consisting of three subparts: 1) the *sedra*[386] of ms. Cambridge, University Library, Add. 1998 (hereafter shortened to A),[387] in which the Aḥob scholion under discussion is presented; 2) A's Aḥob scholion in this same *sedra*, along with its surrounding context;[388] 3a) an examination of the physical placement of each Aḥob scholion within A's Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem*, b) an analyzed discussion of each Aḥob scholion, c) a proposal for the intended meaning of each Aḥob scholion; 4) the possible reason(s) why Shbadnaya included each Aḥob scholion in his prose commentary on his *Poem*.

4.4.1. Calendrical Scholion

This Aḥob scholion is presented in the "*sedra* of Ṣādhē: On the Passion of our Lord" (ܥܕܪܐ ܕܨܕܗܝ ܥܠ ܡܥܕ ܕܡܪܢ), which is the 20th *sedre* in Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem*.[389]

A's Aḥob scholion in this *sedra*, along with its surrounding context, states:[390]

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[384] The following manuscript will be used in this section: Cambridge, University Library, Add. 1998 (1558).

[385] The presentation of Shbadnaya's Aḥob scholia follows the natural progression occurring within his prose commentary on his *Poem*.

[386] For a brief description, see Chapter 2, Section 2.1. Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works in the Syriac Manuscript Tradition (specifically, the section on Isaac Shbadnaya) and Carlson, "A Light from 'The Dark Centuries,'" 204.

[387] Carlson uses the same siglum in his edition of Shbadnaya's use of the writers of Qatar. This manuscript is also the oldest, extant witness to Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem*. See Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 173.

[388] The Shbadnaya Aḥob scholia presented in this section are taken from Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.2. Other Scholia, which is based on Carlson's edition of these same texts. For the manuscripts Carlson used in his edition, see idem, "The Future of the Past," 173-174.

[389] Carlson, "A Light from 'The Dark Centuries,'" 211 and A, f. 114v^{mg}.

[390] The Syriac text of this passage (including its rubricated words), which is found in A, ff. 122r, *4-15*; 123r, *6*-123v, *1* and Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.2.1. Calendrical Scholion, states:

The curtain of the temple was torn,[391] with the utterance "We are departing,"[392] for an indication that the divine Shekinah had departed from it,[393] and the types of the laws[394] had ceased from it, and it was prepared for devastation and burning and a robber who committed a myriad of evils.[395] For with one word he seized it for the kingdom of heaven, for an indication that he is the one who pardons (our) debts and (our) sins, and he is the Lord of the kingdom. *And the graves were opened*[396] and five hundred dead people were raised,[397] for the declaration that he is the one who raises the dead (ones) and the renewer of the living.[398] Mar Aḥob Qaṭraya: There was a custom for the Jews that when the fourteenth was falling on the Sabbath, there were two laws which were breaking one another in one day, that is to say, the fourteenth and the Sabbath. On the Sabbath they were commanded, *you*[399] *shall not do any work on it*[400], and *you*[401] *shall*

[391] Matt 27:51.

[392] The tradition that the Jewish priests heard a voice in the inner Temple on the day of Pentecost saying, "We are departing," is attributed to Josephus by Eusebius in his *Chronicon* (to the year 2047 in the Latin translation and 2048 in the Armenian translation), and it is also repeated by Michael the Syrian (1126-1199). See Josef Karst (ed.), *Eusebius Werke: Band 5: Die Chronik aus dem Armenischen übersetzt* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1911), 213; Jean Baptiste Aucher (ed.), *Eusebii Pamphili caesariensis episcopi Chronicon bipartitum: nunc primum ex armeniaco textu in latinum conversum adnotationibus auctum graecis fragmentis exornatum*, vol. 2 (Venice: Typis Coenobii PP. Aermenorum in Insula s. Lazari, 1818), 265, 267; Jean Baptiste Chabot (ed.), *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166–1199)*, vol. 1 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1899), 152 (VI.1, paragraph 94).

[393] Cf. Ezek 10:4-22.

[394] This is a pluralized form, which likely references the Law in broad scope.

[395] Luke 23:39-43.

[396] Matt 27:52; Mark 15:38; Luke 23:45.

[397] In the Gospels, only Matt 27:52 refers to the dead rising after the temple curtain was torn: it states "many" (ܣܓܝܐ), not 500. In 1 Cor 15:6, Paul mentions that Jesus "appeared to more than 500 brothers" (ܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܡܐܬܝܢ ܐܚܐ ܒܚܕ) after his resurrection. In his commentary on Matt 27:52, Isho'dad states "500" (ܚܡܫ ܡܐܐ) people rose from the dead after the temple curtain was torn. His commentary on 1 Cor 15:6 focuses on the meaning of the Peshitta phrase "Five hundred brethren" (ܚܡܫ ܡܐܐ ܐܚܐ). However, for his interpretation of this phrase, he relies on two anonymous sources and Theodore, none of whom situate these 500 people as rising from the dead after the temple curtain was torn. See Gibson, *Vol. 2: Matthew and Mark in Syriac*, 190, *17*; idem, *Vol. 1: Translation*, 114; Gibson, *Vol. 5.1: The Epistles of Paul the Apostle in Syriac*, 63, *8*; idem, *Vol 5.2: The Epistles of Paul the Apostle in English*, 41. The origin of this tradition may be a conflation of Matt 27:52 and 1 Cor 15:6.

[398] Much of this part of Shbadnaya's text (i.e. prior to the citation of Aḥob) is almost identical to Isho'dad's commentary on Matt 27:52-53. See Gibson, *Vol. 2: Matthew and Mark in Syriac*, 190, *10-18* and idem, *Vol. 1: Translation*, 113-114. Aḥob is not cited here in Isho'dad.

[399] This is pluralized.

[400] Exod 20:10; Deut 5:14; 16:8.

[401] This is pluralized.

> *not kindle a fire in all of your*[402] *dwelling place*[403]. And on "*the fourteenth*, between evenings, kill[404] the Passover lamb and roast[405] (it) *on a fire* and eat[406] (it)."[407] When this occurred, in the year our Lord suffered, it appeared to the Jews that they should celebrate the feast on the sixth day, and they should call it a "partaker" in the feast, that is to say, the eve of the Sabbath, that is to say, it is mingled, and it is mixed with the feast. While they (were) slaughtering the Passover lamb on the sixth day and regarding the Passover (as) a Sabbath, for (on) the day of Passover, that is to say, the Sabbath, they were preparing on the day of the eve of the Sabbath cold foods like beets and salt and some small herbs which (are) wild, etc. This (is) also what they were handing down to eat for those who were far off and were not (going to) be found in Jerusalem (during) the fast at the time of the fourteenth. When they set (one) necessity with the (other) necessity, the necessity of the Sabbath (was) for those who (were) in Judea, and the necessity of the Holy Place (was) for the ones who were near (to it). And, in this way, Jews in every place also do (this) until now. Author: The day of Passover fell on a Sabbath, and it was performed on Friday, on the thirteenth (day) in April[408] according to the lunar calendar,[409] and the twenty-sixth (day) in March[410] according to the solar calendar.[411] And know that, with (respect to) Passover, when you see the Jews not practicing Passover in two codes – that is to say, in *zyḥd* and in *ḥyzg* – when they precede us by one day, while they say, "We do not call the fourteenth of the lunar calendar[412] above the fourteenth of the solar calendar,"[413] and in these two codes they rightly find fault with us, because it is right that Passover should be (on) the fifteenth and not (on) the eighteenth or (on) the seventeenth, and in these two we do not agree with them. However, in the rest we do not change, and do not be ensnared (by the fact) that we do not celebrate Passover with them.[414]

Aḥob's lengthy scholion is situated between an anonymous commentary on the events which followed Christ's crucifixion and a commentary, attributed to "Author" (ܐܡܪ), on the varied dates of Passover. Both of these surrounding texts may have been written by Shbadnaya himself.[415] In his scholion, Aḥob begins by discussing a "custom" (ܢܡܘܣ) among Jews where "two laws…were breaking one another in one day" (ܕܬܪܝܢ ܢܡܘܣܐ ܕܡܬܒܪܝܢ ܗܘ ܠܗܘ ܒܚܕ ܝܘܡܐ). These laws concern the "fourteenth" (ܐܪܒܥܣܪ) of Nisan (i.e. the date of Passover) "falling on the Sabbath" (ܒܫܒܬܐ…ܗܘ). Aḥob quotes two verses – the first of which is likely a

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[402] This is pluralized.
[403] Exod 35:3.
[404] This is a masculine plural imperative.
[405] This is a masculine plural imperative.
[406] This is a masculine plural imperative.
[407] Cf. Exod 12:6, 8.
[408] Lit. "Nisan" (ܢܝܣܢ).
[409] Lit. "according to the moon" (ܠܣܗܪܐ).
[410] Lit. "Adar" (ܐܕܪ).
[411] Lit. "according to the sun" (ܠܫܡܫܐ).
[412] Lit. "of the moon" (ܕܣܗܪܐ).
[413] Lit. "of the sun" (ܕܫܡܫܐ).
[414] My translation is based on an unpublished English translation of Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem*, which was produced by Thomas A. Carlson, and Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.2.1. Calendrical Scholion.
[415] Carlson, "A Light from 'The Dark Centuries,'" 203, n. 50.

conglomeration, from memory, of three verses (Exod 20:10;[416] Deut 5:14;[417] 16:8[418]), and the second of which is a verbatim reproduction of nearly all of Exod 35:3[419] – regarding a few of the things which Jews are forbidden to do on the Sabbath, including general "work" (ܥܒܕ) and starting a "fire" (ܢܘܪܐ) in their homes. He then cites a verse – which is likely a partial composite of Exod 12:6, 8[420] – concerning the fourteenth, which commands Jews to "kill the Passover lamb" (ܡܟܝ ܐܡܪ ܐܗܘܐ) when it is "between evenings" (ܒܝܢ ܥܪܒܬܐ) and to then "roast (it) on a fire and eat (it)" (ܘܠܐܟܠܘ ܢܘܪܐ ܥܠ). At this point Aḥob shifts to "the year our Lord suffered" (ܫܢܬ ܫ ܡܪܢ) and states in passing that the convergence of the fourteenth of a given month "falling on the Sabbath" happened in that year.[421] Aḥob further notes that in that year, "it appeared to the Jews that they should celebrate the feast on the sixth day" (ܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܝܗܘܕܝܐ ܕܥܒܕܝܢ ܠܗ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܕܫܬܝܬܐ.), namely, on "the eve of the Sabbath" (ܥܪܘܒܬܐ), which is Friday. He clarifies his phrase "they should celebrate the feast on the sixth day" by stating that this new feast day would function as a precursor to the actual Sabbath feast, and it would be named a "'partaker' in the feast" (ܫܘܬܦܐ ܕܒܥܘܕܬܐ) or something that "is mingled and is mixed with the feast" (ܡܫܬܪ ܘܡܬܒܠ ܒܥܘܕܬܐ). He states that Jews would make themselves ready for the Passover by "slaughtering the Passover lamb" (ܡܟܝ ܐܡܪ ܡܫܚܛ) and "preparing…cold foods like beets and salt and some small herbs which (are) wild" (ܡܛܥܡ ܡܠܚ…ܘܡܠܚ ܒܝܬ ܒܪ ܡܕܡܝ ܡܫܠܡ ܡܠܦܦ ܡܢ) on Friday. Aḥob insists that Jews "were handing down" (ܐܡܪ ܡܫܠܡ) this approach, concerning "the day of Passover" (ܡܟܝ ܦܨ), to "those who were far off and were not (going to) be found in Jerusalem (during) the fast at the time of

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[416] Exod 20:10 states, "But the seventh day is a Sabbath to the Lord your God. You shall not do any work (on it), you and your son and your daughter and your (male) servant and your maidservant and your animals and your sojourner who (is dwelling) in your cities" (ܒܝܘܡ ܫܒ. ܥܒܕ ܠܐ ܬܥܒܕ ܠܝ. ܐܡܪ ܡܪܢ ܠܥܒܕ ܥܒܕܟ ܘܐܡܬܟ ܘܒܪܟ ܘܒܪܬܟ ܘܥܒܕܟ ܘܐܡܬܟ ܘܒܥܝܪܟ ܘܓܝܪܐ ܕܒܬܪܟ. ܘܒܟܠ ܒܥܝܪܟ ܓܝܪܐ ܕܒܬܪܟ ܘܒܗܝܡܬܟ ܘܓܝܪܐ ܕܒܬܪܟ).

[417] Deut 5:14 states, "But the seventh day is a Sabbath to the Lord your God. You shall not do any work on it, you and your son and your daughter and your (male) servant and your maidservant and your oxen and your donkeys and all your animals and the sojourner who is (dwelling) in your cities, that like you your (male) servant and your maidservant may rest" (ܒܝܘܡ ܫܒ ܒܪ ܥܒܕ ܠܐ ܬܥܒܕ ܠܝ. ܐܡܪ ܡܪܢ ܠܥܒܕ ܥܒܕܟ ܘܐܡܬܟ ܘܒܪܟ ܘܒܪܬܟ ܘܥܒܕܟ ܘܐܡܬܟ ܘܬܘܪܟ ܘܚܡܪܟ ܘܟܠ ܒܥܝܪܟ ܘܓܝܪܐ ܕܒܬܪܟ ܘܒܗܝܡܬܟ ܘܓܝܪܐ ܕܒܬܪܟ. ܕܢܢܘܚ ܥܒܕܟ ܘܐܡܬܟ ܐܦ ܐܢܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ).

[418] Deut 16:8 states, "(For) six days you will eat unleavened bread, but the seventh day is a (solemn) assembly to the Lord your God. You shall do no work on it" (ܫܬܐ ܝܘܡܝܢ ܬܐܟܠ ܦܛܝܪ ܠܚܡܐ ܘܒܝܘܡ ܫܒܥܐ ܥܨܪܬܐ ܗܝ ܠܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܟ ܠܐ ܬܥܒܕ ܒܗ ܥܒܕܐ ܕܥܒܕܐ.).

[419] Exod 35:3 states, "You shall not kindle a fire in any of your dwelling place(s) on the Sabbath day" (ܠܐ ܬܩܕܚܘܢ ܢܘܪܐ ܒܟܠ ܡܫܟܢܬܟܘܢ ܒܝܘܡ ܫܒܬܐ ܠܡܪܝ).

[420] Exod 12:6, 8 states, "[6] And it shall be kept by you until the fourteenth (day) in this month and all the people of the assembly of the sons of Israel will slaughter (their lambs) at sunset. [8] And they shall eat this flesh while (it is) roasting on a fire, and they shall eat it with unleavened bread (and) bitter herbs" (ܘܢܗܘܐ ܠܟܘܢ [6] ܥܕ ܐܪܒܥܣܪ ܝܘܡܐ ܒܗܕܐ ܝܪܚܐ ܘܟܠ ܟܢܘܫܬܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܝܣܪܝܠ ܢܟܘܢܘܗܝ ܒܝܢ ܫܡܫܝܐ. [8] ܘܢܐܟܠܘ ܠܒܣܪܐ ܗܕܐ ܒܠܝܐ ܒܢܘܪܐ ܘܦܛܝܪ ܢܐܟܠܘܗܝ ܥܡ ܡܪܝܪܐ ܘܥܣܒܐ ܡܪܝܪܐ).

[421] See also Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 183.

the fourteenth” (ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܕܐܢܫ ܕܝܘ ܠܥܡ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ). He further reveals that Jews resolved the discrepancy between the conflicting laws of the fourteenth and the “Sabbath” (ܫܒܬܐ) by asserting that the laws pertaining to the Sabbath were “for those who (were) in Judea” (ܠܐܝܗܘܕܝܐ ܠܥܢܝ) and the laws pertaining to the fourteenth – which Aḥob metonymically refers to as “the Holy Place” (ܫܒܬܐ ܫܒܬܐ) – were “for the ones who were near (to it)” (ܠܩܪܝܒܐ). He concludes his scholion by stating that Jews continue this practice “until now” (ܠܗܫܐ). Aḥob likely intends his scholion to reveal Jews’ insistence on continuing to adhere to conflicting Mosaic laws of Passover sacrifice and Sabbath.

Shbadnaya was also interested in better understanding how and why Jews followed divergent Mosaic laws of Passover sacrifice and Sabbath, as is shown by the fact that he included both Aḥob’s Calendrical scholion and the following section beginning with Author, both of which discuss these topics. As Carlson indicates:

> The calendrical implications of this conflict are brought out more fully by Shbadnaya in his comments immediately following [Aḥob’s scholion], where he discusses the date on which the Passover fell in that year, in both the solar and the lunar calendar, and the reasons why the Jewish Passover lines up with the Christian Holy Week some years but not others.[422]

Shbadnaya has either reworked Aḥob’s original Calendrical scholion for theological purposes (though it is unclear to what extent),[423] or he has received it (in its present form) from (an) earlier, unknown source(s). Either way, he likely included this Aḥob scholion in *sedra* Ṣādhē of his prose commentary on his *Poem*, because it provided an authoritative means (i.e. citing Aḥob by name) on which he could shift the focus of this *sedra* from a discussion of the events following Christ’s crucifixion to that of things related to Passover.

4.4.2. Eschatological Scholion

This Aḥob scholion is presented in the “second *sedra* of Tāw: On the Coming of the Son of Perdition” (ܕܪܫܐ ܬܪ ܫܒܥܐ ܠܡ ܒܪ ܐܒܕܐ ܕܝܢܐ), which is the 28th *sedre* in Shbadnaya’s prose commentary on his *Poem*.[424]

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[422] Carlson, “The Future of the Past,” 183-184.

[423] Ibid., 171-172. See also Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.3.3. Isaac Shbadnaya Scholion. While one cannot know to what extent this Aḥob scholion has been altered, the core of this scholion certainly goes back to Aḥob.

[424] This is the second of four *sedras* on Tāw. See Carlson, “A Light from ‘The Dark Centuries,’” 211 and A, f. 209r[mg].

A's Aḥob scholion in this *sedra*, along with its surrounding context, states:[425]

> Whoever believes and is baptized has eternal life. And for the one who apostatizes (there is) fire and darkness also forever. And, again, he raises up in glory these (ones) at his right hand and he also brings them into delight without end. And these (ones) standing at his left hand with shame of face and they are sent out to fire and darkness and gnashing of teeth. High and exalted (is) that delight beyond all understanding. And one knows it, the Lord who prepared it for the friends of his love. Aḥob Qaṭraya: Some (people) hand down that the offerings and thanksgiving, which our Lord delivered (to us), will continue 1596 years, (which is) the number (of years) that the offerings of Jerusalem and of the Law continued. The same blessed (one): It is also handed down that this world will be thirteen indictions from its beginning until its end: the first ten before the coming of Christ, and the (final) three from his coming until the end. Author: It is fitting that we should make known – just as it is given to us by the grace of Christ our hope – concerning the quality of trials and chastisements by the help[426] of God.[427] Briefly, therefore, it is necessary for us to make known to the discerning, just as in two (or) three places that I recall were delineated by us.[428]

Aḥob's scholion is situated between a lengthy fragment from a poem (attributed to Rabban Emmanuel bar Shahhare)[429] concerning various details related to the Final Judgement and a commentary (attributed to "Author" [ܡܚܝܪ]) on assorted types of suffering, the latter of which may have been written by Shbadnaya himself.[430] In his scholion, Aḥob seeks to preserve particular eschatological details, which have been "handed down" (ܡܫܬܠܡ) from earlier sources.[431] These are presented in two parts. In the first part, Aḥob makes a comparison

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[425] The Syriac text of this passage (including its rubricated words), which is found in A, ff. 213v, *13*-214r, *4*, *8*-214v, *2* and Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.2.2. Eschatological Scholion, states:
ܗܢ ܕܡܗܝܡܢ ܘܡܬܥܡܕ ܠܗ ܚܝܐ ܕܠܥܠܡ. ܘܠܗܢ ܕܡܬܟܕ ܢܘܪܐ ܘܚܫܟܐ ܐܦ ܠܥܠܡ. ܘܬܘܒ ܗܘ ܡܩܝܡ ܠܗܢ ܒܬܫܒܘܚܐ ܒܝܡܝܢܗ ܘܐܦ ܡܥܢܓ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܠܐ ܣܦ. ܘܗܠܝܢ ܕܩܐܡܝܢ ܒܣܡܐܠ ܝܡܝܢܗ ܒܟܠܝܡܬܐ ܕܦܢܝܐ ܘܫܕܝܢ ܠܢܘܪܐ ܘܚܫܟܐ ܘܠܩܛܘܪܐ ܕܫܢܐ. ܪܡ ܘܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܗܝ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܝܕܥ ܟܠ ܡܕܥ ܐܠܐ ܠܡܪܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܟܫܝ ܠܗ ܠܚܘܒܝ ܪܚܡܘܗܝ. ܗܠܝܢ ܡܫܠܡܢܐ ܐܢ ܐܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܒܗܬ ܡܫܬܠܡ ܗܘ ܕܐܦ ܗܢ ܥܠܡܐ ܗܢ ܢܗܘܐ ܫܒܥ ܥܣܪ ܐܝܢܕܝܛܘܢ ܡܢ ܫܘܪܝܗ ܥܕ ܣܘܦܗ ܥܣܪ ܩܕܡ ܡܝܬܝ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܬܠܬ ܡܢ ܡܝܬܝܗ ܥܕ ܣܘܦܗ. ܡܚܝܪ ܫܦܝܪ ܗܘ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܢ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܢ ܒܛܝܒܘܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܣܒܪܬܢ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܘܕܥܝܢ ܠܡܦܠܓܢ ܒܥܫܪ ܘܬܠܬ ܕܟܪܝܢ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܢ ܒܬܪ ܚܕ ܘܬܪܝܢ ܐܘ ܬܠܬ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܦܩܕ ܠܢ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܡܠܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܢ.

[426] The scribe of A (possibly Metropolitan Isho'yahb of Soba [Nisibis] and Armenia) misspelled "by his help" (ܒܥܕܪܗ) and marked it with a superscript line, likely to offset it as a mistake. The correct spelling follows this error. See A, f. 214r, *16-17* and Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 173.

[427] The scribe of A accidentally wrote "of our Lord" (ܕܡܪܢ) and marked it with a superscript line, likely to offset it as a mistake. The correct wording "of God" (ܕܐܠܗܐ) follows this error. See A, f. 214r, *17*.

[428] My translation is based on an unpublished English translation of Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem*, which was produced by Thomas A. Carlson, and Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.2.2. Eschatological Scholion.

[429] Bar Shahhare's name is presented earlier in this prose commentary in its shortened form as "Rabban Emmanuel" (ܪܒܢ ܥܡܡܘܐܝܠ). See A, f. 211r, *16*. For a brief introduction to Bar Shahhare, see Lucas Van Rompay, "Emmanuel bar Shahhare," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 143-144.

[430] Carlson, "A Light from 'The Dark Centuries,'" 203, n. 50.

[431] For a further discussion of these sources, see Chapter 5, Section 5.7. The Eschatology of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

"based on symmetry with the sacrificial system of the Old Testament"[432] – what he calls "the offerings of Jerusalem and of the Law" (ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܕܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܘܕܢܡܘܣܐ) – and "the offerings and thanksgiving, which our Lord delivered" (ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܘܬܘܕܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܢ ܝܗܒ). Just as the former was effectuated for "1596 years" (ܬܫܥ ܡܐܐ ܘܬܫܥ ܣܓ ܫܢܝܢ), so "the offerings and thanksgiving, which our Lord delivered" will endure for the same number of years.

In the second part, Aḥob states a numerological interpretation[433] that divides world history (likely beginning with year 1, as described in Gen 1) into thirteen "indictions" (ܐܝܢܕܝܩܛܘܢ), all of which are intended to specify when the end will occur. Aḥob asserts that the "first ten (transpired) before the coming of Christ" (ܥܣܪܐ ܩܕܡ ܡܫܝܚܐ ...ܐܬܝ), and there will be "three from his coming until the end" (ܬܠܬ ܡܢ ܐܬܝܗ ܥܕ ܣܘܦܐ). He unfortunately does not develop these insights any further.

Shbadnaya is also interested in eschatology, which is shown by the multiple writers he cites over many folios on this particular topic. Concerning Aḥob's Eschatological scholion, he has either selected two unconnected fragments of the original scholion or he has received it (in its fragmented form) from (an) earlier, unknown source(s). Either way, it is likely that he has altered (at minimum) select aspects of this extant scholion.[434]

In Byzantine sources, the usual meaning for the singular noun "indiction" is a cycle of 15 years, as well as each year in this cycle.[435] However, Shbadnaya seems to be reinterpreting "indictions" (in this Aḥob scholion) according to "the 532-year cycle of Easter dates in the Julian calendar, so that both of these passages [i.e. both parts of this Aḥob scholion] agree on a period of 1596 years following the coming of Christ."[436] While Carlson has noted that Shbadnaya may be drawing some of his numerological insights from the *Book of the Bee* (which offers a close number compared to Aḥob's time span, namely, 1629 years),[437] he further suggests "that 1596 years after the resurrection of Christ is almost exactly the year 1000 in the [Islamic] Hijri calendar[, which] suggests that this calculation was influenced by the expectations of the apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius."[438] If the resurrection of Christ is

[432] Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 191.

[433] Cf. ibid.

[434] Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 171-172. See also Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.3.3. Isaac Shbadnaya Scholion. While one cannot know to what extent this Aḥob scholion has been altered, the core of this scholion certainly goes back to Aḥob.

[435] See, for instance, Yiannis E. Meimaris, *Chronological Systems in Roman-Byzantine Palestine and Arabia: The Evidence of the Dated Greek Inscriptions* (Athens: Eptalophos S.A., 1992), 32-34.

[436] Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 191.

[437] Cf. ibid. and n. 106-107.

[438] Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 191.

believed to have occurred in roughly 341 AG[439] (i.e. AD 30), according to the Syriac chroniclers,[440] and the various dates (including the Hijri calendar [*Anno Hegirae*])[441] stated above are placed in a table, it would appear as follows:

Seleucid Era (AG)	Hijri Calendar (AH)	Anno Domini
1937/1938 AG	1035 AH	AD 1626

However, if Carlson's proposal is slightly modified and Aḥob's 1596 years is begun with the birth of Christ (i.e. 309 AG [i.e. -3/-2 BC] according to these same Syriac chroniclers)[442] the above dates would be changed to the following:

Seleucid Era (AG)	Hijri Calendar (AH)	Anno Domini
1905 AG	1001/1002 AH	AD 1593/1594

Other potential combinations of dates, using Aḥob's 1596 years or the year 1000 (which are not similar to the above tables)[443] include the following:

	Seleucid Era (AG)	Hijri Calendar (AH)	Anno Domini
For 1000 AG:	1000 AG	68/69 AH	AD 688/689
For AD 1000:	1311/1312 AG	390 AH	AD 1000
For 1596 AG:	1596 AG	683/684 AH	AD 1284/1285
For 1596 AH:	2481/2482 AG	1596 AH	AD 2170

Each of these dates are arguably less convincing than the previously suggested dates for one of two reasons: 1) they either transpired long before Shbadnaya lived, or 2) they have not yet occurred, i.e. 1596 AH. Since the only date that can be fixed to Shbadnaya is 1751 AG (i.e. AD 1439/1440),[444] the most plausible explanation is that he has reinterpreted Aḥob's 1596 years in light of the Hijri calendar, meaning he anticipated the conclusion of Aḥob's 1596 years

[439] This is the East Syriac Seleucid Era (i.e. *Anno Graecorum*).

[440] See Muriel Debié, *L'écriture de l'histoire en syriaque: transmissions interculturelles et constructions identitaires entre hellénisme et islam. Avec des répertoires des textes historiographiques en annexe* (Late Antique History and Religion 12; Leuven: Peeters, 2015), 274 for several dates of Christ's Passion, as it was dated by a number of Syriac writers. Since Christ rose from the dead three days after the conclusion of his Passion, the same year can be assumed for his resurrection. Thus, if these suggested dates are averaged, the date for Christ's resurrection is roughly 341 AG or AD 30.

[441] All dates, according to the Hijri calendar, are taken from Habib, "Islamic Hijri Calendar For 1400 Years," accessed 7 March 2020, https://habibur.com/hijri/ and idem, "Islamic Hijri Calendar For Muharram – 1596 Hijri," accessed 7 March 2020, https://habibur.com/hijri/1596/1/.

[442] Debié, *L'écriture de l'histoire en syriaque*, 272.

[443] For 1000 AH: 1903/1904 AG = 1000 AH = AD 1592, and for 1596 AD: 1907/1908 AG = 1004 AH = AD 1596.

[444] Carlson, "A Light from 'The Dark Centuries,'" 197-198.

around 1001/1002 AH, a date which is very close to 1000 AH and is also only 154 years (AG) beyond his own time. If this revised proposal is accepted, it would imply that Shbadnaya expected the end of time to come a few generations after his own time.

Beyond the particulars of trying to understand how he interpreted Aḥob's 1596 years, Shbadnaya likely includes Aḥob's Eschatological scholion in his prose commentary on his *Poem*, because it provided a more tangible date – at least compared to the preceding Bar Shahhare fragment – of when the end would happen.[445]

4.5. Conclusion

Isho'dad preserves more of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works than any other known East Syriac writer. Of the 16 anonymized Aḥob scholia he uses (all of which are included as part of the main text of his works), 2 are found in his *Commentary on Genesis* (i.e. Genesis 15:9-10; 50:10), 1 in *1 Samuel* (i.e. 1 Samuel 8:1, 6), and 13 in *Psalms* (i.e. Psalm 5:4; 29:9; 31:6; 39:4-6; 40:8; 42:2; 45:9; 68:14; 68:16-17; 104:2-3; 105:17-19; 110 Prologue; 110:3). He also utilizes 7 anonymized fragments from Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* in the introduction to his *Commentary on Psalms*. Isho'dad is selective in both his use and preservation of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works. While this is observable in his use of Aḥob's Genesis 15:9-10; 50:10; 1 Samuel 8:1, 6 scholia, it is more pronounced in his use of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* and omission of roughly 5½ Aḥob Psalms scholia (i.e. Psalm 39:2; 45 Prologue; 48:4; 58:4, 58:5-6; vv. 17-18 of Psalm 105:17-19), at least according to what can be compared with Aḥob's Psalm-related writings prefixed to/preserved in the *DGC*.[446] He rarely includes a given Aḥob scholion verbatim. Rather, he typically interacts with it, either selecting only the parts that interest him or presenting it in order to disagree with it, such as is the case with Aḥob's Genesis 50:10 and 1 Samuel 8:1, 6 scholia. One of the ways in which Isho'dad reworks select Aḥob scholia is that he interweaves fragments of Theodore of Mopsuestia's commentary on a given verse with parts of the parallel Aḥob scholion on the same verse. Examples of this include Aḥob's Psalm 5:4 and v. 6 of his Psalm 39:4-6 scholia. With the exception of Aḥob's Psalm 40:8 scholion, Isho'dad does not interact with or preserve any Aḥob Old Testament exegetical work that is not found elsewhere in the East Syriac exegetical tradition in a fuller (presumably unaltered) form, meaning his use of these writings evidences (on a greater scale than Bar Koni's) how several of Aḥob's exegetical works were developed by a single writer in the East

[445] Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 191.
[446] Cf. Molenberg, "The Interpreter Interpreted," 219.

Syriac exegetical tradition. Given the number of Aḥob's exegetical works he uses in his *Commentary on Genesis*, *1 Samuel*, and *Psalms*, Isho'dad arguably had access to the originally larger collection of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works but only selected what interested him for inclusion in his Old Testament commentaries.

Possibly due to general interest in the Psalms, Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* was used by one manuscript tradition (i.e. late 19th-century *DGC* manuscripts)[447] and three separate writers (i.e. Nathniel, Bar Koni, and Isho'dad), revealing that Aḥob had a significant impact upon subsequent East Syriac thought concerning the importance of the Psalms. While Nathniel, Bar Koni, and Isho'dad were aware (to varying degrees) of Basil's Syriac Prologue to Psalm 1, Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* appears to have functioned as their preferred summary of this earlier text.[448]

The *AC* preserves 5 Aḥob scholia, four of which are attributed to Aḥob in all known *AC* manuscripts; its Gen 15:9-10 text is only attributed to Aḥob in later *AC* manuscripts. Of these 5 Aḥob scholia, two are marginal notes (1 Samuel 8:1, 6 and Bar Sira 14:12, 18) and three (Genesis 15:9-10; 50:10; Numbers 21:19) are presented as part of the main text, either as the primary authority on or a contributing voice in the interpretation of these verses. Aḥob's marginal scholia were added to D by a later, unknown scribe. At minimum, he had access to these two Aḥob scholia (whereas the unknown scribe of D likely did not) and was also seeking to expand the *AC* manuscript tradition in select verses. The *AC's* secondary usage of Aḥob's Genesis 15:9-10 scholion has been little altered from its source, namely *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*. Its usage of Aḥob's Genesis 50:10 scholion is unique, in that it is the only instance within the East Syriac exegetical tradition where an Aḥob Old Testament scholion is developed in a tertiary manner (beginning with its usage in *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*, which is developed by Isho'dad, which is then further developed by the *AC*). While its Aḥob Numbers 21:19 and Bar Sira 14:12, 18 scholia are unattested elsewhere, its Aḥob 1 Samuel 8:1, 6 scholion was also used by Isho'dad. However, he only offered a summary of this scholion; the *AC* presents its fuller (and presumably unaltered) form. As Ter Haar Romeny has noted:

> The simplest explanation for [the *AC's* development of both *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* and Isho'dad's use of Aḥob's Genesis 15:9-10; 50:10 scholia]…is a procedure which we often see in East Syriac exegetical collections: they tend to work on the basis of an earlier core, to which they add new material. When they come across

[447] See Chapter 3, Section 3.4. The Use of Aḥob of Qatar's Exegesis in the *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary*.
[448] For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.1.2. Basil of Caesarea's Prologue to Psalm 1.

> parallel material, that is, material from their additional sources which is already present in some form in the earlier core, they often give a fuller reading or they add further information.[449]

The *AC's* usage of only 5 attributed Aḥob scholia (in its entire Old Testament commentary) reveals that its scribes had direct access to some Aḥob Old Testament scholia. They also had indirect access to the originally larger collection of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works (via Isho'dad) but were intentionally selective of what they chose for inclusion in the *AC*.

It is worth noting that of all his extant scholia, Aḥob's Genesis 15:9-10 scholion was the most widely used, being utilized by two separate manuscript traditions (i.e. *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* and the *AC*) and two separate writers (i.e. Bar Koni and Isho'dad). While this may be the result of historical happenstance (i.e. certain manuscripts survived for later use while others did not for a variety of reasons), it, nevertheless, reflects the interests of the East Syriac exegetical tradition, in that Gen 15:9-10 was viewed as an important (and difficult to understand) text and Aḥob's Genesis 15:9-10 scholion provided an authoritative explanation of these two verses.

Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* attributes 11 scholia to Aḥob (often spelled Ḥob) in eleven separate entries (i.e. ܐܒܠܐ, ܐܝܠܐ, ܐܡܪ, ܐܩܦ, ܐܪܡܝܐ, ܒܐ ܒܐ, ܒܐ ܒܐ, ܒܐܫ, ܒܐܫܐ, ܓܐ, ܓܐܬ). These Aḥob scholia are presented as either etymological glosses of proper names or brief definitions of various biblical words and/or phrases, all of which are noticeably less sophisticated than Aḥob's other extant Old Testament exegetical works. Each Bar Bahlul Aḥob scholion is likely only a fraction of its original length.[450] Aside from the alteration that can be shown by way of comparison between Aḥob's comment in the *Lexicon's* ܐܒܠܐ entry and Aḥob's parallel Psalm 45:9 scholion in the *DGC*, it is difficult to know the extent of the changes that were likely made to Aḥob's scholia in the *Lexicon*, though it is probable that all of its Arabic words/phrases attributed to Aḥob were originally written in Syriac, prior to being included in the *Lexicon*. While all 11 of these Aḥob scholia were added to the *Lexicon* at an early date (probably from its inception), it is unclear if Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) had access to the originally larger collection of Aḥob Old Testament exegetical works or if his/their unknown source(s) only preserved the Aḥob scholia that are

[449] Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 141-142.

[450] I would argue that the lack of sophistication in these Aḥob scholia arises from their being reworked by later writers, rather than from the possible notion that they should be considered (something along the lines of) pseudo-Aḥobian scholia. See Chapter 4, Subsection 4.3.1. ܐܒܠܐ.

now included in the *Lexicon*. Either way, 10 of the 11 Aḥob scholia in the *Lexicon* are otherwise unattested (in their attributed form),[451] suggesting that Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) had access to previously unused Aḥob material from, at the earliest, the mid-10th century.

Isaac Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem* preserves 2 scholia that are attributed solely to Aḥob (i.e. his Calendrical and Eschatological scholia).[452] Shbadnaya likely alters aspects of these scholia, though it is also possible that he received them in a modified form from (an) earlier, unknown source(s). Shbadnaya is interested in a number of biblically-related themes and relies on Aḥob's scholia (in part) to explain aspects of them, particularly Mosaic laws surrounding the Passover and Sabbath, as well as eschatological interpretations. Since he only preserves Aḥob scholia that are not extant elsewhere, it is unclear to what extent he had access to the originally larger collection of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works. In any event, his selectivity of otherwise unattested Aḥob scholia for his prose commentary on his *Poem* evidences the probability that the original number of Aḥob scholia available to the East Syriac exegetical tradition must have been more substantial than what is now extant.

Within the East Syriac exegetical tradition, Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works are unusual, in that the number (and often the length) of his scholia do not diminish through use over time. Rather, previously unused (and/or fuller versions of known) Aḥob scholia were added to late East Syriac exegetical works. This is most notably observed in the *AC*, Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*, Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem*, and the *DGC*, the last of which (possibly beginning with ms. Mosul 20 in 1875) witnessed the addition of 18 Aḥob scholia, 17 of which are not found elsewhere in the same form.[453] The inclusion of Aḥob scholia in the

[451] Bar Koni (in *Memra* V, 11 and 14 [numbers 3 and 5]), Isho'dad (in his commentary on Dan 1:7; 11:31), and the *AC* (in its commentary on Dan 1:7; 11:31) also preserve the equivalent of Aḥob's ܚܠܠܝܬܐ, ܥܢܢܐ, ܡܨܥܐ, ܫܒܐ and ܚܩܩܐ scholia. See Scher, *Theodorus bar Kōnī* (Syr. II, 65), 341, *22*, 346, *2-5* and n. 5; Hespel and Draguet, *Théodore bar Koni (recension de Séert)* (vol. 1), 286, 289; Van den Eynde, *Jérémie, Ézéchiel, Daniel* (text), 103, *9-11*, 128, *11*; idem, *Jérémie, Ézéchiel, Daniel* (trans.), 118, 147; D, ff. 234v, *24-26*, 242r, *32-33*. Isho' bar Nun (in his *Selected Questions* on Psalms; Cambridge, University Library, Add. 2017, f. 52v, *14-15*) preserves the rough equivalent of Aḥob's ܚܩܩܐ scholion only. All of these parallel texts (in Bar Koni, Isho' bar Nun, Isho'dad, and the *AC*) are presented anonymously. While it is theoretically possible that (concerning these Aḥob scholia) there is a complex relationship between Bar Bahlul and these earlier sources, the more likely explanation is that these etymologies were widespread in popular use, implying that Bar Bahlul is not relying on Bar Koni, Isho' bar Nun, Isho'dad, or the *AC* (at least concerning these Aḥob scholia) but, rather, on another/other unknown source(s) which preserved these Aḥob scholia in their attributed form. For a discussion of one of Bar Bahlul's possible sources for Aḥob scholia, see Chapter 5, Section 5.1. The Original Form of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works. For an instance of one of these etymologies in popular, anonymized use, see Bensly and Barnes, *The Fourth Book of Maccabees*, ܡܚܗ, *3* (Syriac) and xlviii, D (English).

[452] For a discussion of a third Aḥob scholion, which is also attributed to Gabriel Qaṭraya, in Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem*, see Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.3.3. Isaac Shbadnaya Scholion.

[453] Aḥob's Psalm 40:8 scholion is preserved in the same form in Isho'dad's *Commentary on Psalms* and in the *DGC*.

DGC (in several late 19th-century manuscripts)[454] essentially doubled the (now) known Aḥob scholia – as they were used and preserved by the earlier East Syriac exegetical tradition – from 18 to 36 scholia. Aḥob's only complete work, *Cause of the Psalms* (in its presumed original form) was also included as part of a diverse collection of documents – *The Book of the Causes of the Psalms* – which precedes the *DGC*. Thus, the manner by which Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works have been rediscovered and used in the past suggests it is quite possible that previously unused Aḥob Old Testament exegetical works (whole or fragmented) will be found in unstudied or inaccessible East Syriac exegetical works and used in the future.

[454] For a further discussion, see Chapter 2, Section 2.1. Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works in the Syriac Manuscript Tradition.

CHAPTER 5

THE DISTINCTIVENESS OF AḤOB OF QATAR'S OLD TESTAMENT EXEGETICAL WORKS

This chapter will present several studies of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament exegetical works, beginning with a discussion of their original form and their original purpose in the first and second sections, respectively. The third section will consider the text of the Peshitta Old Testament underlying Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works. The fourth section, which is the central focus of this chapter, will examine the multiple Greek, Syriac, and other sources utilized by Aḥob to produce his Old Testament exegetical works. Further aspects of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works, namely, their Christology, polemics, and eschatology, will be explored in the fifth, sixth, and seventh sections, respectively. The eighth section will analyze the exegetical tendencies of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works, in order to highlight their overall distinctiveness within the East Syriac exegetical tradition. Concluding remarks for each section will be reserved for the conclusion of this chapter, which will be presented in Section 5.9. Conclusion below.

5.1. The Original Form of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works

It must be stated from the outset that Aḥob probably never produced an extended exegetical work, akin to one of the commentaries of Isho'dad. The general notion that Aḥob wrote a commentary appears to have originated from 'Abdisho''s *Catalogue of Books*, in which he states that Aḥob "composed a commentary" (ܦܫܝܛܐ ܥܒܕ) on several books in the Old Testament and on all of the New Testament.[1] In more recent scholarship, Leonhard hints at a similar position by stating that the *DGC* "was expanded by extracts of a similar work by Aḥob of Qatar."[2] Ter Haar Romeny takes a comparable position and states that Aḥob's "introductory treatise and…(Psalm) fragments were taken from a full commentary on the Psalms," though he does admit that 'Abdisho' does not specifically mention that Aḥob wrote such a work.[3]

However, having collected, edited, and analyzed his extant Old Testament exegetical works (in Chapters 2-4), the available data suggests that – contrary to 'Abdisho', Leonhard,

[1] Habbi, *Fihris al-mu'allifīn ta'līf li-'Abd Yašū' al-Ṣūbāwī*, 98, *793-794*.

[2] Clemens Leonhard, *Ishodad of Merw's Exegesis of the Psalms 119 and 139-147* (CSCO 585, Subs. 107; Louvain: Peeters, 2001), 14.

[3] Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 147.

and Ter Haar Romeny – Aḥob likely produced his Old Testament exegetical works (with the exception of his *Cause of the Psalms*)[4] in the form of scholia. There are a few pieces of primary evidence supporting this proposal:

- The majority of Aḥob's Old Testament scholia seek to define and/or understand difficult Peshitta words and phrases.[5]
- Several of his Old Testament scholia focus on Peshitta words and phrases beginning with the letter ܐ,[6] three of which center around words related to ܐܠܗ.[7]
- With one possible exception,[8] Aḥob does not reference back or forth in his Old Testament scholia.

This final piece of evidence is perhaps the strongest indicator that Aḥob originally wrote his Old Testament exegetical works in the form of scholia. However, these pieces of evidence alone do not establish any particular original form for his Old Testament scholia.

Turning to the scribal history of Aḥob's Old Testament scholia in the East Syriac exegetical tradition, there are a few pieces of secondary evidence supporting the scholia proposal:

- No East Syriac manuscript tradition and/or writer ever uses the phraseology "According to Aḥob's commentary…"; rather, the phrases "According to Aḥob" (ܠܐܘܒ / ܕܐܘܒ),[9] "According to Aḥob Qaṭraya" (ܩܛܪܝܐ ܕܐܘܒ),[10] "According to Mar Aḥob Qaṭraya" (ܩܛܪܝܐ ܕܐܘܒ ܡܪܝ),[11] and "Ḥob says/Ayyub said" (ܐܡܪ ܐܘܒ / ܐܘܒ ܐܡܪ / ܐܘܒ ܐܡܪ)[12] are used. His name, both with an honorary title, i.e. "Mar

[4] Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* is not a scholion but a complete prose introduction to the Psalms. For a discussion of this work, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.1. *Cause of the Psalms*. For the remainder of this section only, the phrase "Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works" refers to all of his extant Old Testament exegetical works, with the exception of his *Cause of the Psalms*.

[5] These include the following 30 (of 35 extant) scholia: Genesis 15:9-10, Genesis 50:10, ܚܨܒܐ, ܚܨܒ ܚܨܒ, Numbers 21:19, ܚܒܒܐ, Psalm 5:4, Psalm 29:9, Psalm 31:6, Psalm 39:2, Psalm 39:4-6, Psalm 40:8, Psalm 42:2, Psalm 45:9, Psalm 48:4, Psalm 58:4, Psalm 58:5-6, Psalm 68:14, Psalm 68:16-17, Psalm 104:2-3, Psalm 105:17-19, Psalm 110:3, ܐܡܪ, ܐܝܠܝ, ܐܠܗ, ܐ ܐܠܗ, ܐܠܗ, ܐܝܠܝ, Bar Sira 14:12, 18, and ܚܩܩ.

[6] These include the following 5 (of 35 extant) scholia: Psalm 29:9, Psalm 45 Prologue, Psalm 58:4, Psalm 58:5-6, and Bar Sira 14:12, 18.

[7] These include the following scholia: Genesis 50:10, Psalm 31:6, and Psalm 39:2.

[8] For a further discussion, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.3. Psalm 29:9.

[9] See D, f. 53v, *1*, f. 133r^{mg}; O, f. 47v, *16*, f. 377v, *19*; K, f. 56v, *17*, f. 158v, *16*; P, f. 23v, *9*, f. 49r, *8*, f. 118v, *10*; A, f. 49r, *4*, f. 139r, *6*; V, f. 6v, *1*, f. 53r, *5*; V^2, f. 21r, *11*, f. 52v, *15*, f. 143r, *1*; M^2, f. 12r, *15*, f. 31v, *11*, f. 89v, *10*.

[10] See D, f. 83v^{mg}.

[11] See V, p. 3, *4-5*; L, f. 1v, *10-11*; M, f. 1v, *11*; S, f. 1r, *5*; C, f. 12v, *2*.

[12] See B, col. 223, *13-14*, col. 397, *12*, col. 1077, *16*, col. 1143, *4*, col. 1212, *3*, col. 1400, *5*, cols. 1645, *23*-1646, *1*, col. 1937, *3*, col. 2092, *3*.

Aḥob Qaṭraya" (ܐܚܘܒ ܩܛܪܝܐ ,ܐܚ),[13] and alone, whether "Aḥob" (ܐܚܘܒ)[14] or "Aḥob Qaṭraya" (ܐܚܘܒ ܩܛܪܝܐ / ܩܛܪܝܐ ܐܚܘܒ),[15] are also used to begin a given entry or Old Testament exegetical work.[16]

- Every attributed Aḥob Old Testament exegetical work is preserved in the form of scholia, from *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* (in first half of the 8th century) to the *DGC* (possibly beginning with ms. Mosul 20 in 1875).

Further evidence for the scholia proposal may be found in observing the manner by which Aḥob's Old Testament scholia were disseminated in the East Syriac exegetical tradition:

- Though there is no extant evidence that Aḥob's Old Testament scholia were used by any East Syriac manuscript tradition or writer before *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*, it is likely that they were being used in some capacity during the 7th century.[17]
- The unknown author of *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* likely had direct access to, at minimum, Aḥob's original Genesis scholia.
- Bar Koni likely relied on *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* or a similar (now lost) exegetical collection for his knowledge of Aḥob's Genesis 15:9-10 scholion.
- The *DGC* manuscript tradition likely had direct access to what remained of Aḥob's Psalm scholia in the late 19th century for the following two reasons:
  - Joseph Audo, the scribe of ms. Mosul 20 (1875) is likely the compiler of *The Book of the Causes of the Psalms*, though he only included 4 documents in this book.[18] He may have also been the first scribe to add select Aḥob Psalms scholia to the *DGC*;[19] however, this cannot be confirmed because this manuscript is inaccessible.
  - Either additional Aḥob Psalms scholia or as many as 18 Aḥob Psalms

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[13] See F, p. 182, *2*.

[14] See V, p. 34, n. 4, p. 38, n. 7, p. 46, *11*, p. 48, n. 2; L, f. 44v^{mg}, f. 46r^{mg}, f. 56r^{mg}, f. 56v, *7*, f. 58v^{mg}, f. 60r, *19*, f. 63v^{mg}, f. 64r^{mg}, f. 67r^{mg}, f. 78r, *8*, f. 78r^{mg}, f. 87v^{mg} (2x), f. 128r, *4*, f. 132r^{mg}, f. 140r, *21*, f. 140v^{mg}; M, f. 45r^{mg}, f. 46r^{mg}, f. 56v^{mg}, f. 56v, *20*, f. 58v^{mg}, f. 60v, *2*, f. 63v^{mg}, f. 64r^{mg}, f. 67r^{mg}, f. 77r, *22*, f. 77v^{mg}, f. 86r^{mg} (2x), f. 126r, *6*, f. 130r^{mg}, f. 138r, *28*, f. 139r, *3*; S, f. 85r^{mg}, f. 87r^{mg}, f. 106v^{mg}, f. 107r, *15*, f. 110r^{mg}, f. 111r^{mg}, f. 112v^{mg}, f. 119r^{mg}, f. 120r^{mg}, f. 126r^{mg}, f. 145r, *13-14*, f. 145r^{mg}, f. 162r^{mg} (2x), f. 235r, *13*, f. 240r^{mg}, f. 256r, *9*, f. 257r^{mg}; C, f. 44r^{mg}, f. 45r^{mg}, f. 54r^{mg}, f. 54r, *21-22*, f. 57r^{mg}, f. 59v^{mg}, f. 60r^{mg}, f. 72r, *26*, f. 72v^{mg}, f. 80r^{mg} (2x), f. 113v, *12*, f. 116r^{mg}, f. 123r, *26*, f. 123v^{mg}; B, col. 1450, *5*.

[15] See L, f. 20v^{mg}; M f. 20v^{mg}; S, f. 38r^{mg}; C, f. 24r^{mg}; F, p. 190, *9*.

[16] This list does not include the Arabic renderings of Aḥob's name in various sources.

[17] Cf. Molenberg, "The Silence of the Sources," 145, 162.

[18] Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), xxxvi; Van Rompay, *Théodore de Mopsueste* (trans.), xiii; Scher, "Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques," 234. In later *DGC* manuscripts, further works were added to this book.

[19] Cf. Van den Eynde, *Psaumes* (trans.), xxxvi.

scholia were added to accessible late 19th-century *DGC* manuscripts (i.e. (V)LMSC), though it is unclear if V included all 18 Aḥob Psalms scholia, due to Vandenhoff's selective approach.

- Isho'dad likely had direct access to all of Aḥob's Old Testament scholia.
- The *AC* manuscript tradition likely had direct access to, at minimum, 5 Aḥob Old Testament scholia for the following two reasons:
  - Aḥob's 1 Samuel 8:1, 6 and Bar Sira 14:12, 18 scholia (in their attributed form) were added to D (= ms. (*olim*) Diyarbakir 22) by a later, unknown scribe. His source is unknown.
  - Aḥob's Genesis 15:9-10, Genesis 50:10, and Numbers 21:19 scholia were not consistently attributed to Aḥob until the production of P (= ms. St. Petersburg (*olim* Diettrich 2)), which is dated to around 1700. Its source is unknown.

  At the same time, the *AC* manuscript tradition likely had indirect access to Aḥob's Genesis scholia (via *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*) and Psalms scholia (via Isho'dad), the latter of which were not used.
- Bar Bahlul either had indirect access to all of Aḥob's Old Testament scholia or only those which are preserved in his *Lexicon*. It is possible that he gained access to several Aḥob scholia via Henanisho' bar Seroshway's *Lexicon*, which is now lost.[20] For instance, of the 11 entries containing Aḥob scholia in Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon*, 7 also contain Bar Seroshway's definitions or etymologies, which are presented as either preceding or following a given Aḥob scholion.[21] If accepted, it must be stated that Bar Seroshway's source for these 7 Aḥob scholia is unknown, and it is also unclear what Bar Bahlul's source would have been for the other 4 Aḥob scholia he cites in his *Lexicon*.[22]

[20] Kozah, "Introduction," 17, 61-62 and Minov, "Bar Sarōšway on Melchizedek," 720. George Kiraz reconstructed (what remains of) Henanisho' bar Seroshway's *Lexicon* from Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* but did not include any of Aḥob's Bar Bahlul scholia in his edition. This appears to be based strictly on what he determines to be the beginning and end of a given Bar Seroshway entry, and he admits that some entries may well have originally included fragments from earlier writers. See George Kiraz, "A Reconstruction of the Lexicon of Ḥenanisho' bar Saroshway," in Mario Kozah, George Kiraz, Abdulrahim Abu-Husayn, Haya Al Thani, and Saif Al-Murikhi (eds.), *Beth Qaṭraye: A Lexical and Toponymical Survey* (Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies 58; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2021), 195-196, 224, *3*, 240, *24*, 338, *6*, 339, *3*, 342, *34*, 370, *5*, 404, *1*.

[21] These 7 Bar Bahlul Aḥob scholia are the following: Psalm 45:9 (presented, in part, in the ܡܠܟܝܨܕܩ entry), ܚܠܦܝ, ܒܚܕ ܗܘ, ܚܕ ܒܚܕ, ܚܕ ܒܚܕ, ܡܫܬܘܬ, ܡܫܬܘܬ, ܝܬܪ. The presentation of these Aḥob scholia, in conjunction with Bar Seroshway's definitions and/or etymologies, likely reflects Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) choice of arrangement.

[22] These 4 Bar Bahlul Aḥob scholia are the following: ܡܫܐ, ܡܫܩܛ, ܐܒܕܘܢ, ܫܐܘܠ.

- Isaac Shbadnaya either had direct access to some of Aḥob's Old Testament scholia, or he relied on an earlier, unknown source.

Bar Bahlul, Shbadnaya, and, to some extent, the *DGC*[23] use Aḥob material that is unattested elsewhere in the East Syriac exegetical tradition, revealing that Aḥob material (which was unexploited by earlier surviving sources) was available from the mid-10th century until the late 19th century. This is unusual, in that most collections of scholia tend to reduce both in number and in individual size as later scribes no longer have access to the original manuscript(s) and can only interact with the scholia alone, whereby some (or parts of some) are selected for inclusion in their works and others are disregarded and eventually lost. It is almost certain that the 35 extant Aḥob Old Testament scholia do not encompass the totality of his original scholia but rather likely reflect later scribal selection. While the exact number of his original scholia cannot be known, it is reasonable to suggest that their collective number was undoubtedly larger than what is currently known.

Similarly, the individual size of several Aḥob Old Testament scholia was likely longer in their original form. Unlike their number, the original length of several Aḥob Old Testament scholia can be established. For instance, though he does not write in a consistently formulaic manner, Aḥob's extant Old Testament scholia can be categorized into 4 broad types:

1) notes on a single Peshitta word or phrase

2) notes on multiple Peshitta words and/or phrases

3) definitions and etymologies

4) other notes.

Concerning the scholia that are notes on a single Peshitta word or phrase, each consists of 3 parts in the following order:

A) a Peshitta word or phrase beginning the scholion

B) a commentary on this Peshitta word or phrase

C) one or more glosses of this Peshitta word or phrase from a non-Syriac language often (though not exclusively) concluding the scholion.

If each relevant Aḥob Old Testament scholion were divided into these 3 parts and numerically ordered according to its extant progression, each would appear as follows:

[23] Isho'dad preserves several Aḥob Psalms scholia also found in the *DGC*, though the *DGC* likely preserves their presumed original form. The Aḥob Psalms scholia found in the *DGC*, but not in Isho'dad, include the following: Psalm 39:2, Psalm 45 Prologue, Psalm 48:4, Psalm 58:4, Psalm 58:5-6, and vv. 17-18 of Psalm 105:17-19.

	A	B	C
Genesis 50:10	3	2	1
Psalm 5:4		1	
Psalm 29:9		1	
Psalm 31:6	1	2	
Psalm 39:2		1	
Psalm 40:8		1	
Psalm 42:2		1	
Psalm 45:9		2	1 / 3
Psalm 48:4	1	2	
Psalm 58:4	1	2	3
Psalm 58:5-6		1	2
Psalm 68:14			1
Psalm 68:16-17			1
Psalm 110:3		1 / 3	2

Concerning the scholia that are notes on multiple Peshitta words and/or phrases, each consists of 4 parts:

A) introductory Aḥobian word or words (which may or may not include Peshitta words)

B) a Peshitta word or phrase

C) a commentary on this Peshitta word or phrase

D) (repeating parts B-C, with subsequent Peshitta words and phrases, one or more times).

If each relevant Aḥob Old Testament scholion were divided into these 4 parts and numerically ordered according to its extant progression, each would appear as follows:

	A	B	C	D
Genesis 15:9-10	1	2	3	4
Psalm 39:4-6		1	2	3
Psalm 104:2-3[24]	1	2	3	4
Psalm 105:17-19	1	2	3	
Bar Sira 14:12, 18		1	2	3

Concerning the scholia that are definitions and etymologies, each consists of 2 parts:

A) a Peshitta word or phrase

[24] This particular scholion also has a diagrammatic illustration connected to it.

B) one or more definitions or etymological commentaries on this Peshitta word or phrase.

If each relevant Aḥob Old Testament scholion were divided into these 2 parts and numerically ordered according to its extant progression, each would appear as follows:

	A	B
ܚܕܬܐ		1
ܐܝܟ ܕܐ		1
ܐܒܘܒ		1
ܐܝܟ		1
ܕܒܪܝ	1	2
ܐܡܪ	1	2
ܐܡܪ	1	2
ܐܡ ܐ	1	2
ܐܝܟ		1
ܐܩܒ		1

Concerning the scholia that are other notes, there are no parts shared in common by all of them. Each scholion will be briefly described by the order of its extant parts in what follows:

Numbers 21:19	A note on a stone that functioned as a portable well
1 Samuel 8:1, 6	A summary of 1 Sam 8:1-6
Psalm 45 Prologue	A prologue to Ps 45 and also a polemic against a Jewish interpretation of this psalm
Psalm 110 Prologue	A prologue to Ps 110 and also a polemic against a Jewish interpretation of this psalm
Calendrical	A lengthy note on divergent Mosaic laws of Passover sacrifice and Sabbath followed by Jews up to the late 6th century
Eschatological	A presentation of 2 related eschatological systems

Though it cannot be proven that each Aḥob Old Testament scholion was originally written with each part of its respective broad type (as presented above), the above tables (with the possible exception of 1 scholion from the final one)[25] suggest two related things: 1) many Aḥob Old Testament scholia were likely longer in their original form, and 2) many Aḥob Old Testament scholia were likely preserved by later scribes in fragmented form.

In order to better understand the transmission of Aḥob's Old Testament scholia, it

[25] Namely, Aḥob's Psalm 110 Prologue scholion.

would be useful to survey the transmission of the West Syriac writer Jacob of Edessa's (ca. 630-708) scholia, which have been preserved in three places: 1) collections, 2) marginal notes, and 3) letters.[26] In his collections of scholia and in some of his letters (the latter being the ones written in response to questions from contemporaries, such as John the Stylite [d. 737/738]),[27] Jacob seeks to explain difficult aspects of the Peshitta.[28] In his marginal notes, written in his Bible revision, he explains both historical and exegetical aspects of the biblical text.[29] Jacob's collections of scholia are likely compilations, and possibly reworked to some degree, by later scribes, as is evidenced by such introductory formulas as "from the fifth scholion" (ܡܢ ܫܘܠܝܘܢܐ ܕܚܡܫܐ), "from the twenty-fourth scholion" (ܡܢ ܫܘܠܝܘܢܐ ܕܥܣܪ ܘܐܪܒܥ), etc.; ms. British Library, Add. 12,144 (1081), which is a copy of ms. Vat. Syr. 103 (9th or 10th century), refers to fragments of Jacob's collections of scholia as coming from a *Book of Scholia* (ܟܬܒ ܫܘܠܝܘܢ).[30] His marginal notes appear in the extant manuscripts of his Bible revision and seem to have been included by Jacob himself, as he studied the biblical text.[31] His letters to John the Stylite, among others, were collected and haphazardly organized by two later scribes, who preserved them in a largely fragmentary form, i.e. they often lack Jacob's introductory and closing remarks.[32] Short excerpts of these letters are also preserved in earlier manuscripts as marginal scholia, where they are often given introductions, one of which begins: "From a letter by Jacob of

[26] See Alison Salvesen, "'Christ Has Subjected Us to the Harsh Yoke of the Arabs': The Syriac Exegesis of Jacob of Edessa in the New World Order," in Georges Tamer, Regina Grundmann, Assaad Elias Kattan, and Karl Pinggéra (eds.), *Exegetical Crossroads: Understanding Scripture in Judaism, Christianity and Islam in the Pre-Modern Orient* (Judaism, Christianity, and Islam – Tension, Transmission, Transformation 8; Berlin / New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2018), 146.

[27] Jan J. Van Ginkel, "Greetings to a Virtuous Man: The Correspondence of Jacob of Edessa," in Bas ter Haar Romeny (ed.), *Jacob of Edessa and the Syriac Culture of His Day* (Monographs of the Peshitta Institute Leiden 18; Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2008), 70, 78-79.

[28] Jacob also wrote scholia on Gregory of Nazianzus' *Homilies*. See Brock, *A Brief Outline of Syriac Literature*, 2nd ed., rev., 50.

[29] It is unclear if Jacob's marginal notes in his revision of Serverus of Antioch's (d. 538) Cathedral Homilies and Hymns originate from him or from later writers associated with him. Cf. Lucas Van Rompay, "Jacob of Edessa and the Sixth-Century Syriac Translator of Severus of Antioch's Cathedral Homilies," in Bas ter Haar Romeny (ed.), *Jacob of Edessa and the Syriac Culture of His Day* (Monographs of the Peshitta Institute Leiden 18; Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2008), 191.

[30] William Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum, Acquired since the Year 1838*, Part II (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1871), 910. Baumstark suggests that there were two such similar works: Jacob's collections of scholia came from a *Book of Scholia*, and his marginal notes came from a *Shorter Book of Scholia*. See Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 251, n. 1 and Dirk Kruisheer, "Reconstructing Jacob of Edessa's Scholia," in Judith Frishman and Lucas Van Rompay (eds.), *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Interpretation: A Collection of Essays* (Traditio Exegetica Graeca 5; Louvain: Peeters, 1997), 188-189.

[31] It is also possible that a later scribe, who was quite familiar with Jacob's work, added these marginal notes. See Alison Salvesen, "Jacob of Edessa's Version of 1-2 Samuel: Its Method and Text-Critical Value," in Bas ter Haar Romeny (ed.), *Jacob of Edessa and the Syriac Culture of His Day* (Monographs of the Peshitta Institute Leiden 18; Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2008), 132 and n. 14.

[32] Van Ginkel, "Greetings to a Virtuous Man," 70.

Edessa to John the Stylite” (ܐܓܓܠܐ ܡܢ ܒܠܐ ܐܒܝܫ ܥܠ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܣܛܘܠܝܛܐ).[33]

If one returns to Aḥob’s scholia, what can reasonably be stated about their original form, both in consideration of the evidence presented above and in comparison with what is known about the original form of Jacob’s scholia? While there is no indication anywhere that Aḥob wrote letters, responding to questions from his contemporaries, it is quite possible that he originally produced a large number of scholia.[34] Though it is also probable that Aḥob approached his scholia with some degree of order,[35] he himself never likely organized them into a formal work bearing a name. Perhaps after his death, those associated with him collected his scholia and rearranged them by biblical book, compiling a work which (in general form) was comparable to Jacob’s post-mortem *Book of Scholia*. If this is accepted, it is likely that later scribes ceased to preserve Aḥob’s collection of scholia as a single volume and, instead, began transcribing it in at least two separate parts:

- Aḥob’s scholia on the New Testament, the Pentateuch, and the Prophets
- Aḥob’s scholia on the *Beth Mawthbe*

Though it is unclear when this division would have occurred, it seems reasonable that it transpired sometime after 850, because Isho‘dad clearly had access to a large number of Aḥob’s scholia (in their presumed original form) from several Old Testament books.[36] There are two pieces of evidence supporting the premise that Aḥob’s scholia were later assembled into at least two collections of scholia: 1) ‘Abdisho‘’s Aḥob entry in his *Catalogue of Books* and 2) Baumstark’s Aḥob entry in his *Geschichte*. In his *Catalogue of Books*, ‘Abdisho‘ states that “Aḥob Qaṭraya composed a commentary of the whole New (Testament) and of the Pentateuch and all the Prophets, apart from a commentary on the *Beth Mawthbe*” (ܐܒܝܗ ܩܛܪܝܐ ܥܒܕ ܦܫܩܬܐ ܘܣܗܕܘܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܚܕܬܐ ܘܥܬܝܩܬܐ ܘܢܒܝܐ ܚܠܦ ܦܫܩܬܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܒܐ).[37] He uses the noun “commentary” (ܦܫܩܬܐ) twice, as well as the phrase “apart from” (ܚܠܦ ܗܠܐ), to describe two

[33] Ms. Vat. Syr. 103, f. 128r^{mg}. Similar introductions also given to the fragments on f. 39r^{mg} and f. 110v^{mg}. Kruisheer, “Reconstructing Jacob of Edessa’s Scholia,” 188 and n. 4, 8. For other related examples, see George Phillips (ed.), *Scholia on Passages of the Old Testament by Mār Jacob, Bishop of Edessa* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1864), ܐ, *2-4*, ܘ, *5-6* (Syriac), 1, 10 (English).

[34] Cf. Cowley, “Scholia of Aḥob of Qaṭar,” 339. Jacob is similarly credited with a large number of scholia. See Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 250.

[35] For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.2. The Original Purpose of Aḥob of Qatar’s Old Testament Exegetical Works.

[36] In the Greek-speaking world, a somewhat similar process to the collection and use of Aḥob’s scholia (as described in this section) is found in the Byzantine scholia on Aristotle’s *Sophistici Elenchi*. See Sten Ebbesen, *Commentators and Commentaries on Aristotle's Sophistici Elenchi: A Study of Post-Aristotelian Ancient and Medieval Writings on Fallacies, Vol. 1: The Greek Tradition* (CLCAG 7.1; Leiden: Brill, 1981) and idem, “Greek and Latin Medieval Logic,” *CIMAGL* 66 (1996): 88.

[37] Habbi, *Fihris al-mu’allifīn ta’līf li-‘Abd Yašū‘ al-Ṣūbāwī*, 98, *793-796*.

exegetical works, implying that he – based on his earlier sources – believed that Aḥob had produced two distinguishable works, wherein all of his Old and New Testament scholia were contained.[38] In his *Geschichte*, Baumstark suggests that Aḥob was the author of an anonymous New Testament commentary, preserved in ms. Seert 27 (12th century).[39] He bases his proposal on Addai Scher's description of this manuscript, that its contents explained difficult aspects of the New Testament using Persian words.[40] Aside from the fourth broad type of extant Aḥob scholia listed above, i.e. "other notes," all of Aḥob's known Old Testament scholia[41] seek to define and/or explain difficult aspects of the Peshitta, two of which gloss a Peshitta noun with a Persian noun.[42] While the present study does not discuss Aḥob's New Testament scholia, one can reasonably conclude (based on Cowley's translation) that Aḥob's exegetical interests in defining and/or explaining the difficult parts of the Old Testament similarly carry over into his New Testament scholia as well.[43] It is also possible that Aḥob uses Persian glosses in his other (as-of-yet unstudied) New Testament scholia, but this remains to be seen.

5.2. The Original Purpose of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works

There is only one bit of information among the surviving biographical data relating to Aḥob's life and work that may help to explain why he composed his Old Testament exegetical works. According to the *Chronicle of Seert* and its later Arabic witnesses, Aḥob was known as "the Exegete of Seleucia" (المفسر بالمداين).[44] The epithet, "the Exegete of Seleucia," suggests that Aḥob was associated with the School of Seleucia.[45] However, while scattered details about this School have been preserved (such as the names of some of its famous heads and students), very little is known about its educational system, namely, its offices and formal curriculum.[46]

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[38] It is possible that 'Abdisho''s sources confused Aḥob's collections of scholia for two commentaries, both because of the number of scholia they contained and the number of verses upon which they commented.

[39] Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 132, n. 1. This manuscript is reported destroyed during World War I (1914-1918). See Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 136.

[40] Baumstark believed one of the distinguishing aspects of Aḥob's exegesis was his preference for using Persian to clarify the meaning of the Peshitta text. See Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 132, n. 1. For a discussion of Aḥob's use of Persian in his Old Testament scholia, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.6. Coptic and Persian References.

[41] Cowley referred to Aḥob's New Testament exegetical works on John and the Pauline epistles in the Gə'əz manuscript tradition as "scholia." See Cowley, "Scholia of Aḥob of Qaṭar," 329, 333, 339.

[42] Namely, Aḥob's ܪܓܫܐ and Psalm 58:5-6 scholia.

[43] See Cowley, "Scholia of Aḥob of Qaṭar," 333-338.

[44] For the surrounding text and translation of this excerpt from the *Chronicle of Seert* and its later Arabic witnesses, see Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.1. Early References.

[45] The School of Seleucia is known from several sources, including the *Chronicle of Seert*, the *Kitāb al-Mağdal*, and the *Synodicon orientale*. See Fiey, "Topographie chrétienne de Mahozé," 407-408 and Becker, *Fear of God*, 157-159.

[46] Fiey, "Topographie chrétienne de Mahozé," 407-408 and Becker, *Fear of God*, 157-159.

At this point, one must ask if any evidence, concerning the School of Seleucia's educational system, can be derived from another, contemporary East Syriac School? I would argue that some clues can be found in the sixth-century educational system of the School of Nisibis, for which a number of records survive.[47] Its main offices consisted of the following:

- a steward (ܪܫܝܫܐ), who directed and oversaw the School's daily functions[48]
- an elementary instructor (ܡܗܝܡܢܐ), who taught both the pronunciation of the alphabet and the vocalization of texts
- a reader (ܩܪܝܢܐ), who taught reading, grammar, and the liturgy
- an exegete (ܦܫܩܢܐ), who taught biblical exegesis, the liturgy, and headed the School.[49]

The office of "exegete" (مفسر = ܦܫܩܢܐ) also entailed other responsibilities, one of which was leading the choir.[50] Such a position would necessitate a prior status as a member of the clergy.[51] Furthermore, this office was likely only filled by an ascetic, for the canons of the School of Nisibis limited the holder of this office from "contact with the outside world, as well as with heretics and other troubling sorts."[52]

Turning to the curriculum,[53] the Peshitta, earlier quintessential works (such as the translated exegetical works of Theodore of Mopsuestia [350-428] and selected *memre*, possibly those produced by Ephrem [d. 373] and Narsai [399-502]),[54] the liturgy, and the writings produced by the School's officeholders were taught.[55] Medicine may have also been taught,

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[47] The School of Seleucia held close ties with the School of Nisibis, and the latter likely functioned as a model for the former. See Becker, *Fear of God*, 155, 158 and idem, "Nisibis, School of," 311. Cf. Gerrit Jan Reinink, "The School of Seleucia and the Heritage of Nisibis, the 'Mother of Sciences,'" in Carla Noce and Massimo Pampaloni, and Claudia Tavolieri (eds.), *Le vie del sapere in ambito siro-mesopotamico dal III al IX secolo. Atti del convegno internazionale tenuto a Roma nei giorni 12-13 maggio 2011* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 293; Roma: Pontificio Istituto Orientale, 2013), 115. For a general introduction to the East Syriac school tradition, see Introduction, Schools and Centers of East Syriac Exegesis.

[48] The "steward" was also known by other similar titles: "head…, principal, a head lecturer, director, or administrator." See Becker, *Fear of God*, 42.

[49] Becker, *Fear of God*, 71, 87, 92-93, 180. Cf. Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, 100. It is unclear where the specific levels of instruction between "elementary instructor," "reader," and "exegete" began and ended. See Becker, *Sources for the Study of the School of Nisibis*, 9.

[50] Becker, *Fear of God*, 88 and idem, *Sources for the Study of the School of Nisibis*, 9.

[51] Narsai, Abraham of Beth Rabban (ca. 510-ca. 569), and Ishai (fl. mid-6th century) were each a priest and the Exegete of the School of Nisibis in their respective times. See Reinink, "The School of Seleucia," 120, 123, 126-128.

[52] Becker, *Fear of God*, 180.

[53] Becker (in ibid., 87) clarifies the meaning of "curriculum" in this context: "[T]he only formal curriculum of study that can be identified with some certainty is the movement of students between the different ranks of instructors. This was probably more of an informal process…rather than a system of accreditation such as we find in modern learning, where the student's movement forward by degrees is based less on individual virtuosity and more on the academic calendar and completion of a part of the curriculum by the class as a whole."

[54] Cf. Becker, *Fear of God*, 88-89.

[55] Becker, *Fear of God*, 89, 92-94, 205.

though (if so) it was intentionally separated from the more prominent biblical and liturgical focus of the School.[56] The writings of the School's officeholders included four main types of literature: "biblical commentaries, liturgical works, cause literature, and polemical and apologetic treatises."[57] Biblical commentaries are the most widely attested type of literature to have been produced by the School's officeholders,[58] which itself may reveal one of the educational interests of the School's curriculum.[59] These biblical commentaries were composed in several forms, including whole commentaries (Syriac originals and translations from earlier Greek biblical commentaries), selective commentaries (either on select biblical books or on difficult Peshitta texts), and question-and-answer collections.[60] Once the School's students became literate, via lectures in reading the psalms, they would move to more advanced lectures in reading, grammar, and the liturgy.[61] At some point, they would then move to lectures in biblical interpretation and advanced liturgical studies.[62] As part of their studies, students were required to copy texts, primarily biblical manuscripts and biblical commentaries, though these also included the broader spectrum of liturgical, cause, and polemical and apologetic texts.[63] Texts were reproduced from both physical exemplars and from class lectures, the latter of which consisted of the instructor delivering his content orally and the students copying it down.[64]

If the educational system of the School of Nisibis were cautiously applied to the School of Seleucia and if Aḥob's office as "the Exegete of Seleucia" was considered in this context, what can reasonably be stated about the original purpose of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works? Given his position as "exegete" and the likelihood that his collection of Old Testament exegetical works was larger in its originality, there are a few explanations, though, admittedly, none of them are provable claims:

- They were originally Aḥob's lecture notes, which, in part, may be evidenced by

[56] Reinink, "Edessa Grew Dim and Nisibis Shone Forth," 77, n. 3 and ibid., 80, 84, 86, 95.

[57] Becker, *Fear of God*, 89.

[58] Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 114-120, 122, 124, 127, 129 and Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, 124-126, 139-140, 163-165, 172, 213-215, 238-240, 278, 281, 290, 296, 299.

[59] Becker, *Fear of God*, 89.

[60] See, for instance, Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis*, 125-126, 213-215 and Ter Haar Romeny, "Question-and-Answer Collections in Syriac Literature," 155-156. Cf. Lucas Van Rompay, "Antiochene Biblical Interpretation: Greek and Syriac," in Judith Frishman and Lucas Van Rompay (eds.), *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Interpretation: A Collection of Essays* (Traditio Exegetica Graeca 5; Louvain: Peeters, 1997), 105-107.

[61] Becker, *Fear of God*, 88, 92-93.

[62] Ibid., 88, 93.

[63] Ibid., 88, 90-93.

[64] Ibid., 88, 93, 103.

their terseness and general lack of poetic and/or linguistic digressions.[65]

- They were originally a classroom instructional manual that Aḥob produced, possibly in one of two ways: 1) marginal notes in one or more Peshitta manuscripts – somewhat akin to Jacob of Edessa's marginal notes[66] or 2) a list of and commentary on difficult Peshitta words and phrases – perhaps arranged in alphabetical order, as is evidenced by Aḥob's interest in Peshitta words and phrases beginning with the letter ܐ,[67] and, more particularly, words relating to ܒܗܐ,[68] which was used alongside one or more Peshitta manuscripts.[69] In either of these contexts, Aḥob would have likely produced his *Cause of the Psalms* as a separate work, in order to introduce his students to the benefits of the Psalms compared to other biblical books.

While it remains unclear if Aḥob intended his Old Testament exegetical works to be copied by his students or if he categorized them alongside other writings that were studied in the School of Seleucia, it is worth noting that his other role – namely, teaching the liturgy (particularly the daily offices), of which the Psalms were central – may have also influenced his emphasis on the Psalms.[70]

5.3. The Peshitta Old Testament of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works

In his extant Old Testament exegetical works, Aḥob references the Peshitta Old Testament (hereafter shortened to the OTP) in three ways:

1) direct citations, which are exact quotations of one or more words and/or phrases

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[65] Isho'dad wrote his biblical commentaries in a similar manner, and they also appear to have originally functioned as classroom lecture notes. See Leonhard, *Ishodad of Merw's Exegesis of the Psalms 119 and 139-147*, 1.

[66] For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.1. The Original Form of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

[67] These include 5 of his 35 extant scholia: Psalm 29:9, Psalm 45 Prologue, Psalm 58:4, Psalm 58:5-6, and Bar Sira 14:12, 18.

[68] These include 3 of his scholia: Genesis 50:10, Psalm 31:6, and Psalm 39:2. It is also worth noting that the East Syriac writer 'Enanisho''s (7th century) "Book of Rules (for Homographs)" (ܟܬܒ ܫܐܠܬܐ ܕܡܬܚܙ) is arranged alphabetically. However, while this tract contains a section on difficult words and readings beginning with ܐ, it does not discuss ܒܗܐ. See Hoffmann, *Opuscula nestoriana syriace tradidit*, 2, *4*-10, *18* and Jonathan Loopstra, *The Patristic "Masora": A Study of Patristic Collections in Syriac Handbooks from the Near East* (CSCO 689, Syr. 265; Louvain: Peeters, 2020), 42.

[69] Chaim Brovender, "חשאתי טיפולוגי נתוח הסוריים השמהא יד כתבי The Syriac SHEMAHE Manuscripts: A Typological and Comparative Study" (PhD diss., Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1976), xiii; Claudio Balzaretti, "Ancient Treatises of Syriac Homonyms," *Oriens Christianus* 81 (1997): 74; Loopstra, *The Patristic "Masora,"* 42-43.

[70] It is also possible that the abundance of Aḥob's extant Psalm-related writings (in comparison with all of his other Old Testament scholia) is the product of later scribal selection.

2) loose citations, which include at least one exact quotation but are not comprised entirely of exact quotations from a single verse

3) allusions, which do not include any exact quotations.

The following 35 OTP words and phrases encompass Aḥob's direct citations; repeated quotations are only counted once. These are listed in their biblical order, according to 7a1,[71] with the exception that one unknown citation of "Tarshish" will be placed after the Psalms citations:

Gen 15:9	1 2 3 4	ܥܓܠܬܐ ܬܠܬܝܢ ܟܒܫܐ ܥܬܘܕܐ	*heifer* *three years old* (2x) *ram* *goat*
Gen 15:10	5 6	ܦܠܓ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܫܘܝܐ ܦܠܓ ܠܐ...ܒܦܪ	*he divided them equally* *he did not divide the birds*
Gen 50:10	7	ܐܬܪ ܓܘܪܢ	*the threshing floors of Aṭar* (2x)[72]
Gen 50:26	8	ܕܦܢܐ	*dufnā*
Exod 35:3	9	ܠܐ ܬܩܕܚܘ ܢܘܪ ܒܟܠ ܡܫܟܢܬܟܘ	*you shall not kindle a fire in all of your dwelling place*
Num 20:8	10	ܢܬܠ ܡܝܗ	*it will give its waters*
Ps 5:4	11	ܨܦܪ	*morning* (2x)
Ps 29:9	12	ܬܠܝܬ	*'ylt'*
Ps 31:6	13	ܛܥܪ	*I have caused it to be guarded* (2x)
Ps 39:4	14	ܐܡܪ ܒܠܫܢܝ	*I thought with my tongue*
Ps 39:5	15 16	ܘܡܕܥ ܝܗܒ ܠܝ ܡܪܝ ܡܕܝ ܐܢܐ ܒܛܠ ܐܬܝ	*and the Lord showed me my end* (2x)[73] *that I might know why I remain*
Ps 39:6	17	ܗܐ ܒܫܘܝ ܝܡܝ ܢܬܬ ܐܦ	*Behold! With a measure you have given my days* (2x)
Ps 42:2	18 19	ܡܐ ܡܝܐ	*the stage* *of water*
Ps 45:9	20 21 22	ܩܨܝܐ ܣܛܩܛܐ ܦܩܝ	*cassia* *stacte* *finest*
Ps 58:4	23	ܐܬܦܪܫܘ ܡܢ ܒܛܢ ܡܢ	*the wicked (ones) were separated from the belly* (2x)[74]
Ps 58:5	24	ܦܬܢ	*asp*
Ps 68:14	25	ܒܝܢ ܣܢܣܢ	*among the thorns* (2x)

[71] All discussions of OTP manuscripts in this section are drawn from the Leiden Peshitta Institute editions.

[72] Aḥob's second usage consists only of "Aṭar" (ܐܬܪ).

[73] Aḥob's second usage of this phrase does not include the initial "and" (ܘ).

[74] Aḥob's first usage consists only of "they were separated" (ܐܬܦܪܫܘ).

Ps 104:2	26	ܪܥܬܐ	*a curtain*
Ps 104:3	27	,ܡܥܠܝܬܗ ܒܡܝܐ ܒܢܐ	*on the waters he constructed his habitations*
Ps 105:19	28	,ܡܐܡܪܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܒܚܢܗ	*the word of the Lord examined him* (2x)[75]
Ps 110:1	29 30	ܡܪܝ ,ܠܝ	*the Lord* (4x) *my Lord* (3x)
Ps 110:3	31	ܝܠܕܐ	*child*
(Unknown)	32	ܬܪܫܝܫ	*Tarshish*
Isa 40:22	33	ܕܡܫܟ ܟܡܐ ܕܪܩܥ ܐܬܪ	*that he stretched out heaven like a vault*
Bar Sira 14:12	34	ܕܐܢܫ ܕܥܠ ܕܬܬܐ ܒܬܪܝܗ ܠܐ ܫܡܥ ܒܝܕ ܫܐܘܠ ܠܐ ܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܟ ܪܫܝܡܘ	*remember that until now you have not seen death, and the decree of Sheol has not been shown to you*
Bar Sira 14:18	35	ܟܝܢ ܥܠܡ ܕܒܣܪ ܕܐܝܠܢ ܟܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܝܢ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ ܟܕ ܐܠܝܢ ܒܢܝ ܒܣܪ ܕܡ	*like the leaves of trees, for these fall, and these spring up, so are the generations of flesh and blood*

The following 23 OTP phrases encompass Aḥob's loose citations. These are listed in their biblical order, according to 7a1:

Gen 3:6	1	ܕܫܠܡ ܠܡܟܠ ܘܕܚܡܕ ܠܡܚܙܐ ,ܛܒ	sweet to the taste *and* desirable to the sight
Gen 15:10	2 3	ܐܝܟ ܠܡܚܕ ܕܒܬܪ…ܢܦܫ ܠܡܚܕ ܫܪܝ ܗܘܘ ܟܠ	he places *(each) member opposite its fellow* they were placed *opposite* each other
Exod 6:16, 18	4	ܢܦܫܬܐ ܕܗܘܬ ,ܠܝ…ܥܡ ܕܠܝ	the three generations: *Levi*, and *Kohath*, and *Amram*
Exod 12:6, 8	5	ܠܪ ܕܥܒܕ ܒܪܒܬܐ .ܐܢܫܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܐܒܐ ܕܣܝ ܐܢܐ ܘܐܟܠ ܠܒܫܐ	*the fourteenth* between evenings kill the Passover lamb and roast (it) *on a fire* and eat (it)
Exod 20:10; Deut 5:14; 16:8	6	ܠܐ ܬܥܒܕ ܟܠ ܒܗ ܥܒܕ	*you shall not do any work on it*
Num 12:3	7	ܕܥܒܕ ܠܝܫܥ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܢܒܝܐ ܕܐܬܝܗ	David was humbler *than all* the prophets
Num 20:8[76]	8	ܡܝܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ	*waters* of *the stone*
1 Sam 8:1	9	ܠܡܫܚ ܫܡܘܐܝܠ [ܠ]ܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܢܝ ܐܬܐ ܠܟ ܒܥܠ ܕܙܩܝܢ ܘܐ ܠܡܠܟ ܥܠ ܐܝܬܝ	these whom Samuel appointed (as) *judges over Israel*, when he reached old age
1 Sam 8:6	10	ܘܠܐ ܛܒ ܒܥܝܢܘܗܝ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܝܬ ܠܢ ܠܡܠܟ ܥܠ ܐܝܬܝ : ܠܫܡ ܫܡܘܐܝܠ [ܟܗ]	when *Samuel* heard that they had asked to have *a king* for themselves

[75] Aḥob's first usage consists only of "his word" (ܡܐܡܪܗ).

[76] This particular text may also derive from the Num 20 heading in 7a1, which is similarly found in 5b1 and 6b1. See Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.3. Numbers Scholia.

		ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܒܟܝܬ	– he was grieved, *and* therefore he *prayed before the Lord*
2 Sam 18:9	11	ܒܗ ܐܬܬܠܝ. ܕܐܒܫܠܘܡ ܕܐܬܠܝ	that in which *Absalom was hung*
Ps 45:2	12	ܠܒܝ ܐܬܪܥܫ ܒܛܒ	*My heart overflowed*, etc.
Ps 58:5-6	13	ܕܠܐ ܫܡܥ ܒܩܠ ܕܚܫܐ ܕܡܚܟܡ ܚܟܡܬܐ	the *asp* will not be controlled by charms, which (are produced) by a *charmer*
Ps 78:16	14	ܐܦܩ ܡܝ ܡܢ ܟܐܦܐ ܐܬܪ	*he made* waters *come out from the rock*
Ps 105:17-18	15	ܠܥܒܕ ܐܬܬܒܥ ܒܥܒܕܘܬܐ ܕܒܪܙܠ ܒܟܒܠܐ ܕܚܕܝܕ	he might be *sold*, *and* he might be *bound* in slavery as *with shackles*
2 Kgs 2:19-22	16	ܐܝܬ ܡܝ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܠܝܫܥ. ܒܐܪܝܚܐ ܕܡܝܐ	*about Elisha*, who healed the bitter *waters* with salt
2 Kgs 5:24	17	ܐܟܣ ܠܒܝܬ ܓܒܥܙܝ ܢܛܪ	Gehazi *took (the silver) and caused (it) to be guarded in the house*
Prov 5:19	18	ܐܝܠܬܐ...ܕܒܪܝܬ	hinds *and* ibexes
Dan 1:7	19	ܘܫܡ ܪܒ...ܕܣܪܝܣܝܢ ܠܕܢܝܐܝܠ ܒܠܛܫܨܪ	The chief *of the eunuchs gave Daniel the name, Belteshazzar*
	20	ܪܒ ܣܪܝܣܝܢ ܕܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ ܠܚܢܢܝܐ...ܕܒܪ ܫܡ ܕܐܠܗܐ	The chief *of the eunuchs* of Nebuchadnezzar called *Hananiah* by this name
	21	ܪܒ ܣܪܝܣܝܢ ܕܢܒܘܟܕܢܨܪ ܠܡܝܫܐܝܠ...ܕܒܪ ܫܡ ܕܡܝܟܐܝܠ	*The chief of the eunuchs* of Nebuchadnezzar called *Mishael* by this name
	22	ܘܠܥܙܪܝܐ...ܪܒ ܣܪܝܣܝܢ ܕܒܪ ܫܡ ܕܥܒܕ ܠܗ	*The chief of the eunuchs* gave *Azariah* the name, *Abednego*
Bar Sira 1:14	23	ܡܢ ܒܛܢ ܐܡܗ̈ܘܗܝ ܒܪܝܬ ܚܟܡܬܐ ܐܬܒܪܝܬ	*from* the belly of *their mother wisdom was created with* them

The following 9 OTP words and phrases encompass Aḥob's allusions; they are listed in their biblical order, according to 7a1:

Gen 15:10	1	ܦܠܝܓܘܗܝ	their division
Gen 24:1-67	2	ܥܒܕܗ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ : ܕܐܙܠ ܠܡܚܙܐ ܠܪܒܩܐ	the servant of Abraham, when he went to betroth Rebecca
1 Sam 8:3, 5	3	ܒܢܝ ܫܡܘܐܝܠ ܕܐܙܠܘ ܒܐܘܪܚܬܗܘܢ	the evil way of life of the sons of Samuel
1 Sam 8:4-5	4	ܡܛܠ ܓܘ[ܕ]ܠܐ ܕܒܝܫܬܗܘܢ ܕܥܡܐ ܠܡܒܥܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܠܟ	due to the greatness of their iniquity, the people should be compelled to ask that they should have a king
Ps 48:4	5	ܐܪܡܢܬܐ	Palaces
Ps 104:3	6	ܡܫܟܢܬܐ	habitations
Ps 139:2	7	ܪܥܝܢܝ	My thoughts

Prov 1:7	8	ܕܚܠܬ ܡܪܝܐ	the fear of God (2x)
Bar Sira 1:14	9	ܥܡ ܕܚܠܬ ܡܪܝܐ ܫܪܝܘ ܠܟܠ ܡܕܡ	with the fear of God they began before every (thing)

In his extant Old Testament exegetical works, Aḥob collectively references the OTP 67 times, though if the repeated instances are included it is 82 times. His approach to the OTP is predominantly marked by direct citations, followed by loose citations; he only makes a scattering of allusions, three of which are used after the same text was previously introduced in a direct and/or loose manner.[77] Aḥob's loose citations and allusions suggest that he also had a great familiarity with the OTP and frequently cited it in his Old Testament exegetical works by way of *memoriter* quotation.[78] His usual way to reference the OTP is to cite a word or short phrase; however, he occasionally quotes longer passages, such as Bar Sira 14:12 or Bar Sira 14:18. With one exception, he always cites one or more sequential verses, suggesting that his conflation of similar phraseology from Exod 20:10; Deut 5:14; 16:8 may reflect Shbadnaya's, rather than Aḥob's, use of the OTP.[79] Overall, the above tables reveal that Aḥob had access to 12 OTP books; he presumably had access to all the other OTP books as well, though this cannot be confirmed.

Aḥob's exact quotations (in his direct and loose citations) preserve the same wording found in 7a1.[80] However, Aḥob was not using 7a1, because he lived in the late 6th century.[81] Rather, he was using earlier OTP manuscripts. The extant pre-7a1 manuscripts that preserve each of the OTP books containing Aḥob's direct and loose citations (in their biblical order, as previously established) are as follows:[82]

OTP books	5th-century mss	6th-century mss
Genesis	5b1	6k10, 6pj1

[77] These include Aḥob's allusions to Gen 15:10, Ps 104:3, and Bar Sira 1:14.

[78] Aphrahat and Ephrem quoted the OTP in a similar manner. See Robert J. Owens, *The Genesis and Exodus Citations of Aphrahat the Persian Sage* (Monographs of the Peshitta Institute Leiden 3; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1983), 25-27 and M. D. Koster, "The Copernican Revolution in the Study of the Origins of the Peshitta," in Paul V. M. Flesher (ed.), *Targum Studies. Vol. 2: Targum and Peshitta* (South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism 165; Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1998), 22.

[79] For a further discussion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.4.1. Calendrical Scholion.

[80] Aḥob's usage of ܙܥܩܗ in his Psalm 45:9 scholion is a common orthographic variant of ܙܥܩܗ preserved in 7a1. See Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, 539, 550. It is also worth noting that Aḥob's extant Psalm-related writings do not preserve any of the East Syriac ("Nestorian") variant readings listed in William Emery Barnes' edition of the Psalms. See idem (ed.), *The Peshitta Psalter according to the West Syrian Text, Edited with an Apparatus Criticus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1904), xxxiv-xl.

[81] For a further discussion, see Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.3. Date.

[82] This table does not include Jacobite, Nestorian, and Melkite rite lectionary manuscripts, because all known manuscripts containing them (for the biblical books listed) postdate the 6th century. Also, since Calduch-Benages, Ferrer, and Liesen's edition of Bar Sira is based on 7a1 only, this Peshitta book is not listed.

Exodus	5b1	6k10, 6pj1
Numbers	5b1	6b1, 6pk9
Deuteronomy	5b1	6b1, 6h6, 6k5
1-2 Samuel		6h1.4.19, 6k8
Psalms		6t1
2 Kings		6h18, 6ph2
Proverbs		6h16
Isaiah	5ph1	6h3.5, 6pk4
Daniel		6h10, 6h21

There are 18 manuscripts listed in the above table. It is possible that Aḥob was using texts that are similar to 5b1, 6b1, 6k10, and 6pj1,[83] in that these manuscripts preserve more than one biblical book. However, given the fact that Aḥob's exact quotations, as established by 7a1, are identically preserved (i.e. without variant spellings) in the above 5th and 6th-century manuscripts, he could have used similar texts to any of the above manuscripts as his underlying OTP manuscripts;[84] he could have also used OTP manuscripts that are no longer extant. In short, it is not possible (with the available evidence) to determine Aḥob's specific underlying OTP manuscripts.

Nevertheless, it is possible to establish the OTP manuscript stages Aḥob utilized. There are three broad stages by which the OTP has developed:[85]

- First Stage: preserved in several 5th-10th-century manuscripts, such as 5b1, 5ph1, 6h5, 7pj2, 8h5, 9a1, and 1011, and represents a close translation from the Hebrew.
- Second Stage: preserved exclusively in 6th-8th-century manuscripts and likely represents a process of smoothing out various earlier more literal translations with Syriac idiom.
- Third Stage: preserved in 9th century (and on)-manuscripts and represents a standardization of the OTP; this stage is generally referred to as the *Textus Receptus*

[83] It is highly unlikely that Aḥob was using 5b1, 6b1, 6k10, or 6pj1, because these manuscripts were preserved in West Syriac libraries.

[84] It is highly unlikely that Aḥob was using any of the other manuscripts listed in the table above (i.e. beyond 5b1, 6b1, 6k10, or 6pj1), because these manuscripts were also preserved in West Syriac libraries.

[85] The following is based on M. D. Koster, *The Peshiṭta of Exodus: The Development of Its Text in the Course of Fifteen Centuries*, trans. C. A. Franken-Battershill (Studia Semitica Neerlandica 19; Assen / Amsterdam: Van Gorcum, 1977), 1-5; idem, "The Copernican Revolution," 15, 19-20, 44, 47-48, 52; Bas ter Haar Romeny, "The Syriac Versions of the Old Testament," in Maroun Atallah *et al.* (eds.), *Nos sources. Arts et littérature syriaques* (Sources syriaques 1; Antélias: Centre d'Études et de Recherches Orientales, 2005), 95-98; Brock, *The Bible in the Syriac Tradition*, 2nd rev. ed., 45-47.

or Standard Text.

Since Aḥob lived in the 6th century, any suggestion that he relied on the *Textus Receptus* can safely be discarded.[86] If his office as "the Exegete of Seleucia" is considered, it would suggest that he had access to several First and Second Stage OTP manuscripts, the latter of which were likely being produced from the former (under his supervision) in the School of Seleucia when he taught there.[87] In this way, it can reasonably be stated that a combination of First and Second Stage OTP manuscripts likely served as the underlying OTP manuscripts for Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works. Nevertheless, it must also be stated that in all the Old Testament verses cited by Aḥob there are no readings which are diagnostic of whether First or Second Stage OTP manuscripts were, in fact, being used by him.

5.4. The Sources of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works

Given how little is known about Aḥob, it is difficult to ascertain the extent of his linguistic skills. Presuming that he was comparable to his contemporaries, he likely did not read Greek, Hebrew, or Arabic, though he probably spoke the language of Qatar[88] and seems to have had (at minimum) a cursory knowledge of Persian.[89] In what follows, Aḥob's sources are categorized as Greek, Syriac, and other sources,[90] though the texts that he would have used would have almost certainly been written in and/or translated into Syriac.

5.4.1. Greek Sources

In his Old Testament exegetical works, Aḥob draws on several earlier Greek sources (which he accessed through Syriac translations), including Theodore of Mopsuestia's (350-428) *Commentary on Genesis* (*CPG* 3827) and *Commentary on Psalms* (*CPG* 3833), Basil of Caesarea's (ca. 330-379) Prologue to Psalm 1 (*CPG* 2836), and the anonymous *Physiologus* (late 2nd or 3rd century; *CPG* 3766). While Aḥob never mentions his Greek sources by name, his dependency upon them is shown by the large number of similar words and phrases he

[86] It is worth noting that Aḥob does not reference any OTP word or phrase that includes a variant from the *Textus Receptus*.

[87] For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.2. The Original Purpose of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works. Cf. Becker, *Fear of God*, 88, 90, 92-93.

[88] For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.5. The Language of Qatar.

[89] For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.6. Coptic and Persian References.

[90] The examination of Aḥob's cosmology is listed under Syriac Sources, even though it was also likely influenced, to some degree, by concepts that originated among earlier Greek sources. Similarly, while his Greek readings, medical references, and select miscellaneous references likely originated from earlier Greek sources, these have been listed under Other Sources.

preserves. Aḥob's use of these Greek sources will be discussed in the following four subsections, which are organized in descending order of influence upon his Old Testament exegetical works, as presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1. Old Testament Exegetical Works.

5.4.1.1. Theodore of Mopsuestia's *Commentary on Psalms*[91]

Among the sources Aḥob uses in his Old Testament exegetical works, the most notable is Theodore of Mopsuestia's *Commentary on Psalms*. Aḥob relies on four passages from this work:

Aḥob	Theodore
Psalm 5:4	Psalm 5:4
Psalm 39:6	Psalm 38:6
Psalm 40:8	Psalm 39:8
Psalm 45 Prologue	Psalm 44 Prologue[92]

Since the Syriac translation of Theodore's *Commentary on Psalms* is only extant for Ps 119(118); 139(138)-147,[93] the following four subsections will be based on the Greek or (if necessary) the Latin[94] text of Theodore's *Commentary on Psalms*, of which only Ps 1-81(80) are extant.[95]

5.4.1.1.1. Psalm 5:4[96]

For his Psalm 5:4 scholion, Aḥob relies on two fragments from Theodore's commentary on Ps 5:4, the latter of which is only preserved in Latin. If these Theodorean fragments in Aḥob's

[91] The critical edition used in this subsection is the following: Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Commentary on Psalms 1-81*, trans. Robert Charles Hill.

[92] The discrepancy in psalm numbering is due to differences between the numbering of psalms in the LXX (upon which Theodore commented) and the OTP (upon which Aḥob commented).

[93] Part of Theodore's introduction to Ps 148 is also extant, though none of his commentary on the verses of this psalm have been preserved. See Van Rompay, *Théodore de Mopsueste* (text), 83, *16-21* and idem, *Théodore de Mopsueste* (trans.), 100.

[94] The Latin translation of Theodore's *Commentary on Psalms* will only be used where the Greek text has not been preserved.

[95] It is possible that (at least parts of) Aḥob's Psalm 104:2-3, Psalm 105:17-19, Psalm 110 Prologue, and/or Psalm 110:3 scholia may have relied on Theodore's *Commentary on Psalms*. However, since these psalms in Theodore's *Commentary on Psalms* have not been preserved, this cannot be confirmed.

[96] Ter Haar Romeny notes that Aḥob relies on Theodore in his Psalm 5:4 scholion, but he does not show any specific examples. See idem, "The Hebrew and the Greek as Alternatives to the Syriac Version," 451-452 and Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 148.

scholion (which encompass the entirety of his Psalm 5:4 scholion) are compared with Theodore's commentary on Ps 5:4, they appear as follows:

	Aḥob's Psalm 5:4 scholion (*1-5, 5-7*)[97]	Theodore's commentary on Psalm 5:4 (55, *13-15, 19-20*)[98]
Fragment 1	For the (word meaning) *morning* is understood in three (ways) in the Scriptures. That is to say, either concerning splendor or concerning that (which is) this *morning*.	In the divine Scriptures we find *in the morning* used in three ways: it is used as an indication of speed, it refers to joy, and of course to morning time.
Fragment 2	But, (on) this (occasion), he speaks about swiftness.	In this verse, on the other hand, the word is to be taken as a time index.

Aside from the shared theme of seeking to understand the meaning of "morning," Aḥob also uses similar words and phrases as Theodore on five occasions within these two fragments. The order will follow Aḥob's Syriac text:

Aḥob (*1, 1, 2, 3-4, 4*)[99]	Theodore (54, *15, 16, 15, 17* and *17* and *22-23, 16*)[100]
"*morning*" (ܪܘܓܝ)	"*In the morning*" (*Mane*)
"in three (ways)" (ܪܬܠܬ)	"in three ways" (*tripliciter*)
"in the Scriptures" (ܟܬܒܬ)	"In the divine Scriptures" (*in scripturis diuinis*)
"this *morning*" (ܗܘ ܪܘܓܝ)	"morning time" (*tempus…matutinum*) "time index" (*tempore accipiendum*)
"swiftness" (ܪܗܠܠܘ)	"indication of speed" (*uelocitatis indicium*)

Aḥob relies on Theodore's commentary on Ps 5:4, likely because it offers a concise explanation of "morning" (ܪܘܓܝ). However, Aḥob does not simply reproduce Theodore's commentary on this verse in its totality; he reworks two fragments of it, while still maintaining their overall structure. Whereas Theodore presents three possible meanings for "In the morning" (*Mane*) and then selects the most obvious option as its meaning, i.e. "time index" (*tempore accipiendum*) – which he earlier referred to as "morning time" (*tempus…matutinum*), Aḥob introduces two possible meanings for "morning" in order to discard them for a third option:

[97] The English translation and line numbers are taken from Aḥob's Psalm 5:4 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

[98] The English translation, page, and line numbers are taken from Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Commentary on Psalms 1-81*, 55.

[99] The text and line numbers are taken from Aḥob's Psalm 5:4 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia, and the English translation is taken from the preceding table. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

[100] The text, page, and line numbers are taken from Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Commentary on Psalms 1-81*, 54, *15-23*, and the English translation is taken from the preceding table.

"swiftness" (ܪܗܠܠܘ).[101] It is unclear why Aḥob does not select the more obvious meaning for "morning," i.e. "this morning" (ܗܕܐ ܪܘܓܐ), as Theodore had done with the parallel meaning of "time index." Two of the three Theodorean meanings for "In the morning," i.e. "morning time" and "indication of speed" (*uelocitatis indicium*), are loosely preserved by Aḥob as "this morning" and "swiftness," respectively. He does not indicate why he alters the Theodorean meaning of "joy" (*laetitiam*)[102] to "splendor" (ܪܗܝܚܘ), though he may be suggesting that one of the possible meanings of "morning" is the observable beauty of the early hours of the day.

5.4.1.1.2. Psalm 39:6[103]

For v. 6 of his Psalm 39:4-6 scholion, Aḥob borrows three fragments from Theodore's commentary on Ps 38:6. If these Theodorean fragments in Aḥob's scholion are compared with Theodore's commentary on Ps 38:6, they appear as follows:

	V. 6 of Aḥob's Psalm 39:4-6 scholion (*18-23*, *27-45*, *47-60*)[104]	Theodore's commentary on Psalm 38:6 (469, *15-17* and 471, *3-8*, *9-13* and *13-19* and 473, *1-8*, 475, *5-11*)[105]
Fragment 1	"You gave me limited life." And not free and simple like the angels. For also thus the Creator formed our nature, so that we would not die together with our (physical) being. Nor should we live without a limit.	After all, even if he did not set the same limits to each person's life, he did set limits to people in general…and not imperishable, as it were, like the nature of angels or any other of the spiritual beings. God, of course, manages affairs by a certain plan, making our nature subject to a sentence of death once and for all and rendering us capable of lasting for an acknowledged number of years, with the result that we do not undergo a speedy dissolution as soon as we are fashioned, nor do we have an immeasurable life span extended indefinitely.

[101] Ter Haar Romeny, "The Hebrew and the Greek as Alternatives to the Syriac Version," 451-452 and idem, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 148.

[102] Theodore explains why he suggests the meaning of "joy": "Now, joy is suggested by this term for the reason that whereas the troubles of night succeed the period of the day, when we experience a flood of worries and anxieties, and our bodies relax and oblivion takes the place of anxiety, so in the morning we rise settled and joyful as if all the previous worry was over with the night" (*Indicatur autem laetitia hoc nomine ob hoc, quia, cum diei tempus, in quo curarum fluctus et solicitudines experimur, noctis uicisitudo exciperit, relaxatis otio corporibus et obliuione in locum angoris admisa, ita mane securi laetique consurgimus quasi omnis praeterita sollicitudo fuerit cum nocte finita*). See Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Commentary on Psalms 1-81*, 54, *17-22* (Latin), 55 (English).

[103] Van den Eynde hints at the notion that Aḥob relies on Theodore in v. 6 of his Psalm 39:4-6 scholion, but he does not develop its specifics. See idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 69, n. 4.

[104] The English translation and line numbers are taken from Aḥob's Psalm 39:4-6 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

[105] The English translation, pages, and line numbers are taken from Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Commentary on Psalms 1-81*, 469, 471, 473, 475.

Fragment 2	For just as a house, if it is built well, then according to the soundness of its structure, thus also it remains. In this way also the bodies of people, according to their structure and the equality of their mixture, endure. In proportion to their feebleness (do) they perish. For if everyone had a (fixed) measure (of life), and he fixed how much he should live, he would be considered to be wicked, (for) to one (person) he increased (the length of life) and to another he reduced (the length of life). And, again, if he was giving one equal (measure of life) to all, not even pains and sicknesses would befall us, and (this possibility) would be taken away, that on behalf of Christ we should suffer in our bodies.	just as people building houses determine the extent of their duration by the zeal and care in building, longer if they are more zealous, shorter if they adopt this attitude in building. He limited the number of years he wanted our life to last…by allowing all persons to run the course of their own lives as their makeup permits, and the ailments natural to our mortal condition and the sickness and decease arising from circumstance to run their course in us, the result being that some have shorter lives than others. After all, it would have been most inappropriate for him to determine the length of each one's life: had he personally set a longer time for one and less for another, it would have been unfair for him not to allot people length of life equally; and if he had maintained equality, it would have been necessary for human nature to remain proof against illness in the meantime for the period of their life span, not falling victim to bodily complaints. As well, the onset of death befitting our nature would have been abolished: being impassible, we necessarily would have to be also immortal, and the possibility of suffering bodily for Christ's sake would be abolished in the case both of martyrdom and of self-control, and along with it the reward for virtuous effort.
Fragment 3	he does not speak about the measure of the life of each individual of humanity, but (about the fact) that in comparison with (former) generations, and the succession of ages, the lifespans of humans also change, since the measure (of life) of the first (humans) is not equal (in comparison) with that of the intermediate (ones), (and) neither, again, is that of the intermediate (ones equal) with that of the later (ones). Neither (within) each individual (one) of the generations are all (its members) equal in lifespan.	Now, the fact that people lived different ages in different periods – such as nine hundred before the flood, a hundred and seventy in the case of Abraham, and after him a hundred and ten a little more – does not undermine our argument: in every case it is clear that those in the same period did not have equal life spans, which would not have been the case if God had allotted each one a life span, since in the same period he definitely would have maintained equal life spans.

In order to more accurately discuss these lengthy fragments, it is worth presenting the above table on a smaller scale, where Aḥob and Theodore's similar phrases are isolated and listed in their mutual order of appearance according to their respective Syriac and Greek texts:

	Aḥob (*16-17*, *17-18*, *19-21*, *22-23*, *27-30*, *30-34*, *34-37*, *37-42*, *44-53*)[106]	Theodore (468, *26-28*, 470, *9-11*, *11-14*, *14-15*, *16-20*, *21-22* and *24-29* and *33-34*, *35-37* and 472, *1-3*, *5-16*, 474, *10-19* and *21-24*)[107]
Fragment 1	"'You gave me limited life'" (ܠ ܚܒܡ ܪܟܫܚܟ ܪܢ)	"After all, even if he did not set the same limits to each person's life, he did set limits to people in general" (Εἰ γὰρ ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων οὐκ ἐμέτρησε τὴν ζωήν, ἀλλ᾽ οὖν γε κοινῶς ἐμέτρησε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις)
	"And not free and simple like the angels" (ܪܝܫ ܠܐ ܪܟܠܟ ܥܡ ܪܟܬܚܐ)	"and not imperishable, as it were, like the nature of angels or any other of the spiritual beings" (καὶ οὐχ οἷον εἰπεῖν ἀδιαλύτου ὡς ἡ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἢ ἑτέρου τινὸς τῶν νοητῶν)
	"For also thus the Creator formed our nature, so that we would not die together with our (physical) being" (ܟܢ ܚܢ ܠܚܝ. ܪܘܝܟ ܡܛܐ ܪܟܡ ܒܢ ܒܟܢ ܡܘܡ ܡܟܟ ܪܢ)	"God, of course, manages affairs by a certain plan, making our nature subject to a sentence of death once and for all and rendering us capable of lasting for an acknowledged number of years, with the result that we do not undergo a speedy dissolution as soon as we are fashioned" (Ὁ γάρ τοι θεὸς λόγῳ τινὶ κρατίστης οἰκονομίας, θανάτου μὲν ἅπαξ ἀποφάσει τὴν ἡμετέραν φύσιν ὑποβαλών, κατεσκεύασεν εἰς φανερὸν ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸν διαρκεῖν δυναμένους, ὡς μήτε ταχείαν ἅμα τῇ πλάσει τὴν διάλυσιν ὑπομένειν)
	"Nor should we live without a limit" (ܪܟܘܫ ܪܢ ܠܟܟ ܪܫ)	"nor do we have an immeasurable life span extended indefinitely" (μήτε ἁπλῶς ἡμῖν εἰς ἄπειρον ἐκτείνεσθαι τὴν ζωήν)
Fragment 2	"For just as a house, if it is built well, then according to the soundness of its structure, thus also it remains" (ܟܒܢ ܒܢ ܪܒܟ ܒܟܠ. ܪܒܒܟ ܒܢ ܥܒ ܟܢ ܪܒܡ ܡܒܒܢ ܡܢ ܟܒܢܒܢ ܟܟܟ)	"just as people building houses determine the extent of their duration by the zeal and care in building, longer if they are more zealous, shorter if they adopt this attitude in building" (ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ τὰς οἰκίας κατασκευάζοντες ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν οἰκοδομὴν σπουδῆς τε καὶ ἐπιμελείας τὴν ποσότητα τῆς τοῦ χρόνου διαμονῆς ταῖς οἰκίαις χαρίζονται, πλείονα μὲν εἰ μᾶλλον σπουδάσαιεν, ἐλάττονα δὲ εἰ τούτῳ χρήσαιντο ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκοδομῆς τῷ τρόπῳ)
	"In this way also the bodies of people, according to their structure and the equality of their mixture, endure. In proportion to their feebleness (do) they perish" (ܒܢ ܟܢ ܒܢ ܪܒܒ ܒܢ. ܒܒܒܢ ܟܢ ܒܢ ܒܒܒ ܒܒ ܒܒ ܒܒ. ܒܒ ܒܒ ܒܒ ܒܒ ܒܒ ܒܒ ܒܒ ܒܒ ܒܒ)	"He limited the number of years he wanted our life to last…by allowing all persons to run the course of their own lives as their makeup permits, and the ailments natural to our mortal condition and the sickness and decease arising from circumstance to run their course in us, the result being that some have shorter lives than others" (Τὸν δέ γε τῶν ἐτῶν ἀριθμόν, εἰς ὅν διαρκεῖν ἡμῶν ἠβουλήθη τὴν ζωήν, περιγράψας…ἕκαστον ὡς ἂν ἔχοι κράσεως

[106] The text and line numbers are taken from Aḥob's Psalm 39:4-6 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia, and the English translation is taken from the preceding table. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

[107] The text, pages, and line numbers are taken from Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Commentary on Psalms 1-81*, 468, col. 1, *26-30*, 470, col. 1, *1-37*, 472, col. 1, *1-16*, 474, col. 1, *10-24*, and the English translation is taken from the preceding table.

		ἀποπληροῦν τὸν τῆς οἰκείας ζωῆς ἀριθμὸν συγχωρήσας καὶ τὰ πάθη κρατεῖν ἐν ἡμῖν ἅτε δὴ ὡς ἐν φύσει θνητῇ καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν συμπτωμάτων ἀρρωστίας τε καὶ θανάτους, ἀφ᾽ ὧν ἐπ ἔλαττόν τινας ἑτέρων ζῆν συμβαίνει)
	"For if everyone had a (fixed) measure (of life), and he fixed how much he should live, he would be considered to be wicked, (for) to one (person) he increased (the length of life) and to another he reduced (the length of life)" (ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܐܝܟ ܕܫܘܝ ܠܗ ܠܡܚܝܘܬܗ ܘܠܡܬܪܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܫܘܝ ܠܗ ܠܡܚܝܘܬܗ ܗܘ ܕܢܬܚܫܒ ܐܢ ܗܘ ܕܩܒܥ ܠܚܕ ܘܠܚܕ ܐܢ ܗܘ ܕܡܩܨܪ)	"After all, it would have been most inappropriate for him to determine the length of each one's life: had he personally set a longer time for one and less for another, it would have been unfair for him not to allot people length of life equally" (Αὐτὸν γὰρ ὁρίζειν τῷ καθενὶ τὸν χρόνον τῆς ζωῆς ἄγαν ἀπρεπέστατον ἦν. Εἴτε γὰρ τῷ μὲν ὥριζε πλέον, τῷ δὲ ἔλαττον, ἀδικιας ἦν οὐ κατ᾽ ἰσότητα νέμοντος τὴν ζωὴν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις)
	"And, again, if he was giving one equal (measure of life) to all, not even pains and sicknesses would befall us, and (this possibility) would be taken away, that on behalf of Christ we should suffer in our bodies" (ܘܬܘ ܕܐܢ ܐܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܬܠ ܠܟܠ ܚܕ ܐܝܟ ܕܫܘܝ ܠܗ ܠܡܚܝܘܬܗ ܗܘ ܕܢܬܚܫܒ ܐܢ ܗܘ ܕܩܒܥ ܠܚܕ ܘܠܚܕ ܐܢ ܗܘ ܕܡܩܨܪ ܘܠܐ ܢܗܘܝܢ ܠܢ ܟܐܒܐ ܘܚܠܝ ܘܡܪܥܝܬܐ ܘܡܘܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܢ ܒܦܓܪܢ ܐܢ ܗܘ ܕܢܬܒܛܠ ܗܢ ܕܒܫܠܡܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܚܫܝܢ ܒܦܓܪܢ ܒܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܘܒܥܕܬܐ ܕܢܣܒܪ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܕܢܬܒܛܠ ܗܢ ܕܒܫܠܡܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܚܫܝܢ ܒܦܓܪܢ ܒܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܘܒܥܕܬܐ ܕܢܣܒܪ)	"and if he had maintained equality, it would have been necessary for human nature to remain proof against illness in the meantime for the period of their life span, not falling victim to bodily complaints. As well, the onset of death befitting our nature would have been abolished: being impassible, we necessarily would have to be also immortal, and the possibility of suffering bodily for Christ's sake would be abolished in the case both of martyrdom and of self-control" (Εἴτε καὶ τὴν ἰσότητα ἐφύλαττεν, ἔδει τὴν φύσιν ἐν τῷ μέσῳ χρόνῳ μένειν ἀπαθῆ ὡς ἄν διαρκῇ μέχρι τοῦ τῆς ζωῆς ὅρου, μὴ διακοπτομένη ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν τοῖς σώμασι παθῶν, καὶ πάλιν ἀνῃρεῖτο ὁ τοῦ θανάτου ὅρος συμφερόντως κείμενος ἐν τῇ φύσει. Ἀπαθῆ γὰρ οὐσαν, ἀνάγκη πᾶσα καὶ ἀθάνατον εἶναι, ἀνῃρεῖτο δὲ καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ παθεῖν τῷ σώματι εἴτε ἐν τοῖς μαρτυρίοις, εἴτε καὶ τῷ τῆς ἐγκρατείας λόγῳ)
Fragment 3	"he does not speak about the measure of the life of each individual of humanity, but (about the fact) that in comparison with (former) generations, and the succession of ages, the lifespans of humans also change, since the measure (of life) of the first (humans) is not equal (in comparison) with that of the intermediate (ones), (and) neither, again, is that of the intermediate (ones equal) with that of the later (ones). Neither (within) each individual (one) of the generations are all (its members) equal in lifespan" (ܠܐ ܡܬܡܠܝ ܗܘ ܕܒܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܥܠ ܕܡܬܚܫܒ ܐܠܐ ܕܥܠ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ ܘܕܪ ܘܕܪ ܘܫܢܝܘܬ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܐܦ ܫܢܝܐ ܡܬܚܙܝ ܠܐ ܡܫܘܝ ܗܘ ܕܩܕܡܝܐ ܠܗ ܠܡܨܥܬܢܝ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܨܥܬܢܝ ܠܗ ܠܐܚܪܢܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܘܝ ܗܘ ܕܒܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܥܠ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ ܘܕܪ ܘܕܪ ܘܫܢܝܘܬ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܐܦ ܫܢܝܐ ܡܬܚܙܝ ܠܐ ܡܫܘܝ ܗܘ ܕܩܕܡܝܐ ܠܗ ܠܡܨܥܬܢܝ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܨܥܬܢܝ ܠܗ ܠܐܚܪܢܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܘܝ ܗܘ ܕܒܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܥܠ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ ܘܕܪ ܘܕܪ ܘܫܢܝܘܬ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܐܦ ܫܢܝܐ ܡܬܚܙܝ ܠܐ ܡܫܘܝ ܗܘ ܕܩܕܡܝܐ ܠܗ ܠܡܨܥܬܢܝ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܨܥܬܢܝ ܠܗ ܠܐܚܪܢܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܘܝ ܗܘ ܕܒܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܥܠ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ ܘܕܪ ܘܕܪ ܘܫܢܝܘܬ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܐܦ ܫܢܝܐ ܡܬܚܙܝ ܠܐ ܡܫܘܝ ܗܘ ܕܩܕܡܝܐ ܠܗ ܠܡܨܥܬܢܝ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܨܥܬܢܝ ܠܗ ܠܐܚܪܢܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܘܝ ܗܘ ܕܒܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܥܠ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܢܫ ܘܕܪ ܘܕܪ ܘܫܢܝܘܬ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܐܦ ܫܢܝܐ ܡܬܚܙܝ ܠܐ ܡܫܘܝ ܗܘ ܕܩܕܡܝܐ ܠܗ ܠܡܨܥܬܢܝ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܨܥܬܢܝ ܠܗ ܠܐܚܪܢܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܘܝ)	"Now, the fact that people lived different ages in different periods – such as nine hundred before the flood, a hundred and seventy in the case of Abraham, and after him a hundred and ten a little more – does not undermine our argument: in every case it is clear that those in the same period did not have equal life spans, which would not have been the case if God had allotted each one a life span, since in the same period he definitely would have maintained equal life spans" (Τὸ δέ γε διαφόρως ζῆν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κατὰ τὰς γενεὰς ϡ΄, γενεῶν εἰ τύχοι τῶν πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ γεγονότων, ρ΄ δὲ ο΄ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, καὶ τῶν μετ᾽ αὐτὸν ρ΄ καὶ ι΄ καὶ εἰ βραχύ τι πλέον, οὐδὲν τῷ νοήματι λυμαίνεται. Πανταχόθεν γὰρ δῆλον ὅτι οὐδὲ οἱ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν γενεὰν ἴσον ἔζων τὸν ἀριθμόν, ὅπερ οὐκ ἂν ἦν εἰ ὁ Θεὸς ἑκάστῳ τὴν ζωὴν ἐμέτρει · πάντως γὰρ ἂν τοῖς κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν γενεὰν ἐφύλαξε τὴν ἰσότητα)

	ܕܒܕܪ̈ ;ܡ ܠܗ ܕܐ. ܕܟܝ ܕܒܬܟ ܕܒܕܪ̈ ܕܐ. ܕܒܕܪ̈ ܕܒܬܟ ܕܟ ܕܐ ܕܒܬܟ ܕܟ ܠ ܐܦ ܕܒܬܟ ܕܒܕܪ̈

God has not determined the length of their lives – Aḥob is likely aware of it but chooses to conclude his Psalm 39:4-6 scholion somewhat differently: the ultimate answer to the theological dilemma of one's length of life (by itself or in comparison to the length of another person's life) lies in "the providence of God" (ܥܠܐ ܗܢܝܬܐ), which "is not given to us to know all things exactly" (ܠܐ ܡܫܬܡܥ ܠܢ ܡܕܡ ܒܫܘܠܡ ܗܢܝܬܐ ܠܐ).

5.4.1.1.3. Psalm 40:8[110]

For his Psalm 40:8 scholion, Aḥob borrows one fragment from Theodore's commentary on Ps 39:8. If this Theodorean fragment in Aḥob's scholion (which encompasses the entirety of his Psalm 40:8 scholion) is presented according to its Syriac text and compared with Theodore's Greek commentary on Ps 39:8, it appears as follows:

Aḥob's Psalm 40:8 scholion (*1*)[111]	Theodore's commentary on Psalm 39:8 (496, *8-9* and *9*)[112]
"The sections of all the prophets" (ܟܠ ܦܣܩܐ ܕܢܒܝܐ)	"the books of the prophets" (ταῖς βίβλοις...τῶν προφητῶν)

In order to understand the Ps 40:8 phrase "in the beginning of the books" (ܒܪܫ ܣܦܪ), Aḥob relies on Theodore's commentary on the same phrase, which in the LXX states "in the scroll of the book" (ἐν κεφαλίδι βιβλίου). Aḥob uses Theodore's exegesis at this point, because he likely views the Peshitta phrase "in the beginning of the books" as referring to the Old Testament prophetic books – as Theodore had understood the equivalent LXX phrase to mean – rather than the Law, which is the more obvious sense of this phrase. Due to the brevity of his scholion, Aḥob alters very little of Theodore's equivalent phrase: he changes the noun "books" (βίβλοις) – which would have likely been ܣܦܪ in its translated form – to the noun "sections" (ܦܣܩܐ) and adds the adverb "all" (ܟܠ). While it is unclear what Aḥob means by "sections," his use of "all" likely implies that he understood the Peshitta phrase "in the beginning of the books" as referring to parts of each of the prophetic books.

[110] Van den Eynde hints at the notion that Aḥob relies on Theodore in his Psalm 40:8 scholion, but he does not develop its specifics. See idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 72, n. 4.

[111] The English translation, text, and line number are taken from Aḥob's Psalm 40:8 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia.

[112] The text, page, and line numbers are taken from Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Commentary on Psalms 1-81*, 496, *7-9*, and the English translation is taken from ibid., 497.

5.4.1.1.4. Psalm 45 Prologue

For his Psalm 45 Prologue scholion, Aḥob borrows one fragment from Theodore's Ps 44 Prologue. If this Theodorean fragment in Aḥob's scholion is presented according to its Syriac text and compared with Theodore's Greek Ps 44 Prologue, it appears as follows:

Aḥob's Psalm 45 Prologue scholion (*1-3*)[113]	Theodore's Psalm 44 Prologue (554, *17* and *17-18* and *20-21*)[114]
"But the Jews in their madness take this psalm (to be) concerning Solomon and concerning his Egyptian wife" (ܗܘ ܡܙܡܘܪܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܝ ܒܫܘܛܘܬܗܘܢ ܡܣܒܝܢ ܗܘ ܥܠ ܫܠܡܘܢ ܘܥܠ ܐܢܬܬܗ ܕܡܨܪܝܬܐ)	"since Jews presume to distort the psalm, turning it into fairy tales, or rather an object of derision, of which no heed should be taken…taking this psalm as referring to Solomon and his wife" (ἐπειδὴ...παρατρέπειν Ἰουδαῖοι τολμῶσι τὸν ψαλμόν. Μυθικώτερον, μᾶλλον δὲ καταγελαστότερον αὐτὸν ἐξηγούμενοι - οἷς οὐδὲ προσέχειν ἐχρῆν...τὸν Σολομῶντα καὶ τὴν τούτου γυναῖκα βούλονται εἰρῆσθαι τὸν ψαλμόν)

Aḥob relies on Theodore's Ps 44 Prologue, likely because he agrees with Theodore that Ps 45(44) does not speak about Solomon and one of his wives. He quotes two phrases from Theodore: "this psalm" (ܗܘ ܡܙܡܘܪܐ) and "Solomon and…his…wife" (ܥܠ ܫܠܡܘܢ…ܐܢܬܬܗ), the comparative Greek being τούτου…τὸν ψαλμόν and τὸν Σολομῶντα καὶ τὴν…γυναῖκα, respectively. However, Aḥob does not merely reproduce the equivalent portion of Theodore's Prologue; rather, he largely summarizes it, encapsulating the latter's polemical verbosity against Jews with the brief phrase, "But the Jews in their madness" (ܗܘ ܕܝܗܘܕܝ ܒܫܘܛܘܬܗܘܢ). Beyond this, the most notable change Aḥob makes is his addition of the adjective "Egyptian" (ܡܨܪܝܬܐ), which is likely a reference to Solomon's wife, the daughter of Pharaoh, mentioned in 1 Kgs 3:1; 7:8; 9:16, 24; 11:1; 2 Chr 8:11.

5.4.1.2. Basil of Caesarea's Prologue to Psalm 1[115]

For his *Cause of the Psalms*, Aḥob relies on eleven fragments from Basil of Caesarea's (ca. 330-379) Prologue to Psalm 1, which precedes his *Homily 10*. The Syriac translations of Basil's *Homilies on the Psalms* have been little studied, and (to date) no edition has been produced.

[113] The English translation, text, and line numbers are taken from Aḥob's Psalm 45 Prologue scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

[114] The text, page, and line numbers are taken from Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Commentary on Psalms 1-81*, 554, and the English translation is taken from ibid., 555.

[115] Van den Eynde notes that Aḥob may be relying on Basil's Prologue to Psalm 1, but he does not develop its specifics. See idem, *Psaumes* (trans.), 4, n. 1.

However, these translations can be broadly categorized into two stages: 1) fifth-century translations, which were quite free and prone to expansion by the inclusion of additional material[116] and 2) seventh to ninth-century translations, which were retranslations and represented a close reading of the Greek.[117] Considering Aḥob's established date,[118] it can be known that he would have used one or more fifth-century translation(s), since the seventh-ninth century translations had not yet been produced. If Aḥob's Basil fragments are compared with Basil's Syriac Prologue to Psalm 1, they appear as follows:

	Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* (*13-16* and *18-21*, *46-66*, *77-84*, *110-114*, *151-160*, *171-177*, *182* and *183-184*, *186-187*, *196-197*, *204-205*, *209*)[119]	Basil's Prologue to Psalm 1 (141r, col. 1, *6-11* and *13-17*, 141r, col. 1, *21*-col. 2, *10*, 141r, col. 2, *10-24*, 142r, col. 2, *23-29*, 141v, col. 1, *22-31* and col. 2, *6-19*, 141v, col. 2, *26*-142r, col. 1, *1*, 142v, col. 1, *25-27*, 143r, col. 1, *33*-col. 2, *2*, 141r, col. 1, *11-21* and col. 2, *24-31* and 141v, col. 2, *4*, 143r, col. 2, *13-18*, 141v, col. 1, *2-3*)[120]
Fragment 1	"all the Holy Scriptures, which were uttered and written by the grace of the Spirit, are beneficial to rational (people)…according to the word of the blessed Paul: *Every book, which is written by the Spirit* of God, *is* profitable *for learning,*	"*Every Scripture that is (inspired) through the* Holy *Spirit and is* beneficial, it was written due to the encouragement of the Spirit of God for this (reason), that all people should find cures for the sicknesses of their sins from the Holy Scriptures" (ܟܠ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܐܬܟܬܒ ܒܡܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ

[116] Paul Jonathan Fedwick, "The Translations of the Works of Basil before 1400," in Paul Jonathan Fedwick (ed.), *Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic. A Sixteen-Hundredth Anniversary Symposium* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981), 449; idem, *Bibliotheca Basiliana Universalis: A Study of the Manuscript Tradition, Translations and Editions of the Works of Basil of Caesarea, II: The Homiliae morales, Hexaemeron, De litteris, with additional coverage of the letters, Part One: Manuscripts* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), 240-241; Sebastian P. Brock, "From Antagonism to Assimilation: Syriac Attitudes to Greek Learning," in Nina G. Garsoïan, Thomas F. Mathews, and Robert W. Thomson (eds.), *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period. Dumbarton Oaks Symposium, 1980* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982), 18; idem, "Basil's *Homily on Deut. xv 9*: Some remarks on the Syriac manuscript tradition," in J. Dummer (ed.), *Texte und Textkritik – eine Aufsatzsammlung* (TU 133; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1987), 57, 62-66; Sebastian Brock, "Traduzioni siriache degli scritti di Basilio," in *Basilio tra Oriente e Occidente. Convegno Internazionale "Basilio il Grande e il Monachesimo Orientale." Cappadocia, 5-7 ottobre 1999* (Magnano: Qiqajon, 2001), 167. Another example of a fifth-century free Syriac translation of Basil's Prologue to Psalm 1 (which is not included in Fedwick and Brock's lists of manuscripts containing this text) is preserved in Antonio Maria Ceriani (ed.), *Codex syro-hexaplaris Ambrosianus photolithographice editus curante et adnotante* (Monumenta sacra et profana ex codicibus praesertim Bibliothecae Ambrosianae 7; Mediolani: Impensis Bibliothecae Ambrosianae, 1874), 1v, col. 1, *18*-col. 2, *48*, which is part of the larger, independent prologue to the Greek psalter at the beginning of the Syro-Hexapla.

[117] Fedwick, "The Translations of the Works of Basil before 1400," 449 and n. 61; idem, *Bibliotheca Basiliana Universalis, Part One: Manuscripts*, 240-241; Brock, "From Antagonism to Assimilation," 18; idem, "Basil's *Homily on Deut. xv 9*," 63-66; Brock, "Traduzioni siriache degli scritti di Basilio," 167.

[118] For a further discussion, see Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.3. Date.

[119] The English translation, text and line numbers are taken from Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

[120] The text, folios, columns, and line numbers are taken from ms. British Library, Add. 14,543 (6th century), ff. 141r, col. 1, *1*-144r, col. 1, *8*, and the English translation is taken from an unpublished translation of this text, which was produced by Seth M. Stadel and David G. K. Taylor.

	etc.” (ܟܬܒ ܡܠܝ ܕܡܬܪ ܟܬܒ ܚܠܡ ܕܟܬܒܝ ܐܝܟܐ ܕܫܘܝ ܒܚܠܩ ܒܟܠ ܫܪ...ܕܠܟܠ ܚܠܡ ܕܡܝ ܕܫܘܝ ܕܫܘܝ ܬܒ ܟܠ ܚܕ ܒܟܠ ܕܟܠ ܠܚܠܩ ܡܢ ܕܫܘܝ. ܐܠܐ ܟܬܒ ܕܫܘ)	ܕܐܠܐ ܕܫܘ ܕܒܚܠܩ ܟ ܟܬܒ ܚܠܡ...ܕܫ ܬܒ ܚܠܡ ܠܫܬ ܕܟܠ ܚܠܩ ܕܡܝ ܕܡܬܪ ܟܬܒ ܟ)
Fragment 2	“For we find that it divides the word which (is) in the Holy Scriptures into four kinds: prophecy, I say, and history, and law writing, and wisdom, which is the fear of God. For no one of the Scriptures, by itself, possesses one of these and is deprived of these others. For, behold! In the books of the prophets there are also found past histories, and, again, in the books of the histories there is also found prophecy of things, which (are) to come, with exhortation and petition and thanksgiving; these are found scattered in all the Scriptures. But in this book of Psalms all these (are) collectively set, and it is composed, as it were, of some members and parts from all these” (ܡܫܟܚܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܓܢ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܕܒܟܠ ܡܬܪ ܟܬܒ ܕܒܚܠ ܟܠ ܚܕ ܚܠܩ ܕܠ ܓܢ ܚܠܡ ܟ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܟܬܒ ܕܠ ܒܟܠ ܚܠܡ ܕܡ ܕܐ ܕܟܬܒ ܓܢ ܕܡ ܕ

	ܕܒܫܡܝܗܝܢ ܡܢ ܕܒܚܝܠܝܢ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܝܢ ܕܒܬܫܒܚܬܐ ܕܒܫܒܚܬܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܠܗ ܠܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܡܚܝܢ ܠܢ)	،ܡܫܬܠ ܥܠ ܓܒܪ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܠܒܗ ܕܢܫ ܕܒܗ ܕܐܬܐ ܡܒܪܟ)
Fragment 4	"For these words, when they are recited by blessed people with the purpose which (is) proper for them, drive away rebellious demons and gather holy angels to them" (ܡܠܐ ܕܐܬܝ ܥܡ ܒܢܝܐ ܕ ܒܪܟܐ ܒܢ ܕܒܫܒܚܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܗ ܥܡ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܫܒܚܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܠܗ ܥܡ

Fragment 8	"And know that in David there are all good (things)" (ܘܕܥ ܕܒܕܘܝ ܐܝܬ ܟܠ ܛܒ̈ܬܐ)	"so that one might say that all good (things) are stored up in them" (ܐܡܪ ܠܡܐ ܕܟܠ ܛܒ̈ܬܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ̈ܘܢ)
Fragment 9	"a medicine for all pains, a bandage for all wounds" (ܐܣܝܐ ܠܟܠ ܟܐ̈ܒ̈ܐ. ܡܟܒܐ ܠܟܠ ܦ̈ܨ̈ܥ̈ܐ)	"all people should find cures for the sicknesses of their sins from the holy Scriptures, as though from a universal hospital. For truly, the healing that is due to (the Scriptures) gives us relief from the pains of sins…For through it also are cured those in whom the ulcers of sins have grown old, and by it are healed those in whom the wounds of failings are new…mix their medicine" (ܟܠ ܡܢ ܐܡܪ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܩܕܝ̈ܫܐ. ܐܦ̈ܠ ܗܠ ܐܝܟ ܒܝܬ ܐܣܝܐ ܠܟܠ ܟܐ̈ܒ̈ܐ. ܐܡܬ̈ ܗܠ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܬ̈ ܐܝܬ ܠܢ ܫܘܪܝ̈ܐ ܕܚܝ̈ܠ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܚܛ̈ܗ̈ܐ...ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܗܠ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܫܟ̈ܚ̈ܐ ܕܥܬ̈ܝܩ̈ܐ ܒܚ̈ܛ̈ܗ̈ܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܪ̈ܦ̈ܐ ܕܚ̈ܒ̈ܘܪ̈ܐ ܕܚ̈ܛ̈ܗ̈ܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܫ̈ܚ̈ܐ ܕܚ̈ܕ̈ܬ̈ܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܫ̈ܚ̈ܐ ܕܚ̈ܛ̈ܗ̈ܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܪ̈ܦ̈ܐ ܕܚ̈ܒ̈ܘܪ̈ܐ ܕܚ̈ܛ̈ܗ̈ܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܪ̈ܦ̈ܐ ܕܚ̈ܒ̈ܘܪ̈ܐ ܕܚ̈ܛ̈ܗ̈ܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܫ̈ܚ̈ܐ ܕܚ̈ܕ̈ܬ̈ܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܡܫ̈ܚ

14) Healing from pain

15) The Psalms prophesy about the divinity and humanity of Christ

16) The Psalms purify ungodly passions

Along with these shared themes, Aḥob also uses similar[121] (and sometimes, the same) wording as Basil on twenty-six occasions:

	Aḥob	Basil
Fragment 1	"the Holy Scriptures" (ܟܬܒܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ)	"the Holy Scriptures" (ܟܬܒܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ)
	"were…written" (ܐܬܟܬܒ)	"it was written" (ܟܬܒ)
	"are beneficial" (ܡܫܟܚ ܐܝܬܝܗ) "*is* profitable" (ܐܝܬܝܗ ܡܫܟܚ) [2 Tim 3:16]	"*is* beneficial" (ܐܝ ܡܫܟܚ) [2 Tim 3:16]
	"*Every book…by the Spirit* of God" (ܟܠ ܟܬܒ…ܡܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ) [2 Tim 3:16]	"*Every Scripture…through the* Holy *Spirit*" (ܟܠ ܟܬܒ ܐܝ ܡܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ) [2 Tim 3:16] "of the Spirit of God" (ܡܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ)
Fragment 2	"prophecy" (ܢܒܘܬܐ) (2x) "the books of the prophets" (ܟܬܒ ܢܒܝܐ)	"the prophets" (ܢܒܝܐ)
	"law writing" (ܟܬܒ ܢܡܘܣ)	"the (books of) the Law" (ܢܡܘܣ)
	"wisdom" (ܚܟܡܬ)	"the wisdom of Solomon" (ܚܟܡܬ ܫܠܡܘܢ)
	"the fear of God" (ܕܚܠ ܐܠܗܐ)	"the fear of God" (ܕܚܠ ܐܠܗܐ)
	"in all the Scriptures. But in this book of Psalms" (ܒܟܠ ܟܬܒ ܩܕܝܫ ܐܠܐ ܒܗܢ ܕܟܬܒ ܬܫܒܚܬܐ)	"But in the book of the holy Psalms…from all the Scriptures" (ܐܠܐ ܒܗܢ ܕܟܬܒ ܬܫܒܚܬܐ…ܡܢ ܟܠ ܟܬܒܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ)
Fragment 3	"prophecy of (those things) which (are) to come" (ܢܒܘܬ ܕܐܬܝ ܠܡܥܒܕ)	"it prophesies about future (events)" (ܢܒܝ ܠܡܥܒܕ…ܕܐܬܝ)
	"histories" (ܣܗܕܘܬܐ)	"the events" (ܣܗܕܘܬܐ)
Fragment 4	"demons" (ܫܝܕܐ)	"demons" (ܫܝܕܐ)
	"angels" (ܡܠܐܟܐ)	"angels" (ܡܠܐܟܐ)
Fragment 5	"the sounds of…melodies" (ܩܠ ܕܢܓܘܢ…ܘ)	"melodies of" (ܘ ܩܠ) "melodies" (ܩܠ)
	"music" (ܙܡܪ)	"song" (ܙܡܪܐ)
	"the hearers" (ܕܫܡܥ)	"hearing" (ܕܫܡܥ)
Fragment 6	"But (concerning) the words of" (ܐܠܐ ܥܡ ܘ ܡܠܐ) "the words which" (ܘ ܡܠܐ)	"But the words of" (ܘ ܥܡ ܡܠܐ)
	"they were spoken" (ܐܡܝܪ)	"to be uttered" (ܠܡܐܡܪ)

[121] This includes synonyms.

	"which are combined within them, everyone received them with pleasure in his memory, so that they are also easily recited" (ܕܐܬܬܟ ܚܡ ܕܐܬܬܟ ܚܕ ܒܗ ܚܕ ܠܗ ܒܗ ܫܡ ܚܕ ܠܗ ܒܗ ܫܡ ܚܕ ܠܗ ܒܗ ܫܡ

discussed by Basil earlier in his Prologue. Aḥob may have viewed this section as Basil's concluding remarks on the text, which would explain his lack of interest in interacting with any specific part of its contents.

5.4.1.3. Theodore of Mopsuestia's *Commentary on Genesis*[122]

For his Genesis 15:9-10 scholion, Aḥob likely relies on the parallel text in Theodore's *Commentary on Genesis*.[123] However, since the original text of Theodore's commentary on these two verses is no longer extant, its oldest (and most literal) witness will be used,[124] namely, an excerpt from Theodore's polemical response to Julian the Apostate's *Contra Galilaeos* (362-363), which Augusto Guida partially reconstructed from fragments preserved in the late fifth-century exegetical *Catenae on Genesis*.[125] From this, it can be established that Aḥob borrows 2 fragments from Theodore's commentary on Gen 15:9-10.[126] In the following two tables (where each verse is presented separately), both of Aḥob's Theodorean fragments are compared with Theodore's response to Julian:

	V. 9 of Aḥob's Genesis 15:9-10 scholion (*1-16*)[127]	Theodore's response to Julian (126, *1-12*)[128]
Fragment 1	But by the *heifer*, he indicates that generation, which first came to Egypt, which thus, as it were,	The generations were therefore signified by the animals that had been prepared and, by their age of three years, the still youthful

[122] The critical edition used in this subsection is the following: Augusto Guida (ed.), *Teodoro di Mopsuestia, Replica a Giuliano Imperatore: Adversus criminationes in Christianos Iuliani imperatoris* (Biblioteca Patristica 24; Firenze: Nardini, 1994).

[123] Paolo Carrara was the first to suggest that this commentary on Gen 15:9-10 originated from Theodore. See Carrara, "Tre estratti da un trattato contro Giuliano (di Teodoro di Mopsuestia?)," *Prometheus* 9 (1983): 282.

[124] Later (usually anonymous) scribes included this and other Theodorean excerpts, along with fragments from other slightly later Greek writers – such as Theodoret of Cyrus (393-457), in the *Collectio Coisliniana* (9th-10th century). Cf. Guida, *Teodoro di Mopsuestia* (1994), 36-37 and Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 142. The Genesis section of this florilegium was edited by Françoise Petit. See idem, *Catenae Graecae in Genesim et in Exodum: Collectio Coisliniana in Genesim* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986).

[125] Guida, *Teodoro di Mopsuestia* (1994), 34, 36, 122-124 and idem, *Teodoro di Mopsuestia, Replica a Giuliano Imperatore*, seconda edizione riveduta e ampliata (Bologne: Centro editoriale dehoniano, 2019), 90-99. See also Carrara, "Tre estratti da un trattato contro Giuliano," 279-284. Other slightly later Greek writers, such as Procopius of Gaza (465-528), also used Theodore's commentary on Gen 15:9-10, though it appears to have been reworked to some degree. See, for instance, Prokop von Gaza, *Eclogarum in libros historicos Veteris testamenti epitome. Teil 1: Der Genesiskommentar*, ed. Karin Metzler (GCS N. F. 22; Berlin/München/Boston: De Gruyter, 2015), 257-258 and idem, *Eclogarum in libros historicos Veteris testamenti epitome*, trans. Karin Metzler (GCS N. F. 23; Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2016), 234-235.

[126] Theodore's commentary on Gen 15:9-10 is part of a larger excerpt, labeled "Fragment 2" by Guida. See idem, *Teodoro di Mopsuestia* (1994), 41.

[127] The English translation and line numbers (for both tables) are taken from Aḥob's Genesis 15:9-10 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.1. Genesis Scholia.

[128] The page and line numbers (for both tables) are taken from Guida, *Teodoro di Mopsuestia* (1994), 126, and my English translation is based on ibid.

	possessed strength, in that it was not yet subdued, like a new heifer, which has not yet been bound to the yoke. But, again, by the *ram* he indicates the second generation, which although (a ram is) smaller and tamer than a heifer, it is, however, better and stronger than a goat. But by the *goat* he indicates the harsh subjection of the third generation. Therefore, in like manner, by means of (the words) *three years old* and *three years old*, he makes known the three generations: *Levi*, and *Kohath*, and *Amram*.	character of the people and (their) being in (their) prime. And the *heifer*, taken first, fittingly signified the first generation; for as the heifer is untamed, having no experience of the yoke, so also the first generation of the people who went down to Egypt was kept free from the Egyptian discipline. The *goat* was taken second, after the heifer, because it indicates beforehand the second generation. For just as the goat provides a small revenue to the owners, but nevertheless it provides, so also the second generation, although not much, but nevertheless was enslaved to the Egyptians. The *ram*, brought forward third, openly indicated beforehand the third (generation), for because a ram offers the owner a greater return from it(self), in like manner the Egyptians enjoyed most of all the fruits of the third generation of the Israelites.

	V. 10 of Aḥob's Genesis 15:9-10 scholion (*23-39*)	Theodore's response to Julian (126, *15-20*)
Fragment 2	He places *(each) member opposite its fellow*, that (is) to say, (each) member which was cut off from its fellow, he placed it opposite the member from which it was cut off. By means of their division, he makes known their vexation and their misery, which they were going to endure in Egypt. But that (phrase) they were placed *opposite* each other (makes known) that, though they were looking at each other, none was able to help its fellow. But (that phrase) *he did not divide the birds* indicates their unanimity and unified sojourning in the wilderness, for they were indeed going, somehow, to fly from Egypt.	On account of this, in any case, he divided the *heifer* and the *goat* and the *ram* into two parts and set them *opposite* to each other, through the division hinting at their affliction and crushing (sorrow) in their sojourning, and through the placing opposite *one another* indicating their taking part in slavery together with one another. He kept the *turtle dove* and the *dove* undivided, however, intending the people who went down to Egypt being freed from Egypt's hard labor.

In order to more accurately discuss both of these lengthy fragments, it is worth presenting the above tables on a smaller scale, where Aḥob and Theodore's similar phrases (based on their respective Syriac and Greek texts) are isolated and listed, following the order of Aḥob's text:

	Aḥob (*1-7, 7-11, 11-13, 13-16, 24-35, 35-40*)[129]	Theodore (125, *2-5, 9-12, 5-9, 1-2, 15-19, 19-20*)[130]
Fragment 1	"But by the *heifer*, he indicates that generation, which first came to Egypt, which thus, as it were, possessed strength, in that it was not yet subdued, like a new heifer, which has not yet been bound to the yoke" (ܕܒܥܓܠܬܐ ܡܪܡܙ ܗܝ ܕܩܕܡ ܥܠ ܡܨܪ̈ܝܡ ܕܗܝ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܚܝܠ ܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܟܒܫ ܐܝܟ ܥܓܠܬܐ ܚܕܬܬ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܩܛܪ ܥܠ ܢܝܪ̈ܐ)	"And the *heifer*, taken first, fittingly signified the first generation; for as the heifer is untamed, having no experience of the yoke, so also the first generation of the people who went down to Egypt was kept free from the Egyptian discipline" (καὶ ἡ μὲν δάμαλις πρώτη ληφθεῖσα τὴν πρώτην εἰκότως ἐσήμαινε γενεάν· ὡς γὰρ ἡ δάμαλις ἀδάμαστός ἐστιν, ἄπειρος οὖσα ζυγοῦ, οὕτω καὶ ἡ τοῦ εἰς Αἴγυπτον κατελθόντος λαοῦ πρώτη φορὰ τῆς Αἰγυπτιακῆς σκληραγωγίας ἐλευθέρα διεφυλάχθη)
	"But, again, by the *ram* he indicates the second generation, which although (a ram is) smaller and tamer than a goat" (ܘܒܕܟܪܐ ܡܪܡܙ ܗܝ ܕܬܪܝܢ ܐܦ ܗܝ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܥܓܠܬܐ ܙܥܘܪܐ ܘܡܬܟܒܫ ܐܝܟ ܕܥܬܝܕ)	"The *ram*, brought forward third, openly indicated beforehand the third (generation), for because a ram offers the owner a greater return from it(self), in like manner the Egyptians enjoyed most of all the fruits of the third generation of the Israelites" (τρίτος δὲ ὁ κριὸς προσαχθεὶς τὴν τρίτην ἄντικρυς προεμήνυεν· ὅ τε γὰρ κριὸς πλείονα δίδωσιν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ τῷ δεσπότῃ τὸν πόρον, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἀπεκαρπώσαντο μάλιστα τὴν τρίτην γενεὰν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι)
	"But by the *goat* he indicates the harsh subjection of the third generation" (ܘܒܥܬܘܕ ܡܪܡܙ ܗܝ ܕܬܠܝܬܝܐ ܥܒܕܘܬܐ ܩܫܝܬܐ)	"The *goat* was taken second, after the heifer, because it indicates beforehand the second generation. For just as the goat provides a small revenue to the owners, but nevertheless it provides, so also the second generation, although not much, but nevertheless was enslaved to the Egyptians" (ἡ δὲ αἴξ δευτέρα παρελήφθη μετὰ τὴν δάμαλιν, διὰ τὸ τὴν δευτέραν γενεὰν προαινίττεσθαι· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ αἴξ βραχεῖαν μὲν τοῖς δεσπόταις παρέχει τὴν πρόσοδον, παρέχει δὲ ὅμως, οὕτω καὶ ἡ τοῦ λαοῦ δευτέρα φορὰ δουλείαν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις, εἰ καὶ μὴ πολλήν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅμως παρείχετο)
	"Therefore, in like manner, by means of (the words) *three years old* and *three years old*, he makes known the three generations: *Levi*, and *Kohath*, and *Amram*" (ܥܠ ܗܕܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܬܠܬ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܕܬܠܬ ܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܡܘܕܥ ܗܘ ܠܢ ܬܠܬ ܕܪ̈ܘܣ)	"The generations were therefore signified by the animals that had been prepared and, by their age of three years, the still youthful character of the people and (their) being in (their) prime" (Ἐδηλοῦντο δὲ ἄρα διὰ μὲν τῶν εὐτρεπισθέντων ζῴων αἱ γενεαί, διὰ δὲ τοῦ τριετοῦς αὐτῶν τὸ νεάζον ἔτι τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ἐν ἀκμῇ καθεστός)
Fragment	"He places *(each) member*	"On account of this, in any case, he divided

[129] The text and line numbers are taken from Aḥob's Genesis 15:9-10 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.1. Genesis Scholia, and the English translation is taken from the preceding two tables. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

[130] The text, page, and line numbers are taken from Guida, *Teodoro di Mopsuestia* (1994), 125, *1-27*, and the English translation is taken from the preceding two tables.

2	*opposite its fellow*, that (is) to say, (each) member which was cut off from its fellow, he placed it opposite the member from which it was cut off. By means of their division, he makes known their vexation and their misery, which they were going to endure in Egypt. But that (phrase) they were placed *opposite* each other (makes known) that, though they were looking at each other, none was able to help its fellow" (ܒܪܟܐ ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܚܒܪܗ ܐܦܠܓ ܗܘ ܠܗ ܠܡܦܠܓ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܦܠܓ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܚܒܪܗ ܐܦ ܗܘ ܠܗ ܠܡܦܠܓ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܦܠܓ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܚܒܪܗ ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܚܒܪܗ ܐܦܠܓ ܗܘ ܠܗ ܠܡܦܠܓ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܦܠܓ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܚܒܪܗ ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܚܒܪܗ ܐܦܠܓ ܗܘ ܠܗ ܠܡܦܠܓ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܦܠܓ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܚܒܪܗ ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܚܒܪܗ ܐܦܠܓ ܗܘ ܠܗ ܠܡܦܠܓ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܦܠܓ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܚܒܪܗ ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܚܒܪܗ ܐܦܠܓ ܗܘ ܠܗ ܠܡܦܠܓ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܦܠܓ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܚܒܪܗ ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܚܒܪܗ ܐܦܠܓ ܗܘ ܠܗ ܠܡܦܠܓ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܦܠܓ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܚܒܪܗ)	the *heifer* and the *goat* and the *ram* into two parts and set them *opposite* to each other, through the division hinting at their affliction and crushing (sorrow) in their sojourning, and through the placing opposite *one another* indicating their taking part in slavery together with one another" (τούτου γοῦν ἕνεκεν τήν τε δάμαλιν καὶ τὴν αἶγα καὶ τὸν κριὸν μέσα διεῖλε καὶ τέθεικεν ⟨ἐ⟩αυτοῖς ἀντιπρόσωπα, διὰ μὲν τῆς τομῆς τὴν ἐν τῇ παροικήσει θλῖψιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν συντριβὴν ὑπεμφαίνων, διὰ δὲ τῆς θέσεως τῆς ἀντιπροσώπου τὸ τῆς δουλείας ἀλλήλοις αὐτοὺς συμμετεσχηκέναι δηλῶν)
	"But (that phrase) *he did not divide the birds* indicates their unanimity and unified sojourning in the wilderness, for they were indeed going, somehow, to fly from Egypt" (ܕܐܦܠܓ ܠܐ ܗܘ ܠܗ ܚܠܝܡ ܕܐܦܠܓ ܠܐ ܗܘ ܠܗ ܚܠܝܡ ܕܐܦܠܓ ܠܐ ܗܘ ܠܗ ܚܠܝܡ)	"He kept the *turtle dove* and the *dove* undivided, however, intending the people who went down to Egypt being freed from Egypt's hard labor" (τὴν μέντοι τρυγόνα καὶ τὴν περιστερὰν ἐφύλαξεν ἀδιαίρετον, ὡς τῶν ἐξελθόντων τὴν Αἴγυπτον τῆς Αἰγυπτιακῆς ἀπαλλαγέντων ταλαιπωρίας)

Aḥob comments on Gen 15:9-10 in a similar manner to Theodore, likely because he agrees with Theodore's broad typological approach to these two verses. If it is accepted that the order of this excerpt from Theodore's response to Julian reflects its original order in his *Commentary on Genesis*, then the above table reveals that Aḥob rearranges select phrases of this Theodorean excerpt. However, this is (in large part) due to a variation in the order of the first three animals presented in v. 9: whereas the Peshitta introduces them as "heifer" (ܬܠܝܡ), "ram" (ܕܟܪ), "goat" (ܥܙ), the LXX introduces them as "heifer" (δάμαλιν), "goat" (αἶγα), "ram" (κριὸν). Not surprisingly, Aḥob and Theodore faithfully follow the order of their respective biblical texts at this point. It is possible that the Syriac translation of Theodore's commentary on v. 9 was rearranged to follow the Peshitta, meaning that Aḥob only reordered one phrase of Theodore's exegesis on Gen 15:9-10 (namely, Theodore's comment on the animals being three years old); however, this cannot be verified.

Beyond his reordering of parts of this Theodorean excerpt, Aḥob reworks (without summarizing) the first half of the first Theodorean fragment and all of the second Theodorean fragment. For the "goat" phrase in the first fragment, he summarizes Theodore's exegesis. He

approaches the final phrase of the first fragment by developing Theodore's equivalent text: while Theodore simply refers to "generations" (γενεαί), Aḥob states that there were "three generations" (ܬܠܬ ܕܪܗܛ), exemplified by "Levi, and Kohath, and Amram" (ܠܘܝ ܘܩܗܬ ܘܥܡܪܡ).

Though it is unclear if Aḥob originally commented specifically on the "turtle dove" (ܕܬܪܬܐ) and the "young dove" (ܘܕܝܘܢܐ ܛ),[131] as mentioned at the end of v. 9, it is likely that (if he did) he would have used a comparable typological approach to that of Theodore.

5.4.1.4. The *Physiologus*[132]

For his Psalm 42:2 scholion, Aḥob borrows one fragment from the *Physiologus*, which is a 2nd or 3rd-century Greek text (originating from Egypt) that discusses, among other things, the moral strengths and weaknesses of animals.[133] Prior to the 6th century, it was translated into Syriac, in which it is preserved in four forms: 1) an early form,[134] 2) an expanded form,[135] 3) a longer form,[136] and 4) a fragmented form.[137] Of these four forms, only the longer form preserves a text that is similar to Aḥob's Psalm 42:2 scholion.[138] If Aḥob's *Physiologus* fragment is compared with the longer form of the Syriac *Physiologus*, it appears as follows:

Aḥob's Psalm 42:2 scholion (*1* and *2* and *4*-7)[139]	The *Physiologus* (16, *6-11*)[140]
"Because, then, stags…long for	"But when (the stag) eats the snake, he begins to eat it by

[131] He does comment on the v. 10 phrase "he did not divide the birds" (ܠܐ ܦܠܚ…ܨܦܪܐ), which is a reference back to the turtle dove and the young dove.

[132] The critical editions used in this subsection are the following: Oluf Gerhard Tychsen (ed.), *Physiologus syrus seu historia animalium XXXII in s. s. memoratorum, syriace e codice bibliothecae vaticanae nunc primum editit, vertit et illustravit* (Rostock: Libraria Stilleriana, 1795); J. P. N. Land (ed.), *Anecdota Syriaca IV: Otia Syriaca*. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1875), 33-99 (Syriac), 31-98 (Latin); K. Ahrens (ed.), *Das "Buch der Naturgegenstände"* (Kiel: C.F. Haeseler, 1892); Arnold Van Lantschoot, "Fragments syriaques du Physiologus," *Le Muséon* 72:1-2 (1959): 37-51.

[133] S. P. Brock, "Physiologus," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 334. For a detailed discussion of the *Physiologus* in the Syriac tradition, see Sami Aydin, "5 The Syriac Tradition of the *Physiologus*," in Caroline Macé and Jost Gippert (eds.), *The Multilingual Physiologus: Studies in the Oldest Greek Recension and its Translations* (Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia 84; Turhout: Brepols, 2021), 197-236.

[134] Tychsen, *Physiologus syrus seu historia animalium XXXII*.

[135] Land, *Anecdota Syriaca IV*.

[136] Ahrens, *Das "Buch der Naturgegenstände."*

[137] Van Lantschoot, "Fragments syriaques du Physiologus." See Brock, "Physiologus," 334.

[138] The expanded form preserves a chapter on the "stag" (ܐܝܠܐ), as mentioned in Ps 42:2. However, this chapter does not contain any material that compares to Aḥob's Psalm 42:2 scholion. See Land, *Anecdota Syriaca IV*, 46, *16*-47, *9* (Syriac), 44-45 (Latin).

[139] The English translation, text and line numbers are taken from Aḥob's Psalm 42:2 scholion, which is presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

[140] The text, page, and line numbers are taken from Ahrens, *Das "Buch der Naturgegenstände,"* 16 (Syriac), and my English translation is based on ibid., 44 (German).

a drink *of water* when they have eaten of harmful reptiles. Like that which is the gall of snakes, which pollutes and adheres to the roof of their palate” (ܠܗܟ ܪܟܬ ܪܥܨ ܠܥܨܒ ܚܡ...ܪܬܥ ܪܟܬ ܪܣܐ ܕܡ ܕܟܬ ܕܟ ܕܐ ܕܡ ܕܟ ܕܐ ܕܡ ܕܟ ܕܐ ܕܡ ܕܟ ܕܐ)	its tail and takes all (of) it into his throat. Then he fits its head in his mouth, and so he bites it off and devours it. And because the head of the snake sticks to the roof of his palate, it vomits a lot of gall into his mouth, and so, therefore, he thirsts after and *calls out for a stream of water*” (ܕ ܪܥܨ ܡܨܒܐ ܟ ܪܐ ܠ ܐ ܠ ܨܒ ܪ ܟܗ ܪ ܕ ܐ ܕ ܐ ܕ ܐ)

As the above table shows, Aḥob reworks the text of the *Physiologus*, summarizing aspects of it. His *Physiologus* fragment encompasses nearly all of his Psalm 42:2 scholion (aside from a few initial and concluding phrases), possibly because he sought to include the *Physiologus* in a classroom lecture on this psalm. While he only preserves one identical word – namely “gall” (ܡܚܠ), he uses several similar non-Peshitta words and phrases:

Aḥob	The *Physiologus*
“long for a drink” (ܪܥܨ ܠ ܐ)	“thirsts after” (ܐ)
“they have eaten” (ܐ)	“eats” (ܠ)
“harmful reptiles” (ܪܟܬ ܪܣ) “snakes” (ܡ)	“the snake” (ܪ)
“adheres to” (ܕ)	“sticks to” (ܪ...ܕ)
“the roof of their palate” (ܐ)	“the roof of his palate” (ܐ)

While the *Physiologus* describes the manner by which the stag eats the snake, Aḥob does not mention the parts of the snake being eaten or their order of consumption by the stags. Furthermore, Aḥob suggests that, concerning the stags, the snake gall “adheres to the roof of their palate” (ܐ), whereas the *Physiologus* states that it is “the head of the snake (that) sticks to the roof of his palate” (ܪ). Aḥob’s terse description of the *Physiologus* at this point suggests that he assumes his audience (i.e. his students) knows either the immediate chapter under discussion or the broader text of the *Physiologus* itself.

5.4.2 Syriac Sources

Along with his Greek sources, Aḥob relies on several contemporary Syriac sources, including the East Syriac liturgy, cosmology, and church architecture. He shows his dependency upon two of these Syriac sources through varying forms of analogy. Aḥob’s use of these Syriac sources will be discussed in the following three subsections, which are organized by their order

of appearance in his Old Testament exegetical works, as presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1. Old Testament Exegetical Works.[141]

5.4.2.1. The East Syriac Liturgy

In his Genesis 15:9-10 scholion, Aḥob makes one reference to the East Syriac liturgy, which is the only time he does so in his known Old Testament exegetical works. After introducing the v. 10 phrase "he divided them equally" (ܦܠܓ ܠܝܬ ܒܗܘܢ), he comments that "(There were) three rows, as the (Eucharistic) bread is arranged in the paten upon the altar" (ܬܠܬ ܣܕܪܝܢ ܗܟܝ ܕܡܬܣܕܪ ܠܚܡܐ ܒܦܝܬܐ ܥܠ ܡܕܒܚܐ).[142] Aḥob's liturgical analogy is a reflection of a common Eucharistic practice in his time,[143] and he likely includes it in this scholion to typologically explain Abraham's equal division of the animals. His reference to the Eucharistic bread being laid out in "three rows" (ܬܠܬ ܣܕܪܝܢ) offers a rare window into the early East Syriac liturgy, for no other early commentator on the East Syriac liturgy mentions this detail.[144] Nevertheless, it remains unclear whether Aḥob's reference to the Eucharistic bread being laid out in "three rows" implies three separate loaves or one loaf divided into three parts. Since Aḥob is the earliest witness to this Eucharistic practice, it is not known when it began.[145]

5.4.2.2. Cosmology

In his Psalm 104:2-3 scholion, Aḥob discusses some of his cosmological views, which is the only time he does so in his known Old Testament exegetical works. His focus is on explaining the meaning of the Peshitta noun, "curtain," (ܡܫܟܢܐ) in v. 2 and phrase, "On the waters he constructed his habitations," (ܕܥܠ ܡܝܐ ܫܟܠ ܡܫܟܢܘܗܝ) in v. 3. Aḥob's cosmology shares several

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[141] The text, line numbers, and English translations of Aḥob words and phrases used in the following three subsections are taken from his Genesis 15:9-10 and Psalm 104:2-3 scholia, which are presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.1. Genesis Scholia and Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

[142] Aḥob's Genesis 15:9-10 scholion, *21-24*.

[143] In the liturgy, the arrangement of the Eucharistic bread upon the altar occurs during the Preparation of the Mysteries. See Johnson Chittilappilly, *Mdabbranuta: The Divine Dispensation of Our Lord in the Holy Qurbana of the East Syrian Tradition* (Vadavathoor: Oriental Institute of Religious Studies, 1999), 384-385.

[144] See, for instance, Sebastian P. Brock, "An Early Syriac Commentary on the Liturgy," *Journal of Theological Studies* NS 37:2 (1986): 387-403 and idem, "Gabriel of Qatar's Commentary on the Liturgy," *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 6:2 (2003): 197-248.

[145] At present, during the East Syriac liturgy, a priest divides one loaf into two halves, which are then arranged to represent the cross in the paten. However, similar to Aḥob's reference to the Eucharistic bread being laid out in "three rows," it is not known when this practice began. See E. S. Drower, *Water into Wine: A Study of Ritual Idiom in the Middle East* (London: Murray, 1956), 163-165. At present, during the West Syriac liturgy, a priest breaks one loaf into multiple pieces. See ibid., 143-144.

points of commonality with earlier Greek and Syriac writers. For instance:

- Theodore mentions "two heavens" (*duobus caelis*) in his commentary on Ps 19(18):2, "the upper (one)" (*superius*) being unseen and "the lower (one)" (*inferius*) being seen by humanity.[146]
- Narsai calls them "a double dwelling place" (ܡܫܟܢܐ ܬܪܝܢ), "two habitations" (ܬܪܝܢ ܒܝܬ), and "two worlds" (ܬܪܬܝ ܥܠܡ) in his *Homilies on Creation*, where "the exalted dwelling place" (ܡܫܟܢܐ ܥܠܝܐ) is created for spiritual beings and "the lower (dwelling place)" (ܬܚܬܝ) is for mortal beings.[147]
  - Aḥob refers to these as "that exalted heaven" (ܫܡܝܐ ܗܘ ܥܠܝܐ) and "this visible firmament" (ܪܩܝܥܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܚܙܝܐ), respectively.[148]
- Narsai insists that the firmament functions simultaneously as a "roof" (ܣܠܩܐ) for the earth below it and as a "floor" (ܫܝܪܐ) for the "exalted dwelling place" above it.[149]
- Jacob of Serugh (ca. 451-521)[150] adheres to a similar view: "It [the firmament] overshadows the house [i.e. the earth], and it does not have openings for heaven which (is) above; and on account of its roof, night rests upon its inhabitants" (ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܦܬܚܐ ܠܫܡܝܐ ܕܥܠ ܡܢ ܣܠܩܗ ܠܝܠܝܐ ܫܪܝ ܥܠ ܣܟܢܘܗܝ).[151]
  - Aḥob uses similar concepts in his discussion of the Ps 104:3 phrase, "On the waters he constructed his habitations," where he states, "the structures which (are) above the earth (are) the habitations of the firmament, since the whole of its own roof is the floor of the house which (is) under it" (ܕܐܢܝܢ ܕܥܠ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܗܢ ܡܫܟܢܬܐ ܕܪܩܝܥܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܟܠ ܓܘܦܗ ܗܘ ܫܝܪܐ ܕܒܝܬܐ ܕܬܚܘܬ).[152]
- Jacob of Serugh seeks to explain why the waters above the firmament cannot run

[146] Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Commentary on Psalms 1-81*, 234, *1, 2, 2* (Latin), 235 (English) and Frank Schleicher, *Cosmographia Christiana: Kosmologie und Geographie im frühen Christentum* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2014), 190.

[147] Philippe Gignoux (ed.), *Homélies de Narsaï sur la création* (Patrologia Orientalis 34.3-4; Turnhout / Paris: Brepols, 1968), 532/114, *91*, *92*, *92*, *95*, *93* (Syriac) and Schleicher, *Cosmographia Christiana*, 213.

[148] Aḥob's Psalm 104:2-3 scholion, *14*, *9-10*.

[149] Gignoux, *Homélies de Narsaï sur la création*, 528/110, *55*, *56* (Syriac) and Schleicher, *Cosmographia Christiana*, 214. Theodore also alludes to this concept. See ibid., 190.

[150] For a brief introduction to Jacob of Serugh, see Sebastian P. Brock, "Ya'qub of Serugh," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 433-435.

[151] Paul Bedjan (ed.), *Homiliae selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, vol. 3 (Paris / Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1907), 35, *13-14* (Syriac) and Schleicher, *Cosmographia Christiana*, 218.

[152] Aḥob's Psalm 104:2-3 scholion, *19-22*.

down off of it, since it is in the form of a tent: "He made the firmament a tent for a dwelling place on the second day…And there they [i.e. the waters] were established upon the great habitation, which (is) above, like a great cavern that great mountains surrounded" (ܫܒܝܥܝܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܟܦܬܐ ܠܡܫܟܢܐ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܬܪܝܢܝܐ…ܘܬܡ ܐܬܬܩܢܘ ܥܠ ܡܫܟܢܐ ܪܒܐ ܕܠܥܠ ܐܝܟ ܡܥܪܬܐ ܪܒܬܐ ܕܛܘܪܐ ܪܒܐ ܡܚܘܪ ܠܗ ܘܐܬܪ ܕܡܝܐ ܕܠܥܠ ܐܝܟ ܟܦܬܐ ܕܡܫܟܢܐ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܠ).[153]

- Aḥob rejects the notion that the Ps 104:2 noun, "curtain," (ܡܫܟܢܐ) would be in the form of a "tent…so that the waters, which are above, should not slip away or fall down from its highest ridge" (ܕܠܐ…ܕܥܠ ܢܬܚܠܩܘܢ ܡܝܐ ܕܥܠ ܡܢ ܪܝܫ ܓܒܝܗ ܥܠܝܐ).[154]

Also, Isa 40:22[155] was a foundational verse on which Antiochene cosmological concepts, such as those of Severian of Gabala (ca. 408), were developed.[156] Aḥob quotes part of this verse (in v. 2 of his Psalm 104:2-3 scholion) to explain the physical shape of "that exalted heaven."[157]

Considering the points of commonality above, it is unlikely that Aḥob is relying on any particular earlier writer in his Psalm 104:2-3 scholion. Rather, he appears to be engaging with a received (Greek and Syriac) Antiochene cosmology, which insisted on a literal interpretation of cosmological biblical passages. As such, Aḥob conveys a variation of existing cosmological theories (i.e. those mentioned above) and also expands the boundaries of certain concepts, such as his insistence that the Ps 104:2 noun, "curtain," refers to "the swiftness of its construction" (ܣܪܥܬ ܒܢܝܢܗ), rather than the more obvious "form of its setting up" (ܫܟܝܢܬ ܡܫܟܢܗ).[158] Other examples of his development of Antiochene cosmology include his descriptions of "that exalted heaven" as a "canopy" (ܦܪܘܓܐ)[159] and the "firmament" (ܪܩܝܥܐ) as having "a round shape" (ܫܟܠܐ ܡܫܟܢܗ) and being "circular in the middle" (ܒܡܨܥܬ ܓܠܝܠ).[160]

There are other aspects of Aḥob's cosmology, which he does not discuss in his Psalm 104:2-3 scholion but does include in his diagrammatic illustration, attached to this scholion.

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[153] Bedjan, *Homiliae selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis* (vol. 3), 29, *4* and 30, *4-5* (Syriac) and Schleicher, *Cosmographia Christiana*, 218.

[154] Aḥob's Psalm 104:2-3 scholion, *2*, *12* and *28-29*.

[155] According to the Peshitta, Isa 40:22 states, "And who sits above the circle of the earth and its inhabitants like locust(s), who stretched out heaven like a vault and stretched them out like a tent for a habitation?" (ܗܘ ܕܝܬܒ ܥܠ ܓܠܝܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܘܫܟܢܝܗ ܐܝܟ ܣܪܥܬܐ ; ܕܡܬܚ ܫܡܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܦܪܘܓܐ ܠܡܫܟܢ ܠܗ ܠܡܬܚ).

[156] Schleicher, *Cosmographia Christiana*, 163, 202-203.

[157] Aḥob's Psalm 104:2-3 scholion, *6-7*.

[158] Ibid., *4-5*, *3*.

[159] For a further discussion of this word, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.7. A Rare Word of Uncertain Etymology.

[160] Aḥob's Psalm 104:2-3 scholion, *24*, *20*, *26*, *26-27*.

These include "the highest heaven of heavens" (ܫܡܝܐ ܫܡܝܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ), "the region of the stars" (ܐܬܪܐ ܕܟܘܟܒܐ), and "(the region) of the clouds and mists and winds" (ܐܬܪܐ ܕܥܢܢܐ ܘܐܘܪܝܐ). If his approach (as established above) can be used as an indicator, it is unlikely that he is relying on one or more specific sources for his presentation of these three cosmological levels. Rather, he is likely either reproducing common Antiochene understandings of them or developing aspects of them in a distinctively Aḥobian manner.[161]

5.4.2.3. Church Architecture

In his Psalm 104:2-3 scholion, Aḥob makes an analogy to three church architectural features, each of which corresponds to part of Aḥob's cosmology:

- "dome" (ܟܘܒܬܐ) = "that exalted heaven" (ܫܡܝܐ ܗܝ ܫܡܝܐ)
- "level roof" (ܣܝܪܐ ܫܘܝܐ) = "this visible firmament" (ܪܩܝܥܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܚܙܝܐ)
- "floor" (ܐܪܥܐ) = "the earth" (ܐܪܥܐ).[162]

Beyond the strong probability that he is referencing contemporary church architecture (possibly the churches in and/or around the vicinity of Seleucia, where he taught),[163] Aḥob's analogy shares one point of commonality with a slightly earlier Syriac work, the anonymous *sogitha* on the Church of Edessa (written ca. 543-554).[164] Its relevant part (i.e. its first two octosyllabic hemistichs of strophe 6) states, "[The temple's] lofty dome! Behold, it resembles the highest heaven!" (ܟܘܒܬܗ ܪܡ ܕܡܝ ܫܡܝܐ ܠܥܠ ܘܗܐ ܫܡܝܐ ܕܡܬܕܡܐ).[165] Aḥob uses two comparable phrases: "in the shape of the exalted heaven…And under its own dome…" (ܕܡܝ ܟܘܒܬܐ ܟ ܕܡܘܬܐ…ܫܡܝܐ ܕܡܝ ܕܬܚܘܬ).[166] Considering the fact that Aḥob's wording

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[161] For a further discussion of this diagrammatic illustration, see Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.16. Psalm 104:2-3.

[162] Aḥob's Psalm 104:2-3 scholion, *33 = 14, 33-34 = 9-10, 35 = 16*.

[163] See Chapter 5, Section 5.2. The Original Purpose of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

[164] Kathleen E. McVey, "The Domed Church as Microcosm: Literary Roots of an Architectural Symbol," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 37 (1983): 91. McVey also published an edition of this text with English translation in this 1983 article, though Andrew Palmer, who subsequently produced his own edition of this text with English translation, noted a number of errors in her edition and translation. See McVey, "The Domed Church as Microcosm," 92-94 (Syriac), 95 (English); Andrew Palmer, "The Inauguration Anthem of Hagia Sophia in Edessa: A New Edition and Translation with Historical and Architectural Notes and a Comparison with a Contemporary Constantinopolitan Kontakion," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 12 (1988): 134, 156-157 (Syriac), 118, 131-133 (English); idem, "The Inauguration Anthem of Hagia Sophia Again," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 14 (1990): 247-248. For a list of editions and/or translations of this text prior to McVey's 1983 edition and translation, see McVey, "The Domed Church as Microcosm," 91, n. 3.

[165] Kathleen E. McVey, "The Sogitha on the Church of Edessa in the Context of Other Early Greek and Syriac Hymns for the Consecration of Church Buildings," *ARAM* 5 (1993): 353, ܐ, *1* (Syriac), 356 (English).

[166] Aḥob's Psalm 104:2-3 scholion, *31-32* and *32-33*.

largely differs from the *sogitha*, it is unlikely that he relies on it as a direct source, though he may have been familiar with it. Rather, he seems to be engaging with the *sogitha's* broader genre of *madrashe* (teaching hymns),[167] namely (what Kathleen McVey has called) "architectural *theoria*,"[168] i.e. "a contemplation of the church building."[169] Since the *sogitha* on the church of Edessa "is the earliest extant document which associates the central dome (and other architectural features) of a Christian church with cosmology,"[170] this would situate Aḥob's analogy as one of the earliest known instances of architectural *theoria*. Furthermore, his specific reference to the "level roof" of the altar baldachin appears to be the earliest extant reference to this architectural feature in the context of a comparison with cosmology.

5.4.3. Other Sources

Beyond his Greek and Syriac sources, Aḥob relies on a number of other sources, including Jewish exegesis and customs, Hebrew readings, Greek readings, medical phraseology, and the language of Qatar. His Coptic and Persian references, a rare word of uncertain etymology, and miscellaneous references will also be examined. Aḥob's use of these other sources will be discussed in the following eight subsections, which are largely organized in descending order of influence upon his Old Testament exegetical works, as presented in Chapter 2, Subsection

[167] Other related works include Eusebius' (ca. 260-ca. 340) *Panegyric on the Church at Tyre* and Balai's (early 5th century) *madrasha* on the Church at Qenneshrin. However, neither of these works contain material that is comparable with Aḥob's analogy to church architecture. See McVey, "The Sogitha on the Church of Edessa," 347-349, 359-367; Paul Bedjan (ed.), *Histoire ecclésiastique d'Eusèbe* (Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1897), 565, *2*-584, *7*; William Wright and Norman McLean (eds.), *The Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius in Syriac Edited from the Manuscripts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898), 392, *19*-404, *20*; Eberhard Nestle, *Die Kirchengeschichte des Eusebius aus dem Syrischen übersetzt* (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur, NF 6.2 [21.2]; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1901), 280-290; J. Josephus Overbeck (ed.), *S. Ephraemi Syri, Rabulae episcopi Edesseni, Balaei aliorumque Opera selecta e codicibus syriacis manuscriptis in museo Britannico et bibliotheca Bodleiana asservatis primus edidit* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1865), 251, *1*-258, *4*.

[168] For a 10th-century source of East Syriac "architectural *theoria*," see Richard Hugh Connolly (trans.), *A Commentary on the Mass (Which Has Been Attributed to, But It Is Not Really) by the Nestorian George, Bishop of Mosul and Arbel (10th Century)* (Oriental Institute of Religious Studies India Publications 243; Kottayam, India: Oriental Institute of Religious Studies, 2000).

[169] McVey, "The Sogitha on the Church of Edessa," 334 and idem, "The Domed Church as Microcosm," 110. It is unclear if Aḥob was knowledgeable of the Greek *kontakion* for the Inauguration of Hagia Sophia, which was written in 562. For comparative studies of this hymn with the *sogitha* on the Church of Edessa, see Palmer, "The Inauguration Anthem of Hagia Sophia in Edessa," 117-151 and McVey, "The Sogitha on the Church of Edessa," 335-337, 350-351. Cf. Ruth Macrides and Paul Magdalino, "The Architecture of Ekphrasis: Construction and Context of Paul the Silentiary's Poem on Hagia Sophia," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 12 (1988): 47-82.

[170] McVey, "The Domed Church as Microcosm," 91. See also idem, "The Sogitha on the Church of Edessa," 329-330, which specifies that this *sogitha* "is an alphabetical acrostic consisting of twenty-two strophes, each with four octosyllabic hemistichs."

2.2.1. Old Testament Exegetical Works.[171] The exception to this format will be Subsection 5.4.3.8., in which Aḥob's miscellaneous references are explored.

5.4.3.1. Jewish Exegesis and Customs

Among his Old Testament scholia, Aḥob relies on Jewish exegesis and customs on four occasions. Each of these instances will be examined in the following four subsections.

5.4.3.1.1. Numbers 21:19

In his Numbers 21:19 scholion, Aḥob discusses a water-giving stone (also known as a "walking rock"). He refers to this stone and its waters in four descriptive ways:

1) "waters of the stone" (ܡ̈ܝ̈ܗ ܕܟܐ)

2) "it will give its waters" (ܢܬܠ ܠܗܘܢ)

3) "they would go out from it" (ܡܢܗ ܢܦܩܝܢ ܗܘܘ)

4) "Although nothing was visible from the outside, that stone alone was (ever) seen to spout and pour forth water" (ܗܘ ܠܟ ܟܐܦܐ ܕܡ̈ܝ̈ܗ ܢܬܠ ܘܢܦܩ ܡܢ ܓܘ ܠܐ ܐܬܚܙܝ ܡܕܡ ܒܪ ܡܢ ܒܪܐ ܐܠܐ ܗܘ ܟܐܦܐ ܕܟܐ ܗܘܐ ܚܙܝܐ).[172]

This water-giving stone is mentioned by three Jewish sources as a moving well:

- Targum Ps.-Jonathan Num 20:2: "And because for Miriam's merit a well was given, when she died the well was hidden. Then there was no water for the congregation, and they gathered against Moses and against Aaron."[173]

- Tosefta Sukka 3:11: "So the well, which was with Israel in the wilderness, was like a rock of the size of a k'bara, and was oozing out and rising as from the mouth of this flask, travelling with them up the mountains and going down with them to the valleys. Wherever Israel encamped it encamped opposite them before the door of the Tabernacle. The princes of Israel with their slaves surrounded it, and said over it this song, Spring up, O well, sing ye unto it. Then the waters bubbled forth, and rose on high like a pillar…"[174]

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[171] The text, line numbers, and English translation of Aḥob words and phrases used in the following eight subsections are also taken from Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works, as presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1. Old Testament Exegetical Works. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

[172] Aḥob's Numbers 21:19 scholion, *1, 2, 3, 7-10*.

[173] Martin McNamara and Ernest G. Clarke, *Targum Neofiti 1: Numbers: Translated, with Apparatus and Notes / Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Numbers: Translated, with Notes* (The Aramaic Bible, vol. 4; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 1995), 244. The date of this work is unknown.

[174] A. W. Greenup, *Sukkah, Mishna and Tosefta: With Introduction, Translation and Short Notes* (London: S.P.C.K., 1925), 76. This work dates to roughly 200 A.D.

- Ps.-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities*: "But as for his own people, he led them forth into the wilderness: forty years did he rain bread from heaven for them, and he brought them quails from the sea, and a well of water following them brought he forth for them…"[175]

Paul references this tradition in 1 Cor 10:4,[176] and, as a result, it is also discussed by later Christian writers, who refer to this water-giving stone as a rock. Two examples will be given:

- Ephrem's Hymns on Paradise 5.1.: "I considered the Word of the Creator, and likened it to the rock that marched with the people of Israel in the wilderness; it was not from the reservoir of water contained within it that it poured forth for them glorious streams: there was no water in the rock, yet oceans sprang forth from it; just so did the Word fashion created things out of nothing."[177]

- John Chrysostom's *Homily 23*: "[T]his was a symbol of the Font, and that which follows, of the Holy Table. For as you eat the Lord's Body, so they the manna: and as you drink the Blood, so they water from a rock. For though they were things of sense which were produced, yet were they spiritually exhibited, not according to the order of nature, but according to the gracious intention of the gift, and together with the body nourished also the soul, leading it unto faith. On this account, you see, touching the food he made no remark, for it was entirely different, not in mode only but in nature also; (for it was manna;) but respecting the drink, since the manner only of the supply was extraordinary and required proof, therefore having said that they drank the same spiritual drink, he added, for they drank of a spiritual Rock that followed them, and he subjoined, and the Rock was Christ. For it was not the nature of the rock which sent forth the water, (such is his meaning,) else would it as well have gushed out before this time: but another sort of Rock, a spiritual One, performed the whole, even Christ who was everywhere with them and wrought all the wonders. For on this account he said, that followed them."[178]

Aḥob mentions one detail of this tradition that is found (in a comparable manner) in Tosefta Sukka, Ps.-Philo, and Chrysostom (i.e. Jewish and Christian sources): "that stone alone

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[175] M. R. James, *The Biblical Antiquities of Philo: Now First Translated from the Old Latin Version* (London: S.P.C.K., 1917), 105-106. This work dates from the mid-1st to the mid-2nd century A.D.

[176] 1 Cor 10:4 states, "And all drank the same spiritual drink. For they were drinking from the spiritual rock that was coming with them. But that rock was Christ" (ܟܠܗܘܢ ܫܬܘ ܡܫܘܚܐ ܗܕܐ ܘܫܬܘ ܡܐܟܠܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܘܐܟܠܘ ܠܚܡܐ ܕܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܢܚܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܐܦ ܫܬܘ ܡܝ ܡܢ ܟܐܦܐ ܕܢܚܬ ܥܡܗܘܢ ܘܗܝ ܟܐܦܐ ܗܘ ܡܫܝܚܐ). For a discussion of the Jewish background of Paul's mentioning of the walking rock in 1 Cor 10:4, see E. Earle Ellis, "A Note on First Corinthians 10:4," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 76 (1957): 53-56; Peter E. Enns, "The 'Moveable Well' in 1 Cor 10:4: An Extrabiblical Tradition in an Apostolic Text," *Bulletin for Biblical Research* 6 (1996): 23-38; Bruce N. Fisk, "Pseudo-Philo, Paul and Israel's Rolling Stone: Early Points along an Exegetical Trajectory," in Kenneth E. Pomykala (ed.), *Israel in the Wilderness: Interpretations of the Biblical Narratives in Jewish and Christian Traditions* (Themes in Biblical Narrative 10; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 117-136.

[177] Sebastian Brock (trans.), *Saint Ephrem: Hymns on Paradise* (Crestwood, New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1990), 102. Ephrem died in 373.

[178] Kevin Knight, "Homily 23 on First Corinthians: 1 Corinthians 10:1-4," accessed 25 June 2021, https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/220123.htm. Chrysostom lived ca. 347-407.

was (ever) seen to spout and pour forth water." Furthermore, he describes this moving well as a "stone," which only has a comparable usage in Ephrem and Chrysostom (i.e. Christian sources), both of whom likely derive the word from 1 Cor 10:4. Aḥob also references two details that either predate extant Jewish and Christian sources or originate from him: 1) the use of two Old Testament examples – namely, Moses (as described in Ps 78:16) and Elisha (in 2 Kgs 2:19-22) – to further support the biblical basis (i.e. validity) of this tradition, and 2) an emphasis that, even though these waters were miraculous, they came from waters already present in the existing created order.

Thus, Aḥob utilizes aspects of this tradition that were comparably used in both Jewish and Christian sources, while he references other details that have no comparison among extant Jewish and Christian sources. Considering the points of commonality mentioned above, it is unlikely that Aḥob is relying on any particular source for his understanding of this tradition. The specific manner by which Aḥob accessed this tradition – whether via Jewish sources, Christian sources, or a combination of both – remains unclear, though if he did use a Jewish source unknown to earlier Christian writers, he would have likely accessed it by means of a Jewish informant.

5.4.3.1.2. Psalm 45 Prologue

Aḥob's extant Psalm 45 Prologue scholion begins with a polemical statement: "But the Jews in their madness take this psalm (to be) concerning Solomon and concerning his Egyptian wife" (ܗܕܐ ܡܙܡܘܪܐ ܠܐ ܡܨܛܪܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܫܠܡܘܢ ܘܠܓܒܪܬܗ ܕܡܨܪܝܬܐ ܒܛܘܦܢܘܬܗ ܕܝܗܘܕܝܐ).[179] As previously demonstrated, Aḥob uses three phrases – "But the Jews in their madness" (ܒܛܘܦܢܘܬܗ ܕܝܗܘܕܝܐ), "this psalm" (ܗܕܐ ܡܙܡܘܪܐ), and "Solomon and…his…wife" (ܥܠ ܫܠܡܘܢ…ܐ) – to either summarize or quote the equivalent portion of Theodore's Ps 44 Prologue,[180] meaning Aḥob accessed this Jewish tradition via Theodore.[181]

[179] Aḥob's Psalm 45 Prologue scholion, *1-3*.

[180] For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.1.1.4. Psalm 45 Prologue.

[181] In the 14th century, Immanuel ben Solomon briefly described Ps 45 as "a song of love and friendship, composed in honour of Solomon after his coronation and marriage…" See Adolf Neubauer, "The authorship and the titles of the Psalms according to early Jewish authorities," *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica* 2 (1890): 46.

5.4.3.1.3. Psalm 110 Prologue

In his Psalm 110 Prologue scholion, Aḥob references two Jewish exegetical traditions. The first is given within a polemical statement: "But the stupid Jews take it [i.e. Ps 110] as (being spoken) in the persona of the servant of Abraham, when he went to betroth Rebecca, that (is) as if these words were spoken by him" (ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܡܪܝ ܬܝܒ ܠܝܡܝܢܝ ܥܕ ܐܫܝܬ ܐܝܒܝܟ ܠܪܓܠܝܟ ; ܣܗܕܘܬܐ).[182] In short, this Jewish tradition maintains that David spoke Ps 110 as if he were Abraham's servant (i.e. Eliezer), when he was sent to find a wife for Isaac. This Ps 110 Jewish tradition in Aḥob's scholion shares one point of commonality with Babylonian Talmud Sanhedrin 108b:

> Rav Ḥana bar Leva'ei says that Shem the Great said to Eliezer, servant of Abraham: When the four great kings of the east and the west came upon you to wage war with Abraham, what did you do? Eliezer said to him: The Holy One, Blessed be He, brought Abraham and placed him to His right, and we would throw dust and it became swords, and we threw straw and it became arrows, as it is stated: "A Psalm of David. The Lord says to my master: Sit to My right, until I make your enemies your footstool" (Ps 110:1).[183]

While Aḥob's first Ps 110 Jewish exegetical tradition and Babylonian Talmud Sanhedrin 108b agree that David spoke Ps 110 as if in the person of Eliezer,[184] the former departs from the latter by insisting that Ps 110 was spoken "when he went to betroth Rebecca" (ܐܝܒܝܟ ܠܪܓܠܝܟ ܥܕ ܐܫܝܬ). Since the Rebeccaite aspect of this Jewish tradition is not attested in Rabbinic literature, there are three possible ways by which Aḥob accessed it: 1) Theodore's (now lost) commentary on Ps 110(109),[185] 2) an otherwise unknown text, or, 3) Jewish oral tradition, via a Jewish informant. Any one of these options would also explain how he was able to access the Eliezer aspect of this Jewish tradition.

Aḥob's second Ps 110 Jewish exegetical tradition states the following: "it is confessed by them [i.e. the Jews] that there are four letters in the alphabet of their own way of writing, by (which) the name of God alone is written by them, which is equally written as *the Lord* and as *my Lord*" (ܐܡܪ ; ܐܠܗܝ ܐܒܬܘܬܐ ܕܒ ܠܟܘ ܒܠܚܘ ܒܝ ܐܒܓܕ ܕܒܝܬܐ ; ܐܠܗܝ ܐܘܓܒܬ

[182] Aḥob's Psalm 110 Prologue scholion, *9-13*.

[183] Rabbi Adin Even-Israel Steinsaltz, "Sefaria: The William Davidson Talmud Sanhedrin 108b," accessed 19 October 2020, https://www.sefaria.org/Sanhedrin.108b?lang=bi. This work was compiled from the 3rd to the 6th centuries A.D.

[184] The wider Jewish tradition interprets Ps 110 as being spoken to Abraham. See Rabbi Adin Even-Israel Steinsaltz, "Sefaria: Midrash Tehillim 110," accessed 27 June 2021, https://www.sefaria.org/Midrash_Tehillim.110?lang=bi. This work dates from ca. 1050-ca. 1450 A.D.

[185] Aḥob derives the majority of his Ps 45 Jewish tradition from Theodore's Ps 44 Prologue. For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Subsections 5.4.1.1.4. Psalm 45 Prologue and 5.4.3.1.2. Psalm 45 Prologue.

ܐܝܟ ܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܠ ܡܫܘܫܒܟ ܒܡܐܕ .ܡܢ ܕܒܪܟ ܫܡ ܐܠܗܐ).[186] This is arguably a reference to the divine appellations, YHWH and Adonai. There are four possible ways by which Aḥob could have accessed these Hebrew names: 1) Peshitta Exod 3:14 (for part of YHWH),[187] 2) Theodore's (now lost) commentary on Exod 3 or Ps 110(109), 3) an otherwise unknown text, or, 4) any number of verses in the Hebrew Bible, via a Jewish informant. Beyond these sources, it is worth noting that Aḥob could not have been relying on Syro-Hexapla Isaiah's usages of the Tetragrammaton,[188] because this text was first introduced to East Syriac exegetes around 800,[189] i.e. more than two centuries after Aḥob lived.

5.4.3.1.4. Calendrical Scholion

In his Calendrical scholion, Aḥob discusses a Jewish custom that responds to conflicting Mosaic laws of Passover sacrifice and Sabbath when they fall on the same day. He presents select parts of this Jewish custom in three descriptive ways:

1) There was a custom for the Jews that when the fourteenth was falling on the Sabbath, there were two laws which were breaking one another in one day, that is to say, the fourteenth and the Sabbath (ܕܝܘܡ ܐܝܟܐ ܒܟܝܪܐ .ܕܢܦܫܐ ܕܚܕ ܕܝܘܡ ܒܪ ܐܢ ܕܝܘܡ ܒܥܪܒ .ܕܫܒܬܐ ܡܝܟ ܕܝܘܡ ܡܝܡ .ܕܒܛܝܠ ܕܒܫܒܬܐ ܕܒܫܒܬܐ .ܕܒܫܒܬܐ).[190]

2) When this occurred, in the year our Lord suffered, it appeared to the Jews that they should celebrate the feast on the sixth day, and they should call it [i.e. the Passover feast] a "partaker" in the feast, that is to say, the eve of the Sabbath, that is to say, it is mingled and is mixed with the feast. While they (were) slaughtering the Passover lamb on the sixth day and regarding the Passover (as) a Sabbath, for (on) the day of Passover, that is to say, the Sabbath, they were preparing on the day of the eve of the Sabbath cold foods like beets and salt and some small herbs which (are) wild, etc. (ܕܒܫܒܬܐ ܕܒܫܒܬܐ .ܕܒܛܝܠ ܒܫܒܬܐ ܕܒܫܒܬܐ ܕܒܫܒܬܐ ܕܒܫܒܬܐ .ܕܒܫܒܬܐ ܕܒܫܒܬܐ ܕܒܫܒܬܐ

ܘ ܕܥܝܟ ܟܠ ܕܝ ܠܐ ܀ ܕܟܬܒ ܥܝܟ ܒܡܫܬܐ ܕܟܕ ܕܟܘܡ ܥܝܟ ܐܟܐ ܒܫܡ ܕܝ ܕܢܕܟ ܕܘܡܝܢ ܕܫܠܡ ܟܠ ܕܟܠܝ ܕܟܠܟܐ ܕܟܘܐܟ ܟܠ ܕܘ ܕܘܡ ܒܡܠܟܐ ܕܟܬ ܀ ܕܟܝܐ ܕܝܬ ܟܟܐ).[191]

3) This (is) also what they were handing down to eat [i.e. various cold foods] for those who were far off and were not (going to) be found in Jerusalem (during) the fast at the time of the fourteenth. When they set (one) necessity with the (other) necessity, the necessity of the Sabbath (was) for those who (were) in Judea, and the necessity of the Holy Place (was) for the ones who were near (to it) (ܕܡܣܝܢ ܡܠܟ ܐܟ ܕܢ ܥܡ ܕܘܡ ܒܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟ ܀ ܡܠܥܝܐܟ ܕܟܐܟܝܢ ܕܝܟ ܀ ܕܟܘ ܠܘܡ ܟܘܡ ܒܡܟܒܟ ܡܠ ܕܘܡ ܒܡܝܬܠܐ ܕܟܬ ܟܘܡ ܐܡܡ ܕܐ ܀ ܠܒܟܠ ܟܬܝܠܐ ܕܟܬ ܟܡܡܝܟ ܐܡܡ ܠܡܝ ܕܟܡܡܝܟ ܒܟ ܕܟܡܡܝܟ ܟܡܡ ܕܐ ܕܟܝܡ ܕܟܐܐ ܟܡܡܝܟ).[192]

The specifics of this Jewish custom are presented in great detail in Mishnah Pesachim 65b-66a, 92b-94b.[193] However, since it is impossible to determine which parts of this Aḥob scholion have likely been reworked by later East Syriac scribes or by Shbadnaya himself,[194] one cannot accurately compare these two texts. Nevertheless, one manner by which Aḥob accessed these tractates is alluded to in the final sentence of his scholion: "And, in this way, Jews in every place also do (this) until now" (ܟܟܠ ܒܟܒ ܟܒܟ ܐܟ ܠܒܐ ܟܐܘܬ ܟܟܐ).[195] In short (and if accepted at face value), Aḥob appears to have been an eyewitness to this Jewish custom. However, this alone does not explain his knowledge of the other aspects of this Jewish custom. Therefore, Aḥob accessed (at minimum) certain parts of this Jewish custom either by an otherwise unknown text or, perhaps more likely, by way of a Jewish informant.

5.4.3.2. Hebrew Readings

Within his Psalm scholia, Aḥob uses four Hebrew readings as alternative explanations for select difficult Peshitta words and phrases, probably because he knew that the Peshitta had been translated from the MT.[196] If these Aḥob Hebrew readings are compared with the MT, they appear as follows:

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[191] Ibid., *8-18*.

[192] Ibid., *18-24*.

[193] Rabbi Adin Even-Israel Steinsaltz, "Sefaria: The William Davidson Talmud Pesachim 65b-66a, 92b-94b," accessed 20 November 2020, https://www.sefaria.org/Pesachim.65b.10-13?lang=bi, https://www.sefaria.org/Pesachim.66a?lang=bi, https://www.sefaria.org/Pesachim.92b.4-11?lang=bi, https://www.sefaria.org/Pesachim.93a?lang=bi, https://www.sefaria.org/Pesachim.93b?lang=bi, https://www.sefaria.org/Pesachim.94a?lang=bi, https://www.sefaria.org/Pesachim.94b?lang=bi.

[194] For a further discussion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.4.1. Calendrical Scholion.

[195] Aḥob's Calendrical scholion, *24-25*.

[196] Bas ter Haar Romeny, "The Peshitta and Its Rivals: On the Assessment of the Peshitta and Other Versions of the Old Testament in Syriac Exegetical Literature," *The Harp* 11-12 (1998-1999): 29.

1st Hebrew Reading

Aḥob's Psalm 45:9 scholion (*1*)[197]	MT Psalm 45:9
"the Hebrew says, 'ivory'" (ܥܒܪܝ ܐܡܪ ܫܢ)	"ivory" (שֵׁן)

2nd Hebrew Reading

Aḥob's Psalm 58:4 scholion (*8* and *8-9*)	MT Psalm 58:4
"the Hebrew says, 'they were estranged'" (ܫܢ ܥܒܪܝ ܐܡܪ...ܥܒܪܝ)	"they were estranged" (זָרוּ)

3rd Hebrew Reading

Aḥob's Psalm 68:14 scholion (*1* and *1-2*)	MT Psalm 68:14
"the Hebrew says, 'among the manure pile'" (ܥܒܪܝ ܐܡܪ ...ܒܡܙܒܠܬܐ ܫܢ)	"between the sheepfolds" (בֵּין שְׁפָתָיִם)[198]

4th Hebrew Reading

Aḥob's Psalm 68:16-17 scholion (*1* and *1-2*)	MT Psalm 68:16-17
"the Hebrew clearly says, [68:16] 'Mountains of Bashan, [17] why (are) you arguing?'" ([68:16] .ܫܢ ܥܒܪܝ ܐܡܪ ...ܛܘܪܝ ܕܒܫܢ ܠܡܐ ܡܬܓܐܝܢ ܐܢܬ [17] ܕܒܫܢ ܛܘܪܐ)	"Mountain of Bashan! [68:17] Why do you look with envy?" (הַר־ בָּשָׁן: [68:17] לָמָּה תְּרַצְּדוּן)[199]

Each of Aḥob's Hebrew readings begins with the formulaic phrase "the Hebrew says" (ܥܒܪܝ ...ܐܡܪ / ܐܡܪ ܥܒܪܝ), which is a generic phrase introducing ad hoc information that has been obtained from one or more Jewish sources.[200]

While his 1st, 2nd, and 4th Hebrew readings present comparable Syriac words and/or phrases with the MT, Aḥob's 3rd Hebrew reading is noticeably different than the MT in Ps 68:14. It is, however, a comparable reading with what is preserved in the later Targum of

[197] The English translation, text and line numbers (for all four tables) are taken from Aḥob's Psalm 45:9, 58:4, 68:14, 68:16-17 scholia, which are presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

[198] The Hebrew noun שְׁפָתַיִם is only used in Ps 68:14 and Ezek 40:43, so its meaning is uncertain.

[199] The Hebrew verb תְּרַצְּדוּן is only used in Ps 68:17 and Sir 14:22, so its meaning is uncertain.

[200] Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 142. Cf. Ter Haar Romeny, "The Hebrew and the Greek as Alternatives to the Syriac Version," 443.

Psalms[201] in this verse: "between the manure piles" (ביני קילקלתא),[202] implying that both Aḥob and the Targum of Psalms independently witness the early Jewish interpretation of the word as "manure pile."

It is also worth noting that at least part of Aḥob's 4th Hebrew reading was known to Jerome (c. 347-420), who uses a comparable translation in the Vulgate in this verse (i.e. Ps 67:17): "why are you arguing?" (*quare contenditis*).[203] While Aḥob is clearly not reading the Vulgate, both he and Jerome are reporting what contemporary Jews understood the Hebrew verb תֶּרְצְדוּן to mean, implying that Aḥob and Jerome are independent witnesses to the same Jewish exegetical tradition.

Michael Weitzman surveyed the Hebrew readings preserved in several Syriac commentaries on the Old Testament credited to Ephrem (all of which are unlikely to have been written by him) and concluded that these readings can be grouped into four distinct categories:

1) "(those offering) an alternative treatment of the Hebrew, which comes closer than (the) Peshitta to (the) MT"

2) "(those where the Hebrew and the Peshitta) are sometimes comparably close to (the) MT but mutually different"

3) "(those which) provide an interpretation known through Targum Onqelos but not (the) Peshitta"

4) "(those referring) to the Hebrew language or a Hebrew word."[204]

Ter Haar Romeny suggested that Aḥob's Hebrew readings are examples of Weitzman's "first and second categories…(in that) they give other interpretations of the MT…, which are either just as close to it as is the Peshitta, or even closer, for instance because they are more literal or because they represent the Masoretic vocalization rather than any other."[205] If Weitzman's third category of Hebrew readings is slightly modified to state, "(those which provide an interpretation known through a Targum but not (the) Peshitta," then Ter Haar Romeny's classification of Aḥob's Hebrew readings should be revised and expanded to include Weitzman's first, third, and fourth categories:

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[201] The date of this Targum remains uncertain, though it was not widely known or used until roughly the High Middle Ages, i.e. several centuries after Aḥob lived. See David M. Stec, *The Targum of Psalms: Translated, with a Critical Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes* (The Aramaic Bible, vol. 16; Collegeville, Minn.: Liturgical Press, 2004), 1-2.

[202] P. de Lagarde, *Hagiographa Chaldaice* (Leipzig, 1873), 37, *24*. Stec translates this phrase as "among the dunghills." See idem, *The Targum of Psalms*, 130.

[203] Roger Weber, Roger Gryson, et al., *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, 5th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007), 851.

[204] Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 139-141.

[205] Ter Haar Romeny, "The Hebrew and the Greek as Alternatives to the Syriac Version," 455.

- 1st Hebrew Reading (Weitzman's fourth category)
- 2nd Hebrew Reading (Weitzman's first category)
- 3rd Hebrew Reading (Weitzman's third category)
- 4th Hebrew Reading (Weitzman's first category).

In order to determine the specific source by which Aḥob accessed his Hebrew readings, it is important to consider whether or not he may have relied on earlier Greek sources. A comparison of Aḥob's Hebrew readings with the Greek sources recorded in Frederick Field's *Origenis hexaplorum* yields the following:

- Aḥob's 1st Hebrew Reading: "ivory" (ܫܢܝܪ)
  - Greek Aquila: "from temples of tooth" (ἀπὸ ναῶν ὀδόντος)
  - Syriac Aquila: "from temples of ivory" (ܡܢ ܗܝܟܠ ܕ ܫܢܝܪ)[206]
- Aḥob's 2nd Hebrew Reading: "they were estranged" (ܐܬܢܟܪܘ)
  - No recorded variant readings[207]
- Aḥob's 3rd Hebrew Reading: "among the manure pile" (ܒܓܘ ܡܙܒܠܐ)
  - Greek Aquila and Symmachus: "between the frontiers" (μεταξὺ τῶν ὁρίων)[208]
- Aḥob's 4th Hebrew Reading: "Mountains of Bashan, why (are) you arguing?" (ܛܘܪܐ ܕ ܒܫܢ ܠܡ ܬܪܥܘܢ ܐܝܟܐ)
  - Greek Aquila: "why are you arguing?" (εἰς τί ἐρίζετε)
  - Syriac Aquila (in the Syro-Hexapla): "why are you arguing?" (ܠܡܐ ܡܕܝܢ ܐܝܟܐ)
  - Symmachus: "why are you striving?" (εἰς τί περισπουδάζετε)
  - Theodotion: "why do you sit in judgement?" (ινατί δικάζεσθε).[209]

This data, along with the observations noted earlier in this subsection, suggests several things:

- Aḥob's 1st and 4th Hebrew readings are in the same form in Aquila (i.e. Aḥob had the same understanding of the Hebrew text as Aquila), although in Ps 45:9 Aquila was just accurately reporting the Hebrew, with no special translation skills needed.
- In Ps 68:17, Aquila has the same understanding of the Hebrew text as Aḥob, which differs from the readings preserved in Symmachus and Theodotion. But the Syriac

[206] Field, *Origenis hexaplorum* (vol. 2), 163 and n. 35.
[207] Ibid., 185.
[208] Ibid., 201.
[209] Ibid., 202 and n. 40.

form of Aquila attested in the Syro-Hexapla has a different Syriac wording to that of Aḥob. In other words, Aḥob cannot be dependent upon the Syro-Hexapla here.

- Aḥob's 1st Hebrew reading uses the Hebrew meaning to emend the Peshitta text, meaning this reading cannot have come from Greek exegetical sources.
- Aḥob's 1st and 4th Hebrew readings likely share the Jewish interpretation known to Aquila, though his 1st Hebrew reading is so unspecific that it is not very diagnostic.
- Aḥob's 2nd and 3rd Hebrew readings are unknown to earlier Greek witnesses and the Church Fathers, meaning Aḥob did not draw these Hebrew readings from a Greek source.

In short, Aḥob's Hebrew readings do not appear to be drawn from Greek witnesses or patristic sources.

Another piece of evidence for the source of Aḥob's Hebrew readings may be found in the introductory formulaic phrase to his 4th Hebrew reading: "the Hebrew clearly says" (ܟܬܝ ܒܪܝܬܐ…ܡܦܫܛ). Aḥob's use of the adverb "clearly" (ܒܪܝܬܐ) suggests that he had direct access to, at least, this reading. Ter Haar Romeny proposed more broadly that Aḥob obtained all of his Hebrew readings "by consulting an informant, who must have interpreted the Hebrew or one of the Targumim for him."[210] In a related manner, Aḥob's 3rd Hebrew reading reveals that he had access to Jewish oral tradition. This, along with the evidence presented earlier in this subsection, suggests an independent Jewish source (possibly a Jewish informant) for Aḥob's four Hebrew readings[211] – whether his own source or one known to his teachers, for whom there is no record.

5.4.3.3. Greek Readings

Within his Psalm scholia, Aḥob uses three Greek readings as an alternative explanation for select difficult Peshitta phrases, likely because he knew the LXX had been the biblical text of earlier Greek Antiochene writers, such as Theodore and Basil. If these Aḥob Greek readings are compared with the LXX, they appear as follows:

[210] Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 153.
[211] Cf. Ter Haar Romeny, "The Hebrew and the Greek as Alternatives to the Syriac Version," 456.

1st Greek Reading

Aḥob's Psalm 68:14 scholion (*2* and *3*)[212]	LXX Psalm 67:14
"the Greek says, 'between the lots'" (ܐܡܪ ܝܘܢ ܒܝܢ ܚܕ…ܐܡܪ)	"between the lots" (μέσον τῶν κλήρων)

2nd Greek Reading

V. 16 of Aḥob's Psalm 68:16-17 scholion (*3* and *3-4*)	LXX Psalm 67:16
"the Greek says, 'Fat mountains, mountains of curd'" (ܐܡܪ…ܛܘܪ ܐܡܪ ܐܡܪ ܛܘܪ ܕܓܒܢ)	"fat mountain, curdled mountain" (ὄρος πῖον, ὄρος τετυρωμένον)

3rd Greek Reading

Aḥob's Psalm 110:3 scholion (*4* and *4-6*)	LXX Psalm 109:3
"the Greek says, 'From the womb and before the morning star I begot you'" (ܐܡܪ…ܐܡܪ ܡܢ ܒܛܢ ܩܕܡ ܠܐܪܘܬܐ ܕܨܦܪ ܝܠܕܬܟ ܐܢܐ)	"from the womb before the morning star I begot you" (ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου ἐξεγέννησά σε)

Each of Aḥob's Greek readings begins with the formulaic phrase "the Greek says" (ܐܡܪ…ܐܡܪ), which, similar to the Hebrew, is a generic phrase introducing ad hoc information that has been obtained from one or more Greek sources.[213]

All three of Aḥob's Greek readings present Syriac phrases which closely match the text of the LXX.

Concerning the specific source(s) by which Aḥob accessed these Greek readings, one piece of evidence may be found in Theodore's Syriac *Commentary on Psalms*. When Theodore's Greek *Commentary on Psalms* and other Old Testament commentaries were translated into Syriac in the 5th century, its translators sometimes followed "Theodore's Greek reading (of the LXX), especially when they found a difference in the choice of words, or in the construction or extent of a phrase…(other times they) gave the quotation first in the form of the Peshitta and then in the form of the Septuagint, which they explicitly introduced as…'the

[212] The English translation, text and line numbers (for all three tables) are taken from Aḥob's Psalm 68:14, 68:16-17, 110:3 scholia, which are presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia. The line numbers are based on the Syriac text.

[213] Van Rompay, "Between the School and the Monk's Cell," 47. Cf. Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament*, 142 and Ter Haar Romeny, "The Hebrew and the Greek as Alternatives to the Syriac Version," 443.

Greek.'"[214] Leonhard showed that Isho'dad relied on Theodore's Syriac *Commentary on Psalms* for some of his Greek readings.[215] He concluded this based on borrowed phraseology and placement: if a Greek reading was presented before a given interpretation, it was "very likely (to have been) taken over into Isho'dad's work together with its interpretation from Theodore's commentary."[216] Aḥob also utilized Theodore's Syriac *Commentary on Psalms* (as alluded to in Subsection 5.4.1.1. above); however, since all that remains of this text is Theodore's commentary on Ps 119(118); 139(138)-147, it is not possible to compare Aḥob's Greek readings with Theodore's parallel Syriac text. If one considers the placement of Aḥob's Greek readings in his scholia, two complicating factors arise:

1) Aḥob's 1st and 2nd Greek readings follow his 3rd and 4th Hebrew readings, respectively, and each comprises all that is extant of his Psalm 68:14 and Psalm 68:16-17 scholia.

2) Aḥob situates his 3rd Greek reading in the middle of his Psalm 110:3 scholion.

While it is impossible to know the original placements of his 1st and 2nd Greek readings, the placement of Aḥob's 3rd Greek reading does not conform to the pattern that Leonhard established. However, the above factors do not necessarily imply that Aḥob's Greek readings are not Theodorean in origin. As is shown in the Subsection 5.4.1.1. tables above, Aḥob follows the general progression of Theodore's Greek *Commentary on Psalms* (and by extension his Syriac *Commentary on Psalms* as well), at least where clear examples of dependence can be established. However, it is possible that Aḥob's approach to Theodorean exegesis did not extend to later Theodorean Greek readings placed before his Syriac commentary on various verses. If this is accepted, it is conceivable that Aḥob could have intentionally altered the placement of (at least)[217] three of these Greek readings and situated each in the middle of or after a given interpretation (i.e. scholion), rather than strictly preceding it, as Isho'dad would later do in his *Commentary on Psalms*. While it cannot be determined (with any degree of certainty) that Aḥob drew his Greek readings from Theodore's Syriac *Commentary on Psalms*, circumstantial evidence suggests that it may well have functioned as Aḥob's source at this point. If Aḥob relied on another source for his Greek readings, it is unclear what it may have

[214] Ter Haar Romeny, "The Hebrew and the Greek as Alternatives to the Syriac Version," 434.
[215] Leonhard, *Ishodad of Merw's Exegesis of the Psalms 119 and 139-147*, 44-48.
[216] Ibid., 48-49.
[217] It is quite possible that Aḥob's originally larger collection of Old Testament exegetical works included other Greek readings as well. For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.1. The Original Form of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

been, though it could not have been the Syro-Hexapla.[218]

5.4.3.4. Medical Phraseology

Aḥob uses medical phraseology in two of his Old Testament scholia. Each of these instances will be examined in the following two subsections.

5.4.3.4.1. Psalm 39:6

In v. 6 of his Psalm 39:4-6 scholion, Aḥob makes several medical references: "For just as by time and birth, together with a change of air, the afflictions of blindness and deafness, together with chances of sicknesses, are bestowed" (ܗܟܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܙܒܢܐ ܘܒܝܠܕܐ ܥܡ ܚܕ ܐܘܝܪܐ ܕܫܚܠܦ ܥܡ ܚܕ ܡܟܒܫ ܐܢ ܕܥܡ ܚܕ ܐܝܟ ܕܥܡ ܡܟܒܫ ܐܢ ܕܥܡ ܚܕ ܐܝܟ ܕܥܡ ܡܟܒܫ ܐܢ).[219] If one briefly focuses on the phrase "change of air" (ܐܘܝܪܐ ܫܚܠܦ), it arguably functions as an indicator as to where the rest of the phrase also likely originated. The Greek physician, Hippocrates (460-370 B.C.), is said to have written a treatise entitled, "On the Prognosis of Diseases Caused by a Change of Air."[220] While it is unclear if this work was transmitted with other Hippocratic and Galenic writings, it does not appear to have been translated into Syriac by Sergius of Resh'ayna (d. 536),[221] or even later by Job of Edessa (d. ca. 835) or Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq (d. 873), and, thus, it is highly improbable that Aḥob would have known of its existence.[222] In *Syriac Epidemics* 7.2., the phrase "changes

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[218] For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.1.3. Psalm 110 Prologue. It is also worth noting that, according to Moses of Inghilene (6th century), Polycarp (ca. 500), the author of the Philoxenian New Testament, produced a translation of the Psalms, presumably from the LXX. However, this work is no longer extant. See Sebastian P. Brock, "Versions, Ancient (Syriac Versions)," *The Anchor Bible Dictionary* 6:795.

[219] Aḥob's Psalm 39:4-6 scholion, *53-57*.

[220] Robert Alessi, "Ibn Abi Usaibia, History of Physicians (1971) pp.1-195," accessed 19 June 2019, http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/ibn_abi_usaibia_01.htm. Emilie Savage-Smith, Simon Swain, and Geert Jan van Gelder (eds.), *A Literary History of Medicine: The* 'Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā' *of Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah* 3.1 (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 85 translate the title of this treatise as "Prognosis of the Diseases Arising from Environmental Changes."

[221] While none of the writers of the scholarly milieu of Beth Qaṭraye (discussed in Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.4. The Scholarly Milieu of Beth Qaṭraye) are known to have produced any original medical texts or copies of earlier material, they likely possessed, at minimum, a generalized understanding of the subject. Aside from Aḥob's Old Testament scholia, medical phraseology can be found in Isaac of Nineveh's ascetic writings. See Alexeï Muraviev, "Mar Isḥaq Ninevita and Possible Medical Context of Eastern Syriac Asceticism," *Parole de l'Orient* 40 (2015): 287-301.

[222] Gotthelf Bergsträsser (ed.), *Hunain ibn Ishāq über die syrischen und arabischen Galen Übersetzungen* (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes 17.2; Leipzig: Deutsche morgenländische Gesellschaft, 1925), 1-43 (German); John C. Lamoreaux, *Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq on his Galen Translations: A Parallel English-Arabic Text* (Eastern Christian Texts; Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 2016), 153-167; Rainer Degen, "Galen im Syrischen. Eine Übersicht über die syrische Überlieferung der Werke Galens," in Vivian Nutton (ed.), *Galen: Problems and Prospects* (London: Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1981), 133-160. A similar work, "Galen's Commentary on the Hippocratic Treatise 'Airs, Waters, Places,'" was first translated into Syriac by Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq, meaning it likewise could not have been a source for Aḥob. See

in the air" (ܐܘܪܐ ܕܫܠܝܛ; attributed to Hippocrates) is used, albeit in relation to oppressive odors.[223] Kessel has argued that the *Syriac Epidemics* were likely translated from Greek by Sergius of Resh'ayna, and, as a result, it is quite likely that Aḥob would have been aware of this work.[224] Since Aḥob is not referring to oppressive odors (or any other specific thing akin to this) in his comments on Ps 39:6, it seems that he is likely implying generalized medical information,[225] which would have been known to learned East Syriac writers in the 6th century, largely due to Sergius' translations of the Galenic corpus.[226] Aḥob's other medical references stated above, namely "the afflictions of blindness and deafness" (ܥܟܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܪܐ ܘܟܦܝܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܥܐ) and "chances of sicknesses" (ܙܒܢܐ ܕܡܪܥܐ) are likely used in a similar manner as "change of air," in that they are meant to be understood as stock medical language of the 6th century. As a result, a specific source for the phrases "afflictions of blindness and deafness" and "chances of sicknesses" probably does not exist, though the general concepts embodied by them likely originate in Sergius' translations of the Galenic corpus.

5.4.3.4.2. Psalm 42:2

Aḥob opens his Psalm 42:2 scholion with a medical reference: "Because, then, stags are by nature more dry and hot than other animals" (ܡܛܠ ܗܟܝ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܥܠܝ ܚܝܘܬܐ ܝܒܫܝܢ ܘܚܪܝܪܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܪ ܒܥܠܝ ܚܝܘܬܐ ܕܫܪ ܒܥܠܝ ܚܝܘܬܐ ܕܫܪ).[227] While the specific origin of stags being considered "more dry and

Abraham Wasserstein (ed.), *Galen's Commentary on the Hippocratic Treatise "Airs, Waters, Places" in the Hebrew Translation of Solomon ha-Me'ati* (Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, VI 3; Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Printing Enterprises, 1982), 5-6.

[223] Grigory M. Kessel, "The *Syriac Epidemics* and the Problem of Its Identification," in Peter E. Pormann (ed.), *Epidemics in Context: Greek Commentaries on Hippocrates in the Arabic Tradition* (Scientia Graeco-Arabica 8; Berlin / New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 106, 108-109. A critical edition of the *Syriac Epidemics* is currently being prepared by Kessel.

[224] Kessel, "The *Syriac Epidemics* and the Problem of Its Identification," 113-117. While Sergius was a West Syriac writer and translator, he was in close contact with East Syriac writers, who circulated his writings and translations.

[225] Cf. Ernest A. Wallis Budge (ed.), *Syrian Anatomy, Pathology and Therapeutics, or "The Book of Medicines"* (London: Oxford University Press, 1913), x, which states that one part of treating most diseases included living in "a cool, airy dwelling place." Budge's edition is based on an unnamed 12th-century East Syriac manuscript, which he financed to have copied in Alqosh in the late 19th or early 20th century. Budge believes the unnamed writer of his base manuscript preserves medical information that was taught in the early Syriac-speaking world. However, he unfortunately does not give any evidence to validate his claim. See ibid., v-vi and Grigory M. Kessel, "Syriac Medicine," in Daniel King (ed.), *The Syriac World* (Routledge Worlds; London: Routledge, 2019), 444.

[226] Cf. Peter E. Pormann, "Les traductions syriaques et arabes des textes médicaux au début de l'époque abbasside," in Pauline Koetschet and Peter E. Pormann (eds.), *Nash'at al-ṭibb al-'Arabī fī al-Qurūn al-Wusṭá* (Bayrūt: al-Maʿhad al-Faransī lil-Sharq al-Adná, 2016), 43-59 and Sebastian P. Brock, "Greek, Syriac translations from," in S. P. Brock, A. M. Butts, G. A. Kiraz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2011), 181.

[227] Aḥob's Psalm 42:2 scholion, *1-3*.

hot than other animals" is unclear,[228] the general sense of this Aḥobian phrase likely reflects common medical theory of the 6th century, as derived from Galen's doctrine of the four humors, which is detailed in such works as *The Elements according to Hippocrates*[229] and *Of Temperaments*.[230] Sergius of Resh'ayna translated these two works into Syriac,[231] which would have made them accessible to Aḥob.

5.4.3.5. The Language of Qatar

Initial reports of the language of Qatar were presented as simple references, summaries, and/or short lists of words, as preserved by a given East Syriac writer or manuscript tradition under discussion.[232] In 1989, Anton Schall assessed 9 Qatari words in Isho'dad's *Commentary on Genesis* and concluded that the language of Qatar should be categorized as "Southeastern Aramaic" (Südostaramäischen).[233] Riccardo Contini expanded Schall's study of the language to 12 words (taken from Aḥob's Psalm 45:9 scholion, *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*, and the *Anonymous Commentary*), and, while he agreed with Schall that it should be classified as Southeastern Aramaic, he noted the elusive nature of the language and the need for further investigation.[234] Ter Haar Romeny largely agreed with Contini, though he proposed that the language of Qatar might also be understood "as a form of Arabic written down by

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[228] Similar phraseology (in English translation) is found in the later Greek text, *Peri Trophon Dynameos* (approx. 12th century), as well as in Muḥammad Ibn Mūsā Kamāl Ad-dīn Ad-damīrī's Ḥayāt *al-ḥayawān* (1371). The former states, "Deer is hot by nature…Gazelle is hot and dry…," and the latter states, "…the flesh of the gazelle is hot and dry…" See Andrew Dalby, *Tastes of Byzantium: The Cuisine of a Legendary Empire* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2010), 143 and Muḥammad Ibn Mūsā Kamāl Ad-dīn Ad-damīrī, Ad-damīrī's Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān (*A Zoological Lexicon*, 2 vols.), trans. A.S.G. Jayakar (London: Luzac & Co., 1908), 271.

[229] Cf. Galen, *The Elements According to Hippocrates*, ed. and trans. Phillip de Lacy (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1996), 50, n. 6, "*The Elements according to Hippocrates* is Galen's fullest account of the theory of qualities/elements."

[230] Galen, *The Elements According to Hippocrates* and idem, *Works on Human Nature: Volume 1: Mixtures (De Temperamentis*), trans. P. N. Singer and Philip J. van der Eijk (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

[231] Degen, "Galen im Syrischen," 135.

[232] See, for instance, Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 5 (esp. n. 1)-6 (Latin); Jansma, "Investigations into the Early Syrian Fathers on Genesis," 88; Van den Eynde, *Genèse* (trans.), v, 219, n. 1, 270; idem, *Exode-Deutéronome* (trans.), 226; Van den Eynde, *Livres des Sessions* (trans.), xxxv, 368; Van Rompay, "A hitherto unknown Nestorian commentary," 77; idem, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (text), 160; Van Rompay, *Le commentaire sur Genèse-Exode 9, 32* (trans.), xxxii and n. 81, xliii.

[233] Anton Schall, "Der nestorianische Bibelexeget Īšō'dāḏ von Merw (9. Jh. n. Chr.) in seiner Bedeutung für die orientalische Philologie," in Maria Macuch, Christa Müller-Kessler, and Bert G. Fragner (eds.), *Studia semitica necnon Iranica: Rudolpho Macuch septuagenario ab amicis et discipulis dedicata* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1989), 271-282, esp. 281.

[234] Riccardo Contini, "La lingua del Bēt Qaṭrāyē," in Jérôme Lentin and Antoine Lonnet (eds.), *Mélanges David Cohen: Études sur le langage, les langues, les dialectes, les littératures, offertes par ses élèves, ses collègues, ses amis, présentées à l'occasion de son quatre-vingtième anniversaire* (Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 2003), 173-179.

someone used to writing Aramaic."[235] In his 2017 overview of studies on the seventh-century Syriac writers originating from Qatar, Mario Kozah suggested that the language of Qatar was a separate language from Arabic.[236] Subsequently, in 2021, he produced a lengthy study of 50 Qatari words (taken from *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* and the *Anonymous Commentary*), many of which have recently been discovered.[237] While he considers the possibility that the language of Qatar was originally a form of Aramaic (with some Syriac and Pahlavi influence) which gradually became dominated by Arabic, he ultimately dismisses this theory on the basis that no pre-Islamic evidence for the language exists, and, instead, he asserts that "the weight of the present data suggests that *Qaṭrāyīth* is Arabic."[238]

Kozah's insistence that no pre-Islamic evidence exists for the language of Qatar does not appear to be entirely correct, because Aḥob directly and indirectly references this language on two occasions, indicating that the language emerged in usage at some point prior to the late 6th century,[239] which is also before the standardization of Arabic. However, given the extremely fragmented state of the language – as well as the fact that almost nothing is known about the sixth-century spoken language(s) in Qatar (i.e. Northeast Arabia),[240] further details related to the earliest form of the language of Qatar – namely, its pre-Islamic roots – remain speculative at best. Therefore, Arabic will be used to reconstruct the earliest accessible form of the language of Qatar.

While it is likely that Aḥob spoke the language of Qatar, he certainly was (at minimum) familiar with it, and his Qatari references function as the earliest attestation of the language. In the following two subsections, an analysis of each of Aḥob's references to the language of Qatar will be presented, and the underlying Arabic, if known, will also be proposed.

5.4.3.5.1. Gloss on ܥܣܝܢܝܬ

Aḥob directly cites the language of Qatar in his Psalm 45:9 scholion: "*Stacte* (is) *asinat* in the language of Qatar" (ܣܛܘܟܛܐ ܥܣܝܢܝܬ ܒܠܫܢ ܩܛܪ).[241] A nearly identical statement is also made by him in Bar Bahlul's ܥܣܝܢܝܬ entry: "stacte (is) *asinayith* in the language of Qatar" (ܥܣܝܢܝܬ

[235] Ter Haar Romeny, "Syriac Biblical Interpretation from Qatar," 152.
[236] Kozah, "The Syriac Writers of Beth Qaṭraye in the Seventh Century," 78.
[237] Kozah, "Introduction," 9.
[238] Ibid., 10.
[239] Kozah incorrectly situates Aḥob in the 7th century. See ibid., 16-17, 61-62.
[240] Michael Macdonald, email message to Seth M. Stadel, 20 June 2020.
[241] Aḥob's Psalm 45:9 scholion, *3-4*.

ܐܣܝܢܬ ܐܣܝܢܐ).[242] Concerning his Psalm 45:9 scholion, Aḥob clearly equates "*stacte*" (ܣܛܩܛܝ) with the Qatari "*asinat*" (ܐܣܢܬ). Within his study of 50 Qatari words, Kozah analyzed *asinat*, and the relevant parts of his discussion are presented in the following:

> It appears to be derived from the Syriac *asīnūthā* [ܐܣܝܢܘܬܐ], meaning an accumulation (of gum), or, more likely, from the Arabic homonym *asīna* [أسينة], with a similar sense of an accumulation of a substance into bead shapes. If, therefore, this *Qaṭrāyīth* noun is Arabic transliterated using Syriac letters, then the final consonant /t/ (*taw*) in *asīnat* may be conveying the Arabic *tā' marbūṭa* /t/ as is occasionally the case in later Garshūnī. The *Qaṭrāyīth* feminine noun ending might in fact be pronounced in this particular Arabic, hence the addition of the /t/ rather than the more commonly added Syriac /h/ to indicate the Arabic *tā' marbūṭa*. What is certain is that there is enough of a difference in the pronunciation between the Syriac *asīnūthā* and *Qaṭrāyīth asīnat* to warrant concluding that the latter is most probably derived from the Arabic homonym. If such a reading of the pronunciation is correct, then the argument that this unidentified gloss is from the *Qaṭrāyīth* of…Aḥub Qaṭraya…is further supported by the fact that *asīnat* seems to be derived from the Arabic…[243]

If Kozah's analysis is accepted, the Arabic noun underlying the Qatari "*asinat*" (ܐܣܢܬ) is likely "*asīna*" (أسينة).[244]

Concerning the related statement made by Aḥob in Bar Bahlul's ܣܛܩܛܝ entry, the spelling of ܐܣܝܢܬ has been altered from its original form, namely, ܐܣܢܬ. It is unclear if Bar Bahlul received this Aḥobian phrase as it is presented in the *Lexicon*, or if one (or more) of his later editor(s) altered the spelling of ܐܣܢܬ; it is also possible that it reflects a typesetting error when vol. 1 of the *Lexicon* was published in 1888.[245] Since Bar Bahlul and/or his later editor(s) are clearly dependent upon Aḥob's Psalm 45:9 scholion at this point, the underlying Arabic noun of the Qatari *asinayith* (ܐܣܝܢܝܬ) is likely "*asīna*" as well.

5.4.3.5.2. Gloss on ܟܚܘܚ

Aḥob is presented as indirectly citing the language of Qatar in Bar Bahlul's ܟܚܘܚ entry: "And in his [i.e. Aḥob's] dialect, he calls it 'multicolored cloth, that is to say, every colored garment'" (ܕܒܠܗܓܬܗ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܟܚܘܚ ܣܠܩ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܟܠ ܚܕ ܘܚܕ ܣܒܘܠ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܨܒܥ).[246] Since the noun "multicolored

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[242] Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 1), col. 223, *14*.

[243] Kozah, "A Lexical Survey of *Qaṭrāyīth*," 62. Cf. idem, "Introduction," 17-18.

[244] A. de Biberstein Kazimirski, *Dictionnaire arabe-français, contenant toutes les racines de la langue arabe, leurs dérivés, tant dans l'idiome vulgaire que dans l'idiome littéral, ainsi que les dialectes d'Alger et de Maroc*, vol. 1 (Paris: Maisonneuve et Cie, 1860), 34. See also Kozah, "A Lexical Survey of *Qaṭrāyīth*," 61.

[245] For a further discussion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.3.1. ܣܛܩܛܝ.

[246] Duval, *Lexicon syriacum auctore Hassano bar Bahlule* (vol. 2), col. 1646, *1-2*.

cloth" (ܟܬܦܐ) is Syriac, whose verbal form ܦܬܟ later gave rise to the Arabic root and homonym *fatak* (فتك),[247] it is unclear how it would have been spelled in the language of Qatar. Thus, until this Qatari noun is located, its underlying Arabic form cannot be established as well.

5.4.3.6. Coptic and Persian References

Within his Old Testament scholia, Aḥob makes one Coptic and two Persian references. In his Genesis 50:10 scholion, Aḥob suggests that "*Aṭar* in the Egyptian language (is) a tomb" (ܐܛܪ ܒܠܫܢܐ ܡܨܪܝܬܐ).[248] His reference to "in the Egyptian language" (ܒܠܫܢܐ ܡܨܪܝܬܐ) likely implies Coptic, given his 6th-century setting. However, the noun, tomb, is written as "*mfaau*" (ⲙⲫⲁⲁⲩ) in Coptic,[249] which does not semantically compare to "*Aṭar*" (ܐܛܪ) in Syriac. In short, Aḥob is not quoting a Coptic noun at this point. Rather, (as discussed in Chapter 3, Subsection 3.2.2.), he is reinterpreting the Gen 50:10 noun, "threshing floors" (ܓܪܢܐ) – which he believes surrounded *Aṭar* – as Jacob's burial site. He also makes a logical connection between the Gen 50:26 *hapax legomenon* "*dufnā*" (ܕܘܦܢܐ, mummy case) – in which Joseph was buried – and Jacob's burial site and concludes that since Joseph was buried in a mummy case in Egypt, Jacob's burial site would also bear an Egyptian name. In this way, he asserts (incorrectly) that "*Aṭar* in the Egyptian [i.e. Coptic] language (is) a tomb."

Turning to Aḥob's Persian references, his first one is found in his ܐܝܘܒ scholion, wherein he offers a very brief explanation of this Job 28:18 noun: "it is brocade" (ܓܒܓ ܐܡܪ).[250] Claudia Angela Ciancaglini presents a full discussion of ܓܒܓ and suggests, on the basis of its form – particularly the Syriac final -g (ܓ), that it is most likely a loanword from the Middle Persian *dēbāg* (دباگ).[251] While Ciancaglini mentions, earlier in the same monograph, that some Syriac words ending in a final -g also derive from New Persian words (written in Arabic) ending in a final -ǰ (ج),[252] it is unlikely that ܓܒܓ falls into this particular

[247] The identification of this word as coming from Syriac is based on Sokoloff, *A Syriac Lexicon*, 1268. It is not listed in Siegmund Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1886). In this context, the Arabic verb فتك means "to card cotton." See F. Steingass, *The Student's Arabic-English Dictionary: Companion Volume to the Author's English-Arabic Dictionary* (London: Crosby Lockwood and Son, 1884), 774.

[248] Aḥob's Genesis 50:10 scholion, *1*.

[249] See W.E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939), 212b. The underlying Greek nouns are τάφος and μνήμα.

[250] Aḥob's ܐܝܘܒ scholion, *1*.

[251] Claudia Angela Ciancaglini, *Iranian Loanwords in Syriac* (Beiträge zu Iranistik 28; Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert, 2008), 77, 150-151.

[252] Ibid., 72-77.

category of loanwords for two related reasons: 1) Aḥob can be firmly situated in the late 6th century[253] (i.e. when Middle Persian was the literary language used in the Sasanian empire) and 2) New Persian is first attested a few centuries after Aḥob lived.[254]

Aḥob's second Persian reference is found in his Psalm 58:5-6 scholion, where he states that "asp in the Persian language is *dasāg*" (ܐܣܦ ܒܠܫܢܐ ܕܦܪܣ̈ܝܐ ܗܝ ܕܣܓ).[255] While the noun *dasāg* is unattested in Middle Persian,[256] it is possible that it is a dialectal variant spelling of the Pahlavi noun "*dahāg*" (دهاگ, the ancient Zoroastrian mythological dragon), where the Pahlavi "h" (ه) and the Syriac "s" (ܣ) have been confused. The longer and more common forms of *dahāg* include "*aždahāg*" (اژدهاگ) and "*aždahā*" (اژدها).[257] The noun *dahāg* is changed to *aždahāg* under Arabic influence, meaning Aḥob's varied use of *dahāg* is likely pre-Arabic, i.e. Middle Persian.[258] It is also worth noting that both *dahāg* and *dasāg* do not appear to be attested elsewhere in Syriac literature.[259]

5.4.3.7. A Rare Word of Uncertain Etymology

In both his Psalm 104:2-3 scholion and diagrammatic illustration, Aḥob uses the noun ܩܒܝܛܐ. The former states, "But that exalted heaven (is) much greater than this, and (it is like) the shape of a _____, (which) surrounded all creation" (.ܐܦ ܗܝ ܫܡܝܐ ܪܡܐ ܗܕ ܟܕ ܣܓܝ ܘܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܩܒܝܛܐ ܕܡܬܚܘܝ ܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܘܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܒܬܘܟܗ),[260] and the latter states, "This is the exalted heaven which (is) great and broad and circles the whole of creation and (creation) is within it, in the likeness of a _____, that is to say, a wheel" (.ܗܕܐ ܗܝ ܫܡܝܐ ܪܡܐ ܘܦܬܝܐ ܕܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܟܚܕ ܘܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ ܒܬܘܟܗ ܐܝܬ ܘܐܦ ܐܝܟ ܕܩܒܝܛܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܗܝ ܓܠܓܠܬܐ ܕܡܬܚܘܝ ܟܠ ܒܪܝܬܐ).[261] There are a couple ways that ܩܒܝܛܐ might be interpreted in these two contexts:

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[253] For a further discussion, see Chapter 1, Subsection 1.1.3. Date.

[254] For a further discussion, see Prods Oktor Skjærvø, "IRAN vi. IRANIAN LANGUAGES AND SCRIPTS (2) Documentation," accessed 9 July 2021, https://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/iran-vi2-documentation.

[255] Aḥob's Psalm 58:5-6 scholion, *4*.

[256] This noun is not listed in Ciancaglini, *Iranian Loanwords in Syriac*.

[257] For a further discussion of these names, see Aḥob's Psalm 58:5-6 scholion (in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6. *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalms Scholia) and Prods Oktor Skjærvø, Dj. Khaleghi-Motlagh, and J. R. Russell, "AŽDAHĀ," accessed 8 October 2020, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/azdaha-dragon-various-kinds?fbclid=IwAR0OZzOaDn03aBV7b4qqb1thj4rwYuVE4wVHm72bdcMd5aLet9WaFfGImz0.

[258] Cf. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, 132, n. 1.

[259] Similar to the noun *dasāg*, the noun *dahāg* is not listed in Ciancaglini, *Iranian Loanwords in Syriac*.

[260] Aḥob's Psalm 104:2-3 scholion, *22-25*.

[261] See Appendix, Psalm 104:3 and Chapter 3, Subsection 3.4.16. Psalm 104:2-3.

1) It may be related to the noun ܩܒܘܢܝܐ, which is a loanword from the Greek κιβώριον, meaning "canopy" or "baldachin."[262] The different spelling may be due to a dialectical difference:
   - the first "yod" (ܝ) was misread as a "nun" (ܢ)
   - a "waw" (ܘ) was inserted after the nun as a placeholder for an added vowel "o" (= ܘ̣)
   - the last yod was misread as a waw.
2) It may be related to the noun ܟ̰ܘܢܘܦܐ, meaning "canopy," which is a loanword from the Greek κωνώπιον, which itself is borrowed from the Latin *conopium*, meaning "a mosquito net, a bed provided with mosquito nets."[263] The Greek form of this noun is used in the LXX text of Jdt 10:21; 13:9, 15; 16:19; the Syriac form is only used in the Peshitta text of Jdt 10:21.[264]

The first of these two options is likely the better explanation for the origin of ܟ̰ܘܢܝܐ. Somewhat interestingly, both of the above options mean "canopy." Since ܟ̰ܘܢܝܐ is closely tied to ܩܒܘܢܝܐ, I would argue that ܟ̰ܘܢܝܐ should likewise be defined as "canopy" in Aḥob's Psalm 104:2-3 scholion and diagrammatic illustration. Furthermore, since ܟ̰ܘܢܝܐ does not appear to be attested elsewhere in Syriac literature, Aḥob is the earliest (and only) witness to this rare word.

5.4.3.8. Miscellaneous References

Within his *Cause of the Psalms*, Aḥob makes four miscellaneous references, which require further analysis. The first one concerns his comparison of the Psalms to "an image or statue of a king" (ܨܠܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܨܠܡ), which has "great beauty [due to]…the colors and complexion of the material by which it is adorned" (ܟ̰ܫܘܪܐ ܕܨܠܡܐ ܕܒܥܝܢ ܕܒܗ…ܕܒܝܢ ܕܒܥܪ ܒܨܠܡ).[265] While it is not entirely clear what Aḥob is specifically referencing in these phrases, it is possible that he is alluding to the ancient practice of painted images and/or statues of

[262] Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, 503.

[263] J. Lust, E. Eynikel, and K. Hauspie, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint*, Part II: K-Ω (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1996), 274 and P. G. W. Glare (ed.), *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, 2nd ed. rev. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015-2016), 449.

[264] In the Peshitta text of Jdt 13:9, 15; 16:19, the noun ܟ̰ܠܠ is used, which also has the meaning of "canopy, mosquito-net." See Payne Smith, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, 216. For the Syriac text and English translation of Jdt 10:21; 13:9, 15; 16:19, see J. P. M. van der Ploeg (ed.), *The Book of Judith, Daughter of Merari: Syriac Text with Translation and Footnotes* (Mōrān 'Eth'ō 3; Kottayam: SEERI, 1991), 21, *15*; 26, *14*; 27, *3*; 32, *22* (Syriac), 37, 44-45, 52 (English).

[265] Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, *88*, *89* and *89-91*.

Greco-Roman emperors and of the Shahs in Iranian territories being set up and dedicated in the cities of their respective empires.[266] In the Greek-speaking world, this practice is mentioned by several Greek writers. Two examples will be given:

- Pausanias, *Graeciae descriptio* 1.18.6.: "The whole circumference of the precincts is about four stades, and they are full of statues; for every city has dedicated a likeness of the emperor Hadrian…"[267]

- Ps.-Macarius Sermones 64 (collectio B), Hom. 4, 30.5: "And in them [i.e. marketplaces] the persons of the emperors are depicted and the emperor's purple robe itself…"[268]

There are also a few references found in the Greek Fathers which may have indirectly influenced Aḥob's use of this phrase, though their parallels are admittedly less obvious. Two examples will be given:

- Athanasius, Epistula ad Marcellinum de interpretatione Psalmorum 14 (PG 27, 25C): "The Book of Psalms possesses somehow the perfect image for the soul's course of life. For as one who comes into the presence of a king assumes a certain attitude, both of posture and expression..."[269]

- Ps.-Chrysostom, In Psalmum 50 (homilia 1): "For I call the psalm an image...For just as the images have inscriptions, so also in the case of the Psalms. For indeed the images being set above have wooden banners below painted red, (indicating)

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[266] In the interpretation of Classical and Late Antique statuary, it has been realized that marble and bronze statues were painted. See Bente Kiilerich, "Towards a 'Polychrome History' of Greek and Roman Sculpture," *Journal of Art Historiography* 15 (2016): 15/BK1; Vinzenz Brinkmann and Raimund Wünsche (eds.), *Bunte Götter: die Farbigkeit antiker Skulptur* (Munich: Glyptothek, 2004) {English translation: Vinzenz Brinkmann, Renée Dreyfus, and Ulrike Koch-Brinkmann (eds.), *Gods in Color: Polychromy in the Ancient World* (San Francisco: Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 2017)}; Roberta Panzanelli, Eike D. Schmidt, and Kenneth Lapatin (eds.), *The Color of Life: Polychromy in Sculpture from Antiquity to the Present* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum and the Getty Research Institute, 2008). Along with Greek and Roman statues, Iranian statues, both Achaemenid and Sasanian, also seem to have been colored. See Roman Ghirshman, *Persian Art: The Parthian and Sassanian Dynasties, 249 B.C.-A.D. 651*., tr. by Stuart Gilbert and James Emmons (Arts of Mankind; New York: Golden Press, 1962); Jens Kröger, *Sasanidischer Stuckdekor: Ein Beitrag zum Reliefdekor aus Stuck in sasanidischer und frühislamischer Zeit nach den Ausgrabungen von 1928/9 und 1931/2 in der sasanidischen Metropole Ktesiphon (Iraq) und unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Stuckfunde* (Baghdader Forschungen 5; Mainz am Rhein: P. von Zabern, 1982); Pierfrancesco Callieri, *Architecture et représentations dans l'Iran sassanide* (Cahiers de Studia Iranica 50; Leuven: Peeters, 2014); Michael Shenkar, *Intangible Spirits and Graven Images: The Iconography of Deities in the Pre-Islamic Iranian World* (Magical and Religious Literature of Late Antiquity 4; Leiden: Brill, 2014).

[267] Gregory R. Crane, "Perseus Digital Library: Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, Paus. 1.18.6.," accessed 16 December 2020, http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Paus.+1.18.6&fromdoc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0160.

[268] Heinz Berthold, *Makarios/Symeon: Reden und Briefe, Die Sammlung I des Vaticanus Graecus 694 (B)*, 2 vols. (Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte; Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1973), 71, *21-22*.

[269] J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus (series Graeca): Athanasius: Epistula ad Marcellinum* (MPG 27; Paris: Migne, 1857), col. 25C, *3-6*.

> who the king is, and of what (land he is from), and what war he successfully undertook..."[270]

It is unlikely that Aḥob is referencing any one of the above Greek writers in particular. Rather, he appears to be conflating two received traditions: 1) the testimony of eyewitnesses who saw images and/or statues of Greco-Roman emperors or of Sasanian or other rulers in varying cities of their respective empires, and 2) the concept of depicting the Psalms as an image of a king.

The second miscellaneous reference concerns Aḥob's phrase "without (the ability of complete) recitation of its [the Psalms'] words, a person would not be able to draw near to one of the ecclesiastical ranks or even be numbered among the students or among the fellow ministers of the Church" (ܗܕܡܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܡܢ ܟܠܗ ܡܙܡܘܪܐ ܕܕܘܝܕ ܒܥܠ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܗܘ ܕܒܥܠ ܡܠܦܢܘܬܐ ܕܒܟܢܫܬܐ ܕܐܦ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܡܥ ܒܝܬ ܣܦܪܐ).[271] The Church of the East Synod of 410 states, "He who is poor in knowledge and cannot recite the whole of the Psalms by heart cannot become even a sub-deacon."[272] In the School of Nisibis, the recitation of the Psalms was the medium by which students both learned to read and came to understand basic theological knowledge.[273] It is likely that a similar approach was used in the curriculum of the School of Seleucia, where Aḥob taught as an Exegete.[274] A comparable emphasis on learning and memorizing the Psalms developed concurrently in West Syriac contexts as well.[275] In short, Aḥob's understanding that the Psalms should be recited from memory stems from a longstanding tradition within the Syriac-speaking world.

The third miscellaneous reference concerns Aḥob's mentioning of "debauched songs" (ܙܡܝܪ̈ܬܐ ܒܛܠ̈ܢܝܬܐ),[276] i.e. secular songs that were popular in his time. While, in large part, these songs are poorly documented and little is known about them, there is one reference to a particular category of these songs, namely wedding songs, in the 6th century. According to *The Histories of Rabban Hôrmîzd the Persian and Rabban Bar-ʿIdtâ*, the East Syriac monastic leader, Rabban Bar ʿIdtâ (d. 611/621), sought to prevent the established custom of (purported)

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[270] J.-P. Migne (ed.), *Patrologiae cursus completus (series Graeca): Ps.-Chrysostom: Homilia (a)* (MPG 55; Paris: Migne, 1862), cols. 565, *44-45*, *52*-566, *3*.

[271] Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, *136-140*.

[272] David G. K. Taylor, "West Syrian Christology in the Sixth Century: The Psalm Commentary of Daniel of Ṣalaḥ," in Theresia Hainthaler, Dirk Ansorge, and Ansgar Wucherpfennig (eds.), *Jesus der Christus im Glauben der einen Kirche: Christologie – Kirchen des Ostens – Ökumenische Dialoge* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2019), 255.

[273] Cf. Becker, *Fear of God*, 88.

[274] For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.2. The Original Purpose of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

[275] Taylor, "West Syrian Christology in the Sixth Century," 254-255.

[276] Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, *162-163*.

pagan singing at a local wedding. In its place, he insisted that they should sing the psalms.[277] However, the family of the groom ignored Bar ʻIdtâ's plea and, instead, sang their songs with gladness.[278] It is quite likely that Aḥob is referencing these types of songs (among others) in his phrase "debauched songs."

The fourth miscellaneous reference concerns Aḥob's phrase "when one of the teachers should make a composition before a *Sogita* or an *ʻOnita*, he takes material from them [i.e. the Psalms] and with phrases, which (are) from them, he determines (the structure of) his *ʻOnita*" (ܕܡܢ ܒܚܕ ܡܢ ܡܘܕܒܢܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܣܓܝܬܐ ܐܘ ܥܘܢܝܬܐ ܡܢ ܗܢܘܢ ܢܣܒ ܡܠܝ ܘܒܡܠܐ ܕܡܢ ܗܢܘܢ ܗܘ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܠܗ ܣܕܪܗ ܕܥܘܢܝܬܐ).[279] In the *Ḥudrā*, there are *ʻOnyata*[280] in all of the daily offices, and they always begin with brief quotations from the Psalms. These are printed in red in the Trichur *Ḥudrā*, and the rest of the *ʻOnyata* (i.e. the responses) are developments of the ideas found in these Psalm-versicles.[281] Interestingly, these *ʻOnyata* appear to have been a liturgical innovation in the first half of the 6th century,[282] and they made Dadishoʻ Qaṭraya (late 7th century) so angry that he wrote a diatribe against them and against the people who compose and use them.[283] If it is accepted that Aḥob is alluding to this liturgical innovation, his comment would function as one of the earliest known references to the production of *ʻOnyata*.

5.5. The Christology of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works

The fragments that remain of Aḥob's Old Testament Christology are found in his *Cause of the Psalms*, Psalm 110 Prologue, and Psalm 110:3 scholia, and they state the following:

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[277] Aḥob makes a similar comparison in his *Cause of the Psalms, 160-186*.

[278] Ernest A. Wallis Budge (ed.), *The Histories of Rabban Hôrmîzd the Persian and Rabban Bar-ʻIdtâ* (Luzac's Semitic Text and Translation Series 9-11; London: Luzac and Co., 1902), 271-273 and Sergey Minov, "Marriage and Sexuality in the Book of Steps: From Encratism to Orthodoxy," in Kristian S. Heal and Robert A. Kitchen (eds.), *Breaking the Mind: New Studies in the Syriac "Book of Steps"* (CUA Studies in Early Christianity; Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2014), 251.

[279] Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms, 177-182*.

[280] *ʻOnyata* is the pluralized form of *ʻOnita* (ܥܘܢܝܬܐ).

[281] For a discussion of the development and categories of *ʻOnyata*, see Juan Mateos, *Lelya-sapra: Essai d'interprétation des matines chaldéennes* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 156; Roma: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1959), 375-377, 492-493. For an English translation of some of these *ʻOnyata* (with repeated citations of psalms), see Arthur John Maclean, *East Syrian Daily Offices: Translated from the Syriac, with Introduction, Notes, and Indices, and an Appendix Containing the Lectionary and Glossary* (Publications of the Eastern Church Association 1; London: Rivington, Percival & Co., 1894), 3-4 (First Anthem), 12-15 (The Martyrs' Anthem).

[282] While the exact date of the origin of the *ʻOnyata* is unknown, Erica C. D. Hunter and J. F. Coakley suggest that the *ʻOnyata* and the chants associated with them must have originated at roughly the same time. Since they propose that John of Beth Rabban (d. ca. 566/567) was likely the earliest composer of *ʻOnyata* chants, this would imply that the production of *ʻOnyata* began in the first half of the 6th century. See Erica C. D. Hunter and J. F. Coakley, *A Syriac Service-Book from Turfan: Museum für asiatische Kunst, Berlin MIK III 45* (Berliner Turfantexte 39; Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 20 and n. 77.

[283] Mateos, *Lelya-sapra*, 472-474.

- *Cause of the Psalms*:

> And why do I speak of the angels, for (these words) [i.e. of the psalms] also draw Christ himself, the redeemer of all, to their [i.e. blessed people] aid (ܟܝ ܐܦ ܥܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܦܪܩܢ ܟܠܗ ܕܐܦ ܠܗܘܢ ܩܪܝܒ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܩܕܝܫܐ).[284]

> Therefore, the Fathers handed down (the tradition) that we should chant from him [i.e. David] more than all the books of the prophets, because of many reasons: one, because Christ (is) from his seed; and second, because he prophesied about (Christ's) divinity and about (his) humanity and about (his) passion and about (his) martyrdom and about (his) resurrection and about (his) ascension (ܠܗܠ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܟܬܒ ܐܒܗܬܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܐܦܠܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܟ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܙܪܥܗ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܗ ܘܥܠ ܐܢܫܘܬܗ ܘܥܠ ܚܫܐ ܘܥܠ ܡܘܬܗ ܘܥܠ ܩܝܡܬܗ ܘܥܠ ܣܠܩܗ).[285]

- Psalm 110 Prologue scholion:

> …he [i.e. David] also indicates concerning the eternal begetting of God the Word, and the high priesthood of his humanity like that of the Jews, and concerning the judgment which will come to pass by his hands (ܠܗ ܐܦ ܥܠ ܝܠܕܘܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܘܥܠ ܟܗܢܘܬܐ ܪܡܬܐ ܕܐܢܫܘܬܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܝܗܘܕܐ ܘܥܠ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܥܬܝܕ ܠܡܗܘܬ ܥܠ ܝܕܘܗܝ).[286]

> But they [i.e. the Jews] are refuted by the beginning of the psalm, in that it is confessed by them that there are four letters in the alphabet of their own way of writing, by (which) the name of God alone is written by them, which is equally written as *the Lord* and as *my Lord*, whenever (a person) wants to call God by the name *my Lord* or *the Lord*, just as here (in this psalm) they also tell (the ones) who know (the name), *the Lord*, that by (these four) letters these names are written (as) *the Lord* and (as) that of *my Lord* (ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܡܐ ܕܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ ܒܗ ܐܡܘܪܝܗܘܢ ܕܐܪܒܥ ܐܘܬܝܢ ܒܐܠܦܒܝܬܗ ܕܟܬܒܢܘܬܗ ܕܒܗܢ ܕܠܚܘܕܝܗ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܟܬܝܒ ܫܡܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ : ܘܗܘ ܫܘܝܐ ܟܬܝܒ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܪܝ ܘܐܝܟ ܕܡܪܝ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܡܢ ܕܨܒ ܠܩܪܝܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܒܫܡܗ ܕܡܪܝ ܐܘ ܕܡܪܝ ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܗܢܐ ܒܗܠܝܢ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܝܕܥܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܕܒܐܪܒܥ ܐܘܬܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܫܡܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܘܕܡܪܝ).[287]

- Psalm 110:3 scholion:

> The Son is from everlasting and from eternity, and from the nature of the Father, and he is eternally begotten before creatures and (is) beyond all moments and seconds (of time). But the Greek says, "From the womb and before the morning star I begot you." He [i.e. David] called him [i.e. the Son] a "*child*" in order to show that he does not age and is not changed from his being a Son, as we (do) (ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܡܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܐܦ ܡܫܚ ܟܐܢ : ܟܠ ܟܐܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܟܠ

[284] Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms, 114-117*.
[285] Ibid., *199-207*.
[286] Aḥob's Psalm 110 Prologue scholion, *2-7*.
[287] Ibid., *14-28*.

ܗܘ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܘܐܢܫܘܬܐ ⁘ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ⁘ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܒܠܐ ⁘ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܫ ⁘ ܕܡܬܝܠܕ ⁘ ܘܡܬܒܠܐ ⁘ ܘܠܐ ⁘ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܠܗܐ ⁘ ܕܠܐ ⁘ ܡܬܒܠܐ ⁘ ܘܠܐ ⁘ ܡܬܝܠܕ ⁘ ⁘ ⁘

relies on Theodore for his Psalm 45 Prologue scholion, he would have undoubtedly been aware of Theodore's broader Ps 45(44) Prologue as well. Thus, while it cannot be verified, it is reasonable to suggest that Aḥob may have also originally produced scholia on Ps 2 and Ps 8, wherein he would have discussed (at least aspects of) their Christological contents. Furthermore, it is possible that Aḥob draws (at least parts of) the Christological content in his Psalm 110 Prologue and Psalm 110:3 scholia from Theodore's commentary on Ps 110(109). However, since Theodore's commentary on Ps 110(109) is no longer extant, this cannot be confirmed.

Beyond Theodore, it is worth noting that Aḥob's Old Testament Christology contains several Christological statements:

- Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*: "…he [i.e. David] prophesied about (Christ's) divinity and about (his) humanity and about (his) passion and about (his) martyrdom[294] and about (his) resurrection and about (his) ascension" (ܥܒܪܝܐ ܠܐ ܥܒܕܐ ܕ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܥܒܕܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܥܒܕܐ ܕ ܠܐ ܥܒܕܐ ܕ ܠܐ).[295]

- Aḥob's Psalm 110 Prologue scholion: "…he [i.e. David] also indicates concerning the eternal begetting of God the Word, and the high priesthood of his humanity like that of the Jews, and concerning the judgment which will come to pass by his hands" (; ܐ ܥܒܕ ܡܒܪܝ ܥܒܝܟ ܒ ܕ ܥܒܕ ܥܠ ܥܒܕ ܒ ܡܠ ܠܐ ܒ ܐ ܒ ;).[296]

- Aḥob's Psalm 110:3 scholion: "The Son is from everlasting and from eternity, and from the nature of the Father, and he is eternally begotten before creatures and (is) beyond all moments and seconds (of time)…He [i.e. David] called him [i.e. the Son] a "*child*" in order to show that he does not age and is not changed from his being a Son, as we (do)" (ܒ ܠ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܒ ܕ . ܕ ܒ ܕ ܐ ܡ ܒ ܒ ; ܒ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ ܒ ܕ ܠ ܒ ܒ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܒ ܕ ܒ ܒ).[297]

The above Christological statements (at least in their present form) are general and untechnical, meaning they do not contain notable Christological terms, such as *kyana* (ܟܝܢܐ; nature), *qnoma* (ܩܢܘܡܐ; individual instance of a *kyana*), or *'ethbassar* (ܐܬܒܣܪ; he was

[294] At present, I am not aware of any other ancient writer who references Christ's death as a martyrdom.

[295] Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, *204-207*. For similar passages in the Nicaean Creed (Synod of 410), Synod of 486, and Synod of 544, see Chabot, *Synodicon orientale*, 22, *30*, 55, *2*, 97, *32* and Brock, "The Christology of the Church of the East in the Synods of the Fifth to Early Seventh Centuries," 133, 135.

[296] Aḥob's Psalm 110 Prologue scholion, *2-7*. For a similar passage in the Nicaean Creed (Synod of 410), see Chabot, *Synodicon orientale*, 22, *25-26* and *28* and *29-31* and Brock, "The Christology of the Church of the East in the Synods of the Fifth to Early Seventh Centuries," 133.

[297] Aḥob's Psalm 110:3 scholion, *1-4* and *6-8*. For a similar passage in the Synod of 576, see Chabot, *Synodicon orientale*, 113, *8* and *8* and *9* and *9-10* and *11-13* and Brock, "The Christology of the Church of the East in the Synods of the Fifth to Early Seventh Centuries," 135.

enfleshed).[298] This suggests that Aḥob is not intentionally referencing any particular Christological source (such as an earlier Synod) but, rather, is simply expressing the Christological beliefs of the East Syriac tradition.

5.6. The Polemics of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works

Within Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works, there are 6 polemics, which can be grouped into two categories: 1) anti-Jewish polemics and 2) other polemics. Concerning Aḥob's anti-Jewish polemics, there are four:

- Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*: "For according to report, through the sweetness of his [i.e. David's] words, he awoke the drowsiness of the Hebrews at that time" (ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܫܡܥ ܒܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܗ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܗ ܒܙܒܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܥܠ ܥܒܪܝܐ).[299]

- Aḥob's Psalm 45 Prologue scholion: "But the Jews in their madness take this salm (to be) concerning Solomon and concerning his Egyptian wife. But they are proved wrong by the words, especially by the beginning: *My heart overflowed*, etc." (ܗܘ ܕܝܘܕܝܐ ܠܐ ܢܦܩ ܒܚܘܟܡܬܗ ܕܫܠܡܘܢ ܥܠ ܐܝܬܬܗ ܕܡܨܪܝܬܐ ܕܐܢ ܒܫܩܪ ܡܬܟܚܫܝܢ ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܒܪܫ :).[300]

- Aḥob's Psalm 58:4 scholion: "*The wicked (ones) were separated from the belly*. He [i.e. David] spoke this against the sons of their people. For just as it is said concerning the righteous (ones) that *from* the belly of *their mother wisdom was created with* them, for with the fear of God they began [i.e. they were created] before every (thing), so here, he says likewise concerning the wicked (ones), that they were known by God from their creation that they would do this" (ܐܡܪ ܒܗ ܥܠ ܒܢܝ ܥܡܗܘܢ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܒܫܒܚ ܥܠ ܒܢܝ ܙܕܝܩܐ ܕܡܢ ܒܛܢܐ ܕܐܡܗܘܢ ܚܟܡܬܐ ܐܬܒܪܝܬ ܥܡܗܘܢ ܒܕܚܠܬ ܕܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܗܢ ܐܡܪ ܥܠ ܪܫܥܐ ܕܡܢ ܒܛܢ ܐܡܗ).[301]

- Aḥob's Psalm 110 Prologue scholion: "But the stupid Jews take it [i.e. Ps 110] as (being spoken) in the persona of the servant of Abraham, when he went to betroth Rebecca, that (is) as if these words were spoken by him" (ܗܘ ܕܝܘܕܝܐ ܢܦܩ ܒܚܣܪ ܥܩܠ ܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܡܢ ܦܘܡܗ ܕܐܡܪ ܥܠ ܥܒܕ ܐܒܪܗܡ).[302]

Aḥob asserts four things in the above anti-Jewish polemics:

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[298] Sebastian Brock, "The Christology of the Church of the East," in D. E. Afinogenov and Alexej V. Muravjev (eds.), *Traditions and Heritage of the Christian East: Proceedings of the International Conference* (Moscow: Indrik, 1996), 166-169, 173-174.

[299] Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, *168-171*.

[300] Aḥob's Psalm 45 Prologue scholion, *1-5*.

[301] Aḥob's Psalm 58:4 scholion, *1-7*.

[302] Aḥob's Psalm 110 Prologue scholion, *9-13*.

- Jews were drowsy (i.e. spiritually asleep) prior to hearing the sweet sounds of David's psalms.
- Jews are mad to believe that Ps 45 speaks about Solomon and his Egyptian wife.[303]
- Some Jews went astray from God from the time of their creation as a people, and God knew this would occur.[304]
- Jews are stupid to believe that Ps 110 speaks about Abraham's servant going to betroth Rebecca.[305]

Aḥob relies on Theodore for the scathing language of his Psalm 45 Prologue anti-Jewish polemic,[306] namely, "in their madness" (ܒܡܫܓܥܬܗܘܢ). A comparable descriptor – "stupid" (ܣܟܠܐ) – is also used in his Psalm 110 Prologue anti-Jewish polemic, suggesting that he may be relying on Theodore (or a similar source) at this point as well. Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* and Psalm 58:4 anti-Jewish polemics imply, rather than outright state, forceful rhetoric, suggesting that, while he was critical of any Jewish counter interpretation of (what he believed to be) Christological psalms, he was less overtly condemning of Jews elsewhere in his Psalm-related writings. Nevertheless, even with these differences, the theological intentions of Aḥob's anti-Jewish polemics remain uniform in all four instances above.

Concerning Aḥob's other Old Testament polemics, there are two. The first is found in his *Cause of the Psalms*:

> For it [i.e. the book of Psalms] also teaches about the Creator, and it explains about the Ruler and puts an end to the opponent of these (things). I am speaking, then, of (the ones) who say that this world is eternally existing and moves along without the bridles of a ruler (ܣܟܠܐ ⁘ ܗܘ ܡܠܦ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܘܦܫܪ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܘܣܝܡ ܣܘܦ ܠܡܘܬܪ ܕܟܠ ܗܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܗܕܐ ܥܠܡܐ ܩܐܡ ܗܘ ܘܡܬܗܦܟ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܫܠܛܢ ܘܡܢ ܟܠ ܡܬܓܐ ܕܡܬܢܗܓ ܒܠܐ ܡܬܓ ܕܫܠܛܢ).[307]

The above polemic is presented in three parts. In the first part – which states, "For it [i.e. the book of Psalms] also teaches about the Creator, and it explains about the Ruler and puts an end to the opponent of these (things)" (ܗܘ ܡܠܦ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܘܦܫܪ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܘܣܝܡ ܣܘܦ ܠܡܘܬܪ ܕܟܠ ܗܢ) – Aḥob establishes the focus of his polemic, which he directs against the one who denies a Creator or Ruler over the world.

In the second part – which states, "I am speaking, then, of (the ones) who say that this

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[303] For a further discussion of this Jewish exegesis, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.1.2. Psalm 45 Prologue.

[304] Aḥob's Psalm 58:4 scholion also references righteous Jews.

[305] For a further discussion of this Jewish exegesis, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.3.1.3. Psalm 110 Prologue.

[306] For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Subsection 5.4.1.1.4. Psalm 45 Prologue.

[307] Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, *66-72*.

world is eternally existing" (ܕܗ ܟܠܡ ܥܡ ܟܘܢܝ ܡܝܬܝ ܡܠܟ ܡ ܟܝܬ) – Aḥob speaks in the first person against those who posit that the world eternally exists. The substance of this part of his polemic is an attack on Proclus' (412-485) discussion of Aristotle's (384-322 B.C.) views on the eternality of the world,[308] as rejected by John Philoponus' (c. 490-c. 570) *Against Proclus on the Eternity of the World*, which maintains that the world was created out of nothing.[309] Daniel King argues that Sergius of Resh'ayna's (d. 536) Syriac translation of Alexander of Aphrodisias' *On the Principles of the Universe* likely depends upon Philoponus' above work,[310] though the extent of this dependency has yet to be fully established.[311]

In the third part – which states, "and moves along without the bridles of a ruler" (ܘܡܬ ܘܡ ܟܝܬܝ ܘܡܚ) – Aḥob attacks those who deny providence over the world. The essence of this part of his polemic is a criticism of Epicurean philosophy for denying providence, which was applied to Aristotle and Proclus in John Philoponus' *Against Proclus on the Eternity of the World*.[312] The general sense of this criticism is also found throughout Sergius' translation of Alexander of Aphrodisias' *On the Principles of the Universe*, which is likely the source by which Aḥob became aware of and summarized the broad nature of these earlier debates.

Aḥob's second other Old Testament polemic is found in his Psalm 110:3 scholion:

> The Son is from everlasting and from eternity…and he is eternally begotten before creatures and (is) beyond all moments and seconds (of time)…He [i.e. David] called him [i.e. the Son] a "*child*" in order to show that he does not age and is not changed from his being a Son, as we (do) (ܘܗ ܕܝ ܡܢ ܥܠܡ ܘܥܕ ܡܢ ܥܠܡ…ܘܗ ܕܝ ܡܢ ܥܠܡ ܘܡܢ ܟܠ ܙܒܢ ܘܟܠ ܙܒܢ…ܐܡܪ ܕܝܘܕ ܕܐ ܠܒܪ ܕܢܚܘܝ ܕܠܐ ܢܫܬܚܠܦ ܘܠܐ ܢܬܫܢܐ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܒܪ ܗܘ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܚܢ ܢܚܢܐ).[313]

The above polemic, which largely encompasses Aḥob's Psalm 110:3 scholion, consists of wording that precludes any nuances for Christ being understood as a created being. Such

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[308] Proclus, *On the Eternity of the World* (*De Aeternitate Mundi*), trans. Helen S. Lang and A. D. Marco (London: University of California Press, 2001).

[309] Philoponus, *Against on the Eternity of the World* 1-5, 6-8, 9-11, trans. Michael Share (Ancient Commentators on Aristotle, 3 vols.; London: Gerald Duckworth & Co., 2004-2005, 2010) and idem, *Against on the Eternity of the World* 12-18, trans. James Wilberding (Ancient Commentators on Aristotle; London: Gerald Duckworth & Co., 2006).

[310] For a critical edition and French translation of this work, see Emiliano Fiori, "L'épitomé syriaque du Traité sur les causes du tout d'Alexandre d'Aphrodise attribué à Serge de Reš'aynā," *Le Muséon* 123:1-2 (2010): 127-158.

[311] It is also possible that Sergius relies on Aeneas of Gaza's (d. c. 518) *Theophrastus*. See Daniel King, "Alexander of Aphrodisias' *On the Principles of the Universe* in a Syriac Adaptation," *Le Muséon* 123:1-2 (2010): 175-178. For a translation of this work, see Aeneas of Gaza, *Theophrastus*, trans. John Dillon and Donald Russell, with Zacharias of Mytilene, *Ammonius*, trans. Sebastian Gertz (Ancient Commentators on Aristotle; London: Bristol Classical Press, 2012).

[312] See, for instance, Aeneas of Gaza, *Theophrastus*, 27-32 and Philoponus, *Against on the Eternity of the World*, 1-5, 39-42, 68 (esp. n. 285).

[313] Aḥob's Psalm 110:3 scholion, *1* and *2-4* and *6-8*.

language (in its extant form) suggests that Aḥob is attacking Arianism (or related teachings), due to his strong emphasis on Christ's eternality. However, he is not fighting against a particular individual or group that adheres to Arian doctrine. Rather, Aḥob appears to be condemning a tendency within Christianity, which subtly seeks to situate Christ as subordinate to the Father, thereby stripping him of his eternality (i.e. his divinity).

Overall, Aḥob's Old Testament polemics are characterized by their brevity. This appears to be both original and intentional, in that Aḥob sought to primarily produce exegetical – rather than polemical – works.

5.7. The Eschatology of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works

Aḥob's Eschatological scholion is the only extant fragment of his eschatology. It states:

> Some (people) hand down that the offerings and thanksgiving, which our Lord delivered (to us), will continue 1596 years, (which is) the number (of years) that the offerings of Jerusalem and of the Law continued…It is also handed down that this world will be thirteen indictions from its beginning until its end: the first ten before the coming of Christ, and the (final) three from his coming until the end (ܚܥܠܡ ܠܟ ܐܢܫ ܐܬܚܕܢ ܕܩܪܒܢܐ ܘܝܘܕܝܐ ܕܡܪܢ ܝܗܒ ܠܢ. ܕܢܩܘܡ ܠܫܢ ܬܫܥ ܡܐܐ ܘܫܬܝܢ ܣܓܝ ܕܩܪܒܢܐ ܘܝܘܕܝܐ ܕܐܬܩܪܒܘ ܒܝܬ ܐܘܪܫܠܡ ܘܕܢܡܘܣܐ…ܐܬܝܗܒ ܐܦ ܗܕܐ ܥܠܡܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܫܒܥ ܣܝܢܐ ܡܢ ܫܪܝܬܗ ܥܕ ܣܘܦܗ ܩܕܡ ܡܝܬܝ ܫܪܝܬ ܥܫܪ ܣܝܢܐ ܕܩܕܡ ܡܝܬܝ ܘܬܠܬ ܡܢ ܡܝܬܝ ܥܕ ܣܘܦ ܕܥܠܡ. ܚܕ ܡܢ ܗܢ ܕܩܕܡ ܡܝܬܝ ܘܬܠܬ ܡܢ ܗܢ ܕܡܝܬܝ ܥܕ ܣܘܦ ܕܥܠܡ).[314]

The extant bits of Aḥob's eschatology are structured in two parts in the above scholion:

- Christ established a non-sacrificial system that will continue for the same number of years as the Old Testament sacrificial system, namely 1596 years.
- The world will last for the length of thirteen indictions: the first ten occurred before Christ's Incarnation/Resurrection,[315] and the final three will take place between his Incarnation/Resurrection and Second Coming.

The entirety of Aḥob's Eschatological scholion is presented as the earlier eschatological views of two non-specific sources – "Some (people)" (ܐܢܫ) and "It is also handed down" (ܐܬܚܕܢ ܕܐܬܝܗܒ), though both could refer to the same source. It is possible that this/these source(s) stem from the school tradition, of which Aḥob was a part.[316] However, this cannot be verified.

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[314] Aḥob's Eschatological scholion, *1-9*.

[315] Carlson notes that "It is also not clear whether the periods of 1596 years were thought to transition at the birth of Christ or at his resurrection." See Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 191.

[316] For a further discussion, see Chapter 5, Section 5.2. The Original Purpose of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

In its present form, two of the timespans mentioned in this Aḥob scholion have uncertain meanings: 1) "will continue 1596 years" (ܥܕܡ ܒܥ ܡܢ ܫܢ…ܡܢܝ) and 2) "thirteen indictions" (ܫܒܥ ܣܝܢ). The time span of "1596 years" stretches from the Exodus to Christ's Incarnation/Resurrection. However, regardless of how one adds up the relevant Old Testament chronological data, the number of 1596 cannot be reached.[317] The time span of "thirteen indictions" extends from Creation to Christ's Second Coming. While the usual meaning of "indiction" is the Greek 15-year calendrical cycle, as well as each year in this cycle,[318] the use of "thirteen indictions" in Aḥob's scholion clearly spans a much larger period of time than (the maximum) 195 years (= 13 x 15) implied by this phrase. It also does not conform to the general belief that the world would last for 7,000 years (i.e. *septimana mundi*), which was popular among Jewish, Greek, and Syriac writers.[319] For instance, if the 3 post-Christ indictions = 1596 years, then 1 indiction = 532 years; 10 indictions (pre-Christ) = 5320 years; and the full 13 indictions = 6916 years, which is close to (but does not equal) 7000 years. In short, the specifics of these eschatological timespans – particularly their division into 13, rather than 7, indictions – do not follow any other known system of dating used by Aḥob's near contemporaries.[320]

Given these observations, it is likely that Shbadnaya altered aspects of this scholion, wherein (at minimum) he modified one (though possibly both) of Aḥob's eschatological timespans to conform to an applicable system of dating for his 15th-century setting.[321] Thus, concerning Aḥob, since one (or both) of the original timespans in his Eschatological scholion are in doubt, it is impossible to adequately explain his eschatological predictions – i.e. his symmetry with the Old Testament sacrificial system ("1596 years") and his numerology ("thirteen indictions")[322] – in their present form.

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[317] See, for instance, Jeremy Hughes, *Secrets of the Times: Myth and History in Biblical Chronology* (Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series 66; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), 267-272, 275-278.

[318] Meimaris, *Chronological Systems in Roman-Byzantine Palestine and Arabia*, 32.

[319] Witold Witakowski, "The Idea of Septimana Mundi and the Millenarian Typology of the Creation Week in Syriac Tradition," in René Lavenant (ed.), *V Symposium Syriacum, 1988: Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven, 29-31 août 1988* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 236. Roma: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1990), 93-109.

[320] See Debié, *L'écriture de l'histoire en syriaque*, 257-287 and David G. K. Taylor, "The Disputation between a Muslim and a Monk of Bēt Ḥālē: Syriac Text and Annotated English Translation," in Sidney Harrison Griffith and Sven Grebenstein (eds.), *Christsein in der islamischen Welt: Festschrift für Martin Tamcke zum 60. Geburtstag* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2015), 209, n. 89.

[321] For a further discussion, see Chapter 4, Subsection 4.4.2. Eschatological Scholion.

[322] Carlson, "The Future of the Past," 191.

5.8. The Exegetical Distinctiveness of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works

While Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works utilize certain features that are common within the East Syriac exegetical tradition – such as a reliance upon Theodore of Mopsuestia and an emphasis on Christ's divinity and humanity, they also contain a number of distinctive aspects, each of which will be highlighted in the following summary:

- A disagreement with and/or modification of Theodore's exegesis in select scholia
- A typological approach, which borders on allegory, in his Genesis 15:9-10 scholion
- A reference to one part of the East Syriac liturgy, which is not mentioned by any other early commentator on the East Syriac liturgy
- One of the earliest instances of architectural *theoria* in his Psalm 104:2-3 scholion
- The earliest extant reference to the "level roof" of the altar baldachin in the context of a cosmological comparison
- Medical and philosophical phraseology stemming from Sergius' Syriac translations of the Galenic corpus and Alexander of Aphrodisias' *On the Principles of the Universe*, likely within a half century of Sergius' death
- Two language of Qatar references (which are the earliest known references to this language), the former in his Psalm 45:9 scholion and the latter in Bar Bahlul's ܟܬܒܬܟ entry
- An incorrect Coptic reference in his Genesis 50:10 scholion
- Two Middle Persian references, the former in his ܟܬܒܬܟ scholion and the latter in his Psalm 58:5-6 scholion, the second of which is unattested elsewhere in Syriac literature
- The earliest (and only known) usages of the rare word ܡܕܗܝܢܐ
- A reference to painted images and/or statues of Greco-Roman emperors and of the Shahs in Iranian territories being set up and dedicated in the cities of their respective empires
- An acknowledgement of the existence of secular Syriac songs that were popular in the 6th century
- One of the earliest known references to the liturgical innovation of producing *'Onyata*
- A Christology which is devoid of any notable technical Christological terms (at least in its present form)
- Intentionally brief polemics

- An unusual eschatology, in that it does not follow any known system of dating used by Jewish, Greek, or Syriac writers

In short, Aḥob's extant Old Testament exegetical works are a treasure trove of rare and/or unusual references to multiple earlier and/or contemporary sources. They emphasize a particular Old Testament interpretation that often deviates from Theodore's exegesis, and this distinctive feature (among others) is likely a primary reason for their survival and use in the development of the East Syriac exegetical tradition.

5.9. Conclusion

With the exception of his *Cause of the Psalms*, the original form of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works was likely scholia, rather than a continuous commentary. Indicators within his extant Old Testament scholia, as well as the later scribal tradition that preserved them, suggest that the original number of Aḥob's Old Testament scholia was extensive, and many of these scholia were available until, at least, the late 19th century. In their originality, Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works likely functioned as either his classroom lecture notes or as a classroom instructional manual, either of which he would have produced when he taught in the School of Seleucia. His extant Old Testament scholia conform to the text of the OTP. With the exception of two fragments borrowed from Theodore's *Commentary on Genesis* (i.e. Gen 15:9-10), all of Aḥob's Greek sources are found in his Psalm-related writings. These include seven fragments from Theodore's *Commentary on Psalms* (i.e. Ps 5:4; 39(38):6; 40(39):8; 45(44) Prologue), eleven fragments from Basil's Syriac Prologue to Psalm 1, and one fragment from the longer form of the Syriac *Physiologus*. Aḥob's fragments from Theodore's *Commentary on Psalms* and the Syriac *Physiologus* are contained within his scholia on the first 50 psalms, and it is unclear if this was intentional on Aḥob's part or if it is an accident of later scribal selection. His Syriac sources draw on the East Syriac liturgy, received Antiochene cosmological views, and contemporary church architecture. Aḥob's other sources comprise the largest part of his sources. He relies on several Jewish sources, including Hebrew readings, which are drawn from earlier Greek and/or Syriac writers, as well as from one or more contemporary Jewish informants. Aḥob's Greek readings are likely drawn from Theodore's Syriac *Commentary on Psalms*, though this can only be inferred from circumstantial evidence surrounding Isho'dad's use of Theodorean Greek readings. His medical phraseology is probably derived from Sergius of Resh'ayna's Syriac translations of the Galenic corpus. Aḥob relies on three non-Syriac languages in order to clarify the meaning of difficult Syriac words.

These include two references to the language of Qatar, one incorrect citation of Coptic, and two references to Middle Persian. He is also the only known witness to the rare word ܡܕܗܚܙܐ. Among other reasons, Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* is important for its references to 1) painted images and/or statues of Greco-Roman emperors and of the Shahs in Iranian territories, 2) the practice of reciting the Psalms from memory within the Syriac-speaking world, 3) the existence of contemporary secular songs, and 4) the liturgical innovation of producing *'Onyata*. Aḥob's Christology conforms to the East Syriac tradition. While his brief polemics primarily attack Jews and their interpretation of select psalms, Aḥob also condemns 1) earlier Greek arguments for both the eternality of the world and a denial of providence and 2) Arian (or related) teachings. His eschatology does not conform to any known system of dating in the ancient world. A detailed examination of Aḥob's extant Old Testament exegetical works reveals that they contain a number of distinctive aspects, one primary one being their willingness to disagree with and/or modify Theodore's exegesis.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

This study has presented the first comprehensive examination of Aḥob of Qatar (also known as Aḥob Qaṭraya) and his Old Testament exegetical works. In order to understand Aḥob's life, his surviving biographical data was explored in Chapter 1. Whereas previously there were varied debates surrounding the original spelling of his name, his dates, his place within the scholarly milieu of Beth Qaṭraye, and his works, this chapter established several facts about Aḥob's surviving biographical data:

- He was probably born in Qatar and later moved to Seleucia.
- It is possible (though unprovable) that he was a descendant of Narsai (399-502).
- The most authentic rendering of his original name is "Aḥob" (ܐܚܘܒ), and this Aḥob should be considered the same person as "Ayyūb the Exegete," (ايوب المفسر), who is mentioned in the *Chronicle of Seert*.
- Due to his reference to the production of *'Onyata*, he cannot be dated before John of Beth Rabban (d. ca. 566/567), who is the earliest known composer of *'Onyata* chants. Similarly, he cannot be dated after Nathniel of Shirzor (ca. 600), whose *Cause of the Psalms* borrows five fragments from Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*. The only firm date for Aḥob is ca. 580/581 or 582/583, as mentioned and/or implied in the *Chronicle of Seert* and the later Arabic witnesses. Thus, while Aḥob can be broadly situated in the second half of the 6th century, it would be more accurate to place him in the late 6th century.
- He is the earliest known writer associated with the scholarly milieu of Beth Qaṭraye, which flourished from the late 6th century to the late 7th century.
- He produced several Old and New Testament exegetical works, largely in the form of scholia.

Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works in the Syriac manuscript tradition were examined in Chapter 2, and an annotated edition and English translation of these writings were also presented. As a result, several facts were established about the extent of Aḥob's extant Old Testament exegetical works:

- Eight East Syriac writers and manuscript traditions preserve his Old Testament exegetical works.

- His extant Old Testament exegetical works consist of 35 known Old Testament scholia (on, at least, 8 Old Testament books) and one complete work, *Cause of the Psalms*.
- All disputed scholia, which have been credited to Aḥob (among others), were either not produced by him or were heavily modified by subsequent East Syriac writers, making the original Aḥobian core impossible to isolate.
- There are two scholia attributed to Aḥob that are clearly spurious.

The use of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works by the East Syriac exegetical tradition was the focus of Chapters 3 and 4, and several facts were established about Aḥob's literary afterlife:

- Nathniel of Shirzor borrowed and slightly modified five fragments of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms* either during Aḥob's lifetime or soon after his death.
- *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32* (first half of the 8th century) preserves the earliest accessible form of Aḥob's 2 extant Genesis scholia. It is possible that one or both of these Aḥob scholia have been slightly modified.
- Theodore bar Koni's *Scholion* (792/793) uses Aḥob's Genesis 15:9-10 scholion (possibly via *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*) and part of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, both of which are modified to varying degrees.
- The *Denḥa-Grigor Commentary* (first half of the 9th century?) preserves the presumed original form of all of Aḥob's extant Psalm-related writings in several late 19th-century manuscripts. These are presented as a prefaced document (i.e. his *Cause of the Psalms*) and 18 scholia, which are in the form of marginal notes and insertions into the main text, though the latter are almost always offset by some kind of scribal marker(s). Roughly 5½ of these Aḥob Psalms scholia (i.e. Psalm 39:2; Psalm 45 Prologue; Psalm 48:4; Psalm 58:4; Psalm 58:5-6; vv. 17-18 of Psalm 105:17-19) are unattested elsewhere.
- Isho'dad of Merv (fl. ca. 850) relies on 16 Aḥob scholia and Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*. 2 Aḥob scholia are found in his *Commentary on Genesis*, 1 Aḥob scholion is in his *Commentary on 1 Samuel*, and 13 Aḥob scholia are preserved in his *Commentary on Psalms*, which also utilizes Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*. With the exception of Aḥob's Psalm 40:8 scholion, Isho'dad always modifies Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works to varying degrees.
- The *Anonymous Commentary* (10th century) uses 5 Aḥob scholia. 2 Aḥob scholia are preserved in the *AC on Genesis*, 1 Aḥob scholion is found in the *AC on Numbers*,

1 Aḥob scholion is presented in the *AC on 1 Samuel*, and 1 Aḥob scholion is preserved in the *AC on Bar Sira*. 2 of these Aḥob scholia (i.e. Genesis 15:9-10 and Genesis 50:10) have been modified to varying degrees. Aḥob's 1 Samuel 8:1, 6 scholion is preserved as a marginal scholion and, while it may have been longer in its original form, its present contents appear unaltered. Aḥob's Numbers 21:19 and Bar Sira 14:12, 18 scholia are unattested elsewhere, the latter of which is presented as a marginal scholion. The *AC's* usage of Aḥob's Genesis 50:10 scholion is the only instance of an Aḥob Old Testament scholion being developed in a tertiary manner (i.e. beginning with its usage in *The Commentary on Genesis-Exodus 9:32*, which is developed by Isho'dad, which is then further developed by the *AC*).

- Bar Bahlul's *Lexicon* (mid-10th-early 20th centuries) preserves 11 Aḥob scholia in eleven separate entries. These Aḥob scholia are noticeably less sophisticated than his other extant Old Testament exegetical works. With the exception of Aḥob's ܐܗܒ ܩܛܘܪ scholion, all of these Aḥob scholia are unattested elsewhere in their attributed form.
- Isaac Shbadnaya (fl. 1439/1440) uses 2 scholia that are attributed solely to Aḥob in his prose commentary on his *Poem on God's Governance from 'In the Beginning' until Eternity*. These 2 Aḥob scholia discuss a Jewish custom and two Christian eschatological traditions that have been passed down from earlier sources. Shbadnaya's prose commentary on his *Poem* preserves the only extant form of these 2 Aḥob scholia, both of which he likely modifies to varying degrees.

The distinctiveness of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works was explored in Chapter 5, and several facts were established about their original form in the East Syriac exegetical tradition, the most noteworthy of which are the following:[1]

- With the exception of Aḥob's *Cause of the Psalms*, they were likely produced as scholia, rather than continuous commentaries.
- There are only a small number of scholia preserved from the originally larger collection of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works – possibly the most unusual scholia (in whole or in part).
- They display a willingness by Aḥob to modify and/or disagree with Theodore of Mopsuestia's exegesis.

[1] For a more detailed list of distinctive aspects in Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works, see Chapter 5, Section 5.8. The Exegetical Distinctiveness of Aḥob of Qatar's Old Testament Exegetical Works.

- They rely, in part, on (an) independent Jewish source(s), likely (a) Jewish informant(s).
- Beyond Syriac, they contain 5 references to three non-biblical languages: 2 language of Qatar references, 1 incorrect Coptic reference, and 2 Middle Persian references.

As indicated above, Chapter 5 also revealed that Aḥob relies on a number of Greek, Syriac, and other sources beyond Theodore, which he often develops with his own distinctive insights. When he does borrow from Theodore, he never copies him verbatim. Rather, Aḥob alters Theodore's exegesis to varying degrees, even to the point of critiquing him. The East Syriac exegetical tradition's use and development of (at least some of) Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works suggests that its writers and manuscript traditions also looked favorably on evolving forms of interaction with Theodore's exegesis.

If one considers the distinctive aspects of Aḥob's Old Testament exegetical works (i.e. the focus of Chapter 5), in conjunction with the discussions presented in Chapters 1-4, they suggest the following additional conclusions about Aḥob:

- He is the only established scholiast from the 6th century in the East Syriac exegetical tradition.
- He is a voice from a provincial school (i.e. the School of Seleucia), rather than a main center, like the School of Nisibis.
- His office as Exegete in the School of Seleucia likely impacted the biblical texts he selected for commentary, because he clearly wanted his students to understand how to interpret various difficult Peshitta words and phrases, especially where there are differences between the Peshitta, Hebrew, and Greek.
- His influence on the East Syriac exegetical tradition began in the late 6th century (either during his own lifetime or just after his death) and stretched to the late 19th century, a span of roughly 1,300 years.
- He is the earliest known East Syriac exegete to use other languages to explain difficult Peshitta words and phrases, which establishes a sense of exegetical authority.
- His probable use of (a) Jewish informant(s) for access to his Hebrew readings (which are consistently correct) and for, at least, select parts of the Jewish custom discussed in his Calendrical scholion likely reflects actual discussions with Jews across confessional boundaries in the late 6th century.

- His use of the language of Qatar (which he is the earliest known writer to cite) and Persian suggests that he was multilingual and interacted with people in the larger Iranian world who also knew these languages.
- He did not speak or read Coptic, even though he cites this language.
- He likely drew the original version of the Psalm 104 diagrammatic illustration, which lies behind the variations preserved in several late 19th-century *DGC* manuscripts.
- He does not follow Theodorean (and more broadly Antiochene) exegetical approaches without thought, i.e. he does not assume that a pragmatic interpretation is the best and/or only manner by which to understand a given Peshitta word or phrase.

While many facts can now be confidently known about Aḥob and his Old Testament exegetical works, this study has not presented a detailed discussion of his extant New Testament scholia, which are preserved in Syriac, Arabic, Gə‘əz, and Amharic manuscript traditions.[2] Nevertheless, based on the few Aḥob scholia on John and 1-2 Corinthians that have been translated,[3] it seems unlikely that something would be discovered in his other (as-of-yet unstudied) New Testament scholia that would contradict what has been established in this study concerning his Old Testament exegetical works.

Overall, Aḥob’s exegetical and theological impact on the East Syriac exegetical tradition was more extensive than previous scholarship has considered. His Old Testament exegetical works and varied sources reveal that he is one of “the heirs of Theodore,” i.e. a distinctive voice within the East Syriac exegetical tradition and not a card-carrying follower of Theodore’s exegesis. Aḥob’s willingness to propose a non-standard Theodorean explanation for a difficult Peshitta word or phrase represents one example of, what Becker has called, “the dynamic reception of Theodore of Mopsuestia in the sixth century,”[4] and this independent

[2] Cowley produced an English translation of Aḥob’s scholia on John and the Pauline epistles in the Gə‘əz manuscript tradition and footnoted the parallel texts in the English translation of Isho‘dad’s *Commentary on John*. See Cowley, “Scholia of Aḥob of Qaṭar,” 329-338. It is unclear if there are further extant Aḥob New (or Old) Testament scholia in the Gə‘əz manuscript tradition which have yet to be identified. It is also unclear if the Amharic manuscript tradition preserves the same Aḥob scholia as the Gə‘əz manuscript tradition or if any additional Aḥob scholia have been added to it. Along with the Amharic manuscript tradition, the Arabic manuscript tradition of Aḥob’s New (and possibly Old) Testament scholia – on which the Gə‘əz and Amharic manuscript traditions rely and which are preserved exclusively in Ibn al-Ṭayyib’s biblical commentaries – remains an essentially unexplored area.

[3] Cowley, “Scholia of Aḥob of Qaṭar,” 333-338.

[4] Adam H. Becker, “The Dynamic Reception of Theodore of Mopsuestia in the Sixth Century: Greek, Syriac, and Latin.” in Scott Fitzgerald Johnson (ed.), *Greek Literature in Late Antiquity: Dynamism, Didacticism, Classicism* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 29.

thinking (among other things) likely helped to secure Aḥob's place as an authoritative figure within the East Syriac exegetical tradition for centuries to come.

APPENDIX

AN EDITION OF THE INTRODUCTION AND SELECT PARTS OF THIRTEEN PSALMS FROM THE *DENḤA-GRIGOR COMMENTARY*

The following is an edition of select parts of Ps 5; 29; 31; 39-40; 42; 45; 48; 58; 68; 104-105; 110 from the *DGC* (first half of the 9th century?).[1] The Introduction to the *DGC* will also be given. These passages are provided so that the context for Aḥob's extant Psalms scholia can be examined in this key source, and their contribution to the main text of the *DGC* can be assessed.[2] The manuscripts used for this edition, including their sigla and dates of production, are the following:[3]

L	British Library, Or. 9354	1895
M	Mingana Syr. 58	1895
S	Strasbourg, Syr. 4121	1898
C	Cambridge, University Library, Or. 1318	1890s
V	Vandenhoff Exemplar	1891

The base manuscript is L.[4] However, when L is in doubt, M has been followed. Concerning the rubricated words and phrases, the text of L has also been followed.[5] While the various words and phrases, which are underlined in V to show its similarities to Sachau 215 and Barhebraeus' (1225/6-1286) *Commentary on Psalms* – the latter of which were accessed via Paul A. de Lagarde's (ed.), *Praetermissorum libri duo* (1879) – are not reflected in the edited text below,[6] V's usage of a small, superscript line over select words (such as ܡܥܬܣ̄ܗ) has been footnoted; it

[1] For a further discussion of the date of the *DGC*, see Introduction, The East Syriac Exegetical Tradition.

[2] Select verses in this edition also have scattered marginalia – unrelated to Aḥob's Psalms scholia – attached to them. These non-Aḥobian marginalia are not presented in this edition.

[3] For an overview of the particulars of these four manuscripts and one edition, see Wim Baars et al, "Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since 1899" (unpublished handlist; Leiden: Peshitta Institute, 1979), 3; Alphonse Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts now in the Possession of the Trustees of the Woodbroke Settlement, Selly Oak, Birmingham* 1: *Syriac and Garshūni Manuscripts* (Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1933), cols. 157-160; Françoise Briquel-Chatonnet, *Manuscrits syriaques de la Bibliothèque nationale de France (nos 356-435 entrés depuis 1911), de la Bibliothèque Méjanes d'Aix-en-Provence, de la Bibliothèque municipale de Lyon et de la Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg: catalogue* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1997), 208-210; J. F. Coakley, *A Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in Cambridge University Library and College Libraries Acquired since 1901* (Ely, Cambridgeshire: Jericho Press, 2018), 141-143; Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 3-8 (Latin).

[4] While V is the oldest, extant manuscript preserving Aḥob's Psalm-related writings, its Introduction and selected parts of psalms often preserve abbreviated forms and/or noticeable misspellings of words/phrases, all of which render it as the least reliable of the manuscripts used for this edition.

[5] V marks its rubricated words by placing them within parentheses, i.e. (). These parentheses are not footnoted.

[6] For a further discussion, see Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 15-16 (Latin).

uses this siglum to show that it has expanded these particular words from their abbreviated spelling, as was preserved in its, now lost, exemplar.[7] V marks the Peshitta words and phrases in its commentary with superscript and subscript quotation marks. These quotation marks are not footnoted in the following edition, though they are reflected in the English translation of these *DGC* verses in Chapter 3, Section 3.4., by way of italicized words.[8] Where discrepancies exist between some or all of the above *DGC* manuscripts, earlier extant *DGC* manuscripts – namely, Paris, BnF Syr. 367 (*olim* Seert 29) (1252) [= P] and/or Paris, BnF Syr. 351 (16th or 17th century) [= P^2] – have been utilized to ascertain the most likely original reading.

Since Aḥob's Psalms scholia have been edited (and presented in Chapter 2, Subsection 2.2.1.6.), these will not be given again in what follows. Rather, their placement in the individual *DGC* manuscripts is indicated via footnotes.[9]

Introduction[10]

× M f. 18r

[14]ܥܒܕܝܬܐ ܕܟܬܒ[13]ܥܡܐ ܕܟܬܒ ܠܡܥܒܪ[12]ܕܫܬܟ ܒܥܠ[11]ܟܬܒ
ܕܒܫܡ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܢ ܡܪܝܡ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ❖[16]ܕܟܬܒ ܒܫܡ ܕܐܠ[15]ܒܥܠܡ❖ ܒܪ ܕܟܬܒ
ܒܫܡܐ[19]ܕܟܬܒ[18]ܒܫ ܕܐܠ ܥܡ ܟܬܒ[17]ܒܥܠ❖ ܕܟܬܒ
ܟܬܒ ܠܥܠ .[23]ܡܟܬܒ ܫܡ ܒܫܡ[22]ܕܟܬܒ ܟܬ[21]ܟܬܒ ܒܥܠ[20]ܟ ܟܬܒ ܟܬܒ
ܕܟܬܒ ܕܟܬܒ ܒܐ .ܟܬܒ ܟܬܒ ܒܟ ܕܟܬܒ ܕܟܬܒ ܟܬܒ ✻ ܟܠ ܒܐ ܕܟܬܒ
.ܟܬܒ ܒܟ ܟܬܒ ܟܬܒ .ܠܡܐ ܟܬܒ ܠܡܥܒܪ : ܒܥܠ[24]ܟ ܫܡ] ܠܥ ܟܬܒ .ܟܬܒ ܟܠ ܟܬܒ
❖ܡܟܬ[27] ܟܬܒ[26]ܕܟܬܒ ܒܐ ܠܡܥܒܪ[25]ܡ ܟܬ ܒܥܠ]

[7] Vandenhoff, *Exegesis Psalmorum*, 15 (Latin).

[8] V also marks the beginning of each verse with a superscript verse number. Since these verse numbers are likely not original to V's exemplar (and also due to the fact that the following edition includes Peshitta verse numbering), these superscript verse numbers are not footnoted.

[9] If part or all of a given Aḥob scholion is incorrectly attached to a *DGC* verse, which is not presented in this edition, its description is placed within parenthesis.

[10] This Introduction to the *DGC* is based on L, f. 17v, *14-25*; M, ff. 17v, *21*-18r, *4*; S, f. 32r, *5-12*; C, f. 20v, *1-9*; V, p. 19, *5-16* (Syriac). For an English translation of the Introduction to the *DGC* based solely on M, see Leonhard, "Ps 119 and 139–147 in East-Syrian Commentaries," 183.

[11] LMS] ܟܬܒ CV

[12] MSC] ܕܫܬܟ ܒܥܠ L: om V

[13] LMSC] ܥܡܐ ܟܬܒ V

[14] LMSC] ܥܒܕܝܬܐ V

[15] LMV] ܒܥܠܡ C

[16] LMV] ܕܟܬܒ ܒܫܡ ܕܐܠ ܒܥܠܡ S

[17] LMC] ܟܬܒ V

[18] LMC] ܒܫ ܕܐܠ ܥܡ ܟܬܒ S

[19] LMSC] ܟܬܒ ܕܟܬܒ V

[20] LMC] ܟܬܒ ܕܟܬܒ ܕܟܬܒ S: ܕܟܬܒ ܕܟܬܒ ܕܟܬܒ ܡܟܬ V

[21] LMCV] ܟܬܒ S

[22] MSCV] s. sey L

[23] LMS] ܡܟܬ CV

[24] LMS] ܟܬܒ C: ܟܬ V

[25] LMSC] ܟܬ V

[26] LMSC] ܕܟܬܒ ܐ V

[27] LMSV] add ❖ ܟܬܒ ܟܬܒ ܕܟܬܒ ܒܫܡ ܕܟܬܒ ܥܡܐ ܟܬܒ ܒܐ ܠܡܥܒܪ ܕܟ ܒܥܠ C

Psalm 5

[28]ܡܙܡܘܪ

[30].ܠܡܢܨܚ ܥܠ ܡܚܠܬ ܠܡܥܢܝܗ ܕܠܕܘܝܕ [29]ܡܙܡܘܪ

[4] [31]ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܐܒ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܒ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܫܢ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܦܘܡ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܡܥ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܥܝܢ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܕܢ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܝܕ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܪܓܠ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܫܘܩ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܡܫܟ

Psalm 31
[54]ܡܙܡܘܪ ܠܐܝܘܒ

ܐܡܪ ܐܝܘܒ ܒܬܪ ܕܒܪ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܐܬ ܙܕܝܩ ܘܐܢܐ ܐܬ ܪܫܝܥ ܘܐܢ

ܡ C f. 54v ܕܚܝܬ[73]. ܐܢܐ ܒܥܝ ܗܠܠ[74] ܡ ܒܥܝ ܡ ܕܥܒܕ ܒܠܥ[75]ܒܠܥ

ܡ M f. 57r / [5] ܒܥܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܡܠܟ ܒܠ ܐܫܟ[76]ܒܥܝ ܒܝܬ ܒܥܘܠ ܡ[77]. ܒܝ ܒܝܬ ܠܡܠܟ ܒܠ ܐܫܟ[78] ܡ ܐܡܪ[79]ܒܥܝ

ܡ S f. 108r ܒܝ ܒܝܬ ܒܥܘܠ ܒܝ ܠܡܠܟ[80] ܐܢܐ : ܒܝ ܒܝܬ ܒܥܘܠ ܒܝ[81] : ܒܝ ܒܝܬ ܒܥܘܠ ܒܝ ܠܡܠܟ ܐܢܐ : ܘ
ܒܥܝ ܒܝ[82]ܒܥܝ.

ܡ L f. 57r / [6] ܡ ܒܥܝ[86] ܠܡܠܟ[85]ܒܥܝ ܒܝ ܡ[84] ܒܝ ܒܠ : ܐܡܪ[83]ܒܥܝ ܒܥܘܠ ܒܝ ܐܡܪ

ܡ M f. 57v : ܒܥܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܡܠܟ ܒܝ ܒܝ ܒܝ ܒܥܘܠ. ܒܥܝ ܒܝ ܒܝ ܐܡܪ ܒܝ ܒܥܘܠ ܒܝ ܒܝ ܐܡܪ
ܒܝ ܡ ܒܥܘܠ ܒܝ ܠܡܠܟ ܒܝ ܒܝ ܒܝ

ܟܬܒ ܡܐܒܝܐ ܟܬܒ ܒܝܬ ܗܘ. ܗܢܝ ܗܘ ܒܡܐ ܕܐ ܒܝܬ ܡܪܝܡ ܢܒܝܐ [8][94]
ܠܘܬ ܠܐ ܝܬܝܒ ܠܗ ܀ ܠܗ ܬܒܥ ܟܬܒ ܐܒܝܐ[96]ܗܘ[95]ܟܬܒ.
ܒܝܬ ܗܘ ܒܐ ܟܬܒ[99]ܕܡܫܝܚ ܒܝܬ ܝܕ[98]ܒܝܬ. ܗܘ ܐܡܪ[97]ܒܝܬ [10]
ܒܝܬ ܠܐ ܒܐ ܟܬܒ[100]ܕܡܐܒܝܐ ܠܐ ܝܫܪܐܝ
ܐ ܟܬܒ ܕܡܐܒܝܐ ܟܬܒ[101] ܒܝܬ. ܟܬܒ ܒܐ ܟܬܒ[102]ܒܝܬ ܐ ܟܬܒ.
ܐ ܟܬܒ ܕܡܐܒܝܐ ܟܬܒ ܒ ܟܬܒ ܐ ܟܬܒ ܀ S f. 111r
ܐ ܟܬܒ ܕܡܐܒܝܐ ܟܬܒ ܒ ܟܬܒ ܐ ܟܬܒ ܀ ܟܬܒ

ܒܝܫܐ ܘ ܐ[120]ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܒܟ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܐܝܠܢܐ ܡܪܝܐ[119] ܒܝܫ ܘ ܒܝܫ
ܐ ܡܪܝ[121] ܐ ܘ ܡܪܝ ܐ ܕܐ ܡܪܝ[122] ܐ ⁎ ܐ ܕܐ ܡܪܝ ⁎ L f. 60v
ܐ ⁎ ⁎ ⁎

ܒܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܙܡܘܪ ܒܪܝܫ ܐܝ ܕܠܒܢܝ[146] ܕܐܡܪ ܒܡ [145]ܒܪ[144]ܒܝ. ܕܐܬܐ ܠܡܢܨܚ ܒܢܝ ܩܘܪܚ ܕܐܦܪܝܡ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܒܢܝ ܩܘܪܚ ܐܬ ܐܢ ܕܐܬ ܒܢܝ ܩܘܪܚ ܐܬ ܐܢ ܕܐܬ[147] ܗ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܒܢܝ ܩܘܪܚ ܐܬ ܐܢ ܕܐܬ

Psalm 58

[166]ܡܙܡܘܪ ܠܕܘܝܕ[166]

⁎ S f. 145r ⁎ ܠܡܢܨܚ ܠܐ ܬܫܚܝܬ [167]ܡܟܬܒ ܠܕܘܝܕ[167] ⁎ ܗܠ ܐܡܢ ܬܕܒܪܘܢ ܨܕܩ ܐܠܡ ܬܕܒܪܘܢ ⁎ ⁎ ⁎

× L f. 78v ×

Psalm 68

[194]

[14]

[17] ܐܡܪ ܀ ܕܓܒܝܢ ܕܐܬ[213]ܡܘܫܐ ܠܐ ܫܡܝܗ. ܒܫܡ ܝܗ[212]ܒܓܒܝܢ ܐܝܟ
ܡܝܬ ܠܐ ܡ ܐܡܪ ܠ ܐܐ ܝܗ. ܫܠܡ ܒܓܒ ܐܒܗܝܡ[214]ܕܟܒܝܢ ܒܢܝܢ
* S f. 163r ܐܝܟ ܐ[217]ܒܓܒܝܢ * ܠ ܐܬ[216]ܐܬܝ[215]ܐܒ ܡܢ. ܐܒ ܒܐ ܠܐ ܫܡܝܗ ܠܐ
* L f. 88r ܒܢܝ[218]ܐܒ. ܡܫܟܚܬ ܡ ܐܒܝ ܐܝܟ ܐ ܠܐ. ܐ * ܐ ܝܬ ܐܝܟ

Psalm 104

[219]ܒܓܒܝܢ ܐܐ

[220]ܐܒܐ ܒܐ ܐ ܐ

ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ⁂ ܡܫܡܥ ܐܝܟܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܥܡ ܫܡ[235]ܐܠܗܐ ⁂ [234]ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܥܡ
ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ⁂ L f. 128v / ⁂ S f. 236r ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܚܪ ܠܐ ܕܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܫܡ ܐܠܗ ܐܚܪ ܐܠܐ ܗܘ[236] ܐܠܗ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ.[237]

[238]ܕܐܝܟ ܕܡ ... [239]ܒܫܡ.
ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܚܪ ,ܡܐܠܟ ܕܡ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܚܪ ,ܐܠܐ ܗܘ ... [240]ܕܡ ܐܠܐ ⁂
[241]ܠܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܚܪ ܒܥܝ ܕܡ
[242]ܐܠܗ ,ܡܠܟ ܐܒܐ ,ܡܠܟ ܕܡ ... ܐܠܗ.
ܕܐܡ ܐܒܐ ܒܟ ܫܡܠ ܕܡ[243] ... ܒܫܡ.
[244]ܕܡ ... ܐܠܗ ܐܚܪ ܕܡ
[245]ܠܗ ܐܠ ... ܐܠܗ ܐܚܪ ܫܡܠ ܕܡ

⁂ L f. 129r ⁂ [246]ܡܫܝܚܐ ,ܡܠܟ ܐܒܐ. ... ,ܡܠܟ ܐܒܐ.

Psalm 105

[247]ܒܫܡ ܐܠܗܐ

[248]ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡ ... [249]ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ... ܡܫܬܟܚ ܠܗ ... ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ... ܐܠܗ ... ܐܠܗ ... ܐܡܪ ... ܐܠܗ ... ܐܠܗ ... ܐܠܗ

ܫܡܐ ܕܝܘܪ ܪܚܡܢܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܕܐܬܪ ܐܫܬܘܬܗ ܠܥܡܐ ܕܐܬܪ ܐܫܬܘܬܗ ܐܢ[250] [17]
ܪܚܡ ܠܟ ܥܠ ܥܡܐ ܕܐܬܪ ܐܫܬܘܬܗ ܠܥܡܐ ܕܐܬܪ ܐܫܬܘܬܗ ܐܢ ܪܚܡ ܠܟ ܥܠ ܥܡܐ ܕܐܬܪ ܐܫܬܘܬܗ.
ܐܫܬܘܬܗ ܐܢ ܪܚܡ ܠܟ ܥܠ ܥܡܐ ܕܐܬܪ ܐܫܬܘܬܗ ܐܢ ܪܚܡ ܠܟ ܥܠ ܥܡܐ ܕܐܬܪ ܐܫܬܘܬܗ.
ܐܢ ܪܚܡ ܠܟ ܥܠ

⁎ M f. 139r ⁎ ⁎ ⁎

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BnF Syr. 315	1884	—

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Alqosh 80	1881	—

An Anonymous Commentary on the Difficult Words in the Pentateuch:

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Anonymous Commentary:

(*olim*) Diyarbakir 22	11th-12th century	ff. 41r-41v, 53r-53v, 83v-84r, 133r, 159v-165r, 227r, 228r, 234v, 242r
Seert 21	1605	—
Seert 22	17th century	—
Mosul 1 / Chaldean Patriarchate of Babylon 00445	1701 / 1717	ff. 17r-18r, 47v-48r, 337v, 377v-378r
Kirkuk 8	1706	ff. 20v-21v, 56v, 110v-111r, 158v-159r
St. Petersburg (*olim* Diettrich 2)	Ca. 1700	ff. 23r-24r, 49r, 86r, 118v
Chaldean Archdiocese of Erbil 21 / Aïn Qawa	1886	ff. 18v-19r, 49r, 96v, 139r
Notre Dame des Semences 34 (*olim* 22)	1887	—
Louvain, CSCO, Syr. 13	1902	—
Vat. Syr. 578	1917	ff. 6v, 32r, 53r, 104v-114r
Vat. Syr. 502	1926	ff. 20v-21v, 52v, 99r, 143r
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Basil of Caesarea, Syriac Prologue to Psalm 1:

British Library, Add. 14,543	6th century	ff. 141r-144r

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Alqosh 36 (*olim* 20)	1884	—
Alqosh *olim* 21	1893	—
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Mingana Syr. 58	1895	ff. 1v-3v, 11r, 12r, 15v-16v, 17v-18r, 20v, 44r, 45r, 46r, 56v-58v, 60r-60v, 63v-64r, 67r, 77r-77v, 84v, 85v-87r, 105r-106r, 115r, 116v-117r, 125v-126v, 129r-130r, 138r-139r, 145r, 148r-148v, 161r
Strasbourg Syr. 4121	1898	ff. 1r-5r, 28r-29r, 32r, 37r-38r, 83r, 85r, 87r, 106v-111r, 112v-113r, 118v-120r, 125r-126r, 144r-146r, 159r-160r, 162r-163r, 198r-199r, 215r, 218r-219r, 235r-236r, 237v-238r, 239r-240r, 256r-257r, 269r, 274r-275r, 298r
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