

Symmachus in the Psalter

The Jewish Greek revision of the Septuagint ascribed to Symmachus and dated to the end of the second century CE was included by Origen in his great synoptic work, the Hexapla, along with Aquila and Theodotion and some more minor versions. Like all of these, Symmachus' translation survives only in fragmentary readings, mostly through citation by Christian writers and scribes of Septuagint manuscripts.

Fortunately, what survives of Symmachus' version in the Psalter is more extensive than for many other books. Of course, as with other biblical books we have the material from Septuagint manuscripts, the Syrohexapla¹ and patristic commentaries that Frederick Field usefully assembled and presented, supplemented by more recent publications on the indirect transmission of readings from Symmachus' version.² But for Psalms there are also some particularly precious continuous texts.

(1) Two are derived from the Hexapla and retain some of its format:

- a. A seventh century palimpsest folio containing verses from the versions of Symmachus and Aquila to Psalm 21 (MT 22) in the Cairo Genizah, and given the Rahlfs Nummer (Ra) 2005. The column containing Symmachus covers vv. 15–24.³
- b. More extensive but later Hexaplaric fragments from the ninth or tenth century Milan palimpsest, Ra 1098.⁴ These include Pss 18(17):26–48; 28(27):6–9; 29(28):1–3; 30(29):1–13; 31(30):1–25; 32(31):6–11; 35(34:)1–28; 36(35):1–6;

1 For Syriac-Greek equivalents in the rather complex Syrohexaplaric tradition for Psalms, see Hiebert, "Textual History", 178–204.

2 Field, *Fragmenta II*, 87–305. As in the case of other books, Field relied on the older collection of de Montfaucon, and added readings from the Milan Codex of the Syrohexapla, supplied by Ceriani, but also added other witnesses, and additionally indirectly transmitted readings. See Ceriani, *Codex*. See also Devreesse, *Commentaire*; Dorival, "L'apport", 45–74; Mercati, *Alla ricerca*; Schenker, *Psalmenbruchstücke*, giving readings from several Greek revisions, including that of Symmachus, from the eleventh and twelfth century catena manuscripts (Ra 1173 and 1122).

3 Taylor, *Palimpsests*, 1–50 and Plates I and II. In the case of Aquila, the same fragments cover vv. 20–28. See also <https://exhibitions.lib.cam.ac.uk/linesofthought/artifacts/hexapl/> (last access: 15.08.2023). Taylor's edition covers Ps 22(21):15–18, 20–24 in the version of Symmachus, but also Aquila for vv. 20–24, 25–28 of the same psalm.

4 Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*; id., *Commento critico*. See also the early edition of Klostermann, "Fragmente", including readings from Symmachus. On Ra 1098, see also Roberto Carrera's and Stefano Serventi's contributions to this volume.

46(45):1–12; 49(48):1–15; 89(88):26–53, covering five of the Hexaplaric columns, from the *Secunda*, through Aquila and Symmachus, to LXX and *Quinta*.⁵

(2) There are a couple of small papyrus scraps with parts of Symmachus' version of (LXX) Psalms 68:13–14, 30–33 and 80:11–14, perhaps from the Fayum region in Egypt. This text, *P. Vindob.* 39777, has been dated to the late third or early fourth century.⁶ Crucially, this small fragment that has no Hexaplaric columnation, also has no *nomina sacra* that would indicate a Christian origin. Instead it bears the paleo-Hebrew Tetragrammaton. Therefore, unlike the Christian and Hexaplaric fragments Ra 2005 and 1098, this text was probably copied by a Jewish scribe. It is particularly significant in that it suggests that at least parts of Symmachus' version were circulating in Jewish circles in this period, and had not yet been completely superseded by that of Aquila.

The discovery of longer, more continuous texts from Symmachus' version enabled the analysis of their translation technique by José Ramon Busto Saiz.⁷ Busto Saiz was mainly interested in Symmachus' translation technique, and also compiled useful Hebrew-Greek/Greek-Hebrew indices to the Symmachian material for Psalms.

The focus of the present essay is on the lexical and exegetical aspects of Symmachus' version.⁸ It presents the material from Psalm 22 (MT)/21 (LXX) edited by Taylor, chosen because it is relatively old, being palaeographically dated to the seventh century, and relates to a psalm that held christological significance from the time of the gospel writers.⁹ For that reason it potentially offered an opportunity for a later Jewish reviser such as Symmachus to make changes that moved the sense away from the Septuagint version used by the Church of his day. Also, a continuous text gives a better sense of the original context of the rendering than shorter excerpts cited by patristic commentators such as Eusebius of Caesarea.¹⁰

5 *Quinta*, not Theodotion, as demonstrated by Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, “La versione dell’ultima colonna del palinsesto – e di Teodozione o della Quinta? E di chi le lezioni adiacenti?”, XIX–XXXV.

6 Wessely, “Un nouveau fragment” [actually Symmachus], 224–229. The attribution was corrected by Mercati, “Frammenti”, 266–272, and Capelle, “Fragments”, 64–68. The corrected attribution appears in Wessely, *Studien*, 171. See also Tov, “P. Vindob. G 39777”.

7 Busto Saiz, *La traducción*.

8 For a preliminary study, see also Lust, “Lexicon”, with test case of ἀδμονέω.

9 E.g. Matt 27:35, 46; Mk 15:24, 34; Lk 23:34; Jn 19:24. Justin Martyr declares in *Dial.* 99.1 to his (supposed) Jewish interlocutor, “I will demonstrate to you that the entire psalm was uttered concerning Christ”, which he proceeds to do over the following sections (§ 99–106).

10 Sadly, what would have been our best source, Origen’s *Psalm Commentary*, only survives in indirect form (the Latin rendering of Rufinus; catena fragments). The recent exciting discovery of twenty-nine of Origen’s *Homilies on the Psalms* in *Codex Monacensis Graecus* 314 has not produced much of direct interest for the Hexapla, since Origen seems to have avoided burdening his congregations with variant readings. See, however, his more indirect allusions to readings known

Charles Taylor provided a very useful discussion of the renderings of Aquila and Symmachus in this fragment in his publication. However, there are additional points that could be made in the light of other advances in the field of the study of the Greek lexicon and in Hexaplaric studies over the past century.

1. Psalm 22 MT/21 LXX in the Cairo Genizah Fragment (Cambridge, Taylor-Schechter Collection, T-S 12.182; Ra 2005)

MT	LXX	Symmachus	Symmachus	Aquila ¹¹
בְּמִים נִשְׁפָּכְתִּי	15 ὕδωρ ἐξεχύθην,	...ἐξεχύθην	... I was poured out	
וְהַתְּפִירוּ בְּלִי- עֲצָמוֹתַי	καὶ διεσκορπίσθη πάντα τὰ ὀστᾶ μου,	Καὶ διέστη πάντα τὰ ὀστᾶ μου,	and all my bones were separated	¹² ⲁϥϥⲁⲛⲁⲟ
וְהָיָה לִבִּי כַדֹּונָג	ἔγενήθη ἡ καρδία μου ὡσεὶ κηρὸς	ἐγένετο ἡ καρδία μου ὡσεὶ κηρὸς	My heart became as wax	
נִמְסָ בְּתוֹךְ מַעֵי:	τηκόμενος ἐν μέσῳ τῆς κοιλίας μου·	λελυμένος ἐν τοῖς ἐγκατοῖς μου	loosened in my entrails	
יִבְשׂ כְּחֶרֶשׁ כְּהִי	16 ἐξηράνθη ὡς ὄστρακον ἡ ἰσχὺς μου,	ἐξηράνθη ὡς ὄστρακον ἡ ἰσχὺς μου,	My strength was dried up like a potsherd	
וְלִשׁוֹנִי מִדְּבָק מִלְקֹחַי	καὶ ἡ γλῶσσά μου κεκόλληται τῷ λάρυγγί μου,	καὶ ἡ γλῶσσά μου προσεκολλήθη τῷ φάρυγγί μου,	And my tongue cleaved to my throat	ⲙⲁⲛⲁ *κεκολλημένος
וְלַעֲפָר-מוֹתַי :הִשְׁפָּתַנִּי	καὶ εἰς χοῦν θανάτου κατήγαγές με.	Καὶ εἰς χοῦν θανάτου κατήνεγκάς με	And you brought me down to the dust of death	

from other sources, such as in Homily III on Ps 73, § 1, lines 8–9, where Origen gives some non-LXX readings to support his exegesis (παρὰ δὲ ἑτέροις): these are also attested in Eusebius' *Commentary on Psalms* 73:15 along with their attributions (Perrone et al., *Psalmenhomilien*, 253 and note p.).

11 Verses 15–19 for Aquila are supplied from Field, mostly from the Syrohexapla. Verses 20–28 are preserved in Ra 2005.

12 Field, *Fragmenta II*, 119 n. 25, suggests *ἐμερίσθη, *διεμερίσθη, or *διηρέθη may underlie this Syriac form.

MT	LXX	Symmachus	Symmachus	Aquila ¹¹
כִּי סָבְבוּנִי כְּלָבִים	17 ὅτι ἐκύκλωσάν με κύνες πολλοί,	περικύκλω <σαν> γάρ με κύνες ¹³	For dogs encircled me around	ⲙⲁⲥⲁⲃⲁⲗⲁⲥ *ἐκύκλωσαν με
עֲדַת מְרָעִים הַקְּיֹפְנִי	συναγωγή πονηρευομένων	συναγωγή κακούργων	A gathering of malefactors	
כְּאֵרֵי יָדַי וְרַגְלָי:	περίεσχον με, ὤρυσαν χεῖράς μου καὶ πόδας.	περιήλθόν ¹⁴ με ὡς λέων τὰς χεῖράς μου καὶ τοὺς πόδας μου	surrounded me like a lion , my hands and my feet	ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲓⲁⲥ *ἐπέδησαν / συνεπόδισαν χεῖρας μου καὶ πόδας μου
אֲסַפֵּר כָּל-עֲצָמוֹתַי	18 ἐξηριθμήσα πάντα τὰ ὀστᾶ μου,	≠ ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲓⲁⲥ ⲙⲁⲓⲁⲥ ⲙⲁⲓⲁⲥ ¹⁵ ⲙⲁⲓⲁⲥ *ὡς ζητούντες δησαι τὰς χεῖράς μου καὶ τοὺς πόδας μου	OR as those seeking to bind my hands and my feet	
הֲמָה יִבְיטוּ יְרֵאוּבֵי:	αὐτοὶ δὲ κατενόησαν καὶ ἐπειδὴν με.	ἐξαριθμοῦντός μου τὰ ὀστᾶ μου,	While I counted my bones	ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲟⲩ *ψηφίσω
יַחֲלִקוּ בְּגָדַי לָהֶם:	19 διμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτιά μου ἑαυτοῖς	κατενόουν ἐνέβλεπον εἰς ἐμέ ¹⁶	they were considering, they were looking at me,	
וְעַל-לְבוּשֵׁי יְפִילוּ גֹזְלֵי:	καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἱματισμόν μου ἔβαλον κλῆρον.	Διενέμοντο τὰ ἱμάτιά μου ἑαυτοῖς	They were distributing my garments for themselves	Μερίσουσιν ἱμάτιόν μου ἑαυτοῖς,
		Καὶ περὶ ἐσθῆτος μου ἐλάγχανον ¹⁷	and for my clothing they were drawing lots	καὶ ἐπὶ ἔνδυσίν μου βαλοῦσι κλῆρον ¹⁸

13 Field records Ἄ. Σ. ὅτι ἐκύκλωσαν με θηραταί from de Montfaucon, but he believes this is derived from Pseudo-Jerome (i. e. based on a retroversion from Latin).

14 Here is a case where the Cairo Genizah witness supersedes Field's use of the Syrohexapla, since he retroverted ⲙⲁⲥⲁⲃⲁⲗⲁⲥ as *ἐκύκλωσαν με (though he was correct in his retroversion of the rest of the Syriac reading).

15 Field gives the reading as ⲙⲁⲣⲓⲟⲩ ⲙⲁⲓⲁⲥ, following Barhebraeus, but Codex Ambrosianus of the Syrohexapla has ⲙⲁⲓⲁⲥ.

16 Field's retroversion from the Syrohexapla was very close to the Cairo Genizah reading: *ἀριθμοῦντός ἐμου τὰ ὀστᾶ μου, αὐτοὶ κατενόουν καὶ ἐνέβλεπον εἰς ἐμέ.

17 There is a lacuna in the Cairo Genizah text at this point. The reading is supplied from Eusebius, *Eclogae propheticae*, ed. Gaisford, *Eclogae propheticae*, 87. See Field's Addenda to Psalms, *Fragmenta II*, 305.

18 See above note: Aquila's reading in v. 19 is supplied from Eusebius, *Eclog. proph.* p. 87.

MT	LXX	Symmachus	Symmachus	Aquila ¹¹
וְאַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ תִּרְחַק אֵילֹהֵינוּ	20 σὺ δέ, κύριε, μὴ μακρύνῃς τὴν βοήθειάν μου,	Συ δὲ ΠΙΠΠΙ μὴ μακρὰν γένῃ μου	But you, Y., do not be far from me	Συ δὲ ΠΙΠΠΙ μὴ μακρύνῃς ἰσχυρότητος μου
לְעֹזְרֵי חַוְשָׁה:	εἰς τὴν ἀντίληψίν μου πρόσχες.	Πρὸς τὴν βοήθειάν μου σπεῦσον	Hurry to my aid,	Εἰς βοήθειάν μου σπεῦσον
הַצִּילָה מִתָּרֵב נַפְשִׁי	21 ῥῦσαι ἀπὸ ῥομφαίας τὴν ψυχὴν μου	Ἐξελού ἀπὸ μαχαίρας τὴν ψυχὴν μου	deliver my soul from a sword,	ῥῦσαι ἀπὸ μαχαίρας ψυχὴν μου
מִדֹּבְלֵב יְחִידָתִי:	καὶ ἐκ χειρὸς κυνὸς τὴν μονογενῆ μου.	ἐκ χειρὸς κυνὸς τὴν μονότητά μου	from a dog's paw my unity	ἀπὸ χειρὸς κυνὸς μοναχὴν μου
הוֹשִׁיעֵנִי מִפִּי אַרְיֵה	22 σῶσόν με ἐκ στόματος λέοντος	σῶσόν με ἐκ στόματος λέοντος	Save me from a lion's mouth	σῶσόν με ἀπὸ στόματος λέοντος
וּמִקַּרְנֵי רִמִּים עֲנִיחָנִי:	καὶ ἀπὸ κεράτων μονοκερώτων τὴν ταπεινώσιν μου.	Καὶ ἀπὸ κεράτων μονοκερώτων τὴν κακωσίν μου.	And (save) my miserable state from horns of one-horned beasts.	Καὶ ἀπὸ κεράτων ῥήμιμ εἰσάκουσον μου
אֶסְפָּרָה שְׁמִי לְאָחֵי	23 διηγήσομαι τὸ ὄνομά σου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου,	διηγήσομαι τὸ ὄνομά σου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου,	I will recount your name to my brothers	διηγήσομαι ὄνομά σου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς μου,
בְּתוֹךְ קָהָל אֲהַלְלֶךָ:	ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας ὑμνήσω σε	ἐν μέσῳ πλήθους ὑμνήσω σε	In the middle of a multitude I will sing praise to you	ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας ὑμνήσω σε
יִרְאַי יְהוָה הַלְלוּהוּ	24 Οἱ φοβούμενοι κύριον, αἰνέσατε αὐτόν	Οἱ φοβούμενοι ΠΙΠΠΙ ὑμνήσατε αὐτόν	Those who fear Y., sing praise to him	φοβούμενοι ΠΙΠΠΙ ὑμνήσατε αὐτόν
כָּל־יָרֵעַ יַעֲקֹב כִּבְדוּהוּ	ἅπαν τὸ σπέρμα Ἰακωβ, δοξάσατε αὐτόν,	ἅπαν σπέρμα Ἰακωβ δοξάσατε αὐτόν	All Jacob's seed, glorify him	ἅπαν σπέρμα Ἰακωβ δοξάσατε αὐτόν
וְגִוְרוּ מִמֶּנּוּ כָּל־ יָרֵעַ יִשְׂרָאֵל:	φοβηθήτωσαν αὐτόν ἅπαν τὸ σπέρμα Ἰσραηλ,	εὐλαβηθήτε αὐτόν ἅπαν ...	Revere him all...	καὶ ὑποστάλητε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἅπαν τὸ σπέρμα Ἰσραηλ

Differences from the Septuagint are shown in bold type, and verses discussed below are indicated in the same way.

In Symmachus' revision, there is nothing obvious to either support or contradict Christian exegesis, except the apparent replacement in v. 17 of LXX's ὠρυξαν "they dug", a curious rendering that was often taken by Christian commentators as an allusion to (or prophecy of) the piercing of Christ's hands and feet at the Crucifixion.¹⁹

v.17b: The form in MT, כְּאַרְיִי, presents a notorious crux.²⁰ The Septuagint reading ὠρυξαν mentioned above suggests that either the *Vorlage* read כ(א)רִי (from ברה, "dig")²¹ or the Greek translator interpreted the word in this way.²² The separate *Syriac* readings of Symmachus and Aquila in the margin of the Syrohexapla suggest that these revisions understood the Hebrew as a verb meaning "bind" (cf. also Jerome's *iuxta Hebraeos* rendering *vinxerunt*), and Symmachus' אֲרִי/וֹס implies that he read it as כְּאַרְיִי*, "like binders of (my hands and my feet)".²³

However, Symmachus' *Greek* reading in the Cairo Genizah fragment Ra 2005 has a quite different interpretation: "like a lion", suggesting כְּאַרְיִי, and thus is rather closer to MT than even Aquila.

Busto Saiz is generally sceptical of the notion of a double edition of Symmachus. He prefers to consider such double readings as this as reflecting "predecessors" of the version, meaning revisers who aimed at the same kind of lexical and stylistic updating that preoccupied Symmachus.²⁴ However, this particular example in Ps 22:17 does raise the question of which of the two readings here is the "authentic"

19 E. g. Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 97.3; 98.4; 104.1; 140.2; *Apol.* 35.5, 7; 38.4; Eusebius of Caesarea, *Comm. Pss.* 23, pp. 209, 512, 856; *Dem. ev.* 10.8.11-13, 23, 79, 86; *Comm. Isa.* 2.37. Also in Eusebius' *Prophetic Eclogues*, where he discusses this psalm in detail in relation to the gospels' narratives of the crucifixion (ed. Gaisford, pp. 86–87). He does not cite either of Symmachus' readings for this verse, no doubt because they do not support his 'prophetic' reading of the psalm. He does cite Aquila's reading as ἡσχυσαν χεῖράς μου καὶ πόδας μου, "they disfigured my hands and my feet", which also does not match the reading given in the Syrohexapla for Aquila.

20 Vall, "Psalm 22:17B", 45–56 (giving a helpful summary of previous suggestions, and also a diagram of the relationship of the various versions, 55). See also the very thorough discussion of Barthélemy, *Critique*, 127–132. Rashi explains the verse by reference to Isa 38:13 כִּן יִשְׁבֵּר כֶּן יִבְּרֵן (Gruber, *Commentary*, 257). Taylor, *Palimpsests*, 17–24, 39–47 has a full if necessarily rather dated discussion of the problematic reading in MT. For more recent discussions, including the rather unclear reading of the verb in the Qumran fragments, see DeClaisse-Walford/Jacobson/Tanner, *Book*, 230 n. 26, referencing a series of articles in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* from 1998 to 2005: Kaltner, "Psalm 22:17b", 503–506; Strawn, "Psalm 22:17b", 439–451; Swenson, "Psalm 22:17", 637–648; Linville, "Psalm 22:17b", 733–744. Vall, Linville, and Swenson refer to Symmachus' reading, Swenson suggesting that he deliberately avoided "an association with Jesus" (638).

21 E. g. BDB s.v. כרה I.

22 Similarly, both the Peshitta and the Syrohexapla have بَحَث, "pierce, burst" (see Peshitta 2 Kings 18:21/Isa 36:6, Ezek 29:7 for the latter meaning in the context of a hand being pierced).

23 Cf. HALOT "כ. ברו" under IV ברה, citing G. R. Driver's suggestion "bind together" (citing LXX's use of δέω to render כָּרַת in Ezek 16:3(4), in "Mistranslations", 192–193).

24 Busto Saiz, *Traducción*, 309–310.

Symmachian one, given that both are attested quite early: “like a lion” in a Greek seventh century fragment originating from the Hexapla itself, or “as those seeking to bind” in an eighth century manuscript of the Syrohexapla.²⁵

As well as representing the reading of MT, *ὡς λέων* in Symmachus’ column of the Cairo Genizah fragment accords with several uses of the same phrase *ὡς λέων* in the Septuagint to render *כִּי יִבְרָךְ* or *כִּי יִבְרָכְךָ* (e.g. Gen 49:9; Num 23:24; 24:9; Ps 10:9[9:30]), especially in Ps 7:3 which presents a similar passage concerned about the threat to the speaker’s life from an enemy.²⁶ Moreover, *כִּי יִבְרָךְ* appears earlier in Psalm 22, at v.14, and is rendered there by LXX as *ὡς λέων*, despite the absence of the preposition *כִּי* in this particular case. Thus the Symmachus reading in Ra 2005 *ὡς λέων* corresponds to the text reflected in MT and also with Septuagint renderings of the same phrase elsewhere.

In his edition Charles Taylor attempts an explanation of the discrepancy between the Greek Symmachus reading in Ra 2005 and the Symmachus reading in the margin of the Syrohexapla. He suggests corruption within the Greek majuscule manuscript tradition containing Symmachus’ reading, as follows: ΩCΑΕΩΝΤΑCΧΕΙΡΑCΜΟΥ > ΩCΔΕΩΝΤΑCΧΕΙΡΑCΜΟΥ > ΩCΔΕΟΝΤΕCΧΕΙΡΑCΜΟΥ. This last stage was subsequently paraphrased by the Syriac translator as *ܘܥܠܘܢܬܐ ܕܥܝܪܐܘܨܐܝܐ*. This Syriac was then understandably retroverted in the modern period by Field as *ὡς ζητοῦντες δῆσαι.²⁷

Overall, Taylor’s suggestion has much to commend it, that the Syrohexaplaric reading for Symmachus, “like those seeking to bind”, is based on an early Greek corruption of his original rendering, rather than representing a Hebrew *Vorlage* that read *כִּי יִבְרָכְךָ**. The only point against the explanation would be the Aquila reading in the Syrohexapla *ܘܥܠܘܢܬܐ*, since this also refers to binding: Taylor has also tried to explain this, but less convincingly.²⁸ Another issue is that the resulting sense from the Greek Symmachus reading is “A gathering of malefactors surrounded me like a lion, my hands and my feet”, thus giving a hanging accusative, unless “hands and feet” are meant to be a further object of *περιῆλθον*.

25 There is also a double reading for Aquila in the same place: Eusebius says that Aquila has *ἵσχυναν* (*χεῖρας μου καὶ πόδας μου*) (*Ecl. proph.* p. 86), which Taylor, Field and others have tried to relate to the Hebrew (Taylor, *Palimpsests*, 21–22; Field, *Fragmenta II*, 119, n. 33).

26 *μήποτε ἀρπάσῃ ὡς λέων τὴν ψυχὴν μου* < *כִּי יִבְרָכְךָ ַכִּי יִבְרָכְךָ*

27 Taylor, *Palimpsests*, 22. Vall, “Psalm 22:17B”, 56, suggests that Symmachus’ Syriac rendering resulted from a conflation of two variants that may have co-existed, *ܘܥܠܘܢܬܐ* and *ܘܥܠܘܢܬܐ*.

28 Taylor, *Palimpsests*, 22, including the possibility that Aquila had *ἵσχυναν* (as in the Eusebian reading), which was rendered by the Syrohexapla as *ܘܥܠܘܢܬܐ* and then corrupted to *ܘܥܠܘܢܬܐ*.

Neither reading recorded for Symmachus in v. 17b would support Christian interpretations that linked this psalm to the crucifixion. However, neither is there any reason to think that he chose a rendering purposely in order to subvert contemporary Christian exegesis. The obscurity of the Hebrew form would have been challenge enough to translators to explain.

v. 20: In contrast to the accentuation in MT, the Septuagint breaks the line after the *hapax legomenon* יְהִי לִי כֹחַ, which it treats as the object of אַל-תִּרְחַק, the verb being understood here as a causative (perhaps Hiph'il, “do not make distant/delay my help”). Aquila takes the verb as intransitive, “do not *be* distant”, and יְהִי לִי כֹחַ as vocative, “O my strength!”, either belonging with the preceding or following phrase. However, Symmachus as represented in Ra 2005 does not appear to have anything corresponding to יְהִי לִי כֹחַ, unless the personal pronoun μου somehow represents it.²⁹

An interesting feature of the Septuagint version of the Psalter is the prominence of the word group ἀντιλαμβάνομαι. There is now an excellent HTLS article on this word group in Greek as it pertains to the Septuagint corpus.³⁰ This explains that the verb originally meant “grasp, take hold of, take up”, and the derived sense of “help, assist” appears from Euripides onwards, especially in Hellenistic and Ptolemaic papyri and epigraphy. The verb appears 53 times in the Septuagint corpus, around 40 of which are in the translated books, and 13 times in Psalms, for a wide range of different Hebrew words. The noun ἀντιλή(μ)τωρ “helper, supporter” appears only in around a dozen papyri of the Ptolemaic and Roman period in Egypt. It is used in petitions, as a kind of “courtly language”, addressed to office holders. However it occurs 20 times in the Septuagint corpus, 16 of which are in Psalms, and it is normally used there to refer to God. The noun ἀντιλή(μ)ψις in the sense of “help, support” is used in papyri some 50 times, from the second century BCE. It occurs 17 times in the Septuagint, six of which are in Psalms, and the rest in books such as 2 Maccabees and 3 Maccabees, Sirach, and Psalms of Solomon; again, these are books whose lexicon Symmachus often shares. Once more the main referent is God as the help of Israel and of the individual praying. Thus the use of this ἀντιλαμβάνομαι group for a wide variety of Hebrew terms is a particular feature of the Septuagint Psalter.

In contrast, in what remains of his version Symmachus hardly uses any words from the ἀντιλαμβάνω group, in Psalms or elsewhere. This is in line with the practice of Philo and Josephus, who only employ the verb in its original sense of “take

29 As if related to the preposition לָּ plus 1st pers. sg. suffix? In MT the preposition following רָחַק to indicate distance *from* is normally מִן, and rendered by ἀπό, e.g. Pss 71(70):12; 88(87):19, 109(108):17; Isa 49:19, Lam 1:16; Eccl 3:5. Compare also Peshitta in 22:20, אַל תִּרְחַק מִי אֱלֹהִים “Do not be far from me, El, El!”.

Taylor, *Cairo-Genizah*, 27, believes that Symmachus rendered both יְהִי לִי כֹחַ and יְהִי לִי כֹחַ with πρὸς τὴν βοήθειάν μου.

30 Bons/Carminati/Passoni dell'Acqua/Scialabba, “ἀντιλαμβάνομαι (ἀντιλαμβάνω)”, 823–846.

hold of”; also the New Testament, which does not employ this word group except in allusions to older Scripture in LXX form.³¹ ἀντιλαμβάνομαι and derived nouns, all with the sense of “help”, must have been seen as archaic or odd a century before Symmachus’ time; and so he avoids them.³² In Ps 22(21):20 Symmachus prefers βοήθεια (a word also used by Aquila) to render הַרְיָעָה, over LXX’s ἀντίλημις. But the renderings are switched in Ps 89(88):20, where the Septuagint has βοήθεια and Symmachus ἀντίληψις for, הַרְיָעָה according to Eusebius.³³

v. 21b: Symmachus’ reading for יְחִידִי, the term μονότης, is not found in the Septuagint corpus, the New Testament, Philo, or Josephus. Despite μονογενής being preceded by a feminine article, LXX μονογενής ‘only begotten’ in 22(21):21 was understood by Justin Martyr as a prophetic reference to the Passion of Christ.³⁴ Could Symmachus’ use of μονότης here and in Ps 35(34):17 be an attempt to avoid using μονογενής?³⁵ Or did Symmachus merely consider that “only-begotten” made no sense in the context of defining the unique life of an individual?

The earliest attestation of μονότης seems to be in Alexander of Aphrodisias in his commentary on Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*.³⁶ Alexander flourished around 200 CE, close to the time of Symmachus’ version. The lexeme μονότης also occurs in anti-heretical works by the early patristic writers Hippolytus and Irenaeus, who also lived at a similar period. Both define the term as synonymous with ένότης.³⁷ (Only in the late fourth century does the word μονότης become used to refer to [single-ness” in the sense of celibacy.³⁸)

v. 22: The Septuagint and Symmachus both treat the form as a noun (הוּנַע* or הוּנַע*, cf. v. 25) with a possessive suffix. The Septuagint treats it as referring to

31 Lk 1:54 (in the “Magnificat”); Acts 20:35; 1 Cor 12:28; 1 Tim 6:2: probably all examples of a formal, “bibilicizing” style.

32 In fact Eusebius needs to provide explanations for ἀντίληψις when used theologically (rather than in the sense of intellectual grasp): *Dem. ev.* 10.8.17, 22, and uses the gloss βοήθεια for it in *Dem. ev.* 10.8.89.

33 Eusebius of Caesarea, *Comm. Pss.* PG 23, 1097, citing LXX Ἐθέμην βοήθειαν ἐπὶ δυνατόν and contrasting it with Symmachus’ ἐπέθηκα ἀντίληψιν ἀνδρῶν, for MT רִוַּבְּא־לַעֲרֵי הַרְיָעָה. According to Field, citing Nobilius, in Ps 36(37):17 Symmachus employs ἀντιλαμβάνεται for קָמַח. However, in the absence of further details this cannot be proven.

34 Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 105.1–2, where he says that this part of Psalm 21(22) was prophetic of events to come, since Christ was the only-begotten of the Father of all (μονογενής γὰρ ὅτι ἦν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὄλων οὗτος).

35 Aquila has μοναχὴν μου in both instances.

36 οὕτως καὶ ἡ μονότης τοῦ καθ’ αὐτὸ ὑπάρχοντος δηλωτικῆ· ὁ γὰρ μόνω ὑπάρχει, καὶ καθ’ αὐτὸ ὑπάρχειν ἐκεῖνω δοκεῖ (ed. Hayduck, *Commentaria*, 416 [end]).

37 Hippolytus, *Philosophumena/Ref. haer.* 6.38.2 and 6.38.49; Irenaeus, *adv. Haer.* 1.5.2. “Ἔστι τις πρὸ πάντων προαρχή, προανεννόητος, ἀρρήτος τε καὶ ἀνονόμαστος, ἣν ἐγὼ μονότητα ἀριθμῶ [...]. Αὕτη ἡ ένότης, ἣ τε μονότης [...] ἣ τε μονότης καὶ ένότης [...].

38 Epiphanius, *Panarion*, ed. Holl, *Epiphanius* I, 445; II, 402; III, 521.

humility or a humbled state (ταπεινώσις), a word used elsewhere in the corpus for אָנָה.³⁹ Symmachus prefers κάκωσις here, perhaps because although it is also used in LXX renderings for אָנָה as well as אָנָה, it better conveys in the context of this psalm the sense of suffering ill-treatment at the hands of another, as it does in LXX Exod 3:7, 17. The lexeme κάκωσις also appears in LXX Isaiah, Wisdom of Solomon, and Sirach;⁴⁰ it has been noted in the past that Sym.’s vocabulary often aligns with that of these books.⁴¹

In contrast Aquila’s εἰσάκουσον μου reflects MT’s interpretation of the form as verb plus object suffix, אָנָה אָנָה “answer me”, though for him, the rendering is unusually free: perhaps he deliberately chose a more respectful way of supplicating God?

v.23: Symmachus’ rendering of אָנָה with πλῆθος is somewhat surprising. Septuagint translators frequently render words such as אָנָה and אָנָה, both of which are often used in the Hebrew Bible of non-human subjects in large groups, or of non-Israelite nations, with πλῆθος, which like its Hebrew counterparts has neutral or rather negative connotations.⁴² In contrast, אָנָה is normally positive, often used of a smaller and select gathering, especially in a context of praise such as this one. Here in 22(21):23 its Septuagint translation ἐκκλησία (also in Aquila) is in line with many other books of the translated corpus.⁴³ It is hard to see why Symmachus would revise this rendering to πλῆθος, with connotations from “multitude” to “rabble”. However, 1 Esdras uses πλῆθος several times for the gathering of returned exiles in Jerusalem who assemble to hear the Law.⁴⁴ It also occurs in 1 Macc 8, and in 2 Macc and 3 Macc, of a gathering of Jewish people.⁴⁵ Symmachus’ rendering here in Ps 22(21) reflects this later, more positive sense of πλῆθος also attested in later Jewish Greek usage.⁴⁶ It is just possible that the choice marks an avoidance of Septuagint wording that is cited in the New Testament, at Heb 2:12b (ἐν μέσῳ ἐκκλησίας ὑμνήσω σε), but Symmachus made no change to the preceding part of

39 Gen 16:11; 29:32; 31:42; 41:52; Deut 26:7; 1 Sam 1:11; 2 Kgs 14:26; Neh 9:9; Ps 9:14; 25(24):18; 31(30):8; 119(118):50, 92, 153; Lam 1:3, 7, 9.

40 LXX Isa 53:4 ἐν κακώσει for אָנָה; Wisd 3:2; Sir 11:27; 13:12, 29:12. Also in LXX Pss 17(18):19 (for 20:(44)43 ; אָנָה (for אָנָה).

41 Fernández Marcos, *Septuagint*, 134–135.

42 Forms with prepositions such as אָנָה, אָנָה, אָנָה are neutral and indicate a very large number.

43 LXX Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, 1–2 Kings, Jeremiah, Joel, Micah, Job, and in several other places in Psalms (22[21]:26; 26[25]:5; 35[34]:18; 40[39]:10; 89[88]:6; 107[106]:32; 149:1). The other regular Septuagint equivalent is of course συναγωγή, preferred by Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers, but also used for אָנָה (e.g. in Joshua).

44 1 Esdras 8:88; 9:6, 10–12, 38, 40–41, 45, 47–49.

45 2 Macc 11:16; 12:42; 3 Macc 1:24; 7:13; cf. Sir 7:7 πλῆθος πολέως, NRSV “the general public”. Symmachus also uses πλῆθος for אָנָה in Ps 34/35:18, in contrast to LXX, Aquila, and *Quinta* who each have ἐκκλησία (ed. Mercati, *Codex rescriptus*, 55).

46 See also Muraoka, *Lexicon*, 562, who identifies the later sense “4. organised body of members”, citing Sir 7:7, 1 Esd 9:4, 2 Macc 11:16, 14:20.

Ps 21:23 which the author of Hebrews also placed in the mouth of Christ, speaking of “my brothers”. So alteration for theological reasons seems unlikely, and in v. 17 Symmachus does not avoid using the term *συναγωγή* in the negative context of a group of evil-doers.

Other lexical choices in this psalm that are shared with later books of the Septuagint corpus, both translated and non-translated include *ἔσθής* (contrasting with LXX *ἰματισμός* and Aquila *ἔνδυσίς*)⁴⁷ and *λαγχάνω* (LXX and Aquila *βάλλω κλήρον*, for *גִּזְרֵי לִילְהִי*), both in v. 19.⁴⁸ The verb *λαγχάνω* is used in John 19:24 of the soldiers casting lots for Jesus’ clothes, before the citation of LXX Ps 21:19, and this is a clear case where the avoidance of support for Christian interpretations plays no role in Symmachus’ revision.

Stylistic syntactical features in the psalm include the use of a genitive absolute construction in v. 18 (*ἔξαριθμοῦντός μου τὰ ὀστᾶ μου*).⁴⁹ We also find renderings of the Hebrew imperfect as Greek imperfects, narrating continuous action in the past in 22:18–19 (*κατενόουν ἐνέβλεπον* for *יִרְיִי וְיִטְיִי*; *διενέμοντο* for *יִקְהִי*; *ἐλάγχανον* for *יִפְּלוּ*); yet Symmachus uses an aorist (*κατήγεγκάς με*) in v. 16 for another Hebrew imperfect *יִגְּתִי וְיִשְׁפֹּתִי*, probably because the sense indicates a single action in the past.

2. Conclusion

To sum up, overall, there is no evidence that Symmachus made the changes he did in Psalm 21(22) to combat early Christian uses and interpretations of that text. It is possible to argue that he merely followed the emerging standard Hebrew text, improved on the style of Aquila, and avoided some of the older expressions of the Septuagint.

What function would Symmachus’ version of Psalms have had? Was it merely a study tool to access the Hebrew, as Aquila’s version seems to have been, or did it play a part in the liturgy of Greek-speaking synagogues, for instance in Caesarea Maritima,⁵⁰ as the stylistic focus might suggest? Without further finds from his version beyond those of the Cairo Genizah and Milan Hexaplaric palimpsests –

47 As in 1 Esd 8:68, 70, and 2 Macc 8:35, 11:8.

48 3 Macc 6:1, Wisd.8:19, though neither of these uses occurs in the sense of casting lots but of obtaining a good old age and a good soul, respectively (cf. 2 Pet 1:1). However, Lk 1:9 and Acts 1:17 use *λαγχάνω* to refer to the casting of lots.

49 Taylor, *Palimpsests*, 25, referencing Field’s *Prolegomena* III.4.1, p. xxxi, who gives other examples of the use of the gen. abs. by Symmachus in Psalms (28/27:1; 9:4; 30/29:10).

50 *J. Sotah* 71, 21b:

רבי לוי בר חיתה אזל לקיסרין שמע קלון קריין שמע אלוניסתין בעא מעכבתון. שמע רבי ייסי ואיקפד אמר כן
אומר אני מי שאינו יודע לקרות אשורית לא יקרינה כל עיקר. אלא יוצא בכל לשון שהוא יודע

such as a fragment from a clearly Jewish source that is more extensive than *P. Vindob.* 39777,⁵¹ or a synagogue inscription⁵² – we may never know.

Appendix: Studies Covering Symmachus' Version of the Psalms

- Busto Saiz, José Ramón, *La traducción de Símaco en el libro de los Salmos* (TECC 22; Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1985).⁵³
- Ceulemans, Reinhart, "Unknown Hexaplaric Readings of Ezekiel, Isaiah and Psalms, offered by Apollinaris of Laodicea", *ZAW* 123 (2011) 406–423.⁵⁴
- Geiger, Abraham, "Symmachus, der Übersetzer der Bibel", *Jüdische Zeitschrift für Wissenschaft und Leben* 1 (1862) 39–64.⁵⁵
- Lust, Johan, "A Lexicon of Symmachus' Special Vocabulary in his Translation of the Psalms", *TC: A Journal of Biblical Textual Criticism* 5 (2000), online only, see <http://www.jbtc.org/v05/Lust2000.html> (last access: 15.08.2023).⁵⁶
- Meer, Michaël N. van der, "Symmachus", in A. G. Salvesen/T. M. Law (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Septuagint* (Oxford Handbooks; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021) 469–480.
- Mulder, Stefan, "A conquering of animals': Symmachus' depoliticising translation re-examined", in W. Kraus/M. Meiser (ed.), *Die Septuaginta – Orte und Intentionen* (WUNT 361; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016) 437–447.⁵⁷

"R. Levi bar Hita went to Caesarea and heard people reciting the Shema in Greek [*Ellenisti*]. He tried to prevent them. Rabbi Jose heard and was angry. He said, 'I declare: whoever does not know how to recite in Hebrew [*Ashurit*], should he not recite it at all? Rather, he fulfills it in any language he knows'. The Shema' appears in "Aquilanic" Greek on a sixth or seventh century amulet, along with Ps 90(91):1 and Deut 11:13–21, though its provenance is unknown: Benovitz, "Psalm 91:1", 143–172.

- 51 See Albrecht, "Bibelübersetzung", especially 227 and n. 80, where he notes the existence of references to manuscripts of Symmachus in a private library of the 16th century in Greece. It would be wonderful if these were ever recovered.
- 52 See Dimitrios Papanikolaou's contribution in the present volume, "The Psalms in Postclassical Greek Epigraphy", n. 16. However, Constantine Zuckerman's suggestion that an inscription from Nicea is from the version of Symmachus in Psalms is not convincing. In fact the inscription may derive from Aquila's version instead (Zuckerman, "Psalm 135:25"; see Salvesen, "Psalm 135(136).25").
- 53 Discusses the translation technique displayed by Symmachus in the continuous texts of his version in Psalms.
- 54 *Ibidem* pp. 420–421: Ps 39(40):6 attributed to Aquila by Apollinaris but perhaps conflated with that attributed to Symmachus in other sources.
- 55 Brief discussion of short phrases in Symmachus' renderings in Psalms pp. 43–44, 46–47, 53, 60–61, but these pre-date the extensive finds with fuller readings in the editions of Field, Taylor, and Wessely.
- 56 With test case of ἀδημονέω. NB: Uses pre-Unicode fonts.
- 57 On Symmachus' renderings of Pss 2:12; 69(68):3; 110(109):1–2, pp. 442–443.

- Schoeps, Hans-Joachim, “Die Spuren ebionitischer Theologie in der Bibelübersetzung des Symmachus” (*Coniectanea Neotestamentica* 6: Seminarium Neotestamenticum Upsalense: Uppsala, 1942) 65–93; repr. in H.-J. Schoeps, “Symmachusstudien”, in: id., *Aus frühchristlicher Zeit. Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1950) 82–119.⁵⁸
- , “Mythologisches bei Symmachus” *Biblica* 26 (1945) 100–111; repr. in H.-J. Schoeps, “Symmachusstudien”, in: id., *Aus frühchristlicher Zeit. Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1950) 82–119.⁵⁹
- , “Symmachus und der Midrasch” *Biblica* 29 (1948) 31–51; repr. in H.-J. Schoeps, “Symmachusstudien”, in: id., *Aus frühchristlicher Zeit. Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1950) 82–119.⁶⁰

3. Bibliography

- Albrecht, Felix, “Die alexandrinische Bibelübersetzung. Einsichten zur Entstehungs-, Überlieferungs- und Wirkungsgeschichte der Septuaginta“, in T. Georges/F. Albrecht/ R. Feldmeier (ed.), *Alexandria* (Civitatium Orbis Mediterranei Studia 1; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013) 209–243.
- Barthélemy, Dominique, *Critique textuelle de l’Ancien Testament. Tome 4. Psaumes* (OBO 50/4; Fribourg/Göttingen: Academic Press/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2005).
- Benovitz, Nancy, “Psalm 91:1 and the Rabbinic Shema’ in Greek on a Byzantine Amuletic Armband”, *Textus* 26 (2016) 143–172.
- Bons, Eberhard/Carminati, M./Passoni dell’Acqua, A./Scialabba, Daniela, “ἀντιλαμβάνομαι (ἀντιλαμβάνω), συναντιλαμβάνομαι, ἀντιλή(μ)τωρμ ἀντίλ(η)ψις”, in E. Bons (ed.), *Historical and Theological Lexicon of the Septuagint, Vol. 1 Alpha–Gamma* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2020) 823–846.
- Busto Saiz, José Ramón, *La traducción de Símaco en el libro de los Salmos* (TECC 22; Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1985).
- Capelle, Paul, “Fragments du Psautier d’Aquila?” *RBén* 28 (1911) 64–68.
- Ceriani, Antonio Maria, *Codex Syro-hexaplaris Ambrosianus, photolithographice editus, curante et adnotante* (Monumenta sacra et profana 7; Milan: Biblioteca Ambrosiana, 1874).
- DeClaissé-Walford, Nancy L./Jacobson, Rolf A./Tanner, Beth LaNeel, *The Book of Psalms* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, Michigan, 2014).

58 On renderings of Pss 7:12; 44(43):24; 63(62):3; 74(73):2; 78(77):36, 60; rendering of אֲבִיבִין by πέννης Pss 72(71):12; 107(106):41 and elsewhere; of עַי by πτωχός Pss 88(87):16; 102(101):1.

59 Ibidem pp. 100–104; θεομάχοι as a rendering for רַפְּאִים in Ps 88(87):11; Job 26:5; Prov 9:18; 21:16; p. 108 on σύνδοξ θεοῦ for לַאֲבִיבִין in Ps 82(81):1.

60 Ibidem pp. 31–32 on προσλαλεῖν for פִּישׁ in Ps 27(26):7; pp. 47–48 on Ps 139(138):18 ἐξυπνώσω καὶ εἶς ἀεὶ ἔσομαι μετὰ σοῦ or παρὰ σοί.

- Devreesse, Robert, *Le Commentaire de Théodore de Mopsueste sur les Psaumes (I–LXXX)* (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Studi e testi 93; Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1939).
- Dorival, Gilles, “L’apport des chaînes exégétiques grecques à une réédition des ‘Hexaples’ d’Origène”, *Revue d’histoire des Textes* 4 (1974) 45–74.
- Driver, Godfrey Rolles, “Mistranslations”, *Expository Times* 57/7 (1946) 192–193.
- Fernández Marcos, Natalio, *The Septuagint in Context. Introduction to the Greek Versions of the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2000).
- Field, Frederick (ed.), *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt; sive, veterum interpretum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta: Post Flaminium Nobilium, Drusium, et Montefalconium, adhibita etiam versione Syro-Hexaplari, Tomus II: Jobus – Malachias. Auctarium et Indices.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1875).
- Gaisford, Thomas, *Eusebii Pamphili episcopi Caesariensis eclogae propheticae* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1842).
- Gruber, Mayer Irwin (ed.), *Rashi’s Commentary on Psalms* (The Brill Reference Library of Ancient Judaism 18; Philadelphia, PA: JPS, 2007).
- Hayduck, Michael (ed.), *Alexandri Aphrodisiensis in Aristotelis metaphysica commentaria* (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 1; Berlin: Reimer, 1891).
- Hiebert, Robert J. V., “Syriac Biblical Textual History and the Greek Psalter”, in R. J. V. Hiebert/C. Cox/P. J. Gentry (ed.), *The Old Greek Psalter. Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma* (JSOTSS 332; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000) 178–204.
- Holl, Karl (ed.), *Epiphanius, Bände 1–3: Ancoratus und Panarion* (GCS 25, 31, 37; Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1:1915; 2:1922; 3:1933).
- Kaltner, John, “Psalm 22:17b: Second Guessing ‘The Old Guess’”, *JBL* 117 (1998) 503–506.
- Klostermann, Erich, “Die Mailänder Fragmente der Hexapla”, *ZAW* 16 (1896) 334–337.
- Linville, James R., “Psalm 22:17b: A New Guess”, *JBL* 124 (2005) 733–744.
- Mercati, Giovanni, *Alla ricerca dei nomi degli “altri” traduttori nelle omelie sui salmi di S. Giovanni Crisostomo e variazioni su alcune catene del Salterio* (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Studi e testi 158; Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1952).
- , “Frammenti di Aquila o di Simmaco?” *RB* 8 (1911) 266–272.
- (ed.), *Psalterii hexapli reliquiae, Pars prima, Codex rescriptus Bybliothecae Ambrosianae O 39 sup. phototypice expressus et transcriptus; «Osservazioni» Commento critico al testo dei frammenti esaplari* (Codices ex ecclesiasticis Italiae bybliothechis delecti phototypice expressi 8,1/2; Rome: Bybliothecha Vaticana, 1958–1965).
- Muraoka, Takamitsu, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009).
- Perrone, Lorenzo/Molin Pradel, Marina/Prinzivalli, Emanuela/Cacciari, Antonio (ed.), *Die neuen Psalmenhomilien: eine kritische Edition des Codex Monacensis Graecus 314* (GCS 19; Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2015).
- Salvesen, Alison, “Psalm 135(136).25 in a Jewish Greek inscription from Nicea”, in G. A. Khan (ed.), *Semitic Studies in Honour of Edward Ullendorff* (Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 47; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2005) 212–221.

- Schenker, Adrian, *Hexaplarische Psalmenbruchstücke: Die hexaplarischen Psalmenfragmente der Handschriften Vaticanus graecus 752 und Canonicianus graecus 62* (OBO 8; Freiburg/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975).
- Strawn, Brent A., “Psalm 22:17b: More Guessing”, *JBL* 119 (2000) 439–451.
- Swenson, Kristin M., “Psalm 22:17: Circling round the problem again”, *JBL* 123 (2004) 637–648.
- Taylor, Charles, *Hebrew-Greek Cairo-Genizah Palimpsests from the Taylor-Schechter Collection, including a fragment of the Twenty-Second Psalm* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900).
- Tov, Emanuel, “P. Vindob. G 39777 (Symmachus) and the Use of the Divine Names in Greek Scripture Texts” on academia.edu: https://www.academia.edu/29198634/293_P_Vindob_G_39777_Symmachus_and_the_Use_of_the_Divine_Names_in_Greek_Scripture_Texts_http_orion_msc_huji_ac_il_symposiums_15th_papers_Tov_pdf (last access: 15.08.2023).
- Vall, Gregory, “Psalm 22:17B: The Old Guess”, *JBL* 116 (1997) 45–56.
- Wessely, Charles, *Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde. Griechische und koptische Texte theologischen Inhalts* (Bd. 2., Studien zur Palaeographie und Papyruskunde 11; Leipzig: Eduard Avenarius, 1911).
- , “Un nouveau fragment de la version grecque du Vieux Testament par Aquila”, in *Mélanges offerts à M. Emile Châtelain* (Paris: Champion, 1910) 224–229.
- Zuckerman, Constantine, “Psalms 135:25 in Symmachus’ translation on a Jewish inscription from Nicaea (Iznik)”, *Scripta Classica Israelica* 20 (2001), 105–111.

