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ST. JEROME ON THE PSALMS.

DOM MORIN needs no introduction to readers of the EXPOSITOR. To liturgical students he is known as the editor of *Liber Comicus*; patristic students owe him a greater debt for the recovery of an early Latin version of the Epistle of St. Clement. His latest work, while dealing with another patristic text, contains materials of special importance for the student of the Old Testament. It is from that point of view that I propose to offer a few remarks upon it here.

The new part of the *Anecdota Maredsolana*<sup>1</sup> is not, strictly speaking, an anecdoton: the greater part of Jerome's Notes on the Psalter has long been accessible in the *Breviarium in Psalmos* which appears among his printed works. From a table supplied by the editor of the *Anecdota* (III. i., p. xii.) it appears that not more than two-fifths of the *Commentarioli* are actually new. But the Hieronymian matter of the *Breviarium* is so interlarded with later comments, that hitherto it has been precarious to claim any part of the book as the genuine work of Jerome. Only in the case of a single Psalm (cxxxviii.) has the *Breviarium* preserved the original text without adulteration. This fact may be taken as the measure of the gain which we derive from the present publication even in regard to those portions of the Notes which are not now printed for the first time. The comments upon some fifty psalms, chiefly in the second half of the Psalter, are absolutely new.

Cardinal Pitra (*Analecta Sacra*, ii. 395) calls attention to a passage in which Jerome (ep. cxii.) furnishes a text of Greek

<sup>1</sup> "Anecdota Maredsolana vol. iii. p. 1 . . Sancti Hieronymi presbyteri qui deperditi hactenus putabantur commentarioli in Psalmos. Edidit, commentaria critica instruxit, prolegomena et indices adiecit D. Germanus Morin, Presbyter et monachus Ord. S. Benedicti Maredsolensis. Maredsoli . . 1895."

and Latin expositors of the Psalms anterior to himself. Of Greek commentators, Jerome counts up six—Origen, Eusebius, Theodore of Heraclea, Asterius, Apollinaris of Laodicea, Didymus; of Latins, three—Hilary of Poitiers, Eusebius of Vercellae, and Ambrose. Origen was not, however, as Pitra points out, the earliest of the Greek expositors; he was preceded by Hippolytus, whose name frequently occurs in the *catenae*. Yet if Origen was not first in the field, his works were certainly the source upon which the Greek expositors who followed him principally drew; and as for the Latins, Jerome fully admits their obligations to the great Alexandrian. Jerome's Notes plead guilty to the same indictment. He professes himself dissatisfied with the *Enchiridion*, but admits that his book is more or less a compilation from Origen's larger works upon the Psalms; "ex quae in tomis vel in homiliis ipse disseruit . . . in hunc angustum commentariolum referam." It would be easy, however, to overestimate Jerome's indebtedness to Origen. Much in these Notes bears the stamp of the Latin Father's own mind; his learning shews itself in references to Josephus, Tertullian, Lactantius; more than once he refers to his personal study of the Hexapla, and the criticisms passed upon the text of the LXX., the citations from the other Greek versions, the corrections of the Greek based upon the current Hebrew, are probably due, at least in great part, to Jerome himself.

As we might have expected, the Notes are largely occupied with *allegoria* and *prophetia*, and supporters of the *historia* who neglect the deeper sense are condemned (pp. 10, 39, 42, 75, 78). Many of the Psalms are characterized as Messianic. Psalm i. is to be interpreted, not in reference to Josiah, but as fulfilled in the *adsumptus homo*; a severe censure is passed upon expositors who regard Esther as the speaker in Psalm xxi. (=xxii.); Psalms lxviii. (=lxix.) and lxxi. (=lxxii.) are considered as exclusively

applicable to Christ. Yet an effort is made to determine the occasion of each psalm from its title, and sometimes the historical interpretation is the only one allowed, even when it involves a quaintness which borders on absurdity (cf. *e.g.* the explanation of Psalm lxxvii. (=lxxviii.) 66 by a reference to 1 Sam. v. 6, 9 (LXX.)). In the same spirit the traditional interpretation of Psalm xcvi. (=xcix.) 5, *προσκυνεῖτε τῷ ὑποπόδιῳ τῶν ποδῶν αὐτοῦ*, is, notwithstanding the authority of Athanasius, rejected in favour of a more natural exegesis.

The Notes contain interesting remarks on various topics connected with the Psalter, such as the division of the Psalms into books (pp. 46, 59), and the existence of alphabetical and metrical Psalms (pp. 37, 81, 82, 85, 98). Historical and geographical information is occasionally interspersed; there are references to the age of persecution (p. 23), and to the ancient discipline of the Church (p. 93); we learn (p. 90) that Bethlehem still bore the name of Ephrata; Psalm lxxiii. (=lxxiv.) 4 is explained by a Babylonian custom of fixing trophies over city gates; there is a liturgical note of some importance (p. 76 f.) on the Jewish and Christian use of *Alleluia* in the recitation of the Psalter. Lastly, several passages possess dogmatic interest, *e.g.* a condemnation of Traducianism (p. 41); a statement that the wrath of God is purely corrective (pp. 7, 51); references to the doctrine of the "captivity of souls" (pp. 58, 93). Psalm ciii. (=civ.) 24 is quoted against Marcionite and Manichean error; Psalm cxlv. (=cxlvi.) against Novatianism; Psalm cix. (=cx.) 1 is defended against Arian misinterpretation.

Several of these incidental remarks are attractive, and deserve careful handling. But for the present I must be content merely to direct attention to them, limiting myself to the materials which the Notes supply to the student of the text of the Psalter. These will fall under two heads;

(1) corrections or elucidations of the Greek Psalter from the current Hebrew; (2) contributions to our knowledge of the Hexapla.

(1) *Corrections of the LXX. from the Hebrew.*

- ii. 12. *δράξασθε παιδείας.* "The Hebrew may be rendered *adornate filium.*" Jerome does not refer to the alternative *adornate pure*, which he adopts in the "Hebrew" Psalter.
- iv. 3. *Selah* is either a musical note, or, as Aquila's *ἀεί* suggests, a sign of perpetuity. It is not a pause in the music, since in ix. 17 we meet with *ὠδὴ διαψάλματος*, which implies the opposite.
- vii., title. *Χουσεὶ υἱοῦ Ἰεμενεὶ.* Not = X. *ὁ τοῦ Ἀραχεί* (2 Regn. xvii. 5), whose name, Jerome says, is spelt with a *ϐ*. *Cush* here = *Αἰθίοψ*, i.e., Saul, who as a Benjamite was a *υἱὸς Ἰεμενεὶ*, and who is called an Ethiopian "propter sanguinarios et tetros et crudeles mores."
- vii. 10, 11. The Hebrew punctuates after *יְיָ*, "The righteous God trieth the hearts and reins." The LXX. wrongly transfers it to the beginning of the next verse (*δικαία ἡ βοήθεια μου*).
- vii. 12 (= 11). LXX. *μὴ ὀργὴν ἐπάγων.* Aquila's *ἐμβριμώμενος* is truer to the Hebrew (*עָוָה*). As interpreted by the LXX., the clause is read by Jerome interrogatively: *numquid irascitur?*
- xviii. 6 (= xix. 5). LXX. *ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ ἔθετο τὸ σκῆνωμα αὐτοῦ.* The Hebrew suggests *τῷ ἡλίῳ ἔθετο τὸ σκ. ἐν αὐτοῖς.*
- xix. (= xx.) 10. LXX. *καὶ ἐπάκουσον ἡμῶν.* Hebrew, "Who (i.e. the King) shall hear us."
- xx. (= xxi.) 13. LXX. *ἐν τοῖς περιλοίοις σου ἐτοιμάσεις τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῶν.* Jerome wishes to sub-

stitute ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς σου ("pro reliquiis in Hebraeo bonis habet"). He is probably thinking of Aquila's rendering, which Field prints ἐν τοῖς κάλοις; in the Syriac, however, it is given as ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς. Perhaps the two senses of קָלִי led to a confusion. In the "Hebrew" Psalter Jerome translates correctly: *funes tuos firmabis.*

- xxi. 2 (=xxii. 1). There is nothing in the Hebrew to answer to πρόσχες μοι, and the Gospels justify the omission (ἐλωί ἐλωί λεμὰ σαβαχθανεί). So Euseb. *ad loc.*, ἀκριβῶς καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς φωνῆς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν περιέλειπται.
- xxiii. (=xxiv.) 7, 9. LXX. ἄρατε πύλας, οἱ ἄρχοντες ἡμῶν. Hebrew, "Lift up your heads, ye gates."
- xxxvi. (=xxxvii.) 38. LXX. τὰ ἐγκαταλίμματα τῶν ἀσεβῶν. Hebrew, "the latter end (לְאַחֲרֵי, *novissima*) of the wicked."
- li. (=lii.) title. Jerome, who reads in his text of the LXX., εἰς τὸν οἶκον Ἀχιμέλεχ, remarks that in 1 Samuel xxi. and in the Hebrew of this Psalm the name is spelt Abimelech; the confusion, he adds, arises from the interchange of א and ב. Eusebius (cited by Morin) makes the same statement.
- lxxvi. (=lxxvii.), title. LXX. ὑπὲρ Ἰδιθούμ. The Hebrew (יִדִּיתֹון), according to Jerome, means "by Idithun," *i.e.*, a Psalm of his composition. Jerome goes on to say that the words τῷ Ἀσάφ ψαλμός are wanting in *veris exemplaribus*. They are present in nearly all our MSS. of the LXX., and neither Kenicott nor De Rossi notes their omission by any Hebrew MS.
- lxxxvi. (=lxxxvii.) 4. The spelling of Rahab here is stated by Jerome to be identical with that of the name in Joshua ii. He seems to have been misled by the LXX., which has Παάβ in both places.

- lxxxvii. (= lxxxviii.) 11. LXX. ἡ ἰατροὶ ἀναστήσουσιν ; Jerome notes that **אִנְפָּרַי**, "aut gigantas significat aut medicos."
- xciii. (= xciv.) has no title in the Hebrew. The interesting liturgical note in the LXX. (*ψαλμὸς . . τετραδάδι σαββάτων*) is consequently dismissed without comment ("unde superfluum est de titulo disputare").
- xcix. (= c.) 3. LXX. καὶ οὐχ ἡμεῖς. Hebrew, "and we are His." Jerome does not recognise the reading of the K'thib (**אֲנִי**).
- cxiv. (= cxvi. 9). Hebrew, "I will walk" (**אֲלֶכְתִּי**). LXX., *εὐαρεστήσω*. Cf. Genesis v. 22 (Heb. xi. 6).
- cxv. 2 (= cxvi. 11). LXX. πᾶς ἄνθρωπος ψεύστης. Hebrew, "falsehood." Jerome follows Symmachus (? Aquila) in taking **כִּזְב** as a noun, yet he represents it by *Kiuzhb*, which is nearer to **כִּזְבִּי** (as D. Morin suggests), or even to **כִּזְבִּי**, than to **כִּזְבִּי**.
- cxix. (cxx.) 4. LXX. σὺν τοῖς ἀνθραξιν τοῖς ἐρημικοῖς. Jerome would correct after the Hebrew *τοῖς ἀρκευθίνοις*. The correction, which is given in Greek, is probably from Aquila. See Field *ad loc.*
- cxxiii. (= cxxiv.) 5. LXX. τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἀνυπόστατον. The comment is: "Verbum *ἀνυπ.* apud *Hebraeos* ambiguum est et potest sonare 'quod non subsistat' et 'quod intolerabile sit.'" Correct, from the *Breviarium*, "apud Graecos"; the Hebrew (**אֵי מַיִם לֹא יָסִידוּן**) presents no such ambiguity.
- cxxvi. (= cxxvii.) 4. LXX. οἱ υἱοὶ τῶν ἐκτεταγαγμένων. Jerome compares 2 Esdr. xiv. 16 (= Neh. iv. 10), where ἡμισυ τῶν ἐκτεταγαγμένων represents **חֲמִישִׁי נְעָרִים**. He might have added Nehemiah v. 15, οἱ ἐκτεταγαγμένοι αὐτῶν (**חֲמִישִׁי נְעָרִים**); in both places, however, there is a variant (iv. 10, *ἐκτεταγαγμένων* **אֵל**, v. 15 *ἐκτεταγαγμένοι* **אֵל**).

cxxxvi. (=cxxxvii.) 8. Hebrew, "O daughter of Babylon" ("pro genetivo casu vocativum in Hebraeo habet").

(2) *Contributions to knowledge of the Hexapla.*

- i. 4. ἀπὸ προσώπου τῆς γῆς: "nec hoc quidem in veteribus habetur exemplaribus," *i.e.*, in the Hexapla and in copies taken from it.
- iv. 8. καὶ ἐλαίου αὐτῶν: "nec in Hebraeo nec in ceteris editionibus (Aq., Symm., Th., etc.) nec apud ipsos quoque LXX. interpretes (the Hexaplaric recension) repperi."
- vii., title. "Aquila...*pro ignoratione David, quod cecinit Domino pro verbis Aethiopsis* (= ὑπὲρ ἀγνοίας τῶ Δ. ὃν ᾗσεν τῶ κυρίῳ ὑπὲρ τῶν λόγων [τοῦ] Αἰθίοπος). Symmachus...*pro ignoratione David q. c. D. p. v. Chusi filii Iemini* (= ὕ. ἀ. τῶ Δ. ὃν ᾗσεν τῶ κ. ὕ. τ. λ. Χουσεὶ υἱοῦ Ἰεμεεὶ).
- xi. (=xii.) 3. Symm. *in corde aliud est et aliud loquitur* (? = ἐν καρδίᾳ ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο λαλεῖ). Field after Chrys. gives for Symm. ἐν κ. ἄλλη καὶ ἄλλη λ.
- xxi. (=xxii.) 2. "Quinta et sexta editio *verba clamoris mei*." Field's note is Θ. Ε'. οἱ λόγοι τῆς βοήσεως μου.
- xxi. (=xxii.) 3. "Aquila ... *et non tacebis (καὶ οὐ σιωπήσῃ)*." Field quotes from Montfaucon: 'Α. καὶ οὐκ ἔστι σιγή, but Jerome's statement is confirmed by the margin of a Vatican MS. cited by Pitra, *Analecta Sacra*, iii. 558.
- xxi. (=xxii.) 17. "Aq. et Th. *venatores interpretati sunt*." Field, after Montfaucon, gives 'Α. Σ. θηραταί, Θ. κύνες," adding from the same source, "Drusius vero 'Α. Θ. *κυνηγέται*." He remarks: "Vereor ne utriusque lectiones pendeant a Pseudo-Hier." For

- the present it must remain uncertain whether *θηραται* or *κυνηγέται* is the true representative of Jerome's *venatores*; possibly Aq. had *θ.*, and Th. *κ.*
- lxxiii. (= lxxiv.) 4. "Symm. *posuerunt signa sua manifeste in edito introitu portarum.*" Field gives (from Eusebius) Σ. ἔθηκαν τὰ σημεῖα αὐτῶν ἐπισήμως γνώριμα κατὰ τὴν εἴσοδον ἐπάνω (= γνώριμον εἰς τὴν εἰσ. ὑπεράνω in Cord., *Caten.*, ii. 531).
- lxxxvi. (= lxxxvii.) 5. According to Jerome, the true reading of the LXX. is *μη τῆ Σειῶν*, and *MHTHP* is a scribe's error. Comp. Pitra, *Anal. Sacr.*, iii. 559, τὸ ῥῶ κατὰ προσθήκην ἔκειτο εἰς τὴν τῶν ο' ἐν τῷ τετρασελίδῳ· ἐν δὲ τῷ ὀκτασελίδῳ *MH TH Σ.*
- lxxxvii. (= lxxxviii.) 11. "Symmachus...*transtulit aut Rafaim theomachi resurgentes confitebuntur tibi?*" (= ἡ 'Ραφαεῖμ θεομάχοι ἀνιστάμενοι ἐξομολογήσονται σοι). Field, who gives the above rendering without 'Ραφ., suggests that Symm. may have had *γίγαντες θεομάχοι.*
- lxxxviii. (= lxxxix.) 11. "Aquila *impetum* (= ὄρμημα; cf. Ps. xxxix. 5, lxxxvi. 4, Isa. xxx. 7, li. 9), Symmachus *adrogantiam* (= ἀλαζονείαν; cf. Job ix. 13, xxvi. 12, Isa. li. 9), Theodotion *superbiam* (= ὑπερηφανίαν), *sexta tumultum* (= ? θόρυβον).
- lxxxix. (xc.) 9. LXX. τὰ ἔτη ἡμῶν ὡς ἀραχνη (ἀράχνη B<sup>N</sup>) ἐμελέτων. "Melius Aquila . . . *anni nostri similes loquenti*" (= ? τὰ ἔτη ἡμῶν ὁμοία φωνοῦντι).
- cvii. (= cviii.) 10. LXX. ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν ἐκτενῶ τὸ ὑπόδημά μου. "Aquila *proiciam*" (= ῥίψω, cf. Aq. in Ps. xlix. 17).
- cxv. (= cxvi. 10-19). "Hunc psalmum quinta et sexta editio cum superioribus copulant, Symmachus vero et LXX. interpretes dividunt." Field quotes this, but as from "Pseudo-Jerome."
- cxv. 2 (= cxvi. 11). "Symmachus *mendacium*" (= διά-

- ψευσμα). Field, following Theodoret, attributes *διάψευσμα* to Aquila, and *διαψεύδεται* to Symmachus.
- cxxiii. (cxxiv.) 5. "Aq. et Symm. et Th. et omnes interpretes *superbas aquas et adrogantes*" (= τὰ ὕδατα τὰ ὑπερήφανα).
- cxxxi. (cxxxii.) 15. "Pro *vidua, χήρα*, et *Hebraea volumina et ipsi LXX. θήραν habent...Symmachus et Aquila cibaria interpretata sunt.*" *Θήραν* appears to have been the reading of the Hexaplaric Psalter. Theodoret (see Field) vouches for *Σ. τὴν σίτησιν*, but *ἐπισιτισμόν* was the general rendering in Genesis xlv. 21 (Jerome *ad l.*), and is attributed to Aquila here.
- cxxxiii. (=cxxxiv.) 1. The words *ἐν αὐλαῖς οἴκου θεοῦ ἡμῶν* have no place, according to Jerome, in the true text of the LXX., or in any other Greek version, and have been interpolated from Psalm cxxxiv. (=cxxxv.)
2. In the chief existing MSS. of the LXX. we find two readings (a) *οἱ ἐστῶτες ἐν αὐλαῖς οἴκου θεοῦ ἡμῶν* (B<sup>N</sup>\*); (b) *οἱ ἐστ. ἐν οἴκῳ Κυρίου ἐν αὐλαῖς οἴκου θεοῦ ἡμῶν* (N<sup>1</sup>ART). Origen, in the surviving fragment of his commentary on this Psalm, deals only with *ἐν οἴκῳ Κυρίου*, and Hilary writes: "repperi quosdam ambiguos circa hoc *in atrius domus Domini fuisse . . . dicentes hoc a translatoribus primis adicetam esse.*" On the whole the facts suggest that the pre-Origenic text of the LXX. had the reading of B<sup>N</sup>\* and that Origen prefixed *ἐν οἴκῳ Κυρίου*, obelizing the rest of the sentence. The reading of N<sup>1</sup>ART will thus represent the Hexaplaric text with the obelus omitted.
- cxxxiv. (=cxxxv.) 4. LXX. *Ἰσραὴλ εἰς περιουσιασμόν αὐτοῦ*. Jerome renders *Israel in substantiale sibi*, adding that Aquila and the *quinta* translated "similarly." Probably they had *περιούσιον*; cf. Aq. in Malachi iii. 17.

- cxxxvi. (= cxxxvii.) 8. LXX. ἡ ταλαίπωρος. "Symm. *depopulata atque vastata* (= ? ἐκπεπορθωμένη). Field gives ἡ ληστρίς, from Syrohex. (𐤀𐤋𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁).
- cxxxviii. (= cxxxix.) 11. "Symm. *et nox lux circum me* (= καὶ νύξ φῶς περὶ ἐμέ). Field gives this as the Aquila's rendering, and, following Theodoret, represents Symmachus by ἀλλὰ καὶ νύξ φωτεινὴ περὶ ἐμέ.
- cxliv. (= cxlv.) 14. The words πιστὸς Κύριος... τοῖς ἔργοις αὐτοῦ are, according to Jerome, an addition made by the LXX. to the Hebrew text with the view of assigning a verse to the letter ς which the composer had overlooked in an otherwise alphabetical Psalm. The clause was obelized in the Hexapla; see the scholion cited by Field.

The Latin version of the Psalms employed in the *Commentarioli* is on the whole that of the Roman Psalter. There are however a number of readings which belong to earlier versions, and some which seem to be direct renderings from the Hebrew; a few of the latter re-appear in the *Psalterium Hebraicum*. The impression left on the mind by a careful study is that Jerome had before him his earliest revision of the Latin Psalter, and was already feeling his way towards the second, and even the third; yet while he keeps his eye open to the Hebrew, his aim still is to translate from the LXX.—the Hexaplaric LXX., which he regards as the purest form of the original work. His citations from the rest of the Old Testament are also based on the LXX., or derived from the Old Latin; even in the Books of Samuel there is no trace of the influence of the new Vulgate, although in the passages which he quotes from the New Testament I have noticed tokens here and there that the revised Latin was in his mind.

These considerations enable us to fix approximately the date of the Notes on the Psalter. The learned editor points

out that they must have been written before Jerome's change of feeling with regard to Origen, *i.e.*, before 393. The facts just mentioned point to a date previous to the commencement of the Vulgate O. T. (391) and the publication of the Gallican Psalter (388), but later than the appearance of the Roman Psalter (383), later also than the revision of the New Testament which was begun at Rome in 384. In the interval Jerome had settled in Palestine, consulted the Hexapla at Caesarea, and begun his Hebrew studies at Bethlehem. Dom Morin's new *Anecdoton* belongs, we may feel fairly sure, to the first years of Jerome's *otium Bethleemiticum*; it will hardly be rash to assign it provisionally to A.D. 387-8.

H. B. SWETE.