

gēhāntā; and it is undoubtedly these unvarying prayers entitled *gēhāntā* that best represent in our modern texts the nucleus of the ancient East-Syrian anaphora.

The facts just stated as to the Intercession in the East-Syrian liturgy will need to be seriously considered by any one who undertakes to deal with the sixth-century fragment of a 'Persian' anaphora published by Bickell, a Latin translation of which (made by Bickell) is printed by Mr Brightman in Appendix L to his *Eastern Liturgies*. Of this document Mr Brightman says (*ibid.* p. lxxix) that 'its structure indicates its Persian affinities, the Intercession intervening between the Institution and the Invocation'. But if 'Addai and Mari' is the true and traditional representative of the 'Persian', or East-Syrian, type of liturgy, it will now be pertinent to ask whether, instead of being connected with the 'Persian' type, the fragment is not rather differentiated from it by just the feature in question; and whether it does not thereby fall into the category of fifth or sixth-century East-Syrian adaptations of Greek texts represented by the liturgies of Theodore and Nestorius. To this category I should be inclined on other grounds also to assign the fragment. Why that great oriental scholar, the late Dr William Wright, spoke of it without qualification as 'the anaphora of Diodorus of Tarsus',¹ no one seems to know, and it may very well be doubted whether he had any positive authority for doing so.

The result arrived at in this Note is—I think this may now be said without fear of controversy—that the Malabar and the East-Syrian liturgy of Addai and Mari are one and the same. A subsequent Note will be devoted to the enquiry, exactly how far the text of the Malabar rite was altered by Menezes and the Synod of Diamper—with regard in particular to the Recital of Institution.

R. H. CONNOLLY.

PSALM LXXVI AND OTHER PSALMS FOR THE FEAST OF TABERNACLES.

The residue of wrath shall keep feast to thee LXX (or shalt thou gird upon thee R.V.^{txt} or shalt thou restrain R.V.^{mg}) Ps. lxxvi (lxxv) 11 (10).

THIS difficult phrase occurs in the concluding stanza of a Psalm, 'In Judah is God known', celebrating some signal deliverance whereby God has destroyed the enemies of Zion. He has broken the fiery

¹ *Syriac Literature* p. 28.

darts of the bow, the shield, the sword, and the battle, and cast horse and chariot into a deep sleep. The Psalm is commonly explained as referring to the destruction of Sennacherib's army.

The last three verses stand apart and are recognized by Dr Briggs¹ (who adopts, correctly I think, the LXX reading in my text) as 'a gloss' which 'calls upon all to praise Him in festival even in their wrath and to bring Him presents'. But the phrase 'the residue of wrath shall keep feast to thee' is still puzzling, and I cannot think that Dr Briggs has fully solved the difficulty. His comment is 'God's people celebrate the victory by a festival when the residue of their rage still remains'. Commentators have here missed the mark through failing to observe the liturgical use of this Psalm. It was, according to our oldest authority, the Psalm appointed to be sung at the autumn Feast of Tabernacles or Booths (*Sukkoth*). That is the particular festival (חג) to which the glossator refers; there is no need, with Dr Kirkpatrick,² who rejects 'the peculiar rendering of the LXX', to suggest the general meaning 'shall honour thee'. The obscurity of the allusion to the residue of wrath disappears when we read the words in the light of the prophetic lesson appointed to be read at the same feast.

The words of my text run in the M. T. :—

כִּי תִמַּת אָדָם תּוֹדֵךְ שְׂאֵרֵי־תַמַּת תִּחְבֵּר

i. e. 'For the wrath of man shall praise thee,
the residue of wraths shalt thou gird on (thee).'³

Dr Kirkpatrick's comment is: 'God girds on Himself as an ornament the last futile efforts of human wrath, turning them to His own honour: or girds them on as a sword, making the wrath of His enemies to minister to their final discomfiture.' This is surely unconvincing. The Greek translators render :—

ὅτι ἐνθύμιον ἀνθρώπου ἐξομολογήσεται σοι,
καὶ ἐνκατάλιμμα ἐνθυμίου ἐορτάσει σοι,

i. e. they read the singular תִּמַּת in both parts of the verse, and instead of תִּחְבֵּר (from חָבַר) they had תִּחְבֵּרְךָ or לְךָ תִּחְבֵּר (from חָבַר).

The tractate *Sopherim*, the oldest extant authority containing a full statement as to the allocation of special Psalms in the synagogue services to the various festivals, tells us that Ps. lxxvi was the Psalm appointed for the Feast of Tabernacles.⁴

From the Mishna we learn that the Haphtarah or prophetic lesson for the first day of the same feast was the last chapter of 'Zechariah',

¹ *International Critical Commentary*.

² *Cambridge Bible*.

³ Or 'restrain' R. V. ms.

⁴ *Soph.* xix 2 (ed. J. Müller, Leipzig 1878) "נודע ביהודה" בסוכות. The tractate, though not older than about 800 (Müller, *Intro.* p. 22), preserves traditions of a far earlier date.

'Behold a day cometh for JHWH', the lesson from the Torah being the passage relative to the feast in Lev. xxiii, the chapter from which the oldest lessons for all the festivals were drawn.¹

The final chapter of 'Zechariah' is 'a characteristic specimen of the Jewish Apocalypse'.² It describes, in lurid language, partly borrowed from Ezekiel, the future gathering of all nations to fight against Jerusalem; the capture and looting of the city and the deportation of half the inhabitants; then the sudden appearance of JHWH to do battle with the enemies of Zion; the earthquake which rends the Mount of Olives on which He takes His stand; the renovated and enlarged Jerusalem; the horrible plague wherewith JHWH will smite all the peoples that had warred against Jerusalem and their horses and all the beasts in their camps. The closing section gives the chapter its special *raison d'être* as the Haphtarah for the Feast of Tabernacles, and at the same time illuminates the obscure phrase in the special Psalm for that occasion. 'And it shall come to pass', we read in verse 16, 'that every one that is left of all the nations which came against Jerusalem shall go up from year to year to worship the King, the Lord of hosts, and to keep the feast of tabernacles.' Those who go not up are to be punished by the withholding of rain; they refuse to keep the harvest-festival and are to be fitly punished by having no harvest. For Egypt, which was watered, not by the clouds but by the Nile, there is reserved a special punishment, apparently (the text is doubtful) the consuming plague already described.

'Every one that is left' (כָּל־הַנּוֹתָר, ὅσοι ἐὰν καταλιφθῶσιν), that is, all the survivors of Zion's enemies after the scenes of carnage (the work of the wrath of man) which the city has witnessed, and after the heaven-sent plague (the signal of the wrath of God), 'shall go up to worship and to keep the feast of tabernacles'. Here, surely, we have the explanation of the phrase which the glossator, familiar with the ceremonial of the oldest and greatest feast in the Jewish calendar, has appended to the Psalm: 'For the wrath of man shall turn to Thy praise, the remnant of the wrath (or wraths) shall keep feast to Thee.'

In the body of the Psalm, as distinct from the closing gloss, we may trace ideas connected with the feast, which, if not present to the mind of the writer, would be read into it by those who originally appropriated the Psalm to the Feast of *Sukkoth* or by translators and others familiar with its liturgical use.

יום טוב הראשון של חג
 קורין בפרשת מעדות שבתורת כהנים
 ומפסירין "הנה יום בא ליהוד" (Zech. xiv 1)

¹ T. B. *Megilla* 29 b:—

² G. A. Smith.

v. 3 (2 E. V.). *In Salem is his tabernacle.* 'His tabernacle' is סוכו (*Sukkoth*), literally 'His covert' or 'lair', JHWH being likened to the lion of Judah, as in Jer. xxv 38. But our English translators, by using the word 'tabernacle', happily, though unconsciously, call up the thought which could not fail to occur to every Jew who chanted the Psalm at the Feast of Booths. Salem is not the *Suk*, but the *Sukkah*, of God, the 'tabernacle' or 'booth' which gave its name to the feast. JHWH, like His worshippers, observes the feast; the Holy City itself is His tabernacle.¹

v. 4 (3). *There brake he, &c.* The Greek version (B text) appends to the record of the past historical victory commemorated in the Psalm a reference, in language modelled on that of the last verse of the preceding Psalm, to the final overthrow of God's enemies in the future, which 'Zechariah' locates at Jerusalem: ἐκεῖ συνκλάσει τὰ κέρατα.

v. 5 (4). *Glorious (or radiant) art thou, majestic from the mountains of prey.*

M. T. נֹאֵר אַתָּה אֲרִיר מֵהַרְרֵי טָרֵף

LXX φωρίζεις σὺ θαυμαστῶς ἀπὸ ὄρεων αἰωνίων.

The words, in the Greek version at least, would recall to the pilgrim worshipper the glorious theophany, depicted in the festal lesson, ushering in a period when there is to be continuous day: 'it shall be one (continuous) day, . . . not day and not night (alternating), but . . . at evening time there shall be light' (Zech. xiv 7).² I cannot help thinking that he would also see in the 'mountains', from which JHWH is represented as shining forth, a reference to the Mount of Olives on which 'His feet shall stand in that day' (Zech. xiv 4), and from which, we may add, the worshippers gathered the branches to make the booths.³ The word טָרֵף rendered 'prey' (root-meaning 'tear', 'pluck') also means a fresh leaf (Ezek. xvii 9), and the cognate adjective in the only O. T. passage in which it occurs is used of a fresh *olive* leaf (Gen. viii 11). 'Mountains of prey' should therefore perhaps be 'leafy mountains', or more specifically 'mountains of olive leaves'. Certainly Theodotion interpreted the phrase in some such sense; his rendering

¹ The Midrash on this verse (*Midr. Tehillim*, trans. A. Wünsche) begins: 'R. Berechia said: In the beginning of the creation of the world the Holy One, blessed be He, made Himself a tabernacle in Jerusalem, in which, if one may so speak, He prayed.' Cf. Weber *Jüdische Theologie* 159 f for similar Rabbinic ideas.

² See the *Int. Crit. Comm.* for text and interpretation. The φωτισμός would also recall the brilliant illumination of the Temple at the festival, which prompted our Lord's words 'I am the light of the world'. If, as appears, the Psalms were read in a triennial cycle beginning on 1 Nisan, the Psalm for Tabernacles in the first year would be xxvii (xxvii) Κύριος φωτισμός μου.

³ Neh. viii 15 'Go forth unto the mount and fetch olive branches . . . to make booths, as it is written'.

is φοβερὸς εἶ, θαυμαστὸς ἀπὸ δρέων καρπίμων. The Septuagint rendering 'eternal mountains' may or may not indicate that the translators had another word than הַר טָר in their Hebrew text; in either case this phrase is in all probability a reminiscence of another passage which was read in the services on the octave of the Feast of Tabernacles. We are informed¹ that on the eighth-day feast (חַג עֲצוּב, ἐξόδιον) the Blessing of Moses (Deut. xxxiii) was read, and in the fifteenth verse of that chapter, in the blessing pronounced upon Joseph, reference is made to 'the precious things of the everlasting hills' (ἀπὸ κορυφῆς βουνῶν ἀενάων).

v. 7 (6). *Both chariot and horse are cast into a dead sleep.* The plague which will smite the enemies of Jerusalem, whose flesh consumes away while they stand upon their feet, will fall likewise upon their horses, mules, camels, asses, and other beasts of burden (Zech. xiv 12, 15).

Further parallels between Psalm and lesson will occur to the reader.

The ceremonial at the Feast of Tabernacles has influenced the text of other Psalms used on that occasion. Ps. cxviii [cxvii LXX] 25 to the end was also proper to this festival.² These closing verses or some of them are again doubtless liturgical glosses (Briggs), and v. 27 in its LXX form clearly refers to the practice of the worshippers of waving their *lulabs* or palm-branches towards the altar when the concluding verses were chanted³ :—

θεὸς Κύριος καὶ ἐπέφανεν⁴ ἡμῖν
 συστήσαθε ἑορτὴν ἐν τοῖς πυκάλουσι
 ἕως τῶν κεράτων τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου.

The rendering of the words בַּעֲבֹתֵינּוּ אֶמְרֵי־הַחַדָּשִׁים in the R.V., 'Bind the sacrifice with cords' &c., is, as Dr Briggs notes, not in accord with sacrificial laws or usage. The LXX rendering, 'Perform the festal rites with the thick-foliaged branches (pointed) towards the horns of the altar', is in accordance with the levitical law⁵ and rabbinical practice.

Again, the title which Ps. xxix (xxviii LXX) bears in the Greek version, ἐξοδίον σκαηνῆς, marks it out as a Psalm for the eighth-day closing festival which followed on the seven-day feast.⁶ Here too we have, this time in the opening verse, an additional line in the LXX,

¹ T.B. *Meg.* 29 b, after naming the lessons for the 'last' or seventh day, adds: "חזאת הברכה" (Dt. xxxiii 1) למהר קורין.

² Oesterley *The Psalms in the Jewish Church* 142, quoting Mishna *Sukkah* iv 3.

³ *Ibid.* 123.

⁴ Again the idea of epiphany or φωτισμός.

⁵ Lev. xxiii 40 'And ye shall take you on the first day . . . boughs of thick trees' (בַּעֲבֹתֵי עֵצֵי עֲבֹת, κλάδους ἕύλου δασεῖς).

⁶ Lev. xxiii 36 καὶ ἡ ἡμέρα ἡ ἑορτὴ ἁγία κλητὴ ἔσται ἡμῖν . . . ἐξοδίον ἔστιν. Accord- ing to another authority (T. B. *Sukkah* 55 a) this Psalm was sung on the second day of the feast.

which owes its origin, in part at least, to the ceremonial of the feast. The addition, which is familiarized to us through its presence in the Prayer Book version, runs:—

ἐνέγκατε τῷ κυρίῳ υἱὸς κριῶν (= בני אילים).

The line is clearly a dittograph or alternative rendering of the preceding line

Bring unto the Lord, ye sons of the mighty (בני אלים),

but this alternative rendering, which is possibly the older of the two, is explained by the fact that rams were among the offerings prescribed for that occasion: καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ὀγδόῃ ἐξόδιον ἔσται ὑμῖν . . . καὶ προσάξετε ὀλοκαντώματα . . . μόσχον ἓνα, κριὸν ἓνα, ἀμνοὺς ἐνιαυσίους ἑπτὰ ἀμώμους (Num. xxix 35 f).

Investigation on the above lines will, I am convinced, prove fruitful for the interpretation of portions of the Old Testament and the Psalter in particular. It is a line of research which has not yet been worked out. Commentators as a rule have, I venture to think, paid too little heed to the ancient liturgical use of the Scriptures, whether as lessons or canticles. They have neglected to take into account, as an important factor in exegesis, the arrangements of the Jewish ecclesiastical calendar, so far as these can be recovered from the rabbinical traditions which have come down to us. Indications are not wanting that this liturgical use began at an earlier date than is commonly supposed, and that it has in various ways influenced and moulded the shape in which the text has been transmitted. The festival lessons and psalms have, it seems, in some cases at least, reacted on each other, and both have been affected by the ritual for the day. Dr E. G. King has done excellent pioneering work somewhat on these lines in connexion with the Psalter.¹ His recognition of the fact that the Psalter, like the Pentateuch, was arranged for use in a triennial cycle is a most illuminating discovery with far-reaching results, which have not yet, I think, been exhausted. Some details in his arrangement of the cycle appear open to question,² but the general scheme seems clearly on right lines, and I should unhesitatingly endorse his conclusion that 'the present form of the Psalter has been determined by the liturgical use of the Synagogue'. I should, indeed, go further and suggest that not only have the Psalms (or some of them) been arranged in such an order as to suit the triennial calendar, but that they have in many cases been expanded by glosses calculated to adapt them to the

¹ *The Psalms in three collections*, Cambridge, Deighton, Bell, 1898–1905; cf. his article on *The influence of the triennial cycle upon the Psalter* in *J. T. S.* v 203.

² There are indications, as Dr King himself notes, that the system has varied at different times.

particular occasions on which they were used in Temple or synagogue, while some of the latest in the collection may have been wholly composed with a view to a particular feast and to fill a gap in the cycle arrangement. I hope to return to this subject on another occasion and to submit some notes on the lessons and psalms for Rosh Hashanah (New Year's Day). Here I need only remark that the services for that day were dominated by the thoughts contained in the Song of Hannah (the New Year Day Haphtarah); that the Jewish civil New Year's Day came just before the Feast of Tabernacles in the middle of the ecclesiastical year; and that Psalm lxxv, both by its position in the middle of the Psalter immediately before the Psalm for Tabernacles which I have taken as the text of this paper, and by its parallels to 1 Sam. ii 1-10, is marked out by this internal evidence, though tradition is here silent, as the Psalm which was at one time proper to the New Year season in the second year of the triennial cycle.

H. ST J. THACKERAY.

MR THACKERAY'S note is most interesting, and will (I hope) be fully considered by Old Testament students. His explanation of the reading of the Septuagint is surely right.

But the reading of the Masoretic text is not so hard as it looks. The first clause

‘For the wrath of man shall praise thee’

may claim the support of LXX. In the second clause the Greek translators read the Hebrew verb as *תְּהוֹנֵנִי*, as Mr Thackeray points out, but the Masoretic *תְּהוֹנֵנִי* cannot be rejected as giving unsatisfactory sense. We may translate literally,

‘The remnant of wraths shalt thou gird on.’

Now the Hebrew *שְׂאֵרִית* ‘remnant’ means usually a remnant of a *people* or of *peoples*, and the phrase ‘thou shalt gird on the remnant’ means in Eastern language, ‘thou shalt make a slaughter of thy foes, and obtain complete mastery over those who survive’. The same thought expressed in somewhat different language is found in Jer. xliii 12 ‘[Nebuchadrezzar] shall array himself with the land of Egypt, as a shepherd arrayeth himself with his garment’. ‘Putting on’ or ‘girding on’ is a phrase meaning to *take possession of* or to *treat as, personal property*, thus in Jer. xiii 11, JEHOVAH is represented as saying, ‘As the girdle (Heb. *אֲזוּר*) cleaveth to the loins of a man, so have I caused to cleave to me the whole house of Israel and the whole house of Judah’.

Finally, it may be said that the phrase ‘the remnant of wraths’ can