

THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND VARIANT READINGS
IN JEROME'S PSALTERIUM IUXTA HEBRAEOS.
THE FOURTH BOOK OF THE PSALTER (PSALMS 90–106)
AS A CASE STUDY

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ABSTRACT This paper examines the textual variants in the fourth book of the Psalter (Psalms 90–106) found in the Dead Sea Scrolls and compares these readings with Jerome's *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*. Even though these variants are not exhaustively listed in current editions of the Hebrew and Latin editions of the Psalms, several interesting agreements between readings in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Jerome's *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos* can be found.

KEYWORDS Jerome – Psalms – Textual Criticism – Dead Sea Scrolls

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG Dieser Beitrag untersucht die Textvarianten im vierten Buch des Psalters (Psalmen 90–106), die in den Schriftrollen vom Toten Meer gefunden wurden, und vergleicht diese Lesarten mit dem *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos* von Hieronymus. Auch wenn diese Varianten in aktuellen Ausgaben der hebräischen und lateinischen Ausgaben der Psalmen nicht vollständig aufgeführt sind, lassen sich einige interessante Übereinstimmungen zwischen der Lesart in den Schriftrollen vom Toten Meer und im *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos* von Hieronymus finden.

SCHLAGWORTE Hieronymus – Psalmen – Textkritik – Schriftrollen vom Toten Meer

1. Introduction

Saint Jerome (ca. 347–420) has made three Latin editions of the book of Psalms. He completed his first revision of the Latin Psalms during his so-called 'Roman period' (ca. 382–385). This version did not survive². His second transla-

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2. Traditionally the so-called *Psalterium Romanum* was thought to have been translated by Jerome. Donatien de Bruyne rejected this view and argued that the *Romanum* is a version of the Old

tion, which was in fact rather a revision of the Old Latin psalter in light of the hexaplaric LXX, is known today as his *Psalterium iuxta Septuaginta* [= Hg], the Gallican Psalter or the Vulgate Psalter (due to its incorporation in what later would become the Vulgate, i.e. the official Latin Bible translation of the Church). His third and final translation, the *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos* [= Hh], was translated directly from the Hebrew (ca. 389-392). This last translation is particularly interesting for the study of Jerome's competence in Hebrew and translation technique, since this was most probably one of his first Latin translations of a book of the Hebrew Bible³.

Unfortunately, a complete critical edition of the Hebrew Psalms does not yet exist, which complicates the study of Jerome's translation technique in the Hh⁴. For Jerome's translations of the Psalter, researchers agree that his Hebrew *Vor-*

Latin. His view is nowadays commonly accepted, even though Arthur Allgeier has made some interesting points of critique that seem to weaken de Bruyne's thesis. See Donatien de Bruyne, "Le Problème Du Psautier Romain," *Revue Bénédictine* 42 (1930) 101–26; Arthur Allgeier, "Die erste Psalmenübersetzung des Heiligen Hieronymus und das Psalterium Romanum," *Biblica* 12 (1931) 447–82.

3. It is very difficult to give an exact chronology of Jerome's Bible translations. Benjamin Kedar-Kopfstein has proposed a chronology based on the translation technique in the different books. Earlier translations would have been more rigid, whereas later translations are more free or 'transformative'. See Benjamin Kedar-Kopfstein, *The Vulgate as a Translation: Some Semantic and Syntactical Aspects of Jerome's Version of the Hebrew Bible*, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem 1968. For a well-documented chronology of Jerome's career, see Megan Hale Williams, *The Monk and the Book: Jerome and the Making of Christian Scholarship*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago 2006, 267–301. For a general overview of Jerome's Psalter translations and further bibliography, see Gross-Diaz, "The Latin Psalter," in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible*, 2012; Yves-Marie Duval, "Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus," in Berger, Jean-Denis, Fontain, Jacques and Schmidt, Peter Lebrecht (eds.), *Die Literatur im Zeitalter des Theodosius (374–430 N. Chr.). Zweiter Teil: Christliche Prosa* (Handbuch der Lateinischen Literatur der Antike 6), Verlag C. H. Beck, München 2020, 122–292.

4. The Psalter edition of the *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* is being prepared by Gerard J. Norton (<https://www.academic-bible.com/en/bible-society-and-biblical-studies/current-projects/biblia-hebraica-quinta-bhq/>). In the *Hebrew Bible: A Critical Edition* series, only the volume on Proverbs (by M. Fox) has been published (see https://www.sbl-site.org/HBCE/HBCE_About.html for the last updates on the project). It is worth to mention here that Felix Albrecht and the Göttingen team are working on a *critica maior* of the Greek Psalter, which undoubtedly will be of great value for all scholars interested in the history of the Psalter text, including Vulgate and Old Latin scholars. See Felix Albrecht, "Report on the Göttingen Septuagint," *Textus* 29.2 (2020) 201–20. For an overview of the methodological problems involved in the study of ancient translations, see Imanu'el Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, Fortress, Minneapolis 32012; Eric J. Tully, "A Model for Distinguishing between Textual Variants and Translation Shifts in Old Testament Textual Criticism," *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 34.2 (2020) 245–66.

lage must have been very close to the consonantal Masoretic text⁵, to such an extent even that Jerome's *veritas Hebraica* was nearly a *veritas Masoretica*⁶. Moreover, scholars have frequently observed that Jerome consulted translations of Greek *recentiores* through Origen's *Hexapla*⁷. In his Latin translations, he sometimes followed one of the Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible (LXX, Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion as well as more enigmatic translations as the one from the *Quinta*-column) as supplements to the Hebrew text itself⁸.

5. For thorough studies on the *Vorlage* of Jerome's Psalter translations, see Colette Estin, *Les psautiers de Jérôme à la lumière des traductions juives antérieures*, San Girolamo, Rome 1984; John H. Marks, *Der textkritische Wert des Psalterium Hieronymi juxta Hebraeos*, Verlag P. G. Keller, Winterthur 1956.

6. For the term *ueritas Masoretica*, see Siegfried Kreuzer, "»... et a Plerisque Nunc Loukianeios Dicitur«: Jerome's Statements on the Greek Biblical Texts and Modern Septuagint Scholarship," *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 130.1 (2018) 78. Other scholars are more cautious: "The Hebrew text he [= Jerome] had before him was much closer to, but by no means identical with the MT," Benjamin Kedar-Kopfstein, "The Latin Translations," in Martin Jay Mulder (ed.), *Mika: Text, Translation, Reading, and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity*, Fortress, Philadelphia 1988, 322. It is, however, not certain that Jerome based his Latin translations on the basis of only one Hebrew *Vorlage*. In letter 106.20, for instance, Jerome seems to claim to have compared more than one Hebrew Psalter manuscript. See Alfons Fürst, *Hieronymus: Askese und Wissenschaft in der Spätantike*, Verlag Herder, Freiburg, 2016, 126.

7. Evidence that Christian writers had access to the versions of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion outside of the Hexapla is very scarce. Most probably, Christian access to these versions happened only and solely through the Hexapla, even though some Greek versions might have circulated in separate forms in Jewish circles. See Reinhart Ceulemans, "Greek Christian Access to 'The Three', 250-600 CE," in Timothy M. Law & Alison Salvesen (eds.), *Greek Scripture and the Rabbinic*, Peeters, Leuven – Paris – Walpole (MA) 2012, 167–91. For the term *recentiores* and Jerome's 'rabbinic-*recentiores*' philology, see Adam Kamesar, *Jerome, Greek Scholarship, and the Hebrew Bible: A Study of the Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1993, 194; Matthew Kraus, "Rabbinic Traditions in Jerome's Translation of the Book of Numbers," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 136.3 (2017) 15–42.

8. There are numerous examples of verses where Jerome was inspired by these Greek versions. For an overview for the Book of Psalms, see José Ramón Busto Saiz, *La traducción de Símaco en el Libro de los Salmos*, CSIC, Madrid 1978; Jacob Ecker, "Psalterium juxta Hebraeos Hieronymi in seinem Verhältnis zu Masora, Septuaginta, Vulgata mit Berücksichtigung der Übrigen alten Versionen," in *Festschrift Zum Bischofs-Jubiläum*, Paulinus Druckerei, Trier 1906, 392–496; Estin, *Psautiers*; Marks, *Der Textkritische Wert*; David P. McCarthy, "Saint Jerome's Translations of the Psalms: The Question of Rabbinic Tradition," in *Open Thou Mine Eyes...: Essays on Aggadah and Juidaca Presented to Rabbi Wiliam G. Braude on His Eightieth Birthday and Dedicated to His Memory*, Ktav, Hoboken (NJ) 1992. For Exodus and Deuteronomy respectively, excellent and recent overviews of Jerome's use of the *recentiores* and other sources can be

However, this Greek material does not always cover all the variant readings in the Hh *vis-à-vis* the MT. Some Hh readings are parallel to textual variants listed in the old (but still useful) collations made by Kennicott or De Rossi⁹. Their notes might function as a (limited) apparatus to the Hebrew text and are interesting for Vulgate research since some of their variant readings are parallel to the readings in Jerome (see e.g. psalms 93:1, 102:24, 104:5, 105:9 below).

Besides this hexaplaric tradition as well as medieval Hebrew manuscripts, a third major source for variant readings and interpretations of the MT are the Dead Sea Scrolls. During the second part of the twentieth century, many fragments of the Hebrew Bible have been discovered in Qumran as well as in other places in the Judean desert. These fragments date back to a period between the third century BCE and the first century AD. Several of these texts contain variant readings *vis à vis* the MT. Some of them have been attested in the collations of Kennicott and De Rossi, but are not mentioned in the apparatus of the BHS. Others were previously unattested. Unfortunately, the variant readings found in the Dead Sea Scrolls is too often neglected in Vulgate research (as well as vice versa: the Latin tradition is often neglected in research on the Dead Sea Scrolls). This paper endeavors to illustrate that the scrolls contain relevant variants that agree with the Hh.

The Book of Psalms is especially well represented among these Dead Sea Scrolls¹⁰. Since most of these scroll fragments have been edited in separate editions, it is unfortunately not easy to find, whether or not a certain Psalter passage is attested among the Hebrew Dead Sea Scrolls. Conveniently, Eugene Ulrich collected all the texts of these fragments¹¹. Every fragment is followed by

found in Matthew A. Kraus, *Jewish, Christian, and Classical Exegetical Traditions in Jerome's Translation of the Book of Exodus: Translation Technique and the Vulgate*, Brill, Leiden & Boston 2017, especially chapter 4 (pp. 105-134), and Sebastian Weigert, *Hebraica Veritas: Übersetzungsprinzipien und Quellen der Deuteronomiumübersetzung des Hieronymus*, Verlag W. Kohlhammer 2016, 100–157.

9. Benjamin Kennicott, *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum: cum variis lectionibus*, Typographeo Clarendoniana, Oxford 1776. Giovanni Bernardo De Rossi, *Variae lectiones Veteris Testamenti: Psalmi*, Regio Typographeo, Parma 1784.

10. An introduction to the Psalm fragments in the Dead Sea Scrolls with an extensive bibliography can be found in Peter W. Flint, "Unrolling the Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls," in William P. Brown (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Psalms*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2014, 229–52.

11. Eugene Ulrich, ed., *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls: Transcriptions and Textual Variants*, Brill, Leiden & Boston 2010. The book of Psalms is covered on pages 627-725. A catalog of all Dead Sea Scrolls ordered according to book and verse number, together with a very succinct evaluation of the fragment and a reference to the edition in DJD and other sources, can be found in David L. Wash-

an (elementary) critical apparatus that mainly lists variants compared to the MT and other desert scrolls. A similar apparatus, ordered per Psalm and per verse, can be found in Peter Flint's book on *Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*.¹²

For the fourth book of the Psalter (viz. Psalms 90–106), Peter Flint lists 151 variant readings in the Dead Sea scrolls. I compared these variants to Jerome's Hh, examining to what extent these variants might be parallel to readings in the Hh. The comparison of the variants found in the scrolls and the Hh has yielded the following results:

(a) In most of the cases, the *Vorlage* of the Hh appears to have been closer to the MT than the *Vorlage* of the LXX was: frequently, the Hh displays a reading that corresponds to the MT, while the LXX appears to be based on a *Vorlage* close to the Qumran reading (Q). This can be illustrated by the many examples where MT = Hh against Q = LXX, e.g. Psalm 102:268 (MT וּמַעֲשֵׂהָ = Hh *opus* vs. LXX ἔργα = Hg *opera* = 11QPs^a וּמַעֲשֵׂי), Psalm 103:20 (MT דְּבָרָיו = Hh *sermonis eius* vs. LXX τῶν λόγων = Hg *sermonum* = 4QPs^b דְּבָרָיו) or Psalm 104:22 (MT וַיִּשְׁמְרֵם מִיַּד הַשָּׁמַיִם = Hh *oriente sole recedent* vs. LXX ἀνέτειλεν ὁ ἥλιος, καὶ συνήχθησαν = Hg *ortus est sol et congregati sunt* = 11QPs^a [תִּזְרַח] הַשָּׁמַיִם וַיִּשְׁמְרֵם).

(b) Yet, some of the variant readings in Q recorded by Flint correspond to specific readings in the Hh *against* the MT. I have further divided this category in three units: (1) readings in which the MT stands alone against the LXX, Hh and Q; (2) readings in which the MT = LXX are different from the Hh = Q; and (3) one reading in which all textual traditions seem to be different, except for the Hh that is seemingly similar to Q.

Subcategories (2) and (3) are most interesting for scholars interested in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Hh, since the Q readings in these categories provide unique parallels to Hh readings that deviate from MT. I will now zoom in on these parallels between the Hh and Q (i.e. category b.1, b.2 and b.3).

burn, *A Catalog of Biblical Passages in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (SBL Text Critical Studies 2), Brill, Leiden & Boston, 2003.

12. Peter W. Flint, *Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms*, Brill, Leiden 1997, 94–99. The same author also wrote an instructive article on Psalm manuscripts and editions in light of the Qumran findings: Flint, Peter W., “The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls: Psalms Manuscripts, Editions, and the Oxford Hebrew Bible,” in Susan Gillingham (ed.), *Jewish & Christian Approaches to the Psalms. Conflict & Convergence*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2013, 11–34.

2. Variant readings in Psalms 90-106 (MT versus Hh = Q)¹³

2.1. MT versus LXX (= Hg)= Hh = Q

In this category, the MT stands isolated against the textual evidence in LXX = Hh = Q. These Hh and Q readings are sometimes so similar that a direct influence of the Q reading in the Hh is very likely. Technically speaking, however, these variants do not provide exclusive evidence that Jerome's *Vorlage* resembled the Q readings, since the alternative reading in the Hh could have resulted from interference from the LXX (= Hg).

91:13

MT	על־שחל נִפְתָּן תְּדַרְךָ תְּרַמֵּס כְּפִיר וְתַנִּין:
LXX	ἐπ' ἀσπίδα καὶ βασιλίσκον ἐπιβήσῃ καὶ καταπατήσεις λέοντα καὶ δράκοντα.
Hg	super <i>aspidem et basiliscum</i> ambulabis et ¹⁴ conculcabis leonem et draconem
Hh	super <i>aspidem et basiliscum</i> calcabis conculcabis leonem et draconem
11QapocrPs, col. VI ¹⁵	[על] // [פתן] [ואפעה תד] [רוך תרמו] [ס כפיר] ותנין

13. I refer to the Psalms according to the Hebrew numbering. The texts are cited according to the following editions: MT according to K. Elliger & W. Rudolph (eds.), *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, Stuttgart 1997 [= BHS, MT]; Qumran fragments according to E. Ulrich, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls: transcriptions and textual variants based on the identification of fragments by Frank Moore Cross e.a.*, Brill, Leiden 2010 [= Q]; the *Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos* according to Henri de Sainte-Marie, *Sancti Hieronymi Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos* (Collectanea biblica latina 11), Abbaye Saint-Jérôme, Rome 1954 [= Hh]; the *Psalterium iuxta Septuaginta* according to Robert Weber and Roger Gryson, eds., *Biblia Sacra Vulgata Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem. Editio Quinta*, Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, Stuttgart 2007 [= Hg]; and the Septuagint according to Alfred Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum odis*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Göttingen 1931 [= LXX, Greek accents in names are added by me].

14. In the Hg, Jerome added an *obelus*, indicating that this καὶ was present in Greek but absent in Hebrew.

15. Ulrich, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls*, 654. First editions in Johannes van der Ploeg, "Le psaume 91 dans une recension de Qumran," *Revue biblique* 72.2 (1965) 211; Florentino García Martínez, Eibert Tigchelaar, and Adam Van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11.2 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31* (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 23), Clarendon Press, Oxford 1998, 202–3.

Both the LXX (= Hg) and the Hh twice refer to a snake¹⁶, while Hebrew שחל refers to a young lion. Although heavily damaged at this point, 11QapocrPs seems to have פתן ('snake'), a possible parallel with *aspis*/ἄσπίς in the Hg and LXX respectively in the beginning of the verse¹⁷. The following space in the scroll indicates that פתן was followed by a second noun, which does not survive. This word was probably not שחל since the lacuna is too large for this three-letter word. The editors of the scroll proposed to supplement אפעה, which agrees with the LXX. This conjecture might explain Hh *basiliscus*, although this suggested is weakened by the observation that *basiliscus* is not Jerome's standard equivalent for Hebrew אפעה.¹⁸

93:1a

MT	יהוה מלך גאות לבש לבש יהוה עז התאזר אף־תכון תבל בל־תמוט:
LXX	ὁ κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν, εὐπρέπειαν ἐνεδύσατο, ἐνεδύσατο κύριος δύναμιν καὶ περιεζώσατο· καὶ γὰρ ἐστερέωσεν τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἥτις οὐ σαλευθήσεται.
Hg	Dominus regnauit decore indutus est indutus est Dominus fortitudine et praecinxit se etenim firmauit orbem terrae qui non commouebitur
Hh	Dominus regnauit gloria indutus est indutus est Dominus fortitudine et accinctus est insuper adpendit orbem qui non commouebitur
11QapocrPs, col. XXII ¹⁹	הללויה יהוה מלך גאות לבש לבש יהוה [עז] ויתאזר אף [ת] כן תבל בל תמוט

16. Also the Symmachian reading preserved in the Syro-Hexapla refers to a 'crawler':
 ❖ See Frederick Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt, siue veterum interpretum Graecorum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1875, vol. 2, 249.

17. The BHS proposes that the LXX read זחל ('a crawler', cf. HALOT 2455). Note that Patrick Boylan – long before the Qumran discoveries – thought that the ancient translators probably had read לחש instead of שחל ('an incantation against snakes', cf. HALOT 4631) due to root letter transposition, see Patrick Boylan, *The Psalms: a Study of the Vulgate in light of the Hebrew Text*, MH Gill & Son, Dublin 1921, 120. In my view, a further corruption from לחש to נחש ('snake', cf. Gen. 3) is even more likely in this case.

18. אפעה occurs in Isaiah 30:6, Job 20:16 (Vg = *uipera*) and Isaiah 59:5 (Vg = *regulus*). Compare also *Comm. in Is.* 16, 27 (on Isa. 59:5): "[...] *regulum*, siue iuxta Symmachum et Theodotionem *aspidem*; Aquila autem *uiperam* posuit, pro qua in hebraico legitur EFEE". Psalm 90:3 is the only verse of the Latin Old Testament in which the Latin word *basiliscus* appears.

19. Ulrich, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls*, 720–21. First edition in J. A. Sanders, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca (NY) 1967, 76.

Even though the beginning of the verb **וַיִּתְאַזַּר** in 11QapocrPs is hard to read, the fragment seems to have an imperfect form with a prefixed *waw* rather than the *hipa'el* perfect **הִתְאַזַּר**. This extra *waw* agrees with the *et/καί* in the Hh and LXX (= Hg).

93:1b

MT	:יְהוָה מְלִיךְ גְּאוֹת לְבַשׁ לְבַשׁ יְהוָה עֹז הִתְאַזַּר אֶף־תְּכוֹן תְּבַל בְּלִתְמוֹט:
LXX	ὁ κύριος ἐβασίλευσεν, εὐπρέπειαν ἐνεδύσατο, ἐνεδύσατο κύριος δύναμιν καὶ περιεζώσατο· καὶ γὰρ ἐστερέωσεν τὴν οἰκουμένην, ἣτις οὐ σαλευθήσεται.
Hg	Dominus regnauit decore indutus est indutus est Dominus fortitudine et praecinxit se etenim <i>firmauit</i> orbem terrae qui non commouebitur
Hh	Dominus regnauit gloria indutus est indutus est Dominus fortitudine et accinctus est insuper <i>adpendit</i> orbem qui non commouebitur
11QapocrPs, col. XXII ²⁰	הללויה יהוה מלך גאות לבש לבש יהוה [עז] ויִתְאַזַּר אֶף [ת] כן תבל כל טמוט

Since the MT has an imperfect *niphal* verb in the feminine singular (**תְּכוֹן**, of the hollow verb **כוּן**, ‘to be firm, straight’, cf. HALOT 4184), the subject of this passive clause is **תְּבַל**. The LXX and Hh renderings, on the other hand, probably translate the *pi'el* of the verb **תְּכַן** (cf. BDB 8505) or an irregular form of **כוּן** (cf. HALOT 4184), which appears in 11QapocrPs (although the reading is very uncertain)²¹. The form **תְּכַן** appears in one manuscript in the collations of Kennicott as well²². Barthélemy argues that **תְּכוֹן** is the original form²³.

102:27

MT	:הָמָּה יֵאָבְדוּ וְאֶתְהָ תַעֲמֹד וְכֻלָּם כִּפְגָּד יִבְלוּ כְּלָבוֹשׁ תִּתְלַיֵּם וַיִּתְלַפְּנוּ:
LXX	αὐτοὶ ἀπολοῦνται, σὺ δὲ διαμενεῖς, καὶ πάντες ὡς ἱμάτιον παλαιωθήσονται, καὶ ὡσεὶ περιβόλαιον ἀλλάξεις αὐτούς, καὶ ἀλλαγῆσονται·

20. Ulrich, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls*, 720–21. First edition in Sanders, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 76.

21. Also noted by Marks, *Der Textkritische Wert des Psalterium Hieronymi juxta Hebraeos*, 65. A similar variant occurs in Psalm 95.

22. Kennicott, *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum*, 389.

23. Dominique Barthélemy, Stephen Desmond Ryan & Adrian Schenker, *Critique Textuelle de l’Ancien Testament. Tome 4. Psaumes vol. 4* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 50), Academic Press Freiburg – Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Freiburg – Göttingen 2005, 658–61.

Hg	ipsi peribunt tu autem permanes et omnes sicut uestimentum ueterescent <i>et</i> sicut opertorium mutabis eos et mutabuntur
Hh	ipsi peribunt tu autem stabis et omnes quasi uestimentum adterentur <i>et</i> quasi pallium mutabis illos et mutabuntur
11QPs ^a , frg. C ii ²⁴	[המה יאבדו ואתה תעמוד] [תחליפם ויחלופו] וכולם כבגד יבלו וכלבוש

The second additional *waw* in 11QPs^a is parallel to the *et/καί* (2°) in the Hh and the LXX (=Hg)²⁵.

104:5a

MT	יִסְד־אֶרֶץ עַל־מְכוּנִיָּה בְּלִתְמוֹט עוֹלָם וְעַד:
LXX	ἔθεμελίωσεν (mss.: ὁ θεμελίων) τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν αὐτῆς, οὐ κλιθήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος
Hg	<i>qui fundasti</i> terram super stabilitatem suam non inclinabitur in saeculum saeculi
Hh	<i>qui fundasti</i> terram super basem suam non commouebitur in saeculum et in saeculum
4QPs ^d , col. II ²⁶	יִסְד א[רץ על מכונייה בל תמ]וט

The *mater lectionis* ך in יִסְד in 4QPs^d points at a participial form, which is reflected in the L' and A' manuscripts in Rahlfs as well as in the Bohairic Psalter²⁷. Also the Hh seems to follow this reading, rendering the participle with a relative clause. The MT, on the other hand, vocalizes the verb as a perfect.

104:5b

MT	יִסְד־אֶרֶץ עַל־מְכוּנִיָּה בְּלִתְמוֹט עוֹלָם וְעַד:
LXX	ἔθεμελίωσεν (mss.: ὁ θεμελίων) τὴν γῆν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν αὐτῆς, οὐ κλιθήσεται εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ αἰῶνος

24. Ulrich, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls*, 694–95. First edition in Sanders, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 29–31.

25. Also Symmachus has an extra *καί* (Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt*, 258).

26. Ulrich, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls*, 690. First edition in Eugene Ulrich *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 4. 11: Psalms and Chronicles*, (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 16), Clarendon Press, Oxford 2000, 67.

27. Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum odis*, 258.

Hg	qui fundasti terram super stabilitatem suam non inclinabitur <i>in</i> saeculum saeculi
Hh	qui fundasti terram super basem suam non commouebitur <i>in</i> saeculum et <i>in</i> saeculum
4QPs ¹ , col. I ²⁸	ישד ארץ על מכוניה בל תמוט לעלם ו[עד]

The prepositions in the LXX and the Hh agree with the Qumran reading and not with the MT. Kennicott mentions quite some manuscripts that have לעולם instead of עולם.²⁹ This is not remarkable since the expression לעולם ועד occurs several times in the Hebrew Psalter (Psalms 9:6; 45:18; 119:44; 145:1,2; in contrast, Ps 21:5 does not have the preposition -ל). In this light, it is uncertain whether the prefix *in*/εἰς stems from a ל in the *Vorlage* of Jerome and the LXX translators, or whether it was introduced by the translators as a standardized rendering of a common turn³⁰.

104:29

MT	תִּסְתִּיר פְּנֵיךָ יִבְהִלֶּן תִּסְף רוּחָם יִגְעֹוּן וְאֶל־עַפְרָם יִשׁוּבוּן:
LXX	ἀποστρέψαντος δέ σου τὸ πρόσωπον ταραχθήσονται· ἀντανελεῖς τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτῶν, καὶ ἐκλείψουσιν καὶ εἰς τὸν χοῦν αὐτῶν ἐπιστρέψουσιν.
Hg	auertente autem te faciem turbabuntur auferes spiritum eorum <i>et</i> deficient et in puluerem suum reuertentur
Hh	abscondes vultum tuum et turbabuntur auferes spiritum eorum <i>et</i> deficient et in pulverem suum revertentur
11QPs ^a , frg. E ii ³¹	תוסף רוחכה ויגעו ואל עפרם ישבו

104:30

MT	תִּשְׁלַח רוּחְךָ יִבְרָאוּן וְתַחַדְּשׁ פְּנֵי אֲדָמָה:
LXX	ἐξαποστελεῖς τὸ πνεῦμά σου, καὶ κτισθήσονται, καὶ ἀνακαινιεῖς τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς γῆς.
Hg	emittes spiritum tuum <i>et</i> creabuntur et renouabis faciem terrae
Hh	emittes spiritum tuum <i>et</i> creabuntur et instaurabis faciem terrae

28. Ulrich, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls*, 666–68. First edition in Ulrich *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 4. II*, 128.

29. Kennicott, *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum*, 397.

30. Standardization is a translation universal which might cause independent, polygenetic variant readings. See Eric J. Tully, “Translation Universals and Polygenesis: Implications for Textual Criticism,” *The Bible Translator* 65.3 (2014) 292–307.

31. Ulrich, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls*, 696–97. First edition in Sanders, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 162.

11QPs^a, frg. E ii³² תשלח רוחכה ויבראון ותחדש פני אדמה

Again, the parataxis in examples 2.1.g and 2.1.h of the LXX and the Hh is supported by the Qumran material, whereas the MT lacks the conjunction ו (compare Psalm 93.1a and 102:27 above).

2.2. MT = LXX (= Hg) versus Hh = Q

For Vulgate scholars, this is probably the most interesting category. It provides the strongest evidence that Jerome's *Vorlage* was not identical to the MT but in fact had its own textual makeup that shows similarity with some of readings found in Q.

92:12

MT	:תבט עיני בשורִי בקמים עֲלֵי מְרַעִים תִּשְׁמַעֲנָה אָזְנִי
LXX	καὶ ἐπειδὴν ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς μου ἐν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς μου, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπανιστανομένοις ἐπ' ἐμὲ πονηρευομένοις ἀκούσεται τὸ οὖς μου.
Hg	et despexit oculus meus inimicus meis et insurgentibus in me malignantibus <i>audiet</i> auris mea
Hh	et dispiciet oculus meus eos qui insidiantur mihi de his qui consurgunt aduersum me malignantibus <i>audit</i> auris mea
1QPs ^a , frg. C ³³	[מרע] ים שמעה [אזני]

While the LXX uses a future to translate the Hebrew imperfect, the Hh uses a *present* indicative. Latin *audit* probably reflects a Hebrew participle of the root שָׁמַע as attested in 11QPs^a (without a *mater lectionis*³⁴). Note, however, that the

32. Ulrich, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls*, 696–97. First edition in Sanders, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 162.

33. Ulrich, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls*, 656. First edition in D. Barthélemy & J. T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I* (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 1), Clarendon Press, Oxford 1955, 69.

34. Note that the present indicative *audit* is also preserved in the Old Latin *Psalterium Mediolanense* (Arthur Allgeier, *Die Altlateinischen Psalterien*, Herder & Co, Freiburg im Breisgau 1928, 106) as well as the *Psalterium Romanum*, see Robert Weber, *Le psautier romain et les autres anciens psautiers latins* (Collectanea Biblica Latina 10), Abbaye Saint-Jérôme, Rome 1953, 134.

reading *audit* is very unstable: De Sainte-Marie lists several manuscripts that have *audiet* (perhaps under the influence of the Hg), *audiat* and even *audiuit*³⁵.

102:24

MT	: עָנָה בְּדַרְךָ כָּחוּ [ק כָּחִי] קִצַּר יָמַי
LXX	ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ ἐν ὁδοῦ ἰσχύος αὐτοῦ τὴν ὀλιγότητα τῶν ἡμερῶν μου ἀνάγγελόν μοι·
Hg	respondit ei in uia <i>uirtutis suae</i> paecitatem dierum meorum nuntia mihi
Hh	adflixit in via <i>fortitudinem meam</i> abbreviavit dies meos
4QPsb, col. XXI, frgs. 15 ii, 18 ii, 19 ³⁶	עָנָה בְּדַרְךָ [רַךְ] כָּחִי קִצַּר יָמַי

The MT (*ktiv*) has a suffix of the third person singular (כָּחוּ), which one sees reflected in the LXX (αὐτοῦ). The Hh, on the other hand, refers to the first person singular (*meam*), reflecting a Hebrew form כָּחִי. Since the Hebrew letters *yod* (י) and *waw* (ו) are very similar, confusion is not uncommon in the textual tradition. Qumran evidence shows that this has happened in the transmission of Psalm 102:24, too. Moreover, the BHS lists כָּחִי as the *qere* of the *ktiv* כָּחוּ in this verse, and quite some Hebrew manuscripts of Kennicott appear to have a written form כָּחִי instead of the BHS *ktiv* כָּחוּ.³⁷ Also the Syro-Hexaplaric translation of Symmachus uses a first person singular form instead of a third person singular³⁸, as well as the Aquila-like version in the Cairo Genizah fragments edited by Taylor³⁹. The form כָּחִי is thus not only attested in Qumran but abundantly present in the textual witnesses.

103:3

MT	: הַסֵּלֶם לְכָל־עֹוֹנֵי הָרָפָא לְכָל־תַּחֲלָאִיִּים
LXX	τὸν εὐλατεύοντα πάσαις ταῖς ἀνομίαις σου,

35. De Sainte-Marie, *Sancti Hieronymi Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos*, 134.

36. Ulrich, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls*, 663. First edition in Patrick W. Skehan, “A Psalm Manuscript from Qumran (4QPsb),” *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 26.3 (1964) 318.

37. Kennicott, *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum*, 395.

38. *مصحف كاسوسا سجد*. (Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt*, 257).

39. C. Taylor, *Hebrew-Greek Cairo Genizah Palimpsests from the Taylor-Schechter Collection Including a Fragment of the Twenty-Second Psalm according to Origen's Hexapla*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1900, 82.

	τὸν ἰώμενον πάσας τὰς νόσους σου·
Hg	qui propitiatur omnibus iniquitatibus tuis <i>qui sanat</i> omnes infirmitates tuas
Hh	qui propitiatur cunctis iniquitatibus tuis <i>et sanat</i> omnes infirmitates tuas
4QPs ^b , col. XXII ⁴⁰	הסולח לכל עונך ורפא לכל תחלויך ⁴¹

The Hh rendering *et sanat* is likely to represent a Hebrew conjunction *waw* plus participle, as attested in 4QPs^b. The LXX follows the MT and translates as a participial noun τὸν ἰώμενον/ הַרְפֵּא (litt. ‘the healer’), just like in the beginning of the verse (τὸν εὐλογατεύοντα/ הַסֵּלֵחַ). Both participles are translated as a relative clause in the Hg (*qui propitiatur* and *qui sanat*).

105:9

MT	אֲשֶׁר כָּרַת אֶת־אֲבְרָהָם וְשָׁבוּעָתוֹ לְיִשְׁחָק:
LXX	ὃν διέθετο τῷ Ἀβραάμ καὶ τοῦ ὄρκου αὐτοῦ τῷ Ἰσαακ
Hg	quod disposuit <i>ad Abraham</i> et iuramenti sui ad Isaac
Hh	quod pepigit <i>cum Abraham</i> et iuramenti sui cum Isaac
11QPs ^a , frg. E iii ⁴²	[אשר כרת] עם אברהם שבועתו ליִשְׁחָק

The Hh preposition *cum* reflects the Hebrew preposition עִם, attested in 11QPs^a and a common marker of the object of כרת (cf. HALOT 4441).⁴³ This verse has been used by Ecker to illustrate Jerome’s preoccupation for idiomatic renderings (*pangere cum* + abl.) when the Hebrew, represented by the MT, is rather enigmatic or unidiomatic (את כרה instead of עם כרת)⁴⁴. Even though this option of idiomatic refinement by Jerome remains open⁴⁵, the Qumran evidence demonstrates that it is likewise possible that this idiomatic correction was already present in his Hebrew *Vorlage*.

2.3. MT versus LXX (= Hg) versus Hh = Q

91:2

40. Ulrich, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls*, 664. First edition in Ulrich et al., *Qumran Cave 4*. 11, 39.

41. The last word has a ם in *superscriptio* (cf. MT).

42. Ulrich, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls*, 698. First edition in Sanders, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll*, 164.

43. Manuscript evidence in Kennicott demonstrates that Hebrew scribes were confused by the use of the preposition ׀א in this verse: two manuscripts (nr. 32 & 43) lack the preposition. See Kennicott, *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum*, 399.

44. According to Ecker, Jerome’s rendering of ׀א in this verse as *cum* is a “Verbesserung zu gunsten einer reinere Latinität” (Ecker, “Psalterium iuxta Hebraeos Hieronymi,” 457).

45. Conventional grammaticalization is also a translation universal. See footnote 30.

MT	:אמר ליהנה מחסי ומצודתי אלהי אבטח-בו:
LXX	ἔρεϊ τῷ κυρίῳ Ἀντιλήμπτωρ μου εἶ καὶ καταφυγή μου, ὁ θεός μου, ἐλπῶ ἐπ' αὐτόν
Hg	<i>dicet</i> Domino susceptor meus es tu et refugium meum Deus meus sperabo in eum
Hh	<i>dicens</i> Domino spes mea et fortitudo mea Deus meus confidam in eum
11QapocrPs ^{a46}	האומר [ליהנה מחסי] ומצודת[י אלוהי] מבטח [אבטח] בו

This is the only verse in Psalms 90-106 in which the MT, the LXX and the Hh go different ways. The vocalized MT has an imperfect singular form (אמר) in the first person, but this does not correspond to the Hh translation *dicens* (a present participle). A corresponding participial form appears in 11QapocrPs^a.⁴⁷ The LXX third person singular form ἔρεϊ (= Hg *dicet*) might originate from a non-attested intermediate variant אמר, whose vowels (*o – e*) are similar to those of the participle⁴⁸.

3. Conclusion

In general, Jerome's *Vorlage* appears to follow the MT very closely, as has already been concluded by previous research. Nonetheless, in a small number of verses, the Hh deviates from the MT and agrees with a reading preserved in the Qumran fragments, as has been demonstrated. These variant readings include mostly minor deviations in the fragments involving only one or two Hebrew letters (e.g. additions and omissions of *waw*, differences in the conjugation of the verbs, etc.). Yet, these 'minor' deviations sometimes have big consequences in the overall structure of the verse as well as in the Latin translation (e.g. future tense versus past tense, parataxis versus hypotaxis, finite versus participial

46. Ulrich, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls*, 654. First editions in van der Ploeg, "Le psaume 91 dans une recension de Qumran," 211; García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and Van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11.2 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31*, 202–3.

47. Kennicott lists multiple manuscripts that have the form אומר (without the definite article), see Kennicott, *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum*, 388.

48. van der Ploeg, "Le psaume 91 dans une recension de Qumran," 212.

form), illustrating the value of the Qumran evidence for Hh research. Unfortunately, this information is not covered by the critical edition of the Hh by De Sainte-Marie (1954), which appeared before the Qumran findings, neither by the abbreviated apparatus in Weber-Gryson (2007). Therefore, similar research including the whole Latin Psalter as well as other Vulgate books is called for.