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# The Canon Tables of the Psalms

## *An Unknown Work of Eusebius of Caesarea*

MARTIN WALLRAFF

Eusebius of Caesarea was fascinated by or even obsessed with canons. The term “canon” in this case is to be understood in the first and literal meaning, “list.”<sup>1</sup> Eusebius as a scholar loved to arrange material in lists. At first sight this may not sound particularly exciting, but actually it is quite innovative in some cases. One has to bear in mind that the codex, a newly predominant medium in late antiquity, opened the horizons of a different kind of reading experience.<sup>2</sup> It allowed for

new ways of organizing knowledge. Recently, Anthony Grafton and Megan Williams rightly pointed out that Eusebius, the “Christian impresario of the codex,”<sup>3</sup> was highly innovative not only as a bishop and theologian but also in the history of media. He was one of the first intellectuals who fully understood and fully exploited the potential of the new medium.

The “media revolution” also led to new applications for tables and lists. From modern books we are used to indexes and tables of contents, and we take them for granted. However, these features are not practical for scrolls (they presuppose immediate access to any point in a long text), and, in fact, they were not normally part of the antique culture of the book. As we shall see, Eusebius was well aware of the new possibilities, and he may have been one of the first to make use of them fully. Elsewhere I argued that “killer applications” like the ones invented by Eusebius contributed to the success of the codex.<sup>4</sup> This awareness may have been one of the reasons why he was so fascinated by canons. It has to be noted in passing that Eusebius did not use “canon” to designate what later came to be called the

1 Deriving from *κάννα* (“cane, reed”), *κανών* developed semantically in two directions; one is “list, table,” the other “rule, norm.” Modern research (regrettably) tends to focus almost exclusively on the second. On the history of the term see H. Oppel, *KANON: Zur Bedeutungsgeschichte des Wortes und seiner lateinischen Entsprechungen (Regula-Norma)*, *Philologus Suppl.* 30.4 (Leipzig, 1937) and H. Ohme, “Kanon I (Begriff),” *RAC* 20 (Stuttgart, 2004): 1–28. A Semitic loanword, it derives probably from Akkadian *qanû* (not from Hebrew *qānaeb* קָנֵב, as is often stated). See R. Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 2010), 637 and J. N. Bremmer, “From Holy Books to Holy Bible: An Itinerary from Ancient Greece to Modern Islam via Second Temple Judaism and Early Christianity,” in *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism*, ed. M. Popović (Leiden, 2010), 327–60, esp. appendix I (358–59).

2 On the significance of lists for this experience see M. Wallraff, “Tabelle e tecniche di lettura nella letteratura cristiana tardoantica,” in *Scrivere e leggere nell’alto medioevo*, *Settimane di studio della fondazione Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo* 59 (Spoleto, 2012), 803–19. The philosophical dimensions of the list have recently been investigated by U. Eco, *Vertigine della lista* (Milano, 2009). There is ample bibliography on the rise of the codex in antiquity. I limit myself to mentioning two titles: J. van Haelst, “Les origines du codex,” in *Les débuts du codex*, ed. A. Blanchard, *Bibliologia* 9

(Turnhout, 1989), 13–35 and R. S. Bagnall, *Early Christian Books in Egypt* (Princeton, 2009), 70–90.

3 A. Grafton and M. Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius, and the Library of Caesarea* (Cambridge, MA, 2006), 178 (the quotation is the apt title of the chapter on the canon tables of the gospels).

4 M. Wallraff, *Kodex und Kanon: Das Buch im frühen Christentum*, *Hans-Lietzmann-Vorlesungen* 12 (Berlin, 2013), esp. 23–25.

The image shows two pages from a manuscript of Eusebius of Caesarea's Chronological Canon. The pages are filled with columns of text, each representing a different geographical region. The text is written in both Greek and Latin, with some words in red ink (rubrication). The columns are arranged in parallel, allowing for a visual comparison of reigns across different regions. The regions listed include Assyriorum, Hebraeorum, Atheniensium, Latinerum, Laedemoniorum, Corinthiorum, and Aegyptiorum. The text consists of numbers representing years or reigns, often followed by the name of a ruler or a specific event. The layout is dense and organized, reflecting the author's attempt to create a universal chronology.

FIG. 1 Eusebius of Caesarea, Chronological canon. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. T.2.26 (5th cent.), fols. 50v–51r

“canonical writings” of Scripture, although the problem was important to him (see his famous “catalogue” of authoritative books in the *Church History*).<sup>5</sup>

One of his first scholarly works was the *Chronicle*, a history of mankind in the tradition of Hellenistic (and Christian) universal historiography.<sup>6</sup> To the historical account (which is a sound, but rather conventional work) Eusebius added a set of chronological tables which he called the “canons of time” (χρονικὸι κανόνες).<sup>7</sup> In these tables the lists of kings of vari-

ous reigns are arranged in parallel columns so that synchronistic relationships become visually apparent, and in this way the whole history of mankind is brought into a new order (fig. 1). It is certainly true that this way of visualizing history does not necessarily presuppose the medium of the codex, but the extended space of facing pages gives a suitable base for it.

It must also be observed that several of Eusebius’s works are preceded by a list of *kephalaia*, quite similar to a modern table of contents. The author drew up these lists (which, however, to our knowledge were not called “canons”) in order to let readers access directly the chapter and information in which they were interested.<sup>8</sup> This allowed for a new type of handling the text:

5 *Historia ecclesiastica* 3.25 (E. Schwartz, *Eusebius: Die Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 1, GCS Eusebius 6, 2nd ed. [Leipzig, 1909 = Berlin, 1999], 252.9). The term *κατάλογος* is used in §6.

6 CPG 3494. The study of this pivotal work is hampered by both problems of transmission and the lack of user-friendly editions (see following note). A good introduction is provided by R. W. Burgess and S. Tougher, “Eusebius of Caesarea,” in *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. G. Dunphy (Leiden, 2010), 595–97.

7 A discussion of the attested forms of the title can be found in J. Fotheringham, ed., *Eusebii Pamphili Chronici canones latine vertit, adauxit, ad sua tempora produxit S. Eusebius Hieronymus* (London, 1923), iii–v. The tables survive only in the Armenian

translation (J. Karst, *Die Chronik*, vol. 5 of *Eusebius Werke*, GCS 20 [Leipzig, 1911]) and the Latin adaptation (and continuation) by Jerome (R. Helm, *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, vol. 7 of *Eusebius Werke*, GCS 24, 3rd ed. [Berlin, 1984]). For the Greek fragments one still has to go back to A. Schoene, *Eusebii Chronicorum libri duo* (Berlin, 1875).

8 This was the case in the *Historia ecclesiastica* (E. Schwartz, *Eusebius: Die Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 3, GCS Eusebius 2.3 [Leipzig,

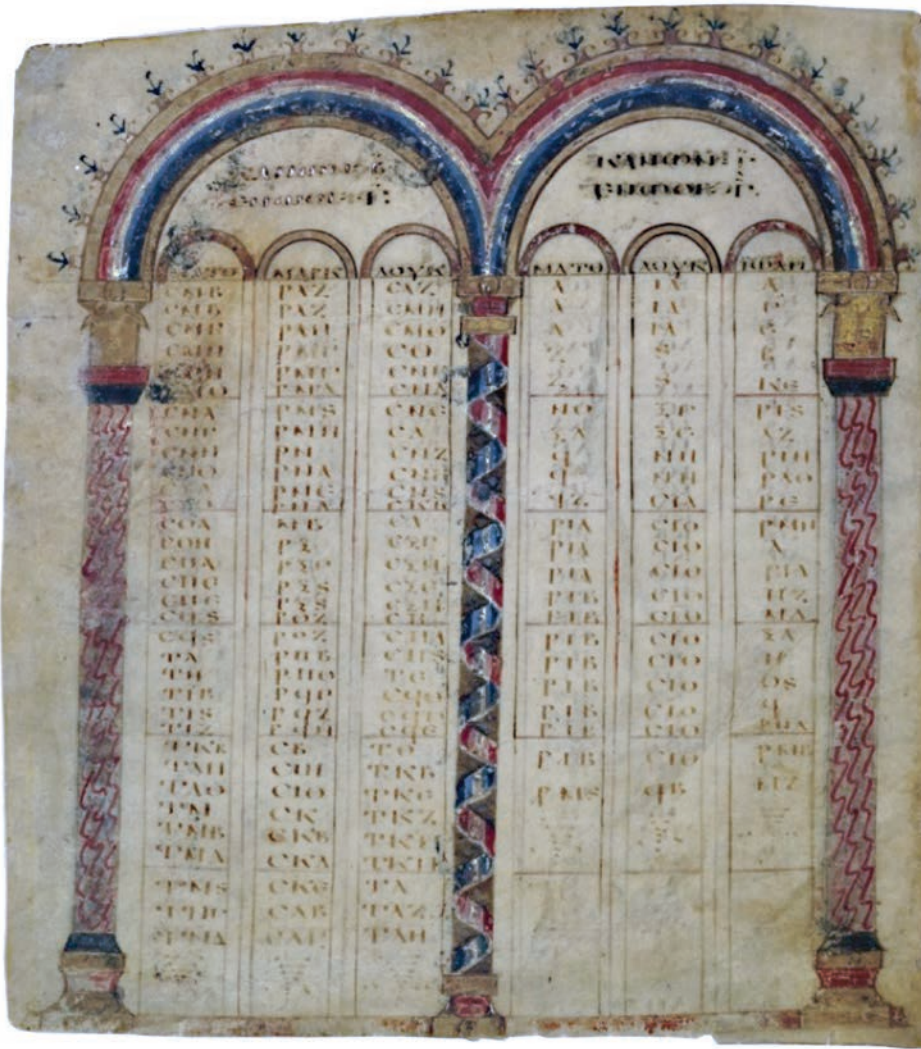


FIG. 2  
Eusebius of Caesarea,  
Canon tables of the  
gospels (can. II–III).  
Vienna, Österreichische  
Nationalbibliothek, cod.  
847 (6th cent.), fol. 3v

1909 = Berlin, <sup>2</sup>1999], cxlvii–cliii) and in the *Praeparatio evangelica* (K. Mraz and E. des Places, *Die praeparatio evangelica*, vol. 8.1 of *Eusebius Werke*, GCS, 2nd ed. [Berlin, 1982], viii–ix), possibly also in the *Eclogae propheticae* (out of the four [partially] surviving books, two have lists of *kephalaia* in the *codex unicus* Vindob. theol. gr. 55: books 2 [PG 22:1088–89] and 3 [1116–20]; the former case is interesting, because the list contains titles for chapters that do not survive in the preserved text), probably not in the *Vita Constantini* (F. Winkelmann, *Über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantin*, vol. 1.1 of *Eusebius Werke*, GCS, 2nd ed. [Berlin, 1991], xlii–xlix). For tables of contents in general see H. Mutschmann, “Inhaltsangabe und Kapitelüberschrift im antiken Buch,” *Hermes* 46 (1911): 93–107 and J. Irigoin, “Titres, sous-titres et sommaires dans les oeuvres des historiens grecs du I<sup>er</sup> siècle avant J.-C. au V<sup>e</sup> siècle après J.-C.,” in *Titres et articulations du texte dans les oeuvres antiques: Actes du colloque international de Chantilly, 13–15 décembre 1994*, Collection des études agustiniennes, Série Antiquité 152 (Paris, 1997), 127–34.

consultation, not only continuous reading. Eusebius was not the first author to introduce this feature, but he may have been one of the first to take into consideration the new potential of the codex right from the beginning.

Later in life Eusebius developed another famous list, which is even more intricate and innovative than the chronicle—the canon tables of the four gospels. Many late antique and medieval gospel manuscripts are embellished by these canon tables (fig. 2, the oldest surviving copy). These complex tables serve to identify parallel pericopes in the four gospels, quite similar to what a modern synopsis does.<sup>9</sup> This ingenious system

9 The magisterial work by C. Nordenfalk, *Die spätantiken Kanontafeln: Kunstgeschichtliche Studien über die eusebianische Evangelien-*



FIG. 3  
Eusebius of Caesarea, Canon  
tables of the psalms. Oxford,  
Bodleian Library, Auct. D.4.1  
(10th cent.), fol. 24v this page,  
fol. 25r facing page

leaves the four texts intact, and shows the relationships between them through numerical cross-references. The numbers in the tables refer to sections in the texts; they are “the world’s first hot links.”<sup>10</sup> The system works only with a codex; the reader must be able to go back and forth easily between tables and text. This invention by Eusebius has fascinated later scholars and scribes and

*Konkordanz in den vier ersten Jahrhunderten ihrer Geschichte*, 2 vols. (Göteborg, 1938) remains fundamental. Cf. furthermore idem, “Canon Tables on Papyrus,” *DOP* 36 (1982): 29–38; Klaus Wessel, “Kanontafeln,” *RBK* 3 (Stuttgart, 1978): 927–68; Petra Sevrugian, “Kanontafeln,” *RAC* 20 (Stuttgart, 2004): 28–42.

<sup>10</sup> The expression has been coined by James O’Donnell for this purpose (quoted by Grafton and Williams, *Christianity*, 199).

convinced them of its usefulness, so that hundreds of copies survive, but, rather surprisingly, no critical edition exists.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *CPG* 3465. All existing editions are modifications of and additions to Erasmus’s first print of 1519 (in the second edition of his Greek New Testament). Today, the version in E. and E. Nestle and B. and K. Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 28th ed. (Stuttgart, 2012), 89\*–94\* is widespread. The lack of a critical edition based on manuscripts was deplored a century ago by E. Nestle, “Die Eusebianische Evangelien-Synopse,” *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift* 19 (1908): 40–51, 93–114, 219–32, and again by C. Nordenfalk, “The Eusebian Canon-Tables: Some Textual Problems,” *JTS* 35 (1984): 96–104. However, nothing changed. The present article originated in the context of the preparation of a new critical edition (forthcoming in WUNT [Tübingen]).





A third and less well known canon developed by Eusebius is the canon tables of the psalms—if they are authentic (fig. 3). It is the purpose of this article to edit and discuss this work, which has hitherto almost entirely escaped the attention of the scholarly world.<sup>12</sup>

These tables are similar to the canons of the gospels, but are much simpler and less sophisticated. They never made their way into the mainstream of Bible manuscripts. Actually, only one copy seems to survive; it is kept in the Bodleian Library in Oxford.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> The work does not have a CPG number. To my knowledge, the only scholar who has worked on this text was G. Mercati, *Osservazioni a proemi del salterio di Origene, Ippolito, Eusebio, Cirillo Alessandrino e altri, con frammenti inediti*, ST 142 (Rome, 1948), 95–104. Cardinal Mercati's (1866–1957) scholarship is admirable. He was more than 80 years old when he wrote the book, and his analysis of the codex is based solely on notes he had taken some 40 years before “without special care (*senza cura speciale*)” (97). Still, his considerations are very accurate and helpful. Probably they have not found the attention

they deserve because of a somewhat archaizing style and because the title of the book is not very specific. It is possible that Mercati's notes are preserved in the Vatican: see P. Vian, *Carteggi del card. Giovanni Mercati*, vol. 1, ST 413 (Rome, 2003), xi, n. 37.

<sup>13</sup> Auct. D.4.1, fols. 24v–25r; for details see below, n. 22.

TABLE 1 The canon tables of the psalms: transcription/editio

ΠΙΝΑΞ ΕΚΤΕΘΕΙΣ ὑΠὸ ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΜΦΙΛΟΥ							
ΚΑΝὼΝ Α ΤΟΥ ΔΑΥΕΙΔ ΨΑΛΜῶΝ ΟΒ	ΚΑΝὼΝ Β ΤΟΥ ΣΟΛΟΜῶΝΟΣ ΨΑΛΜῶΝ Β	ΚΑΝὼΝ Γ ἈΝΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΟΙ ΨΑΛΜΟΙ ΙΘ	ΚΑΝὼΝ Δ ΤῶΝ ΥἱῶΝ ΚΟΡῆ ΨΑΛΜΟΙ ΙΑ	ΚΑΝὼΝ Ε ΤΟΥ ἈΣΑΦ ΨΑΛΜΟΙ ΙΒ	ΚΑΝὼΝ Σ ἈΝῶΝΥΜΟΙ ΨΑΛΜΟΙ ΙΖ	ΚΑΝὼΝ Ζ ἈΛΛΗΛΟΥΪΑ ΨΑΛΜΟΙ ΙΕ	
Γ	ΚΣ	ΝΗ	ΡΛΘ	ΟΑ	ΜΘ	ΞΕ	ΡΔ
Δ	ΚΖ	ΝΘ	ΡΜ	ΡΚΣ	Β	ΞΣ	ΡΕ
Ε	ΚΗ	Ξ	ΡΜΑ	ΛΒ	ΜΔ	QΔ	ΡΣ
Σ	ΚΘ	ΞΔ	ΡΜΒ	ΜΒ	ΜΕ	QΖ	ΡΙ
Ζ	Λ	ΞΒ	ΡΜΓ	Ο	ΜΣ	QΘ	ΡΙΑ
Η	ΛΑ	ΞΓ	ΡΜΔ	Q	ΜΖ	ΡΑ	ΡΙΒ
Θ	ΛΓ	ΞΔ		QΒ	ΜΗ	ΡΙΘ	ΡΙΓ
Ι	ΛΔ	ΞΖ		QΓ	ΠΓ	ΡΚ	ΡΙΕ
ΙΑ	ΛΕ	ΞΗ		QΔ	ΠΔ	ΡΚΑ	ΡΙΖ
ΙΒ	ΛΣ	ΞΘ		QΕ	ΠΣ	ΡΚΒ	ΡΙΔ
ΙΓ	ΛΖ	ΠΕ		QΣ	ΠΖ	ΡΚΔ	ΡΙΕ
ΙΔ	ΛΗ	Ρ		QH		ΡΚΕ	ΡΙΜ
ΙΕ	ΛΘ	ΡΒ		ΡΓ		ΡΚΖ	ΡΙΝ
ΙΣ	Μ	ΡΖ		ΡΙΔ		ΡΚΗ	ΡΙΘ
ΙΖ	Ν	ΡΗ		ΡΙΣ		ΡΚΘ	ΡΝ
ΙΗ	ΝΑ	ΡΘ		ΡΙΗ		ΡΛΑ	
ΙΘ	ΝΒ	ΡΚΓ		ΡΙΣ		ΡΛΓ	
Κ	ΝΓ	ΡΛ		ΡΜΣ			
ΚΑ	ΝΔ	ΡΛΒ		ΡΜΖ			
ΚΒ	ΝΕ	ΡΛΖ					
ΚΓ	ΝΣ	ΡΛΗ					
ΚΔ	ΝΖ						
ΚΕ							
				ΑΙΘΛΜ ΤΟΥ ΙΣΡΑΗΛΙΤΟΥ <Π>Η	ΜΩΥΣΗ ἈΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΠΘ		

Canon I: post **ΞΘ** add. **ΟΑ** in marg. cod. (false) | **ΡΘ** add. in marg. cod. (recte) | post **ΡΚΓ** add. **ΡΚΣ** (sed eadem manus expunxit) cod.

## The Canon Tables of the Psalms

Before turning to the technical questions of authenticity and transmission, it may be useful to have a closer look at the tables in the form in which they have been preserved and to see how the system works (see fig. 3 and table 1). Whereas the canon tables of the Gospels consist of ten “canons,” i.e., tables of up to four columns each, originally probably displayed on seven pages,<sup>14</sup> the tables of the psalms consist of seven “canons,” each of which is a single list in just one column. Hence, the whole *pinax*, as it is called in the title, can easily be

14 The reconstruction of Nordenfalk, *Kanontafeln*, 65–72 has not seriously been challenged (pace D. Kouymjian, “Armenian Manuscript Illumination in the Formative Period: Text Groups, Eusebian Apparatus, Evangelists’ Portraits,” in *Il Caucaso: Cerniera fra culture dal Mediterraneo alla Persia [secoli IV–XI]*, vol. 2, Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di studi sull’Alto Medioevo 43 [Spoleto, 1996], 2:1015–49).

arranged on one double page—which is the case in the Oxford manuscript and probably was also the case in the archetype. As I said, the system is much less intricate than in the case of the well-known tables of the gospels. In particular, the synoptic aspect is missing here. The seven canons are seven vertical lists of numbers, which are not compared to anything horizontally. However, what we find here as well are numbers acting as cross-references. Each number stands for one psalm; in other words, the system presupposes the subdivision of the book of psalms into numbered items. This is much less banal than it might seem at first, since the numbering of psalms was not normally a feature of Hebrew manuscripts, and maybe in the Greek tradition it was not very old. Two short quotations of Origen attest to this fact.<sup>15</sup>

15 Presumably, both fragments come from Origen’s prologue (or epilogue) to the psalter in the *Hexapla*. In the first he states that the psalms were not counted in the Hebrew tradition (ἐν μέντοι τῷ

TABLE 2 The canon tables of the psalms: transliteration/translation

*Table drawn up by Eusebius [pupil] of Pamphilus*

Canon I: 72 psalms of David	3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 67, 68, 69, 85, 100, 102, 107, 108, 109, 123, 130, 132, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144
Canon II: 2 psalms of Solomon	71, 126
Canon III: 19 unlabeled psalms	1, 2, 32, 42, 70, 90, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98, 103, 114, 116, 118, 136, 146, 147
Canon IV: 11 psalms of the sons of Korah	41, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 83, 84, 86, 87
Canon V: 12 psalms of Asaph	49, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82
Canon VI: 17 anonymous psalms	65, 66, 91, 97, 99, 101, 119, 120, 121, 122, 124, 125, 127, 128, 129, 131, 133
Canon VII: 15 Hallelujah psalms	104, 105, 106, 110, 111, 112, 113, 115, 117, 134, 135, 145, 148, 149, 150
Ethan the Israelite	88
Moses, the man of God	89

It is hardly surprising that in his school attention was paid to these features, because the numbering certainly proved useful to handle the enormous mass of text for the synoptic juxtaposition of six (or, in the case of the psalter, even eight) versions in the Hexapla. In fact, the surviving fragments show traces of such numbering.<sup>16</sup>

Ἐβραϊκῶ οὐδενὶ τῶν ψαλμῶν ἀριθμὸς παράκειται, PG 12:1100D); this claim is repeated by Eusebius in his commentary on the psalms (Ἐν τῇ Ἐβραϊκῇ βίβλῳ τῶν ψαλμῶν ἀνευ τῆς τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ προσθήκης ἀνεγράφησαν οἱ πάντες καὶ διαφόρως, PG 23:73B). It is, maybe, not entirely superfluous to note that the question of numbering has to be distinguished from the subdivision of texts. Even if the Hebrew transmission had clear text markers to subdivide one psalm from the other, a numbering of the texts is not a natural and necessary consequence. The second text comes from a short notice “on the 5th and 6th version” of the psalter. On the former it says that “it puts the numbers like our manuscripts” (ὁμοίως τοῖς παρ’ ἡμῶν ἀντιγράφοις τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς τίθησι, text published by G. Mercati, *Note di letteratura biblica e cristiana antica*, ST 5 [Rome, 1901], 29). This implies that not all Greek manuscripts had numbering. An early attestation for the habit of quoting psalms according to their numbers are numerous mentions in Justin, *Dial.* 22.7 (Ps. 49); 37.1 (Ps. 46); 37.2 (Ps. 98); 38.3 (Ps. 44); 73.1 (Ps. 95); 97.3 (Ps. 21). Even earlier would be Acts 13:33, although the case is less clear (the quotation from the “second psalm” may or may not presuppose a numbering of the whole psalter).

16 In the fragments of cod. Ambr. O 39 sup. the psalms 28, 29, 30, and 35 of the Hexapla bear a number: G. Mercati, *Psalterii Hexapli reliquiae* (Rome, 1958), 17, 21, 31, 69. In the sumptuous Bible

The criterion according to which the psalms are grouped in the canon tables is the alleged authorship given in the titles. Hence, in the first column the psalms of David can be found, in the second column those ascribed to Solomon, in the third column those without title, then of the sons of Korah, then Asaph, then anonymous psalms, and finally the Hallelujah psalms. Canons III, “without title,” and VI, “anonymous,” differ in that the former have no inscription at all, whereas the latter have an inscription but no name is given.<sup>17</sup> As a sort of appendix two psalms of Ethan and Moses (one each) are added at the bottom of the page. The whole device is a relatively simple but efficient exegetical tool. It helps the reader to find quickly all psalms written by a certain author. Obviously the table makes sense only if it accompanies the actual text of the psalter—and this must be available in the form of a codex, because the system of cross-references works only if one can skim through the pages easily.

The easiest way to explain the order of the columns is the following: beginning with David is obvious

manuscripts of the 4th/5th century (Codex Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, Alexandrinus) the psalms are also numbered.

17 See also the explanation given by Eusebius (?) in his short introductory text: Εἰσὶ δὲ ἀνώνυμοι ὅσοι ἐπιγραφᾶς μὲν ἔχουσιν, οὐ μὴν δηλοῦσι τίνος εἰσὶν (PG 23:68A, quoted with context below at n. 34).

for numerical and theological reasons; the fact that the next position is held by his son Solomon is likewise fairly logical. The remaining five canons follow the numerical order of the first number given in each table.<sup>18</sup>

The *pinax*, as it is preserved in the Oxford manuscript, is in excellent shape. It requires only very few minor corrections or emendations. The table consists of 150 numbers, each of which appears only once. As a sort of checksum in the heading of each column the number of the psalms in the canon is given. In all cases except one (which is the first canon) this number corresponds to the actual number of psalms listed. Added up, the sums of the single columns make for a total of 148, together with the two “mini-canons” for Ethan and Moses 150.<sup>19</sup>

In the first canon there are a few unclear cases. The sum in the heading says 72, which at first sight corresponds to the actual number of numbered items in the regular row. However, there are two items added (subsequently at the right of the column, but apparently by the same hand, namely  $\alpha\alpha/71$  and  $\rho\theta/109$ ) and one item cancelled ( $\rho\kappa\zeta/126$ ).<sup>20</sup> The second addition must be correct because Ps. 109 does not occur otherwise in the table; probably it was simply forgotten in the process of copying. The other two cases are the two psalms of canon II (Solomon). It is very likely that the scribe got confused by his *Vorlage*, where canon II looked like an appendix to canon I, and one might feel tempted to simply insert these two numbers in the main list. This is what the scribe did—in the case of  $\alpha\alpha$  he added the number at the margin, in the case of  $\rho\kappa\zeta$  in the regular row. When continuing his work, he noticed the error, put canon II at the bottom of the page and cancelled the two added numbers in canon I.<sup>21</sup> With these two

corrections—addition of  $\rho\theta$  and elimination of  $\rho\kappa\zeta$ —the total comes again to 72, so that the whole system is perfectly in order. This reconstruction can be achieved with a high degree of certainty without even considering contents.

## Manuscript Transmission and Authenticity

The title of the *pinax* ascribes it to “Eusebius, [pupil] of Pamphilus.” Should we trust this information? To answer this question one has to investigate in two directions: context and contents. The first step is to analyze the context and circumstances of the manuscript transmission. As stated previously, there is only one witness, the manuscript Auct. D.4.1 of the Bodleian Library in Oxford.<sup>22</sup> The small parchment codex, which was written by a certain Anthimus probably in 951,<sup>23</sup> can best

22 The codex has attracted a certain scholarly interest, mostly from art historians; see the descriptions in [R. W. Hunt], *Greek Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library: An Exhibition held in connection with the XIIIth International Congress of Byzantine Studies* (Oxford, 1966), 38–39; I. Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften*, vol. 1, *Bodleian Library I* (Stuttgart, 1977), no. 18, pp. 27–28, figs. 105–8; I. Spatharakis, *Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1453*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1981), no. 11, p. 12, figs. 28–29; cf. also K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols., Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Schrift- und Buchwesen des Mittelalters 4.2.1 (Vienna, 1996; vol. 1 = Berlin, 1935), 63, figs. 405–6. Other scholars were mainly interested in the catena. A study of the young Michael Faulhaber (who was to become archbishop and cardinal in Munich later) remains precious: “Eine wertvolle Oxforder Handschrift,” *ThQ* 83 (1901): 218–32, esp. 219–21 (where the canon tables are mentioned only in passing). An in-depth analysis of the catena has been provided by G. Dorival, *Les chaînes exégétiques grecques sur les psaumes: Contribution à l'étude d'une forme littéraire*, vol. 2, *Spicilegium sacrum Lovaniense* 44 (Leuven, 1989), 84–126, on general aspects of the MS esp. 84–87. However, a thorough codicological description is still lacking; see only the old catalogue by H. O. Coxe, *Bodleian Library: Quarto Catalogues*, vol. 1, *Greek Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1969), 621–24 (under the old class mark “gr. Miscell. 5”), which is a reprint with smaller corrections of *Catalogi codicum manusccriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae: Pars prima recensioem codicum Graecorum continens* (Oxford, 1853).

23 The main argument for the dating is the paschal tables on fol. 34v, running from 951 to 956. This is now the general consensus (see Hutter, *Corpus*, 27; Dorival, *Chaînes*, 85), although some scholars have opted for an earlier date on paleographical grounds (Coxe, *Bodleian Library*, 621). According to G. R. Parpulov, “Toward a History of Byzantine Psalters” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 2004), 20 this is the earliest Greek psalter with a paschal table. The name of the scribe is given on fol. 35r and on fol. 300v, roughly speaking at the beginning

18 This is the explanation given by Mercati, *Osservazioni*, 102–3. In this logic the two “mini-canons” for Ethan and Moses (at the bottom of the page) would follow after canon VI (Hallelujah). However, the precise position on the page would imply an insertion after canon V (Asaph).

19 In the case of the former the number  $\pi\eta$  (which is not legible in the codex) can be restored with a high degree of certainty: simply because it is the only number between 1 and 150 which is otherwise missing.

20 In the present article the numbering of the psalms is that of the Septuagint.

21 For  $\rho\kappa\zeta$  the cancellation marks are clearly visible; for  $\alpha\alpha$  the scribe probably tried to remove the figure mechanically, but this is less clear in the manuscript.

be described as a collection of materials for the study of psalms. The bulk of the 318-folio manuscript is occupied by the Greek text of the psalter along with a catena commentary (fols. 39r–300r, or up to fol. 314v if one includes the 14 “odes”).<sup>24</sup>

At the beginning a collection of patristic materials can be found:

- ♦ fols. 1r–13r: Athanasius, *Epistula ad Marcellinum* (CPG 2097, PG 27:12–45)
- ♦ fols. 13v–15r: Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Prooemia in psalmos* (the text is attributed to various authors, here it appears under the name of Theodoret, CPG 4542, PG 55:531–34 = 88:248–49 = 92:244–45)<sup>25</sup>
- ♦ fol. 15v: a miniature depicting King David<sup>26</sup>
- ♦ fols. 16r–24r: Hesychius of Jerusalem, *Prooemium seu epigramma in Psalterium* (CPG 6554.1, ed. Mercati)<sup>27</sup>

This is followed by the double page of the canon tables (fols. 24v–25r). Immediately afterward a splendid “title page” is given, as one might expect at the beginning of a book (fol. 25v): a decorative framework with the caption *Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῇ βίβλῳ ταύτῃ ψαλμοὶ μεθ’*

and end of the psalter. (There is also an intricate acrostic on fol. 36v, which mentions a certain *Georgios pais*; however, Dorival, *Chânes*, 86 is certainly right in thinking that this is not likely to refer to the scribe of the whole codex. Georgios could have commissioned the codex.)

24 For its textual evidence the manuscript is only briefly mentioned by A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments* (Berlin, 1914), no. 13, pp. 163–64. It has not been used in Rahlfs’ edition *Psalmi cum Odis*, vol. 10 of *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum* (Göttingen, 1931, repr. 1979). On the catena see Dorival, *Chânes*, 87–126; his analysis has shown that little Eusebian material has been used and none from the commentary on the psalms. For the analysis of other “paratexts” in the psalter Parpulov, “Toward a History” can be useful.

25 For the authorship of the text see Mercati, *Osservazioni* (above n. 12), 35.

26 The miniature is reproduced in Hutter, *Corpus*, fig. 108, p. 151; see also the description on p. 28.

27 Mercati, *Note* (above n. 15), 155–68 edited the text on the basis of the Oxford manuscript discussed here along with cod. Ambr. B 106 sup.

*ἐρμηνείας ρν' ᾠδαὶ ἰδ'.*<sup>28</sup> On the following page the Eusebian “Hypotheseis” begins, i.e., a table of contents with a brief title for each psalm which is ascribed here (as elsewhere) to “Eusebius, [pupil] of Pamphilus” (fols. 26r–29r).<sup>29</sup> At the bottom of the last page there is a table of the psalms for the hours of day and night (*κανόνες ἡμερινῶν/νυκτερινῶν ψαλμῶν*).<sup>30</sup> The following pages (fols. 29v–34v) are filled with tables for various astronomical calculations; the first part is particularly attractive for its graphic display (figures under arches in the style of canon tables, 12 tables, one for each month, fols. 29v–31r). The table of indictions on fol. 34v is mutilated, since 4 leaves have been lost at this point. The remaining 4 leaves before the beginning of the text are filled by various poems and prayers (fols. 35r–38v). At the end of the codex liturgical hymns can be found (fols. 314v–318v), including morning and evening hymns.<sup>31</sup>

What do these observations on the context mean for the question of authenticity? The tables are surrounded by elements which certainly have not been “invented” or produced ad hoc for the composition of this codex. Rather, the first thirty leaves (at least) come from various patristic sources and are included in other copies of the psalter as well. This is also the likely source of the tables, although it cannot be established with any degree of certainty what sort of *Vorlage* this was.

Are the “Hypotheseis” (titles) genuinely Eusebian? There are good reasons to consider them authentic. Apart from the general interest of our author in tables of contents (see above), there is a particular use of the word *ὑπόθεσις*. The same sense can also be found in the title or *subscriptio* of the canon tables of the gospels.<sup>32</sup>

28 Reproduced in Hutter, *Corpus*, fig. 106, p. 151; see also the description on p. 28.

29 Ὑπόθεσις Εὐσεβείου τοῦ Παμφίλου εἰς τοὺς ψαλμούς, fol. 26r. The table corresponds to the one given in PG 23:68A–72C. Precisely speaking, the table finishes on fol. 28v with Ps. 150; it is followed by the titles of the 14 odes. The entire table (without the odes) is also given in the Codex Alexandrinus, fols. 531v–532v.

30 These tables are preserved in several manuscripts: G. R. Parpulov, “Psalms and Personal Piety in Byzantium,” in *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, ed. P. Magdalino and R. Nelson (Washington, D.C., 2010), 77–105, at 84, esp. n. 37.

31 According to Parpulov, “Psalms,” 92, n. 67 this manuscript is the oldest with such prayers at the end. The texts are printed in Parpulov, “Toward a History,” 516–22 (Appendix F2).

32 ὑπόθεσις κανόνος τῆς τῶν εὐαγγελιστῶν συμφωνίας, attested in many manuscripts, rarely reproduced in print. An early example is the splendid Rossano codex, where these words can be found in

In both cases the term has a specific sense (“structure,” “[table of] contents”) only partially covered by the standard lexicons. And it would not be easy to explain why the explicit attribution in the manuscripts had been invented at a later stage. So, if the “Hypotheses” of the psalms are Eusebian,<sup>33</sup> then one can argue that the table and the titles have travelled together. If one is authentic, then the other one is too.

This view is corroborated by a small text which in other manuscripts precedes the “Hypotheses.” Since it is important for the present argument, it is given in full:

Τῆς βίβλου τῶν Ψαλμῶν ἥδε ἂν εἴη ἡ διαίρεσις, ὡς τὰ ἀκριβῆ τῶν ἀντιγράφων αὐτό τε τὸ Ἑβραϊκὸν περιέχει. Οὐχ ὡς ἂν τις ὑπολάβοι πάντες εἰσὶ τοῦ Δαυῖδ οἱ ψαλμοὶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐτέρων προφητῶν ἐν τῷ ψάλλειν προφητευόντων. Διόπερ ἡ πᾶσα γραφή παρ’ Ἑβραίοις τῶν ψαλμῶν οὐ τοῦ Δαυῖδ ἐπιγράφει· ἀλλ’ ἀδιορίστως βίβλος ψαλμῶν ὀνομάζεται.

Εἰς πέντε δὲ μέρη τὴν πᾶσαν τῶν Ψαλμῶν βίβλον παῖδες Ἑβραίων διαιροῦσι.

πρῶτον εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ α’ μέχρι μ’  
 δεύτερον εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ μα’ μέχρις οβ’  
 τρίτον εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ ογ’ μέχρις πη’  
 τέταρτον εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ πθ’ μέχρις ρε’  
 πέμπτον εἰς τοὺς ἀπὸ ρς’ μέχρι τέλους.

Ἀνεπίγραφοι δὲ εἰσι ψαλμοὶ ιθ’, ἐπιγεγραμμένοι ρλα’.

Τῶν ἐπιγεγραμμένων δὲ εἰσιν οὕτως αἱ διαιρέσεις.

τοῦ μὲν Δαυῖδ	οβ’
τῶν υἱῶν Κορὲ	ια’
τοῦ Ἀσάφ	ιβ’
Αἰθὰμ τοῦ Ἰσραηλῆτου	εἶς,

a tondo (fol. 5r); cf. G. Cavallo, J. Gribomont, and W. C. Loerke, *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis: Museo dell’Arcivescovado, Rossano Calabro*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1987).

33 M.-J. Rondeau, *Les commentaires patristiques du Psautier (III<sup>e</sup>–V<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, vol. 1, OCA 219 (Rome, 1982), 71 considers the list of titles also authentic. Further clarification on questions of authenticity and manuscript transmission can be expected from the Berlin project (see below, n. 43).

Σολομῶντος	β’
Μωϋσέως	εἶς,
ἀνώνυμοι	ιζ’
τῶν εἰς τὸ Ἀλληλοῦια	ιε’

Εἰσὶ δὲ ἀνώνυμοι ὅσοι ἐπιγράφας μὲν ἔχουσιν, οὐ μὴν δηλοῦσι τίνος εἰσίν.<sup>34</sup>

The numbers in the second list correspond exactly to those given in the headers of the canons. A closer look also reveals that the order in which the captions are given is almost identical to the canon tables. Actually, in absence of the tables this particular arrangement would be difficult to explain.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, it is remarkable that the author explicitly denies the Davidic authorship of the psalter as a whole. This is, of course, a fundamental issue for the following list as well as for the canon tables, and it was by no means self-evident in patristic exegesis.<sup>36</sup>

It is difficult to establish the relationship between this text and the tables. For a definitive assessment one

34 PG 23:66C–68A. The first manuscript attestation of the text is in the Codex Alexandrinus (fol. 531r), where it is also attributed to Eusebius and where it precedes the “Hypotheses.”

35 At first sight, the order of the two works has little in common. However, one has to bear in mind that in the case of the canon tables Ethan and Moses have to be inserted after Asaph (see above, n. 18). If one excludes the “unlabeled” psalms because they are discussed previously, only one minor difference remains, which is Solomon. It could well be that the order of the common archetype was: (unlabeled) / David / Korah / Asaph / Ethan / Solomon / Moses / anonymous / Hallelujah – which would partly correspond to Mercati’s explanation. It has to be reminded that this explanation is based on the number of the first psalm in each list. Where the list is lacking, this order cannot be established.

36 The author of the text mentioned above, n. 27, tried to prove the contrary. Along with the observation that the catena contains little Eusebian material (n. 24), this would be, by the way, an argument against the view that the Oxford codex as a whole goes back to a sort of “Eusebian copy” or “recension” of the psalter. A discussion of the authorship of the psalms can be found already in Origen (in a fragment ed. by Hans Achelis in the appendix to his edition of Hippolytus’s minor works, G. N. Bonwetsch and H. Achelis, *Hippolytus Werke*, vol. 1, *Exegetische und homiletische Schriften*, GCS 7 [Leipzig, 1897], part 2, 137; for the attribution to Origen see F. X. Risch, “Die Prologe des Origenes zum Psalter,” in *Origeniana decima: Origen as Writer; Papers of the 10<sup>th</sup> International Origen Congress*, ed. Sylwia Kaczmarek e.a. [Leuven, 2011], 475–90, esp. 479), possibly also in Hippolytus (in the text mentioned below in n. 39).

would have to know better the manuscript transmission of the text. Until the conclusion of the Berlin project on Eusebius's commentary on the psalms (see below, n. 43) all views remain provisional. The issue is further complicated by the fact that there are several other texts that are somehow related. One is a longer version, handed down in (at least) three manuscripts.<sup>37</sup> This version is even closer to the tables, because it contains a full list of numbers for each category of psalms. However, there are reasons to think that it is secondary to both the canon tables and the shorter version of the text.<sup>38</sup> It is more likely to be a later adaptation of the system to a different context and situation. Another set of related texts has come down to us in a Greek and in a Syriac version. The origin of this tradition could be Hippolytus of Rome. In any case, the list of attributions is somewhat similar but not identical to the canon tables.<sup>39</sup>

37 The text has been edited by J. B. Pitra, *Analecta sacra spicilegio Solesmensi*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1884), 413–18 (the relevant passage 413–15) on the basis of Vat. gr. 754 and Vat. gr. 1422. Ann Sophie Kwaß (Berlin) is preparing a new edition. She drew my attention to the additional witness Mosq. Synod. 358. I am indebted to her also because she made accessible to me a provisional version of her text. In the three manuscripts the text does not bear any attribution. However, the context of the catenae transmission may suggest that it was seen as Eusebian.

38 A first (admittedly weak) argument is the fact that the table is very well preserved (it requires almost no emendation), whereas the “longer version” poses a few problems. The confusion of the latter may be due to the process of transmission (rather than its original redactor). Two additional observations are hardly caused by confusion only. One is the somewhat half-hearted extension of the system to 151 psalms (414.1 Pitra, see also 417.20 and 418.11, but no trace of Ps. 151 in the list of ascriptions), the other is the different position of Ps. 32 (David rather than ἀνεπίγραφος). Neither aspect corresponds to Eusebius's ideas (for Ps. 32 see n. 46 below). Furthermore, the author goes on giving information κατὰ τὴν παραδοθεῖσαν ἔκδοσιν ἐκ τῶν ἐρμηνεύσαντων τὴν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις (415.14–16 Pitra). What follows looks more like a process of post-Eusebian scholarly work (harmonization to subsequent ecclesiastical tradition) than additional information given by the bishop of Caesarea himself.

39 The Greek text has been published by Pitra, *Analecta*, 418–27, esp. 421, the Syriac text in German translation by Hans Achelis (*Hippolytus Werke* [n. 36 above], part 2, 127–30). P. Nautin, *Le Dossier d'Hippolyte et de Mélicon* (Paris, 1953), 165–83 provided a critical edition. While the text discussed in the previous note could be a later adaptation of Eusebius, this one could be a predecessor, known or unknown to him (if one considers the attribution to Hippolytus authentic). The full list of psalms with their numbers is

Given the relationship between the shorter text (quoted above) and the tables, it has to be asked: Which one originated first? And which one is derived from the other? Would it be possible to think that the text is the origin of the canon tables? In other words, that somebody took the information contained in this list and expanded it to present it in the more “solemn” form of the tables?<sup>40</sup> This does not seem likely for the following reasons. The list only gives the number of psalms in each group (e.g., 19 “unlabeled” psalms), not which ones they are. To expand this into a complete “canon” one would have to have the full text of the psalter with the ascriptions. As will be shown later, the standard Byzantine text of the Septuagint would not be sufficient to do this, because the quoted (Eusebian) list presupposes a different version. In particular, the standard text would not have 19 “unlabeled (ἀνεπίγραφοι)” psalms, but many fewer. Also, it has to be remembered that the order of the names in the text can easily be explained on the basis of the full lists, and not vice versa (see above, n. 35).

Moreover, if the text antedates the tables one would have to assume that the person who drew up the latter must also have been aware of the basic “Eusebian” approach to canons. In fact, the use of the word “canon” in this context is by no means self-evident, especially since the meaning of the word had shifted already in late antiquity more toward the “canonical”/authoritative aspect of Scripture. It is certainly true that everyone knew the canon tables of the gospels, and this could have enticed somebody to create a sort of primitive imitation of that famous work. This argument could be valid as far as the decorative scheme is concerned, especially the structure consisting of columns and arches, which closely resembles the oldest witnesses of the synopsis of the gospels (see fig. 2). It could be that the table of the psalms was originally much more sober and simple. But for the work itself, it is hard to imagine that somebody else should have drawn up a list with all these features in later times. It fits in very well with the overall picture of Eusebius's scholarly activities, while a later scholar (or forger) would have had to study many different aspects to come up with a work of this caliber.

contained only in the Syriac version and is certainly not Hippolytean (and almost certainly not pre-Eusebian).

40 This may have been the case in a table in cod. Barberin. gr. 455, Mercati, *Osservazioni* (above, n. 12), 152–54.

If one was to defend the precedence of the text over the tables, at the most one could imagine that the canons originated in the scriptorium of Caesarea, drawn up either by Eusebius himself or by somebody in close proximity during his lifetime or shortly afterward. However, it seems to be the most natural explanation that the canon tables were written first, and that the short version in prose was a sort of précis, provided either by Eusebius himself or a redactor of his work on the psalms. It is much easier to derive the text version from the tables than vice versa. This is all the more likely since we have the explicit attribution of the tables to the Caesarean bishop. The comparison with the text certainly does not contest this information. Rather the other way round: it provides additional evidence for the view that the tables are authentic. If this is likely, it is worthwhile to further investigate possible points of contact with his text and exegesis of the psalms.

### The Textual Basis of the Tables

Which type of biblical text do the canons presuppose? The numbering follows, of course, that of the Septuagint, and, generally speaking, the ascription of the psalms is identical to the one found in the majority text of that version. However, as stated previously, exceptions can be found in the third canon with the “unlabeled (ἀνεπίγραφτοι)” psalms. Most of those “title-less” psalms are actually ascribed to David in the Septuagint, whereas the Masoretic text usually has no title (and hence no ascription) at all. Did the author therefore work with the Hebrew Bible? This seems unlikely for a number of reasons.<sup>41</sup> Rather, the stronger possibility is that he used the Hexapla or some Hexaplaric version. In what follows, I discuss all cases where the canon tables presuppose attributions which are not shared by the majority text of the Septuagint. Wherever possible, the Hexapla as well as Eusebius’s

41 Apart from the simple fact that the numbering is that of the Septuagint, there are other smaller signs. The author of Ps. 88 is Ethan “the Israelite,” whereas in the Hebrew text he is a “Ezrahite.” Ps. 121 is considered anonymous (canon VI), whereas the Hebrew text ascribes it to David (which is attested also in some manuscript witnesses of LXX). Ps. 115 LXX corresponds to Hebrew 116.10ff., and only a reader of the Greek would categorize the text as a “Hallelujah” psalm (canon VII). Likewise, Pss. 117 and 135 appear in the “Hallelujah” category, although the beginning of the psalms in Hebrew is actually somewhat different (הודו ליהוה כִּי־טוֹב).

commentary on the psalms are consulted. In many cases it is difficult to come to firm and satisfactory results due to the lack of reliable editions—both of the text of the psalms (including the Hexapla)<sup>42</sup> and of Eusebius’s commentary.<sup>43</sup>

The first case is particularly interesting. The attribution of Ps. 126 to Solomon (canon II) is not unanimously attested in the Greek transmission. It is lacking in some old witnesses, but Eusebius is positive about it: “According to the Hebrew and all translators the present hymn belongs to Solomon.”<sup>44</sup>

In canon III (ἀνεπίγραφτοι) there is a long series of psalms attributed to David in the Septuagint (Pss. 32, 42, 70, 90, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98, 103). However, in all

42 The text of the Septuagint has been edited by Rahlfs, *Psalmi cum odis* (n. 24 above). Although this edition is very useful, one would be hesitant to call it an *editio maior* by modern standards. For the Septuagint text in general and its transmission see G. Dorival, M. Harl, and O. Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante: Du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien* (Paris, 1988); for the *status quaestionis* of the psalter see A. Aejmelaeus and U. Quast, eds., *Der Septuaginta-Psalter und seine Tochterübersetzungen*, AbhGött, Philol.-hist. Kl. 230 (Göttingen, 2000). In the case of the Hexapla it is a well-known fact that the old edition by F. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1875), 87–305 is both easy to criticize and difficult to replace; the small fragments preserved in direct transmission (esp. Mercati, *Psalterii Hexapli reliquiae*) are not relevant for the present purpose. A recent recapitulation of Hexaplaric studies can be found in Grafton and Williams, *Christianity* (n. 3 above), 86–132.

43 For Eusebius’s commentary the Montfaucon edition (Paris, 1707, repr. in PG 23–24) still has to be used. However, only the commentary on Pss. 51–95:3 is preserved in direct transmission. The rest has to be reconstructed from catenae; hence, the text as given by Montfaucon is unreliable (see the remarks in *CPG* 3467, and C. Curti, “I ‘Commentarii in Psalmos’ di Eusebio di Cesarea: Tradizione diretta (Coislin 44) e tradizione catenaria,” in *Eusebiana*, vol. 1, *Commentarii in Psalmos*, 2nd ed. [Catania, 1989], 169–79). A new edition is under preparation at the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities in the project “Die alexandrinische und antiochenische Bibelexegese in der Spätantike” under the guidance of Prof. Christoph Marksches (www.bbaw.de/forschung/bibelexegese). Dr. Cordula Bandt of the Academy kindly provided an advance copy of her forthcoming article “Some Remarks on the Tone of Eusebius’ Commentary on Psalms,” in *Studia Patristica* (Leuven, 2013), where further bibliographic data can be found (esp. nn. 2–4). In what follows, all information comes from the editions of Rahlfs, Field, and Montfaucon, unless otherwise stated.

44 Κατὰ τὸ Ἑβραϊκὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐρμηνεύσαντας ἅπαντας, ἢ παρούσα νῦν ᾠδὴ Σολομῶντος ἐστίν (PG 24:20A). Among others the codex Sinaiticus and the codex Alexandrinus indicate nothing of Solomon’s authorship.



these cases some manuscripts add the note ἀνεπίγραφος παρ' Ἑβραίοις, probably stemming from the Hexapla. In most cases the Hexaplaric reading is actually confirmed by external evidence: sometimes the attribution to David was elided by *obeloi* (42, 70, 90, 96, 98, 103), sometimes we have explicit notice (32, 93, 95). Only in the case of Ps. 94 is there no information, and for Ps. 92 there is evidence to the contrary (see below). What is more interesting: in almost all cases Eusebius explicitly states in his commentary that in his opinion these psalms are ἀνεπίγραφοι, despite the Greek textual transmission. Maybe the best example is Ps. 70, where the issue is discussed at some length and is clearly part of Eusebius's exegetical endeavor.<sup>45</sup> However, there is evidence also for most of the other psalms in question.<sup>46</sup> Only in three instances does the preserved material not address the issue, two of which are Pss. 95 and 103. The one really problematic case is Ps. 92, where the question is also not discussed, and moreover Theodoret states explicitly: "The note ἀνεπίγραφος παρ' Ἑβραίοις can be found neither in the Hexapla nor in Eusebius."<sup>47</sup> Yet he must have read it somewhere, probably in some Greek manuscript, and although he is right in asserting that Eusebius does not attest to the information, the bishop of Caesarea is simply silent; he does not say the contrary either.

Somewhat more difficult is a group of psalms further down in the same canon (III). Pss. 114, 116, 118, 136, 146, 147 appear in the "unlabeled" category, although in the Septuagint transmission they are mostly "Hallelujah" psalms (with the sole exception of Ps. 136, which is ascribed to David). Again, in some of these cases the note ἀνεπίγραφος παρ' Ἑβραίοις is preserved in parts of the transmission of the Septuagint (Pss. 114, 116, 118, 136), probably of Hexaplaric origin. However, little further information on either the Hexapla or Eusebius survives. Only Pss. 136 and 146 can be discussed. In the first case the ascription to David (and Jeremiah) was elided by *obeloi* in the Hexapla; a short note by Eusebius according to which the psalm does

not bear an inscription in the Hebrew tradition may or may not be authentic at this point.<sup>48</sup> In the Septuagint, Ps. 146 is inscribed Ἀλληλούια Ἀγγαίου καὶ Ζαχαρίου; the names of Haggai and Zachariah were elided by *obeloi* in the Hexapla; it is uncertain whether Eusebius discussed the problem.<sup>49</sup>

In the following canons there is only one case in which the ascription of the canon tables differs from the Greek majority text. Ps. 97 appears in canon VI (anonymous psalms), although the text is normally ascribed to David. However, the title in the Hebrew text reads only "a psalm" (מזמור), and in the Hexapla the name of David was elided by an *obelos*.

To sum up: The text used by the author of the canon tables was significantly different from the standard Greek text of the Septuagint. He must have worked with the Hexapla or have known some Hexaplaric textual transmission. The comparison with Eusebian texts is not sufficient to prove his authorship, but a remarkable closeness cannot be denied. Combined with the observations on the transmission of the text, it is safe to trust the explicit attribution to Eusebius and to consider the tables authentic.



It is a plausible hypothesis to surmise that the canon tables originated in the context of Eusebius's work on the commentary on the psalms. This is usually dated late in his life, some time after 330 (albeit on no firm grounds).<sup>50</sup> The tables, the "hypotheses," and the brief explanatory text (given above, p. 10) could have been part of the same project. In this case the explanatory note would have played a role similar to the one played by the letter to Carpianus which usually accompanies the canon tables of the gospels. However, one has to be careful with too-far-reaching conclusions before the

45 The psalm is compared to Ps. 30, which is Davidic, and then Eusebius goes on: ὁ δὲ παρὼν ἀνεπίγραφος τυγχάνει, PG 23:772D.

46 Pss. 32 (PG 23:280C), 42 (PG 23:377D-380A), 90 (PG 23:1140D), 93 (PG 23:1193D), 94 (PG 23:1208C), 96 (PG 23:1225A), 98 (PG 23:1236A), either in the form of a brief note or within an exegetical discussion.

47 Τὸ <Ἀνεπίγραφος παρ' Ἑβραίοις> οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ Ἑξαπλῶ, οὕτε παρ' Εὐσεβίου. *Comm. in Ps.*, PG 80:162.4A.

48 The excerpt in PG 24:36D-37A attests to the lack of inscription of the psalm; however, it also states that in some manuscripts the psalm has been ascribed to Haggai and Zachariah. Since there is no trace of such manuscripts in Rahlfs's apparatus for Ps. 136, it might be asked whether the excerpt did not originally belong to a different psalm—like, for instance, Ps. 146 where this information would make much sense. Moreover, the authorship of Eusebius is uncertain (see n. 43 above).

49 See previous note.


50 See discussion in Rondeau, *Commentaires* (n. 33 above), 66-69, where, however, a somewhat earlier date is not excluded.

manuscript transmission of all these items has been clarified.

At any rate, it seems reasonable to date the tables between the two other canons: the chronicle and the work on the gospels (based on the assumption that the three canons are in ascending order of complexity). In terms of absolute chronology, this does not help a great deal, since the former is one of the first works of Eusebius, and the latter cannot be dated with any precision. In terms of historical contexts, however, this does enrich our understanding of Eusebius, because the canon tables of the psalms can be seen as a sort of “missing link” between the other two works.

The system of the canon tables of the gospels is relatively complex, and it presupposes several important and innovative ideas. In particular, two features seem to be fundamental: one is the bidimensional aspect of the grid. These tables can be read in two directions: from top to bottom and from left to right. This feature is already present in the chronological canon, where the vertical dimension is the time line, and the horizontal gives the synchronism between various peoples. The other is the fact that the entries do not speak for themselves (unlike the kings’ names and events in the universal history), but they refer to something else, to a third dimension, as it were. For this second feature we now have an important precedent in the canon tables of the psalms. The simple fact that numbers are used to refer to entire texts may seem banal from a modern perspective. However, there are not very many examples for this method in antiquity, and most of them are references to book numbers, and therefore to larger literary units.<sup>51</sup>

51 The practice to quote according to book numbers developed in imperial time: cf. C. Higbie, “Divide and Edit: A Brief History of Book Divisions,” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 105 (2010):

 I AM INDEBTED TO SEVERAL PEOPLE WHO helped me with precious advice and useful discussion. First and foremost I mention Dr. Cordula Bandt. She is involved in the project on Eusebius’s commentary on the psalms at the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, and saved me from several errors or shortcomings. I also owe a great deal to

The modest canon tables of the psalms could be one of the first examples where the technique was used for real “exegetical business.” They give us an interesting insight into the workshop of the scriptorium of Caesarea.

It is also possible that we see here the earliest beginnings of aesthetic decoration of Christian codices. These columns and arches could be the origins of Christian book illumination.<sup>52</sup> However, one has to be cautious about this aspect, because the possibility cannot be ruled out that the graphic scheme was done later on the basis of the famous tables of the gospels.

Last but not least, the tables are an exegetical tool, which in all likelihood belonged to a specific commentary on the psalms. They presuppose a marked interest in historical contextualization and textual criticism. It will certainly be useful to keep them in mind when reconsidering Eusebius’s exegetical work on the text.<sup>53</sup> They may shed further light on the exegetical work and vice versa. In any case, they contribute to our picture of Eusebius of Caesarea as an extraordinary scholar.

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1–31. See also T. Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen in seinem Verhältnis zur Litteratur* (Berlin, 1882), 157–59 on smaller literary units below the level of “books” and 175–78 on techniques of citation.

52 Nordenfalk, *Kanontafeln* (n. 9 above), 73–93 has convincingly argued that the decorative scheme of the canon tables of the gospels can be reconstructed reasonably well on the basis of early copies and translations, and that in this scheme we see the first forms of Christian book illumination.

53 See the Berlin project, mentioned above in n. 43.

the anonymous readers for *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*. The paper would not have been written without the intensive and inspiring atmosphere at Dumbarton Oaks. I thank the DO community, and *pars pro toto* Dr. Margaret Mullett. Finally, I wish to mention Dr. Patrick Andrist (Bern), with whom I shared the pleasure of a summer fellowship in 2012.

# Rome Re-Imagined

*Byzantine and Early Islamic Africa, ca. 500–800*

DUMBARTON OAKS SYMPOSIUM, 27–29 APRIL 2012

SYMPOSIARCHS: SUSAN T. STEVENS AND JONATHAN P. CONANT

The short period of Byzantine rule in the Maghreb belies the region's importance to the empire in the sixth and seventh centuries. Given the profound economic and strategic significance of the province of "Africa," the territory was also highly contested in the Byzantine period—by the empire itself, Berber kingdoms, and eventually also Muslim Arabs—as each of these groups sought to gain, retain control of, and exploit the region to its own advantage. In light of this charged history, scholars have typically taken the failure of the Byzantine endeavor in Africa as a foregone conclusion. This symposium sought to reassess this pessimistic vision both by examining those elements of Romano-African identity that provided continuity

in a period of remarkable transition, and by seeking to understand the transformations in African society in the context of developments in the larger post-Roman Mediterranean. An international group of researchers from North America, Europe, and North Africa, including both well-established and emerging scholars, addressed topics including the legacy of Vandal rule in Africa, historiography and literature, art and architectural history, the archaeology of cities and their rural hinterlands, the economy, the family, theology, the cult of saints, Berbers, and the Islamic conquest, in an effort to consider the ways in which the imperial legacy was re-interpreted, re-imagined, and put to new uses in Byzantine and early Islamic Africa.

## FRIDAY, 27 APRIL

### *Introduction*

Susan T. Stevens · Randolph College and  
Jonathan P. Conant · Brown University

### *Prokopios's Vandal War: Thematic*

*Trajectories and Hidden Transcripts*  
Anthony Kaldellis · The Ohio State University

### *Gelimer's Slaughter: The Case for Late Vandal Africa*

Andy Merrills · University of Leicester

### *The Garamantian Diaspora and the Southern Frontiers of Byzantine North Africa*

Elizabeth Fentress · University College London  
Andrew Wilson · University of Oxford

### *Campaigns and Conquests in Context: Reconsiderations*

Walter Kaegi · University of Chicago

### *Revisiting Byzantine Africa: Historical Geography through Medieval Arab Sources*

Mohamed Benabbès · Université de Tunis

### *The Literature of Vandal and Byzantine Africa: Something Old, Something New?*

Gregory Hays · University of Virginia

SATURDAY, 28 APRIL

*Beyond Spolia: Architectural Memory and Adaptation in the Churches of Late Antique North Africa*

Ann Marie Yasin · University of Southern California

*The Family in Byzantine Africa*

Kate Cooper · The University of Manchester

*From Byzantine Africa to Arab Ifriqiya:*

*Tracing Ceramic Trends through the Seventh to Eleventh Centuries*

Paul Reynolds · University of Barcelona

*A Byzantine Afterlife at Carthage*

Susan T. Stevens · Randolph College

*The Transformation of North African Land- and Cityscapes in the Byzantine and Early Arab Period*

Philipp von Rummel · Deutsches

Archäologisches Institut, Rome

*“Regio dives in omnibus bonis ornata”: African Economy and Society from the Vandals to the Arab Conquest in the Light of Coin Evidence*

Cécile Morrisson · CNRS, Dumbarton Oaks

SUNDAY, 29 APRIL

*Exegesis and Dissent in Byzantine North Africa*

Leslie Dossey · Loyola University, Chicago

*Sanctity and the Networks of Empire in Byzantine North Africa*

Jonathan P. Conant · Brown University

*Concluding Remarks*

Peter Brown · Princeton University



The exhibition “From Clearing to Cataloging: The Corpus of Tunisian Mosaics,” April–June 2012, featuring archival materials from the Margaret Alexander Collection (MS.BZ.001) in the Image Collections and Fieldwork Archives (ICFA) of Dumbarton Oaks, was arranged by Rona Razon and Robin Pokorski to coincide with the symposium.

## Abbreviations

- AASS* *Acta sanctorum* (Paris, 1863–1940)
- AB* *Analecta Bollandiana*
- AbhGött,  
Philol.-hist.Kl. Akademie der Wissenschaften,  
Göttingen, Philologisch-  
historische Klasse,  
Abhandlungen
- ACO* *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum*,  
ed. E. Schwartz and J.  
Straub (Berlin, 1914–)
- AntAa* *Antichità altoadriatiche*
- ArtB* *Art Bulletin*
- ASP* *Archiv für slavische Philologie*
- AST* *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*
- BASOR* *Bulletin of the American  
Schools of Oriental Research*
- BBOM* Birmingham Byzantine and  
Ottoman Monographs
- BBTT* Belfast Byzantine Texts  
and Translations
- BHG* *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*,  
3rd ed., ed. F. Halkin, SubsHag  
47 (Brussels, 1957; repr. 1969)
- BibEphL *Bibliotheca Ephemerides  
liturgicae*
- BMFD* *Byzantine Monastic Foundation  
Documents: A Complete  
Translation of the Surviving  
Founders' "Typika" and  
Testaments*, ed. J. Thomas  
and A. C. Hero, DOS 35  
(Washington, DC, 2000)
- BMGS* *Byzantine and Modern  
Greek Studies*
- BollGrott* *Bollettino della Badia  
greca di Grottaferrata*
- Bsl* *Byzantinoslavica*
- BSOAS* *Bulletin of the School of  
Oriental and African Studies*
- ByzF* *Byzantinische Forschungen*
- BSR* *Papers of the British  
School at Rome*
- BZ* *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
- CahArch* *Cahiers archéologiques*
- CFHB* *Corpus fontium  
historiae byzantinae*
- CIG* *Corpus inscriptionum  
graecarum* (Berlin, 1828–)
- CIL* *Corpus inscriptionum  
latinarum* (Berlin, 1862–)

- CPG *Clavis patrum graecorum*, ed. M. Geerard and F. Glorie (Turnhout, 1974–87)
- CRAI *Comptes rendus des séances de l'année de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*
- CSCO Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium
- Δελτ.Χριστ.Ἀρχ.Ἐτ. *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἐταιρείας*
- DOP *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
- DOSeals N. Oikonomides and J. Nesbitt, eds., *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art* (Washington, DC, 1991–)
- EHR *English Historical Review*
- EP *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. (Leiden–London, 1960–)
- EO *Echos d'Orient*
- Ἐπ.Ἐτ.Βυζ.Σπ. *Ἐπετηρίς ἐταιρείας βυζαντινῶν σπουδῶν*
- EtByz *Études byzantines*
- FR *Felix Ravenna*
- GCS Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte
- GOTR *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*
- GRBS *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*
- IRAIK *Izvestiia Russkogo arkheologicheskogo instituta v Konstantinopole*
- JbAC *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*
- JECrSt *Journal of Early Christian Studies*
- JLA *Journal of Late Antiquity*
- JMedHist *Journal of Medieval History*
- JÖB *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
- JRAS *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
- JSAH *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*
- JTS *Journal of Theological Studies*
- Loeb Loeb Classical Library
- Mansi J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Paris–Leipzig, 1901–27)
- MélRome *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire, École française de Rome*
- OC *Oriens christianus*
- OCA *Orientalia christiana analecta*
- OCP *Orientalia christiana periodica*
- ODB *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A. Kazhdan et al. (New York–Oxford, 1991)
- PBSR *Papers of the British School at Rome*
- PBW M. Jeffreys et al., *Prosopography of the Byzantine World* (London, 2011) [<http://pbw.kcl.ac.uk>]
- PG *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1857–66)
- PL *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1844–80)
- PLP *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, ed. E. Trapp et al. (Vienna, 1976–)
- PO *Patrologia orientalis*
- PPSb *Pravoslavnii palestinskii sbornik*
- PrOC *Proche-Orient chrétien*
- RAC *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*
- RBK *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*, ed. K. Wessel (Stuttgart, 1963–)
- REB *Revue des études byzantines*

- REG* *Revue des études grecques*
- RSBN* *Rivista di studi bizantini  
e neoellenici*
- RSBS* *Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi*
- SBS* *Studies in Byzantine  
Sigillography*
- SC Sources chrétiennes
- ST Studi e testi
- SubsHag Subsidia hagiographica
- TAPS* *Transactions of the American  
Philosophical Society*
- ThQ* *Theologische Quartalschrift*
- TIB* *Tabula imperii byzantini*, ed.  
H. Hunger (Vienna, 1976–)
- TM* *Travaux et mémoires*
- VizVrem* *Vizantiiskii Vremennik*
- WUNT Wissenschaftliche  
Untersuchungen zum  
Neuen Testament
- ZhMP* *Zhurnal Moskovskoi Patriarkhii*
- ZPapEpig* *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie  
und Epigraphik*
- ZRVI* *Zbornik radova  
Vizantološkog instituta,  
Srpska akademija nauka*