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CYRILLIANA SYRIACA

An investigation into the Syriac Translations

of the works of Cyril of Alexandria,

and the light they shed upon the world of the Syriac

translator

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'Every great age is an age of translations'

Ezra Pound

A translator dyes an Author, like an old stuff, into a new colour
Samuel Butler

Summary

It is well known that Syriac translations from the Greek changed a great deal between the fourth and seventh centuries AD. Many Syriac versions of the scriptures, the Greek Fathers and the philosophers were subjected to revision and improvement. This study looks at the Syriac translations of Cyril of Alexandria's Christological works and seeks to place them in the wider context just mentioned. It aims to illuminate their date and background on the basis of a comparative typology of translation technique and method. This also includes the use of biblical citations and parallel citations in other texts as important evidence.

It is shown that the texts come from dates ranging from the middle of the fifth to the middle of the sixth century and can be fittingly compared with other contemporary documents. The findings highlight the importance of the few decades either side of the turn of the sixth century as the key moment when the Syriac translators developed a new vision of their language and its capabilities. This was the time of the most rapid change and pivots around the person of Philoxenus. It is also suggested that Philoxenus' own role resulted from his reading of some of these very translations and the new techniques found therein.

In the first section, it is suggested that these technical developments are related to parallel developments in the church concerning matters of textual authority and systematisation, the rise of patristic exegesis and florilegia. In a final chapter, the study goes on to place this development in a still wider context within late antiquity and argues that this new vision of language use which we see in the Syrian church can be paralleled in a number of other walks of life and, in fact, represents a typical 'late antique' frame of mind.

Contents

Detailed List of Contents

Abbreviations

Works of Cyril of Alexandria

AT	Responsiones ad Tiberium Diaconum
CL	Comm. in Lucam
CO	Apologia duodecim capitulorum contra Orientales
CT	Apologia duodecim capitulorum contra Theodoretum
EDC	Explanatio duodecim capitulorum
Epp	Epistulae (numbered as in McEnerney, *Letters*)
GL	Glaphyra in Pentateuchum
QUX	Quod Unus Sit Christus
RF	De Recta Fide ad Theodosium
SDI	Scholia de Incarnatione Verbi

Wherever these texts are quoted, only page and line numbers will be given (or folio numbers in the case of mss). The following list explains which printed editions/mss these references pertain to for each of the above texts.

	Greek	*Syriac*
AT (5232)	Wickham, *Letters*	Ebied and Wickham, *Tiberius Deacon*
CL (5107)	[not extant]	Chabot and Tonneau, *Comm. in Lucam*
CO (5221)	ACO I,1,7,33-65	BL Add 12156, f.91r-107v
CT (5222)	ACO I,1,6,107-46	BL Add 12156, f.107v-122r
EDC (5223)	ACO I,1,5,15-25	BL Add 14557, f.14r-21r
Ep39 (5339)	ACO I,1,4,15-20	BL Add 14557, f.149v-152v
Ep40 (5340)	ACO I,1,4,20-31	Ebied & Wickham, *Letters*, 25-38
Ep44 (5344)	ACO I,1,4,35-7	Ebied & Wickham, *Letters*, 54-57
Ep45 (5345)	ACO I,1,6,151-7	Ebied & Wickham, *Letters*, 39-46
Ep46 (5346)	ACO I,1,6,157-62	Ebied & Wickham, *Letters*, 47-53
Ep50 (5350)	ACO I,1,3,90-101	BL Add 14557, f.140v-147v
Ep55 (5355)	ACO I,1,4,49-61	Ebied & Wickham, *Letters*, 1-24
GL (5201)	Migne, PG 69,9-678	Guidi, *Mose di Aggel*, 404-16, 546-7

RF (5218)	ACO I,1,1,42-72	Pusey, *De recta fide...* 1-153
QUX (5228)	Durand, *Dialogues*	BL Add 14557, f.50v-95v
SDI (5225)	ACO I,5,219-231	BL Add 14557, f.21r-50v

Ep101 is a letter from Cyril to Rabbula, unknown in Greek but included in McEnerney, *Letters*. The Syriac is to be found in Guidi, *Mose di Aggel*, 545-7, in the footnotes.

NB:

- Note that the first part of AT is not extant in Greek. Passages from this portion will be referenced as 'noGk' with the Syriac reference following.
- EDC is sometimes split into EDC1 and EDC2. These refer to the two alternative Syriac versions which will be more fully discussed in Part 3.iv.a.
- SDI is only fragmentarily preserved in Greek. Occasionally, recourse will be had to the full Latin version, as found in ACO I,5,184-215.

Bible versions

OS (S,C)	Old Syriac Gospels (Sinaitic, Curetonian)
P	Peshitta
X	Philoxenian
H	Harklean
SH	Syro-Hexapla

Other Syriac Texts

AkEph	Acts of Ephesus in Syriac [Flemming, *Akten*]
AJP	Severus of Antioch. *Anti-Julianist Polemic* [Hespel, *La polemique antijulianiste*]
AN	Severus of Antioch. *Ad Nephalium* (in its Syriac version by Athanasius of Nisibis) [Lebon, *Orationes ac Epistulae*]
APL	Fragments of Apollinarius in Syriac [Flemming and Lietzmann, *Apollinaristische Schriften syrisch*]
Ath	Athanasian corpus in Syriac [Thomson, *Athanasiana*]

CG	Severus of Antioch. *Contra impium grammaticum* [Lebon, *Contra Impium Grammaticum*]
CPJ	Philoxenus. *Commentaire du Prologue Johannique* [De Halleux, *Prologue Johannique*]
DD	Philoxenus. *Dissertationes Decem contra Habbib* [Brière and Graffin, *Dissertationes Decem V*]
DM	Documenta ad origines monophysitarum [Chabot, *Documenta*]
Dsc	Philoxenus. *Discourses* [Budge, *Discourses*]
FC	Florilegium Cyrillianum [Hespel, *Florilège cyrillien*]
Fl Ed	Florilegium Edessenum [Rücker, *Florilegium Edessenum*]
EpS	Philoxenus. *Letter to the Monks of Senoun* [De Halleux, *Moines de Senoun*]
EpAdda	Philoxenus. *Letter to the Monks of Tel-Adda* [Guidi, *La lettera di Filosseno*]
HG	Anonymous 6th century Homilies [Graffin, PO 41,4, 393-447]
HOM	Severus of Antioch. *Homilies* [Brière, Graffin, et al., *Homiliae cathedrales*]
JP	John Philoponus in Syriac
JR	John Rufus in Syriac
JS	Jacob of Serugh
ML	Philoxenus. *Commentary on Matthew/Luke* [Watt, *Matthew and Luke*]
MosEp	Moses of Aggel's Correspondence [ZR I, p.17,18-21,12 and Guidi, *Mose di Aggel*, 399-404].
PC	Paul of Callinicum as translator of the works of Severus of Antioch. These may appear under the abbreviations such as PC^{AJP}, PC^{PHL} etc.]
PHL	Severus of Antioch. *Philalethes*[Hespel, *Philalèthe*]
Phx$^{#}$	Various works of Philoxenus
Phx^{pre-x}	Philoxenus. Works written before 508
Phx^{post-x}	Philoxenus. Works written after 508
Phx^{unsure}	Philoxenus. Works of uncertain date
Proc^{S1}	Proclus of Constantinople. *Tomus ad Armenios*, from Add 14557
Proc^{S1b}	id., from ps-Zacharias Rhetor [Brooks, *Historia Ecclesiastica*]
Proc^{S2}	id., from BL Add. 12156

SG	Severus of Antioch. *Correspondence with Sergius Grammaticus* [Lebon, *Orationes ac Epistulae*]
TA	Timothy Ailuros in Syriac
TT	Philoxenus. *Tres Tractatus de Trinitate* [Vaschalde, *Tractatus tres*]
VJT	Vita of John of Tella [Brooks, *Vitae Virorum*]
ZR	ps-Zacharias Rhetor [Brooks, *Historia Ecclesiastica*]

Abbreviations of Modern Works and Journals

[following the conventions of Année Philologique]

ACO	Schwartz, Eduard, ed., *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum, Tomus Primus*. Berlin and Leipzig, 1922-7.
AJPh	American Journal of Philology
BRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
ByzZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
C&M	Classica et Mediaevalia
DAP	J. Kerschensteiner. *Der altsyrische Paulustext*. Leuven, 1970.
ExpT	Expository Times
GRBS	Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
JA	Journal Asiatique
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
JCSSS	Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies
JThS	Journal of Theological Studies
NT	Novum Testamentum
NTSU	Aland, Barbara & A. Juckel, eds., *Die Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung*. 4 vols. Berlin, 1986-2002.
OC	Oriens Christianus
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
PETSE	Papers of the Estonian Theologial Society in Exile
POr	Parole de l'Orient
REArm	Revue des études armeniénnes
RHE	Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique
RSO	Rivista degli studi orientali
RSR	Recherches de science religieuse

RThPh	Revue de théologie et philosophie
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen
Th&Ph	Théologie und Philosophie
ThLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung
VChr	Vigiliae Christianae
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZKG	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
ZNTW	Zeitschrift für Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft

Part 1

Introductory

1.i

An Introduction and a Way Forward

"Every new exuberance, every new heave is stimulated by translations, every allegedly great age is an age of translations"

<div align="right">Ezra Pound, Literary Essays</div>

The importance of translation

The project here undertaken takes as its most fundamental premise the organic interconnection between processes of and approaches to literary translation on the one hand, and on the other the cultural and political trends which form their historical background. It follows that when such translational exercises are themselves part of a large-scale and widely observed cultural and political phenomenon or development, then that interconnection will be all the more pronounced. Further, wherever such a literary process itself forms the launch pad for the emergence of a new cultural identification over against a parent culture, with whom the relationship of the new may involve a mixture both of respect and distancing, the importance of the exercise, as a self-expression of the emerging culture, assumes such proportions that the translator can be said to be no longer a mere 'mediator' between cultures, but to be him/herself in a position of power, a force for change, a 'power-broker'.

This will probably be true at any time and in any place, but all these factors come together particularly well in the emergence in late antiquity of the Syriac-speaking community as a self-assured and self-sufficient literary and artistic culture. Its relationship to the Greek world, most especially in matters religious (for the Syriac culture may be considered to be almost, but not quite, co-terminous with the Syriac church), but in other areas also, is a fluctuating one which involves outwardly contradictory moves towards greater independence in the political and cultural

spheres alongside an increasing devotion to, even mimesis of, Greek literature, both secular and religious.[1]

From the point of view of an historical analysis, this subject has the added advantage of being very much a closed one. The processes of, and approaches to, literary translation which we will be discussing did not persist beyond the slide of Syriac culture beneath the wave of Arabism in the middle ages, and there was little direct relationship between Greek and Syriac after the eighth century. At the same time, the beginnings of the relationship and of the processes and phenomena that we will analyse lie back in the 4th century at the latest, and thus over a period of almost four centuries we have the advantage of observing not only changing approaches and attitudes, but also the long-term consequences of the decisions and directions that were taken.

These factors together make this particular historical context a worthy one for study in its own right and also, and most especially, as an example of the more general hypothesis mentioned above. We therefore propose to study Syriac translation-texts in their relationship to the emergence and definition of Syriac Christianity from approximately the fifth to the eighth centuries. Although we can analyse here only a restricted number of texts, both in terms of genre and date, they are presented as being illustrative of more general conclusions.

In Part 1 we shall explore, as prolegomena, certain (largely historical) phenomena which will form the basis for our textual analyses to come and then for any conclusions that we hope to build upon those analyses.

Forays into an historical context

On what grounds, then, can we say that the numerous literary translations made from Greek into Syriac during our time period are indeed closely intertwined with wider developments in the Syriac world?

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[1] For a general overview and interpretation, Brock, *Antagonism to Assimilation*.

Since it was religion that was the predominant means of expression for a distinctively 'Syriac' culture, it is here that we find the connection most obviously expressed. Let us then begin by making three very general observations on the history of Christianity in the Mediterranean world in the fifth to the seventh centuries. The importance of these observations will hopefully soon become apparent and will form the basis for our approach to the Greek/Syriac translation literature.

The first of these is that the divide between the Antiochene and the Alexandrian approaches to the exegesis of Scripture and the understanding of the person of Christ was increasingly a divide not merely along dogmatic lines, but along lines of culture, of geography, of ethnicity, and of language, such that after Chalcedon there is not so much a motivation to *rapprochement* between the opposing sides as towards defensiveness, self-definition and self-identification. The incorporation (partly through literary translation) of the Antiochene/Alexandrian divide into the Syriac church at the very time of its development as a self-conscious institution (5th-6th centuries) is therefore of great significance.

The second observation concerns the growing independence of the Syriac speaking churches, the growth of something approaching a Syrian ethnic awareness, of an indigenous literature and a distinctive form of religion based especially around ascetical practices. From the political point of view, the loss of Nisibis to Persia after the death of Julian alienated or marginalised many Syriac cities from the Byzantine centre and, in the West Syrian lands, the adoption of Severan monophysitism from the early sixth century encouraged this process yet further as a new self-sufficient church hierarchy was put in place through the efforts of Jacob Burd'ana and his colleagues. This is not to say that nationalist aspirations necessarily underlie Christological disputes (which were real enough in themselves) but that over time, there is, as we shall see, an inner logic between theological distancing and cultural/political distancing.[1]

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[1] For the dangers inherent in making theological positions covers for national movements, see A.H.M. Jones, 'Were ancient heresies national or social movements in disguise?' *JThS* n.s.10 (1959), 280-98; on 'cultural distancing', see especially Brock, *Antagonism to Assimilation*, 13 n.34, and *Greek and Syriac in Late Antique Syria*, which distinguish carefully between increasing literary dependence and submissiveness on the one hand and the increasing cultural and political self-sufficiency of the Syrians on the other.

The third and final observation is that in the period after 451 there was a sea-change in the form and method of theological argument, especially in Christological matters, a move which may be described as being away from Biblical exegesis towards patristic exegesis. This move is perhaps best exemplified by the rise of both the florilegium as a genre of theological literature at the expense of Biblical commentaries and theological treatises, and the concomitant importance attached to the accuracy of the texts of the Fathers themselves.[1] It was on the back of this development above all that Cyril of Alexandria became the 'light and eye of Christ's heavenly body,'[2] and was extensively studied, excerpted, and (in the Syriac church) translated. For this reason, Cyril has been chosen as the subject of this study.

While the first and second of these observations have been adequately described and discussed elsewhere,[3] the third may need a little more elaboration before we can show more conclusively why these three strands should together point us towards the organic link between historical/cultural change and the literary phenomenon of the Syriac translation-texts of the fifth to the seventh centuries.

We shall now, therefore, explore further the matter of the exegesis of the Fathers, firstly through the rise and use of the florilegia; secondly through the development of a translation 'programme' within the Syriac church.

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[1] See, for instance, Gray, *Through the Tunnel with Leontius of Jerusalem*.

[2] The description of Cyril as ܪܘܚܐ ܡܫܡܠܝܐ ܘܥܝܢܐ ܢܗܝܪܐ was accorded him by his correspondent Tiberius the Deacon - Ebied and Wickham, *Tiberius Deacon*, 444.

[3] For the first, see e.g. Grillmeier, *Christ 2:1*, or the brief but perceptive comment in Ebied and Wickham, *Timothy Aelurus Against Chalcedon*, 116 and note; for the second see Brock, *Antagonism to Assimilation*, or general histories of Syriac literature such as Duval, *Littérature Syriaque*, and Baumstark, *Geschichte*.

The exegesis of the Fathers

'Who controls the past controls the future'

George Orwell, *1984*

The debate over Chalcedon, a question of form

The period between the council of 451 and the era of Severus of Antioch and the neo-Chalcedonians saw a significant departure from the norms of theological debate to which we are accustomed when reading the conflicts of an earlier age. There are few, if any, fresh attempts at grappling with the issues that concerned men like Cyril and John of Antioch, and an increasing shift towards a scene dominated by battles over the ownership of traditions and the acceptance or rejection of the council itself. New forms of debate and argument opened up in this period as a result of this re-orientation of aims.

What we see in the sources is thus a seismic shift in the form of theological (particularly of Christological) discourse, from one based largely on the citation and exegesis of scriptural texts to one based rather on the citation and 'ownership' of what may now be called patristic texts. The beginnings of this shift can be perceived already in Cyril of Alexandria, the motivating force behind the famous Ephesine decree of 431, by which only the faith of the 318 Fathers of Nicaea was to be accepted henceforth as the basis of church dogma. In his letter to Acacius of Melitene, written in 433, Cyril writes that his aim is to 'set down dogma' by 'raising up the Fathers.'[1] The Ephesine decree remained the driving force of the *form* of theological argument for a long time to come, hence Philoxenus' pronouncement, "anyone who shall produce a definition of faith other than the august and holy [one] coming from the Fathers of Nicaea, let him be anathema."[2] We must say '*form*' advisedly, since *theology* proper certainly developed post-Chalcedon; but the important point here is that it was not perceived to have done so, and the Ephesine decree had its greatest impact on the *form* rather than on the *content* of theological discourse.

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[1] ἐξέθετο τὰ περὶ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως, συνυφάνας ἡμῖν καὶ τὴν πατρῴαν παράδοσιν (ACO I,1,4,30,21-2). The words were originally written by John of Harran in reference to Cyril, but are quoted by the latter with approbation in his *Ep40*; in the Syriac version it reads ـܢܒܝ ܡܗܩܘ̈ܝܦ ܠܟ ܡܣ ـܡܒܐܪܝ ܪ̈ܗܩܘܬ̈ܠܡ ܒܘܗ ܠ ܡܝܩ ܝܒ (*he has established our Lord's incarnation by setting up again for us the tradition of our fathers*), Ebied and Wickham, *Syriac Letters*, 38,17-8.

[2] ـܪܠܩܘܒ ܪ̈ܗܡܐ̈ܝ ܢܡ ܪ̈ܩܡ ܪ̈ܩܗܒܐ ܪ̈ܟ̈ܦ ܘܗ ܢܡ ܠܒ :ܪ̈ܗܩܘܒܝܩܢ ܪ̈ܗܩܘܗ ܪ̈ܝܘܐ ܪ̈ܩܘܒܝ ܢܡ ܠܒ ܪ̈ܩܡ ܪ̈ܝܒ ܒܘܪ̈ܗ, De Halleux, *Moines de Senoun*, 47,22-5.

To illustrate further the general trend, when Basil of Seleucia replied to the encyclical of the Emperor Leo to explain his support for the Chalcedonian definition, he did so on the basis of Cyril's second letter to Nestorius as being an accurate interpretation of the doctrines of Nicaea.[1] We can take his method of focusing on patristic rather than Biblical authority as typical of his fellow-bishops in the decades following Chalcedon.

The point about the importance of *texts* is well encapsulated in the story of the belligerence of the Sleepless Monks (the *Akoimētai*) of Constantinople which "drove them to procure and gather copies of all the documents that were important for ecclesiastical politics, so that their library became nothing short of an arsenal of propaganda, the most important weapon for which at that time was the publication of documents."[2] We may summarise with Lebon that 'chez les théologiens monophysites aussi bien que chez leurs adversaires...l'argument d'autorité joue un rôle capitale."[3]

There are two aspects of post-Chalcedonian literary productivity which arose from these new concerns and aims. The first is the appearance and growth of the patristic *florilegium* as a genre in its own right and as a weapon in theological debate; the second is the importance in that same debate of the *translation* of the Fathers, generally in the direction Greek-Latin and Greek-Syriac (occasionally Latin-Greek and Greek-Coptic).

Florilegium

Can we outline the development and growth of this literary genre such that it will shed light on our wider historical context and on the phenomenon of the Syriac translation-texts?

The idea of collecting together proof-texts for use in argument is hardly new with our period.[4] Of course, it was quite natural for the church to excerpt scriptural texts, but it could happen elsewhere too. There is plenty of evidence for collections of poetical

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[1] Basil's reply constitutes chapter 28 of the Encyclical, ACO II,5,47ff.
[2] Grillmeier, *Christ 2:2*, 13, n.34.
[3] Lebon, *Christologie*, 578.
[4] On the earlier history of the genre see principally Chadwick, *Florilegium*. Richard, *Les Florilèges*, follows the rise of the diphysite florilegia after Chalcedon. For monophysite examples, the best overview is Grillmeier, *Christ 2:1*, 51-77, while a more exhaustive discussion of sources will be found in Schwartz, *Cod Vat 1431*, and Schwartz, *Publizistische Sammlungen*.

and philosophical texts being made for school purposes for centuries before our period; there is also clear evidence for a Platonic florilegium in use among the middle-Platonist writers which provided the common stock for Albinus and Celsus as well as for Justin and Clement. It seems that specifically Christian versions of these were also developed. Whether pagan or Christian they were, of course, never just collections of the sayings of the master, but carefully picked-out texts, often grouped thematically, and designed to facilitate argumentation and debate. Seneca once suggested that anthologies of 'proof-texts' were sufficient for the common man over and above evidential proof.[1] They would work especially well, it might be added, where one particular strand of the master's thought had become the foundation of a new tradition, as was the case in Middle-Platonism, and would be also with the Christological controversies over Chalcedon. A most telling example of the (ab)use of the florilegium is found in Irenaeus, *Adv Haer* 1,9,4, in which the writer quotes and refutes an Homeric florilegium used by the Valentinians – the problem with this anthology, Irenaeus points out, is that it consists of a string of unconnected, out-of-context citations which do violence to any meaning the texts might actually hold.[2] Anthologies of texts held in special reverence, in an environment in which meaning is held to reside in individual words, could easily have such an effect as Irenaeus suggests, and much the same might be said of the *Florilegium Cyrillianum*, as we will see later on.

Although compiling lists of scriptural citations was fairly commonplace amongst the church writers of the first three centuries, there is nothing in the way of a patristic florilegium before the latter part of the fourth century. Basil's *Philocalia* consists of a set of quotes from Origen, designed not as authoritative theology but to illustrate his exegetical method, and his *De Spiritu Sancto* includes a florilegium of quotes from 3rd century authors. However, there is still at this time some resistance to accepting patristic witnesses as evidence in theological argument.[3] It is only really with the Council of Ephesus in 431 that we begin to see a different sort of theological discourse. Because the creed, always tellingly referred to as 'the opinions of the 318 Fathers', was seen as the summary of the opinions of all preceding Fathers of the

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[1] Chadwick, *Florilegium*, 1139.
[2] ibid., 1141.
[3] Thus, for example, Gregory of Nyssa rejects Eunomius' appeal to the 'Fathers'.

Church, the idea of quoting not just the creed but also the works of the Fathers themselves naturally presented itself to Cyril as the most obvious way to proceed during the Nestorian controversy. He evidently felt strongly that this method could be used to advantage "because the creed of Nicaea stresses more strongly than its ancient predecessors the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father and his Godhead, and then goes on to predicate the Incarnation and the whole *oikonomia* of just this Son."[1] This new perspective on authority is neatly summed up by Cyril himself when he writes: "enough for us are the inspired scriptures, the sober vigilance of the Holy Fathers, and the Creed carved out to meet absolutely every detail of orthodoxy."[2] In his letter to Succensus he commends the reading of the Fathers as the means "to introduce no innovation into orthodoxy."[3] The enshrining, in the seventh canon of the Acts of the Council, of the principle by which no other faith than that of Nicaea was ever to be promulgated set the seal on the form of theological argument to be used henceforth and secured the future of the patristic florilegium.

At the same time as excerpting the Fathers' support for his interpretation of the creed, Cyril also needed to refute the sayings of an opponent, Nestorius, of whom few people had heard and whose works even fewer had read. The need, therefore, to compile a set of quotations from the works of one's opponents also arose quite naturally from within the situation. Thus Cyril's *Contra Nestorium* contains a florilegium of citations from Nestorius as well as one of Biblical citations - this does not really amount to a florilegium itself, but is a sort of prototype. There is also a short florilegium in the *De Recta Fide ad Augustas* and another in the *Contra Orientales*.[4] These are both closely related, in terms of their content, to the citations found in the so-called *Excerpta Ephesena*, a collection attached to the Acts of that council and which was probably the work of Cyril himself.[5] It was via these early collections, it seems, that the Apollinarian *loci* entered the Christological arena legitimated under orthodox pseudonyms. However, the patristic collection in the *ad Augustas* is followed by a vastly larger scriptural florilegium, an indication that the

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[1] Grillmeier, *Christ 1*, 363.
[2] Ep40, Wickham, *Letters*, 42, 20-2.
[3] Ep45, ibid., 71.
[4] These will be found respectively at ACO 1,1,5, 66-68 and ACO I,1,7,37, ll.45,48-9,60,64-5.
[5] Slightly differing versions to be found at ACO I,1,2,39-45 and ACO I,1,7,89-95.

former type was as yet still far from displacing the latter as a source of proof-texts for Christian dogma.

At about the same time that Cyril and his followers (most notably Theodotus of Ancyra[1]) were making good use of the new idea post-Ephesus, Theodoret began to do the same for the Antiochian side.[2] This may have begun as early as 431 specifically in response to events at Ephesus.[3] Just such a document was used, for instance, at the small council at Chalcedon in late 431, called by the Emperor to sort out the dispute between the Cyrillians and the Orientals, at which Theodoret was present. As a result, Theodoret's florilegium was incorporated, c.432, into his *Pentalogus* and later into the *Eranistes*, c.447/8. The latter treatise aimed to show the Nicene orthodoxy of the two natures doctrine, but as a pacifying measure contained no citations from the Antiochian Fathers, Diodore or Theodore, but rather included quotes from Cyril's *Scholia* (a very early instance of Cyril being himself quoted). This original Antiochian florilegium seems also to have influenced the various texts used by the Roman delegation at Chalcedon.[4] John the Grammarian probably used a later version of the same document, judging by the fragments of his work found in Severus, though by this time it had been much merged with Leo's. Thus, for instance, all four of Theodoret's citations from Cyril's correspondence which are included in the *Eranistes* are found also in the *Florilegium Cyrillianum*, which must have been closely connected to John the Grammarian.

Leo's *Tome* (450) contained another well-known florilegium,[5] designed as proof that the *Tome* itself contained nothing new but was in fact simply the correct 'patristic' interpretation of the Nicene creed. Although this florilegium was never actually read at Chalcedon, an expanded version was appended to the 2nd edition of the *Tome* (Leo's *Ep.*165, dated 458) which included elements from Theodoret's work such as

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[1] See Van Roey, *Florilége Nestorien dans le Traité contre Nestorius*.
[2] See especially Richard, *Les Florilèges*.
[3] Sellers, *Chalcedon*, 14, n.2; evidence for this comes specifically from a letter of John of Antioch to Acacius of Beroea (*Synodicon* 19) and Theodoret *Ep* 170. A reconstruction of the florilegium has been attempted, *RHE* 6,513ff. Ettlinger, *History of the Citations*, provides a detailed analysis into the content of the florilegia of the *Eranistes*.
[4] ACO II,I,3,114,4-116,2 contains the version of the *Eransites'* Florilegium used at Chalcedon.
[5] ACO II,I,1,20,7-25,6.

the quotes from Cyril's *Scholia*.[1] This florilegium was much used by the neo-Chalcedonians in later times, especially by Ephraem of Antioch and Leontius of Byzantium; its distinctive Western citations ended up as the stock-in-trade of the Chalcedonians even in the days of the Three Chapters dispute, a full century after its original compilation. In the Syriac world, it entered the tradition of the East Syrian Church and much of the same material is to be found in a well-known collection in a Cambridge manuscript.[2]

The *Florilegium Cyrillianum* provides another instance of a pro-Chalcedonian collection. A collection of testimonia to prove that Cyril would have backed the two-nature Christology of Chalcedon, this document went to Rome in c.482 with John Talaia, the Chalcedonian candidate for the see of Alexandria after the death of Timothy Salophaciolus in 481. It then returned to Constantinople, to a patrician named Appio, who seems to have shown it to the Emperor who in turn, concerned at Cyril's apparent two-nature Christology, turned to Severus for help. The latter composed his *Philalethes* in response. We shall deal with this florilegium later, but for now we note only that it was unusual in being a collection made from a single author. This gives us a foretaste of the importance of Cyril to the post-Chalcedonian debate.[3]

The anti-Chalcedonians, of course, were just as keen on producing their own florilegia, beginning with Timothy Ailuros' collections of *loci* made for his refutations of Chalcedon.[4] The result of the ongoing expansion and conflation of these florilegia is perhaps best exemplified by Vat.Gr.1431, a collection published by Schwartz,[5] and a closely related Syriac text, to which we shall have recourse again.[6] This particular tradition of florilegia formed the basis for the patristic exegesis of Severus of Antioch and Philoxenus of Mabbug. The latter's collection of citations

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[1] This can be found at both ACO II,4,119,15-131,17 and in Schwartz, *Cod Vat 1431*, 71.4-85.22. See the discussion of these citations in Richard, *Le pape saint Léon*.

[2] Cam. Or. 1319, published and discussed by Abramowski and Goodman, *Nestorian Collection*.

[3] For more on the florilegium see Grillmeier, *Christ 2:1*, 54, Sellers, *Chalcedon*, 288-91; the florilegium itself was edited by Hespel, *Florilège cyrillien*, and the *Philalethes* similarly will be found in Hespel, *Philalèthe*.

[4] Most of this material has been published in Ebied and Wickham, *Timothy Aelurus Letters* and *Timothy Aelurus against Chalcedon*.

[5] Schwartz, *Cod Vat 1431*.

[6] BM Add 12156, the subject of a special study, Abramowski, *Zur geplanten Ausgabe*.

appended to his treatise against Habbib has many points of contact with the *Excerpta Ephesena* composed by Cyril for the council of 431[1] and his citations attached to the much later *Letter to the monks of Senoun* are closely related to the *Vat.Gr.1431* collection, via the *Florilegium Edessenum*.[2] Perhaps from this background also comes one of the most enduring pieces of Christian literature, namely the 'Sayings of the Desert Fathers', a series of collections which may well owe their origin to the zeal of the anti-Chalcedonian monasteries. If so, they constitute a vital part of the florilegium-genre and, better than any other example, illustrate how its influence and power in theological debate paralleled the personal power and influence of the holy men of the desert to whom the sayings were attributed.[3]

The continuing significance of the florilegium in the age of Justinian can be illustrated from the example of the *Florilegium Edessenum*, originally a Greek collection, the contents of which closely relate to those patristic citations found in the acts of the fifth council (553). In order to condemn the likes of Theodore and Ibas, the council needed evidence of Cyril's disapproval of these men, and this they found in the letters quoted in this florilegium.[4] The genre continued its rise, through such comprehensive collections as the *Doctrina Patrum*, to reach its ultimate expression in a work such as *De fide orthodoxa* of John Damascene, which could be described as both a florilegium and a full theological treatise in one.

The rise of the florilegium illustrates the growing importance of patristic citation in theological argument, as illustrated in the work of Timothy Ailouros, for whom "the florilegium is the argument."[5] Its importance grew in parallel with the matter of the 'correct and accurate' citing of both scripture and the texts of the Fathers. This matter of textual accuracy is well illustrated both by Leontius of Byzantium's uncovering of

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[1] This florilegium was appended to his *Decem Dissertationes contra Habbib*, about which see De Halleux, *Philoxène*, 225-38; and for the florilegium in particular, Graffin, *Floriège Patristique*. The text can be found in Brière and Graffin, *Dissertationes Decem V*.

[2] For which see further below, Part 3.iv.c.

[3] For the suggestion, see Derwas Chitty, *The Desert City*. Crestwood, NY, 1995, 74. The Enaton monastery near Alexandria, later to have a number of close connections with Syria, was a key place for the organisation of opposition to Chalcedon and probably also for the organisation of collections of the *apophthegmata*.

[4] The Syriac form of the florilegium is published in Rücker, *Florilegium Edessenum* and discussed in Abramowski, *Zur geplanten Ausgabe*, 28. Its use at the fifth ecumenical council can be seen in ACO IV,1. Schwartz, *Cod Vat 1431*, 131ff. also describes the same collection on account of its close relationship to Vat.Gr.1431.

[5] Ebied and Wickham, *Timothy Aelurus Against Chalcedon*, 117.

the monophysite Apollinarist *loci* and by Severus' numerous complaints in the *Philalethes* that the compiler of the *Florilegium Cyrillianum* uses the scissors a little too neatly in his plundering of Cyril's works for references to two natures and thereby does violence to Cyril's meaning.[1] Here the writings of the Fathers find their true purpose in theological method. It has even been said that "patristic theology may be said to aspire to the condition of the florilegium."[2]

All this explains the very numerous and extensive florilegia found in Syriac manuscripts. These collections have yet to be thoroughly explored and their contexts explained, a task which cannot be accomplished here, although the importance of existing *Syriac* florilegia will become apparent in some of the arguments (e.g. Part 2.ii). This lengthy discussion upon florilegia also forms a vital backdrop to understanding the issue of translation. Given this background, it is obvious why translations took on such significance, and also why there was a need for continual improvement and revision of existing translation practice. To transmit texts correctly and accurately became one of the key themes of Syriac theological concern. This would involve both a concern for *textual* accuracy and for *translational* accuracy. The latter evidently played on the minds of a good number of Syriac leaders and scribes. We shall now proceed, therefore, to assess the importance of *translation* in particular within the developments traced out in brief above, and most especially how the leaders of the Syriac community themselves perceived and reacted to the changing situation.

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[1] See Bardy, *Sévère*.
[2] Ebied and Wickham, *Timothy Aelurus Against Chalcedon*, 117, with reference to the development towards the purely anthologistic work of John Damascene.

"The vanity of Celestine was flattered by the appeal [of Cyril]; and the partial version [i.e. translation] of a monk decided the faith of the pope, who with his Latin clergy was ignorant of the language, the arts, and the theology of the Greeks."

Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, vol.4

We can now analyse the sources relating to theological translation in late antiquity under three heads. Firstly, what various sources tell us about the importance of translation in these theological debates; secondly, how Syriac writers and church leaders may have perceived and thought about translation as a concept, both in terms of its importance generally and in terms of the different approaches that might be taken towards its execution; thirdly, what we can learn about these different approaches and techniques of translation from Greek into Syriac from analysis of the translation-texts themselves, especially from those that can be dated securely on external grounds.

i. Its significance in the ancient churches

"A translator travailleth not to his own private commodity, but to the benefit and public use of his country"

Nicholas Udall, 1549

Occasionally, our sources show us clearly the importance attached to issues of translation within the ecclesiastical (even political) debates of the day.

Thus when Nestorius sent a letter to Pope Celestine in 428 seeking support in his dispute, the Pope did not reply for about two years seemingly due to a lack of good translators in Rome at this time.[1] Celestine therefore asked Cyril to provide him with more information.[2] Cyril not only did so but he even sent a deputation to Rome under a deacon Posidonius with a letter which itself refers to another batch of the writings of

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[1] See ACO I,2,7,21-8,4.
[2] Cyril *Ep 19*, the first letter to Nestorius, ACO I,1,1,23-5.

Nestorius which Cyril has already had translated into Latin for the Pope's use.[1] The papal support that Cyril enjoyed during the Nestorian dispute shows how valuable was this little translation exercise, though we need not interpret it in quite such harsh terms as did Gibbon (quoted above).

In 497, Pope Anastasius II tried to heal the Acacian schism on terms which even the Alexandrians were prepared to accept; in writing to Rome, they excused their stance during the schism in the following way:

[the letters of Leo to the council at Chalcedon] "afforded not a few opportunities for those who approved of the blasphemies of the most wicked Nestorius, such that they liberally construed that that same Nestorius believed things that are barely erroneous. On account of this, therefore, our God-loving people took offence and thought that the sense of what was contained in the Greek translation must be similar to that in the Latin words and so cut themselves off from the unity of the Roman church."[2] In other words, a bad translation was to blame for theological misunderstanding. The example shows how aware churchmen were of the need of good translation for good communication.

The importance of the translation exercise to the development of Biblical exegesis in the West hardly needs repeating in any detail here. We only need acknowledge it as a key part of the overall theological discourse that developed in the post-Constantinian worldwide church. The work of Jerome and Rufinus brought Western thought not only closer to the Bible but closer to the traditions of Greek theology, while Marius Victorinus brought the Greek philosophers to bear on the developments of Latin theology. Jerome's debates over how exactly one ought to translate both the Scriptures and the Fathers only serve to highlight the significance that these translations were perceived already to have.

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[1] Letter at ACO I,1,5,10-12. The translated collection appears to be the same as that found in ACO I,5,55-60.

[2] O.Günther (ed.), *Epistulae imperatorum pontificum aliorum inde ab a. CCCLXVII usque ad a. DLIII datae Avellana quae dicitur collectio*, CSEL XXXV, Vienna, 1895-8, no.102. The document in question is entitled '*Libellus quem dederunt apocrisarii Alexandrinae ecclesiae legatis ab urbe Roma Constantinopolim destinatis*'. There is a summary of the issues and result of this exchange in Frend, *Monophysite Movement*, 198.

On the Syriac side also, the translations of the Fathers were very numerous, covering most of the principal Greek authors.[1] Can we see in the sources any sign of the beginnings of this process and thereby try to understand its inner workings and motivations? The various evidence and historical data concerning the rise and course of the so-called 'School of the Persians' at Edessa and Nisibis have been assimilated and sifted by Arthur Vööbus.[2] He has shown especially the close relationship between the central goal of the school, namely the accurate ܪܗܘܩܪܣܐ (exegesis) of the Bible, and the translation projects which seem to have grown up there from c.430 onwards. The momentum for such a project came from the reforms of Qiiore, who perceived that the exegesis of Diodore of Tarsus and Theodore of Mopsuestia was to be preferred to that of Ephrem, and should become the basis of the future school curriculum. This fundamental shift towards the Antiochene traditions entailed a large scale work of Greek-Syriac translation, which seems to have involved a number of the great scholars of the day. Qiiore's ideas were put into substantial effect by Narsai, who may have taken over the school c.437. Scholars and translators such as Ma'na, Kumi, and later Probus, were all products of this new drive, which involved also the earliest of many future Syriac versions of Aristotle, whose logic was thought to be fundamental to exegesis of the Antiochene type.[3] Jacob of Serug is witness that by c.470 all the works of Diodore were already available in translation in Edessa.

Although this is the first concerted translation 'programme' that we can perceive in the Syriac world, there evidently had been earlier translations, given that BL Add 12150, a manuscript which contains translations from Basil, Eusebius and Titus of Bostra, is dated to 411 and comes from Edessa. Although very little, perhaps none, of this massive 'Antiochene' programme remains intact, the evidence makes it clear that the task was indeed a huge one and must have had extensive support from the authorities, as we know it certainly did at one time in the form of Bishop Ibas. Ibas' role in the propagation of this movement is attested by the historical comment

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[1] A good summary list is to be found in Brock, *Syriac Background*; the material is treated more thoroughly in Baumstark, *Geschichte*.

[2] See Vööbus, *Nisibis*, 10-20, for his discussion of the School's work in translation.

[3] Much of the evidence for this period comes from the later East Syrian historical sources, Barhadbesabba of Arbaia and Barhadbesabba of Holwan, as well as from the catalogues of works described by Abd'isho. All this evidence is carefully sifted and weighed by Vööbus, although the fifth century dating of Probus has been convincingly called into question in Brock, *Towards a History*, 12 n.22, and Brock, *The Syriac Commentary Tradition*, 7, and the identification of the extant Syriac Aristotle texts with those made at this time can also not be upheld..

appended by a scribe to the Syriac version of Proclus' *Tomus ad Armenios*, "after Hiba [i.e. Ibas] the heretic had translated the heretical writings of Theodore and had sent them to the Armenians."[1] This, of course, means that Ibas translated only in the same sense that Constantine built the church of the Holy Sepulchre, but his importance to the project as a whole is certain.

When Rabbula, Ibas' predecessor in the episcopate at Edessa, ran up his flag for the Cyrillines in the near schism which followed the council of Ephesus, he requested from Cyril some of his writings, to be translated into Syriac.[2] For the most part, the clerics and monks of Edessa readily fell behind John of Antioch and the 'Easterns', against Cyril's anathemas. Rabbula was therefore naturally concerned to persuade his countrymen of his own convictions. Although the bishop's biography makes it clear that a number of Cyril's works were translated at this time, none remain to us with the possible exception of Cyril's *De Recta Fide ad Theodosium* (see Part 1.ii for the question of the identity of this translator). Rabbula was doubtless well aware that a number of the works of the Antiochene Fathers had already been through a similar process of translation and assimilation into the Syriac churches. Through Rabbula, a new work of translation can thus be seen to have begun on the opposing side of the Christological divide.

After Rabbula, and until the activity of Philoxenus, which begins about 480 but reaches its point of greatest influence early in the sixth century, there is little direct evidence for what work may have been going on in this area. Philoxenus himself, however, was strongly influenced by the Cyrilline party in Edessa while he was at the school (perhaps in the 450s/60s) and he describes the relationships between the groups.[3] Cyril's ideas and arguments pervade Philoxenus' thought, even at a fairly early stage in his writing career, and so we must assume that already in the 480s he had reasonable access to Cyril's works.[4] Given Philoxenus' limited knowledge of Greek, these were most likely in translation. As we shall see, there is even some direct

[1] From Add 12156, f.67r, cited in Van Rompay, *Proclus*, 433.
[2] The exchange will be found among Cyril's correspondence, *Ep* 73,74.
[3] Evidence comes especially from Philoxenus' first letter to the monks of Beit Gaugal, and from Simeon of Beth-Arsham's *Letter on Nestorianism* – De Halleux, *Philoxène*, 25-6, 30.
[4] On the Cyril/Philoxenus relationship, see further below, Part 3.iv.e.

evidence for this proposition now available, which may give us a glimpse into the work of Rabbula's 'Cyrilline' successors in Edessa.

With Philoxenus we enter also into the issue of translational accuracy and revision, and especially the self-reflection of the Syriac world on the issues raised by the translations. This phenomenon constitutes our next layer of evidence, some of which we can now survey.

ii. The evidence of translation practices as known from Syriac sources

Occasionally, the issue of translation technique is itself discussed by translators, either in the form of prefaces to their own work or else in connection with some other issue under discussion. The best known of these is Philoxenus' own comment on the New Testament revision which he undertook. It focuses on the unreliability of older versions which, either through the ignorance of translators or their Nestorian leanings, produced not only inaccurate but even heretical renderings. Those who adapt their wording, he argues, to the exigencies of the receptor language are not only misguided but even impious.[1] Thus

> When those of old undertook to translate these passages of scripture they made mistakes in many things, whether intentionally or through ignorance; these mistakes concerned not only what is taught concerning the economy in the flesh, but various other things concerning different matters. It was for this reason that we have now taken the trouble to have the Holy Scriptures translated anew from Greek into Syriac.[2]

The earlier versions, he argues, accepted words which were in current Syriac usage at the time but which should then have been updated as the Syriac language progressed. He discusses certain NT passages which need revision in this sense.

Another important passage, from the *Letter to the Monks of Senoun,* concerns Ephrem's language of 'mixture'. His principle argument here appears to be that

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[1] CPJ 51,30-52,27.
[2] CPJ 53,11-16; translated in Brock, *Resolution*, 328. On the Philoxenian see Part 3.iii.c.

Nestorianism resulted from a misunderstanding of the traditional language of the Fathers – but that in Syriac it was impossible to translate accurately all these Greek terms. Ephrem's language may appear to be that of confusing the natures, while it is, in fact, quite orthodox. Thus he comments:

> But since in our Syriac language it has not been customary to employ those precise expressions that are used among the Greeks concerning the divine incarnation and the inexpressible union, instead of 'the natures were united' [ܐܬܚܝܕ] – which was not known in Syriac – the blessed Ephrem wrote that they were 'mixed' [ܐܬܡܙܓ].[1]

It is on this basis of the inadequacy of the Syriac language, coupled with his belief in the perfection of the Greek language of the Fathers, that he goes on to be even more explicit about the neologisms that he has introduced to try to rectify the deficiency, words such as ܐܬܒܪܢܫ, ܐܬܓܫܡ, ܐܬܢܩܦ, ܐܬܐܚܕ, ܐܬܚܝܕ, ܡܬܘܡܐ and ܡܬܘܡܬܐ. He does not go into theological details on the distinctions of the first four but simply shows us their etymologies. Like Cicero and Horace before him, Philoxenus understood well that neologisms, while jarring at first, soon gain credence in their new settings if they are well-chosen.[2] It was this sort of opinion which led to Philoxenus' concern for up-dating not just the Biblical text, but also that of the creeds.[3]

Philoxenus was certainly not the only one to consider these issues. Paul of Callinicum prefaced his translation of Severus' anti-Julianist writings, published around 528, with a variety of comments on content and arrangement and speaks also of his own approach to the task of translation, emphasising that the overall meaning is of greater import than getting things in the right order. Although he is really applying this to the arrangement of his material, he is making a plea for the rights of the translator to work

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[1] De Halleux, *Moines de Senoun*, 51/42; cf. also De Halleux, *Philoxène*, 387, and the recent discussion by Van Rompay, *Mallpânâ dilan Suryâyâ*.

[2] As did Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 60-72 (following Varro, *L.L.*ix.17 and Cicero's frequent comments on the same point; the thought was applied to language by the Stoics, Diog.Laert. vii.59, and goes back to the truly classical thought about νομός, Plat.*Gorg.*484b). Philoxenus's comment forms a neat parallel to this: 'if these other expressions had been translated with the term ܐܬܢܩܦ, adopted into Syriac, they would have come into current usage for all,' De Halleux, *Moines de Senoun*, 54,27-55,1.

[3] De Halleux, *Prologue Johannique*, 53-4; and especially the extensive discussion in De Halleux, *La Philoxénienne du symbole*.

with his material in order to bring its argument to the reader and not to receive criticism from the reader for so doing.[1] When we examine Paul's technique, however, we find it to be very similar to that of the Philoxenian revisions. Paul's discussion of the issues in the preface should be considered alongside the comments of Philoxenus as a sign of the new concern in the sixth century with the difficulties and choices faced by any translator.

Further self-reflection of this type is to be found in Moses of Aggel's well-known comments in his letter prefatory to his own translation of Cyril's *Glaphyra*. The important point for now is simply that here again we see a translator grappling with the potential criticisms of his audience, who may be confused at the apparent discontinuity between the Biblical citations found in the coming text and those to which they are accustomed from their Syriac Bibles.[2] Another preface with similar concerns is that found in the Syriac version of Gregory of Nyssa's *Song of Songs Commentary*.[3]

Finally, another comment of the same type is found accompanying the Syriac version of Theodosius of Alexandria's *Theological Discourse*, translated late in the 6th century. The text appears in both recensions of the work and reads as follows:

> This treatise is rendered [ܢܩܦ] and translated [ܦܫܩ] from the Greek into Syriac, so far as it was possible, word [ܡܠܬܐ, cf. below] for word without any difference [ܫܘܚܠܦܐ], in order that it may show the Greek expressions [ܒܢܬ ܩܠܐ] not only in [their general] meaning [ܣܘܟܠܐ], but in the [Syriac] expressions themselves. As a rule no word [ܐܬܐ, or perhaps 'sign' meaning *morpheme* rather than *word*] has been added or subtracted, if the necessities [ܐܠܝܨܘܬܐ] of the (Syriac) language did not oppose (such translation).[4]

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[1] Hespel, *La polemique antijulianiste*, 1-5.

[2] For the text and further discussion, see below Part 3.iii.c.

[3] Edited by Van Den Eynde, *Grégoire de Nysse*; cf. Brock, *Towards a History*, 9.

[4] For the two recensions of this text, see Chabot, *Documenta*, 40,4-8, and Van Roey and Allen, *Monophysite Texts*, 108.

This is a classic description of the new translation techniques that appear to have grown up in the wake of Philoxenus' reforms of the language of creed and Bible. The development of the Syriac translation techniques in this literalist direction led through the Harklean and Syro-Hexapla and on to the seventh century revisions in which this Hellenised form of Syriac reached its zenith. We can now begin to assess and describe this development with reference to the evidence of the texts themselves.

iii. The evidence of translation practices as known from translation-texts

When placed against the background of translation techniques in antiquity in general, the Greek-Syriac translation program appears as a typical example of a situation in which the source language has higher prestige than the target language and in which the texts themselves have a 'scriptural' status which demands the work not of an *expositor* but that of a *fidus interpres*.[1] This position, however, developed only slowly between the fourth and the seventh centuries. The development has been sketched out, largely with reference to the New Testament revisions, and our purpose is to illuminate the process as far as we can in greater detail.[2]

Brock has brought together data covering all the datable translation texts that are extant. A brief overview of what has been found in these texts, where they have been the subject of studies, will help to illumine the development of the translation process itself.[3] Others that are not mentioned in Brock's list, such as Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, can also be dated approximately enough on external grounds to be of use in developing a typology. A comparison of the Old Syriac and Peshitta gospels, and later of the Peshitta and Harklean New Testaments and the Peshitta Old Testament with the Syro-Hexapla will also, of course, prove vital to any typology of translation styles, even though the Old Syriac and Peshitta cannot be dated with great accuracy.

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[1] See especially Brock, *Aspects of Translation Technique.*
[2] Most importantly is Brock, *Towards a History*, with other important discussion in his earlier work, such as *Pseudo-Nonnos* and *Resolution*; see also others such as Grotzfeld, *Beiordnern oder Unterordnern*, Wickham, *Translation Techniques,* Lyon, *Syriac Gospel Translations,* Lash, *Techniques,* Joosten, *Language of the Peshitta.*
[3] Brock, *Towards a History.*

Discussion of the relative styles of these latter works has been amply covered elsewhere and will not delay us here.[1]

We can begin our survey with Basil's *De Spiritu Sancto*, the first Syriac version of which David Taylor has dated to the late fourth century. He describes it as "free and paraphrastic...more interested in the subject matter of Basil's argument...than in the form and expression," and comments that "the translator was not interested in simply producing a calque of the Greek text but in creating a living, vital, work of theology which would mix the best of St Basil's treatise with the insights of his own religious tradition."[2] Regarding the specific techniques used, he adds that "the unit of translation is usually a sentence or part of a paragraph rather than a phrase, or word.... He has not been inhibited...from making his own expositional additions to the text, and in places this has led to considerable expansion."[3] Scriptural citations always follow the canonical text rather than producing new renderings, Peshitta in the Old Testament, Old Syriac for the New. Certain indications of a primitive Syriac theology are present, such as the concept of 'putting on a man'. This is an unusual variation on the better-known Syriac clothing metaphor, which more usually refers to the 'flesh' or the 'body'.[4] References to a putting on of the man are to be found in Andrew of Samosata's correspondence with Rabbula, and the clothing metaphor in a more general sense is to be found in certain translations of Cyril, as we shall see later. When the same idea was still being used in Philoxenus' day, it caused an anti-Antiochene reaction in language usage, and its appearance in any text is likely for that reason to be pre-Philoxenian, in spirit if not also in date. Other theological indications of an early dating (here in the *De Spiritu Sancto*) include the use of the language of 'mixture' on a much freer level than anything we are likely to see in the sixth century.

Basil's text is unusual in its freedom of expression. Slightly less so, but still very early in date, is the version of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*. Selections from this have been carefully analysed by Lyon.[5] Only occasionally do we see significant editing of

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[1] For instance Lyon, *Syriac Gospel Translations,* Joosten, *Language of the Peshitta,* Wilson, *Old Syriac Gospels,* Williams, *Translation Technique*; for the later versions, little can beat the analysis of Rørdam, *Dissertatio.*
[2] Taylor, *De Spiritu Sancto*, Textus vol., p.xxi; Versio vol., p.xxxi.
[3] ibid., Textus vol., p.xxii.
[4] Brock, *Clothing Metaphor.*
[5] Lyon, *Syriac Gospel Translations.*

the text in the form of omissions and paraphrasing – mostly where the content is not so crucial to the overall understanding of the work. This itself is indication of an awareness of the larger units of discourse, from the paragraph and upwards, which we will come across again in Cyril's *De Recta Fide* and his *Letter to Acacius*. For the most part, however, what is most distinctive about this text is its restructuring of Greek hypotaxis – frequently we see participles changed into main verbs, genitive absolutes turned into circumstantial clauses and in general the whole structure greatly simplified. The basic principle of Greek prose style, by which the number of changes of main verb subject is kept to a minimum is overturned in favour of making every significant verb into a main verb, even if this requires frequent changes of subject in a more paratactic discourse unit.

This early period also witnesses the translation of Titus of Bostra's *Contra Manichaeos*. Noting some of the characteristics of this version (made between c.365 and 411) will make for useful comparison with Cyril's *De Recta Fide*, which has usually been dated to 433/4. Poirier and Sensal, who have studied the version, illustrate the translator's tendencies, such as to edit his text where he considered phrases either unimportant or insufficiently clear.[1] Frequently he would use Syriac doublets for explaining difficult Greek terms and in general kept a low level of lexical equivalence. On the other hand, we already see in this version certain methods that would become standardised, such as ܝ ‚ܗ for the Greek article + infinitive, as well as a number of other formal correspondences at the syntactical level, and we see a number of cases of clear word-order influence. They are thus loath to call it a *sensus de sensu* version, and to this extent it points in a new direction, being quite different from the style of other works of comparable date, such as those already mentioned, to which we can add Basil's *Homilies*. To this period also perhaps belong the versions of ps-Justin's *Cohortatio ad Graecos* and the *Apology of Aristides*, both of which exhibit some degree of expansion,[2] and probably also some texts, whose translation techniques have not been studied as yet, such as the Syro-Roman Lawbook,[3] the

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[1] Poirier and Sensal, *Titus of Bostra*.
[2] Brock, *Antagonism to Assimilation*, 19.
[3] Edition in Selb and Kaufhold, *Das syrisch-römische Rechtsbuch*; for dating, see Baumstark, *Geschichte*, 83.

Sententiae Syriacae,[1] and the Syriac version of the Life of Anthony.[2] Further investigation will probably add more to this list.

From the middle of the fifth century (most likely) we have the earlier of the two independent versions of Proclus' *Tome to the Armenians*. These have been surveyed by Van Rompay.[3] He shows how the two differ, especially in their treatment of the restructuring of Greek clauses. The earlier version (S1) is comparable in style with that of the Eusebius translation, while the later text (S2) tends to stick to the original's structure and word order far more closely. However, even S2 is not to be categorised along with those re-translations of texts done in the seventh century which take literalism to a new level – these will be discussed shortly. We can be sure of this both from the last possible date of the version (562) and from certain aspects of the style, which still betray the influences of the earlier days of freedom of word-choice.[4] S2 still uses ܐܬܒܣܪ for σαρκώθηναι, rather than the ܐܬܓܫܡ that later versions will use, following Philoxenus' revision of the creed, but it does already regularly use ܐܬܒܪܢܫ which was part of the same revision. This sort of pattern will again match with some of the texts we shall be analysing later.[5] S2 shows the sort of tendency towards equivalence in syntactical form (e.g. adverbs for adverbs) and in lexis (e.g. keeping ܦܓܪܐ for σῶμα and ܒܣܪܐ for σάρξ, rather than mixing them up) which we shall again see more of later. These tendencies are typical of the stage in the early sixth century when Philoxenus was revising the New Testament and the creed, as well as possibly the Acts and Canons of the Councils.[6]

Long before that period in the seventh century when techniques moved on to another plane altogether, there is extant a large corpus of approximately datable texts, the analysis of which will be important for comparison with our own texts. These include the works by Severus of Antioch that were translated by Paul of Callinicum (published c.530); the translations of Sergius of Resh'aina, which include the ps-

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[1] Selb, *Sententiae Syriacae*

[2] Discussed by Takeda, *The Syriac Version of the Life of Anthony*.

[3] Van Rompay, *Proclus*.

[4] The *terminus ante quem* is a date (562) mentioned in the ms, Add 12156. The same limitation will apply to two of our texts, taken from the same ms, the *Contra Orientales* and the *Contra Theodoretum*.

[5] Under the discussion of σάρξ-related words in Part 3.i.

[6] For which, see De Halleux, *La Philoxénienne du symbole*.

Dionysiac corpus and Galen;[1] the anonymous Syriac version of Gregory of Nyssa's *Commentary on the Song of Songs*;[2] perhaps the Syriac version of Hippolytus' *Commentary on Daniel*;[3] and finally Moses of Aggel's versions of *Joseph and Asenath* and of Cyril's *Glaphyra*. The very fact that such a non-key Cyrilline work was being translated in its (very considerable) entirety in the middle of the sixth century suggests that Cyril's other works had for the most part been translated already.

This latter work is of interest especially for its well-known discussion of the 'hot potato' issue of Biblical citations.[4] A similar discussion, which makes essentially the same point, is found also in the Song of Songs commentary. In the preface to this work, the anonymous translator explains to his patron (and the reader) that because the text of the Song of Songs as found in Gregory's commentary differs considerably from that in the Syriac Old Testament (i.e. Peshitta), he must revert to translating the citations in the commentary directly from the Greek. He then provides the Biblical text in Syriac as well, before the start of the commentary. Given this wariness, as well as his tendency to conform some of his citations to the Peshitta anyway, Van den Eynde suggested a much earlier date for this work than did Assemani, who had assumed Jacob of Edessa to be the translator. It is unlikely that by Jacob's day there would have been any question about the use of citations straight from the Greek. On the other hand, we can see in this version already certain monophysitic tendencies, such as the reference to the 'holy body' and the omission of usages of the 'clothing metaphor' as a means of describing the incarnation.[5] Van den Eynde neatly sums up the technique adopted for this type of translation as "claire et lisible, tout en respectant, dans la mesure du possible, le lettre de l'original – c'est pourquoi il s'est efforcé de donner à ses phrases une tournure bien syriaque, dût-il à cet effet scinder

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[1] Perhaps some fragments of his Aristotle translations also remain, although most of those formerly thought to be his should be assigned to a later date and to an anonymous translator. See H. Hugonnard-Roche, 'Sur les versions syriaques des Catégoires d'Aristote.' *JAs* 275 (1987), 205-22.

[2] According to the dating of Van Den Eynde, *Grégoire de Nysse*, 61-4.

[3] De Halleux, *Hippolyte*.

[4] That this issue had already been mentioned in a similar way in Moses of Aggel's preface to his *Glaphyra* has already been pointed out by Brock, *Towards a History*, 9, who also makes mention of Paul of Callinicum's introduction to his translation of Severus, which involves a similar wariness about Biblical citations. The issue is discussed further under Part 3.iii.a and 3.iii.c below.

[5] A few examples given in Van Den Eynde, *Grégoire de Nysse*, 32

les propositions trop longues ou les construire autrement."[1] He goes on to warn, however, that the non-polemical/non-dogmatical genre of the work may dispose the translator towards a different style than might be used for other works. This issue of different styles being used simultaneously will concern us again.

The developing techniques of the seventh century found their *locus classicus* in the twin revisions of the Old and New Testaments carried out respectively by Paul of Tella and Thomas of Harkel in 615-617 in the academic and text-critical atmosphere of Alexandria. Their work and style have been described adequately elsewhere, and are well enough known. The work of Rørdam in studying the technique of the Syro-Hexapla was especially thorough and will come in useful as we progress, as an external control for the Cyril texts.[2] It may be added here for emphasis that the Syro-Hexapla, being based on Origen's work, and including his 'apparatus', should actually be considered as much a work of textual criticism as one of literary translation, and this observation will be of some importance for our interpretation of the translation programme itself.

The period 620-690 saw a glut of revisions of earlier translations of key works. This 'project' (if we may use such a term) began with the revision of the Syriac versions of Gregory Nazianzen by Paula of Edessa in 623/4, which included the ps-Nonnos mythological scholia which accompanied the Greek texts of the Homilies,[3] and of the Dionysian corpus by a certain Phocas c.685. Aristotle also came in for this sort of treatment, with Bishop George of the Arabs re-translating parts of the *Organon* in the 680s, following Athanasius of Balad's earlier revision of Porphyry's *Eisagoge*. There were also some new texts, such as those parts of the Severan corpus translated by Athanasius of Nisibis in 668/9.[4] The extent of the difference between the techniques of the seventh century and those of the sixth will be one of the subjects to be discussed later.

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[1] ibid., 31; this study produces the text only of the prefatory letters and a few other connected texts, and not of the Commentary itself. Van den Eynde's comments have therefore been adopted without independent investigation into the text itself.
[2] Rørdam, *Dissertatio*.
[3] Brock, *Pseudo-Nonnos*.
[4] Although it is possible that these were revisions of earlier versions since lost.

Jacob of Edessa naturally forms the apex of this process in his multi-faceted work, which included a revision of Severus' *Homilies*, usefully published in *Patrologia Orientalis*. Lash has produced a useful study comparing this with Paul of Callinicum's original for a few selected homilies.[1] We note many of the same tendencies as are common in the Syro-Hexapla and the Harklean Bibles, including a much higher level of lexical equivalency and a desire to include those parts of Greek syntax previously left unrendered even by the translators of the Philoxenian era.

To illustrate the first of these points, Jacob makes a consistent distinction between ܪܘܡ for γένεσις, and ܝܠܕ for γέννησις, a distinction rarely made consistently before, even by Greek writers. To illustrate the second, we can see that Jacob often tries to render the Greek article with forms of the demonstrative in various combinations depending on the precise function of the article in the Greek. This is directly comparable to a technique used in the Syro-Hexapla and analysed by Rørdam.[2] The self-conscious systematisation of Jacob's work is evident from his interest not only in simply translating, but in philological analysis also.

The study of Syriac grammar may have begun under Ahoudemmeh, who appears to have written the first Syriac grammar, based on Dionysius Thrax's Greek handbook,[3] but it was Jacob who wrote the definitive works in this area, writing extensively on grammar, orthography, and the Syriac lexicon, in which he fixed the Greek/Syriac equivalencies for a large number of technical terms.[4] However, developments in this direction are not always unilinear. Jacob's own version of the Old Testament to some extent repudiated the work of Paul of Tella and shows a surprising degree of respect for the Peshitta, and contrasts with his style of translation in the Severan Homilies.[5] Nonetheless, Jacob's work sums up the development that we can see in the texts over the preceding centuries and forms a watershed between the clear development of

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[1] Lash, *Techniques*.

[2] Rørdam, *Dissertatio*; Lash's study is largely carried out for the purposes of text criticism (although he realises that this text is a mine for Syriac lexicographers, p.383) and is therefore less exhaustive on matters of technique than is Rørdam whose excellent work, despite its age, is unsurpassed in its attention to detail.

[3] See Merx, *Historia artis grammaticae apud Syros*, 33, and Baumstark, *Geschichte*, 178.

[4] In his work, ܐܢܟܝܪܝܕܝܘܢ (*Enchiridion*), published by G.Furlani, "L' ΕΓΧΕΙΡΙΔΙΟΝ di Giacomo d'Edessa nel testo siriaco." In *Rendiconti della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* Ser.6, Vol.4, Rome, 1928, 222-49.

[5] Salvesen, Alison, "Jacob of Edessa's version of Exodus 1 and 28." *Hugoye* 8 (2005).

Syriac translation technique to date and the beginning of the issue of the Arabic translations. The high-point of the development which his own approach evidences, with its deferential attitude to the 'original', is best expressed in his own words, "let no one alter this syntax as the ancients have altered it, for I have examined three Greek manuscripts and found that it is thus expressed."[1]

It may at first seem surprising that Cyril seems to find no place in the catalogue of seventh-century revisions. It cannot be argued that the versions in existence were good enough by Jacob of Edessa's standards, since they are certainly no further developed (and in most cases less developed) than Paul of Callinicum's original version of the Severan Homilies, which the seventh century scholars evidently considered inadequate to their needs. It may well be that monophysite doctrine in the later seventh century, no longer needing to defend itself with the same zeal as in previous ages, was largely read *through* Severus, while Cyril was gradually reduced to being the subject of citations in florilegia. Thus the older polemical translations of Cyril lay already dormant in the monasteries during an age of philological, rather than theological, extremes. We shall see some further evidence for this fragmentation of the Cyrilline material later, as we also shall see that there was indeed some attempt at revising Cyril's works to a higher standard.[2]

The preceding provides some evidence for the development of Syriac attitudes towards the task of translation between the 4th and 8th centuries. Although only scattered examples have been provided as illustrations, this will serve for a framework for the analysis of the Cyrilline texts in the next section. More specific details about translational style at known dates will be entered into at the appropriate time, the better to let them throw light on the background of the Cyrilline texts themselves.

Summary

We have briefly looked over two areas, the rise of the citation-based theological argument and the rise of translation as *the* principal input mechanism for Syriac theology and for the inner development of Syriac religion and culture. The organic

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[1] Cited in Lash, *Techniques*, 372.
[2] See below, Part 3.iv.a.

interconnection between the two is clear. As the need for accurate and exhaustive citation and knowledge of the beliefs of the Fathers increased hand-in-hand with the need to defend that monophysitism which had become the hallmark of this distinctive and increasingly separatist culture, so the approaches to translation tended firstly towards doing *more* of it, and secondly to doing it more *accurately*, whatever that may mean in different contexts. The importance of translated texts for a full appreciation of the literature of a culture has been thus aptly pointed out in reference to the oldest dated Syriac manuscript, "les monuments d'une littérature et d'une culture ne sont pas seulement les oeuvres qu'elles ont produites, ce sont aussi les livres qui les ont transmises."[1]

Some light is therefore thrown upon how the issue of translation relates also to the widening cultural divide between Christological positions and the increasing auto-motivation of the Syrian church.

It is hoped that in the current study, by analysing the Syriac versions of the Christological corpus of Cyril of Alexandria, we may be able to put more flesh onto this picture as well as to illustrate some of its inner workings.

A more specific aim, and a layout

In desiring to 'put some flesh' on the above description, we shall deal hereafter with the extant Syriac versions of the Christological works of Cyril of Alexandria. We shall attempt to analyse the variety of techniques used in these texts and to describe them as fully as possible. From this, we then hope to be able to relate them to each other on a typological scale. It may further be possible to calibrate this scale, or spectrum, against the historical background, largely by means of bringing in for comparison other texts of known date and provenance, both other translations from the Greek, and indigenous Syriac writings. The first of these two tasks must be thoroughly completed before the second can be brought in as an external calibration, and it will therefore constitute the bulk of the material presented here.

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[1] Poirier and Sensal, *Titus of Bostra*, 318.

Firstly, therefore, before we take leave of Part 1, we shall review the situation with regard to Cyril's works in Syriac, reviewing work already done (Part 1.ii).

Having isolated certain texts upon which we can work more closely, we shall deal firstly with the external evidence that we can glean relating to their provenance and contexts as items of Syriac literary production; firstly the manuscript evidence for the texts (2.i), secondly the evidence of external citations (2.ii).

Following this we can progress to the internal evidence (Part 3), as full as possible a description of the style and techniques actually used in the texts. For this purpose we will devise a typology by which they may be judged and a number of criteria across which we can compare these different texts and thereby place them in relation to one another on a spectrum (3.i). In addition to this, the use of parallel material in other, datable texts, will be found to throw a great deal of light on the relative position on the spectrum of our own texts (3.ii).

A further vital stratum of evidence will be located in the Biblical citations. By analysing these, it is hoped again that we may illuminate how our texts relate to other known fixed points in the history of Syriac literature (3.iii).

The last section of Part 3 will concern other approaches and other parallel texts, which will hopefully assist in bringing out the background to our own still more (3.iv).

Having worked up some results from all the foregoing material (Summary to Parts 2-3) and placed our texts firmly against their background, Part 4 will attempt to look into the whole Syriac translation phenomenon more closely, analysing the motivations inherent in its development, and the models upon which the techniques were based. This enquiry will be largely historical in character and will draw on issues relating to translation, bilingualism and approaches to language from all over the ancient and mediaeval world.

The first appendix is an attempt to suggest and experiment with a method that could be used to put the analysis of translation style on a firmer footing than was possible in Part 3, using statistics to compare different styles.

The second appendix contains the data accumulated from an analysis of Biblical citations, used for the arguments found in Part 3.iii.

The Syriac Versions of Cyril: the State of the Question

"[Cyril] extended round his cell the cobwebs of scholastic theology, and mediated the works of allegory and metaphysics, whose remains, in seven verbose folios, now peaceably slumber by the side of their rivals."

Gibbon, *Decline and Fall,* vol.4

The Syriac translators evidently felt rather differently than Gibbon about those verbose folios; the following attempts to give some overview of how these translations have been dealt with in the past, dates that have been ascribed to them, etc.

The Syriac of the *De Recta Fide ad Theodosium*[1] (also often known in the florilegia as the 'Prosphoneticon') was edited from BL Add 14557, the only exemplar for this text, by both Bedjan and in Pusey's edition of the Cyrilline corpus.[2] Its attribution to Rabbula of Edessa goes back to the earliest scholarship on the question and has generally been assumed ever since.[3] Thus it became the basis for Vööbus' argument that the Peshitta was not authored by Rabbula who appears to use Old Syriac text forms in his work.[4] Although the argument was contested by Matthew Black, the attribution was not. Only recently has Barbara Aland questioned it on a very reasonable basis.[5] The attribution has always been based on the rubric at the head of the text in Add 14557, f.97r. However, in this manuscript, the *De Recta Fide* is preceded by the letter sent from Cyril to Rabbula (Cyril's *Ep. 74*)[6] which contains the crucial information that Cyril sent this treatise to Rabbula, probably soon after the latter's 'conversion' to his cause, to be read to the brethren at Edessa. No mention of translation is made and can only be assumed. Aland points out that the attribution of the following text to Rabbula is probably a reasoned guess by the scribe of the

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[1] CPG 5218.
[2] Bedjan, *Acta,* 5, 628-96; Pusey, *De recta fide...* 1-153.
[3] Duval, *Littérature Syriaque,* 340; Wright, *Syriac Literature,* 48; Baumstark, *Geschichte,* 71, attributing Rabbula's desire to translate the *De Recta Fide* to his equal capacity in Greek and Syriac; Brock, *Towards a History,* 2.
[4] Vööbus, *Rabbula.*
[5] Aland and Juckel, *Die Katholischen Briefe,* 98.
[6] CPG 5374; Syriac published in Overbeck, *Opera Selecta,* 226-9; English in McEnerney, *Letters.*

manuscript (or its prototype) who has himself brought about the juxtaposition of letter and text.

On the other hand, the translation is undoubtedly early. For one thing, the rubric describes how Rabbula translated the text ܐܪܡܐܝܬ ('into Aramaic'), an expression which typically means 'pagan' rather than 'Syriac' except in the oldest literature.[1] In addition, the style of the translation is itself certainly early,[2] as we shall see in the ensuing analysis. Finally, it would make sense anyway that Rabbula should have made some sort of translation of it if, according to Cyril's request, he shared it with the clergy in Edessa. The loose, discursive style of the translation might well suggest a context in which the bishop produced a quick copy for public reading in which sometimes only the gist of the original was retained. Therefore, although we cannot be so sure about this attribution as Vööbus was, we can at least be fairly certain that this text must date from a very early stage in the history of the Syriac versions of Cyril's works. At the very least, Aland has suggested that "vielmehr wird die zeitliche Bestimmung dieser Schriftzitate sich nur vorsichtig an einem Vergleich mit der Peschitta und deren Übersetzungsstil orientieren können."[3]

The above-mentioned letter (*Ep. 74*) also states that Cyril sent to Rabbula the work 'against the blasphemies of Nestorius', which can only really be the work we now know as the *Tomes against Nestorius*. These are extensively quoted in the later florilegia but no discrete Syriac version is known. An analysis of these citations may help to confirm whether or not any such version ever existed.

We can next turn to Cyril's Pentateuch Commentary, his *Glaphyra*.[4] The attribution of this work to Moses of Aggel is a little firmer than the last. The Syriac text of the first part of the *Glaphyra*, Vat.Syr.107, f.67-72, is preceded by an exchange of letters between Moses and a certain Paphnutius (f.65v-67r), the patron who is requesting Moses to make the translation. Moses is known also from his version of the Joseph and Asenath legend, which was incorporated into the ps-Zacharias Rhetor compilation, probably in the 560s, a text which is again preceded by a similar

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[1] Nöldeke, *Die Namen*, 117-8.
[2] Brock, *Towards a History*, 6,11.
[3] Aland and Juckel, *Die Katholischen Briefe*, 98.
[4] CPG 5201.

exchange of letters. Moses' reference to Polycarp and the Philoxenian Bible revision in the letter to Paphnutius allows us to date his work between 508 and c.560. It is this importance of Moses to the question of the Philoxenian which has attracted interest in the Syriac *Glaphyra*. Guidi published the text of the letters together with what fragments remained of the *Glaphyra* from the same Vatican manuscript.[1] A great deal more of the *Glaphyra* is extant in BL Add 14555, but this ms has barely been noted. A century ago Gwynn claimed that the Isaiah citations in the Syriac *Glaphyra* of the London ms showed signs of the Philoxenian text of the Old Tesament, but this result has been seriously and properly contested.[2] Beside this question of the citations, however, the style of the translation itself has not been analysed. Baumstark wondered whether it may be possible to attribute other texts to Moses on a stylistic basis. He suggested, rather as Aland does for the *De Recta Fide*, that 'ob und welche weitere Werke des Kyrillos gleichfalls durch ihn übersetzt wurden, entzieht sich selbst einer Vermutung, bevor die in Betracht kommenden Texte eine nähere Untersuchung nach Sprachgebrauch und Übersetzungstechnik erfahren haben.'[3]

Considerably less has been said about the remaining Cyrilline works. The synopses of Syriac literature generally go no further than mentioning their existence. Baumstark notes that one of the manuscripts of the treatise *De Cultu in Spiritu et Veritate*[4] is dated to before 553 and guesses that perhaps other non-Christological works were being translated around this time – not only *Glaphyra* and *De Cultu*, but also such others as exist in Syriac mss, the *Thesaurus de trinitate* and the *Contra Iulianum*.[5] Turning to the other, Christological, texts, it has been noted that Bedjan published the Syriac of *De Recta Fide* in *Acta Sanctorum*. He also later edited a number of other texts from the same manuscript, namely the *Explanatio duodecim capitulorum*[6], *Epistula ad Ioannem Antiochenum*[7] (Ep39), and *Epistula ad Valerianum Iconii*[8]

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[1] Guidi, *Mose di Aggel*. This publication includes also a fragment from Vat Syr 96, f.164.
[2] Gwynn, *Polycarpus*; refutation in Jenkins, *Old Testament Quotations*, 186-99.
[3] Baumstark, *Geschichte*, 161.
[4] CPG 5200 – the translation of this work preceded that of the *Glaphyra*, as Paphnutius' letter to Moses, which precedes the latter text, mentions the existence of the *De Cultu in Spiritu et Veritate* – Guidi, *Mose di Aggel*, 401.
[5] CPG 5215 & 5233; Baumstark, *Geschichte*, 161.
[6] CPG 5223.
[7] CPG 5339.
[8] CPG 5350.

(Ep50), together with Paul of Emesa's *Libellus ad Cyrillum*[1] (Ep36 in Cyril's corpus) and John of Antioch's *Epistula ad Cyrillum*[2] (Cyril's Ep38), together with some non-Cyrilline texts from the same ms, Athanasius' *Epistula ad Epictetum*, the *Libellus* of the Armenians to Proclus of Constantinople, and Proclus' reply, the *Tomus ad Armenios*. All these were printed, largely without comment, as the Appendix to his edition of the *Liber Heraclidis*.[3]

Another text from this ms, the *Quod unus sit Christus*[4] was collated for Durand's edition of the Greek text and its variant readings are noted in his apparatus.[5] This Syriac text, together with that of the *Scholia de incarnatione unigeniti*[6] were named by Baumstark amongst the earliest translations of Cyril.[7] But otherwise neither has received any critical attention.

There are also in this ms two letters of Cyril unknown in any Greek version. The first of these, to Rabbula of Edessa (*Ep74*), has been mentioned already for its relevance to the question of the provenance of the *De Recta Fide*. It was included in Overbeck's collection of materials relating to Rabbula.[8] The other, an unknown letter to some monks, was published by Ebied and Wickham, who also give in this article a full description of the contents of this important manuscript.[9]

They followed this up with a full edition of the other Cyrilline letters in the ms, those *ad Acacium Melitenum* (*Ep40*), *ad Succensum Diocaesareae* (*Ep45/46*), *commonitorium ad Eulogium* (*Ep44*) and *ad monachos varios Orientales [or De Symbolo]* (*Ep55*).[10] They had earlier also published the *Responsiones ad Tiberium Diaconum* from BL Add 14531 (s.vii/viii),[11] which Pusey had made use of in his edition for those portions of this work not extant in Greek.

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[1] CPG 5336/6368.
[2] CPG 5338/6310.
[3] Bedjan, *Nestorius: Le livre d'Héraclide de Damas*.
[4] CPG 5228.
[5] Durand, *Dialogues*.
[6] CPG 5225.
[7] Baumstark, *Geschichte*, 72.
[8] Overbeck, *Opera Selecta*, 226-9.
[9] CPG 5400. Ebied and Wickham, *Unknown Letter*
[10] CPG 5340,5345,5346,5344,5355. All published in Ebied and Wickham, *Syriac Letters*.
[11] CPG 5232, in Ebied and Wickham, *Tiberius Deacon*

Finally in this connection we should mention another letter (numbered as *Ep101* by McEnerney) to Rabbula, found only in Syriac and printed by Guidi in connection with one of the *Glaphyra* fragments found in the same Vatican ms.[1] It does not seem to be connected with the other, better known, letter to Rabbula (*Ep74*), which precedes the *De Recta Fide* and was edited by Overbeck. Unfortunately for the history of Cyril's oeuvre, this letter has been hopelessly mixed up with the just-mentioned *Glaphyra* fragment in McEnerney's English translation, the editor having failed to note the distinction between Guidi's main text and his footnote – no wonder he comments that 'the first two paragraphs [according to his version of the letter]...have nothing to do with the rest'! These first two paragraphs are taken from the *Glaphyra* while the rest of the letter from paragraph 3 onwards contains the middle portion of the Syriac text that Guidi edited. The un-translated parts of the letter make some interesting references to Theodore, which can be compared to the comments found in *Ep74*.[2]

Ebied and Wickham are the first to make any serious comment on the character and provenance of some of these texts. These still do not go very far, however. On Ep55, they comment on the style that it "is fairly, but not intolerably, close. Such deviations as there are designed to provide a fluent and comprehensible version."[3] They note the much freer rendering of Ep40, which simplifies the original and may even be the work of 'an incompetent translator'. A similar description is given of Epp 45/46, in relation to which they also raise the possibility that the translator has made alterations

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[1] Vat.Syr.107, f.64-65. Syriac text published in Guidi, *Mose di Aggel*, 545-7.

[2] The un-translated part reads as follows: "...[the natures?] are placed undivided with the humanity, according to what is written in the gospel that 'no man has ascended to heaven, except the one who has come down from heaven, the son of man, who was in heaven.' Thus also the things of his humanity are to be placed with his divinity because of his commingling....[from here as McEnerney, II,161-3]...since we are contending for the true faith for which the blood of the holy fathers was shed, who all suffer to endure on its behalf. For we remember the word of the blessed apostle who said in the letter of the Galatians, 'even if we or an angel from heaven should preach other than what we preached to you, let them be anathema.'[Gal 1.8] It is right that your holiness should know that Theodore brought forth all this error. But we have gone over all the writings of Theodore concerning the son of God; I anathematised them in the church upon the Episcopal throne, just as the holy synod also anathematised them. But our Lord who has reconciled by his cross things above with things below [cf. Col 1.20], and brought an end by his cross to the restricting deception that is upon the sides of the gentiles and joined the service of his gospel to the nether creation, he in his grace has shed his peace upon his church and nullified the darkness of error from all its doors and returned [it] to the court of his worship, to those who by their own wills walk in the service of his mercy for ever, Amen. The end of the letter of the holy Cyril to bishop Rabbula of Edessa." Assemani (Cat.Vat. III.52) had already noted the importance of this letter and promised to bring it to light, yet failed to do so.

[3] Ebied and Wickham, *Syriac Letters*, xi.

of a quasi-Eutychian character,[1] but this has since been rejected by De Halleux, who explains the style on quite other grounds.[2] On Ep44, they note that the translator may be identical with that of the previously mentioned pair.[3] On the *Ad Tiberium*, other than being somewhat condescending of the language both of the original and the version, they describe the translation as 'extremely literal'.[4] There is no attempt to give an absolute date for any of these texts.

Two final texts require more than a passing mention. These are Cyril's two lengthy defences of his anathemas, one the *Apologia xii capitulorum contra Orientales* (also known as the work against Andrew of Samosata), the other the *Apologia xii anathematismorum contra Theodoretum*.[5] These two texts are found in a single Syriac exemplar, towards the end of the well-known BL Add 12156 which, for the most part, contains a number of anti-Chalcedonian florilegia and works by Timothy Ailuros, and includes the important *Florilegium Edessenum*.[6] It can be dated securely before 562.[7] Luise Abramowski, while concluding that the set of florilegia was collected already in Greek before their translation as a whole unit, cannot be sure whether *contra Orientales* and *contra Theodoretum* were part of this whole work of translation or if they existed independently in Syriac beforehand.

There is one other important Cyrilline work whose existence in Syriac has never been properly acknowledged. This is the correspondence with Nestorius which constituted the beginning of the controversy that led to Ephesus. We might anyway expect that such texts would have been among the earliest to be translated, and it is certain that Philoxenus had read them in some form.[8] However, there appears to be no Syriac version known. In their catalogue of the Vatican collection, however, the Assemanis

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[1] ibid., xiv.

[2] De Halleux, *La Philoxénienne du symbole*, 313-4.

[3] Ebied and Wickham, *Syriac Letters*, xviii.

[4] Ebied and Wickham, *Tiberius Deacon*, 434.

[5] CPG 5221 and 5222.

[6] For a description and careful analysis, see Abramowski, *Zur geplanten Ausgabe* (although the edition never appeared), the descriptions of the florilegia in Grillmeier, *Christ 2:1*, 63-5, and above all the careful discussion in Schwartz, *Cod Vat 1431*, who compares this ms in its relationship to the Greek collection. The florilegium was fully edited by Rücker, *Florilegium Edessenum*. Some of the other material from the ms has been published in Ebied and Wickham, *Timothy Aelurus Letters*, and *Timothy Aelurus against Chalcedon*.

[7] Wright, *Catalogue*, II, 640.

[8] See the various references in his letter to all the monks of the Orient, Lebon, *Textes inédits de Philoxène de Mabboug*.

note that Vat Syr 107 contains (f.65) a letter of Cyril of which they quote the incipit. This incipit matches with words taken from the middle of Cyril's third letter to Nestorius (*Ep17*).[1] The ms itself would need to be consulted in order to ascertain more precisely the contents of this folio, but it seems that it must contain more than just a fragment taken from a florilegium, especially as it is sandwiched between *Ep101* and the lengthy Glaphyra extract already mentioned above.

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Despite the lack of careful research into these texts, the situation today is such that one can say "it is well known that Cyril's works started being translated into Syriac during, or in the aftermath of, the Nestorian controversy,"[2] an observation which can rest reasonably only upon the attribution of the *De Recta Fide* to Rabbula, and which expresses a generalisation that goes back to Baumstark's, admittedly highly competent, guesswork on the other texts. As we will see in the coming chapters, there is good evidence for a solid dating for at least some of these texts.

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[1] 'Vide igitur, quoniam, dum accedimus nunc ad illam sanctificantium sacramentorum, benedictionem, et santificamur, et participes sumus sacri corporis, et pretiosi sanguinis Christi salvatoris nostri.' The Greek (ACO I,1,1,37,25-6) equivalent is 'πρόσιμέν τε οὕτω ταῖς μυστικαῖς εὐλογίαις καὶ ἁγιαζόμεθα μέτοχοι γινόμενοι τῆς τε ἁγίας σαρκὸς καὶ τοῦ τιμίου αἵματος τοῦ πάντων ἡμῶν σωτῆρος Χριστοῦ.'

[2] Van Rompay, *Mallpânâ dilan Suryâyâ*, §2.

Part 2

Cyril of Alexandria's Christological Texts in Syriac:
The External Evidence for their History

2.i

The Evidence of the Manuscripts

The texts: An overview

The writings which have been taken as the object of this study constitute the complete Christological works of Cyril of Alexandria which are extant in both Greek and Syriac. They will be dealt with in this order throughout the study.

De Recta Fide ad Theodosium (RF)

Quod unus sit Christus (QUX)

Scholia de Incarnatione Unigeniti (SDI)

Explanatio duodecim capitulorum (EDC)

Ep39 ad Ioannem Antiochenum

Ep40 ad Acacium Melitenum[1]

Ep44 ad Eulogium

Ep45 ad Succensum

Ep46 ad Succensum

Ep50 ad Valerianum

Ep55 ad monachos de fide

Apologia duodecim capitulorum contra Theodoretum (CT)

Apologia duodecim capitulorum contra Orientales (CO)

Responsiones Ad Tiberium Diaconum (AT)

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[1] This text is mistakenly referred to as *Ep41* in the Contents of Wickham, *Letters*, but correctly in the edition of the Syriac version, Ebied and Wickham, *Syriac Letters*.

There are a few other texts which are extant only in fragments (e.g. the Hebrews Commentary) and for which the overlap between Greek and Syriac is either zero or else too minimal for useful analysis. The well-known Luke Commentary affords a special case – it has been well edited in Syriac due to its loss in the original, yet the large collection of fragments made by J.Reuss has provided the material for the analysis of this text as well.[1] There is insufficient space in this study, however, to include this difficult text, although we will come across it to some extent in our analysis of Biblical citations, since the Luke Commentary has formed an important part of Barbara Aland's thesis concerning the reconstruction of the Philoxenian New Testament.[2]

The aims of our analysis of these above-mentioned texts have been described already. In Parts 2 and 3 we shall be carrying out this analysis of the texts, beginning here in Part 2 with an examination of the external evidence for the history of these texts. Part 2.i deals with the ms evidence, 2.ii with the evidence from external citations.

The textual witnesses

Greek

The Greek critical texts are all, with one exception, published with excellent apparatus in the first volume of Schwartz's *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* (ACO), mostly from the Collectio Vaticana. For the details of the textual basis for this collection, the reader is referred to Schwartz's introductions. In general, Schwartz's text will be taken as our basis, with alternative readings sometimes coming into play where they may be found to underlie our Syriac. Schwartz only notes the Syriac readings where they clearly support one or other of the otherwise attested Greek readings; oddities of the Syriac, which do not reflect Greek readings, are not noted by him. The one extra text not present in Schwartz is the *Responsiones Ad Tiberium*, which has been published both by Pusey and Wickham. We take the latter for our text, based on two mediaeval Greek mss, neither of which is complete, the lacunae being filled in Wickham's edition from the Syriac (for which see below). In the same volume Wickham has reproduced Schwartz's text of some of the letters.

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[1] Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare.*
[2] See Aland, *Philoxenianisch,* and our discussion below in Part 3.iii.c.

Syriac

The main witnesses for our Syriac texts are two mss from the Nitrian collection in the British Library, Add 12156 and Add 14557 (described as category A mss below). Some of our texts are also extant (partially or fully) in a few other witnesses, which will also be examined here briefly (category B mss), as well as in citations in florilegia (category C mss).

Category A mss:

Add 12156 [Wright dccxxix]

Dated by a note in the colophon to some time before 562, this ms has been the subject of much study and a number of partial editions.[1] Initially the collection of anti-Chalcedonian texts contained in the codex consisted of a selection of the writings of Timothy Aelouros, both treatises and letters.[2] To this have been added various collections of citations (florilegia), including the well-known *Florilegium Edessenum*.[3] This section ends with a colophon referring the foregoing to Aelouros and seems, therefore, to have constituted the collection as formed by the first redactor. This part was already collected together before being translated into Syriac, as Schwartz suggested by the fact that the version of Andrew of Samosata's letter to Rabbula in this ms is different from the stand-alone Syriac version of that document found in Overbeck's collection.[4] The whole was then further extended by Cyril's two *Apologiae*, one to Theodoret, one to Andrew of Samosata, (the latter known as the *Contra Orientales*) and finally by the *Ad Theopompum*, attributed to Gregory Thaumaturgus, and Epiphanius' *Anacephalaiosis*. Abramowski's suggestion that these last texts were added from separate Syriac pre-existing versions at the same time that the earlier part was rendered into Syriac, thus makes greater sense. The relevance of the added texts decreases as the ms proceeds; thus although Cyril's works are indirectly relevant to the anti-Chalcedonian tone of the earlier part, the works of ps-

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[1] See especially Abramowski, *Zur geplanten Ausgabe*.

[2] For critical editions see Ebied and Wickham, *Timothy Aelurus Against Chalcedon* and *Timothy Aelurus Letters*.

[3] Rücker, *Florilegium Edessenum*.

[4] Schwartz, *Cod Vat 1431*, 131; the other version in Overbeck, *Opera Selecta* and discussed in Blum, *Rabbula*, 155, n15

Gregory or Epiphanius, the latter of whom at least is surely just being added "as a general exclamation mark against heresy!," indicate a different provenance.[1]

Although the only certain date we can give to this work of translation is that it was done before 562, its seeming relevance for the Three Chapters controversy around the time of the fifth ecumenical council in 553 may provide the right context for its genesis. This ms provides the only complete witness to the Syriac version of Cyril's two apologiae.

Add 14557 [Wright dcclviii]

Dated by Wright to the seventh century, this is a collection of mainly Cyrilline works and is the sole witness to many of our texts. A full description can be found in both Ebied and Wickham, *Unknown Letter*, and Ebied and Wickham, *Syriac Letters*. Besides Cyril's own works (including letters *to* Cyril from Paul of Emesa and John of Antioch), the ms also contains Athanasius' *Ad Epictetum*, Proclus of Constantinople's *Tomus ad Armenios* (together with the Armenians' original libellus to Proclus) and a short Apollinarian extract attributed to Felix of Rome.[2] Cyril's letter to Rabbula of Edessa (f.95v-97r), otherwise unknown, was initially published by Overbeck. The *De Recta Fide* (f.97r-126r) was used by Pusey in his edition of the Greek text and appears as a complete facsimile beneath his edition of the Greek, the same text being later published again in the *Acta Martyrorum*.[3] Some others were then published in 1909 by Bedjan as an appendix to his edition of Nestorius' *Liber Hercalidis* (Cyril's EDC, Ep50, Ep36, Ep38, Ep39; and all the non-Cyrilline texts just mentioned).[4] Another previously unknown text, a letter of Cyril *To the Monks on the Faith of the Church* was produced by Ebied and Wickham[5] before their edition of the rest of the Cyrilline correspondence contained in this ms (namely Ep55, Ep40, Ep45, Ep46, Ep44, all of which were already known from the Greek versions in ACO).[6] This leaves only the *Scholia* (SDI) and *Quod Unus sit Christus* (QUX) as yet unstudied from this important manuscript.

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[1] For a more thorough discussion, see Abramowski, *Ad Theopompum*, 279, and *Zur geplanten Ausgabe*; also Schwartz, *Cod Vat 1431*, 131ff.

[2] Published in Flemming and Lietzmann, *Apollinaristische Schriften syrisch*, 56.

[3] Pusey, *De recta fide...* 1-153; Bedjan, *Acta*, 5, 628-96.

[4] Bedjan, *Nestorius: Le livre d'Héraclide de Damas*.

[5] Ebied and Wickham, *Unknown Letter*.

[6] Ebied and Wickham, *Syriac Letters*.

Category B mss:

Add 14531 [Wright dcclxix]

(s.7/8) A selection of complete works of various Greek writers: Cyril's *QUX*, followed by a number of homilies (Basil, Chrysostom, Erechtheus of Tarsus); various letters (of Athansius, Severus and Jacob of Serug); The Doctrine of the Apostles (an original Syriac document, as published by Cureton); Cyril's *Ad Tiberium*; Athanasius, *On the Trinity and Incarnation.*

Add 14604 [Wright dcclxi]

(s.7), containing Discourses (Chysostom, Jacob of Serug); Cyril's *Scholia*; two sets of chapters of Philoxenus against Nestorians, monastic writing of Philoxenus; two of the funeral sermons of Gregory Nazianzen; the same's second letter to Cledonius; ps-Dionysius' letter to Gaius; Julius of Rome, *On the Incarnation and the Union*; Rabbula's letter to Andrew of Samosata (printed in Overbeck, *Opera Selecta*); another sermon of Gregory; more chapters of Philoxenus.

Add 14663 [Wright dccli]

(s.6/7) Although many folios have been 'much stained and torn', this ms begins with Cyril's *Explanatio* (EDC), from the 7th anathema onwards; following this are various anti-Chalcedonian and monophysite extracts, including a tract against Julian of Halicarnassus, a selection from the Discourses of Philoxenus; a piece against the writings of Theodoret and Ibas (which latter may suggest a time of composition around the Three Chapter controversy, hence giving also a possible *terminus post quem* for the collection as a whole).

Add 17149 [Wright dccxxxix]

(dated c.550-600), containing three works from Cyril (Ep55 with lacunae, SDI, QUX with lacunae); Severus, letters to the people of Emesa, and to John of Bostra.

Add 17150 [Wright dcxxii]

(s.7/8), containing the latter portion of QUX, followed by EDC as far as the 6th anathema.

Oxford Marsh 101 [Payne-Smith's Catalogue no.142, item 17]

This contains another text of the EDC, identical to that in Add 14557, which was used in the apparatus of Pusey's edition of the Greek.[1]

An index of the main witnesses from Categories A and B to each of our texts is given below:

RF

Add 14557, f.97r-126r

EDC

Add 17150 (s.7/8), f.17r ff.

Add 14663 (s.6/7), f.1r-2v

Add 14557(s.7), f.14r-21r

Oxford Marsh 101, f.62r-69v.

QUX

Add 17150, f.1-17r

Add 17149, f.39r-64r

Add 14557, f.50r-95v

Add 14531, f.1-60r

CO

Add 12156, f.91r-107v

CT

Add 12156, f.107v-122v

AT

Add 14531, f.123v-141r

Ep39

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[1] Pusey, *Epistolae tres....*

Add 14557, f.149v-152v

Ep40

Add 14557, f.127r-134r

Ep44

Add 14557, f.152v-154r

Ep45

Add 14557, f.134r-137v

Or 2321, f.58v is a letter to Succensus in Karshuni, which may well be *Ep45*

Ep46

Add 14557, f.137v-140v

Ep50

Add 14557, f.140v-147v

Ep55

Add 17149, f.1v-11v

Add 14557, f.1v-13v

Category C mss:

As well as being extant in their full versions, our texts are also widely cited in the monophysite florilegia. Only those in the British Library collection have been consulted, with the following mss being of significance for our investigation. It will be of some importance to us whether these florilegia were composed by Syriac collectors from pre-existing Syriac texts or were already florilegia in Greek before being translated. If the former could ever be shown to be the case, lost Syriac texts could be posited.

Add 14529 [Wright dccclvi]

(s.7/8) containing, *inter alia*, The Synodicon of Damasus of Rome; a florilegium entitled 'Judgments of the Council of Ephesus' (only Greek authors); another

florilegium directed against Julian of Halicarnassus, this time including citations from Ephrem, Jacob of Serug, Philoxenus (Cyril is quoted from *Ep40, de Recta Fide ad Reginas, de Incarnatione, QUX, Comm. in Cor., Ep17; 12 anathemas*); chapters of Julian with refutations from the Fathers, this time with no Syriac writers (Cyril is cited from *Contra Diodorum; Comm. in Jn; Thesaurus de Trinitate; AT; Letter to Acacius of Scythopolis*); a set of canons of the councils; some writings of Philoxenus (*Letter to Abu Nafir; a tract on heresies; 7 chapters in favour of the Henoticon and the 12 anathemas of Cyril; a confession of faith against Chalcedon; three chapters against heresies; a reply for someone when questioned as to his belief*).

Add 14535 [Wright dcclxxi]

(early s.9) This ms begins with a monophysite anti-Nestorian treatise incorporating numerous patristic citations. Of these, Ephrem and Jacob of Serug represent Syrian theology, the rest are Greek and include Cyril (quotes from *RF, CT, Comm. in 1 Cor; Contra Theodorum, Contra Nestorium*); followed by a series of discourses and homilies (especially from Chrysostom).

Add 14536 [Wright dcclxxi]

(s.8) f.1r-27r contains a florilegium with Ephrem and Jacob of Serug being again cited, as well as many Gk writers (Cyril from *ad Iulianum; solutiones dogmaticae*; ܗܘܢ ܐܬ̈ܪܗ ܕܐܪܐ; *RF*); a *Lives of the Prophets* ascribed to Epiphanius; a glossary of Hebrew terms from the OT explained with the use of both Greek and Syriac vocabulary.

Add 14613 [Wright dcccvi]

(s.9/10), starting with copious extracts from the *Liber Graduum*; a monastic work of Gregory the monk; some OT citations according to the Peshitta; extracts from Ephrem; and from Cyril (*12 anathemas, Comm. in Heb, de Adoratione in Spiritus et Veritatis*); from Philoxenus (*Letter to the Recluses; On the Tonsure*); Discourses (of Marcianus, Isaac of Antioch, Jacob of Serug); Gregory Nazianzen's Oration *On love of the poor*; many further extracts from homilies and commentaries (including Cyril's *Comm. in Lucam*), much of which is ascetical in character; works of Nilus.

Add 17201, f.1-15 [Wright dccxlix]

(s.6/7), the 16th-26th chapters of Didymus against the Arians; Cyril's 12 anathemas; a 'confession of faith' of Cyril; a 'confession of faith' of Philoxenus; an anonymous 'philosophico-theological' treatise; the 12 chapters of Philoxenus.

Add 12155 [Wright dccclvii]

(s.8), a huge monophysite florilegium (268 leaves) with very various extracts from many sources, organised under various heads (I, Chapters on Theology; II On the Incarnation; III no title; IV no title; V against the Phantasiasts/Julianists; VI no title; etc. Some of the sections contain many extracts from Syriac sources (including even Rabbula as well as the usual Ephrem, Jacob of Serug and Philoxenus), although Greek writers predominate massively throughout.

Add14532 [Wright dccclviii]

(s.8), another florilegium related to the foregoing.

Add 14533 [Wright dccclvix]

(s.8/9), another florilegium related to the foregoing.

Add 12154 [Wright dccclvx]

(s.8/9), another florilegium related to the foregoing.

The mss Add 12155,14532,14533 are closely related in their contents according to Wright (e.g. Add 12155, section IV is identical to Add 14533, f.39v ff.), but he does not include Add 12154 in this group, although many of our citations are indeed shared by this ms along with the other three. Add 14538 (s.10) is considered by Wright to be also related to the former three, although this latter contains fewer citations from Cyril, and none at all from our texts.

Initial conclusions from the evidence of the manuscripts

A few *termini ante quem* can be laid down immediately from the dates of the earliest mss. Thus CO and CT precede 562 (Add 12156), while Ep55, QUX and SDI all precede 600 (Add 17149). The EDC is present in a collection which may precede the ecumenical council of 553, though we cannot be certain of this. However, this version

of the EDC is different from the others and will be considered further shortly.[1] On the ms evidence, the remaining texts can only be said to come from the 7th century at the latest. Without investigating the texts internally, we can also not conclude anything from the citations in the florilegia as these are all of somewhat later dates.

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[1] See under 3.iv.a, 'The Two Versions of the EDC'.

The Evidence of the Citations

Having looked at the limitations of the manuscript evidence for the history of these translations, we can proceed to look at other items of external data which have a bearing upon their dating.

The letters to Acacius, Succensus and Eulogius (Ep40,45,46,44) were evidently in some sort of circulation amongst the Syrians before 532, the date of their use in the discussions between some Syrian and some Chalcedonian bishops in the presence of the Emperor. The disputants debated these texts extensively, especially that of Ep44 (*ad Eulogium*).[1] We cannot be sure that they knew the texts in the same form in which they appear in our mss, but it would seem likely. However, we do have evidence which takes us somewhat further back still.

Citations in Philoxenus

Philoxenus himself quotes texts from Cyril in two works; firstly in the florilegium appended to the *Dissertationes Decem contra Habbib*, a work produced c.484 near the beginning of his writing career; and secondly, in another florilegium incorporated into the letter to the monks of Senoun, written from exile in 528. Both works also involve quotations from other Greek fathers, as well as from Ephrem.[2]

How do we account for the presence of Syriac citations of these fathers in the florilegium of 484? There are broadly two options: either Philoxenus (or the original compiler of the florilegium, if different from him) made use of existing Syriac versions of the writers cited, or else the florilegium as a whole (or at least the portions which quote Greek works) was translated from a Greek florilegium, before its use by Philoxenus (such a translation might of course have been ordered specifically by him,

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[1] For text and commentary, see Brock, *Conversations with the Syrian Orthodox.*

[2] On the *Dissertationes* see De Halleux, *Philoxène*, 225-38, esp. 237-8 for the dating of the work before Philoxenus' episcopacy (485), but after the promulgation of the Henoticon (482); on the date of the Letter to the monks of Senoun, see De Halleux, *Philoxène*, 223, as well as in the introduction of his edition, *Moines de Senoun.*

but the principle remains the same).[1] The problem, a priori, with the latter view is that Ephrem (the only non-Greek writer cited) is not consistently placed either before or after the others within each section of the florilegium – i.e. its structure would imply that it always existed in something like its present form which must mean that it was compiled in Syriac (either by Philoxenus himself or by some precursor whose work he used). There is a third possibility, that some writer (probably not Philoxenus, given his supposed lack of Greek) compiled the florilegium, translating from the Greek works as he went along.

However, the second and third options would be quite precluded if it could be shown that the texts used for the Greek fathers in the florilegium were identical with otherwise extant, independent Syriac versions of these works. In fact, this has already been shown for the citations of Athanasius' *Ad Epictetum*.[2] The following examples will show that the same is true also for at least some of the Cyrilline works quoted. The positing of Syriac versions of many of Cyril's works before 484 would also account for the presence of Cyrilline Christological thought in Philoxenus without having to assume intermediaries such as Severus. Does this imply, then, that *all* the fathers quoted in the florilegium had already been independently translated into Syriac by 484? This would include less likely subjects for translation such as Theophilus of Alexandria and Atticus of Constantinople, and even Eusebius of Emesa (although Grillmeier's suggestion that he was Diodore's teacher, if known by the master of the school of Edessa, may have given them cause to study him as much as his pupils). We shall be dealing later (Part 3.iv.c) with the sources of some of these citations, which are likely to have formed part of the mainstream of anti-Chalcedonian florilegia originally based on the *Excerpta Ephesena*. But in general it seems unlikely that these authors could have been independently translated in the fifth century (if ever).

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[1] De Halleux's point that Philoxenus probably found the florilegium already in existence does not fundamentally alter the question, which concerns whether the florilegium was composed originally in Syriac (from works already translated, except in Ephrem's case) or in Greek (with Ephrem then added after translation).

[2] Van Rompay, *Mallpânâ dilan Suryâyâ*, §13. This is probably also the point being made by Aland and Juckel, *Die Paulinischen Briefe 1*, 61, n.5, although this appears only to say that Athanasius must have already existed in Syriac before 484 simply because he is cited in the florilegium, while failing to point out that he is quoted in the same words as we find in the Syriac text published by R.W.Thomson, as Van Rompay *did* clearly point out.

That the translation of Cyril into Syriac was already underway in the fifth century has often been stated, but in fact can rely only on the sort of evidence produced here. Usually, one feels, the only evidence put forward for this claim is Rabbula's authorship of the Syriac of the *de recta fide*, an attribution which itself is somewhat shaky.[1]

The following examples are proffered as evidence, then, that Cyril was already being translated into Syriac before 484, and that these translations constituted an important basis for Philoxenus' Christology (the latter issue discussed further in Part 3.iv.e below).

The citations in the Florilegium, appended to the *Dissertationes Decem* (aka the *Memre contra Habbib*)[2]

There are 17 citations in the florilegium which overlap with our texts (plus a further 3 in the letter to the monks of Senoun, dealt with further below). Of these 17 useful citations, 1 is from Ep40 (*ad Acacium Melitenae*), 3 from Ep45 (*ad Succensum prima*), 4 from Ep46 (*ad Succensum altera*), and 9 from Ep50 (*ad Valerianum*).[3] Since Epp 40, 45 and 46 were all already published in Ebied and Wickham, *Syriac Letters*, Graffin's edition of the florilegium notes the variant readings between the published texts and the citations in his apparatus under siglum 'S' (although he has sometimes used the 'Z' siglum, which ordinarily refers to the CSCO edition of the Athanasian corpus, by mistake). It is odd, therefore, that he nowhere makes explicit the identification of Philoxenus' source and Ebied and Wickham's published text, an identification which is implicit in his use of the siglum in the apparatus to show the minor variants between them.

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[1] This attribution was based on the colophon to the text in Add 14557 and the letter to Rabbula from Cyril which precedes it in the same ms (Ep74); however, the attribution to Rabbula may, in fact, have been the deduction of a scribe, given the contents of that same letter, i.e. he (the scribe), interpreting the letter to mean that Rabbula must have translated the *de recta fide*, he naturally attributed the Syriac version in his hands also to Rabbula. This would imply that modern scholars have been arguing about it in circles. See the suggestion concerning this in Aland and Juckel, *Die Katholischen Briefe*, p.97f.

[2] Edition by Graffin in Brière and Graffin, *Dissertationes Decem V*.

[3] These figures differ slightly from the attributions in Graffin's edition, as one citation from Ep45 was wrongly attributed to Ep50, although the PG reference is correct.

The main text of Graffin's edition is taken from BM Add 12164 (L, s.vi), backed up by Vat.Syr. 135 (B, s.vii/viii), 136 (C, s.vi), and 138 (V, date 581). The ms evidence is thus early and fairly diverse. In fact, the ms containing the Syriac version of these works of Cyril (Add 14557) is probably later than most of these, thereby making these the earliest ms witnesses to these texts of Cyril in Syriac.

In each case, references are given, for Cyril, to Ebied/Wickham (= Ebied and Wickham, *Syriac Letters*), for the Florilegium, to Graffin (= Brière and Graffin, *Dissertationes Decem V*), and for the Greek original to Schwartz's ACO.

The variants noted in apparatus do not include differences in punctuation or in orthography (e.g. ܐܢܫ ܒ and ܒܢܫܐ are considered as identical).

<u>Section 1: Citations from Cyril, Ep40</u>

NO.1 : Florilegium item 72

Ep40 Ebied/Wickham 32,19-24

ܐܢܬ ܒܡ̈ܠܐ ܘܐܦ ܗܘ ܕܚܕܐ ܡ̈ܢ ܐܦܟ . ܟܝܢܘܬܐ ܡ̈ܢܕ ܟܝܢܘܬܐܠ ܐܘܕܝܢ ܐܝܬܪ̈ܐ ܢܚܬܘ ܐܝܬ

ܐܢܫܐ ܒ ܕܗܘܐ ܒܝܢ : ܕܚܕ ܐܦܟ ܐܝܕܐ ,ܡܘܬܪܐܕ ܐܢ̈ܚܕ ܟܝܢܐ ܚܕ : ܐܝܬ ܗܘܝܘܢܕ

ܟܝܢܒܐ ܟܠܐܝܟ ,ܡܘܬܪ ܟܕ : ܐܢܫܐ ܒ ܕܗܘܐ ܦܣܩ ܐܝܬܕ ܐܝܟܪ̈ܬܐ ܠܗܠ ܟܪ . ܐܡܕܗܝܪܐ

,ܡܘܬܪܐܕ ܐܦܟ ܠܗܠ ܟܕ . ܟܠܘܢܐܬ ,ܡܠܟ ܟܝܢ ܠܐ

Flg Graffin 80,30-82,3

ܐܢܬ ܒܡ̈ܠܐ ܘܗ ܘܓ ܕܚܕܐ ܡ̈ܢ ܐܦܟ . ܟܝܢܘܬܐ ܡ̈ܢܕ ܟܝܢܘܬܐܠ ܐܘܕܝܢ ܐܝܬܪ̈ܐ ܢܚܬܘ ܐܝܬ

ܐܢܫܐ ܒ ܕܗܘܐ ܒܝܢ .ܕܗܘܐ ܒܝܢ ܐܝܕܐ ,ܡܘܬܪܐܕ ܚܕ ܚܕܐ ܟܝܢܐ ܚܕ .ܐܝܬ ܗܘܝܘܢܕ

ܟܝܢܒܐ ܟܠܐܝܟ ,ܡܘܬܪ ܟܕ ܐܢܫܐ ܒ ܕܗܘܐ ܦܣܩ ܐܝܬܕ ܐܝܟܪ̈ܬܐ ܚܕ . ܟܪ ܦܣܩ ܐܝܬܐ

,ܡܘܬܪܐܕ ܐܦܟ ܠܗܠ ܟܕ .ܟܠܘܢܐܬ ,ܡܠܟ ܟܝܢ ܠܐ

ACO 26,7-11

δύο μὲν φύσεις ἡνῶσθαί φαμεν, μετὰ δέ γε τὴν ἕνωσιν, ὡς ἀνῃρημένης ἤδη τῆς εἰς δύο διατομῆς, μίαν εἶναι πιστεύομεν τὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ φύσιν, ὡς ἑνός, πλὴν ἐνανθρωπήσαντος καὶ σεσαρκωμένου. εἰ δὲ δὴ λέγοιτο σαρκωθῆναί τε καὶ ἐνανθρωπῆσαι θεὸς ὢν ὁ λόγος, διερρίφω που μακρὰν τροπῆς ὑποψία (μεμένηκε γὰρ ὅπερ ἦν).

Differences between Ep40 and Flg noted in Graffin's apparatus:

1. ܘܗ] add. Flg pr.ܡܕܡ (1.1)

2. ܘܦܩܐ] ܘܦܩܐ Flg (1.1)

3. ܘ om.Flg pr.ܒܪܐ (1.2)

4. ܐܬܒܣܝ] ܐܬܓܫܡ Flg (1.3)

To these we should add:

5. ܠܓܝ] ܕܝܢ Flg (for Gk: δέ) (1.3)

It is quite clear that the compiler of the florilegium (which may have been Philoxenus himself) is using the existing text of Ep40 here. Variants 1-3 are probably due to accidental changes of one sort or another. Variant 5 shows Flg closer to the Greek, but may be purely stylistic and need not be explained by a revision towards the Vorlage. Variant 4 is the noteworthy one – it shows the use of the term, ܐܬܒܣܝ, which Philoxenus introduced into the creed sometime after 500.[1] Thus it is not found in the text of Philoxenus (from c.484) but once in the text of Ep40, mixed in with the older terms ܐܬܓܫܡ and ܗܘܐ ܒܪܢܫܐ (for ἐνανθρωπῆσαι). De Halleux suggested that such mixture was evidence of sporadic post-500 revision, very sporadic in this case since ܐܬܓܫܡ is retained in the very next clause.[2] However, given that the Syriac translation of Ep40 must pre-date the writing of the florilegium (c.484), we have to interpret this in one of two ways: either we do indeed have, in ܐܬܒܣܝ, a lexical revision from a later date, but one that has been carried through very incompletely; or else the use of ܐܬܒܣܝ by Philoxenus was actually not as new as De Halleux suggested. This latter suggestion, however, would have to answer the objection that the compiler seems to have changed the ܐܬܒܣܝ of Ep40 into the ܐܬܓܫܡ of Flg. If the compiler were Philoxenus or someone close to him, this is actually not at all improbable. Before his decision to revise Christological language, Philoxenus seems to have been very conservative in his choice of words and the use of ܒܣܪ-related terms in reference to Christ was considered dangerously Eutychian by some anti-Chalcedonians, hence the frequent use instead of ܒܪܢܫܐ in our earlier texts (see much more on this below, Part 3.i). We can perhaps then conceive of an avant-garde translator before 484 using ܐܬܒܣܝ as an experiment in one of the two places in this

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[1] As shown by De Halleux, *La Philoxénienne du symbole*.

[2] De Halleux (ibid., 314) notes this very line but in reference to ܐܬܒܣܝܘܬܐ for σάρκωσις, rather than to ܐܬܓܫܡ/ܐܬܒܣܝ, so presumably the reference is an error.

sentence, as certainly appears to have happened here, being 'corrected' by Philoxenus to ܐܬܒܪܢܫ. We need not necessarily posit a later revision which has only altered one of two instances of the word in the same sentence.

It might, finally, be suggested that a distinction is being made between the middle/passive aorist form σεσαρκωμένος and the passive perfect form σαρκωθῆναι – it is the latter which is found in the creed, and the former usually in the μία φύσις formula (which we have here). However, given that the object of Philoxenus' revision policy was the wording of the creed, it is the passive form that we would most expect to see revised after 500, rather than the μία φύσις formula. This again suggests that we are not here looking at a post-500 revision of the Philoxenian type, but rather an earlier translator using ܐܬܒܣܪ for the middle/passive aorist form of the Cyrilline catchphrase, but not for the more traditional and conservative language of the creed.

Section 2: Citations from Cyril, Ep45

NO.1: Florilegium item 75 (incorrectly identified by Philoxenus as coming from Ep50, an error not noticed by Graffin who, although he gives the correct PG reference, does not collate this citation against the Ebied/Wickham text, presumably falsely believing it to have been taken from Ep50, which was not edited by Ebied/Wickham).

Ep45 Ebied/Wickham 44,16-24
Flg Graffin 82,11-16
ACO 155,18-24

ܗܘܐ ܒܪܢܫܐ. ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܣܒ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܢܣܛܘܪܝܘܣ ܡܬܚܙܐ. ܐܝܟ ܐܬܒܪܢܫ. ܘܡܬܘܗܢܝܘܬܐ ܒܪܢܫܐ

ܗܘܐ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܢܣܒ. ܐܝܟ ܕܠܢܣܛܘܪܝܘܣ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܬܒܪܢܫ. ܘܡܬܘܗܢܝܘܬܐ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܗܘܐ.

γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος, οὐκ ἄνθρωπον ἀνέλαβεν, ὡς Νεστορίῳ δοκεῖ, καὶ ἵνα πιστευθῇ γεγονὼς ἄνθρωπος

ܒܕ ܦܐܪ ܐܝܟ ܐܬܗܡܢ. ܐܠܗܐ ܡܚܣ. ܒܪܐ ܕܡܬܚܙܐ ܡܢ ܟܠܗ ܓܘܫܡܐ ܕܐܝܢܝܘܬܐ

ܒܕ ܦܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܬܗܡܢܘܬܐ. ܐܠܗܐ ܡܚܣ. ܕܡܬܚܙܐ ܒܪܐ ܦܓܕ ܡܢ ܟܠܗ ܓܘܫܡܐ ܕܐܝܢܝܘܬܐ.

καίτοι μεμενηκὼς ὅπερ ἦν, δῆλον δὲ ὅτι θεὸς κατὰ φύσιν, ταύτῃ τοι καὶ πεινῆσαι λέγεται καὶ καμεῖν ἐξ ὁδοιπορίας,

.ܪܚܘܘܘ ܚܘܘܬ ܦܠܗ ܪܠܐ ܪܗܘܪܟ ܪܚܘ ܦܠܗܘ ܘܚܬܗܘ ܣܠܚܘܘ ܘܝܘܘ ܠܘܘ

.ܪܚܘܘܘ ܚܘܘܬ ܦܠܗ ܪܠܐ .ܪܗܘ ܪܚܘܘ ܪܗܬ ܦܟ ܘܚܬܗܘ ܣܠܚܘܘ ܘܝܘܘ ܠܘܘ

ἀνασχέσθαι δὲ καὶ ὕπνου καὶ ταραχῆς καὶ λύπης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρωπίνων καὶ ἀδιαβλήτων παθῶν.

.ܚܘܪܝܘܪ ܘܗ ܪܥܠܪܘ ܪܚܘܘ ܡܗܬܪܘ ܐܗ ܦܟܘ ܘܠ ܦܚܘܘ ܐܘܗܠ ܪܠܗܘܘ ܦܘ ܘܗܬ

.ܪܚܘܘ ܚܘܪܝܘܪ ܘܗ ܪܥܠܪ ܐܪ ܪܝܘܪ ܐܘܘ ܐܗ ܦܟܘ ܐܘܚܗܘ ܘܗܗܘ

ἵνα δὲ πάλιν πληροφορῇ τοὺς ὁρῶντας αὐτὸν ὅτι μετὰ τοῦ εἶναι ἄνθρωπος καὶ θεός ἐστιν ἀληθινός,

ܪܗܘܘܘ...ܪܗܗܗܪ ܪܘܘ ܝܚܘ

ܪܗܘܘܘ ܪܗܗܗܪ ܪܘܘ ܝܚܘ

εἰργάζετο τὰς θεοσημείας...καὶ παράδοξα.

The main variant to note is καὶ τῶν ἄλλων...παθῶν where Ep45 seems to be marginally closer to the meaning of the Greek than Flg. If this is so, we can see some evidence in Ep45 of a process of revision to a Greek exemplar. The other option, that Flg is simplifying Ep45, is hard to justify in this case.

Elsewhere the changes are deliberate, either clarifications or simplifications and cannot be taken as witnesses to the original Syriac version.

NO.2:Florilegium item 76

Ep45 Ebied/Wickham 41,14-15, 17-20, 27-8
Flg Graffin 82,18-22
ACO 153,1-2, 3-5, 8-9

The two versions are identical apart from the following differences in Flg:

1. ܘܗ] ܦܘ ܘܘܗ Flg

2. ܝܘܪܠ ܪܠܘ ܘܠܗܘܘܠ ܚܘܠ] ܘܠܗܘܘܠܘ ܝܘܪܠ ܚܘܠ Flg (for Gk: ἀπερινοήτως τε καὶ ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν)

3. ܐܠܝܣܡ ܝ ܝ̣ܟ ܐܠ] ܐܠܝܐܪ ܝ ܐܠܐ Flg (for Gk: οὐ μεταβολῇ)

4. ܪܐܘܝܒܡ] ܡܗܘܝܒܡ Flg (for Gk: οἰκονομικῇ)

5. ܝܗܐܪ] add. Flg post ἄνθρωπος γενέσθαι

Towards the end of the citation, the sentence parts are integrated differently, but this is merely a function of the citation method. Variant 2 shows Ep45 as closer to the Greek word order (Flg's reading may simply be a scribal error); the same superiority of Ep45 is found in the active form of the verb in variant 3 and the lack of suffix in variant 4; variant 5 is also Flg's unwarranted addition. In all these cases Ep45 is closer to the Greek.

NO.3:Florilegium item 77

Ep45 Ebied/Wickham 42,4-9
Flg Graffin 82, 24-6
ACO 153,12-16

The two versions are identical apart from the following differences in Flg:
1. ܝܕ] add. Flg
2. ܠ] ܕ Flg (for Gk: ὅτι)
3. ܒܐܪܗ ܝܟܥ] ܘܐܪܗ ܝܟܥ Flg (for Gk: καὶ ἐσαρκώθη)
4. ܒ ܠܐ ܝܡ ܣܝܗ ܡܗ ܪܐܘܝܐ ܥܣܗ ܐܘܕܝ. ܐܠܐܟܘܥ ܪܘܝܗ ܠܟ] ܒ ܠܐ ܝܡ ܣܝܗ ܪܐܘܝܐ ܝܗ ܐܠ ܘܐܥܗܠ. ܪ̈ܐܥܘܗ ܪܘܝܗ ܠܟ Flg (for Gk: οὐκ ἐκ τῆς θείας ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως τὸ ἱερὸν ἐκεῖνο πεπλαστούργηκε σῶμα)
5. ܪܐܡ ܪܐܝܗܪ ܪܠܐܪܐ] ܪܐܡܕ ܝܒܪܐܗ ܝܕ ܪܐܝܗܪ Flg (for Gk: ἐπεὶ πῶς γέγονεν)

Despite the divergence in variants 4 & 5, the two texts quite clearly represent the same version, even in quite free renderings such as is the case in the final clause of this citation, in which the two are identical. In variant 2, we should probably assume error in Ep45, since the reading of Flg is not only truer to the Greek, but is the more obvious original reading. The appearance of ܝܒܪܐܗ in variant 5 may simply be attributed to the compiler clarifying the meaning. Variant 4, however, does raise issues. The editors mention the matter of the translator adding the terms 'glorious and

miraculous' as predicates of Christ's body elsewhere in this text (see E/W p.xiii). Here the opposite tendency is found. Cyril himself wrote τὸ ἱερὸν σῶμα, but Flg has omitted the reference to 'holy'. Given their usual close proximity, it may be possible to attribute this omission to a careful avoidance of Eutychianism on the part of the compiler of Flg.

NO.4:Florilegium item 103

Ep45 Ebied/Wickham 40,25-6
Flg Graffin 90,24-5
ACO 152,17-18

1. ܡܘܕܝܢ] ܦܢܝܐ Flg (for Gk: ὀνομάζομεν)

The only variant shows Flg actually closer to the Greek term than Ep45 [ܡܘܕܝܢ usually being for ὁμολογοῦμεν].

Otherwise, we note only that again, as in the previous case, ܐܝܬ ܠܥܠ and ܗܘܐ ܒܪܢܫܐ are retained in the florilegium.

NO.5:Florilegium item 146
Cyril Ebied/Wickham 42,16-20
Flg Graffin 102,11-14
ACO 153,21-3
(This is incorrectly cited by Philoxenus as being from Ep50, and incorrectly referenced by Graffin's footnote, which should read PG 77,232. The citation is from Ep45 but, not realising this, Graffin adds no apparatus)

1. ܒܬܪ ܕܝ] om. Flg

2. ܘܐܝܟ] ܐܝܟ Flg

Variant 1 is linked with a change in the sentence structure and meaning. The words in Ep45 (correctly rendering the Greek phrasing) are ܕܐܡܝܪܢ ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܠܬܪ [ܠܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ]

ܪܚܒܐ ܝܝ ܝܝܢܒܗܐ ܪܐ ܪܚܘܢܬܫ ܝܝ ܒܗܐ. ܒܗܘ ܪܚܝܒ, whereas in Flg this becomes ܪܒܬܐ

ܪܚܝܒ. ܝܝܢܒܗܐ ܪܐܘ ܪܚܘܢܬܫ ܒܗܘ ܝܝܢܒ ܒܬܐ ܕܐ ܝܝ. It would appear that the sentence

restructuring occurred after the words had dropped out. This would suggest that there

was an extra textual stage between Ep45 and Flg and that the latter was not done with

an eye on the original, since the structure is quite unmistakeable in the Greek.

The closeness of the two, however, is made more striking by a comparison with Paul

of Callinicum's translation of the 40th chapter of the Florilegium Cyrillianum (which

quotes the same words), made in the 520s, which renders many parts quite differently,

e.g. using ܪܚܒܠܗܒܬ ܪܐ rather than ܒܠܗܒܬ ܪܐܘ for ἀμέριστον (see Part 3.ii for

further examples).

Summary

The evidence from this analysis is fairly clear. Flg is based on a text very similar to

Ep45, indeed almost identical. Most of the differences can be put down to alterations

made by the compiler to fit the citation better into its new context. There is some

indication also of theological alteration, as well as the merely stylistic. The

restructuring of the last citation implies a double stage transmission.

<u>Section 3: Citations from Cyril, Ep46</u>

NO.1:Florilegium item 147

Ep46 Ebied/Wickham 50,14-16, 20-1

Flg Graffin 102,15-18

ACO 160,19-20, 23-4

1. εἰπόντες : ܝܝܒܬܐ (Ep46); ܝܢܘܒܬܐ (Flg)

2. ܠ add. Flg for acc in oratio obliqua.

3. ἄλλα : om Flg

4. σεσαρκωμένην : ܝܒܣܠܒ (Ep46); ܝܒܣܠܒ ܬܐܕ (Flg)

5. παυσάσθωσαν καλαμίνην ῥάβδον ἑαυτοῖς ὑποστήσαντες

ܪܚܘܒܬܐ ܪܚܝܒ ܠ ܥܒܕܝܗܒܬܐܕ ܝܢܒܬ (Ep46)

ܪܚܝܘܐ ܪܚܝܬܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܣܝܘܐܪܐ ܥܠܘ (Flg)

The explanation for variant 4 seems to lie in the fact that Ep46 has interpreted the reference as being to the 'mia fusis' formula (as is being discussed in this text) and thus has used the accustomed ܡܬܬܥ; the Flg, however, has taken it as being part of the credal formula (as is usually the case when the perfect passive is used) and has accordingly translated using the credal ܐܬܬܥ ܐܬܐ.

Variant 5, however, requires further comment. The allusion is to Isa 36.6. Cyril quotes only the words καλαμίνην ῥάβδον from the phrase πεποιθὼς εἶ ἐπὶ τὴν ῥάβδον τὴν καλαμίνην τὴν τεθλασμένην (*you are trusting in a staff made of broken reed*). The Syriac Ep46 has adjusted this in the direction of the Peshitta, firstly by using the verb ܡܣܥܘ for Cyril's ὑποστήσαντες (this is the verb used in Peshitta to translate יִסָּמֵךְ in the succeeding clause and is also the basis of the noun ܣܥܘܢܐ, which is used for ῥάβδον), and then secondly by adding the phrase ܩܢܝܐ ܪܥܝܥܐ ܥܠ (*upon a broken reed*) directly from the Peshitta text, even though Cyril did not include the term *broken* (LXX τεθλασμένην) in his sentence.[1] Oddly, Flg alters this dramatically. On the one hand, the phrase ܐܣܝܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ is a much closer calque for Cyril's ἑαυτοῖς ὑποστήσαντες, implying that Flg has indeed experienced revision towards a Greek original, yet on the other hand Flg has the singular reading ܪܚܝܬܐ ܪܚܝܘܐ (*broken things made of reeds*) which has no obvious provenance.

NO.2:Florilegium item 224

Ep46 Ebied/Wickham 47,19-21
Flg Graffin 122,10-13
ACO 158,8-10

1. ܪܬܚܘܝܬ ܡܢ (Ep46); ܡܢ ܪܬܚܘܝܬ (Flg)
2. ܐܬܒܪܐ ܐܝܟ add. Flg post ἕνωσιν
3. ܪܬܒܠܡ add. Flg post αὐτόν

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[1] Isa 36.6 in the Peshitta version reads ܪܥܝܥܝ ܪܚܝܘܐ ܪܣܥܘܢ ܥܠ ܐܬܬܟܠܬ ܐܢ.

Variant 3 is clearly for explanatory purposes. Variant 2 is strange, but probably ought to be put down to a similar cause, as no such reading is known in the Greek tradition. Otherwise, the texts are identical and share the typical ܡܬܒܣܪ translation of the Cyrilline σεσαρκωμένη.

NO.3:Florilegium item 226

Ep46 Ebied/Wickham 51,5
Flg Graffin 122,18-20
ACO 161,6-8

1. τῷ ἑνὶ καὶ κατὰ ἀλήθειαν υἱῷ : ܪܒܐ ,ܡܘܬܝܐ ܪܐܝܬܝܐ ܝܕ ܐܠܗܐ (Ep46); ܪܒܐ ܝܕ ܐܠܗܐ ,ܡܘܬܝܐ ܪܐܝܬܝܐ (Flg)

2. τὸ μὴ πάσχειν : ܝܕ ܪܕܠܐ (Ep46); ܝܫܘ ܪܕܠܐ (Flg)

3. ἡ αὐτοῦ γὰρ πέπονθε σάρξ : ܝܕ ܡܠܕܐ ܝܟܠ ܪܒܣܪܐ (Ep46); ,ܡܒ ܕܝ ܐܘܡ ܡܬܒܣܪ ܕܐܝܬ (Flg)

Variant 3 is a result of the compiler glossing the previous statement in his own way. In variant 2, the use of the imperfect (Flg) for the infinitive after the article is normal practice for later translation-styles, and Ep46 uses the imperfect for the parallel infinitive in the next clause; thus either an alteration in Flg has come about as a correction, or else Ep46 originally read the imperfect as well. A close grammatical mirror-version of this citation can be found in Paul of Callinicum's translation of the Florilegium Cyrillianum, as part of his version of Severus' *Philalethes.*[1]

Summary

The conclusions from this section are nor substantially different from those discerned from Section 2. Only the Isaiah reference brings about a significant question mark over the original reading of the Syriac text.

<u>Section 4: Citations from Cyril, Ep50</u>

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[1] Hespel, *Philalèthe*, 31,24-32,2.

NO.1 : Florilegium item 73

Ep50 Add 14557, f.141ra-b

Flg Graffin 82,4-6

ACO 91,19-21

.ܒܬܕ ܐܝܟ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܟ܆ ܐܘܬܗ ܪܘܚܐ .ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܠܬ ܝܚܝܕܝܐ ܓܝܪ ܐܡܪܝܢ

.ܒܬܕ ܐܝܟ .ܐܠܗܐ ܐܦ܆ ܐܘܬܗ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܡܠܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܝܚܝܕܝܐ ܓܝܪ ܐܡܪܝܢ

φάμεν γὰρ ὅτι ὁ μονογενὴς τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, πνεῦμα ὤν ὡς θεὸς κατὰ τὰς γραφάς,

ܐܢܫܐ ܘܗܘܐ ܡܛܠ ܐܝܬ ܕܟܠ ܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܘܡܛܠ

ܐܢܫܐ ܘܗܘܐ ܡܛܠ ܐܝܬ ܕܟܠ ܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܘܡܛܠ

ἐπι σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ὅλων ἐσαρκώθη τε καὶ ἐνηνθρώπησεν

Differences:

1. Transposition of ܕܐܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ (Flg) (both versions are equally free in not rendering the genitive of τοῦ θεοῦ)

2. Flg ܐܦ, Ep50 ܐܝܟ (for Gk ὡς)

In variant 1, Flg may be the original reading as this order is a normal formula found throughout this corpus of letters.

NO.2: Florilegium item 74

Ep50 Add 14557, f.142vb

Flg Graffin 82,7-10

ACO 93,32 – 94,2

ܡܛܠ ܕܝܢ ܫܡܐ ܕܒܘܟܪܐ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܢܫܠܡ .ܐܠܘ ܒ ܗܘܐ ܐܠܐ .ܠܝܚܝܕܝܐ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܡܢ ܥܡܐ

ܡܛܠ ܕܝܢ ܫܡܐ ܕܒܘܟܪܐ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܢܫܠ .ܠܐ ܒ ܕܗܘܐ ܠܝܚܝܕܝܐ ܐܠܐ .ܠܝܚܝܕܝܐ ܓܠ ܕܐܝܬ ܡܛܠ ܥܡܐ

τὸ δέ γε πρωτότοκος ὄνομα πῶς ἄν ἁρμόσαι μὴ ἐνανθρωπήσαντι τῷ μονογενεῖ; εἰ γάρ ἐστιν ἀληθὲς ὡς ἐν

.ܕܟܠܗ ܗܝ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܚܝܒ ܡܟܝܠ .ܒܒܪܐ ܡܬܝܕܥ ܐܢܫ ܡܪܢ

.ܕܟܠܗ ܗܝ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܚܝܒܕ ܗܘ ܒܒܪܐ ܡܬܝܕܥ ܐܢܫ ܡܪܢ

πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς νοεῖται πρωτότοκος, τότε κατέβη πρὸς ἀδελφότητα, δηλονότι τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς,

.ܪܚܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܝܠܦ ܠ ܡܢܬܐܟܘ .ܪܫܢܪ ܒܝ ܪܗܘ ܚܩܒܪ ܒ

.ܪܚܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܝܠܦ ܠ ܢܪܬܐܟܘ .ܪܫܝܒ ܪܩܘ ܚܩܒܪ ܒ

ὅτε καθ' ἡμᾶς γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος, ὁμοιωθεὶς κατὰ πάντα δίχα μόνης ἁμαρτίας.

Differences:

1. Flg ܝܠ, Ep50 ܡܢ [l.1]

2. Flg ܪܫܝ ܒܝ ܪܗܘܡܢ ܪܝܬܘܘܠ ܪܐܟ .ܠܝܢܠ ܠܝܢ (*to whom can one apply [it] other than to the only-begotten who was made man?*)

Ep50 ܪܫܝܪ ܒܝ ܪܩܘ ܪܐܟ .ܪܝܬܘܘܠ ܠܝܢܠ ܪܒܝܪ (*how can one apply [it] to the only-begotten unless he was made man?*) [l.1]

3. Flg ܝ ܥܚ , Ep50 ܡܠܘܚ [l.2]

Variant no.2 is obviously worth comment, since there is actually a difference of meaning. Ep50 is clearly closer to the Greek in meaning, using ܪܒܝܪ and bringing ܪܝܬܘܘܠ forwards to make clear its close connection with ܠܝܢܠ. Flg, however, has a text very close to the Greek in terms of word order, but the result, with using ܠܝܢ, is a divergent meaning. If, as we have generally suggested, Ep50 was the basis for Flg, then again we must postulate an earlier edition of Ep50, an Ur-Ep50, which has, at some stage, been revised to the Vorlage to produce Ep50 as it appears in the 6th century Add 14557, a revision which has left the text of the florilegium untouched.

NO.3: Florilegium item 144

Eπ50 Add 14557, f.141va
Flg Graffin 102,1-6
ACO 92, 9-14

ἑκατέρου : ܚܘ ܚܘܝ (Flg); ܚܘ ܚܘ ܠܚܝ (Ep50)

καθά φασίν : om (Flg); ܝ ܚܝܒܪ ܚܒܘܝܒܝ ܥܝܪ (Ep50)

ܒܥܗ add Flg pro παραπλησίως

ܗܕܐ ܡܢ add Flg post ἵνα

Flg thus adds a couple of explanatory particles, simply to ease the flow of meaning, as well as omitting a couple of unnecessary superfluities. Substantially, the texts are identical.

The citation of Heb 2.14 contained here also is taken from the text in Ep50, where the Syriac order 'flesh and blood' has been kept in defiance of Cyril's 'blood and flesh'. In their edition of the Syriac citations, Aland and Juckel omitted to include this citation, either from Cyril's Ep50 or from the florilegium (see *in.loc.* in Appendix 2).

NO.4: Florilegium item 145

Ep50 Add 14557, f.144rb
Flg Graffin 102,7-10
ACO 96,5-7

αὐτῷ : ܒܐܪܒ (Flg); om (Ep50)

ἔνοικον : ܥܡܪܐ ܡܢ (Flg); ܥܡܪܐ ܗܘ (Ep50)

καὶ μόνος, καὶ ὅτε γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος : ܐܢܫܐ ܗܘܐܠܡ ܚܝܘ (Flg); ܒܕ ܘܟܕܗܘܝܗܝ ܒ ܡܢܐܢܫܐ ܒܪ ܗܘܐ (Ep50)

The ending has clearly been shortened and simplified for the florilegium. The more noticeable difference lies in Ep50's omission of an equivalent for αὐτῷ; we probably have to assume an original ܒܐܪܒ or ܠܗ here in order to account for the reading in Flg, given how unlikely it is that Flg has been revised against the Greek for the purposes of the florilegium. If that had been the case, we would expect to see more differences.

NO.5: Florilegium item 148

Ep50 Add 14557, f.146rb
Flg Graffin 102,19-23
ACO 99,6-7, 98,35, 99,2-3

γάρ : ܘܝܢ (Flg); ܠܓܝܪ (Ep50) [cf. Section 1, NO.1]

Including the two brief Johannine citations, the versions are identical

NO.6: Florilegium item 222

Ep50 Add 14557, f.143va
Flg Graffin 122,1-5
ACO 94,33 – 95,4

ἀκαλλὲς καὶ ἀνάρμοστον : ܠܫܘܦܪܐ ܘܠܐ ܕܪܐ ܠܐ (Flg); ܕܪܐ ܘܠܐ ܠܫܘܦܪܐ ܠܐ (Ep50)

αὐτῷ : ܠܐܠܗܐ (Flg); ܠܗ (Ep50)

τὴν γέννησιν : ܕܝܠܝܕܘܬܐ ,ܗܝ (Flg); ܕܝܠܝܕܘܬܗ ,ܗܝ (Ep50)

γάρ : ܘܝܢ (Flg); ܠܓܝܪ (Ep50) [cf. no.5 above]

ἔστι τῶν ἀπεοικότων αὐτῷ τὸ σαρκὶ λέγεσθαι παθεῖν : ܠܗ ܕܪܐ ܠܐ ܒܩܘܡܐ ܕܚܫܢ ,ܗܝ
(Flg); ܒܦܓܪܐ ܕܚܢ ,ܡܢܗ ܒܝܬܐܬܟܘܝܢ ܠܗ ܕܪܐ ܠܐ (Ep50)

The variants given omit those alterations the compiler has made both at the start and at the end of the citation in order to adapt it to its new context.

The main variation between Flg and Ep50 (ἐστί...παθεῖν) shows that Flg has somewhat simplified the meaning, as well as altering ܒܦܓܪܐ to ܒܩܘܡܐ, which, seeing as Flg has used ܒܦܓܪܐ for the suffering that is κατὰ σάρκα already in this citation, can hardly be attributed to a significant level of lexical tightening on the part of the compiler. It is, on the other hand, possible that ܒܩܘܡܐ was the original reading of Ep50 (given its inconsistency in places), later harmonised to itself during its transmission.

NO.7: Florilegium item 223[1]

Ep50 Add 14557, f.143vb

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[1] Again, Graffin has misprinted the reference, claiming Ep50 as the letter to Successus, and then referencing a parallel passage in Ep46 (to Successus), which is not the one being quoted.

Part 2.ii

Flg Graffin 122,6-9

ACO 95,14-18

ܝܚ ,ܡܘܬܗܐܕ (Flg); ,ܡܘܬܗܐ ܕܝܚܝ (Ep50)

There are no significant differences between Flg and Ep50.

Summary

In conclusion, the Florilegium's use of a pre-existing Syriac version, this time for Ep50, is securely shown. The Florilegium's text can also act as an effective witness to the original text of Ep50 (as it did also in No.1), and Flg can sometimes act as a more exact witness to the original than Ep50 (see No.4), despite the fact that most of the time the compiler is probably responsible for small changes in style or wording.

However, there is also now some evidence that Ep50 may have undergone sporadic revision to some extent (see No.2), although the significance of this can hardly be ascertained given the small number of texts preserved for us here in Flg (as is clear from the difficulty in interpreting the ܒܩܘܡ of No.6). If Ep50 has indeed undergone revision, we will need to be especially careful when analysing its translation style and its Biblical citations, which may witness to a period after 484, even if the original must come from some time before that date.

Excursus: the use of the same method to date Athanasian and Apollinarian works

It has been mentioned above that the Athanasian citations in the florilegium have been shown to coincide with those in the Syriac versions edited by R.W.Thomson. This confirms that the date of the translations of at least the *Ad Epictetum* (which is found in the same ms, Add 14557, as most of our texts) and the *De Incarnatione Verbi* is also prior to 484. One of these citations is also to be found in Cyril's *Contra Orientales*. The wording in the Syriac version of that document (Add 12156) is, however, not the same as that found in the florilegium. A comparison of the wording of these versions will therefore be included in the appropriate place (3.iv.c).

Also of significance is a comparison between the Apollinarian citations (given under the name of Athanasius) in Philoxenus' *Letter to the Monks of Senoun* (dated by De Halleux to 521[1]) with the same texts in their fuller forms as they are found in various Syriac collections (and edited together in Flemming and Lietzmann, *Apollinaristische Schriften syrisch*). A study of these citations shows again that Philoxenus is making use of already-existing Syriac versions rather than newly translating a Greek one for himself. We can now set out the evidence for this assertion:

There are ten 'Apollinarian' citations to be found in the letter (though it must be remembered that as these are attributed to different people, Philoxenus himself did not treat them as a unit, as we do). The ten are as follows, with textus/versio references from De Halleux's edition of the *Letter to the Monks of Senoun* (abbrev. EpS) and to Flemming and Lietzmann's edition of Apollinarius in Syriac where relevant (abbrev. F/L).

Citations attributed to Athanasius, Ad Iovianum:
1) 29,7-11/24,5-8 = F/L 33,13-5 (from Add 12156)
2) 39,3-19/32,6-21 = F/L 33,3&5-14 (from Add 12156)
3) 56,23-5/46,26-8 = PG28.232A (not in F/L)
4) 39,23-40,11/32,24-33,9 = PG28.532A-B (not in F/L)
[Thus only nos. 1 & 2 were included as Apollinarian writings by Lietzmann, even though Philoxenus attributes all to the 'Athanasian' *ad Iovianum*].

Citations attributed to Gregory Thaumaturgus
5) 36,19-28/30,3-11 = F/L 10,11-6; 15,6-9&10-15 (from BL Add 14597,12156)

Citations attributed to Julius of Rome
6) 37,1-8/30,13-20 = from *de fide et incarnatione* (not in F/L, but the Greek is in Lietzmann, *Apollinaris* 198,23-199,19)
7) 37,8-20/30,30-32 = from *Ep thaumazo* (again only the Greek, found in Lietzmann, *Apollinaris* 257,13-6; 258,4-7; 258,15-259,2)

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[1] De Halleux, *Philoxène*, 223.

8) 37,21-6/31,1-14 = from *Ep thaumazo*, F/L p.28,8-29,4; 28,22-29,16 (from Add 14604, 18813)

9) 38,7-8/31,14-6 = from *ad Dionysium*, F/L p.36,4-5 (from Add 12156)

10) 38,8-26/31,16-32,2 = from *ad Dionysium*, F/L p.37,5-16 (from Add 12156)

The texts of EpS and F/L at all these places are essentially the same (where they overlap), bar the following variants in each case:

No.1

29,10 ܡܩܬܐ EpS; om. F/L

10, ܪܒܘܗܝ EpS; ܒܘܗܝ F/L

11 ܗܘܩ EpS; ܗܘ ܝ ܗܘ F/L

No.2

4 ܪܗܠܐܐ ܡܒ ܡܩܬܐܐ EpS; ܪܗܠܐܐ ܪܒ ܗܘ ܝ ܗܘ ܡܩܬܐܘ F/L

4-5 ܪܝܒܒ...ܪܒܘܒ EpS; ܝܒܒ...ܒܘܒ F/L

5 ܪܒ ܝܠ ܪܒܬ EpS; ܪܒ ܝ ܚܬܐ F/L

7 ܝܒܒܪ EpS; ܡܚܠܬܐ F/L [Gk σεσαρκωμένην]

8 ܪܒܬ EpS; ܚܒ F/L

8 ܝ EpS; ܪܬܝܘܪ F/L

[Note: the use of ܝܒܒ in Philoxenus' version here counts as another excellent witness to De Halleux's theory that the term was a Philoxenian revision of the more traditional Christological terminology, such as he evidently found in this text.]

No.3 & 4 not in F/L

No.5

20 ܪܝܒܒ ܪܠ EpS, F/L (pt); ܝܒ ܪܠ F/L (pt) [for ἄσαρκος]

The version ܝܒ ܪܠ is found in the complete text of the *Kata meros pistis* as given in BL Add 14597, dated 569, but as ܪܝܒܒ ܪܠ in BM Add 12156 (as in Philoxenus)

No.6 & 7 not in F/L

No.9

No differences

No.10

There are a few differences here, the main ones being that the F/L version tends to give the fuller forms, e.g. ܡܠܟܐ, ܐܢܫ̈ܝܢ, ܕܐ̈ܢܫܝܢ (for ܕܐ̈ܢܫܝ̈ܢ), and prefers the emphatic to the absolute, e.g. ܚ̈ܝܐ vs ܚ̈ܝܝܢ (cf. no 2 above)

In summary, we can therefore say that, in addition to certain of Cyril's letters and certain works of Athanasius being extant in Syriac before 484, some also of the Apollinarian corpus existed in Syriac before 521, the date of writing of EpS. These firm dates mean that these texts can be added to the list of datable translations give by Brock in his seminal article on Syriac translation technique.[1]

General Conclusions from these results

A Cyrilline corpus, as also an Athanasian one, must have been circulating, therefore, in monophysite circles, prior to 484, having been translated sometime between the controversy itself in the 430s and that later date. The corpus must have included not only the texts discussed above but also, at least, the second and third letters to Nestorius, which are present in the florilegium, although unknown in any Syriac version. This would confirm what we would anyway presume *a priori* to be the case, given the significance of these documents in the Nestorian controversy itself and in the acts of the councils at Ephesus and Chalcedon. It is interesting also that the florilegium only quotes these few documents (a total of only 6 letters) and knows nothing of Cyril's other treatises or letters. Of course, this may be coincidence, but it may also indicate some limit to the number of texts circulating in Philoxenus' early years and points especially to these texts as the ones which brought about the strong Alexandrian influence on Philoxenus' Christology and exegesis.

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[1] Brock, *Towards a History*, 2-3.

Part 3

Cyril of Alexandria's Christological Texts in Syriac:
The Internal Evidence for their History

3.i

Description of Translation Techniques

Levels of analysis

The spectrum 'literal' to 'free' which is often applied to translation technique is going to be largely inadequate for our task. Degrees of literalism need to be identified at different levels and in different spheres. In his well-known article on the development of translation techniques, Brock has outlined a number of criteria that could be used to build a typology, namely a) the size of text-units taken as a working base by the translator; b) the balance of focus between the *signifiant* and the *signifié*, which includes also noting the distinctions between what Brock calls modulation and transposition as forms of dynamic rendering[1]; c) the concern for reproducing syntactical structures.

In another context, James Barr has also laid out a useful typology of techniques discernible in the Greek versions of the Hebrew scriptures. He even hopes that, based upon his system, it might be possible to devise a statistical way of describing the level of literalism of a given text, working sentence by sentence, giving each some sort of percentage mark, or different marks under different headings. Barr identifies the following levels of literalism:

1. *The division into elements or segments, and the sequence in which these elements are represented.* We will refer to this as 'clause structuring' and will discuss it quite extensively.

2. *The quantitative addition or subtraction of elements*, named here 'editing'. This may happen at a very low level of discourse, but involves conscious

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[1] Transposition being a change only in the grammatical category of a word or phrase while modulation denotes the use of one culturally-relevant expression wholly in place of another to which it is considered parallel.

choices on the part of the translator and so is vital in understanding his wider approach to his task.

3. *Consistency or non-consistency in the rendering of words*; i.e. what I call lexical equivalency

4. *Accuracy and level of semantic information, especially in cases of metaphor and idiom.* We will deal with this issue under the general heading of lexical equivalence – however, we have adopted Brock's terminology of contrasting a *transposition*, the attempt to 'transpose' an idiom as it stands into the target language by the alteration only of grammatical categories, with a *modulation*, namely the substitution of one cultural idiom for another.

5. *Coded 'etymological' indication of formal relationships obtaining in the original language.* This is what we call 'formal equivalence' properly speaking; we will be discussing this area largely in terms of how verbal forms are translated.

6. Level of text and level of analysis. This refers to the way the original is read and largely refers only to canonical texts, and largely only to consonantal ones at that, and will therefore not be of relevance for our purposes.

The following is the typology and structure that will be used in the analysis of our texts, developed out of these two sets of criteria, those of Brock and of Barr. Neither is, however, used precisely as given but has been reorganised better to suit our particular subject-matter.

The structure of the analysis:

1. Editing techniques

This refers to those places where the translator has decided that his Vorlage is either insufficiently clear or unnecessarily otiose, and as a result has deliberately omitted or added, or simply altered in some direction, the wording. This can happen at any level; sometimes translators will just add a simple word to clarify a perceived obscurity; sometimes it means omitting whole sentences which are seen to be superfluous to the needs of the Syriac audience. Although this category does not include those areas discussed in the following sections, there is unavoidably some overlap.

2. Larger Translation Units

The larger translation unit consists of the sentence and upwards

i. *The treatment of larger translation units*

This section will deal with the extent to which each translator takes note of these longer units and has attempted to understand the whole sentence or paragraph before making his choices in translation. It deals with 'awareness' in general rather than 'alterations' in particular. There are many different types of evidence that may appear under this heading, but they are brought together to show that a translator does have a concern for the wider-scale shape of the discourse.[1]

ii. *The restructuring of larger translation units*

This will deal mostly with the alterations made to the larger units in terms of their structure of main and subordinate clauses of different sorts. Translators who have analysed the larger section in general (as described under the previous head) and who are concerned with writing natural Syriac at this higher semantic level, often choose to rephrase the whole sentence, perhaps less hypotactically. This phenomenon in the Peshitta has been carefully analysed by Grotzfeld to show that there the decision often rests on the interpretation of the semantic relationship between the parts of the Greek sentence.[2] However, as the mirror-technique developed in later versions, this interpretive criterion gave way to a more mechanical one, as we shall see in the texts below.[3]

3. Smaller Translation Units

This refers to units below the level of the sentence, and usually refers to clauses and phrases, leaving individual lexical units to the next section.

i. *Word Order*

Sometimes, within the sentence, the translator has made a concerted effort to follow the word order of the original even when a more natural style might push him in another direction. Syriac style allows for a larger degree of freedom of word order than is found in most Semitic languages, and so less emphasis can be placed on this area as a means of assessing overall technique, but it will occasionally be of use.

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[1] Roughly corresponding to Brock's 'a' criterion above, which deals with the level of unit analysis adopted by a translator.

[2] Grotzfeld, *Beiordnern oder Unterordnern?*

[3] This point was Brock's 'c' criterion discussed above and was developed also in Brock, *Limitations*.

ii. *Formal equivalence of verbal constructions*

'Formal equivalence' here refers to an equivalence between one morphological or morphosyntactic factor in the source language corresponding consistently (and usually exclusively) with another factor in the target language. This section will deal with the equivalences encountered in all verbal forms.[1]

iii. *Formal equivalence of other syntactical constructions*

As for the previous, but for all non-verbal forms at the level of clause or below.

4. The Lexical Unit

Essentially, this refers to the word alone, including compound words, but may also include such rhetorical figures as the hendiadys.

i. *Lexical equivalence*

This will be a significant section, discussing the extent to which any translator is consistent in using a unique Syriac term for a unique Greek one, and how and why the chosen equivalences may vary between translators.

ii. *Loan-words*

This has been identified before as a key area for the dating of anonymous Syriac texts, and the number and nature of these loans will be discussed systematically here, although in many ways overlapping with the issue of lexical equivalence.

iii. *Neologisms*

As with loans, the use of new terminology has been identified before as a key area for dating. Again there may be some overlap.

The order of the texts to be dealt with

The *De Recta Fide ad Theodosium* is generally thought to have been translated by Rabbula of Edessa between his conversion to the Cyrilline party in 432 and his death a few years later.[2] Although this is 'received knowledge', the only basis for it remains the suggestion of the scribal superscription of Add 14557 (to which may be added the circumstantial evidence of Rabbula's interest in translation, testified to in his

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[1] This roughly corresponds to Brock's criterion 'b' and must take into account the difference between modulation and transposition.

[2] This is suggested directly by the superscription of Add 14557 and is assumed also by the evidence of Cyril's letter (Ep74) which mentions the work. On this question, however, see further the brief discussion in Part 3.iii.b.

biography). This superscription states Rabbula to be the translator. However, this may be the scribe's guess based on the information given in Cyril's letter to Rabbula which immediately precedes this superscription in the ms, in which Cyril says he has sent the work to Rabbula to be read to the church in Edessa.[1] The scribe has assumed, therefore, that the version of this work which follows was made by Rabbula himself. His argument is not entirely unlikely, but ought to be treated with caution.[2] A brief analysis of the style of the work will, however, confirm its very early date in comparison with our other texts, as will become clearer shortly. For this reason, in the earlier sections of this analysis, the discussion mainly focuses around this text, assessing others by their relationship to the technique of the RF rather than in isolation. The other texts will then be dealt with in turn, with the AT, clearly of a later style, usually dealt with last. CO and CT can be treated together, as it will be seen that they clearly function as a pair of texts from the same hand.

1.   Editing Techniques

De Recta Fide

The RF, as being the most free among our texts in terms of techniques, unsurprisingly shows the most freedom within this category. A few examples will show the nature of the editing that he sometimes carries out on his original:

Sometimes, whole clauses, sentences, or even sections are omitted:

The whole sentence 44,30-3, from φαίη δ' ἄν οἶμαί τις...τὸν ἐπὶ Χριστῷ λόγον, which refers to the difficulty of the task being undertaken, is omitted. Is there any possibility that the translator might be keen to leave out any suggestion that this work is a difficult one? There is another omitted section covering 49,11-17. These missing parts consist of Cyril's polemic against the idiocy of his opponents' ideas, so the translator is not missing out on any exegesis or theological argument.[3] Elsewhere, he omits the reference to Hebrews 2:16-17, for which there appears no obvious motive.[4]

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[1] This letter is printed in Overbeck, *Opera Selecta*, 226-9 and is translated in the corpus of Cyril's works, McEnerney, *Letters*, as Ep74 (equivalent to CPG 5374).

[2] As has been pointed out in the introduction of Aland and Juckel, *Die Katholischen Briefe*, 97-8.

[3] The omissions would be located in the Syriac at 10,7 and 34,1 respectively.

[4] 47,1 [22,4].

To give an example of simplification, Cyril's paraphrastic "is scarcely to be thought of as existing at the time when he assumed the power of begottenness according to flesh" is reduced to the much simpler "that he came into being when he was born in the flesh." This is an instance of this editing at work in a technical Christological passage, whereas we usually come across them in less crucial, and more rhetorical passages. However, this sort of editing merges into being just a form of dynamic equivalence within a larger discourse unit, an area that will be dealt with shortly below.[1]

As well as omissions there are plentiful examples of amplifications and elaborations, of very small changes where the translator evidently felt the meaning insufficiently clear, e.g. when he explains the referent of παρ' αὐτοῖς by amplifying it to 'of the Jews'; or again, he adds ܪܚܠܬܐ to ܪܚܢ̈ܐ, and ܡܢܥܡܝܢ to ܝܠܝܗܪ. Elsewhere he completes Cyril's thought by adding the protasis, 'if we worship him as a man' to the expressed apodosis, 'we would be no different'.[2]

Sometimes these expansions can be rhetorical, e.g. κεκράτηκε τῆς ὑπ' οὐρανόν being expanded to ܚܝ ܪܚܙ̈ܠܐ ܪܚܐܙܣܪܐ ܪܚܝܢܘ ܠܝܠ, which seems to be purely an opportunity for increasing the rhetorical force of the expression,[3] or the substantial addition of the words 'after meditating upon these things we cross over far away from them, toiling after glory in ideas which are beyond what belongs to them, and thenceforth we hesitate and hold back in wonder as if shocked' onto the front of Cyril's straightforward assertion 'we do not at any point worship two sons, neither do we speak of two Christs'.[4] Other times, they can seem to be a bit more theological, thus Cyril had 'not sacrilegiously to dishonour him by applying tests to him', and RF has 'not to find fault rashly in whatever things are straightforwardly said by him for our aid' – the latter version trying to be a bit more positive about what we *do* know from God. We can define this as editing rather than dynamic equivalence on the grounds that something extra appears to be being said by the translator who feels that his source text is insufficiently clear as it stands.[5]

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[1] 45,13-4 [13,8].
[2] 43,11 [4,8]; 58,3&4 [77,7&10]; 62,18 [99,2].
[3] 42,27 [3,3-4].
[4] Added before 53,20 [55,5-7].
[5] 42,27 [3,3-4]; 53,15-6 [54,6-55,1].

Other expansions can be much larger in scale, such as a whole section which does not exist in the Greek text at all – it seems to be designed to make Cyril's warning from the history of the Kings of Judah a little more transparent.[1]

The most interesting of all are those expansions which are designed to buttress Cyril's Christological arguments, and of these there are a few scattered through the text. For instance, RF adds the words "and the life of whomever has been instructed in this expectation would be broken" seemingly to ram home the significance of the docetic error for human salvation. Again, where Cyril explains Jesus' statement that 'the Father is greater than I' as a concession to the manhood, RF adds "not as being less by nature, but revealing the virtue of his grace perfectly in a humiliation of which he was not in need." A final example sums up the whole tendency – Cyril concludes "in no way does it [the scripture] err in this matter *because of the conjunction of both of them into a unity*," but the translator feels he must be more specific about why the scriptures speak interchangeably of the humanity and the divinity; he adds *"because of the union of both the natures, in that it is a hypostasis."*[2]

Safe to say there are many further examples we could give, but it is more valuable to compare this style of editing with what we find in some of our other texts. None of the other texts show editing on anything like the scale we see with the RF. Largely, they follow their Vorlagen carefully and try to include all the elements without adding any further. However, where we do note any such editing, it will be noteworthy, and some have more examples than others. The most notable examples from each text are set out below.

Quod Unus sit Christus
At times, the level of editorial meddling in this text comes near to that of the RF, although we do not see whole sentences left out or added as in that text. However, Cyril's rhetoric is sharply dealt with and not verbally respected by the translator.

To give a simple example:

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[1] It should be inserted, as it were, after θρόνους at 43,11 [Syriac at 4,8-11].
[2] After ἐλπίς 47,13 [24,2-3]; after ἀνθρώπινον 60,25 [90,7-9]; 60,28 [91,3-5].

ὕλη μὲν ποιηταῖς τὸ ψεῦδος, ῥυθμοῖς καὶ μέτροις εἰς τὸ ἐπιχαρί τε καὶ ἐμμελὲς ἐκτετορευομένον (*the material of the poets is falsehood, fashioned with rhythms and metres into something gracious and harmonious*) becomes ܘܡܢ ܐܠܪܐܫ ܐܪܐܠܝ ܘܡܢܝܠ ܠܥܠ ܘ ܘܚܒܓ ܐܬܡܟܐܬܢܝ . ܘܟܝܐ ܐܬܐܠܝ܂ܝ (*the material of the poets among them is of falsehood; they fashion and adorn their words with metres*).[1]

Much of the time, this type of editing involves the simplification of Cyril's verbal gymnastics. Such is οὔτε μὴν φυσικῇ καὶ ἀπαραλλάκτῳ ταυτότητι στεφανοῦν ἐθέλοντες (*not wishing to crown [him] with a natural and unequalled sameness*) becoming ܘܗܠܝ ܓܝܪ ܐܟܐܝ ܐܠܘܐܬ ܐܠܝ ܐܬܗܐܐܒ ,ܘܡܐܠܠܝܝ ܦܕܓ ܐܠܝ (*not wishing to crown him with an equality that is unchanging and equal with his Begotten*); and again ἕτεροι δὲ τοῖς ὠνομασμένοις τὴν αὐτὴν ὥσπερ ἐρχόμενοι τρίβον (*but others, as if travelling the same path as the aforementioned,...*) becoming ܘܡܬܐܒܟܠܒ ܦܝ ܐܬܝܪܐ .ܦܝܝ ܦܠܡܝ ܘܡܠܒܟܒܝ ܐܗ ܝܐܪ :ܐܘܡܝ (*but others are like them, as it were traveling on their path*); ἀναμορφῶν εἰς τὸ ἐν ἀρχαῖς τὴν ἀνθρώπου φύσιν becomes only ܒܒ ܦܠܝ ܕܪܫܘ.[2]

Straightforward abbreviation also abounds, thus '*they became sick with a dearth of right and useful thought about the one who is by nature and truly existent God*' becomes '*they became sick, far from the true knowledge, that is the knowledge about God who is by nature God.*' Again, '*and God appeared to us as Lord, and this, I deem, the inspired David taught, saying...*' becomes '*and God appeared to us as David says.*'[3] This is especially the case with formulaic introductions, hence '*just as the most saintly Paul says*' becomes '*just as Paul says*'; '*God said concerning them through the voice of Isaiah*' becomes '*God said through Isaiah*' and '*Paul*' is often reduced to ܦܘܠܘܣ alone; θεόπνευστος γραφῇ is often ܟܬܒܐ ܩܕܝ - this is dynamic modulation; in a more extreme example the whole phrase τὸν φύσει τε καὶ ἀληθῶς υἱὸν καὶ ἐκ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς οὐσίας ἀναλάμψαντα λόγον is reduced to ܝܚܝܕܝ alone.[4] Hendiadys, too, very frequently is reduced, e.g. ܐܬܚܝܠܬܘ for ἰσχνῷ τε καὶ

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[1] 714,15-6 [f.51ra].
[2] 715,26-7 [f.51va]; 715,27-8 [f.51va]; 764,6-7 [f.84ra].
[3] 714,17-19 [f.51ra]; 761,35-6 [f.82va].
[4] 714,19-20 [f.51ra]; 714,25 [f.51ra]; 717,32 [f.52vb]; 731,30-31 [f.61vb].

ἀκριβεῖ and ܪܟܠܣܩ alone for σεπτὴν καὶ ἀπόρρητον.[1] The phrase ὁ τῆς οὐσίας χαρακτήρ is once omitted, most likely through error, but possibly also the translator's reaction against a needless repetition of τὸ ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης τῆς ὑποστάσεως.[2] On another occasion the second half of a citation (Ps 104.15) is missing, possibly through homoioteleuton, but equally likely as a result of the deliberate abbreviation which is reasonably common throughout the text.[3]

Clarification can also involve supplementations. Thus ellipses are often supplied, e.g. ܘܣܗܠܐܓ for τά ἐκείνων; ܂ܣܐܝܠܘ for τά αὐτοῦ; and ܗܠܡ ܘ̄ܪܟܐ ܪܟܐܘܓܐܗ for τῶν τοιούτων.[4] Sometimes this can require a good deal of unpacking of the author's meaning, e.g. τάχα που καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπέκεινα (perhaps even beyond what is theirs), which becomes ܪܟܐܘܪ ܦܘ ܘܣܗܠܝܐ ܐܘ ܕܪ ܂ܝܪ ܦ̄ ܝ̄ܗ (perhaps even their blameworthiness is more than that of the heathen); and ܝܐܘܣ (he endured) is supplied before the phrase 'the limits of the self-emptying'. Sometimes it is just a matter of clearing up an allusion, thus ܪܟܘܣ ܝܢܘܝ̄ ܂ܣܒ ܘܘܝܠܦ for φιλόθεος.[5] One of the most significant is the addition of ܪܟܝܠܦ ܪܒܠܝ ܂ܘ̄ ܝܟ after the expression 'being by nature and truly God'.[6] This is an entirely voluntary and wilful use of the clothing metaphor for the incarnation and tells strongly against considering this translator coming from any time after Philoxenus, or at least not from any literary circles close to that bishop.

Explanatio Duodecim Capitulorum

In EDC, the translator will occasionally omit or expand, but this is usually at a much lower unit-level than we saw with RF. For example, for ὁ πρῶτος ἡμῖν ἀναθεματισμός he has an extended translation, ܪܟܝܪܒܩ ܘܝ ܘܝܒܝ̄܂ ܪܟܘܝܠ in order to try to express the possessive dative more fully; this sort of thing is unusual for this translator, but it shows that he is unafraid to do it when required.[7] Occasionally we

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[1] 716,2-3 [f.51vb]; 716,4 [f.51vb].
[2] 758,42 [f.80ra].
[3] 726,31-2 [f.58va], cf. also under OT citations.
[4] 715,3 [f.51ra]; 715,16 [f.51rb]; 715,22 [f.51va].
[5] 715,8 [f.51rb]; 715,38 [f.51va]; 756,9 [f.78rb].
[6] 759,17-8 [f.80va].
[7] 17,22 [f.15va].

see a more significant 'expansion', e.g. οἱ τὰ αὐτοῦ φρονοῦντες becoming ܐܠܝܢ

ܕܢܦܠܝܢ ܒܟܘܪܗܢܐ ܕܬܪܥܝܬܗ (*those who fall into the sickness of his thinking*).[1]

In the version of the 9th anathema, the translator explains ܕܝܠܗ by the addition of ܕܟܝܢܐ

where Gk has just ἴδιον αὐτοῦ (in the variant which must be the Vorlage here), i.e. the

translator has clarified an ambiguity. Elsewhere, we also see natural Syriac formulae

being used, such as ܒܪܐ ܝ̈ܚ ܝܫܘܥ for υἱός, but in general there is very little of the

type of editing that we saw so pervasively in the RF.[2] Editorial alterations are mostly

to be found in the form of omissions of parenthetical or otiose single words, e.g.

μόνον οὐχι, τοιγάρτοι or ἀμέλει, or the πατρός in the phrase ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ πατρός.[3]

The number of the nouns is altered surprisingly often: δογμάτα becoming singular

ܢܡܘܣܐ, προφήτου the plural ܢܒܝ̈ܐ, and ναός the plural ܗܝܟ̈ܠܐ.[4]

Scholia De Incarnatione

Editing of any sort is noticeably absent from the SDI. One notable exception is the

alteration of "David sings from the persona of God" to "as if from the persona of

God," which appears to be an attempt to correct a slightly rash statement on Cyril's

part.[5]

For πασά πως ἀνάγκη συνυφεστάναι τε καὶ συνυπάρχειν ἀϊδίως αὐτῷ (*it is

altogether necessary that he should both co-subsist and co-exist eternally with him*)

we have: ܡܬܒܩܐ ܕܡܬܝܕܥ ,ܗܘܝܬܐ ܩܢܘܡܐܝܬ ܘܐܝܬܘܗܝ ,ܗܘܝܬܐܝܬ ܥܡܗ ܡܢ (*of

necessity he is known to exist hypostatically and with him to exist eternally). Here,

ܡܬܒܩܐ has been added in order to make up the sense.[6]

We also see the occasional simple explanatory rendering, e.g. ἐν τῷ προχειρίζεσθαι

explained as ܕܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܐܝܕܐ; there is also occasional abbreviation, e.g. πάντων

ἡμῶν becoming just ܕܟܠ. But in all, even these minor changes are rare.[7]

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[1] 20,26f. [f.18ra].

[2] 23,18 [f.19va]; 22,27 [f.19rb].

[3] 16,14 [f.14va]; 15,27 [f.14rb]; 18,27 [f.16va]; 19,9 [f.16vb].

[4] 15,29 [f.14rb]; 16,9 [f.14va]; 21,8 [f.18rb] in citation of 1 Cor 3.16.

[5] 219,14 [f.21va].

[6] 224,1-3 [f.40rb-va].

[7] 219,19 [f.21va], 219,17 [f.21va].

Ep39

An unusual sentence that is taken more freely than is customary in this text:[1]

κατ'οἰκείωσιν οἰκονομικὴν εἰς ἑαυτόν, ὡς ἔφην, τὰ τῆς ἰδίας σαρκὸς ἀναφέρει πάθη

According to the economic indwelling, he lifted up to himself, as I said, the sufferings of his own flesh.

ܡܛܠ ܕܠܗ ܚܫ̈ܒ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܒܪܘܬܐ ܠܒܣܪܐ ܕܟܝܢܗ ܐܝܟ ܘܠܡܗ ܐܝܬܝܗ ܡܬܡ ܠܗܘܢ

According to the economy he made the sufferings of the flesh his own and, as I said, he lifted them up to himself.

The translator has clearly made the one verb into two; but he has also understood οἰκονομικὴν as if it were οἰκονομικῶς or κατ'οἰκονομικὴν, and treated τῆς ἰδίας as if it had some function similar to that of εἰς ἑαυτόν. The explanation may be textual, but there is no hint in the Greek tradition to suggest such a thing. The only other explanation is that the translator did not find the Greek quite clear enough or wanted to omit the idea of 'indwelling' in favour of 'appropriation', which would indicate a monophysitic caution.

Ep40

Here we see examples of the translator filling in ellipses in the Greek in order to convey meaning more clearly; for example an understood relative clause such as τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς λόγον is made clearer by the addition of the omitted verb, representing γεννηθέντα, hence [ܡܠܬܐ] ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܐܒܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ. This is done three times within a single section, the last of which, being a quote from the Formula of Reunion, is also quoted in Ep39, where the ellipsis is left unexpressed.[2]

We see in this text also the tendency to replace formulae such as ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς λόγος, as if it read ἐκ πατρὸς θεὸς λόγος, with the stand-alone phrase ܡܠܬܐ ܐܠܗܐ being common throughout the texts in Add 14557. Other similar variations can also occur, such as ܐܒܐ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ for ἐκ θεοῦ λόγον.[3] Where Ep40 quotes the fourth anathema, we can make a direct comparison with EDC. The Syriac of the former text

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[1] 19,11-12 [f.151vb].
[2] 25,2 [31,5]; 25,3 [31,5]; 25,7 [31,11];cf Ep39, 17,12 [f.150vb].
[3] 28,28 [36,12]; 29,7 [36,25].

has ܡܠܬܐ ܐܠܗܐ for τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ λόγον, while EDC has the more accurate ܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ, which neatly illustrates the much greater freedom we find generally in Ep40, itself mirrored in the East Syrian versions of the anathemas which have ܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܬܐ, an order not often found in the West Syrian Add 14557.[1]

There are also, as the editors noted, a number of more significant omissions. To take one example, where Cyril explains what he means by a 'difference in the expressions' of Christ, the Syriac omits the explanation – thus this sentence (29,23-6 [37,18-20]) is considerably shorter.

However, surely the most significant aspect of this work's editorial technique is its tendency to severely alter and abbreviate certain passages. It is important here to make a certain distinction. For although Ebied and Wickham, in their introduction to this text, generally accuse the translator of incompetence in these passages, and not without justification, yet they fail to recognise that wherever Cyril is dealing with key pieces of Christological argument, the translation becomes far more accurate in the word-for-word sense, than in those passages that we might term purely rhetorical or polemical. We noted precisely the same distinction in relation to RF's technique – although there the degree of overall freedom, even in such rhetorical passages, is considerably greater than in Ep40; nevertheless the difference between the two techniques within Ep40 is far more marked than in the RF. As this matter should properly be treated as evidence for this translator's awareness of the larger units of discourse, we will deal with it in further detail below. As far as editing technique is concerned, it is quite evident from a perusal of the closing sections that he is content to abbreviate substantially where it suits his purpose,[2] or to add explanatory phrases such as 'in the city of Nicaea' when Cyril is referring to that council more obliquely.[3]

Ep44

Here we see again some of the techniques seen already, such as the editing of formulae, with ܡܠܬܐ ܐܠܗܐ rather than the more correct ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܢ ܡܠܬܐ (there is,

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[1] 26,17 [33,6] for Ep40, and EDC, 19,19 [f.17rb]; for the East Syrian (Nestorian) version of the anathemas (which will be referred to from time to time) see Abramowski and Goodman, *Nestorian Collection*, nos. I, VI, and XI; and further below, Part 3.iv.b.
[2] e.g. 28,20-31,3.
[3] 24,2-4 [29,25].

however, only one instance of the term in the letter, so we cannot tell whether he would always have done this). Elsewhere, this translator will be content to use ܡܫܝܚܐ for υἱός although this may simply be an error, or to omit an otiose τὸ αὐτόν (*the same*) which serves only a rhetorical purpose.[1] He can amplify too, and so οὐ τὸ εἰδέναι τὴν διαφορὰν διατέμνειν ἐστίν (*to recognise the difference is not to divide*) becomes ܢܦܠܘܩ ܠܢ ܐܠܨܐ ܦܘܠܓܐ ܕܝܢ ܗܘ ܗܘܐ ܠܐ, (*to recognise the difference does not compel us to divide*) where the Greek syntax has been perceived as too subtle for an exact equivalent and words have had to be added.[2]

Ep45

The translator of this text has a tendency to edit his original in a manner sometimes reminiscent of the RF, quite frequently adding words to make the meaning clearer and even more frequently omitting the 'unnecessary', although the scale of the editing is never on the same level as that in the RF. Especially reminiscent of the RF is the tendency to omit συνδρομή (*a concourse, coming together*) and its related terms. Perhaps it is from a doctrinal perspective that he does not like this word being confessed or used.[3]

Sometimes the editing involves explicatory additions; thus he has to explain κεκοινώνηκε τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ (*he made communion with the church*) by the addition of ܘܦܢܐ, (*and he was converted*) and he has the specific ܒܡܪܝܐ instead of the referential ἐν αὐτῇ.[4] There are plenty of other small additions, such as ܠ added to 'she bore Him' etc.,[5] but more often it is a matter of the omission of rhetorical 'accretions' to the text which are considered dispensable, e.g. an almost parenthetical ἀμήχανον γάρ, a superfluous μονογενοῦς υἱοῦ, or a διὰ τοῦτο which serves to specify when the causal clause has ended and main clause begun, but may be considered syntactically unnecessary.[6] Sometimes these can verge on the doctrinal, as the omission of 'holy' in reference to the 'flesh' of Christ.[7]

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[1] 36,18 [56,9]; 36,7[55,20] (even Ebied/Wickham's translation of the Syrac has an error here, reading 'Son' for 'Christ', CSCO 360 (Versio), 47,5); 35,18 [54,19].
[2] 64, 3-4 [54, 24-25].
[3] 153,21 [42,16].
[4] 151,15-6 [39,16]; 155,10 [44,3].
[5] 152,17 [40,25].
[6] 156,10; 154,15; 152,17.
[7] 153,7.

The editing can also, again, be a matter of simplification of formulae: even with some that seem like errors such as ܪܥܠܐ ܡ ܪܐܠܒ ܪܥܠܐ for τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς λόγον. The name Παυλός is also twice reduced to just ܪܥܘܠܐ.[1]

Ep46

This text is very similar to Ep45. Again, we can detect a number of omissions of terms and even whole phrases considered unnecessary – not perhaps to the same extent as in Ep40, but still to an extent not found in Ep39 or EDC. Often these omissions concern rhetorical features but sometimes they are part of important formulae, such as the νοεῖται of μία φύσις νοεῖται τοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένη, or the phrase οὐκ ἀψύχου μᾶλλον which is also omitted.[2] We also see additions for explication, such as the understood συνηγμένος being represented by ܡܬܒ, and ܠܐܪܬ also added in place of a perceived ellipsis.[3] We noted earlier[4] a place where one of Cyril's OT allusions is expanded on the basis of the Peshitta text of that verse, viz. ܪܥܝܢܐܪܬ ܪܘܝܢ ܠܝ ܥܒܐܕܗܪܬ ܓܘܠܡ for παυσάσθωσαν καλαμίνην ῥάβδον ἑαυτοῖς ὑποστήσαντες, where ܪܥܝܢܐܪܬ has been added from the Peshitta (for notional Gk τεθλασμένην) while ῥάβδον becomes reflected only in the translator's choice of ܘܝܣܡ for ὑποστήσαντες.[5]

Ep50

This is perhaps the closest of all the letters to the RF in its editing practices and in its restructuring of sentences (for which see below). The whole text is full of examples of omissions and abbreviations, sometimes just a single word, occasionally a longer clause. These latter are usually subordinate and circumstantial clauses considered unnecessary; for instance, in the following sentence the words in italics are omitted in the Syriac:

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[1] 153,8 [41,23]; 154,15 [43,11] and 156,7 [45,10], but other times the name is retained, e.g. 155,12 [44,6].
[2] 158,8-9; 159,13.
[3] 160,3 [49,25]; 159,10 [49,2].
[4] Part 2.ii, Section 3, No.1.
[5] 160,23 [50,21].

ἐοίκασι δέ πως τοῖς τῶν *ἀνθρωπίνων* σωμάτων ἀκεσταῖς ἤγουν ἰατροῖς,

οἳ τοῖς τῶν φαρμάκων οὐχ ἡδέσι τὸ γλυκὺ προσπλέκουσι μέλι, *τῇ τοῦ*

χρηστοῦ ποιότητι τοῦ πεφυκότος λυπεῖν τὴν αἴσθησιν ὑποκλέπτοντες

They are *somewhat* like the men who are healers of *human* bodies, *or*
doctors, those who mix in sweet honey with the bitternesses of the
medicines, taking away the sense of disgust *by the quality of what is*
naturally pleasant.

[further simplifications are also made with ܪܚܝܒ being used for οὐχ ἡδέσι and simply
ܪܚܢܠ for the whole phrase λυπεῖν τὴν αἴσθησιν].[1]

Polemical statements are sometimes turned around to produce some more idiomatic
polemic, e.g. 'they are clearly vomiting out words smelling of idiocy of the very worst
kind' becomes instead 'they are vomiting out injury and a foul smell to us in these
words.' This shows an RF-like freedom of rhetoric.[2]

He can also reduce over-wordy formulae such as οὐκ ἀψύχου μᾶλλον ἀλλ'
ἐψυχωμένης νοερῶς to a single word ܪܚܝܫܝ, and τῆς οὐσιωδῶς ἐνυπαρχούσης
ὑπεροχῆς τὸ ἀξίωμα to a far simpler ܣܝܚܫܝ ܪܐܗܘܝܕܚ.[3] The omission of individual
words falling into this category is very common, more especially so in the rhetorical
passages, but discernible everywhere. Most commonly these words are adverbs and
particles, the omission of which does not require syntactical adjustments, but they can
also be terms of theological significance, such as νοεῖται, where this is meant to be
distinct from ἐστί – Cyril is making a distinction between what *is* 'in reality' and what
merely 'in perception'.[4] Hendiadys is frequently reduced to one word [although there
are occasions on which it is created from a single adjective, e.g. πλῆρες being
expanded to ܪܚܟܠܙܐ ܪܐܠܗ][5], even groups of four being reduced to one member, and

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[1] 91,8-11 [f.141ra].
[2] 97,31 [f.145va].
[3] 92,1 [f.141va]; 95,20 [f.143vb].
[4] 95,10 and 95,17 [f.143vb]; also e.g. ἀπλῶς, 94,29 [f.143vb].
[5] The expansion of a single term into a pair of synonyms is typical also of the translator of Titus of
Bostra's *Contra Manichaeos* – see Pedersen, *Demonstrative proof in defence of God*, 458.

two verbs covering separate clauses might also be reduced to one if thought sufficiently synonymous [1]

It is not just a matter of omission, however, as the translator is quite prepared to add explanatory words as well, as in the repeated additions of the word 'man' where it is being assumed throughout most of a sentence, or in the supplying of ܪܒܐ where the Greek has only the pronoun or, as frequently, having ܝܘܡܐ ܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܝܟܝܢܐ ܪܒܐ for τὸ ὑπὲρ πᾶν ὄνομα.[2] This tendency once or twice drifts into a major addition for the purpose of clarification; thus the completely alien phrase, ܪܒܐ ܟܗܘܐ ܗܠ ܝܣܡܟܘ ܪܝܠܐ (they make him the place of the soul in the body) is inserted after ἐν μείοσιν εἶναί φασιν οὐσιωδῶς τοῦ πατρός as if to explain more closely than is immediately apparent from Cyril the link between Arian subordinationism and Arian Christology. In fact, the οὕτως at the start of the sentence makes it quite apparent that Cyril does realise the connection, but the translator wants to be more explicit.[3]

Changing terms such as ἁγίας παρθένου to ܪܟܠܘܟܒ ܝܣܪܘ may just be error but is perhaps more likely an editing for stylistic variation. However, he seems to have allowed his editing tendency to produce an error in one place where the omission of οὐκ makes a sentence somewhat meaningless.[4] Similarly, the clause τὸ δὲ δὴ καὶ ἀποτεθεῶσθαι λέγειν τὸν ἐσχηκότα τὴν ἐνοίκησιν (to say that the one who obtained the indwelling also became God), by becoming ܗܘ ܕܝ ܝܗܘܢܐ ܪܗܘܐ ܟܣܪܘ ܪܟܠܟ ܟܠܗܘ ܗܘ ܝܣܠܗ, is rendered rather ambiguous, as ܟܣܪܘ ܟܗܘܐ as a unit generally refers rather to God becoming man.[5]

By way of contrast, however, it is to be noted that even highly polemical passages are sometimes very closely translated, in a way that the more haphazard RF, would probably not have done.[6]

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[1] 93,22 [f.142va]; 94,13 [f.143ra]; 94,7-8 [f.143ra] – this latter point being closely related to the issue of restructuring (see further below).
[2] 93,25 [f.142va]; 94,27 [f.143rb]; e.g. 98,16 [f.145vb].
[3] 96,30-1 [f.144vb].
[4] 94,14 [f.143ra]; 99,7-10 [f.146rb].
[5] 93,3-4 [f.142rb].
[6] e.g. the sentence 95,29-96,1 [f.144rb].

Plenty more examples could be provided of all these different techniques and it can be seen that the translator's approach is one of trying to make Cyril's meaning as clear as possible to a reader who may not grasp obscure points and for whom terms can be omitted for brevity's sake, and who does not require the same level of Greek rhetorical flourish to appreciate the arguments.

Ep55

Again, although less frequently than in most of the other letters, there are plenty of additions to make life easier for the reader here. Some of these are simply factual, almost glosses to assist the reader who may not already be acquainted with the background and language of Cyril, such as the ὀρθοδόξοις πατράσι μοναχῶν being described as ܪܟܝܢܝܐ, *from the East*, and specifying the μυσταγωγοί as 'our glorious Fathers'; and again, the slightly obscure καὶ διαπρεπῆ λαχοντὰς [sc.ἡμᾶς] τὴν δόξαν ἀποφαίνει (*it endows us with more than ordinary glory*) is expanded by the addition of the 'we' both in the participle and in the added ܠ.[1] There are a few simplifications of circumlocutary phrases, e.g. τὰ ἴσα φρονοῦντες αὐτῷ (*believing the same things as him*) becomes ܣܘܝܐܝܬ ܥܡܗ (*agreeing to his opinion*).[2]

Moreover, interjections such as πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ are easily passed over, repetitions avoided, as also a series of repetitions of ἐκθέσις, and figures of speech reduced, such as ἡ βολή τῶν ὀμμάτων with ܪܟܝܢܝ.[3] The latter type of editing tends to occur in more rhetorical passages, such that, e.g., ταῖς ἐπιεικείαις τὸν ἑαυτῶν κατασεμνύνοντες βίον (*who exalt their lives with virtues*) becomes ܟܐܘܒܬܐ ܝܨܒܝܢ ܠܟܐ ܕܢܨܒܬܘܢ ܕܘܒܪܝܗܘܢ (*in humility they desire to adorn their lifestyle*).[4]

Again, the phrase τὰ ἴσα...καὶ εἰπεῖν ἢ συγγράψαι τολμήσαντες is meant to refer to an indefinite possibility (i.e. it means *the same [opinions], whether they dare/have dared to say [them] or to write [them]*) but the translator has taken it as a past reference ܪܘܝܢ ܐܘ ܠܡܐܡܪ ܐܘ ܠܡܟܬܒ (*his opinion, which they have dared to say or to*

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[1] 49,4 [1,5]; 53,6 [8,7]; 49,14 [1,21].
[2] 51,2 [4,12].
[3] 53,13; avoidance of the repetition of ἐκθέσις 51,11-13 [4,28]; 49,22-3 [2,7].
[4] 49,21 [2,5-6], if the translator read τοῦ βιοῦ, this might better explain the translation.

write).[1] The translator's understanding of what Cyril says about the 'opinions of the Fathers' which he put in the *acta* of the council seems to be a little astray. Cyril placed these citations of the Fathers in the *acta* in order to make sure the creed was understood aright, thus making a strong distinction between the creed and these citations; the translator's edited version of the sentence blurs the distinction between the 'citations' of the Fathers and their σύμβόλον.[2]

This type of editing is infrequent, but it also spills over into small instances of restructuring or non-formal equivalence, and more details will be found in those places. The examples given above are relatively few, and one can go through whole paragraphs without any suggestion of anything that might fall under this category of 'editing'.

Contra Orientales / Contra Theodoretum
Editorial interference is again strongly in evidence in this text, though rarely affecting units longer than a short phrase. It is notable, in contrast to the previously discussed texts, that here the translator is especially keen on additions for clarification; such clarifications could take the form of simply replacing a pronoun with its referent, such as ܩܘܝܠܡܐ for ἐκεῖνος or ܩܠ ܩܕܐܪ ܝܗܘܐ for the impersonal νομίζεται αὐτοις.[3] There may be one occasion, though, when this has resulted in an error, making the participles διστάντες and τιθέντας refer to 1ˢᵗ pers.pl whereas it surely refers rather to those who 'may do these things' (3ʳᵈ pers.pl.).[4]

Very often we see expansionist renderings evidently designed to facilitate understanding, such as τοὺς δι'ἐναντίας being ܪܠܐܩܠܐ ܩܘܩܪ ܩܕܝ ܝܗܡ; the brevity of the Greek προσποιούμενοι παραιτεῖσθαι τὴν ὁμοδοξίαν (*those who feign to reject their shared opinion, sc. with Nestorius*) the translator prefers to expand to ܩܝܕܝܘܐ ܝܨ ܩܘܝܘܐܪܗ ܩܘܝܬܪܗ ܩܝܪܐܝܐ ܪܐܪܐ ܐܩܩܩ (*in feigning to reject that they*

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[1] 51,2-3 [4,12-13].
[2] 51,9-11 [4,23-6]. The addition of ܪܝܝܙ ܪܐܩܘܪܪ (4,23-4) is actually quite a major alteration in the Syriac and does not, as Ebied/Wickham's apparatus implies, simply reflect the Greek variant in P (Schwartz), τὰς τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων; for Schwartz should have placed this variant under l.11 (not l.10 as he has) for surely it is P's alternative for the πατέρων ἁγίων δόξας of l.11. P is thus not very far from Schwartz's text and it is the Syriac which has made a significant change.
[3] 35 16 [f.92rc]; 35,12f. [f.92rc].
[4] 38,30 [f.94ra].

seem to be sons of his belief); or again simply adding 'two' to 'natures'.[1] However this only seems to apply to single words or short phrases, rarely anything longer than phrases such as λεγέτω παρελθὼν (*let him go on and say*) becoming ܪܒܐ ܐܬܐ ܘܐܬܐ ܘܐܡܪ ܚܣܡܗ (*let anyone who speaks thus come out publicly and say...*); sometimes, the Greek is evidently considered too hard as it stands and needs a little explanation, so ἀνάγκαις ἀκολουθίας δουλεύουσιν (*enslaved to the constraints of following*) is explained as ܐܝܟ ܐܣܝܪ̈ܐ ܕܡܫܥܒܕܝܢ ܠܛܟܣܐ ܕܚܝܒܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ (*as tied, being enslaved to the order of what is obligatory to them*).[2]

Often we see simple additions not at all required by the Greek, which could be attributable to the textual transmission (in either language) but may well originate with the translator himself. Of this type are, for example, ܒܪܢܫܐ after υἱός, the addition of ܐܟܒܪܢܫܐ to explain οὕτω or of ܗܟܢܐ to explain the pronoun τὰ τοιάδε;[3] into this category may also fall parenthetical additions such as ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ, or ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ which possibly represent such Cyrilline phrases as ὡς φατέ or ὡς οἴομαι respectively.[4] On a couple of occasions, Cyril's brief introductory remarks to a citation are significantly expanded; such, for example μάρτυρας δὲ τῶν εἰρημένων τοὺς αὐτῶν ποιήσομαι λόγους (*I shall put down their own words, testimonies of what has been said*) becoming ܩܪܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܣܗܕܘܬܐ ܕܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܐܬܐܡܪ̈ܝ ܡܠܝܗܘܢ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ ܕܐܒܗܬܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ (*I call upon the very own words of the holy fathers as a witness of those things that have been said*); or again when he quotes from his own letter with the simple formula ἔχει δὲ οὕτως, the Syriac insists on much more specificity with ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܟܝܠ ܡܐ ܕܐܡܝܪ ܒܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ.[5] Finally, where Cyril refers to the anathemas we often find in the Syriac the addition of ܕܡܢܢ ܐܬܬܣܝܡܘ (*which were set down by us*) or just ܕܡܢܢ ܗܘܘ (*which were from us*), a characteristic observable in both CO and CT which confirms the identity of authorship between the versions, a fact which could otherwise probably be assumed on the basis of style alone.[6]

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[1] 34,5 [f.91vb]; 33,29 [f.91va]; 39,5 [f.94rb].
[2] 39,32 [f.94va]; 38,9f. [f.93vc].
[3] 37,8 [f.93rc]; 36,12 [f.92vc]; 39,20 [f.94rc].
[4] 36,18 [f.93ra]; 40,27 [f.95rb].
[5] 36,31 [f.93rb]; 39,29 [f.94va].
[6] Thus cf. CO 34,1 [f.91vb] with CT 110,21 and 110,25 [f.107vc].

Particularly characteristic, however, is this translator's method of using a pair of Syriac synonyms or near-synonyms for a single Greek word, presumably in an attempt to capture the meaning more closely – his readiness to use this method testifying to his expansionist approach in general. A few example will illustrate the technique: πολεμιωτάτους = ܡܟܬܫܐ ܩܪܒܬܢܐ; κατακιβδηλεύει = ܡܚܒܠ ܡܣܪܚ; ἀποπηδῶσιν = ܘܩܝܡܐ ܡܢܗ; σαφῶς = ܒܓܠܝܐ...ܒܓܠܝܐ; παραλύω = ܫܪܐ ܡܚܠ.[1]

Unlike in some of the other texts, omissions are quite rare here; ἁγίων is twice omitted as an epithet for angels, the reason for which is not obvious. Sometimes the reason is for greater clarity, for example in the sentence κεχωρήκαμεν ἀναγκαίως ἐπὶ τὸ χρῆναι συναθλεῖν τοῖς δόγμασιν (*we necessarily made way to the point of having to compete for the dogmas*), the ἐπὶ τὸ χρῆναι is considered excessive and is omitted.[2] But these sort of omissions are not common.

Other types of editorial alterations which are not really expansions or omissions include positive for double negative, πῶς οὐ παντί τῷ σαφὲς ὡς (*how is it not clear to all that...*) = ...ܕ ܓܠܝܐ ܕܠܟܠ ܠܟܠ ܡܐ, and again ἔστιν οὐδενί ἀσυμφανές = ܗܘ ܓܠܝܐ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܓܠܝܐ; sometimes the reduction of hendiadys as in τῶν καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς καὶ κοίνον = ܕܒܐܬܪܢ ܥܡܝܚܐ; the avoidance of finding equivalents for tricky words, thus ἀληθεύει λέγων (*he speaks the truth, saying*) becomes ܫܪܝܪ ܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܗܘ (*he is truthful in saying*); and often just a simplification of an over-wordy clause, such as ἐμὲ τοῖς ἐμαυτοῦ μάχεσθαι λόγοις (*that I battle against my own arguments*), which becomes just ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܢܦܫܝ ܠܘܩܒܠ ܐܢܐ (*that I speak against myself*).[3]

As with the other texts, a common place for editing is the standard formulae of Christological discourse, most especially the titles describing the Logos in relation to the Father. As we will see later in discussing the lexical equivalences, this text is not at all consistent in its renderings at this level of the discourse. Thus τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς φύντα λόγον often becomes ܐܬܝܠܕ ܐܒܐ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܬܐ, as though the Greek were τὸν θεὸν ἐκ πατρὸς φύντα λόγον; ܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܬܐ for ὁ ἐκ θεοῦ λόγος is

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[1] 33,33 [f.91vb]; 35,6 [f.92rb]; 35 9 [f.92rb]; 35,13 [f.92rc]; 38,30 [f.94ra].

[2] om. ἁγίων twice 36,4 [f.92vb]; 38,21 [f.94ra]; om. ἐπὶ τὸ χρῆναι 33,23 [f.91va]; such also is the omission of a parenthetical τυχόν at 40,8 [f.94vc].

[3] 35,37 [f.92vb.]; 40,5 [f.94vb]; 36,24 [f.93ra]; 36,33 [f.93rb]; 39,24 [f.94va].

frequent, but this is not at all always the case, as we also see ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܡܪ quite often.[1] There is a great deal of flexibility in the formulaic introductions to citations – for example, where Cyril introduces a quote in an unusual fashion, with the phrase Ἰωάννης διατρανοῖ γεγραφώς the Syriac must add ܗܘ, ܐܡܪ ܕ; similarly κατὰ τὰς γραφάς is ordinarily ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܟܬܒܐ but can suddenly be ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܟܬܒܐ; and τὸ γράμμα ἱερόν is not distinguished from ἡ γραφή θεῖα, being always the formulaic ܟܬܒܐ ܐܠܗܝܐ.[2] As is common elsewhere, even in the Peshitta, we frequently see 'our' added to 'Lord' and 'Saviour', and sometimes such changes as ܡܪܝܡ for παρθένος.[3]

One significant piece of editing which may have arisen from a textual error in the Vorlage is as follows: ἀποφοιτώσας μὲν ἀλλήλων εἰς τὸ ἰδίᾳ τε εἶναι καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος (*going away from each other into their own existences separately*) is drastically altered to ܕܡܬܒܥܕܝܢ ܣܓܝ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܚܕ ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܢܗܘܐ ܡܦܪܫ ܘܡܬܝܕܥ ܡܪܚܩܐܝܬ (*going far from each other that each one of them may be separate and known as distant*) – this may be the result of a misreading of εἰς as εἷς, followed by a confusion over the rest. ܡܪܚܩܐܝܬ is evidently meant to be for ἀνὰ μέρος, though it is not a well-known form. The description of Apollinarius as a teacher of τὰ μυθώδη τῆς χιλιονταετηρίδος (*the fables of the millennium*) is expanded to become ܕܐܡܪ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܗܢܘܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܟܕ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܠܦ ܗܘܝܢ ܒܬܪ ܫܢܝ ܡܣܟܢܘܬܐ ([*the one who*] *says that the very same things occur after the millennium*) – the translator apparently having no wish to find a precise Syriac equivalent and wanting to make the allusive Greek clearer to his ordinary readers.[4]

Responsiones ad Tiberium

Here there is very little real 'editing' to be found, although we will comment on a few instances. In general, however, most apparent deviations can only realistically be explained by the presence of an alternative reading in the Vorlage, even where no

[1] For examples of the three Syriac formulae, see respectively 34,33 [f.92ra]; 35,18f. [f.92rc]; 36,30 [f.93rb].
[2] 34,31 [f.92ra]; 35,21 [f.92va] and 44,13 [f.97ra]; 35,37 [f.92vb]
[3] 33,19f. [f.91rc] or 33,30 [f.91va]; 40,14 [f.94vc].
[4] 40,18f. [f.95ra]; 38,11 [f.93vc].

known variant is mentioned in Schwartz's apparatus. These will be dealt with separately as they do not impinge directly on the issue of technique.

However, there remain some editorial additions which *may* be due rather to the translator, although it is hard to be sure. These tend to be small, such as the addition of λόγον after υἱόν (perhaps to make the denotation of the latter clearer) and the substitution of Χριστοῦ for υἱοῦ, perhaps for the same reason. The repetition of a direct object, ﺟ, after the verb as well as at the start of the sentence (where it corresponds in position to its Greek equivalent) is more likely to be a true editorial addition; in another place the omission of any equivalent for the words εἰς τό can render the indirect object of the preceding ἀναμορφῶν meaningless; but these are isolated examples.[1]

There is one further such example which may be due to the choice of the translator: Cyril twice denies that the Logos united himself to a deified man (θεοποεῖν) and on both occasions the Syriac says only that the Logos did not come into (ﺑﺤ) a man, who was united to him. It may be that this is again a textual issue but it seems less likely given that the same rendering is found twice. It may be that the translator was not aware of some of the issues against which Cyril was fighting and thinks instead in the starker terms of battling against a 'Nestorian' Christology of indwelling, but this is hard to prove on this evidence alone.[2]

2.   Larger Translation Units

Closely linked with the issue of the editing of the text in order to make the meaning clearer or to avoid needless over-wordiness, is the issue of the size of translation-unit. This can be defined as the segment of text which is taken, analysed and re-rendered by the translator – it may be any size from paragraphs down to individual morphemes

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[1] 150,24 [462,12]; 152,5 [463,3]; 166,14 [473,17-18]; 160,14 [469,8-9].
[2] 158,24 [468,12] and 162,9 [470,13].

within lexical items. Brock has made the general observation that the size of translation unit decreased over time between the 5th and the 8th centuries, from a situation where the sentence was the normal unit to one where the word was the normal unit and even sometimes subsections of the word.[1] It must be noted that there is always some ambiguity of definition here. For where a translator largely re-writes or even omits a whole sentence, one could simply categorise this as being part of his re-rendering of a larger unit, such as the paragraph, whereas we have generally included such items under the category of 'editing' (above). In addition, a translator is by no means required to adhere rigidly to one policy throughout his work. He may translate one sentence in a way that appears to take the word as the basic unit and then the next turns out to be a fairly free re-writing of the meaning of a whole sentence. Sometimes both seem to be going on even within the same sentence. Indeed this is wholly unsurprising as soon as we recognise that the translator has a grasp of his source language and reads in sentences and paragraphs, as he must, rather than word-by-word. Nevertheless, the analysis can be a useful one and shows us different techniques at work, not just between one translator and another, but also within a single text.

2. i The general treatment of larger translation units

Often where larger discourse units are being taken as the translation unit, we can say that dynamic equivalence is being exercised. But this is certainly not always a useful term – for the structure of the clauses within a long periodic sentence may be significantly altered by the translator without much change in the exact representation of each individual clause, and this can hardly be usefully defined as dynamic equivalence. We will not, therefore, use the latter term except where particularly appropriate, and instead here focus on any places where the larger discourse unit seems to be treated as *the* basic unit for translation in some sense.

De Recta Fide

In the RF, the whole sentence (by which we mean a set of clauses dependent upon a single main verb or a series of co-ordinating main verbs with a single subject) is by

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[1] Brock, *Towards a History.*

far the most common unit for translation. The translator has read and understood the meaning of the sentence in his own mind and re-casts it in his own way. In each case he seems to make a definite choice about how closely or freely he will render it. Thus the result is a series of 'blocks', to each of which is applied a particular technique: for instance a polemical paragraph might consist of a few sentences all treated quite freely, but followed by another set of sentences dealing with a fine point of Christology, for which is chosen a method in which the individual clauses, phrases and words become the translation units. However, even when the whole sentence is the unit, a number of close lexical equivalences can also be found, so that different techniques seem to be applied at once. Examples abound of all these approaches, and a few illustrative ones can be given, moving from what might loosely be described as 'more free' towards the 'less free':

The Greek of 53,10-16 is as follows:

εἶτα τί τούτοις ἀντεροῦμεν ἡμεῖς; πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι τῆς πίστεως τὴν οὕτως ἀρχαιοτάτην καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστολόων διήκουσαν εἰς ἡμᾶς παράδοσιν, οὐ ταῖς ὑπερμέτροις ἀκριβείαις καταλύειν ἄξιον, οὔτε μὴν ταῖς εἰς ἄκρον ἐρεύναις ὑποφέρειν τὰ ὑπὲρ νοῦν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἥκειν εἰς μέσον οἷάπερ τινὰς ὁριστὰς ῥιψοκινδύνως λέγοντας, ὡς τὸ δεῖνα μὲν ὀρθῶς, τὸ δεῖνα δὲ αὖ ἑτέρως ἔχειν, χρῆν δήπου καὶ ἦν ἄμεινον ἀληθῶς, ἀπονέμειν δὲ μᾶλλον τῷ πανσόφῳ θεῷ τῶν ἰδίων διασκέψεων τὴν ὁδόν, καὶ μὴ τοῖς εὖ ἔχειν παρ' αὐτῷ δεδοκιμασμένοις ἀνοσίως ἐπιτιμᾶν.

Then what do we reply to these people? First, that it is not right, by quibbles beyond measure, to get rid of the tradition of the faith, being so ancient and passed down to us from the holy apostles themselves, nor, in searching to the very end, to undertake that which is beyond the mind, nor to go into the midst of certain people who set up boundaries, speaking rashly about what wonders are [to be considered] right and which are otherwise. Rather it is necessary, and altogether better, to assign to the all-wise God the path of his own designs and not to dishonour him sacrilegiously by applying tests to him.

In Syriac this is [53,10-55,1]:

What response then is there for us to give to these people? The true faith, which has been handed down as far as us from the holy and elder apostles, one should not harm with analyses beyond measure, and not, through over-investigation, set down things which are incomprehensible, and not become like those who have authority and lay down the law; for it is dangerous and is laying down a harsh censure to blame the things that are well said and the things that are not well spoken; for it is right and also truly apt to leave to God the thought of his wisdom and not to find fault rashly in whatever things are straightforwardly said by him for our aid.

It can be seen immediately that there is a good deal of syntactical freedom employed here; the first clause is turned into a nominal clause with ܐܝܬ, and so forth. It will be noticed that almost all the elements are present, but they are differently ordered and sometimes differently related. Even the final clause, where there is the least degree of formal or lexical equivalence, can hardly be said to be edited – the meaning is simply being recast in a new fashion.

In those passages which might be defined purely as polemical or designed for rhetorical effect, we see quite a lot of freedom being expressed everywhere where the sentence is the translation unit. Thus 56,30-57,2:

οἰχέσθω δὴ οὖν λῆρος μὲν ἅπας, μῦθός τε ἀδρανὴς καὶ ψευδοδοξία καὶ κεκομψευμένων ῥηματίων φενακισμός. προσιέμεθα γὰρ οὔτι που τὸ κατασίνεσθαι πεφυκὸς, κἂν εἰ τοῖς ἄγαν ἐξησκημένοις καὶ μὴν καὶ πικροῖς ἡμᾶς κατακροτοῖεν λόγοις οἱ δι' ἐναντίας.

Let them be gone, all such madness, weak stories, false opinions and the delusion of subtle words; let us put aside all that has a tendency to harm, even if those opposing us applaud us with practised and bitter arguments.

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¹ sic; leg. ܪܟܝܢܐ. [? scribal error or misprint in Pusey].

Syriac [71,10-72,3]:

ܢܒܬ̈ ܚܙܢ ܡܗܝܡܢ ... [Syriac]

Let us, then, remove from ourselves these empty fables of theirs, since there is no use in them, for such thinking is clear folly and the trickery of nonsensical words; may we never accept anything that is harmful, even if polished words, which have in them the bitterness of headlong error, are troubling us from those people who are in opposition.

We see this sort of approach repeated many times; the idiom and language as well as the structure and syntax is clearly RF's own, especially in the central clause, but the verbal parallels are still frequent, thus πικροῖς gives rise to ܟܐܘܝܬ, even though the adjective explaining λόγοις has been turned into a noun governing ܡܠܐ ܕܛܥܝ. Again ܡܣܬܚ is inspired by τὸ κατασίνεσθαι but the syntax is again quite different. But taking each of the two sentences as wholes, one could not say that anything in Cyril's meaning had really been lost.

At 56,4 [67,11-12], RF similarly varies a piece of rhetoric from Cyril, although it concerns theology directly and is not polemic, and makes it very much his own:

ἀντέρω γὰρ τόπου καὶ περιορισμοῦ καὶ μεγέθους μετρητοῦ τὸ θεῖον
For the Godhead is above all limitation, place, and measurable vastness.

ܡܒܣ ... [Syriac]

For God is transcendent above what exists in space and what is limited in place and is measured in measurements.

In contrast, the following passage is more theological, technical rather than rhetorical; he keeps, therefore, somewhat closer to the original than in the above passage, but still, within the clause as translation unit, he continues to vary his idioms a little:
Gk [54,33-55,3]

ὥσπερ οὖν ἐπειδὴ γέγονε σὰρξ τοῦ ζωοποιοῦντος τὰ πάντα λόγου, τὸ θανάτου καὶ φθορᾶς ὑπερφέρεται κράτος· κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν οἶμαι τρόπον, ἐπεί τοι γέγονε ψυχὴ τοῦ πλημμελεῖν οὐκ εἰδότος, ἐρηρεισμένην ἔχει λοιπὸν τὴν ἐφ' ἅπασι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀμεταποίητον στάσιν, καὶ τῆς πάλαι καθ' ἡμῶν τυρρανούσης ἁμαρτίας ἀσυγκρίτως εὐσθενεστέραν.

Just as the power of death and corruption was overcome when the flesh of the Word who gives life to all things came into being, so in the same way, I reckon, since the soul of him who knew no fault came into being also, so he then possessed a firmly-rooted, unchangeable stability in all his virtues, incomparably stronger than the sin which has long since held power over us.

Syriac [62,6-63,4]:

ܪܒܢܐ ܠܥܠ ܕܗܕܐ ܠܘܬܗ ܡܛܠ ܦܓܪܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܬܐ܆ ܐܦܠܐ ܥܠ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܚܒܠܐ ܘܐܬܚܪܪ.

For just as the flesh/body, because it became that of God the Word, escaped from the power of corruption and was set free, so also, because the soul of him who knew no sin came into being, it is not shaken from its true position, which is virtuous in everything, and is far stronger than sin, which has long since enslaved us.

It is clear that the translator knows how to retain meaning while using his own idiom and rhetoric – the translation unit being used is the clause, and in places he is keeping very close even to the word order, certainly to the clause order, of the original, but in places within each clause he uses his own idioms: for instance, he omits τοῦ ζωοποιοῦντος τὰ πάντα; instead of the hendiadys θανάτου καὶ φθορᾶς, he simply uses ܚܒܠܐ and adds a second verb, 'was set free', to make up the deficiency; he omits οἶμαι; he makes 'us' the direct object of the enslaving. On the other hand, he uses ܩܘܡܐ for στάσις (*stability*), which shows a close interest in the root meanings of the Greek words and a desire, at some level, to reproduce them, a tendency which we see in its maturest form only much later.

Finally under this heading, we give an example of another theological passage, in which the closeness is even more evident.

Greek [61,29-32]:

ὁ αὐτὸς ἄρα καὶ μονογενής ἐστι καὶ πρωτότοκος. ὁ γάρ τοι μονογενὴς ὡς θεός, πρωτότοκος ἐν ἡμῖν καθ' ἕνωσιν οἰκονομικὴν καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὡς ἄνθρωπος· ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς ὡς ἐν αὐτῷ τε καὶ δι'αὐτοῦ υἱοὶ θεοῦ φυσικῶς τε καὶ κατὰ χάριν, φυσικῶς μὲν ὡς ἐν αὐτῷ τε κὰι μονῷ, μεθεκτῶς δὲ καῖ κατὰ χάριν ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτοῦ ἐν πνεύματι.

The same then is both Only-Begotten and First-Born. He is Only-Begotten insofar as he is God, and first-born among us according to the economic union and among many brothers insofar as he is man; so that we too, as both in him and through him, [might be] sons of God by nature and by grace; by nature as being in him and him alone; by participation and grace we [are] through him in the Spirit.

Syriac [95,10-96,6]:

ܟ݀ܘܗ .ܪ̈ܒܐ ܢܡ ܐ̣ܠܐ ܘܝ݀ܐ .ܠܝ ܐܝܢܘ .ܐ̇ܪܒܘ ܐ݀ܪ ܐܝܢܘ ܐ݀ܪ ,ܗܘܬ̇ܐ ܠܟܘܗ ܘܗ

ܗܒ ܢܡ ܐ݀ܪܕ .ܪܝܐ ܒܘ ܘܝ݀ܐ .ܐܪܟ݀ ܪܘ̣ܐ ܬ݀ܝܒܘ .ܐ̣ܗܘܒ̇ܪܕܕ ܐ݀ܗܘ̇ܐ ܝܒ ܐ݀ܪܒ̣ܘ ܝ݀ܕ

,ܗܘܝܘܒܠܒܘ ܗܝܒ ܐ݀ܒ ܘܝ݀ܐ ܐܝ̣ܒ .ܘܝܘܗ̣ ܐ݀ܗܘ̣ܢ̇ܒ݀ܘ ܐ݀ܝܒ ܐ݀ܗ̣ܘܐ݀ܕ ܐ݀ܘ̣ܒ .ܗ̇ܬܠ̇ܠ̇ܘ

.ܚ̇ܘܒ ,ܗܘ̈ܪ̇ܐ ܢܡ .ܐ݀ܗܘ̣ܢ̇ܒ݀ܘ ܝܕ ܐ݀ܗܘ̈ܒ̇ܚ̇ܒ

He is, then, both Only-Begotten and Firstborn – Only-Begotten in that he is God from the Father, and Firstborn by means of the union of the economy and among many brothers in that he is man. We also in him and through him have become sons of God by nature and by grace; by nature as we are in him and him alone, by participation and grace we are through him in the Spirit.

The deliberate alterations are very few, e.g. RF adds an expressed verb of becoming in the purpose clause which is left unexpressed by Cyril. He adds the formula ܢܡ ܐ݀ܪܐ to 'God' in the first clause and omits ἐν ἡμῖν after πρωτότοκος. But in general we see a very close adherence to the original. The approach seen in this passage is fairly typical of some of our other texts discussed below.

In these passages, it is fairly clear that the translation unit is the whole sentence, i.e. that is the level upon which the translator always seems to be thinking. Sometimes, however, even the smallest parts of it are carefully considered and rendered as closely as possible. Yet all his language is good Syriac and we see none of the translation-ese language of some later texts. Yet the fact that RF is quite content to translate using the

technique of the last passage gives some indication of just how deliberate is his decision to use other techniques in other places.

Ep40

We have already mentioned above the distinction that Ep40 seems to make, a distinction between Cyril the theologian and Cyril the polemicist. When Cyril is discussing Christology proper, due care and attention is given to the text, and when he begins to be more rhetorical, the text can be treated very freely, although sometimes even within such sections the translator seems to make some careless slips.[1] To illustrate the difference between the two styles, compare this key passage, a citation from Nestorius:[2]

ἀχώριστος τοῦ φαινομένου θεός· διὰ τοῦτο τοῦ μὴ χωριζομένου τὴν τιμὴν οὐ χωρίζω· χωρίζω τὰς φύσεις ἀλλ' ἑνῶ τὴν προσκύνησιν.

God is not divided from what is manifest. Therefore I do not divide the honour of him who is undivided; I divide the natures but unite the adoration.

ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܦܪܫ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܡܬܚܙܐ܆ ܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܦܪܫ ܠܐ ܡܦܪܫ ܐܢܐ ܐܝܩܪܗ܆ ܐܢܐ ܡܦܪܫ ܟܝܢܐ ܐܠܐ ܡܚܝܕ ܐܢܐ ܣܓܕܬܐ.

God is not separated from the one who is seen; therefore I do not separate the honour of him who is undivided; I separate the natures but I unite the worship.

with the following:[3]

οὐ γὰρ ἄν εἰς τοῦτο προῆλθον ἀποπληξίας, ὡς παραβάτας ἑαυτοὺς συνιστάνειν, ἃ κατέλυσαν ὀρθῶς, οἰκοδομοῦντες ἀβούλως.

They could not have reached such a pitch of madness as to render themselves renegades, recklessly building up what they rightly destroyed.

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[1] For an instructive parallel to this phenomenon, see the Greek version of Eutropius' *Breviarium* (discussed in Fisher, Elizabeth, "Greek Translations of Latin Literature in the fourth century AD." In John J. Winkler and Gordon Williams, eds., *Later Greek Literature*. Yale Classical Studies XXVII. Cambridge, 1982, 189-93), where the translator renders the 'scriptural' Vergilian quotation absolutely rigidly word-for-word but the rest of the text is treated in a 'free' manner.

[2] 27,10-11 [34,4-7].

[3] 29,3-4 [36,18-9].

.ܩܝܘܢܝ ܝܒܝܢ ܠ ܢܘܣܝ ܗܘܢ ܒܐܝܟ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܐܝܕܐ ܠܓ ܐܠ

For they have not reached such a pitch of madness with respect to what they had affirmed.

Even within a single passage, the distinction is still made, such as can be observed in the text of 25,21-26,3, in which the mixture of rhetorical questions and Christological statements are very unevenly translated, the latter very strictly, the former quite freely and with whole phrases omitted. Whenever Cyril corrects himself or adds some specific qualifier to something he has just said, the translator, instead of re-creating this discursive style will incorporate the correction or qualification into the main part of the sentence – thus ἐξ ἰδίας φύσεως, τουτέστι τῆς θεϊκῆς is just ܡܗܘܠܐܝܕ ܕܝܠܗ ܗܝ.

Ep44

In connection with the foregoing discussion on Ep40, it is worth making a comparison between the opening of that text and the quotation from the same passage here in Ep44. The following is the Greek and the two Syriac versions, Ep40 and then Ep44:[1]

χρῆμα μὲν ἀδελφοῖς ἡ πρόσρησις γλυκύ τε καὶ ἀξιάγαστον.
Dialogue between brothers is a thing both sweet and admirable.

ܚܠܝܘܬܐ ܕܦܐܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܚܘܢ ܠܒܢܝ ܕܐܚܝܕ ܠܚܡܐ: .ܣܓܝ ܠܓ ܚܠܝܐ ܘܕܬܗܪܐ ܗܝ

The reward of answered greetings is a thing useful to brothers; for it is sweet and admirable.

ܫܠܡ ܠܐܚܐ ܐܝܟ ܘܣܝܩܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܚܠܝܐ ܘܕܬܗܪܐ.

Greeting with brothers is a thing that is sweet and admirable

It was noted that in Ep40, in passages such as these, larger translation units were rendered all at once, in this case the whole sentence. This contrasts with the likes of Ep44, where there is everywhere a significantly greater level of care below sentence level, such as we see in this example.

Ep45/Ep46/ Ep50

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[1] Ep40, 20,19 [25,7-8]; Ep44, 37,3-4 [57,2-3].

We will provide here a couple of examples which could have been placed above under the heading of editing technique. However, they show that the translator of this text is thinking in sentences and sometimes, when he feels it appropriate, is recasting them in quite a different mould.

The string of three adverbial phrases ἐν ψιλαῖς ἐννοίαις...ἐν ἰσχναῖς θεωπίαις...νοῦ φαντασίαις are together reduced to ܐܬܝܪ ܒܠܚܘܕ which is probably to be taken as equivalent to ἐν μόνῃ θεωρίᾳ, although ܒܠܚܘܕ itself may be inspired by ψιλαῖς. Again, the rather complex οὔτε διαμπὰξ διατομῆς δύναμιν ἐφίεμεν αὐταῖς (with its alliteration!) becomes the far simpler and almost formulaic ܠܐ ܗܝܢ ܡܬܚܒܠܢ ܡܬܚܒܠܢܘܬܗܘܢ.[1]

These two sentences show a technique that is reminiscent of RF's and certainly shows how this translator is capable of re-writing whole sentences when he feels that this is necessary. In the same way as we saw in Ep40, though to a different degree and in different ways, this translator too is an exegete who, desiring to bring Cyril's Christology to his audience, does not see that aim as being furthered by slavishly reproducing every rhetorical and polemical thrust found in the source text, nor by the mirroring of lexemes or morphemes. We will see much more of this from these particular texts as we proceed.

Explanatio Duodecim Capitulorum/Ep39/Ep55
In these texts the translation unit can generally be said to be at clause or word level and there is little evidence for the freer renderings of wider sections such as we saw above. On occasion, we do, however, see the rearrangement of the verbal structures, and this aspect of the analysis of the larger translation units will be dealt with shortly.

We do also find occasional clear evidence that the translator *is* thinking in sections and translating in a cohesive way. Thus in Ep39, ܐܬܐ (token, proof, argument) is used for χρῆσις (19,18) apparently under the influence of Prov. 22:28 where, following the Peshitta texts, he has used ܬܚܘܡܐ for ὄρια (19,24), in its original context meaning 'boundary marker' but being used here by Cyril as if it meant 'a definition of the

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[1] 162,6-7 [52,11-12]; 162,7-8 [52,13-14].

faith'. By using the same root for the preceding χρῆσις the translator strengthens the point that the citations of the Fathers, which Cyril intended to include in his arguments, are effectively the same thing as a credal affirmations.[1]

Responsiones ad Tiberium

There is really very little evidence that this translator considered units any larger than a sentence. It is, of course, quite impossible to think in units less than a sentence even if the resultant translation works at a sub-sentence level,[2] and there is clear enough evidence that the former had indeed frequently informed the latter in the case of this text, despite its apparent concern for the word and sub-lexical levels, wherever he has altered the word order to make a more meaningful Syriac sentence; examples can be found below, under '3.1 Word Order'.

2. ii The restructuring of larger translation units

The following examples from our texts show in more detail exactly how the larger translation units, usually the sentence, could be rendered. The issue concerns how the verbal structure, especially the hypotaxis, of the Greek is represented.

De Recta Fide

Cyril's Greek tends to be very Atticistic and he is keen on neat, and sometimes lengthy, periodic sentences. Such an approach is quite alien to Semitic style (although Syriac is perhaps better at this than other Semitic languages) and we often see RF simplifying Cyril at this level. A couple of examples follow:

Cyril has a periodic sentence as follows:
ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ᾤοντο θεὸν μὲν...δὲ...[τε]...ἐποιοῦντό τινες... ὑποτεμνόμενος ... ἀνατιθεὶς ... προσνέμων, ἔφασκεν.[3]

This consists of a causal clause, containing two main verbs in the imperfect (the first of which is really to be understood twice as it governs a contrasting μὲν...δέ pairing), followed by three co-ordinating present participles preceding the main verb itself with

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[1] 19,18 [f.151ra]; 19,24 [f.151rb].
[2] A point made by Barr, *Typology*, 296-7.
[3] 64,12-16 [108,1-7].

its object clause after it. This is evidently far too much for the translator, who makes the whole thing much more straightforward for his readers. He introduces the causal clause with ܕ ܡܛܠ and then follows with three ptc.+ܗܘܐ combinations (effectively reflecting the imperfects) for each of the three sub-parts of the subordinate causal clause (thereby also filling in the ellipsis by means of a synonym for the missed repetition of the first verb, as well as repeating ܕ ܡܛܠ again before the third). The main clause follows, but with the first of the preceding participles turned into the main verb (another ptc.+ܗܘܐ combination) and the second made subordinate to it by ܟܕ, the third being wholly omitted. The sentence then comes to a close, and ܥܠܗܝ ܐܡܪ then starts a new sentence to represent the main verb of the whole Greek sentence, the ܥܠܗܝ thereby being necessarily added to make clear the organic link between the two new sentences.

There is another, and much simpler example, of how he restructures unnecessarily tricky constructions. Cyril starts with a datival phrase before giving us a main verb: Νικοδήμῳ μὲν γὰρ οὐ συνιέντι τὸ μυστήριον, ἀνακεκραγότι δὲ ἀμαθῶς...φησιν [sc. Ἰησοῦς].[1]
RF simply turns the whole into two separate sentences with different subjects:

ܗܘ ܐܡܪ [ܝܫܘܥ]....ܗܘܐ ܡܬܪܥܐ...ܐܝܟܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܬܒܩܐ ܕܠܐ ܕܝܢ ܢܝܩܘܕܝܡܘܣ.

Thus he does what a good Greek stylist would never choose to do if possible, and restarts his sentence with a new subject, even with no conjunction between them; thus he creates a narrative series in place of the balanced hypotactic construction of contrasts.

These examples are typical of this translator's approach to larger discourse units and show that his unit of analysis can be the whole discourse paragraph as well the smaller units that we saw being rendered so carefully earlier.

Quod Unus sit Christus

This text also shows a great deal of this sort of alteration. In fact, the majority of complex sentences are altered in some way; or, in other words, the whole idiom of expression is altered to fit the target language.[1]

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[1] 68,9-10 [128,1-3].

For example, the rather rhetorical and convoluted sentence τῶν ὅτι μάλιστα κατεσπουδασμένων παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐστι τὸ εὐηγορεῖν, καὶ ψιλαῖς ῥημάτων ἐπαυχοῦσι κομψείαις, καὶ τὸ τῆς λέξεως ἐναβρύνονται κόμπῳ (*that which is of especially great importance among them is speaking well, and they boast in the simple refinements of words and they are vain in the praise of diction*) becomes ܪܚܐܒܝܪܐ ܪܒܐܝ ܪܚܐܒ

ܪܝܚܐܡܒܐ .ܪܒܐܚܒ ܪܠܒܚܒ ܝܚܒܚܐܒܐ ܚܪܒܒ ܐܠܒܐ ,ܚ ܪܝܚ ܢܒܚܐܒ

.ܢܒܚܐܒܝ ܚܒܝܪ ܢܒܝܒܐ ܚܒ (*an important matter of diligence among them is that of speaking skilfully, and they boast in exalted speech, and their glory is in the magnificence of their wording*).[2]

The sort of change where a sentence consisting of two circumstantial ptcs followed by two main co-ordinating verbs becomes a single subordinate clause followed by three co-ordinating main verbs, is also very common.[3] Even on a somewhat smaller scale, the translator has no regard for the structure or idiom of the Greek, often re-phrasing even where copying the structure would not be unduly difficult, thus τὸν παρ' ἐκείνοις λόγον ἀδρανῆ καὶ ἀσύφηλον ἀποφαίνουσα (*demonstrating the argument of theirs [to be] weak and insolent*) becomes ܚܒܝܒܐܝܒܐ ܢܒܚܒܝ ܪܚܐܠܚܒ ܪܐܚܒ (*demonstrating the weakness of their argument and its strangeness*).[4]

Explanatio Duodecim Capitulorum

The amount of such restructuring is vastly decreased in this text. Yet even here there are some examples of restructuring. In one sentence, for example, there are three main verbs, with a second subject, λόγος, mentioned between the first and second; but in EDC the first is made into a subordinate verb, with ܟ + pf. This is understandable given that this first verb is functionally just part of the sequence of descriptions of Christ which form the subject of the latter two verbs, which are co-ordinate, both of which are present tense verbs expressed by the usual participle. The clause Χριστὸς

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[1] We can compare the Ethiopic of this same text, which has very similar characteristics in its treatment of Greek parataxis, cf.Lössl, *One and the Same.*
[2] 714,12-14 [f.51ra].
[3] 715,27-32 [f.51va].
[4] 715,44-715,1 [f.51vb].

καὶ τὴν θεῷ πρέπουσαν δυναστείαν ἰδίαν ἔχων εἰργάζετο τὰ παράδοξα = ܝܘ ܚܝܠܐ

ܥܒܕܘܬܐ ܣܘܡ ,ܐܟܘܣ ܕܝܠܗ ܐܠܗܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܚܝܠܐ – there is no equivalent for ἔχων,

unless we posit that the translator (or scribe) has omitted a ܠܗ after the ,ܐܟܘܣ in

error. Otherwise, we have to say that he has turned δυναστεία into the subject of the

subordinate clause while Χριστός remains the subject of the main verb εἰργάζετο. If

the issue is textual, it can only really be within the EDC tradition.

In another sentence, the addition of ܘ seems to create two subordinate clauses of

oratio obliqua out of one, with the verb ellipsed in the first, the ܘ perhaps inspired by

the first of the double καὶ...καί immediately following.[1]

These examples are almost the limit of what can be found, however. Other apparent

examples may well be down to textual issues (e.g. variants in the Vorlage). For

example, the whole sentence at 23,24-6 [f.19vb-20ra], in which we note the following

points, is structured very differently, perhaps due to textual error, but possibly due to

translator misunderstanding:

- EDC has ܚܕ ܣܘܡ for Gk ἤ γοῦν, but may have read τουτέστιν, reading it as
  "like one of us, that is, as one of the saints" rather than "like one of us or like
  one of the saints". But Schwartz's apparatus claims EDC's testimony for the
  reading ἤ γοῦν.

- EDC may have omitted ἕνα τῶν from the same sentence since EDC just has
  ܡܢܢܐܕ for the succeding καθ' ἡμᾶς, which is the norm for that expression.

- EDC almost certainly omits καί, along with Schwartz's S,D,B, although
  Schwartz's apparatus does not reckon it thus – the result being that the whole
  phrase from αὐτόν τὸ χρώμενον is really just subordinated to the foregoing
  δεδοξάσθαι rather than a separate clause within the *oratio obliqua*. This
  actually seems to make better sense of the Gk and may well be the original
  reading.

- For the phrase τῇ διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος ἐνεργείᾳ οὐχ ὡς ἰδίᾳ μᾶλλον
  ἀλλα...κτλ. the translator must have read something like τῇ διὰ τοῦ

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[1] 21,21 [f.18va]; 22,16 [f.19ra]; 24,15-6 [f.20rb].

πνεύματος ἐνεργείας οὐχ ὡς ἰδίᾳ [δύναμει ?] ἀλλα...κτλ. since he translated it

as...ܐܠܐ .ܣܠܝ ܪܠܝܚܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܪܘܗܡ ܪܠܐ ܪܘܘܢܝ ܪܗܩܘܢܡܣ ܡܢ .

- The first καί also seems to be omitted since the phrase ὡς ἀλλοτρίᾳ καὶ θεοπρεπεῖ χρώμενον is translated as ܪܡܠܐܠ ܪܪܒܝ ܡܟܘܗܝܪ ܪܒܩܘܢܝ ܐܝܟ, with the first adjective modifiying the previous ?δύναμει and the second being a (relative) modification of the first, as if he perhaps read τῇ for καί.

Scholia de Incarnatione

Again, restructuring is pretty scarce. In one place a genitive absolute is transformed into a new sentence co-ordinate with the main verb but with a different subject: 'the son was anointed...human nature having been enlightened' becoming 'the son was anointed and human nature enlightened', but this is exceptional. Again εἰ μὴ ἐφ' ἑνὸς τάττοιτο τοῦ κατὰ σύνθεσιν (*unless he be arranged as one in regard to con-joining*) is ܪܒܝܬܐ ܐܡܘܣܗܠܡ ܡܢ ܠܚ ܗܪ, a verb in the infinitive replacing the prepositional phrase. But these are relatively exceptional.[1]

Ep39

Generally the degree of equivalence of the verbal structures in this text is very high, as can be seen from the comments on formal equivalence below. There are one or two places, however, where the structure of the original is altered to create a new structure: thus the co-ordinate ἵνα ἔχωσιν...καὶ ἀποφηνώσι is made into a main verb and a sub. ܗܡ+ptc., as if the second part were indeed a ptc. Then, in the opposite direction, a subordinate ptc followed by a main verb, παρειληφότες ἐσχήκαμεν, is made into two main verb active ptcs., ܡܚܠܝ ܡܣܠܚܢ.[2]

Ep40

Much of what is valid here has already been said with regard to how this text treats of the more rhetorical passages of the letter. Its treatment of those passages, however, usually falls into the category of editing (omission etc.) rather than of restructuring. In analysing his technique even in those passages where he remains a good deal closer to his source, however, we see various attempts to simplify syntax by restructuring.

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[1] 220,5-7 [f.22ra]; 225,21 [f.47va].
[2] 16,2-3 (f.149vb); 17,4 (f.150va).

A short passage will serve as an example of the kind of alterations of structure that are used here:

ἔχουσι γὰρ ἐν ταύτῷ τὸ θεοπρεπὲς καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον.[1]

ܐܬܝܘܬܐܘ ܐܬܘܗܠܐ ܪܡܐ ܝܠܓ ܢܘܗܝܬܝܐ

Here the abstract neuter adjectives are turned into plural adjectives acting as attributes of the subject of the sentence (i.e. the words of Christ), making the whole a nominal instead of a verbal sentence.

Again, in the very next sentence:

ἕτερον...τὸ διαιρεῖν τὰς φύσεις...ἕτερον τὸ φωνῶν εἰδέναι διαφοράν.[2]

.ܐܠܩ ܬܒܪ ܐܢܝܩܦ ܕܢ ,ܘܗ ܐܬܘܢܪܚܐܘ...ܐܢܚ ܪܝܐ ܢܝܢܪܚܕ ,ܘܗ ܐܬܘܢܪܚܐ

In this case the impersonal article + infinitive construction is bypassed by using ܪܝܐ + imperfects, thus greatly simplifying the difficulties present in dealing with Greek syntax.

These sorts of re-structuring are relatively common in this text by comparison with others such as EDC or Ep39, even in the passages in which there is no editing as such, as here where the meaning is in no way impaired.

Ep44

For a few examples that might come under this head, see below under formal equivalence of verbs; strictly speaking, however, there are no examples that fall into this category, rather the translator sticks closely to his word-by-word approach.

Ep45

Similar practices to those of Ep40 occur in this text, though perhaps even more frequently. The following example is typical: a Greek periodic sentence involves two contrasting main verbs each with a subordinate participle giving further details to the main assertions, and the whole preceded by a circumstantial participial phrase; in the

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[1] 28,18 [35,27]
[2] 28,19-21 [35,28-36,2]

Syriac, the same construction is maintained for the first half of the sentence, but this is then brought to a close and the second part is introduced with a ܕ (despite the absence of δέ at this point) and both main verb and ptc are turned into main verbs; the simile clause tacked on to the end of the sentence, which in the Greek is introduced by ὥσπερ and is linked by another participle also becomes a new sentence.[1] The whole sentence is thus fundamentally restructured in tune with more traditional, or idiomatic Syriac norms.

Genitive absolutes create some problems for this translator's natural Syriac, and he tends to restructure rather than mirror. Sometimes he keeps them in place but uses e.g. relative clauses instead (see below under *Formal equivalence for verbs*) but elsewhere he will restructure the whole sentence to avoid anything too unwieldy. Thus where Cyril has a φαμὲν ὅτι followed by a gen.abs. before the main object clause following the ὅτι, the Syriac instead makes the gen.abs. into the object of the verb of speaking and makes the original object clause into a new sentence entirely.[2]

Ep46
Given that the translator is clearly (as we saw earlier) reading and understanding whole sentences and rendering them *as wholes* not as compositions of smaller units, we see here some major restructuring of the periodic sentence along dynamic lines.

The following conditional sentence provides a good case study of syntactical technique in one of the generally 'freer' versions. The Greek structure is (the nos. correspond to their lexical equivalents in the Syriac below: εἰ... 1)circumstantial.aor.ptc... 2)main protasis verb in pf ... 3)sub.aor.ptc.... 4)sub.aor.ptc.... 5)main apodosis verb impf.... 6)obj.inf. introducing two indirect questions, together governed by 7)sub.aor. ind.; the Syriac deals with this as follows: ܐܠܘ... 1)main protasis pf verb... 2)coordinating ܘ + 2ⁿᵈ pf verb... 3)ܟܝ + pf... 4)ܟܝ + ptc + ܗܘܐ.... 5)main apodosis verb impf....6)ܕ + sub.ptc. ... 7)ܕ + sub.ptc. [as part of indir.question]. We can therefore see that there is little formal equivalence of the syntactical variety, and this is the rule throughout the text.[3]

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[1] 151,19-152,3 [39,23-40,5]; there are further examples, e.g. 153,7-10 [41,23-28].
[2] 155,5-8 [43,25-9].
[3] 160,19-22 [50,14-19].

Looking at further examples, we can see the 'RF-like' technique by which sentences sometimes undergo significant restructuring while the number of verbal equivalences and echoes within the smaller units remains surprisingly high. Thus a sentence, in which the subject of an indirect statement is described at length before its predicate gets a look in, is naturally turned into separate main clauses. Again, the clause κατασείει δὲ τὸ οὕτω φρονεῖν ἅπαντα τῆς οἰκονομίας becomes ܝܗ ܪܠܐܚܐ ܡ̈ ܪܐܚ ܪܐܢܝܫܬ̈ܠ ܗܠ ܝܚ̈, i.e. the article + inf., taken as a self-contained substantive, has been rendered accordingly, the direct object of the verb has been changed into an adverb and its dependent genitive left as the grammatical direct object of the main verb – this represents sensible simplicity, in fact bringing closer to the surface what was in any case the deep grammar of the clause and making the thought actually more transparent.[1]

Ep50

We have seen already how this text treats its larger sentences sometimes quite freely, and it is no surprise that here too, verbal structures are frequently altered (although by no means is this always so), and examples do not need to be multiplied. In an early section, the translator has omitted the semantically tricky ψυχρολογοῦσι (*they speak nonsense*) and, to compensate for the loss of the main verb, turns all its following participles into co-ordinating main verbs.[2] There are also interesting examples of substantival phrases being explained using verbal constructions, such as δόκησις εἰς τοῦτο ῥοπῆς (*an appearance of an inclination towards that*) becoming ܗܠܚ ܡܐ ܝ̈ܪܐܘ ܗܠܣ ܪܐܡ, and similarly he will take a phrase such as τροπὴν ἤ ἀλλοίωσιν ὑπομείνας and restructures it by omitting the participle and turning the verbal nouns into passive verbs. ܝܠ̈ ܗܒܪ̈ ܪܐܠܘ ܠܒܘܗܒܪ̈ ܪܠܐ – this essentially brings the deep grammar to the surface.[3]

Ep55

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[1] 161,15-18 [51,17-23]; 161,13-14 [51,15-16].

[2] 91,2-5 [f.140vb]; ψυχρολογεῖν is a very rare word, used in Atticistic writing by the likes of Lucian and Julian. Our translator quite understandably can find no idiomatic or functional equivalent and so omits it.

[3] 91,6-7 [f.141ra]; 91,22 [f.141rb].

The sort of major restructuring of which we have seen plenty of examples is lacking in this text. The translator, as we have already seen, is working at the level of the phrase and the word and, for the most part, he mirrors the forms that he finds.

However, despite the lack of larger-scale alterations in this text, we do see that the grammatical categories can be altered quite freely at times when such is required, in the translator's opinion, for better communication of meaning. Thus, for instance, the prepositional phrase κατὰ πρόσκλισιν τὴν πρός γέ τινας οὐκ ὀρθοποδοῦντας περὶ τὴν πίστιν becomes the relative clause ܐܠ ܘܘܣܝܐܪ ܪܓܝܕ ܪܕܐ ܦܝܪܐܝ ܪܗܩܘܠܠܓܣܐ ܐܠ ܪܗܩܘܣܣܡ, a good example of the victory of *signifié* over *signifiant!*[1] The rendering of τὸ ἀκραιφνὲς τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως σύμβολον as ܪܗܩܘܣܣܡܐ ܪܓܝܝܕ ܪܝܡܣ ܪܣܝܦ (*the clear and orthodox symbol of the faith*) shows a clear instance of the larger phrase as translation unit, the inner relations of the parts not being accurately mirrored.[2]

Sometimes, the translator simply feels that a different grammatical category would better suit his purpose: thus γεγραφότα οἶδα τὸν Πέτρον being ܣܐܝ ܪܐܪ ܣܝܐ ܘܘܝܠܦܐ (*I know what was written by Peter*), or τὰ ἐν τῷ συμβολῷ, τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ ῥημάτων τὴν δύναμιν...οὐ συνιέντες (*the things in the creed, not understanding the force of the words in it*) being contracted to ܩܘܣܐܝܪ ܪܐܠ...ܪܣܝܡܣ ܣܘܪܝ ܪܐܠܘܝ ܪܐܠܘܣܠ (*not understanding the force of the words that are in the creed*), with the inner relationships again modified for simplification.[3]

Contra Orientales/Contra Theodoretum
Just as we saw that editing hard pieces of text was commonplace with this translator, so he also restructures the Greek sentences every now and then, though it is important to stress that this remains the exception and not the rule, for on the whole each type of Greek construction has its Syriac equivalent which is followed consistently (see below under formal equivalence of verbs). As an example of the sorts of changes he makes, we note a sentence with three co-ordinating infinitives, the first two treated, as usual, with ܝ + imperfect, but then the third is treated as a separate main verb.[4] We see

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[1] 50,6-7 [2,23-5].
[2] 51,13 [4,28-5,1].
[3] 51,16-7 [5,6]; 50,29 [3,30].
[4] 34,4f. [f.91vb].

another instance of a periodic sentence, consisting of two participles (one aorist, one present), an imperfect main verb, and a final present participle, the whole turned into a series of main verbs, Syriac perfects for both the first two participles, connected with ه, a participle conjugated with ܗܘܐ for the main verb, and then a further ه + ptc (probably + ܗܘܐ understood) for the final participle.[1]

The opposite trend can also be seen, with Greek main verbs reduced to subordinating participles.[2] Sometimes, the Greek syntax just seems too much for the Syriac and a little restructuring is in order: for example, προσεποίσω τὰ δι' ὧν ἂν γένοιτο ψευδομυθεῖν ᾑρημένους ἀποφῆναι (*I shall add those things by which it may happen that those who choose to speak falsely are revealed*) is restructured as ܐܝܟ ܒܕܡ ܕܠܐܝ ܠܬܠܬܐ ܕܡܝܟܕܝ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܡܚܘܝܢ ܐܝܟ (*I am bringing in that which reveals those who prepare the word of falsehood*); and more often on a smaller scale, so instead of οὐδείς ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος (*there is not for us an argument*) the Syriac has ܐܝܟܝܢ ܩܪܒ ܠܐ ܠܡܠܬܗ (*we do not draw near to his argument*).[3]

In general, however, it must be remembered that these sorts of restructuring are unusual in this text, and its freedom and inconsistency lies to a greater extent in its renderings of smaller units.

Responsiones ad Tiberium

Given the extremely small translation units with which this version deals, most of the data concerning this text will be found in the next section. However, even this text is not without examples of restructuring. Thus ὅτι δὲ πρέποι ἂν οὕτω νοεῖσθαι μᾶλλον τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα θεοῦ γενέσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον is simply rendered as ܕܡܠܐ ܕܝܠܗ, ܗܝ, ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܗܘܐ ܒ ܐܝܟ, thereby by-passing the Gk idiom of the optative + infinitive.[4]

W can provide here also brief examples of how the translator will *never* restructure his clauses even when such an action might seem necessary, and thereby produces strange Syriac or even errors of meaning. In this category may fall the strange

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[1] 34,21f. [f.91v, 3.39-43]; see also 33,19-23 [f.91rc-f.91va].
[2] 35,6f. [f.92rb]
[3] 39,28f. [f.94va]; 40,28f. [f.95rb].
[4] 164,24-5 [473,1-2].

translation of γέγονε μὲν γὰρ κατ' εἰκόνα τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐν ἀρχαῖς (*man was originally made in the image that was His [sc. God's]*) as ܪܒܠܝܒ ܡܢ ܗܘܐ ܒ ܒܠܬ ܐܝܟ ܒܪܢܫܐ, which Ebied and Wickham rightly translated as "he was made in the image which was man's initially" as if τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ ἄνθρωπος had been ἦν πρὸς [αὐτὸν] τὸν ἄνθρωπον.[1]

Perhaps also we could note the sentence: φασὶ τοίνυν κατὰ τοὺς ἄνωθεν ἔτι καιροὺς ἤτοι χρόνους διηρῆσθαι, τούς τε ἀπὸ τοῦ Κάϊν γεγονότας φημὶ καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἐνώς, which should properly mean "they say then that during the still earlier epochs or periods, Cain's descendents (I say) and those of Enosh were distinguished" [i.e. from each other, because the latter were righteous and the former were not], which is how Wickham translates the Greek (although he omits φημί entirely); but the Syriac has it as "*they then say* that Cain's descendents were distinguished by higher times or periods [i.e. by longevity], *but I say* that Enosh's descendents also were [sc. distinguished in the same way]", which requires a reading of φημί which takes it as the introduction of a new clause, whereas its use in Attic idiom is more like a parenthetical 'i.e.'. As far as technique is concerned the main point is that by following his original on a word-by-word basis, and failing to look at the idiom on a higher level, the translator has (seemingly) misunderstood the Greek, the result being a clear contrast between ...ܢ ܕܗܢܘ ܐܡܪܝܢ and ...ܐܢܐ ܐܝܢ ܐܡܪ.[2]

3. Syntactical variations within the smaller translation unit

Having dealt with the overall approach to the larger translation unit, in terms of how close or how free a translator chooses to be, we can now turn to some more specific techniques that he may use for certain Greek constructions. The Greek verbal system, for example, does not easily transfer into a Semitic one, and so the different approaches adopted to the verbal forms of the Greek sentence may be expected to reveal certain distinctive characteristics in each translator. This is obviously closely related to the foregoing section, but we are here dealing with formal equivalence properly speaking (i.e. how each morphological category of the Greek verb finds its

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[1] 160,7-8 [469,2-3]; or perhaps the Syriac is corrupt and originally read ܡܒܠܬܗ.
[2] 176,8-10 [480,14-16].

equivalent in a Syriac translation). We will start with a look at the issue of word order, where this may seem to have an effect upon the translator and then with the formal equivalence of the verbs. We can then deal with other syntactical constructions, such as genitival relationships and prepositional usages.

3. i Word Order

This is a particularly difficult matter to deal with. Naturally, it is very hard to decide whether a coincidence of word order between the versions is deliberate or not, Syriac word-order being hardly less flexible than Greek. All our versions (with the possible exceptions of RF and QUX) do seem to try to follow the order of the component parts of the sentence to a greater or lesser degree. Texts such as Ep50 and AT do so more consistently, but even they will not violate their idiom for the sake of word-order. Thus, for instance, the Greek possessive construction ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος will only ever be ܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܬܐ in Syriac and never ܡܠܬܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ.

Explanatio Duodecim Capitulorum
There is an intriguing example of the effect of EDC's close following of Greek word order: where Cyril adds a parenthetical ὡς ἔφην between a verb and its object, EDC feels the need to add a pleonastic object marker before the parenthesis, to make the secure link with the expressed object *after* the parenthesis, thus resulting in ܡܩܪܒ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܬ ܠܩܘܪܒܢܐ. This use of the object marker ܠ is often a way of allowing the translator to follow word order: the clause ἕνα πιστεύομεν υἱὸν εἶναι Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, the εἶναι separates predicate from the theme and the meaning is clear, while in the Syriac, the infinitive is omitted as unnecessary but the predicate still precedes the theme; the latter is therefore preceded by the object marker ܠ as a way of making the meaning more transparent.[1]

Scholia de Incarnatione
There is quite clearly an attempt to replicate word order as much as possible, but it is not at all binding, thus κέχρισται τοίνυν ἀνθρωπίνως καθ' ἡμᾶς ὁ υἱός becomes ܐܬܡܫܚ ܗܟܝܠ ܐܢܫܐܝܬ ܐܟܘܬܢ ܒܪܐ. The translator tries in this way to keep the

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[1] 19,13 [f.17ra]; 20,2 [f.17rb], and see Nöldeke §324 for the basic shape of the Syriac idiom.

elements in their correct places and deviates only in individual instances such as this; on the other hand, there is no slavish imitation of word order at the expense of the possibilities of the Syriac. [1]

Note the careful adherence to word order in the following sentence, despite the addition of an explanatory ܒܬܘܣܦ:

ζῶντος δὲ ἀεὶ καὶ ὑπάρχοντος τοῦ πατρός, πᾶσά πως ἀνάγκη συνυφεστάναι τε καὶ συνυπάρχειν ἀιδίως αὐτῷ τὸν δι' ὅν ἐστι πατήρ

Since the Father always lives and exists, it is altogether necessary that the one on whose account he is a Father should also co-subsist and co-exist eternally with him.

ܡܢ ܗܘ ܓܝܪ ܡܬܒܥܝܐ ܕܗܢܐ ܡܬܩܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܘܡܬܩܝܡܢܝܬܐ ܗܝ ܐܘܟܝܬ ܗܘܝ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܦܪܘܣ ܐܝܬ ܘܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܡܩܘܝܢܐ ܘܐܠܗܐ ܘܡܬܩܘܝܢ ܡܬܩܝܡܢܐ ܐܒܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܐܠܗܐ . [2]

Ep40

In general, despite the asserted 'freeness' of this version, it is worth noting that wherever possible, the translator *does* attempt to keep the idiomatic ordering of the Greek words; thus e.g. ὅτι γὰρ οὐκ ἕτερον εἶναί φασιν υἱόν is closely rendered as ܥܠ ܕܠܘ ܓܝܪ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܒܪܐ, where concessions are made to Syriac idiom whenever necessary, but the order of the words in the Vorlage is the basic guide. [3] In fact, when a phrase is significantly transposed in its position, as has happened to the τὸν αὐτόν later in the same paragraph, it stands out all the more as an oddity. [4]

Ep44/55

Just to give one example of the very close word order correspondence that is the norm for the translators of these texts, despite other sometimes surprising equivalents: [5]

ὅταν δὲ ἔλθῃ εἰς τὴν οἰκονομίαν, πάλιν ὡς ἕτερον κύριον τὸν ἐκ γυναικὸς ἰδίᾳ ἄνθρωπόν φησιν συναφθέντα τῇ ἀξίᾳ ἢ τῇ ἰσοτιμίᾳ.

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[1] 220,5 [f.22ra].
[2] 224,1-3 [f.40rb-va].
[3] 25,2 [31,3-4].
[4] 25,7 [31,10].
[5] Ep44, 36,18-20 [56,9-12].

ܟܘܪܙܩܘܢܠ ܐܠܕܒܪ ܡܢ ܗܘܠ ܐܘܝܪܟ ܪܡܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܠܗܟ ܐܡܬܘܪܒܬܐ ܠܗܠ ܐܟܐܕ ܕܝ ܟܡ
ܐܝܘܪ ܗܩܘܘܠܐ ܢܠܐܠܘܠ ܣܘܬܗܟܕ ܬܒܪ ܐܢܝܪ ܒ

Other than the transposition of ἕτερον κύριον each word follows its correspondent precisely in order. In places where Syriac idiom is not thereby compromised, this is a standard technique for this and similar texts such as Ep55 and even in Ep40 or Ep45 in certain types of passage.

Contra Orientales/Contra Theodoretum

Again, it is very hard to see where the word order is specifically trying to follow the Greek. Certainly, natural syntax is not violated in order to achieve it. Clauses such as οἱ μακάριοι πατέρες οἱ κατὰ καιροὺς ἐν τῇ Νικαέων συνειλημμένοι αὐτὸν ἔφασαν are often rendered with careful attention to the word order, becoming ܗܘܒܪ ܐܟܝܢܗ ܐܝܬܗܟ ܠܗ .ܐܟܒܬܐ ܪܩܘܣܒ ܡܢܕ ܟܠܝܪ; the reversal of paired items is also found on occasion, but not commonly, as τὸ σεπτὸν καὶ μέγα = ܐܟܝܠܘܣܐ ܐܒܝ.[1]

Responsiones ad Tiberium

In general, this version, far more than any of the others, will follow the order of the Greek words as much as it can, subject to certain rules of syntax which the translator evidently feels ought to be maintained. Throughout, therefore, adjectives always follow their nouns, and generally Syriac idiom is not violated.[2]

This is to be found everywhere. Frequently the variation is only very small and virtually proves the general rule by the very noticeableness of the variation. To illustrate:

εὐσεβέστερον γὰρ οἱ παρ' Ἕλλησι δοξάζουσι σοφοὶ τὸ θεῖον ἀσώματον καὶ ἀνείδεον, ἄποσόν τε καὶ ἀμερές, καὶ ἀσχημάτιστον εἶναι διαβεβαιούμενοι, καὶ πανταχῇ μὲν ὑπάρχειν, ἀπολιμπάνεσθαι δὲ οὐδενός.[3]

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[1] 34,32f. [f.92ra]; 33,20 [f.91va], see Williams, *Translation Technique*, 204ff.
[2] Examples of adjectives sometimes preceding their noun in conformity to Greek word order in later translations can be found in Brock, *Diachronic Features*.
[3] 140,25-8 [454,7-11] – note that the order given here δοξάζουσι σοφοί is not that of Schwartz's text or his main ms, G, but rather than of C, which the Syriac follows very frequently and which must surely represent the underlying text here too, although Schwartz would not commit himself on matters of word order or use it as evidence within the Greek text.

ܕܟܬ̣ܒܪ ܠܠ ܟܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ, ܠܗ ܟܐܘ ܕܠܠ ܟܬܒܒܐ ܡܚܒܟܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܟܢ ܠܝ ܝܬܒ

ܠܝܐ ܟܐܘ. ܟܐܘ ܢܝ ܟܒܐܚܐ ܟܐܘ ܟܐܘܐ ܢܝ ܟܐܘ. ܟܐܘ ܟܐܕܐ ܐܟܡܘܪ ܟܐܘ ܕܐܚܬܝ ܒܪܝܙ ܝܡܘܪܐ ܘܟܠܒ

ܕܘܚ ܝܐܐ ܢ ܟܐ ܟ ܕܐܚܬܝ. ܟܬܒܝܪܐ ܢܝ ܟܠܐ ܢܝ ܟܐ ܢ ܡܕܡ.

The only alterations involve the moving of οἱ παρ' Ἕλλησι to a position after its governing noun σοφοί and the transposition of εἶναι διαβεβαιούμενοι in order to get ptc and object in the right order. The adhesion to word order does not prevent the rather unusual positioning of the last ܟܠܐ after the adjective which it really negates. The most common motive, it would appear, for any change in the word order is the correct positioning of the subject before any other nouns or adjectives which logically succeed it. Such 'rules' are frequently, but by no means universally, applied. Thus our translator does not like retaining the order of πλήρεις δὲ ἦσαν καὶ οὕτω τῆς θεότητος αὐτοῦ οἱ οὐρανοί, and so moves the subject, with the result being ܟܫܠ ܢܝ ܐܫܬܝܗܘܢ ܗܘܘ ܫܡܝܐ ܐܦ ܡܢ ܟܗܢ ܡܢ ܐܫܬܠܡܗ.[1] This type of minor variation could be multiplied by examples many times from all over this text. The general pattern that we see in a text like this conforms closely with what we see in the Syro-Hexaplar, and with other 7th century texts that have been described in a similar way.[2]

3.ii. Formal equivalence of verbs

De Recta Fide
As we have seen, the translator of the *De Recta Fide* treats the whole verbal structure with as much freedom as he feels he can, and there is rarely any precise correspondence, say between the tense-form of the Greek and a particular tense-form in his Syriac.

A single example will show the gulf between versions done perhaps a century apart: the phrase τίνες δ' ἂν εἶεν οἱ παρ' ἑκάστῳ θρῦλοι καὶ τὰ σεμνὰ μυθάρια, διειπεῖν ἀναγκαῖον (*it is necessary to speak of what are the mutterings of each of them, and the[ir] august stories*), is ܟܡ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܝܟ ܢܗܘܘܢ ܐܝܕܐ ܡܛܡܕܗܘܢ. ܘܐܝܠܝܢ ܐܝܪ

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[1] 148,30-1 [480,20-481,1].
[2] For a discussion of word order in the Syro-Hexapla, see Rordam, *Dissertatio*, 4-5; for other texts described as being similar, see e.g. Brock, *Pseudo-Nonnos*, 34.

ܒܐܪܥܐ ܐ݊ܝܟ ܐ݊ܝܬ ܗ݊ܘܢ ܩ݊ܘܡܝܗܘܢ. However, in the translation of the same words by Paul of Callinicum (quoted in Severus' *Philalethes*) the rendering is: ܩ݊ܘܡܝܐ ܕ݊ܝܢ ܐ݊ܝܬ ܒ݊ܠܚܘܕ ܕ݊ܐܠܗܐ. ܛ݊ܠܝ ܗ݊ܟܢ ܓ݊ܝܪ ܐ݊ܦ ܕ݊ܐܝܬܗܘܢ ܒܐܪܥܐ. It can be seen that Paul is set on reproducing the εἶεν, whereas RF allows nominal sentences to exist as such in the natural idiom. Similar concern for equivalence at this level can be seen in the two renderings of παρ' ἑκάστῳ, the non-repetition of the indefinite pronoun and so on. Paul nevertheless, like RF, does not like Cyril's ironic σεμνά and makes it more prosaic with the addition of ܠܐ.[1]

We will explore the contrasts between these two versions further at a later stage. The greater formal equivalence that is indicative of Paul's style of the 530s, especially in the rendering of verbs, is, however, more evident in our other texts. Let us, therefore, describe the most common techniques adopted by each translator and the consistency with which he uses them, and thereby attempt to classify the differences between the translators in their approach to this issue of verbal forms.

Quod Unus sit Christus

The constant restructuring of the syntax of the sentence in this text means that we cannot meaningfully describe any consistent technique under this head, i.e. there is no formal correspondence that is carried out systematically, although tense values are obviously roughly retained.

Inconsistency is to be found also in the ways of representing εἶναι. Sometimes its omission in the Greek can be supplied with ܐܝܬܘܗܝ/ܐܝܬܝܗ; sometimes a full participle ὤν/ὄντα can be reduced to the simple ܗܘ idiom, but in some places ܐܝܬܘܗܝ is used for ἔστι in a straightforward manner, or otherwise even for ἦν.[2]

Explanatio Duodecim Capitulorum

In this text what we may call 'tense equivalency' is respected quite carefully. The types of formal equivalency described below are typical of a number of our texts, as we shall see as we proceed.

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[1] RF 45,3-4 [10,14-15] = *FC 135*, in Severus' Philalethes, Hespel, *Philalèthe*, 79.

[2] 714,7 [f.50vb]; 715,17 [f.51rb]; 715,40 [f.51va]; 716,33 [f.52ra]; 735,40 [f.64rb].

In general, finite verbs are rendered with a high degree of consistency and simplicity. Greek present indicatives are rendered with verbal participles (cf. Nöldeke §269), usually with the enclitic pronoun following to specify person; imperfects with the participle + ܗܘܐ for a past continuative sense (cf. Nöldeke §277), and futures with the imperfects.[1] Greek aorists and perfects are consistently translated with the perfect, making no distinction between the two in past time reference. However, where the Gk perfect has a clearly present time reference, the Syriac will usually try to reflect this by the use of the participle instead, as if they were grammatically present – thus ὁ ἀναθεματισμὸς κατακέκραγε...ὁμολογεῖ, in which the verbs should be taken coordinately, is rendered as ܚܪܡܐ...ܩܥܐ...ܘܡܘܕܐ, and βεβαπτίσμεθα is treated as both present and passive in meaning and rendered ܥܡܕܝܢܢ. The translation of κατὰ γέγραπται as ܟܬܝܒ ܐܝܟ should be considered in the same category (see below, under participles).

The following passage provides examples of the main equivalencies of this type, along with an approach to existential and nominal clauses, typical among our texts, which can properly be called formal equivalence: the main verbs ἀπομεμένηκεν and εἰργάζετο are respectively ܦܫ and ܗܘܐ ܣܥܪ; the subordinate circumstantial present ptcs γεγονώς, ὑπάρχων and ἔχων are rendered with ܟܕ ܗܘܐ, ܟܕ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ and ܟܕ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ respectively; the impf ἐπλήρου within the subordinate result clause is ܡܫܡܠܐ ܗܘܐ while the perfect μεμένηκε and ptc. γεγονώς, being repeated within this subordinate clause, are again ܦܫ and ܟܕ ܗܘܐ respectively, as we would expect.[2]

The translation of Greek participles offers a wider range of options for our translator, usually depending on their wider syntactical function, of which he is always acutely aware. Where the translator estimates that the participle has a subordinate time function, or acts as a concessive subordinate clause, he will use ܟܕ to introduce the clause, but where he reckons it as merely circumstantial he will often omit this. Where the main verb is present, ܟܕ will be used to ensure that the distinction between the subordinate and principal verbs is maintained. To give an example of how distinctions

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[1] 17,22 [f.15va]; 22,28[f.19rb].
[2] 23,20-4 [f.19vb].

of meaning can be made: in the following sentence, Cyril refers to the Fathers οἱ...ἐν τῇ τῶν Νικαέων πόλει συναγηγερμένοι καὶ...τὸν τῆς πίστεως ὅρον ἐκτιθεμένοι πιστεύειν ἔφασαν... [*who gathered at Nicaea and, laying down the boundary of the faith, said that they believed...*]. The first participle is perfect while the second is present, broadly indicating that the former precedes while the latter is contemporary with the main verb (in fact, it is effectively synonymous with it). The translator's solution is to create a relative clause with a perfect, ܐܬܟܢܫܘ...ܕ, for the first partciple, ܒܕ + ptc ܣܝܡܝܢ for ἐκτιθεμένοι and another perfect for the main verb. In this way, the meaning is made quite plain.[1]

Infinitival objects of verbs are most often expressed with ܕ followed by an impf verb where the infinitive is present, a pf where it is aorist, e.g. τολμῶντες λέγειν = ܕܡܡܪܚܝܢ ܕܢܐܡܪܘܢ and κεχρῖσθαι λέγεται = ܕܐܬܡܫܚ ܐܡܪܝܢ respectively.[2] On just six occasions the Syriac infinitive with ܠ is used, e.g. παθεῖν οὐκ ἀνέχεται = ܠܐ ܡܣܝܒܪ ܠܡܚܫ ܠܡܚܫ or after θέμις or δεῖ.[3] With the article + infinitive construction, a number of variations are used; most commonly ܕ ,ܗܝ + pf for aorist infinitives (μετὰ τοῦ μεῖναι = ܗܝ ,ܕܟܬܪܬ ܒܬܪ) and + impf for present infinitives (τὸ οὕτω φρονεῖν ἤ λέγειν = ܗܝ ,ܕܗܟܢܐ ܐܘ ܕܢܐܡܪ ܕܢܬܪܥܐ); on occasion, however, the ܗܝ, can be omitted or some other syntax used, such as where τοῦ πλημμελεῖν becomes ܕܢܣܟܠ (*sic*, in the plural).[4] The infinitives of indirect speech are treated slightly differently from those which are direct objects. ܕ introduces the indirect speech and the infinitives are then treated as finite indicatives, i.e. presents become verbal participles, perfects and aorists become perfects etc.[5]

Initially, the method for dealing with εἶναι seems straightforward. The future is rendered with the simple imperfect ܢܗܘܐ, the present with the composite construction of ܐܝܬ + suffix, and the imperfect with ܐܝܬ + suffix + ܗܘܐ.[6] This leaves the opportunity for using the perfect form ܗܘܐ for past-referencing forms of verbs of 'becoming', usually the aorist and perfect of γίγνομαι, with its perfect participle

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[1] 17,1-2 [f.15ra].
[2] 21,14 [f.18rb]; 22,13 [f.19ra].
[3] 17,13 [f.15rb]; 20,8 [f.17va]; 16,11f. [f.14va].
[4] 20,29 [f.18ra]; 21,27f. [f.18vb]; 22,8 [f.18vb]; 24,21 [f.20va].
[5] Examples of each respectively: 17,3 [f.15ra]; 19,1 [f.16va] and 18, 15 [f.16rb].
[6] 15,24 [f.14ra]; 15,27 [f.14ra] et passim; 17,11 [f.15rb] et passim.

turned into ـ + ܟܘܢ.[1] However, no distinction is made between εἰμί and ὑπάρχω, one of Cyril's favourite verbs, the latter being treated in like manner to the former on all occasions.

As with other verbs, the translator fails to make a consistent distinction between circumstantial participles and main finite verbs, since ܐܝܬ + suffix is used in both cases, as well as for both ὤν and ὑπάρχων. On occasion, the translator can be bold enough to use older Syriac idiom and omit any sort of expressed copula in a nominal sentence where the Greek will tend to prefer one, thus ἔστιν τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων = ܕܠ ܫܟܝܚ, and again once in indirect speech.[2] The infinitive εἶναι is most often rendered with ܕܢܗܘܐ, and τὸ εἶναι with ܗܘ ܕܢܗܘܐ, which successfully maintains the distinction from γίγνεσθαι and γένεσθαι, although deviating from the usual pattern of ܕ + finite verbs for present infinitives. Again, however, we can find the occasional inconsistency, for within a single passage the genitive phrase τοῦ εἶναι θεός appears twice and yet is rendered by ܗܘ ܕܢܗܘܐ once and then by ܟܘܢ ܕܢܗܘܐ.[3] The use of the perfect of φαίνω is also used by Cyril to express real existence (especially of the incarnation), and this is again treated as if it were the present of εἰμί, i.e. ܕܢܗܘܐ and the same is true again of ἐμπεφυκός, the perfect participle from φύω.[4] Thus we can see that while the distinction between 'being' and 'becoming' is maintained, the translator does not make any attempt to differentiate different ways of predicating existence. The reduction of forms of ὑπάρχειν to forms of ܐܝܬ occurs frequently in our other texts also.

Moving onto modal forms: purpose clauses with ἵνα + subjunctive or optative are consistently rendered with ܕ + impf, though once with ܕ ܐܝܟ + impf.[5] Once, we have a purpose clause with εἰς + article and infinitive, but this is translated as a normal article + inf.[6] Subjunctives in conditionals are rendered as though they were indicatives; thus present subjunctives become verbal participles, in contrast to the preceding type of construction in which they would be rendered as imperfect verbs.

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[1] 16,3 [f.14rb] et passim; 17,21 [f.15va]

[2] 21,27[f.18vb]; 20,2 [f.17rb].

[3] 17,10 [f.15rb] and 17,21 [f.15va].

[4] 23,9 [f.19va]; 23,22 [f.19vb].

[5] 17,21 [f.15va] for the subj.; 16,13 [f.14va] for the opt.; 21,2 [f.18ra].

[6] 19,28 [f.17rb].

The same is true of the apodoses of result clauses.[1] The ἄν of the conditional is never imitated. Genitive absolutes are treated much as if they were subordinating participial clauses of any other type, merely with a different subject from that of the main finite verb, a syntactical device which fits neatly in the Syriac syntax just as it is stylistically unacceptable to the relatively Atticistic Greek of Cyril – thus we almost always see the usual ܟܕ + ptc (see 24,10-12 [f.20rb] for an example of both types, a genitive absolute and a subordinate participial clause, of which the subject is identical with the subject of the main verb, placed side-by-side with exactly the same Syriac syntax). On two occasions, the translator chooses the use ܐܝܟ ܡܐ ܕ as an alternative, as also is used occasionally for normal participles (see above).[2]

Scholia de Incarnatione

This text shows just the same set of equivalents as those just described as being standard for EDC. Tenses are treated carefully, with impfs distinguished from aorists/pfs and ܟܕ is used consistently for the ptcs.[3] In the result clause, ܐܝܟ ܡܐ ܕ + impf is found for ὥστε + infinitive,[4] but there is some degree of variation in the use of the Syriac infinitive for its Greek equivalent, it being most commonly used where the Greek infinitive is simply the object of a verb, and not usually in places such as the ὥστε clause.

The translator always uses ܐܝܬܘܗܝ to express the copula in all its forms, adding ܗܘܐ for the impf, ܕܢܗܘܐ for the infinitive.[5] Where this produces a difficulty, periphrasis is the solution, rather than an over-rigid adherence to *signifiant*, thus ὅπερ ἦν καὶ ἔστι καὶ ἔσται has to become ܗܘ ܡܐ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ, ܗܘܐ ܘܐܝܬܘܗܝ, ܘܐܝܬܘܗܝ.[6]

Ep39

Similar rules are, on the whole, observed in this text as we saw under EDC. These should be considered as the standard equivalencies among translators for whom formal equivalence is the ideal.

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[1] 18,14 [f.16ra].
[2] 16,15f. [f.14va]; 22,17f. [f.19ra].
[3] 220,2-3 [f.22ra].
[4] 219,13 [f.21va].
[5] For assorted examples of the different forms, see 219,10 [f.21rb]; 220,18 [f.25va]; 219,12 [f.21va]; 221,24 [f.26vb]; 221,25 [f.26vb].
[6] 222,31 [f.30vb].

Normal present tense indicatives generally become participles, aorists become perfects, and imperfects become the compound ptc + ܟ̈ܘܐ (cf. Nöldeke §277).

For subordinate participles (i.e. those that give circumstances or time references etc. to the main verb), ܟܕ+pf is used for aorist ptcs and ܟܕ+ptc for present ptcs; where the Gk participle is simply an attributive adjective, the Syriac will have ܐ or ܕ + ptc. or pf. (depending on the tense of the Greek ptc.) or a corresponding adjective of some other sort – for example, ܕܐܬܝܠܕ for γεννηθέντα.[1] There are, however, occasional violations of tense equivalency within these methods, such as when present ptcs may be turned into a relative clause with perfect tense verbs.[2]

Infinitives are usually rendered with their counterparts where this fits with the Syriac idiom – thus φιλοψογεῖν εἰωθότες becomes ܕܥܝܕܝܢ ܠܡܛܢܝܘ; but where infinitives are used as objects of verbs of speaking, thinking etc. we see the normal Syriac ܕ+ptc./pf. (depending on the tense of the Greek infinitive[3]), or perhaps an imperfect where the sense is modal, e.g. ܡܫܬܐܠܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܢܣܒ for [οὐ] φέρεσθαι παραιτούμενοι;[4] sometimes a simple adjective may be used – so δεῖν ᾠήθην is ܐܬܚܫܒܬ ܕܐܠܝܐ.[5] Into the same category falls the Greek article + inf. also rendered with a preposition + ptc/pf, e.g. διὰ τὸ σαρκωθῆναι καὶ ἐνανθρωπῆσαι as ܕܐ...ܐܬܒܣܪ ܘܐܬܒܪܢܫ.[6] These patterns for the infinitive are a little less rigid than those found in the 7th century Syro-Hexapla.[7]

Syriac imperfects can be used for a variety of purposes, which include 3rd person imperatives of the 'let us...' variety – so ܢܬܒܣܡܘܢ for γελάσθωσαν and ܢܫܬܘܐ for καταξιωσάτω[8] – as well as for futures and subjunctives in subordinate clauses. We noted above that imperfects can be used for infinitives in *oratio obliqua* when the

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[1] 17,11 [f.150va]; the sentence 17,21-25 [f.150vb-f.151ra] provides an excellent example incorporating almost all of these elements, both finite verbs and participles, in a short space.
[2] As happens, for example, at 17,18-20 [f.150vb].
[3] Note that Syriac does not distinguish perfects from aorists, thus πεφλυαρηκότες is ܕܗܘܘ ܡܠܠ just the same as if it were φλυαρήσαντες (18,8 [f.151ra]).
[4] 19,17 [f.152ra].
[5] 18,1 [f.151ra].
[6] 17,16 [f.150vb].
[7] See Rordam, *Dissertatio*, 42-8.
[8] 18,7 [f.151ra]; 19,2 [f.151va].

translator considers the sense modal (e.g. in the previous examples where [οὐ] φέρεσθαι παραιτούμενοι may be taken as 'praying that we might not be brought') and the same frequently happens in unfulfilled conditions; however, where the conditional εἰ μή + impf (protasis)...pf.+ἄν (apodosis) is rendered as ܐܠܘ + ptc. + ܗܘܐ (protasis)...ptc. + ܗܘܐ (apodosis), he has correctly understood the unfulfilled past time conditional with ἄν and translated this modal nuance by using ܐܠܘ with its idiomatic ptc + ܗܘܐ construction.[1] These sorts of approaches allow for a significant influence of natural idiom over against a precise formal equivalence – i.e. the real *force* of the Greek is the major concern for the translator. Thus they do *not* show the sorts of calques used by 7th century versions (starting with Harklean and Syro-Hexapla) to express subjunctives and forms of ἔχω etc. Even here in Ep39, the form ܩܕܡ ܗܘܘܢ is used for ἵνα ἔχωσιν,[2] a good idiomatic compound tense in a subordinate clause of purpose, where the Harklean would have rendered ܠܗܘܢ ܐܝܬ ܗܘܘܢ.[3] Elsewhere, however, ἵνα + subj. is rendered with ܕܟܡܐ + impf.[4] However, the past copula ἦν is usually translated with the calque ܗܘܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ - it is essentially devised as a way of giving a declinable past conjugation to ܐܝܬ. The use of this method is standard in this text and frequently elsewhere also.[5]

This text (*Ep39*) has a policy of using ܟܕ+pf for genitive absolutes, even where the genitive participle is present tense. There is some inconsistency, however, for in the construction Παύλου...προκομίσαντος...καὶ διαβεβαιουμένου, instead of ܟܕ + ptc., he uses the construction ܕ ܡܢ + pf...ܟܕ + ptc., but with the second element governed by a preceding inserted ܗܘܐ ܐܡܪ as a way of making the interconnections more apparent.[6]

Ep40

In those passages (and this includes at least the first eight of twenty-one chapters) where the editing is fairly free (as described earlier) there is too little concern with the

[1] Cf. Nöldeke §375A; the unreal conditional in past time is expressed with a pluperfect in protasis and aorist in apodosis (cf. Smyth, *Greek Grammar*, §2310f.), but the Syriac does not press the tense equivalence here.

[2] 16,2-3 [f.149vb].

[3] E.g. Jn 17.14.

[4] 16,2-3 [f.149vb] and see Nöldeke §261 for the idiom; 16 9-10 [f.150ra].

[5] E.g. 18,23 [f.151va]. The construction is discussed in Brock, *Aspects of Translation Technique*, 83.

[6] 15,26-7 [f.149vb]; 16,23-4 [f.150ra].

smaller translation units to make a useful analysis of verbal forms – although these formal correspondences are not wholly absent, hence, e.g., he aims to reproduce the imperfect ἠρώτων with its equivalent ptc + ܪܘܐ, despite the fact that throughout most of the chapter the clauses are so re-structured and re-presented that there can be no sort of consistent formal equivalence.[1]

Even in the passages which stay much closer to the source text, Ep40 will tend to use a greater variety of idioms, although following in the main the principles described above for Ep39. So we see, for example, circumstantial participles rendered with ܟܕ, ܕ + ptc. as well as ܟܕ + ptc., whereas among the stricter translators the former seems to be retained for representing genitive absolutes only.[2]

However, there is a concern to use ܐܝܬܘܗܝ for forms of εἶναι rather than simply using the Syriac idiom of enclitics, thus ἄψυχον εἶναι φημὶ τὸ σῶμα becomes ܕܠܐ ܢܦܫܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܠܓܘܫܡܐ.[3]

Ep44

This translator tends to keep very close to the 'rules' which we have laid out already; there are very occasional alterations – thus, for example, the aorist ptc followed by present tense main verb, ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἑνώσαντες...ὁμολογοῦμεν is rendered as ܚܢܢ ܓܝܪ ܟܕ ܡܚܝܕܝܢ...ܡܘܕܝܢܢ as if the ptc had been present, and yet exactly the same aorist ptc. is rendered in another place 'correctly' as ܡܢ ܕܚܝܕ.[4] Elsewhere, we have a present ptc, ܡܬܚܫܚܝܢ, for a (possibly 'gnomic') perfect κέχρηνται. There is a little uncertainty over perfect participles, such that τὰ εἰρημένα, are ܐܡܝܪܝܢ but τὰ πεπραγμένα are ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܣܥܝܖܢ.[5]

The translator does try to develop the use of infinitives for infinitives, but is somewhat inconsistent in applying this, thus χρή + inf. is rendered with ܙܕܩ + impf. once and then ܙܕܩ + inf. in the very same sentence.[6] The article with infinitive is

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[1] 22,8 [27,9].
[2] 28,26 [36,9].
[3] 29,21 [37,14].
[4] 35,13 [54,19] and 35,16 [54,24].
[5] 36,25 [56,21] and 37,7 [57,8-9].
[6] 35,7-8 [54,9-11].

regularly ܕ [ܘ݂]ܗܘ + impf, although the demonstrative is sometimes omitted. [1] However, there is no real attempt to distinguish moods, with ὅταν ἔλθῃ rendered the same as ὅταν ἔρχεται would have been.

Also this text uses ܗܘܐ ܡܐܝܬܝ for ἦν (as we have seen already) much more consistently than does Ep45 or Ep46 (below), which do so only occasionally, [2] although again he may use the phrase even where there is an ellipsis in the original. [3] For the infinitive he tends to use the impf alone without adding ܡܐܝܬܝ as some later translators would.

Ep45

The translator of this text is somewhat freer with his verbal forms than the previous texts; for instance we see much less distinction between present and aorist participles, the latter being frequently rendered with ܟ + ptc. as if they were present ptcs.; genitive absolutes are turned into relative clauses to try to avoid any difficult formal equivalence; and there is an example where, within a series of Syriac imperfects being used for the subjunctives in a purpose clause, he will translate a circumstantial *present* participle with ܟ + impf., presumably in order to communicate the *unreal* modal nuance of the whole clause. [4]

The article + inf. construction is rendered with the 'more developed' ܕ ܗܘ on 3 out of 7 instances, with simple ܕ being used also 3 times (in the other a noun is substituted).

We also see a great deal more freedom with the existential sentences. He does not feel bound to represent ἐστίν with any equivalent (such as ܡܐܝܬܝ), as his language renders it superfluous; thus in 25 studied instances of the copula 13 did not use any form of ܐܝܬ, with 11 making use of the form ܐܝܬ + suffix. Elsewhere he may add ܡܐܝܬܝ where there is ἦν rather than ἐστίν. [5]

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[1] e.g. 37,1-2 [56,25].
[2] 36,1 [55,9]; 36,6 [55,17] and again l.18.
[3] Such as in εἰ δὲ οὐχ ὁμοούσιον, where ἦν should be supplied 36,6 [55,18].
[4] e.g. 155,12 [44,6]; 152,21-2 [41,1-4]; 155,25-7 [44,25-29].
[5] e.g. 151,18 and 152,18; 152,19 [40,28].

Ep46

In general, the same level of flexibility of form is true for this text as for the previous. The attitude to ἦν and ἐστίν is similar. There are instances of ὅπερ ἦν rendered as ܐܝܟ ,ܡܐܕܐܝܬܗ, as if the original were ὅπερ ἐστι; but elsewhere ܗܘܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ is used as well. Simply ܗܘܐ can also be used for εἶναι.[1] Again, we see the tense of circumstantial participles being ignored with ܟܕ + pf sometimes used for pres ptcs and ܟܕ + ptc sometimes used for aorists.[2] In the former case, the verbs do actually refer to a perfective aspect (given that the main verb is aorist) and hence it makes for quite natural reading that they should be in the perfective in the Syriac too. Elsewhere we can see an awareness of tense still being maintained – where the apodoses of two neighbouring conditionals differ in tense, one being subjunctive, the other perfect, the translation has an imperfect and a present participle respectively.[3]

Ep50

Again, there is quite a degree of flexibility in verbal forms - ܗܘܐ ܩܘܝ for the aorist ἔμεινε, ܗܘܐ ܐܬܚܙܝ for ἔδοξεν, and ܗܘܐ ܫܘܐ for an aorist infinitive ἠξιῶσθαι.[4] There is a general reluctance to over-use the infinitive, and abstracts such as τὸ λογίζεσθαι καὶ νοεῖν ordinarily become ܡܬܚܫܒܘ ܘܪܢܝܐ.[5] This text also tends to use ܕܠܐ even in its quotations from opponents, instead of finding a more precise equivalent to the various forms of φημί which are used by Cyril.

In the use of ,ܡܐܕܐ and ܗܘܐ, there is some inconsistency. On the one hand we find ܗܘܐ ܐܝܬ for ἦν and ,ܡܐܕܐ ܗܘܐܝ for τὸ εἶναι, whereas sometimes he has simple ܗܘܐ. In another place, finding ὃ ἦν τε καί ἐστιν, he renders the verb only once, as ܡܢ ܗܘܐ ,ܡܐܕܐܝܬܗ. It seems that the method adopted for the past copula does not really allow for a distinctive expression for an emphasised present copula (as we have here) without the Syriac idiom being too much violated, and this translator has taken the easier route.[6]

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[1] 158,18 [48,7]; 160,20 [50,16-17] and 160,25 [48,23]; 158,19 4 [48, 8].
[2] e.g. 159,2-3 [48,24-5]; 158,8 [47,19].
[3] 161,20-5 [51,26-52,2].
[4] 93,18 [f.142va]; 91,14 [f.141ra]; 95,24 [f.144ra].
[5] 94,3 [f.142vb2].
[6] 91,12 [f.141rb]; 98,12 [f.145vb]; 92,8 [f.141va]; 98,17 [f.146rb].

Ep55

In general we see a higher consistency of equivalency in this text than in the previous few. For instance, a very high proportion of simple infinitives, especially when used as objects of previous verbs, are mirrored with a Syriac infinitive, though there is the sort of inconsistency seen in χρὴ ἔχειν καὶ διαμεμνῆσθαι = ܚܝܝ ܚܘܩܕ ܦܕ ܐܝܩܚܝܟܠܐܘ (non-parallel constructions).[1] When we come to the article + infinitive construction there is a little more variety still: there is a roughly equal split before those times he will use the demonstrative, ܕ ܘܗ + impf., and those when the impf. with ܕ will be used alone, such as ܚܝܚܝ...ܕ for τὸ δύνασθαι, with the inconsistency sometimes being quite plain: τὸ ἀπολεσθεῖν...τὸ ὑπνοῦν = ܝܢܘܚܝܕ...ܚܝܚܝܕ ܘܗ.[2]

When we consider the special case of εἶναι, again we can see the translator moving forwards towards a mirror technique while still remaining conservative at other times. Thus ܐܘܗ ܝܗܘܬܝܐ is fairly common for ἦν and ܬܝܐ in general well-used for representing the copula. But sometimes the old Syriac idiom recurs, thus πολλοὺς ὑποτοπήσαντες εἶναι τοὺς θεούς (*imagining the gods to be many*) becomes simply ܐܗܠܐ ܢܘܢܐ ܐܐܝܓܣܕ ܘܪܒܣܐ.[3] Of 12 instances of the use of the infinitive εἶναι, the Syriac uses some form of calque on 8 occasions, but even these are uneven, thus ἀποπεφοίτηκε οὐδαμῶς τοῦ εἶναι θεός = ܐܗܠܐ ܐܘܗܢܕ ܘܗ ܢܡ ܥܝ ܐܠ ܕܒ, but οὐκ ἀποβαλὼν αὐτὸς τὸ εἶναι ζωή = ܐܝܚ ܝܗܘܬܝܐ ܐܘܗܢܕ ܘܗ ܢܡ ܘܗ ܥܝ ܐܠ ܕܒ,[4] the latter being the more advanced form of calque, which would become standard for the Harklean.

Contra Orientales/Contra Theodoretum

Alterations from the basic tense equivalencies set out above are not common, but crop up from time to time. In the apodoses of conditionals, aorists become past habitual constructions more than once; present habitual is used for future indicative, ܐܚܝܟ ܬܝܐ for προσεποίσω and ܝܘ ܝܘܗ for ἐσόμεθα; as also for the impf. ἡγίασται.[5] Only rarely will the translator attempt to reflect modal forms in the Syriac, using a number

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[1] 49,25-6 [2,11-2].
[2] 49,27-8 [2,14]; 50,3-5 [2,21-2].
[3] 51,34-52,1 [6,2-3].
[4] 58,29-30 [18,20]; 59,4 [19,14-5], which has a parallel at 61,2 [23,10-11].
[5] e.g. 33,34 [f.91vb] and 37,22 [f.93va]; 39,28 [f.94va]; 40,24 [f.95ra]; 39,30 [f.94va].

of different methods, e.g. ⲁⲟⲙⲕⲁ ⲕⲩⲥⲟ (lit. *is able that it should be*) for εἴη ἄν; elsewhere, he uses an extra verb to try to catch the nuance, so οὐ φαίη τις becomes ⲕⲁ ⲓⲥⲣⲕⲁ ⲟⲩⲁⲕⲓⲥⲟ ⲡⲓⲕ (*no-one would be persuaded to say...*); but more often the subjunctives/optatives are ignored and treated as indicative.[1]

Just as such paraphrastic methods are used for certain modal tenses, so sometimes participial forms find their equivalents in non-equivalent grammatical categories. So a circumstantial participle, φαινόμενος, can become a noun phrase, ⲥⲥⲓⲥ; or even an adverbial phrase can be substituted: τάξαντος θεοῦ = ⲕⲟⲩⲕⲟⲩⲕⲓⲥⲟ ⲕⲟⲩⲕ.[2] As everywhere, the use of ⲓⲥ for circumstantial participial clauses, including genitive absolutes, is most common. However, there are occasional variations, such as the use of ⲓ ⲕⲕⲩⲥⲟ for a genitive absolute, and ...ⲁ ⲁⲓⲥⲟ (a form more commonly used for the infinitive) used, for example, for a circumstantial participial clause following a genitive absolute – the translator evidently wants to distinguish the two with different Syriac constructions;[3] in general it is true that the translator often makes subjective judgments on the meaning of such a subordinate clause and moulds his Syriac accordingly, thus, for example, choosing ⲁ ⲕⲥⲟ instead of ⲓⲥ where he feels that the clause is really time-based.[4]

Substantive participles receive a variety of alternative renderings, usually signified by some sort of preceding demonstrative – such as ⲕⲥⲓⲕⲥⲟⲁ ⲟⲙ for νοουμένος; τὸ λεγόμενον = ⲕⲓⲥⲣⲕⲕⲥⲟⲁ ⲕⲩⲣⲕ ; τὸ εἰρημένον = ⲕⲓⲥⲣⲕⲕⲣⲕⲁ ⲕⲩⲣⲕⲁ ⲟⲕ (as if for added emphasis of the direct object); and such as ⲟⲩⲥⲩⲟⲙⲁ ⲅⲩⲣⲕ for τοὺς πιστεύοντας where the tense has changed.[5]

The translator prefers not to use Syriac infinitives, and renders instead Greek infinitive constructions with ⲁ constructions – a straightforward ⲁ + impf for infinitives that are direct objects of verbs and ⲁ ⲁⲓⲟ + pf/impf for the article + infinitive.[6] It is not uncommon, however, for some more dynamic equivalent to be found, such that, for

[1] 39,19 [f.94rc27]; 40,22 [f.95ra]; and for the more usual treatment 40,7 [f.94vc].
[2] 34,19 [f.91vc]; 38,9 [f.93vc6].
[3] 40,20f. [f.95ra]; 38,7 [f.93vb] and 40,18 [f.95ra]; 33,21f. [f.91va].
[4] 33,17 [f.91rc].
[5] 34,20 [f.91vc]; 35,13 [f.92rc]; 38,19 [f.93vc]; 36,16 [f.93ra].
[6] E.g. 33,23 [f.91va], but passim; 34,27 [f.92ra] or 34,36 [f.92rb]

example, the concept of τὸ εἶναι is simply the noun ܟ̈ܘܢ, while nouns phrases are used elsewhere, e.g. σιγᾶν = ܟܘܬ, μερίζειν = ܦܠܓ ܦܘܠܓܐ. We even have παραλύειν οὐκ ἀζήμιον (*it is not harmless to loosen*) becoming ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܠܐ...ܕܝܢ ܕܐܢܫ ܕܢܫܪܐ ܠܗ ܕܠܐ ܢܟܝܢܐ (*That anyone should loosen, it is not without harm to him*).[1]

As in most other texts, the different existential verbs are generally treated indifferently. Thus ܐܝܬܘܗܝ and its forms may be used not just for parts of εἰμι but also for the verbs ὑπάρχω, γίνομαι, and even for ὑφεστάναι.[2] But as so often, there is inconsistency, thus the phrase θεὸς ὤν (*being God*) is ܗܘ ܐܠܗܐ in one place, then immediately followed by τῷ ὄντι θεῷ as ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܠܗܘ, using the fuller expression.[3] These equivalencies will be further noted in their proper place, below.

Responsiones ad Tiberium

Unsurprisingly the equivalence here is very high, and deviations are mostly to be put down to textual variation or error. The equivalences themselves are largely the same as we have seen already in the other texts and the greatest lack of formal equivalency, as in the others also, is to be found in object verbal clauses (e.g. purpose, result) where the Syriac uses a ܕ clause and has to use finite verb forms rather than the infinitives and participles used in the Greek.

The translation of forms of εἶναι is noticeably even more consistent than we have generally found elsewhere. ܐܝܬ + enclitics is always used for the present indicative and the same + ܗܘܐ for the impf. In addition the form ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܕܗܘܐ ܗܘ is used for the phrase τὸ εἶναι, instead of just ܕܗܘܐ ܗܘ as we might expect elsewhere.[4]

3. iii. Formal equivalence of other constructions

Quod Unus sit Christus

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[1] 37,5 [f.93rc]; 33,21 [f.91va7]; 40,10 [f.94vc]; 40,17f. [f.94vc-f.95ra].
[2] For εἰμι, ܐܝܬܘܗܝ is found passim; for the others see e.g. 35,3 [f.92rb]; 40,23 [f.95ra].
[3] 35,29f. [f.92va].
[4] e.g. 172,7 [477,14], and 148,12 [459,20] for an example in the negative.

There is no particular consistency with regard to such matters as the resumptive particle. Thus there is no ܘܗ for the resumptive article in the phrase ὁ λόγος ὁ παρὰ θεοῦ, but sometimes something similar is provided, e.g. for τοῖς ποιμνίοις ὑπὲρ ὧν Χριστὸς ἀπέθανε (*to the sheep on behalf of who Christ died*) becomes ܠܗܘܢ .ܪܥܝܝ̈ܐ ܕܡܝܬ ܠܚܘܕ ܠܦܘܬܗܘܢ.[1]

As with native writers, so this translator uses proleptic suffixes plentifully, regardless of the Greek wording, thus having ܚܟܝܡܝܗܘܢ ܕܝ̈ܘܢܐ for Ἑλλήνων οἱ σοφοί.[2] There are also plenty of examples of alterations of number, and there is no need to represent categories such as participle and adjectival phrase with their formal equivalents, hence e.g. τὰ διεστραμμένα is ܡܥܩ̈ܠܬܐ and τῇ φιλανθρώπῳ χάριτι = ܒܛܝܒܘܬܐ ܡܚܒܬ ܐܢܫܘܬܗ.[3] Adjectival and adverbial phrases can readily undergo a change of category, e.g. ܒܛܝܒܘܬܐ ܡܚܒܬ ܐܢܫܘܬܗ for τῇ φιλανθρώπῳ χάριτι, or ܒܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ for οἰκονομικῶς.[4]

Explanatio Duodecim Capitulorum

As in customary Syriac usage, ܠ as an accusative marker is used only sporadically, usually only where there may be some ambiguity in identifying the object, for example where the direct object is to be distinguished from its predicate, thus ἰδίαν ποιησάμενος σάρκα becomes ܥܒܕܗ ܕܝܠܗ ܠܒܣܪܐ, or note the similar situation in an indirect statement, in which πιστεύομεν υἱὸν εἶναι Χριστόν becomes ܡܗܝܡܢܝܢ ܓܝܪ ܕܒܪܐ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ; though there are other occasions where there appears to be no special reason for its use.[5] The ܠ marker can also be used for indirect objects, of course, and can even appear for both within a single clause (ὅτε γέννησιν εὐηγγελίζετο τῇ παρθένῳ ὁ Γαβριήλ = ܟܕ ܠܝܠܕܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܣܒܪ ܠܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܓܒܪܝܐܝܠ.[6] Sometimes in indirect speech the accusative subject can be left unwritten because Syriac uses a finite verb with ܕ which thereby provides its own subject (thus συνῆφθαί φασιν αὐτόν 'they say that he was united' = ܕܐܬܚܝܕ ܐܡܪܝܢ). Accusatives that might be considered adverbial can

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[1] 714,7-8 [f.50vb]; 715,15-16 [f.51rb].
[2] 714,11 [f.51ra].
[3] 714,11-12 [f.51ra]; 715,6 [f.51rb]; 715,36-7 [f.51va].
[4] 715,36-7 [f.51va]; 719,32 [f.54ra].
[5] 18,4 [f.15vb]; 20,2 [f.17rb]; e.g. 16,8 [f.14va].
[6] [22,5f. [f.18vb].

even be rendered with adverbs (e.g. ὀρθὰ φρονεῖν = ܩܝܝܬܐ ܒܪܝܥܝܬܐ), another instance of the grammatical flexibility occasionally on show in this text.[1]

The translator is similarly sensitive to the variety of meanings attaching to the use of the genitive. Thus partitive genitives are usually with ܡܢ while for a phrase such as τῆς τινων ἀθυροστομίας ἡττώμενον (*in thrall to the garrulity of certain men*), he finds a better expression, ܐܬܚܝܒ...ܕܐܝܬ ܕܢܣܒ ܚܝܠܐ, and where the genitive simply stands for the object of a verb such as καταφλυαροῦσιν the usual ܠ marker is used. As usual, there are flashes of idiom, which go down as inconsistencies only from the point of view of strict equivalence of grammatical forms, thus the unit ἐστιν τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων (*it is of things of great stupidity*, or just, *it is very stupid*) becomes just ܕܠܝ ܫܛܝܘܬܐ.[2]

The treatment of the dative shows a similar range, with most datives becoming simply ܒ, those that might be thought of as locative having ܠ or ܠܘܬ (e.g. ταῖς ἑαυτῶν εἰσοικίζουσιν ψυχαῖς = ܒܢܦܫܬܐ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ). Again on rare occasions, the delicate balance of Greek cases has to be slightly altered for Syriac - ἑτεροφυᾶ τῷ σώματι τὴν ψυχὴν (*that the soul is of a different nature from the body*) becomes ܕܐܚܪܢܐ ܗܘ ܟܝܢܐ ܕܦܓܪܐ ܡܢ ܕܢܦܫܐ (*that the nature of the body is different from that of the soul*).[3]

While normal possessive pronouns are consistently rendered with possessive suffixes in the Syriac, some of the other syntax of possession is dealt with significantly more freely. The reflexive ἑαυτός, when simply emphasising possession is treated as if it were αὐτοῦ/αὐτῶν, and this can happen even in instances where the possession seems emphatic and significant, such as in reference to the unchangeability of the nature which truly belongs to the godhead of the Logos. However, where the word is used as a substantive constituent part of the sentence ܢܦܫ is often found, although this is not common, e.g. καθῆκεν ἑαυτόν = ܐܚܬ ܢܦܫܗ.[4] In contrast to the reduction of emphasis just mentioned, we often also see an increase in emphasis by the use of the Syriac ܕܝܠ + suffix where there is only αὐτοῦ, often when linked with crucial terms such as

[1] 19,1 [f.16va]; 19,14 [f.17ra].
[2] 15,23 [f.14ra]; 15,29 [f.14rb]; 21,27 [f.18vb].
[3] 15,22 [f.14ra]; 18,28 [f.16va].
[4] 15,22 [f.14ra]; 18,3 [f.15vb]; 24,10 [f.20rb].

οὐσία; there is an instance of a quite unemphatic ἀνθρωποτής αὐτοῦ followed by a highly marked αὐτοῦ ἀνθρώπινον in which *both* are rendered with ܠܝ, which looks like an attempt at formal consistency were it not that αὐτοῦ is more usually translated with the suffix alone.[1] ܠܝ may also be the method of choice where the governing noun, by being compound in Syriac, would have difficulty in taking a suffix (e.g. ܫܝ ܠܝ ܪܝܣܘܒ).[2] ܠܝ is most usually reserved, unsurprisingly, for ἴδιος. Only very occasionally is this rule broken, with a single instance of the reduction of ἴδιος to a simple suffix and one instance of its complete omission – the latter can be more easily put down to oversight, the former is inexplicable given the importance of the term in question (ܚܝܐ) and the consistency elsewhere, although a similar treatment is given to the parallel οἰκεῖος on two occasions.[3] These variations on normality are rare enough to 'prove the rule' and yet frequent enough to be evidence that the work of translation is not yet entirely dogmatically conceived.

The variety of methods used for relative and assumed relative clauses again shows how formal equivalence prevails while still being subject to the need to convey meaning as accurately as possible. Thus compare how EDC and the Peshitta deal with the difficult oblique relative of Jn 10.35, πρὸς οὓς ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγένετο: EDC has ܪܐܠܩ ܪܠܒܐ ܗܘܡܝ ܐܢܘ ܠܥ, which tries to follow each word as it comes, but the Peshitta has ܪܐܠܩ ܪܠܒܐ ܗܘܡ ܠܘܬܗܘܢܝ ܠܘܬ, which is more periphrastic.[4] Ellipsed relative pronouns are very frequently supplied with ܝ, hence the common τῷ ἐκ θεοῦ φύντι λόγῳ = ܐܬܐܠܝ ܪܐܠܩ ܡܢܝ ܪܠܒܠ.

Where there is a resumptive article, the rules of formal equivalence require also a demonstrative before the ܝ, thus συνάφειαν ...τὴν κατά γε μόνην τὴν ἀξίαν is made quite explicit as ܝܘܠܒ ܪܝܐܪܬܝ ܟܪܝ ܗܝ ܪܗܘܣܡܝ.[5] This practise is even more evident in the recapitulation of prepositions, thus εἰς ἄνθρωπον...τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου becomes ܪܬܝܠ ܪܠܠܒ ܡܢܝ ܗܘܒ...ܪܟܝܪ ܝܒ.[6] While this is very common

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[1] 17,14 [f.15rb]; 20,4f. [f.17rb].

[2] 24,11 [f.20rb].

[3] 20,22 [f.17vb]; 25,4 [f.20vb]; 15,30 [f.14rb], where governed by νοῦς, and 18,18 [f.16rb], where governed by δόξα ἤ φύσις.

[4] 21,10 [f.18rb].

[5] 24,9 [f.20ra]; 19,6 [f.16vb].

[6] 20,29-21,1 [f.18ra] and again 23,23 [f.19vb]

there is an instance of apparent omission of the relative particle: τοῦ ζωογονοῦντος λόγου = ܚܝ̈ܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ not ܕܡܚܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ; such also may be the construction of σάρκα τὴν τοῦ θανάτου δεκτικήν =ܕܡܘܬܐ ܡܩܒܠܢܝܬܐ ܒܣܪܐ.[1]

Finally, an example of *signifiant* over *signifié*: ἐστιν ὁ αὐτός is rendered as ܗܘ ,ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ (*he is what he is*), the true meaning being '*he is the same*', which in more idiomatic language (as elsewhere in this text and always in the 'early' groups) should be ܗܘ ܟܕ ܗܘ ,ܐܝܬܘܗܝ. The translator of EDC has made a clear choice based on form rather than meaning.[2]

Scholia de Incarnatione

As with the verbs, so throughout the grammar of this text, formal equivalence is the norm. There are exceptions, however, and where necessary the categories will be changed. Thus an adjective for an adverb, ܒܐܬܪܘܢܐܝܬ for συμβολικήν, or an adjective rendered with a prepositional phrase, ܕܢܒܝܘܬܐ for προφητικῇ, and the singular to a plural, ἐν παντὶ κακῷ to ܒܒܝܫ̈ܬܐ ܟܠܗܝܢ.[3] When we see that ܐܪܥܢܝ is used both for τοῖς ἐπὶ γῆς and for γηΐνου, we can see that strict categorisation is not always possible for this translator – he is not sufficiently concerned about the distinction between the terms to force a categorical differentiation upon them.[4]

The resumptive pronoun is almost always included and wherever the article needs to be expressed, such as ܡܛܠ ܗ̇ܘ ܕܐܬܡܫܚ for διὰ τὸ κεχρίσθαι. In general, however, the Peshitta's term ܐܢܫ rather than Harklean's ܚܕ is used for the indefinite pronoun.[5]

Again, the phrase ἀσυγχύτους ἀλλήλαις τηροῦντες αὐτάς is translated as ܢܛܪܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܟܕ ܠܐ ܡܒܠܒܠܝܢ ܒܚܕ̈ܕܐ, where other translators might easily have just written ܕܠܐ ܒܠܒܘܠܐ. This translator has a care for grammatical categories.[6]

If we look at the whole sentence,

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[1] 25,4f. [f.20vb]; 25,20 [f.21ra].
[2] 21,7 [f.18rb]; 17,13 [f.15rb].
[3] 219,18 [f.21va]; 219,18 [f.21va]; 219,27 [f.21vb].
[4] 219,28-9 [f.21vb] and 219,29 [f.21vb].
[5] 220,2 [f.22ra]; 220,10 [f.22rb]; 219,23 [f.21vb].
[6] 222,33 [f.31ra].

ἑνοῦσθαι δέ φαμεν καὶ τὰ ἀλλήλοις κολλώμενα ἢ γοῦν συνενηνεγμένα καθ' ἑτέρους τρόπους ἢ κατὰ παράθεσιν ἢ μῖξιν ἢ κρᾶσιν.

ܒ ܗܟܢ ܕܡܬܐܝܚܕܝܢ ܐܦ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܢܩܦܝܢ ܚܕ ܠܚܕ ܐܘ ܒܢܘܡܝܢ ܠܐܠܚܪܢܐ ܐܝܙ̈ܐ ܐܘ ܒܣܝܡܐ ܐܘ ܒܚܘܠܛܢܐ ܐܘ ܒܡܙܓܐ.

we can see the overall attempt at formal and word-for-word correspondence, even where Cyril is being formulaic and repetitive [note the use of ܕܐܝܬܘ for explanation of the compound].[1]

Ep39

In general the level of formal equivalence is very high in this text, and elements such as ܠ for marking the direct object are reasonably common. There are some places where the idiom is treated a little more freely. Thus the contrastive pair ἀσφαλῆ and ἐξαίρετον are understood as adverbs rather than adjectives for πίστιν, although still contrasted with their ܚܬ and ܢܝܕ.[2]

Later, we have an example of the translator's felt need to communicate sense and meaning overcoming his desire for equivalence of forms. There is in the text διά + accusative twice in one clause followed by twice more in the next sentence.[3] However, the first pair are teleological or purposive and therefore translated with ܡܛܠ, while the latter two are the grounds of the belief being expressed and thus are rendered with ܥܠ. This shows an awareness of nuances within the Greek that can only be derived from context and a desire to encode these nuances in the wording of the new version.

There are other instances of this sense of meaning and a desire to convey it where the Greek is not as clear as it might be. Thus διαβεβαιουμένοις (*for those who affirm*) is translated as ܥܠ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ (*because we say*), the preposition being used to show the

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[1] 220,15-16 [f.25va].
[2] 16,1-2 [f.149vb].
[3] 17,12 twice [f.151va] and 17,14-16 twice [f.151vb].

datival relationship more clearly and the agent of the action, *we*, also being made apparent, even though the preceding ἡμῖν has already been rendered with ܠ.[1]

Ep40/Ep45/Ep46

Here we may make reference back to a sentence referred to previously, in which we saw how, in the context of restructuring a clause, the translator turned a direct object into an adverb and a substantival clause constructed out of article + inf. into a straightforward noun phrase. These are the sorts of changes made when the semantic content of each word is retained but the grammatical interrelationships between them can often be altered quite significantly.[2] In these texts, this sort of transformation is reasonably common, and differentiates these texts fundamentally from such as EDC, where a set of carefully worked-out rules are applied and only a potential ambiguity or lack of clarity in meaning would persuade the translator to alter the grammatical forms.

To give some examples from Ep45: in a substantial portion analysed, all 3 instances of the reflexive pronoun were wholly omitted, the conjunctions ἵνα and ὥστε were always (6 instances) translated with simple ܕ rather than the ܕ ܡܛܠ or ܕ ܐܝܟ that we find later; the preposition κατά was rendered with ܒ mostly (9 out of 13) but could equally well be with ܐܝܟ or altered altogether; and μετά + gen. could be either ܒ or ܥܡ.

Small periphrases which result in changes of grammatical form are extremely common, such as ܢܟܬܘܒ ܗܠܝܢ for ταῦτα γράψαι.[3] This can even involve nouns being turned into their cognate verbal forms, such that λέγεται...ἀνασχέσθαι δὲ καὶ ὕπνου καὶ ταραχῆς καὶ λύπης is ܐܬܐܡܪ...ܕܢܣܝܒܪ ܘܡܬܛܪܦ ܘܡܬܟܬܫ.[4]

Ep50

We have already noted how this translator has made such transformations as noun phrases into verb phrases and vice versa and this naturally prevents any consistency of

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[1] 18,4 [f.151ra].
[2] Ep46, 161,13-14 [51,15-16], see above under Sentence Restructuring, Ep46.
[3] Ep45, 151,10 [39,8].
[4] Ep45, 155,21-2 [44,19-20].

formal equivalence. He has little concern for keeping the forms of the Greek constructions if they do not easily move into Syriac (although where they do, there is little problem). Thus a double negative such as οὐκ ἀψύχος is quite naturally turned into a positive statement, although this might be said to detract somewhat from the force of Cyril's argument, which involves the denial of a soul-less Christ. However, this would be tricky in the Syriac since both the οὐκ and the negatory ἀ would have to become ܠܐ.[1] Overall, the technique is comparable to Ep40/45/46 just described.

Ep55

Only occasionally here will meaning overcome form to the extent that verbal phrases will become nominal ones, τοῖς...ἀσκοῦσι becoming ܐܝܠܝܢ ܒܥܡܠܐ, 'those in the labour' rather than 'those who labour', and instead of the apodosis ψευδοεπήσειεν ἄν οὐδαμῶς the version has the noun phrase ܠܝܬ ܘܠܐ ܚܕ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܗܕܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܩܠܦܗ.[2]

On occasion the translator's grammatical simplifications can produce a misunderstood rendering, such as for δι' υἱοῦ ἐν πνεύματι, where the different prepositions are ignored and the phrase rendered as ܒܝܕ ܒܪܐ ܘܪܘܚܐ, even though the semantic weight of Cyril's statement really relies on the two prepositions having quite different meanings.[3]

Sometimes the translator gets himself into difficulty, such as when he uses ܐܠܐ for ἀλλά to introduce an apodosis – this can be put down to the odd reading of εἴπερ οὐ at the beginning of the sentence which the translator must have read in his text.[4] He will sometimes change singulars to plurals, and sometimes vice versa.[5]

Contra Orientales/Contra Theodoretum

We have noted previously regarding this text that, while it generally maintains careful equivalents for the different syntactical constructions, there can still be found a more flexible approach from time to time. Thus, while a Greek noun will almost always be a Syriac noun, we do find exceptions – where Cyril writes ἆρ' οὖν εἰς ἕνα τῶν καθ'

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[1] 92,1 [f.141va].
[2] 49,3 [1,6]; 53,4-5 [8,6].
[3] 53,15 [8,22].
[4] This reading is from PR (Schwartz), 52,11 [6,18-19].
[5] For the former, 'holy doctrine' 50,4 [2,21]; for the latter 'confessions and opinions' 50,33 [4,6] and 'pious teachings' 51,6 [4,18].

ἡμᾶς κοινὸν ἄνθρωπον ἡ πίστις; (*is the faith [i.e. 'do we believe']* in one man like and in common with us?*), the translator ignores the unusual use of the noun and treats it as though it read the expected πιστεύομεν. Elsewhere phrases such as ὀρθὰ φρονεῖν can be rendered as ܩܒܝܠ ܐܝܟ ܕܙܕܩ....ܐ.[1]

In general, our translator is consistent in using ܠ to mark direct objects with are definite in the Greek and omitting it where they are indefinite; proleptic pronouns before direct objects are common but by no means universal, thus we have from time to time forms such as ܠܚܛܝܬܐ ܢܒܛܠܝܗ for ἵνα καταργήσῃ τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, where the object suffix of course stands for no direct equivalent; further, Syriac idiom is used where direct objects would not be appropriate – thus where νοσέω can take μανία as direct object, in Syriac ܒܗ must, and does, take ܒ.[2]

Proleptic possessive pronouns before genitive constructions with ܕ are, of course, found everywhere. A whole variety of Syriac prepositions may be used for Greek genitival relationships depending on the interpretation of our translator, including ܠܥ where the sense is one of opposition, or ܡܢ where it is partitive etc.[3] Again, sometimes, an adjectival phrase may the best way of rendering the Greek genitive idiom, thus for τῆς ἀγάπης τὸ γνήσιον we have ܚܘܒܐ ܫܪܝܪ, where the Syriac adjective replaces the head noun, and again for στρατιαὶ τῶν πνευμάτων we have ܪܘܚܢܐ ܚܝܠܘܬܐ, where the adjective replaces the genitive noun.[4] We find a similar range with the Greek datives; especially where they follow compound verbs that naturally take dative objects, we find various Syriac prepositions, e.g. ܠܩܒܠ following compound verbs with ἀντί or παρά, ܒ being used frequently in this situation.[5]

Possessive pronouns are dealt with without much consistency. Frequently forms of the reflexive ἑαυτός are reduced to simple suffixes; occasionally he will render the sense of it by using ܢܦܫ, and a number of times in the same way even by using ܩܢܘܡ, the use of which is quite at variance with our other texts, which never use the word except

[1] 36,24 [f.93ra]; 40,5 [f.94vb].
[2] 36,14f. [f.92vc]; 40,24 [f.95ra].
[3] e.g. 33,19 [f.91rc]; 33,17 [f.91rc].
[4] 33,32 [f.91vb]; 36,5 [f.92vb] – the syame on ܪܘܚܢܐ, supplied from [erroneous] ms omission .
[5] 33,18 [f.91rc]; 34,1 [f.91vb].

as an equivalent for ὑπόστασις – the one exception being RF, who does use it in this sense (see below, under lexical equivalence for ὑπόστασις).[1] Sometimes, possessive suffixes can appear without any Greek equivalent, e.g. for καρδίας or φύσεως, even ܠܗ can be used where there is no Greek possessive as well as for simple αὐτοῦ, and conversely the Greek ἴδιος can become either ܠܗ or just a suffixed pronoun.[2] There are plenty of examples of all these types of renderings, showing little consistency or leaning towards any particular method.

Relative and demonstrative pronouns are usually simple enough. He likes to use of feminine ܗܕܐ for the neuter plural ταῦτα. There is an interesting idiom in ܐܝܟܢ ܗܕܐ which is used for τοιῷδε, and again, in the plural, τὰ τοιάδε is ܐܝܟܢ ܗܠܝܢ; this construction is also used for the expression οὕτω τῇ λέξει (*a word such as this*) which is considered as synonymous with τῇ τοιᾷδε λέξει. Another such expression, namely ܐܝܟ ܕܠܩܘܒܠܐ is used for ὅσος as well – the nuances of these terms are obviously of concern to the translator who does not want to reduce them simply to mere personal or demonstrative pronouns.[3]

Responsiones ad Tiberium

We have pointed out already how some of AT's literalist renderings leave the Syriac ambiguous or may even be signs of an erroneous understanding of the Greek. His constant use of the preposition ܒ to render κατά is sometimes involved in this sort of error. Thus δὲ οἴονται...ἠγνοηκέναι τι Χριστὸν καθ' ὃ νοεῖται θεός becomes, by means of formally rendering each part according to his own principles, ܣܒܪܝܢ ܕܠܐܠܗܐ .ܡܕܡ ܟ̈ܣܝܢ ܒܗ, ܕܡܣܬܟܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ. which Ebied and Wickham understandably translate as "they suppose that Christ was ignorant of a fact about God" (treating ܡܣܬܟܠܗ as Ethpael) although the Greek equivalent must really mean "they suppose Christ to have been ignorant of something insofar as he is thought of as God."[4] The Syriac could still be taken this way (if ܡܣܬܟܠܗ were taken as Ethp'al), but, perhaps ironically, the translator's attitude to formal equivalence of the syntax actually leads to greater, and not to lesser, ambiguity.

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[1] 33,14 [f.91rc] and 34,2 [f.91vb]; 38,15 [f.93vc]; 37 5 [f.93rc]and 38,21 [f.94ra].
[2] 33,16 [f.91rc] or 35,35 [f.92vb]; 34,6 [f.91vb]; 38,2 [f.93vb]; 36,27 [f.93rb].
[3] 34,32 [f.92ra]; 35,6 [f.92rb]; 39,20 [f.94rc]; 40,21 [f.95ra]; 38,3 [f.93vb] and again 39,30 [f.94va].
[4] 150,12-13 [461,14-15].

4.i Lexical equivalence

We will deal first with a range of key (mostly Christological) terms, noting in each case how each of our translators deals with them, whether with consistent equivalence or with variation. We will then describe more generally levels of lexical equivalence in each text.

4.i (a) Organised by terminology

σάρξ σῶμα and their derivatives

The significance of these terms lies both in the level of consistent equivalence which we may find, which itself tells us about translation styles, but also in the calibration that we can make with the changing terminology for the credal term σαρκωθῆναι. De Halleux has analysed the evidence for the changing terms.[1] He shows that the older Syriac Christology preferred ܪ‍ܝ‍ܒ‍ܫ ܠ‍ܒ‍ܫ. This phrase, the famous 'clothing metaphor' of Syriac literature, we come across in various early translations such as those of Basil's *De spiritu sancto* and Proclus' *Tomus* as well as, more famously, in the wording of the Eastern creed of 410.[2] The clothing metaphor is a typically Antiochene expression and was used freely by Theodore. By contrast, in the revised portions of Proclus' *Tomus*, as found in ps-Zechariah Rhetor's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, this sort of language is clearly avoided, and the same is true of the 7th century revisions of both these translations. It was developed originally due to a repugnance to the term ܪ‍ܣ‍ܒ‍ܐ, but it too came under severe pressure well before Philoxenus' day, for it seems to have been replaced by ܐ‍ܬ‍ܒ‍ܫ sometime in the fifth century, probably in response to Christological issues. As it is found in Narsai, it cannot be considered a usage of the Cyrillian party only.

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[1] De Halleux, *La Philoxénienne du symbole*. See also De Halleux, *Philoxène*, 371. The work of Gribomont, *La catechèse*, somewhat anticipated and, though unacknowledged, lay the ground for the De Halleux thesis.

[2] See Taylor, *De Spiritu Sancto*, and Van Rompay, *Proclus*, for details of these texts. For the creed of 410, Vööbus, *Symbol*, 295 and De Halleux, *Séleucie-Ctésiphon*, 163. In general, see Brock, *Clothing Metaphor*.

Philoxenus started his career, therefore, using the term ܐܬܒܫܡ, which he states to have been the standard formula of his day,[1] and which we find in his early work (*Contra Habbib*). De Halleux has further sifted the evidence from the western collections of canons (Add 14528, Add 14525, Vat.Syr.82) and concluded that the subsequent alteration of this term to ܐܬܒܣܡ occurred under Philoxenus' own patronage in c.500, on the grounds that such neologisms were clearer and did justice to the Greek philosophical genius.[2] He uses the new term in his later works (*Letter to Monks of Senoun, Commentary on the Johannine Prologue*). It seems then that Philoxenus ordered not just a new version of the New Testament to make up for the deficiencies of the 'Nestorianising' language of the older translators, but also one of the creed. The influence was immediately felt, as the new terms are found in Paul of Callinicum, especially when translating the credal formulae in Severus' *Cathedral Homilies*.[3]

On this basis, De Halleux believes we can better elucidate the histories behind otherwise obscure text traditions. He uses his new criteria on the Apollinarian and Athanasian texts and also, albeit briefly, on some of the Cyrilline texts here studied (Ep40,45,46,55).

In the RF, σάρξ is most usually ܐܪܣܒ. Even without further qualification, this is worthy of note, because ܐܡܣܒ is the term most commonly found in the Peshitta. Indeed, within the Biblical citations, where ܐܡܣܒ is used, RF tends to keep the Peshitta's wording.[4] However, ܐܡܣܒ is used in the main text as well on occasion. As far as technique is concerned, the most significant fact is that he feels he can use the two as synonyms and mix them up, apparently for stylistic variation alone. Thus ܐܪܣܒ and ܐܡܣܒ are used almost alongside each other in one place.[5] To make the point even clearer, in one passage he will use ܐܡܣܒ for σάρξ, ܐܪܣܒ for σῶμα, then

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[1] De Halleux, *La Philoxénienne du symbole*, 303. See, for instance, its common usage in one of Philoxenus' early dogmatical letters, De Halleux, *La Deuxième Lettre de Philoxène aux Monastères du Beit Gaugal*, §21.

[2] We can, of course, compare the well known 'deficiencies' of the Syriac language deplored by Philoxenus in his discussion of 'mixture' in Ephrem (De Halleux, *Moines de Senoun*, 51). It is here also that he mentions the issue of the language of 'becoming man'.

[3] Gribomont, *La catechèse*, 153.

[4] See further below on Rabbula's relationship to the Peshitta text, as well as the discussion in Vööbus, *Rabbula* and Black, *Rabbula*.

[5] 57,7&9 [73,2&5] and again 70,9 [138,4].

immediately followed by ܒܣܪܐ for σάρξ (!), and then in another he uses both ܓܫܡܐ and ܒܣܪܐ for σάρξ, followed by the use of the latter again but this time for σῶμα.[1] We also see both ܐܬܒܣܪ and ܒܣܪ for ἐνανθρώπησις as well as ܓܘܫܡܐ for σωματικός.[2] ܒܣܪܐ is also used consistently for ναός in reference to the 'body' of Christ in preference to the more literal equivalent ܗܝܟܠܐ which we find in the other versions.[3] The translator has no fear of the so-called 'clothing metaphor' and will even use it to translate solid Cyrilline formulae such as διὰ τὸ ἡνῶσθαι τῇ σαρκί.[4]

QUX has a fairly consistent σάρξ/ܒܣܪܐ equivalency (although on occasion the term is omitted entirely) but ܒܣܪ tends to be found in citations and allusions of Jn 1.14;[5] κατὰ σάρκα is thus ܒܒܣܪܐ or ܒܣܪ most of the time, but can also be ܒܒܣܪ.[6] σάρκωσις is undistinguished from this, also as ܐܬܒܣܪ.[7] Nor is any distinction made for σῶμα which is also generally ܒܣܪܐ.[8] When it comes to the language of 'incarnation' however, there is a different picture. On occasion, the translator is quite content to use the clothing metaphor ܠܒܫ ܒܣܪܐ, both for the common γέγονεν σάρξ, and even where the Greek imagery is quite different, e.g. for ἀνασχέσθαι σαρκός (*the taking hold of the flesh*), or it can be omitted altogether, as when the phrase ἐν καιροῖς καθ᾽ οὓς ἐσαρκώθη is dynamically rendered as ܕܒܙܒܢ ܐܬܒܣܪ.[9] Even the credal σεσαρκωμένος can be translated with ܠܒܫ ܒܣܪ, and furthermore, after the expression ὄντα μετὰ φύσει τε καὶ ἀληθείᾳ θεόν the words ܗܘ ܕܠܒܫ ܒܣܪܐ are added as an explanatory gloss (see under editing above).[10] However, the straight verb σεσαρκωμένος is also found a few times as the 'neologism' ܐܬܒܣܡ as well as in the Aphel form ܒܣܡ.[11]

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[1] 65,2-5 [112,3-7]; 70,27-8 [141,6-8].
[2] 54,5 [58,3] and 44,26 [9,14]; 64,5 [107,4]; and see below for more on ἐνανθρώπησις.
[3] 53,5 [53,3], 53,21 [56,3] etc.
[4] 62,2 [97,1]; 70,27-8 [141,6], and in several other places.
[5] ܒܣܪܐ 717,16 [f.52va]; 720,19 [f.54va]; 720,40 [f.54vb]; ܒܣܪ 719,21 [f.54ra]; 720,13 [f.54rb].
[6] 716,37 [f.52ra]; 773,5 [f.91rb].
[7] 719,31 [f.54ra]; also 720,30 [f.54va]; 721,40 [f.55rb].
[8] 723,7 [f.56ra]; 777,39 [f.95ra].
[9] 767,37 [f.87ra]; 715,38 [f.51va]; 719,29 [f.54ra].
[10] 759,13-4 [f.80va].
[11] E.g. 737,3 [f.65rb] and 758,16 [f.79vb]; 715,32&35 [f.51va].

In the EDC, ܚܡܐ is used exclusively for σάρξ and ܦܓܪ for σῶμα (and ܡܓܫܡ for ἐνσωμάτος) showing a strong sense of consistent equivalence.[1] However, the verbal notion σαρκωθῆναι is rendered rather with ܐܬܒܣܪ and not the 'newer' form ܐܬܓܫܡ (and no distinction between σαρκωθείς and σεσαρκωμένος is made), and the abstract noun ܡܬܒܣܪܢܘܬܐ is found alongside.[2]

In SDI, again ܚܡܐ is used exclusively for σάρξ, also in the expressions κατὰ σάρκα (ܒܒܣܪ) and σαρκί (ܒܒܣܪ); also ܦܓܪ almost exclusively for σῶμα, though there are some exceptions to the latter equivalent.[3] ܒܣܪܢܐ is also found for σαρκικός and similarly ܦܓܪܢܐ for σωματικός.[4] Some little inconsistency means that while ἐνσώματον is translated as ܦܓܪܢܐ, ἀσώματον can be ܕܠܐ ܓܫܡ in one place, but ܕܠܐ ܦܓܪ in another.[5] The translator shows his careful distinguishing faculties where he uses ܒܣܪܢܐܝܬ and ܒܒܣܪ respectively for σαρκικῶς and κατὰ σάρκα when the two are being used in close proximity.[6] For the verbal form, however, we find ܐܬܒܣܪ for ἐσαρκώθη, as in EDC, along with its noun ܡܬܒܣܪܢܘܬܐ.[7] This latter is an interesting form, typical of EDC and SDI in particular. While it signifies a movement towards creating a tight and precise terminology, it seems unaware of the Philoxenian option ܡܬܓܫܡܢܘܬܐ. SDI also carefully excludes the 'clothing metaphor' by using ܫܩܠ ܐܠܗܐ as a translation of the Gk θεόφορος, where Cyril is repudiating the term as a description for the incarnate Christ.[8]

Ep39 uses ܚܡܐ and ܦܓܪ consistently in the same way, save for one place where ܦܓܪ is used for σάρξ.[9] ܐܬܒܣܪ is again used in the credal citation for σαρκωθῆναι.[10]

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[1] E.g. 18,4 [f.15vb] and 18,26 [f.16rb]; the Nestorian versions of the anathemas also tend to have ܚܡܐ, but in one crucial place insist (even in the revised versions) on ܦܓܪ (see Part 3.iv.b on the anathemas for this significant point); for ἐνσωμάτος 18,6 [f.15vb].

[2] 20,3 [f.17rb] et passim; for the noun 20,27 [f.18ra].

[3] 220,11 [f.22rb]; 221,3 [f.26rb]; ܦܓܪ 219,29 [f.21vb]; ܒܣܪܐ for σῶμα at 221,33 [f.27ra].

[4] 224,10 [f.40va]; 223,27 [f.31vb].

[5] 222,8 [f.27ra]; 222,3 [f.27ra] and 224,35 [f.41rb].

[6] Extant in Latin only, but the underlying Greek behind carnaliter...secundum carnem is obvious enough, 205,35 [f.41vb].

[7] 222,15 [f.30va] and 225,7 [f.41va] etc; the noun at 197,7 [f.33vb].

[8] 199,4 [f.35va].

[9] 18,24 [f.151va].

[10] 17,16 [f.150v].

In Ep40 ܪ̈ܝܣܐ is most commonly used for σάρξ, ܪ̈ܝܣܐ appearing a few times, with ܪ̈ܚܐܘܝܣܐ also for σάρκωσις.[1] However, in one place the translator uses ܐܬܒܣܪ for σεσαρκωμένος followed almost immediately by ܐܬܒܣܪ for σαρκωθῆναι – the first being the term Philoxenus substituted for the second.[2] It may be that the translator is distinguishing middle and passive senses of the verb, but that would hardly fit with his techniques elsewhere. If we accept De Halleux's proposition that ܐܬܒܣܪ is clearly a post-Philoxenian term, then we could conclude that this version is post c.500. We have already seen on other grounds, however, that this is not the case, for we can date the text before 484, and this earlier date matches well with the high degree of freedom with which the translator in general treats his text (see under 'editing' above). The use of ܐܬܒܣܪ here may force us soon to revise some of our understandings of Philoxenus' role in the development of translation techniques.

There is a middle/passive distinction also in Ep44 where σαρκωθείς is rendered as ܐܬܒܣܪ while the middle σεσαρκωμένος is translated with the Pael ܡܒܣܪ, the latter being used in the Cyrilline μία φύσις formula. As we have seen, the distinction seems to have been taken into some consideration also in Ep40.[3]

In Ep45, we see another complex situation: although ܪ̈ܝܣܐ is generally used for σάρξ, there is an interesting exception, where ܪ̈ܝܣܐ is used in a citation of 2 Cor 5.16 even though ܪ̈ܝܣܐ is actually found (contrary to common usage) in the Peshitta at this point.[4] In total, ܪ̈ܝܣܐ is found in 13/15 instances of simple σάρξ For the phrase κατὰ σάρκα, however, ܒܣܪ is used; σάρκωσις is ܪ̈ܚܐܘܝܣܐ and σῶμα is always ܦܓܪܐ 15/17 times (ܪ̈ܝܣܐ for the other two).

The verbal forms show similar patterns to those mentioned before, the passive σαρκωθῆναι is ܐܬܒܣܪ in the credal phrase θεὸν ἐνανθρωπήσαντα καὶ σαρκωθέντα, but the σεσαρκωμένη of the Cyrilline formula is the Pael ܡܒܣܪ; however, the same middle form is rendered as ܐܬܒܣܪ in the very next section, even though this comes

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[1] 26,1 [32,10]; 27,1 [33,22].
[2] 26,9 [32,22].
[3] 36,12 [55,28] for the passive; 35,14 [54,20] for the middle.
[4] 156,7 [45,11].

in another credal 'quote' where Cyril uses ἐνανθρωπήσαντα καὶ σεσαρκωμένον.[1] The translator's distinction between the perfect middle and the aorist passive forms is therefore not carried through consistently; rather, it would appear that the Syriac form used depends on whether the creed or the Cyrilline formula is being quoted rather than on the form actually present in the Greek text.

Ep46 shows some variation from the norms that Ep45 seemed to set itself. Thus there are a couple of instances of ܒܣܪܐ for σάρξ as well as being normally for σῶμα; κατὰ σάρκα is ܦܓܪܢܝܬ in contrast to the normal ܒܣܪ of Ep45.[2] These sort of exceptions are much more common in this text than in Ep45; for example, ܒܣܪܐ is used where the Greek has σῶμα in one place, and ܦܓܪ can be used as well as the normal ܒܣܪܐ.[3] We then note that the less common term σάρκωσις is rendered as ܡܬܒܣܪܢܘܬܐ and ܐܬܒܣܪ is then also found for σεσαρκωμένος although, in line with Ep45, ܡܓܫܡ is more frequently used for this participle in the Cyrilline formula.[4] The use of ܐܬܒܣܪ harks back to the unexpected use of the same term in Ep40 above. Just to indicate finally the uneven nature of these terms in this text, we can note that τὰ σώματα is rendered as ܗܠܝܢ ܒܣܪܐ while τῇ χοϊκῇ φύσει in the very same sentence in ܒܟܝܢ ܒܣܪܐ despite the fact that the two are meant to be synonymous in the argument.[5] In general, the renderings in Ep46 are a good deal more varied and unexpected than in Ep45, which may count against Ebied and Wickham's assumption that they were translated by the same individual.

Ep50 shows a similar variety, although with fewer exceptions to the general rules, such as using ܦܓܪ for σάρξ; where we do find ܒܣܪ, it is usually under the influence of the Peshitta. We do, however, get ܒܣܪܐ for σάρξ on at least two occasions.[6] For κατὰ σάρκα we saw above in Ep45/46 the use of both ܒܣܪ and ܦܓܪܢܝܬ interchangeably, and both appear in close proximity also here, as well as ܦܓܪ.[7] σῶμα

[1] 152,17 [40,25]; 153,23 [42,20]; 154,3 [42,25]. It is also possible, of course, that the Vorlage of the Syriac had been amended and the second formula had σαρκωθέντα as the result of assimilation to the first, but this cannot be assumed.
[2] 159,4 [48,27] and 161,8 [51,7]; 161,17 [51,24]; 158,19 [48,8].
[3] 161,6 [51, 4]; 162,5-6 [52,11].
[4] 160,24 [50, 22]; 162,17 [52, 27]; 160,24 [50,22] and 162,17 [52,27].
[5] 161,6 [51,4-5].
[6] 91,16 [f.141rb]; 94,30 [f.143rb] and 99,30 [f.146vb].
[7] 91,27 [f.141rb] and 91,30 [f.141rb]; 95,3 [f.143va].

can be both ܪܒܣܘܩ (even in defiance of Peshitta 2 Pe 2.24) and ܪܒܣܐ.[1] ܐܬܒܣܪ is again predictably used for the passive σαρκωθῆναι.[2]

In general, Ep55 shows a greater level of one-to-one equivalence of terms, and therefore here we far more commonly have ܒܣܪܐ for σάρξ and ܦܓܪܐ for σῶμα, although there are instances of ܦܓܪܐ for σάρξ as well.[3] In this latter instance, ܠܒܫ ܦܓܪܐ is used for the 'clothing' metaphor ἠμπέσχετο σάρκα, which indicates that, although this translator uses at times Philoxenian terms such as ܐܬܒܪܢܫ, he nevertheless does not shy away from this metaphor as Philoxenus had urged. σαρκωθείς in the credal allusions is again ܐܬܒܣܪ (but twinned with the more novel ܐܬܒܪܢܫ), and the active ܡܒܣܪ for σεσαρκωμένος and ܡܬܒܣܪܢܘܬܐ for σάρκωσις.[4] In one quotation of the credal statement, however, it is omitted – perhaps best explained as an error or textual variant rather than a conscious choice.[5] Oddly, on one occasion ܒܣܪܐ is used as an equivalent for ἐξ αἵματος.[6]

In CO/CT, we find a set of terms reminiscent of the more flexible texts, Ep40 and 45/46. There is no absolute consistency, but σάρξ is ܦܓܪܐ almost all the time. The exceptions tend to come in the set phrases σάρκα γεγόνως/γενέσθαι, though even here ܦܓܪܐ is found.[7] Even in citation, ܦܓܪܐ is sometimes preferred to Peshitta's ܒܣܪܐ, such as in John 3.6, but not in John 1.14, the most crucial text of all.[8] In other set phrases, ܦܓܪܐ is also used, such that ܒܦܓܪ is equivalent for both μετὰ σαρκός and for κατὰ σάρκα, while the commonly used σαρκικῶς is always ܦܓܪܢܐܝܬ.[9] For both the aorist middle/passive σεσαρκωμένος (in the Apollinarian formula) and for the pf passive σαρκωθῆναι we have the now common formulaic ܐܬܒܣܪ and for the derived σάρκωσις we have ܡܬܒܣܪܢܘܬܐ (sic, not ܡܬܒܪܢܫܢܘܬܐ),[10] and that despite σαρκικῶς

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[1] 95,8 [f.143vb]; 92,1 [f.141vb].
[2] 91,20 [f.141rb].
[3] 54,8 [10,4].
[4] ܡܒܣܪ 56,38 [15,12]; ܡܬܒܣܪܢܘܬܐ 56,37 [15,10]
[5] 53,29-30 [9,12]; 54,14 [10,13].
[6] 53,1 [8,1], possibly under the influence of Peshitta 1 Cor 10.18.
[7] 35,21 [f.92va] and 35,29 [f.92va], but ܦܓܪܐ 37,4 [f.93rc].
[8] 35,28 [f.92va]; 35,21 [f.92va].
[9] 34,30 [f.92ra]; 35,22 [f.92va]; passim, e.g. 34,15 [f.91vc].
[10] 38,20 [f.94ra] bis and 45,27 [f.97vc].

being ܚ̈ܝܪܝܢܝ. σῶμα is not distinguished from σάρξ, being also rendered ܪܝܝ, while ἀσώματος is ܡܫܚ ܪܠ .[1]

AT has ܪܝܣܡ consistently for σάρξ but changes its policy for σῶμα apparently after question number 3 [146,14]; before this the term used is consistently ܪܡܟܐܝ, but afterwards it becomes ܪܝܝ. This may be evidence for a change of translator part way through this text. Even here, though, there are strange instances, such as when σωματοειδῆ is rendered as ܪܡܟܐܝܝ ܪܐܘ, even though the synonymous expression σώματος εἴδει is ܪܝܝܝ ܪܐܘ just a few lines later![2] In ch15 he uses ܡܫܚ ܪܠ for ἀσωμάτος while still rendering σῶμα with ܪܝܝ.[3] It is unfortunate that the verbal forms σαρκωθῆναι etc. are not used at all in this work. One would expect to find ܐܡܒܚܪ consistently, but we cannot be sure.

These patterns can also be neatly summed up in the variety of equivalents used for the common formula μετὰ σαρκὸς οἰκονομία. We get the following results:

De Recta Fide 67,6 [122,5] ܝܝܒܝ ܪܗܘܝܒܝ

Quod Unus sit Christus 715,30 [f.51va] ܪܗܘܝܝ

Explanatio Duodecim Capitulorum 16,1 [f.14rb] etc. ܪܝܣܡ ܝܒܝ ܪܗܘܝܒܝ

Scholia de Incarnatione 222,13 [f.30rb] ܪܝܣܡ ܝܒܝ ܪܗܘܝܒܝ

Ep40 29,12 [37,2-3] ܐܡܒܝ ܪܗܘܝܒܝ [the other instance, 29,26 omitted]

Ep45 153,12-3 [42,10] ܝܝܒܝ ܡܗܘܝܒܝ

Ep46 159,1 [48,22-3] ܪܐܡܒܝ ܪܗܘܝܒܝ

Responsiones ad Tiberium 154,10 [464,10] ܪܝܣܡ ܝܒܝ ܪܗܘܝܒܝ

Contra Orientales 34,30 [f.92ra] ܝܝܒܝ ܪܗܘܝܒܝ; 59,34 [f.105rb] ܝܝܒܝ ܡܗܘܝܒܝ

Contra Theodoretum 123,20 [f.113va] ܪܝܝܒܝ ܡܗܘܝܒܝ; 129,2 [f.115vc] ܡܗܘܝܒܝ ܝܝܒܝ

The significant point is not so much the ܪܝܝ/ܪܝܣܡ divide between RF/CO/CT and the others, but in the gradation from the periphrasis of QUX to the use of the simpler preposition ܒ in RF/Ep40/Ep46/CO/CT, and thence to EDC, SDI, and AT's use of ܝܒ

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[1] 44,12 [f.97ra]; 35,36 [f.92vb] and 37,13 [f.93rc]; 35,37 [f.92vb].
[2] 164,16 [472,9-10]; 166,10-11 [473,14].
[3] 178,5 [482,1].

as a more precise equivalent for μετά. If we look at instances of the simple phrase μετὰ σαρκός in other contexts, the point becomes clearer. For at CO 61,24 [f.106ra] Cyril argues that σαρκὶ and μετὰ σαρκός have the same meaning. In general, the translator of CO would use ܒܣܪ for both, but as the translation of the sentence would then become meaningless he recognises the need to be more precise and uses ܥܡ ܒܣܪ for μετὰ σαρκός in this context. CO's lack of consistency is thus evident even to himself. It is no surprise in addition that the phrase when used alone is always ܥܡ ܒܣܪܐ in Ep55, while in Ep50 it turns up as ܕܒܒܣܪ.[1]

ἀνθρώπινα, ἀνθρώποτης, ἐνανθρωπήσις

Here we have some further significant variation. Just as for σαρκωθῆναι, so Philoxenus, according to De Halleux, introduced the term ܐܬܒܪܢܫ into the text of the creed as the best rendering for ἐνανθρωπεῖν, in place of the long-used ܗܘܐ ܒܪܢܫܐ. Here too the Syriac 'clothing metaphor' comes into play, for, as we shall see, ܠܒܫ ܦܓܪܐ could be used for ἐνανθρωπεῖν as much as for σαρκωθῆναι. However, there can be no doubt that ܐܬܒܪܢܫ precedes Philoxenus, for the term is found in those of our texts which we know to pre-date his earliest work, and Philoxenus himself goes through a stage in his writings where he uses ܐܬܠܒܫ along with ܐܬܒܪܢܫ.[2]

In the RF we see a similar picture to that described for the earlier translations of Basil and Proclus. Thus in the RF the 'clothing metaphor', ܠܒܫ ܦܓܪܐ, is used for ἐνανθρωπεῖν, even though the term ἀναλαμβάνειν, which is used twice in the former section and might be considered more suited to an equivalent such as ܠܒܫ is omitted both times.[3] The clothing metaphor for the incarnation is used with other verbs as well, such as ἐνδύω and ἐμπλέκω.[4] The very fact that RF will use this sort of language for such important Alexandrian concepts as ἐνανθρωπεῖν and γίγνεσθαι ἄνθρωπος indicates his lack of a real awareness of the marked differences between Antiochene and Alexandrian Christology which only perhaps became better understood among the Syrians in the time of Philoxenus.

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[1] Ep55, 53,33 [9,16]; 57,33 [16,29]; Ep50, 96,5 [f.144rb].
[2] E.g. in the *Letter to the Monks of Palestine* (De Halleux, *Nouveaux textes I*, 37,115 etc.).
[3] 45,17 [14,4], 63,23 [105,4] etc.
[4] 53,21 [56,3]; 66,4-5 [117,6].

A very different approach marks our other texts. For instance in Ep45 μὴ σῶμα πεφόρηκε τὸν ἀνθρώπινον is [Syriac], which seems deliberately to avoid the suggested clothing metaphor of πεφόρηκε,[1] and in the same letter, as well as in Ep50, we find an ambiguity between 'man' and 'flesh' which is highly likely to be pre-Severan, at least in theology if not in date – ἐνανθρωπήσις being rendered with the expression [Syriac], exactly as if it were again the μετὰ σαρκὸς οἰκονομίας of the previous sentence.[2] Ep 46 uses [Syriac] for both ἐνανθρωπήσις and for κατὰ σάρκα, (instead of the usual [Syriac] or even [Syriac] for the latter), again showing no distinction between two key Christological terms, and Ep50 again does a similar thing.[3] QUX even omits the term when used in conjunction with σάρκωσις, the two being covered with [Syriac].[4] One might say that these translators show almost no awareness of what the Christological issues really were after Chalcedon.

The most common rendering for ἐνανθρωπεῖν in these letters (i.e. in Epp 45,46,50) is simply the traditional [Syriac] [Syriac] and not the [Syriac] neologism that Philoxenus introduced, despite the anomaly, mentioned above, that Ep46 occasionally has [Syriac] for σεσαρκωμένος.[5] The texts that show the more developed passive form [Syriac] are QUX (rarely), Ep39, Ep55, EDC, SDI, CO, CT and AT;[6] they also all make use of its derivative, [Syriac].[7] These show the clear influence of the Philoxenian revisions, which was lacking at least in the translators of other letters as well as, of course, in the RF. However, at least for Ep39, Ep55 and EDC [Syriac], and not the Philoxenian [Syriac] was used for σαρκωθῆναι (see previous heading). Either we can say that one of the revised terms found faster and more universal acceptance than the other, or that a 6th century revision has been carried out on these texts without being carried through at all completely, or, finally, that this use of [Syriac] pre-dates Philoxenus' revision

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[1] 153,16 [42,9].
[2] Ep45, 153,17 [42,10]; Ep50, 95,4 [f.143va].
[3] 158,20-1 [48,10]; 91,3 [f.140rb].
[4] 721,40-41 [f.55rb].
[5] e.g. Ep45, 152,17 [40,25]; Ep46, 158,13 [47,25]; Ep50, 91,20 [f.141rb].
[6] QUX 737,3 [f.65rb]; Ep39, 17,16 [f.150vb]; Ep55, 54,14 [10,13]; EDC 20,2 [f.17rb]; SDI 221,21 [f.26va]; CO 34,34 [f.92ra]; CT 126,26 [f.115ra]; AT 158,3 [467,6]; 162,8 [470,11] *et passim*; for the influence of Philoxenus here, see further above, under σάρξ *and* σῶμα *and their derivatives*, and especially De Halleux, *La Philoxénienne du symbole*.
[7] QUX 737,15 [f.65va]; Ep39, 17,2 [f.150rb]; Ep55, 53,22 [9,2]; EDC 18,5 [f.15vb]; SDI 222,23 [f.30va]; CO 33, 21[f.91va]; AT 162,21 [471,9].

and actually influenced his thought rather than vice versa. The use of ܡܒܪܢܫ clearly shows a desire for one-to-one equivalency, for the result of using ܒܪܢܫ ܗܘܐ for ἐνανθρωπεῖν is that it becomes indistinguishable from γέγονεν ἄνθρωπος, as happens in Ep45 and QUX, which despite the occasional use of ܡܒܪܢܫ in credal statements, usually have ܒܪܢܫ ܗܘܐ.[1] For the abstract ἐνανθρωπήσις, the more advanced texts will use ܡܬܒܪܢܫܢܘܬܐ, but older ones a mixture of terms, Ep45 having ܡܒܪܢܫܘܬܐ and ܕܡܢ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܡܬܒܪܢܫܢܘܬܐ once each.

In general, however, there is a tendency always to use ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ or ܒܪܢܫ for 'man' even where other translators may have opted for ܓܒܪܐ - witness the way Ep40 deals with Jn 8.39-40 where he follows the Peshitta exactly *except* that he uses ܒܪ ܐܢܫ instead of ܓܒܪܐ for ἄνθρωπος.[2] This lexical commitment extends into the abstract, though in slightly different ways: thus EDC shows a careful distinction between the abstract ἡ ἀνθρώποτης and the adj. ἀνθρώπινος, the first being ܐܢܫܘܬܐ and the second the adjective ܐܢܫܝܐ.[3] Later, however, while τὰ ἀνθρώπινα is, as expected, the plural ܐܢܫܝܐ, the singular form in the next clause, τὸν ἀνθρώπινον is rendered with the abstract noun ܐܢܫܘܬܐ as if it were ἡ ἀνθρώποτης, for which ܐܢܫܘܬܐ is one of the most consistent equivalents, not just in this text but everywhere.[4]

οὐσία and derivatives
Cyril seems to have used οὐσία in the same sense as φύσις, just as the terms were never distinguished in Trinitarian theology. The distinction between these words became an issue later on in the debates leading up to the ecumenical council of 553.[5] There is thus a development over time in its significance for Christology, but the precise timing of these developments is hard to gauge.

De Halleux's study on the Philoxenian creed touched also on the translation of ὁμοούσιος, especially the move from ܒܪ ܟܝܢܐ to ܒܪ ܐܝܬܘܬܐ which he brought about, at least within the official version of the creeds, although it does appear earlier, for

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[1] In Ep45 compare 153,16 [42,8] with 153,14 [42,6]; in QUX 716,38 [f.52ra] with 715,39 [f.51va].
[2] 27,30 [35,4].
[3] 18,17 [f.16rb] for both terms.
[4] 20,1[f.17rb]; 20,5 [f.17rb]; for ܐܢܫܘܬܐ elsewhere see e.g. CO 44,5 [f.96vc].
[5] See Lebon, *Christologie*, 454-67.

instance in the Acts of Sharbil and in Isaac of Antioch late in the fifth century. Although its invention cannot be attributed to Philoxenus, its widespread use begins only from him, and even later writers, e.g. Jacob of Serug, are often very attached to the older forms.[1] The loan ܐܘܣܝܐ and the concomitant ܒ ܐܘܣܝܐ and ܐܘܣܝܐ ܐܟ are not found in Philoxenus, but are used soon afterwards by Paul of Callinicum in his translation of Severus' *Cathedral Homilies*, not as his normal rendering (which remains ܒ ܟܝܢܐ or ܟܝܢܐ ܐܟ) but as an occasional experiment.[2]

In the RF, ܟܝܢܐ is almost always used for οὐσία, confirming that for both this text and Cyril, the word was essentially synonymous with φύσις, which is always ܟܝܢܐ in all our texts. RF even uses ܟܝܢܐ twice within the same sentence, once for φύσις, once for οὐσία.[3] However, in RF, ܟܝܢܐ is not such a technical term that it cannot also be used in other situations, such as for καθ' ἑαυτόν and for πρᾶγμα, where its use is unexpected because Cyril seems to be deliberately avoiding using φύσις at this point.[4] RF's use of ܟܝܢܐ for οὐσία evidences a less advanced stage than the translation of Titus of Bostra's *Contra Manichaeos*, made not after 411, in which ܐܝܬܘܬܐ is found. This marks it out as primitive.[5]

We continue to find ܟܝܢܐ in this context throughout most of our texts as the standard rendering for οὐσία, along with ܒ ܟܝܢܐ for ὁμοούσιος.[6] In addition, the use of ܟܝܢܐ is generally restricted to οὐσία and φύσις alone. In Ep45, the translator evidently considered them as synonymous because he reduces the hendiadys οὐσίαν ἤτοι φύσιν to just a single ܟܝܢܐ. In Ep46 the introductory question includes a number of instances

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[1] De Halleux, *La Philoxénienne du symbole*, esp 301-2. For the Acts of Sharbil, see Cureton, *Ancient Syriac Documents*, 43, a text which de Halleux seems to ignore in his survey. It is unusual in that the 'new' ܐܝܬܘܬܐ ܒ is found here alongside ܒܣܪ ܡܢ for the 'incarnate' of the creed. ܐܝܬܘܬܐ ܒ also seems to appear in the text of the Eastern creed of 410 (Chabot, *Synodicon Orientale*, 22) but the original text was probably ܒ ܟܝܢܐ (Vööbus, *Symbol*, 295, line 13, and De Halleux, *Séleucie-Ctésiphon*, 163, line 13).

[2] Gribomont, *La catechèse*, 146-7.

[3] 53,27-8 [57,1].

[4] 71,34 [147,6]; 72,22 [151,2].

[5] See Pedersen, *Demonstrative proof in defence of God*, 429. This underlines the point that changes in translation methods are not chronologically even, since Titus of Bostra was translated well before the *De Recta Fide* (only written c.430), and yet the latter known nothing of ܐܝܬܘܬܐ.

[6] Generally *passim*, but even also in more 'advanced' texts, e.g. in SDI ὁμοούσιος as ܒ ܟܝܢܐ at [223,40/f.40rb] and in Ep44 at 36,6 [55,18].

of both ὁμοούσιος and of φύσις, in Syriac [Syriac] and [Syriac] respectively.[1] This approach shows us both *why* the translator does not distinguish between them (because to Cyril they are synonyms) and also the difference between his technique of *signifié* as opposed to the *signifiant* approach of later translators who, coming across a passage such as this, would draw from Cyril's statement precisely the opposite conclusion from the same data, viz. that they *ought* to make a distinction between φύσις and οὐσία (because Cyril uses both words instead of only one) so that they can accurately represent what Cyril is saying.

QUX's loose method sometimes has [Syriac] for ὁμοούσιος in reference to the Trinity.[2] In EDC οὐσιωδῶς is [Syriac], showing none of the more advanced methods we otherwise see in this text.[3] Ep50 shows its freedom of treatment, using [Syriac] [Syriac] in quite an idiomatic fashion, such as in the phrase φύσει τοῦτο ὑπάρχων, where we would normally expect it to be used only for ὁμοούσιος.[4]

Although the term [Syriac] does crop up from time to time, such as in QUX where it renders ὕπαρξις,[5] none of the texts mentioned so far in this connection ever uses Philoxenus' preferred [Syriac] [Syriac]. Ep55, however, does have [Syriac] [Syriac] for ὁμοούσιος and also [Syriac] for οὐσία on occasion, although this is more commonly [Syriac].[6] We may explain the inconsistency in that the translator's use of [Syriac] [Syriac] comes in a citation from the creed, whereas in the rest of the letter the wording remains more conservative. This particular fact would seem to place the translation firmly *after* Philoxenus' creedal revision in c.500. [Syriac] is also used regularly for οὐσία in CO, although ὁμοούσιος remains [Syriac] [Syriac]. Strangely, however, a phrase so apparently theological as [Syriac] [Syriac] can also be used as an equivalent to ταὐτότης in close proximity to a place where [Syriac] renders the technical οὐσία. It is characteristic of this translator to use some very precise and careful equivalents, both in syntax and lexicon, interspersed with idiomatic terminology and turns of

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[1] 156,14 [45,21]; 160,14-17 [50,8-12].
[2] Twice, at 732,28 [f.62rb] and 773,19 [f.92ra].
[3] 23,22 [f.19vb] and 25,19 [f.21ra].
[4] 96,8-9 [f.144rb].
[5] 717,12 [f.52va].
[6] ὁμοούσιος 51,22 [5,15] and οὐσία 51,21 [5,13] are both in a credal citation, also [Syriac] elsewhere 52,24 [7,8]; normally just [Syriac] 53,14&21 [8,20&29].

phrase.[1] SDI also uses ܐܝܬܘܬܐ for οὐσία, while having the older ܒܪ ܟܝܢ for ὁμοούσιος (see above).[2]

Only in AT do we find the loan-word, ܐܘܣܝܐ, typical of later versions, and ὁμοούσιος therefore as ܒܪ ܐܘܣܝܐ. This would suggest a considerably later translation style for this text. However, this is not the only way in which the term can be rendered, for in a single sentence ὁμοούσιος can be both ܒܪ ܐܘܣܝܐ and ܒܪ ܟܝܢ – so there is evidently room for flexibility, perhaps for stylistic reasons.[3] It is the loan word, however, that is by far the more common, and even compounds like συνουσίωσις have to be calqued as ܡܗܘܝܢܘܬ ܕܐܘܣܝܐ.[4] That Ep55 uses ܟܝܢ ܡܗܘܝܢܘ for συνουσίωσις indicates the difference between these texts, both in their approach to the term οὐσία and also to the use of constructs to represent compounds.[5] Brock has suggested that the calquing of compounds in this fashion is a 7th century trait, also found in the Armenian Hellenising school.[6]

We can say, with reference to AT, only a later translation *style*, and not a later *date*, because the loan-word ܐܘܣܝܐ is, in fact, already found in the version of Eusebius' *Theophania* found in Add 12150, the earliest dated Syriac manuscript, written in 411, clearly long before any of our texts can have been made.[7] This is a warning against creating a typology which is closely associated with absolute dating, except in the very broadest terms. We can only create a spectrum which describes different approaches and methods as being more, or less, developed on a linear basis, but not then conclude that that linear basis is necessarily co-terminous with a chronological one – unless we have clear evidence on other grounds for absolute dating. It seems clear that translation style was, at all times, at least as much a matter of context, audience, perhaps geographical location, and personal taste etc. as of date. We can perhaps sometimes say that a particular method is unlikely to be used *before* a

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[1] 37,8 [f.93rc] and 44,2 [f.96vc]; 40,13 [f.94vc]; for ταὐτότης at 44,1 [f.96vc].
[2] 187,38 [f.24vb]. It may be that ܟܝܢ is sometimes used in SDI for οὐσία, but the Latin *substantia* could stand for either in the lost parts of the original, and we cannot therefore be sure of this – e.g. see 186,23 [f.23vb].
[3] 150,15&17 [462,3&5].
[4] 156,29 [467,4]
[5] Ep55, 54,27 [11,4].
[6] Brock, *Aspects of Translation Technique*, 85.
[7] De Halleux, however, finds his first example only in Narsai: De Halleux, *La Philoxénienne du symbole*, 302.

particular date, but not the opposite, that because that method is *not* used, the date is necessarily earlier. This warning will have to be borne constantly in mind.

ψυχὴ λογικὴ and ψυχὴ νοερά

For these key Apollinarian terms, we observe some unusual patterns, which do not always correspond as expected with those we saw in the last two sections:

ܪܟܠܠܒ is the word of choice for λογικός in RF, QUX, SDI, EDC, Ep39, CO, AT.[1]

ܪܟܠܠܒ is also used for νοερός by QUX, Ep40, Ep45, Ep46, Ep 50.[2]

ܪܟܚܒܚܐܒ used for νοερός in, Ep44, Ep45, Ep46, Ep55, AT;[3] and then also as a second term for λογικός in CO.[4]

Note also that in Ep50 νοερά is expanded into a hendiadys using both ܪܟܠܠܒ and ܪܟܚܒܚܐܒ.[5]

It is a significant observation, however, that of those texts in which Cyril uses both terms, namely Ep45, Ep46, Ep50, AT, only the last one maintains the distinction, i.e. follows a consistent lexical equivalence.

The longer Apollinarian formulae, based around the verb ψυχοῦν, produce further variation. RF and QUX use periphrastic expressions to avoid a verbal equivalent for ἐψυχοῦν (e.g. in QUX we have ܪܟܠܠܒ ܪܟܫܐ ܚܒ ܐܘܪ ܒ for κἄν ἐψυχωμένον νοοῖτο ψυχῇ νοερᾷ)[6] while the others use formulae of varying precision and succinctness. Thus in Ep46 the phrase ἐψύχωτο ψυχῇ νοερᾷ is simply ܪܐܚ ܫܐܒ ܪܟܠܠܒ ܪܟܫܐܒ. Ep 45 deals with this in a rather unwieldy way; for ἐψυχωμένον ψυχῇ νοερᾷ we have ܪܟܚܒܚܐܒ ܪܟܫܐܒ ܫܐܒ ܪܟܫܐܒ, with the similarly wordy phrase ܪܟܫܐܒ ܫܐܒܐ being used later but there representing ψυχὴν ἐχούσῃ. Ep55 is the most

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[1] RF 52,15 [49,8]; SDI 221,4 [f.26rb]; QUX 731,28 [f.61vb]; EDC 17,15 [f.15rb]; Ep39, 17,10 [f.150va]; CO, 34,35 [f.92ra]; AT, 174,20 [480,1].

[2] QUX 777,40 [f.95ra]; Ep40, 25,1 [31,3]; Ep45, 153,7 [41,6]; Ep46, 158,14 [48,1]; Ep50, 91 23 [f.141rb].

[3] Ep44, 36,10 [55,24]; Ep45, 153,3 [41,17]; Ep46, 161,21 [51,27]; Ep55, 54,11-12 [10,10]; AT, 154,29 [465,13]. Cf.also ܪܟܚܒ for ἔννουν in SDI 228,5 [f.38va].

[4] 44,7 [f.97ra].

[5] 98, 9 [f.145va].

[6] 777,40 [f.95ra].

concerned to keep its equivalence both accurate and simple, having ἐψυχωμένην ψυχῇ νοερᾷ rendered as ܐܢܫܝܬܐ ܒܡܠܝܠܬܐ; and CO has a virtually identical expression, except that, in accordance with his expansionist technique, he uses both ܡܠܝܠܬܐ and ܐܢܫܝܬܐ for λογικός.[1]

By way of contrast to these verbose renderings, Ep50 reduces the phrase μετὰ σάρκος οὐκ ἀψύχου... ἀλλ᾽ ἐψυχωμένης νοερῶς to the single phrase ܒܣܪܐ ܡܦܫ ܢܦܫܐ.[2] This shows considerable simplification of Cyril's wordiness and willingness to chop off even the vital anti-Apollinarian νοερῶς, largely because it has been said already and here we have simply (as he explicitly says) a summary.

CO also deals with it very simply, having the possessive construction ܒܣܪܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܢܦܫܐ ܡܠܝܠܬܐ for σάρξ ψυχὴν ἔχουσα τὴν λογικήν (*flesh having a rational soul*).[3]

The language of 'con-joining':
σύναπτειν, συμβαίνειν, συντρέχειν, συντίθεσθαι etc.
RF has a very wary attitude to this sort of terminology, almost always avoiding giving any precise equivalent. To illustrate this distinctive approach, we see that συγκεῖσθαί φαμεν ἔκ τε τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος...καὶ ἐκ τοῦ...υἱοῦ becomes ܡܬܐܡܪ ܡܢ ܐܢܫܘܬܐ ܘܡܢ ܒܪܐ ܗܘ; and διαβεβαιούμεθα δὲ σύνοδον μέν τινα καὶ...τὴν συνδρομὴν εἰς ἕνωσιν...πεπρᾶχθαι φύσεων becomes ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܢܬܚܝܕ ܟܝܢܐ.[4] We see the same again frequently in this text with συγκεῖσθαι, συνδρομή, ἀνάπτειν, and σύμβασις.[5] Ep45 too has the habit of omitting the idea of σύνοδος or σύνδρομος.[6]

The general equivalents in this category are usually adhered too through all the other texts, namely ܢܩܦ for συνάπτειν, including the common ܢܩܝܦܘܬܐ for συνάφεια (these are found *passim* in all of our texts); ܪܟܒ for συντίθεναι with ܪܘܟܒܐ for the important

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[1] RF, e.g. 45,18 [14,6-7]; Ep46, 158,14 [47,27-48,1]; Ep45, 153,2-3 [41,16-17] and 153,7 [41,24-5]; Ep55, 54,11-12 [10,9-10]; CO 44,7 [f.97ra].
[2] 92,1 [f.141va].
[3] 34,35 [f.92ra].
[4] 52,20-3 [50,5-6].
[5] 57,17 [75,3] and 69,23 [135,6-7]; 58,3 [77,6]; 58,19 [79,10]; 62,1 [96,7].
[6] E.g. 153,21 [42,16].

σύνθεσις;[1] ܟܢܫ most commonly for συντρέχειν, which yields such important terms as ܟܢܘܫܝܐ for σύνοδος, which can also be used for σύναγειν.[2] The locus classicus of ܢܩܦ for Syriac writers is most likely Gen 2.24, encouraged to think of the union of the natures in Christ as united in a way similar to that in marriage.

However, there are some notable exceptions to these general patterns, such as in the text of the 11th anathema in EDC where συνάπτειν is translated with ܚܝܕ, contrasting strongly with the text of the 3rd anathema which has the normal ܢܩܦ.[3] The East Syrian versions have ܢܩܦ in the 3rd anathema but ܚܠܛ in the 11th, which seems to make Cyril anathematise Eutychians rather than Nestorians.[4] RF uses ܢܩܦ in another place for συμφέρειν, where its meaning in the Greek does not qualify for such a strong sense of bonding as ܢܩܦ probably conveys.[5] The translator of AT also uses it in the phrase ἀκολουθεῖ τὰ εἴδη τοῖς σώμασιν (shapes belong to bodies).[6] Ep44 has a tendency to be more minimalist and uses just ܐܬܠ for ἀκολουθεῖν as well as συμφέρειν.[7]

Similarly, Ep40 has ܪܚܘܝܐ for σύμβασις, while always still using ܪܚܘܩܐ for συνάφεια.[8] Ep39 has some very different words, using both ܩܪܒ (Pael) and ܐܬܐ (Aphel) in close proximity for συνάπτειν.[9]

The language of 'mixture':

[συγ]χεῖν, [συγ]κεῤῥάνυμι, μίγνυμι, φύρειν

Cyril does not concern himself much with the issue of mixture and confusion in the RF; where he does so the translator does not pick up on its significance. Thus for ἀκλονήτος he uses ܠܐ ܡܬܬܙܝܥܢܐ ܠܐ (unchanging, rather than unconfused); and he can wholly omit the vital qualifier ἀσύγκυτως.[10] He is thus not yet apparently aware of the importance of avoiding Eutychianism.

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[1] E.g. EDC 18,28 [f.16va]; Ep46, 160,3 [49,24]; CO 39,15 [f.94rc]; SDI 223,9 [f.31rb].
[2] E.g. SDI 223,20 [f.31rb]; QUX 736,6 [f.64va]; EDC 18,22 [f.16rb]; Ep46, 160,3 [49,24].
[3] 24,26 [f.20va] as against the earlier 18,21 [f.16rb].
[4] EDC 24,26 [f.20va] and 18,21 [f.16rb]; for the texts of the Nestorian version, see Abramowski and Goodman, *Nestorian Collection.*
[5] 60,20 [89,13].
[6] 164,19 [472,12-13].
[7] 36,16 [56,6].
[8] 26,2 [32,10].
[9] Ep39, 16,10 and 15 [f.150ra^{x2}].
[10] 63,7 [102,5]; 66,4 [117,6].

There are essentially four Syriac roots used in this connection in the other texts: ܚܠܛ,

ܡܙܓ, ܒܠܠ and ܫܓܫ - but these are used with varying degrees of consistency of equivalence with the various Greek terms that Cyril uses.

These terms often appear in Cyril in groups of two or three and the renderings are always formulaic rather than maintaining a precise equivalence: thus the sequence κρᾶσις, σύγχυσις, φυρμός is rendered as ܫܓܘܫܝܐ ܒܠܝܠܘܬܐ ܡܘܙܓܐ; and then elsewhere ܡܘܙܓܐ and ܒܠܝܠܘܬܐ are for σύγκρασις and σύγχυσις.[1] The order and particular words chosen in these sorts of formulae are rarely consistent, although in Ep44 Cyril uses the same pairing of terms twice in close proximity but in the opposite order and the translator considers equivalence important enough to follow suit.

We can see this attitude shown clearly from some examples of these words being used singly. Thus Ep40 can use both ܕܠܐ ܚܘܠܛܢܐ and ܕܠܐ ܒܘܠܒܠܐ for ἀσύγχυτος.[2] By contrast EDC has ܫܘܓܫܝܐ for ἀνάχυσις and ܡܘܙܓܐ for σύγκρασις, while in Ep46 we see ܒܠܝܠܘܬܐ ܘܡܘܙܓܐ for φυρμός...σύγχυσις and then shortly afterwards ܡܘܙܓܐ ܘܫܘܓܘܫܝܐ for φυρμός καὶ σύγκρασις which shows how interchangeable these terms are.[3] Ep50 uses a slightly different form, ܕܠܐ ܡܬܒܠܒܠ for ἀσύγχυτος, similar to SDI's ܕܠܐ ܡܬܒܠܒܠ for the same.[4] Similar mixes of equivalents are found in QUX, such that even a pair of different terms ἀσυγχύτως καὶ ἀτρέπτως can be rendered once correctly and once in the wrong order.[5]

Again, CO shows similar patterns: συγχέω appears as ܫܓܫ but then as ܒܠܠ immediately preceding another use of ܫܓܫ, for ἀναφύρω.[6] One anomaly is found with the rendering of ἀσυγχύτως as ܕܠܐ ܫܘܚܠܦܐ (without change), as if the translator has taken this as synonymous with the preceding ἀτρέπτως, a rendering found twice.[7]

[1] Ep40, 56, 23 [37, 15]; Ep44, 35,19-20 [55,4].
[2] 25,18 [31,25-6]; 26,11 [32,25].
[3] EDC 17,14 [f.15rb]; Ep46, 159,16 [49,12-13] and 160,8 [50,1].
[4] Ep55 91,24 [f.141rb]; SDI 222,23 [f.31ra].
[5] QUX 736,7 [f.64va] and 737,2 [f.65ra] respectively.
[6] 38,6 [f.93vb]; 40,25f. [f.95ra].
[7] 34,36 [f.92rb]; 36,30 [f.93rb].

In AT the translator uses ⟨Syriac⟩ ⟨Syriac⟩ for συνουσίωσις, as though this were a reference to some sort of 'mixture' also,[1] though elsewhere he uses ⟨Syriac⟩ for σύγχυσις, along with ⟨Syriac⟩ for φυρμός, and also the verb ⟨Syriac⟩ for συγκεράννυμι.[2]

Thus in all these texts there is a degree of variety and interchangeability between a number of synonymous alternatives, although not even AT is so fixed on a precise lexical equivalence as to keep each Syriac term for an individual Greek one.

The language of 'change':

τρέπειν and ἀλλοιοῦν

As we noted with the 'mixture' language, there are some fairly standard equivalences here which we need only note briefly, but some texts stick more closely and exclusively to these than others.

EDC provides a good example of keeping one Syriac word for each Greek term, thus τροπή is ⟨Syriac⟩, ἀλλοίωσις is ⟨Syriac⟩ and μετάστασις is ⟨Syriac⟩.[3] SDI similarly, with ἀτρέπτως καὶ ἀναλλοιώτως as ⟨Syriac⟩ ⟨Syriac⟩ ⟨Syriac⟩, followed by μετάστασις ἢ τροπή as ⟨Syriac⟩ or ⟨Syriac⟩, thereby carefully maintaining the ⟨Syriac⟩ root for τροπή-related terms.[4] Ep39 shows the same distinctions, while Ep40 is typically a little looser, using ⟨Syriac⟩ for μεταβολή and διαφορά – in the absence of synonyms, ⟨Syriac⟩ is usually the word of choice, just as the verb ⟨Syriac⟩ tends to be used as the default for any verbs of change.[5] Ep45/46 show a similar degree of freedom when a pair of 'change' words are found together – once we see ⟨Syriac⟩ ⟨Syriac⟩ and ⟨Syriac⟩ ⟨Syriac⟩ used for ἀτρέπτως and μεταβλητῶς, and then ⟨Syriac⟩ and ⟨Syriac⟩ used for μεταβαίνειν and τρέπειν.[6] Ep45 recognises the slight difference of nuance of the term μεταχωρεῖν, and chooses the less usual Syriac root ⟨Syriac⟩ for it.[7] In Ep50, we see, unusually, the passives ⟨Syriac⟩ and ⟨Syriac⟩ for τροπή and ἀλλοίωσις. QUX, as with most others,

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[1] 156,29 [467,4].

[2] 162,17 [471,4]; 156,3 [465,16].

[3] Examples can be found at 17,12 [f.15rb], 18,3 [f.15vb], and 20,22 [f.f.17vb]. ⟨Syriac⟩, for μετάστασις is also found at 18,3 [f.15vb] where it contrasts directly with τροπή.

[4] 222,21 [f.30va]; 228,11-12 [f.38vb].

[5] Ep39, 18,23 [f.151va] where ἄτρεπτος = ⟨Syriac⟩ ⟨Syriac⟩ and ἀναλλοίωτος = ⟨Syriac⟩ ⟨Syriac⟩; Ep40, 29,22 [37,16] and 29,25 [37,19].

[6] Ep45, 153,8 [41,26]; Ep44, 35,20-21 [55,5-6].

[7] 154,13-14 [43,10].

prefers the ܚܠܦ root above all, using it for both τετράφθαι and μεταχωρῆσαι in short succession.[1]

RF tends to use the same set of words but is not at all strict in its distribution of them; indeed he once makes the single word τροπή into a hendiadys, ܚܠܘܦܝܐ ܘܫܘܚܠܦܐ, as if he were undecided which form to use.[2]

We occasionally see an altogether freer usage of this root, thus in Ep39 παραφθείρειν (to ruin, corrupt) is twice rendered with the Shaphel of ܚܠܦ which is quite a dynamic rendering.[3] In some of these freer texts, there is a policy of reducing the multiplicity of Greek synonyms to a small number of Syriac alternatives. This example seems at the extremist edge of that policy, perhaps just falling instead into the category of dynamic modulation.

In the other direction is Ep55 where some more developed neologisms are used in the anti-Arian anathema appended to the creed, ܡܫܬܚܠܦܢܐ and ܡܫܬܓܢܝܢܐ being found respectively for τρεπτός and ἀλλοιωτός. However, popular as these may be to the translator of Ep55, they were already in use in 433 since RF also uses ܠܐ ܡܫܬܚܠܦܢܐ for ἀναλλοίωτος and, without the negative, also for τρεπτός.[4]

Again, CO is fairly set on the ܚܠܦ root for all these terms; thus we see ܠܐ ܡܫܘܚܠܦ for ἀτρέπτως; ܡܫܘܚܠܦ for μεταβολή, ܡܫܬܚܠܦ for ἀναλλοίωτος, and even the lengthy ܡܫܬܚܠܦܢܘܬܐ for τροπή.[5] However, as always, the latter can also be the simpler ܫܘܓܢܝ and ἀναλλοίωτος can as easily be ܠܐ ܡܫܬܓܢܝ.[6]

When faced with ἀτρέπτως καὶ ἀναλλοιώτως, AT does not want to use different forms taken from the same root, ܚܠܦ, and so instead regularly uses ܡܬܩܦܣܢܐܝܬ for the first term, using a root not found much for this purpose in the other texts.[7]

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[1] 91,22 [f.141rb]; 735,39-40 [f.64rb].
[2] 48,16 [29,7].
[3] Ep39, 20,7&10 [f.152va].
[4] Ep55, 51,28 [5,22-3]; RF 57,8 [73,3]; 48,32 [31,10].
[5] 34,36 [f.92rb]; 35,35 [f.92vb]; 38,27 [f.94ra]; 36,7 [f.92vc].
[6] 38,28 [f.94ra]; 35,1 [f.92rb].
[7] 154,27 [465,10-11].

The language of 'Division and Distribution':

διαιρεῖν, διανέμειν, διατέμνειν etc.

Again, there are some fairly standard equivalencies here with a few notable variations used in some texts. ܫܪܐ, in the P'al, tends to be used of less harsh notions of separation, distribution, attribution and distinction, e.g. for προσνέμειν, διαιρεῖν, διϊστάναι, διαφέρειν.[1] ܦܠܓ is then used for stronger notions of dividing or splitting, usually used by Cyril in a pejorative sense and attributed to the thinking of his opponents – it usually represents terms such as διορίζειν, διατέμνειν, ἀναμερίζειν.[2] These are the only two useful Syriac words within this semantic range and, despite there being more than two Greek synonyms to represent them, our translators do not go fishing for others just because the Greek word is different.

However, there are many exceptions to the above guidelines, and there is a distinction to be maintained also between the P'al and the Pael forms of these verbs. There is also a distinction between when Christ himself is the object of the dividing, or it is just his words being 'divided' between two separate 'natures'.

RF uses both terms together in the Pael, as mutual synonyms, in rendering the hendiadys ἀνὰ μέρος τιθεῖσι καὶ διορίζουσι, and the Pael ܦܪܫ generally is used for διορίζειν.[3]

Similarly, CO prefers the Pael ܦܪܫ for διαιρέω, while keeping the P'al for χωρίζω, with ܦܪܫ ܐܠ for ἀχώριστος.[4]

EDC, in fact, only uses a P'al form of either verb on one occasion, where the meaning is quite weak, [Χριστῷ] προσνεμοῦμεν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα. Where Cyril uses a hendiadys of synonymous 'dividing' words in relation to the dividing of the natures, EDC will usually use both verbs together in the Pael,[5] but where there is only one such term ܦܪܫ is perhaps preferred, although ܦܠܓ is also found (both times for διαιροῦν) when the

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[1] Ep55, 52,19 [7,2]; EDC 20, 11 [f.17va].
[2] EDC 18, 10; Ep40, 29,2 [36,18]; CO 39,6 [f.94rb].
[3] RF 58,24 [80,6-7]; 57,28 [76,5], citing Jude 19, a key verse in Alexandrian polemic.
[4] 35,34 [f.92vb]; 38,29 [f.94ra]; 39,11 [f.94rc]; 39,11 [f.94rb].
[5] 18,10 [f.16ra]; 20,13 [f.17vb].

soul and body of man is what is in view.[1] The same appears to be the case in SDI where ܦܪܫ (Pael) is used even for διορίζειν as in RF.[2] Meanwhile ܦܠܓ is often used for the distinction of the 'sayings of Christ'.

Ep40 has a greater liking for the Pael ܦܠܓ, which is used for most terms referring to Christ, even where different Greek terms, μερίζειν and διαιροῦν, are used in close proximity.[3] When the object is the φωναί, the words of Christ, either can be used, the P'al of ܦܪܫ and the Pael ܦܠܓ both being found for διαιρεῖν.[4] Ep44 shows a similar sort of distribution but none of the texts is entirely consistent – this text also in one place using ܦܣܩ for διατέμνειν![5] Epp 39,45,46,55 do not have these terms so frequently but where they do largely follow the patterns mentioned earlier.

ἴδιος, ἰδιωμάτα, ἰδικῶς

Cyril uses forms of ἴδιος in a number of crucial and different ways – most importantly for later Christology, it is used to refer to the body of the incarnate Christ as being the 'own' of the Logos, and not just attached to him by way of an equality of honour. Similarly, he will distinguish between the nature which is originally 'our own' and that which is the 'own' of the Godhead. In Severus, the technical importance of the term grows further still, and a large part of Severus' discussion with the grammarian Sergius revolves around its meaning. The growing awareness of this word and the increasingly careful renderings of it in the Syriac versions are therefore not merely a matter of lexical equivalence, but of theological accuracy.[6]

Nevertheless, RF does not generally make use of the Syriac ܕܝܠ root, as became common at a later stage. Instead, he tends to use more periphrastic but idiomatic Syriac syntax, often reducing ἴδιος to a possessive pronoun, and thus for ἰδιωμάτα ἀνθρώπινα he will have simply ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܢܫܘܬܐ, although the ܕܝܠ root is certainly used on occasion for ἴδιος.[7]

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[1] 18,21 [f.16rb]; 20,8 [f.17va].
[2] 222,31 [f.30vb].
[3] 24,26 [30,24]; 25,9 [31,14].
[4] 30,7 [37,29]; 26,13 [32,28].
[5] 35,17 [54,25].
[6] For its importance in Severus, see especially Torrance, *Christology after Chalcedon*, 27-35.
[7] 58,30 [81,9].

At the other end of the equivalence spectrum, AT renders the term as fully as possible by using the fuller adjectival form ܕܝܠܝܐ for ἴδιος.[1]

The other texts show a variety of approaches with more concern for meaning and idiom than for the consistent representation of the root form. Thus a single text, such as Ep46, can have a variety of solutions - ܕܝܠ is used where it would seem more appropriate, such as where its governing noun is to be understood from the previous sentence, where it functions as a predicate adjective, or where the doctrinal emphasis on the word is perceived as important.[2] Elsewhere it can then be omitted as having no function significantly beyond that of the normal possessive pronoun.[3] Sometimes, both techniques are used within the same paragraph, such as in Ep 45, where it is once translated as ܠܗ and once omitted entirely.[4] Ep50 has the same variation, where within the space of a few lines ἴδιος is twice reduced to a possessive and once rendered fully as ܕܝܠܗ although all three are simply attributive adjectives.[5] EDC,Epp39,44,45,55 all show similar patterns. Ep55 tends to be slightly more careful, and thus when there is *no* ἴδιος he will avoid ܕܝܠ, as can be seen in his rendering of the simple τοῦ λόγου of Lk 1.2, which the Peshitta renders as ܕܝܠܗ ܕܡܠܬܐ, but Ep55 simply as ܕܡܠܬܐ. Being more equivalency-minded, this text will typically even have ܕܝܠܗ ܡܩܢܘܡܐ for ἰδιοπροσώπως.[6] In SDI too, the ܕܝܠ root is well-used but by no means consistently – in general the fuller translation is unavoidable where ἴδιος is being used predicatively, and only a suffix is used when it is attributive, although on occasion ܕܝܠ can be used when it is attributive as well.[7] QUX has a similar variety, omitting even longer terms such as ἰδιότητα where otiose while yet translating ἰδικῶς with ܒܐܝܚܝܕܐܝܬ.[8]

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[1] E.g. 144,20 [457,6].

[2] 159,15 (in ref to σῶμα) [49,11]; 159,6 (σῶμα) [48,29]; 161,17 (σῶμα) [51,23].

[3] 159,4 (φύσις)[48,27]; 161,12 (αἷμα)[51,13].

[4] 155,13 and 15 (both in ref to σάρξ) [44,7 and 9].

[5] 91,21,29,32 [f.141rb-141va] (of φύσις, πατήρ, and σάρξ respectively).

[6] 50,10 [3,2]; 53,9 [8,12].

[7] e.g. predicate at 220,31[f.26ra]; ܕܝܠ as attribute at 221,5 [f.26rb], and suffix only, 220,11 [f.22rb]; 220,23 [f.25vb] etc.

[8] 723,9 [f.56ra]; 731,35 [f.61vb]; see also 777,35 [f.95ra], 777,36 [f.95ra], 773,9 [f.91rb], 735,32 [f.64rb] for a variety of solutions.

We see more consistent patterns when dealing with the adverbial forms, ἰδικῶς and κατ' ἴδιαν. In most of our texts, including RF, the idiom ܠܚܘܕ ܒܠܚܘܕ is usually reserved especially for Cyril's frequently used ἀνὰ μέρος. RF's translator can vary his terms and will use it for ἰδικῶς instead, and Ep40 goes down the same road with the adverbial ἰδίᾳ.[1] Ep50 is similarly not attached to a one-for-one equivalence and has ܕܝܠܢܐܝܬ for both ἀνὰ μέρος and ἰδικιῶς even when together as a hendiadys. This is a text with a much less consistent lexical equivalence, and ἀνὰ μέρος can rendered a number of different ways, sometimes being incorporated into other phrases.[2] EDC has the more orthodox equivalency of ܕܝܠܢܐܝܬ for ἰδικῶς while leaving ܠܚܘܕ ܒܠܚܘܕ for ἀνὰ μέρος, and this is the more usual equivalent throughout our texts. Ep45 has κατ' ἴδιαν and ἰδικιῶς both as ܕܝܠܢܐܝܬ / ܕܝܠܢܐܝܬ.[3]

As we have noted in the section above on syntactical equivalence, CO tends to have a variety of methods as well, and we find instances both of ܕܝܠ where there is no Greek equivalent as well as Greek ἴδιος being rendered only with a possessive suffix, and even the use of ܩܢܘܡܐ for ἴδιος. However, when it comes to the adverbial forms, there are some peculiar results. The phrase ܠܚܘܕ ܘܠܚܘܕ seems unknown to the translator of CO; yet we find new terms such as ܕܡܢܬܢܐܝܬ and ܡܢܘܬܐ being used apparently as equivalents for ἀνὰ μέρος.[4] ἰδικῶς tends to be ܕܝܠܢܐܝܬ, or some similar form, although the translator is generally content to repeat set formulas in Syriac regardless of exactly how the Greek looks, for instance retaining the order of the Syriac formula when the Greek terms are transposed.[5] There are, in addition, some peculiar uses of words derived from the ܚܝܕ root for ἴδιος-related terminology. Thus we find both ܚܕܝܐ and ܚܕܝܘܬܐ for ἴδιος.[6] It is possible that there is a scribal error going on here, as before this point, where Cyril has ἰδικῶς, the Syriac is ܕܢܗܝܪܐܝܬ (clearly) which looks like an error for ܕܝܚܝܕܐܝܬ (uniquely), which is the more normal rendering, even in this text; a little later, however, we find ܟܝܢܐ ܚܕܝܐ for ἴδια φύσις, which may not be an error as the Syriac could be understood as 'private/special nature', and as it is

[1] RF 53,23 [56,6] as against 57,22 [75,10]; Ep40, 27,7 [34,2].
[2] 92,3 [f.141va1]; 100,2 [f.147ra].
[3] EDC 18,29 [f.16va]; Ep45, 151,18&19 [39,20&22].
[4] 38,30f. [f.94ra-b]; 39,19 [f.94rc].
[5] As we see, for instance, when comparing 38,30f. [f.94ra-b] with 39,35 [f.94vb].
[6] 40,9 [f.94vc]; 40,8 [f.94vc].

hard to imagine that ܚܝܠܐ was ever the correct reading.[1] It may be that the translator did make use of both roots and a scribe made a confusion only with regard to the ἰδικῶς mentioned above.

ὑπόστασις / ὑπαρχεῖν

ܩܢܘܡܐ is, of course, the well known Syriac equivalent for ὑπόστασις and this holds true for all our texts. RF is the occasional dissenter from this norm where he uses ܐܝܬܘܬܐ for ὑπόστασις in citing Heb 1.3 (after Peshitta). He can also use ܩܢܘܡܐ where there is no ὑπόστασις in the Gk, but just ἴδιος or καθ' ἑαυτό – he obviously feels the word has general uses and is not to be reserved for the technical usage, unless by its use he implies some deeper meaning.[2] CO is the only text to follow this lead and use ܩܢܘܡܐ in such a way (see refs above under syntactical equivalences).

Other texts stick closer to a precise equivalence for this term which, from Chalcedon onwards, became so crucial a part of the debate. Thus when EDC quotes Heb 1.3 the translator quite naturally chooses ܩܢܘܡܐ instead of RF's ܐܝܬܘܬܐ, and regularly uses expressions like ܩܢܘܡܐܝܬ for καθ' ὑπόστασιν.[3]

In the RF, Cyril uses two words for 'existing in reality', namely ὑπάρχω and its derivatives and forms of the verb ὑφίστανοι, among which comes the above-mentioned ὑπόστασις. The first tends to be translated with forms of ܐܝܬ and the second with ܩܢܘܡܐ, usually with a ܒ prefix. Thus, for example, the adjective ἀνύπαρκτος can become ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬܘܬܐ. Much the same thing is seen at the other end of the spectrum where in AT the existential notion τὰς ὑπαρχούσας is rendered simply with ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ.[4] Thus is thus no distinction made between ὑπάρχειν and εἶναι.[5] In fact, this seems to be a very standardised technique and is found throughout our texts. CO also makes no distinction between ὑπάρχειν/εἶναι and ὑφίστανοι.[6]

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[1] ܐܝܬܘܬܐ in fact twice close together, 39,34&5 [f.94vb]; ܚܝܠܐ ܚܝܠܐ 40,9 [f.94vc].
[2] RF 59,26 [85,8]; 48,17 [29,9] and 53,3 [52,7].
[3] 17,18 [f.15va]; 17,26 [f.15va].
[4] RF 51,2 [42,4]; AT 140,13, [453,13] etc.
[5] e.g. 91,28 [f.141rb]; and even in a confession of faith, 100,11 [f.147rb].
[6] 40,23 [f.95ra] for ὑφίστανοι.

AT provides the exception, although not consistently. For although we find the existential notion τὰς ὑπαρχούσας rendered simply with ܢܘܗܝܬܝܐܕ ܡܠܝ, which is a natural rendering that we have in other texts, ἐνὑπάρχεω is also found as ܪܟܬܫܡ, which is perfectly reasonable semantically but indicates a desire to render substantial verbs with equally substantial ones instead of just existential predicates such as ܐܝܬ.[1] Only in AT, in addition, do we find the noun ܐܝܬ as an abstract notion of existence, for ὕπαρξις, the sort of equivalent which really sets this text apart from the others.[2]

φωναί, λόγοι

Many of our texts use the idiomatic phrase ܒܢܬ ܩܠܐ for φωναί where this term refers to the sayings of Christ in the Gospels, usually in the context of Cyril's discussions on the single subject and the *communicatio idiomatum*. What is interesting for an analysis of equivalency is that in some texts there is an awareness of where the term is being used in this technical sense and where not, and to use different Syriac terms accordingly. This is true, for example, in EDC[3] and in Ep39 where ܩܠܐ is used for the words of Christ and ܡܠܐ for the words of other people.[4]

It is an indication of a greater degree of equivalence when a translator uses simple ܩܠܐ all the way through for φωναί, as does Ep44, and of a lesser degree of equivalence when ܩܠܐ can be used for the words of one person, ܡܠܐ for the words of Jesus (cf. Ep39 above), and ܒܢܬ ܩܠܐ elsewhere as well, as in Ep50.[5]

χαρακτήρ, εἰκών

Here we have some unexpected renderings. For εἰκών the Syriac translator always has the option of the loan word ܐܝܩܘܢܐ, but this term seems to have become so naturalised by our period that it can be used for other Greek words of a similar meaning.

[1] 140,13 [453,13]; 144,14 [457,1].
[2] 146, 1 [457, 19].
[3] e.g. 20,27 [f.18ra] as against 22,9 [f.18vb].
[4] compare 17,18 with 17,21 [f.150vb].
[5] Ep44, 36,23 [56,17] and 37,1 [56,25]; Ep50, 97,10 [f.145ra]; 96,28 [f.144vb]; 94,28 [f.143va].

There is not a great deal of difference between our texts in this matter, but the patterns themselves are instructive. RF has a whole series of variations. Thus εἰκών καὶ χαρακτήρ is rendered as ⲕⲟⲁⲟ ⲕⲗⲅ, which would seem to imply that the loan word from εἰκών is actually being used for χαρακτήρ! It at first appears to be keeping separate Syriac words for each Greek, but then in the latter part of the same section uses ⲕⲟⲁ definitely to represent χαρακτήρ, and then ⲕⲟⲁ is used twice more at the end of the section, the first of these for χαρακτήρ and the second for εἰκών. In a later chapter RF engages in a word-play with these terms: where Cyril's statement ὁ θεῖος ἐνσημαίνεται χαρακτήρ· ἀναμορφούμεθα γὰρ ὡς εἰς εἰκόνα τὴν θείαν is turned by the translator into a chiasm with ⲕⲟⲁ being used for both: ⲕⲟⲁ ⲙⲟ ⲕⲟⲗⲕ ⲕⲟⲁⲟ ⲕⲟⲗⲕ ⲕⲟⲁⲟ ⲓ̈ⲗ ⲙⲗⲟⲙ. Elsewhere he will use quite different terms for εἰκών, such as in citing 1 Cor 15.49 where, although RF follows the Peshitta for most of the verse, for εἰκών he substitutes ⲕⲗⲓⲟⲅ for the Peshitta's ⲕⲗⲟⲙⲓ.[1]

CO uses the pair ⲕⲗⲅⲟ ⲕⲙⲅ for εἰκών καὶ χαρακτήρ, avoiding the loan-word altogether and similarly in SDI we have εἰκών καὶ ἀπαύγασμα καὶ χαρακτήρ as ⲕⲗⲅ ⲕⲗⲟ ⲕⲙⲅⲟ.[2]

AT shows just the same pattern as RF, using the loan-word for χαρακτήρ and ⲕⲗⲅ for εἰκών.[3] This pattern we see also in Ep55 and probably in EDC.[4]

μᾶλλον

This word produces some interesting variation. Cyril uses it quite a lot in his stark contrasts between what is and what is not acceptable doctrine. It is the sort of word that RF and QUX quite naturally omit totally most of the time.[5] Texts with more concern for equivalence such as EDC, SDI, and Ep55 tend to use ⲗⲟⲕⲓⲗ, although

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[1] For concentrations of these terms, see 51,12-18 [43,9-44,7] and 66,25-39 [120,7-121,5] (for the word-plays especially), and 55,8-10 [63,11-12] for the *1 Cor* citation .

[2] CO 44,2 [f.96vc]; SDI 222,24 [f.30va].

[3] Even within a single section; 164,17 [472,10] (χαρακτήρ); 164,11[472,4] (εἰκών).

[4] e.g. Ep55,49,22 [2,6] (χαρακτήρ) and 51,32 (εἰκών) [5,28]. Scwhartz suggests that the ⲕⲙⲅ of EDC 17,18 [f.15va] represents χαρακτήρ as a variant to the ἀπαύγασμα of his text. However, EDC generally follows the Peshitta and this is a reference to Heb. 1.3 where the Peshitta has ⲕⲗⲅ; in addition ⲕⲙⲅ is found for ἀπαύγασμα in both in AT (144,10 [456,15]) and twice in RF (59,26 [85,8]; 60,3 [87,5]). It is thus difficult to believe that the EDC would ever use anything other than ⲕⲗⲅ or ⲕⲟⲁ for χαρακτήρ.

[5] RF 51,5 [42,6]; QUX 714,19 [f.51ra].

occasionally will simply have some other contrastive conjunction, ܐܠܐ or ܕܝܢ; Ep45 has the same variation but omission is the norm rather than the exception.[1] Ep39, Ep40, Ep46 all omit the term consistently.[2] Of our texts, only AT uses the loan-word ܡܠܘܢ.[3] However, this loan word is used throughout one of the translations of the anathemas found in the Nestorian collection Cam.Or.1319. Surprisingly perhaps, the other version in this collection, which the editors reckon as a revision of the former one, reverts to ܝܬܝܪܐܝܬ for μᾶλλον on every occasion (the word is used frequently throughout the anathemas) just as we find in the EDC.[4] If the editors' judgment that this is indeed a revision is accurate, then we can no longer be sure that ܡܠܘܢ is necessarily a later equivalent than ܝܬܝܪܐܝܬ, however much this may seem common sense in the light of the pattern of usage in our own texts and the general tendency toward an increase in the use of loan words. The pattern of usage of ܩܢܘܡܐ discussed above has also warned us against too easy an interpretation of the use of these loan-words.

μέν

The use of the loan-word ܡܢ for μέν in μέν...δέ clauses is a key sign of close equivalence, and we see quite a bit of variety within our texts.

We see the use of this loan-word on 80% of instances in AT[5], and less consistently in certain others. For example, EDC and Ep39 ordinarily have the word only when it is in instances of contrast with a δέ.[6] The same is approximately true of SDI, where the loan appears to be used about 20-25% of the time, while in Ep55 the usage is exactly 50% (seven out of fourteen instances). Ep44 also, perhaps unexpectedly, has a high count for this word.[7] QUX, Ep50, and CT each have a single, unexpected, instance.[8] There are no instances of its use in Ep40, Ep45, Ep46, CO, CT or RF. Its non-use,

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[1] ܝܬܝܪܐܝܬ at Ep55, 51,5 [4,15]; EDC 18,22 [f.16rb]; SDI 219,25 [f.21vb] etc.; Ep45, 152,22 [41,3]; omitted, for example, at EDC 18,4 and 21,27; Ep45, 152,12.
[2] Ep39, 16,12, 18,16; Ep40, 25,14; Ep46, 159,13; Ep50, 90,26, Ep50, 91,19.
[3] 142,32 [456,4], 144,21 [457,7].
[4] Abramowski and Goodman, *Nestorian Collection*; the two versions appear as items VI and I/XI respectively, the latter two being identical and together forming a revision of the version in item VI.
[5] e.g. 140,7 [453,6].
[6] EDC 18,5 [f.15vb] and 20,27 [f.18ra]; in Ep39 rather more commonly, e.g. at 16,1 and 5 [f.149vb], and at 17,19 but, in contrast, not at 17,18 [f.150vb].
[7] 7 times out of 9 instances, e.g. 35,16 [54,23]; 36,1 [55,9]; 36,16 [56,7].
[8] In QUX, at the very beginning of the work 714,3 [f.50vb]; Ep50, 92,7 [f.141va]; CT 145,2 [f.121va].

however, can hardly be a sign of early technique, since the word is already found in the translation of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*, which seems to have been made late in the fourth century.[1] It does, however, mark a distinct change in usage and technique among some of our texts.

πνεῦμα ἅγιον

The distinction to be noted here is between the analytic phrase ܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ and the adjectival one ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ; the former is comfortably the more common in our texts and in most the adjectival phrase is never found. Only AT regularly uses the adjectival form. In EDC, however, both are to be found, even in close proximity, although the construct phrase predominates.[2] There are occasional uses in other texts, e.g. in CT where we have the feminine adjectival form ܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܬܐ, and once, rather surprisingly, in Ep40. This may be a scribal alteration from a later date, but we have already seen that this text uses a number of other very advanced forms, such as ܡܬܒܪܢܫܢܘܬܐ, despite its early date.[3]

4. i. (b) Other unusual equivalents used in individual texts

De Recta Fide

Plenty of examples have been given in the foregoing categories to illustrate the variety of lexical equivalents found in RF, which does not generally maintain any particular consistency even with regard to technical terms, even less so with non-technical vocabulary. Thus we are just as likely to see an unexpected rendering for a standard word, such as ܕܚܠܬ ܐܠܗܐ for εὐσέβεια, as also to see novel word-formations where something similar would have sufficed, thus the abstract nouns τὸ μονογενές and τὸ πρωτότοκος (here *the unbegottenness* and *the first-bornness*) become respectively ܝܚܝܕܝܘܬܐ and ܒܘܟܪܘܬܐ, both of which are used in ways slightly different from their standard meanings in the lexica.[4]

Quod Unus sit Christus

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[1] See Brock, *Some Aspects of Greek Words in Syriac*, 89, n.55a.
[2] Adjectival phrase at 23,22 [f.19vb]; construct phrase at 23,26 [f.20ra].
[3] CT 113,13-4 [f.109va]; Ep40 24,4 [29,25].
[4] 43,15 [5,1]; 61,33 [96,6] & 62,1[96,8].

Much the same can be said of this text as of the RF. While it can show a special concern for rendering compounds such as ἀρτιφρόσι with ܝܘܢ, ܘܝܚܠ, ܐܠܗ, there is also an obvious lack of consistent equivalents, with, for example, εἰς νοῦν rendered as ܘܝܘܘܣ and then νοῦ as ܪܝܫ within the same passage. Some individual words are dealt with more paraphrastically, e.g. ܘܣܡܟ ܥܠܒ for διεμερίσαντο. Unusual is also such dynamic modulation as ܢܐܝܪ ܐܢ for ἄνθρωπος κοινός (commonly for καθ' ἡμᾶς).[1] Using ܪܝܟܒ for ἐν τοῖς μέλεσι is almost an editorial simplification.[2]

Explanatio Duodecim Capitulorum

Lexical equivalence is here the norm as we have already seen. However, we see similar approaches taken to some words, so that, for instance, there is often just a single word for a pair of Greek synonyms: both ὀνομάζεσθαι and κεχρῖσθαι are translated with ܡܫܬܐܪ in the same sentence;[3] ܪܝܟܘܣܒܟ does work for both δόξα and δοξολογία, which are thereby not distinguished.[4] On the other side, σταυρός can be ܪܙܠܝܒ and then ܪܩܝܣ in the very next sentence! This must surely be deliberate, perhaps even a sign of indecision as to which was better.[5]

He tends to simplify formulaic epithets where possible, being especially keen on ܪܒܪܟܐ, both where the Gk is μακάριος and where it is θεσπέσιος. Thus where Cyril, taking his cue from Rom 15.16, describes Paul as ὁ τῶν θείων μυστηρίων ἱερουργός, the Syriac translator perhaps feels this a bit too pagan-sounding and renders with the safer ܪܝܡܫܡܫ.[6] This tendency towards standardised epithets is found in the Peshitta Old Testament also where they are often added, e.g. Ezra, *the scribe*,[7] and this tendency lies behind the pervasive ܝܒ of Syriac literature generally.

As before, however, we also see a good deal of very close equivalence such that the etymology of the Greek words governs their translation. Such are ܪܠܐܝܕ ܪܬܗܘܕܐ for

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[1] 714,4 [f.50vb]; 714,5 and 7 [f.50vb]; 715,13 [f.51rb]; 723,5 [f.56ra].
[2] 722,3 [f.55va].
[3] 22,8 [f.18vb].
[4] 21,24 [f.17vb] (though in citation of Phil 2.11 where P has ܪܝܒܘܣ) and 22,25 [f.19rb].
[5] 25,24 [f.21ra]; 25,27 [f.21vb].
[6] 22,28 [f.19rb] and 20,21 [f.17vb]; 17,30 [f.15vb].
[7] Ezr 7.25; this is commented on by Weitzman, *Syriac Version*, 24.

θεοσημεία, even where a more normal Syriac word for 'miracles' such as ܐܬܘܬܐ would convey no difference of meaning, and is indeed used shortly afterwards for θαύματα.[1] Again, ܡܘܬ (here in the Aphel) is an odd translation for ἀναιρεῖν, clearly an etymological translation, since the roots seem to have meant the same thing, but the Syriac can hardly mean 'to deny' as the Greek must be here.[2]

When this translator comes across hendiadys he generally feels compelled to reproduce both elements.[3] He will sometimes attempt to translate the component parts of compounds – such are thus συμπροσκυνεῖσθαι = ܣܓܕ ܥܡ ܚܕܐ, and the frequent ὑποφέρομαι + dat. = ܚܫ ܬܚܘܬ, as well as the more extravagant προκείμενος as ܩܕܡ ܡܢ ܣܝܡ and θεοφόρος as ܐܠܗܐ ܒܗ ܕܛܥܝܢ;[4] but not where, for example, ὑπονοέω is ܣܒܪ (Aphel), or ἐπινοέω is ܐܥܠ (Aphel of ܥܠ), 'to bring in [a doctrine]'.[5]

There are also a number of dynamic modulations or cultural equivalents, most especially when the language is furthest from being technical. Thus ἀθυροστομία = ܦܘܡܐ ܬܪܝܢ, (double-mouth rather than doorless-mouth); σκαιότης = ܒܝܫܘܬܐ; χορηγός = ܣܦܩܐ; ἱερουργός = ܡܟܗܢܐ; καταφλυαρέω 'to prate foolishly' = ܡܠܠ, 'to speak against'; ζωοποιός = ܡܚܐ (ptc), i.e salvific, the sort of equivalent we might expect from a much looser text.[6]

Scholia de Incarnatione

We note that for a version which generally puts a high premium on word-for-word equivalence, SDI is fairly free with its particles, using ܕܝܢ for terms other than δέ, such as γε, μήν etc., and also using ܬܘܒ where the Greek has δέ.[7]

Translations such as ܐܝܬ for ἔχει alert us to his preparedness to use explanatory equivalents, and this surfaces also in dealing with harder expressions, e.g. εἰδωλολάτρης ὑπάρχων ἀνήρ as ܓܒܪܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܠܦܬܟܪܐ, and ἀναμαρτησία as

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[1] 23,17 [f.19va] & 23,24 [f.19va].
[2] 17,19 [f.15va].
[3] E.g. 17,13-14 [f.15rb]; 19,28 [f.17rb].
[4] 23,10 [f.19va]; 23,12 [f.19va]; 19,14 [f.17ra]; 21,14 [f.18rb].
[5] 18,29 [f.16va]; 19,13 [f.17ra].
[6] 15,23 [f.14ra]; 15,30 [f.14rb]; 22,11 [f.18vb]; 17,30 [f.15vb]; 15,29 [f.14rb]; 25,2 [f.20va].
[7] E.g. 220,29 [f.26ra]; 220,32 [f.26ra].

ܟܢܫܝ̈ܐ ܡܢ ܚܛܝܐ (*foreign from sin*).[1] Compounds receive similar treatment, with ἐμφιλοχωρέω appearing as ܥܡܘܪܐ ܕܚܘܒܐ (*dwelling in love*). ܛܝܒܘܬܐ can be used for both χάρις and ἔλεος.[2]

Ep39

Lexical equivalence is not so clear a mark of technique in this work as is the formal equivalence described above, especially the equivalence of verbal forms, which is maintained to a high degree throughout this text. The use of vocabulary here shows a reasonable degree of idiomatic and flexible usage, at least for non-Christological vocabulary. The following provides some illustrations of the various approaches this text adopts.

One of the distinctive marks of Ep39's treatment of vocabulary is his tendency to use a fairly limited range, eschewing rarer terms where simple ones will do despite the multiplicity of (to him, at least) synonyms found in his original. Thus ܝܗܒ is used within the text to represent βραβεύω, χορηγέω and προσκομίζω. The three all mean roughly the same thing in their contexts, although the first has more the sense of governing or controlling, χορηγέω ministering or furnishing, and προσκομίζω of simply conveying.[3] When we move more definitely into a sense of causing movement, this term changes to ܐܬܐ, but his can be used for both κατακομίζειν and for καταφοιτᾶν, and ܩܕܝܫܐ can be used both for θεῖος and for ἅγιος in the same sentence.[4] By contrast, he will occasionally use different words for the same Greek one, such as ܫܠܡ and ܫܝܢܐ for εἰρήνη, or ܢܩܫ and ܐܬܐ for συνάπτειν.[5]

Into the same category fall those terms for which complex equivalents could have been found, but this was thought unnecessary, e.g. ܕܚܝ̈ܠܬܢܐ for εὐσεβεστάτοι, ܐܒܗ̈ܝܗܘܢ for the adjective προγονικός, ܟܬܒ for ἐπιστέλλειν, and also simplified formulae such as ܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܐܠܗ̈ܝܐ for θεοπνεύστοις γραφαῖς.[6]

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[1] 219,9 [f.21rb] and 222,14 [f.30va]; 219,23 [f.21vb]; 220,5 [f.22ra].
[2] 220,8 [f.22ra]; 219,18 [f.21va] and 219,27 [f.21vb].
[3] 15,26 [f.149vb]; 16,21 [f.150rb]; 16,23 [f.150rb].
[4] 17,26 [f.151ra]; 18,21 [f.151va]; 17,3[f.150va].
[5] 16,13 and 16,15 [f.150ra] for both pairs.
[6] 15,27 [f.149vb]; 15,27 [f.149vb]; 19,29 [f.152rb]; 17,23 [f.151ra].

We sometimes, however, see very close lexical equivalents, etymological calques such as ⲣⲑⲓⲥⲁⲗⲣ ⲕⲗⲥ̈ⲥ for τοὺς θεολογοὺς ἄνδρας, expanded translations to avoid ellipsis, such as ⲣⲑⲩⲓⲁⲥⲓ ⲣⲁⲓⲗⲥ for ὀλίγα, and Syriac words with a more forceful connotation than the original, such as ⲩⲁⲗ for ἔχω.[1]

In addition, we occasionally see what can only be described as dynamic modulation, in which an idiomatic equivalent is being chosen instead of a more direct one that might be available. Especially noticeable is the use of an idiomatic phrase such as ⲁⲩⲣ ⲩⲗⲥ ⲅ̈ⲣⲥ for ἀποκλείοντες τοῖς and then ⲓⲥⲣ again for περί.[2] ⲣⲩⲓⲥ for ἑτερόδοξος is again not the most obvious choice – the word is usually contrasted with ⲣⲩⲁⲑⲩⲩ and not with ⲣⲥⲑⲩⲑⲓⲣ – but is a good local idiom.

Ep40

The translator of this version tends to have less concern for close equivalence than we have seen in Ep39 and EDC. Although we have seen examples of where those two deviated from more normal patterns, this text mixes up its terms somewhat more freely. Thus phrases such as ἀνὰ μέρος are omitted where they are in hendiadys with a perceived synonym, here ἰδικῶς, and where ἀνὰ μέρος is translated, in common with all the texts as, ⲥⲗ ⲥⲩⲥⲥ, the same can then be used also for further synonyms such as ἰδίᾳ, even within the same clause; and particles like πάλιν can be omitted easily enough, which would be very unusual in some other texts.[3] In line with the insignificance given to rhetorical aspects of the text, διαβεβαιοῦν can be translated with ,ⲓⲥⲣ, ⲓⲓⲩ, or ⲓⲥⲣ at different places.[4] More idiomatic Syriac is normal and the text has a higher incidence of true construct phrases, such as ⲣⲑⲥⲩⲥⲥⲥⲥ ⲑⲥⲥⲥ for κακοδοξία, as against most of the others.[5]

In other places he does some slightly surprising things which makes one feel that he is not being too careful about his choices of words and treating the text, therefore, with quite a bit of freedom. For example, for σύμβασις he uses ⲣⲑⲥⲩⲑⲩ, a Syriac term that

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[1] 17,18 [f.150vb]; 18,1 [f.151ra]; 17,4 [f.150va].
[2] 17,8 [f.150va]; 19,5 [f.151vb].
[3] 24,27-8 [30,27]; 27,7-8 [34,2-3]; 25,2 [31,5].
[4] For διαβεβαιοῦν 26,6 [32,16]; 28,28 [36,11]; 27,23 [34,29].
[5] 27,5 [33,28].

would normally be reserved for the technical ἕνωσις in other versions; his dilemma over this becomes a little more apparent further on when he has to translate εἰς ἕνωσιν and is forced to use a periphrasis by adding an extra verb, ܝܘܠ ,ܐܝܟ‌ܐ - he could surely have been spared this had he used a different word for σύμβασις in the first place.[1] He will speak of ἕνωσις either as a 'coming together' or as a 'being one', according to whim. Again a simple phrase such as ποιότης φυσική can be rendered with ,ܡܢܗ‌ܝܢ ܕܟܝܢܐ and then, apparently unhappy with the vagueness of the phrase, he will use ܕܟܝܢܐ ܟܡܠܐ next time around.[2]

Ep44

Another minimalist translator, who, for example, uses the same term, ܝܗܒ, for both ἐπιλαμβάνειν and for μέμφειν within a few lines of each other and uses ܝܗܒ‌ܐ for ἀκολουθεῖν as well as σύμφερειν.[3]

Elsewhere, he can seek very close equivalences, such as ܟܬܝܘ for θεωρία, which is more etymologically accurate than idiomatic (compare Ep46's ܟܬܘܝܬܐ), but is not yet tied to using the loan word which we see even in native Syriac writing from the middle of the sixth century.[4] Again ܝܡܠܟܐܬܝܠܘ ܟܐܝܚܐ for ἰσχυρίζεται, shows us a translator who is keen to represent the etymology of the Greek words, which is not a trait particularly noticeable in many of the others, e.g. Ep55, Ep45, Ep46.[5]

As we saw with others, this translator too can very his terminology. For ܐܝܠܐ ܕܐܢܬܘܢ‌ܡܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܕܟܝܢܐ was used for the first instance of οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀνατολῆς while ܕܟܝܢܝܢܐ is used for οἱ Ἀνατολικοί – the latter is then used for the fuller οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀνατολῆς on its two following occurrences.[6] Where the phrase ἔχει συνάφειαν comes

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[1] 26,2-3 [32,10-12]
[2] 26,26 [33,19] and 27,14 [34,10].
[3] 35,4 [54,5] and 35,7 [54,9]; 35,19 [55,3]and 36,16 [56,6].
[4] 35,16 [54,23]; the loan word ܟܬܘܝܬܐ was first used perhaps by Philoxenus under Evagrian influence – see Brock, *Hunanyn's Translation Techniques*, 161, to which could be added an interesting instance found in the correspondence between Moses of Aggel and his petitioner on the subject of the text of Joseph and Asenath, quoted in ps-Zechariah Rhetor: Brooks, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, I,18,7 and 21,8.
[5] 36,5 [55,16].
[6] 35,18 [55,1-2]; 35,4 [54,5]; 36,12 [56,1]and 36,22 [56,16].

twice close together, he renders once with the more 'accurate' ܥܠ ܚܘܪ and once with the more idiomatic ܚܙܐ.[1]

Ep45

We can note all sorts of further instances in this sort of text where consistent equivalence is not observed very closely, and dynamic modulations (i.e. cultural or idiomatic equivalents even where the root is not especially cognate) are more common. This includes using, for example, ܝܕܥ for a range of different Greek terms, δοξάζειν, ὁμολογεῖν, ἑνοῦν etc., and sometimes using different Syriac words in close proximity for a repeated Greek one, e.g. both ܚܪ and ܝܕ for ὁρᾶν, which shows an awareness of semantic shifts, as the meaning in the first instance is clearly one of 'mental understanding' rather than 'viewing',[2] an awareness which is also indicated by the use of ܝܕܥ for δοξάζειν rather than the (later) more normal ܫܒܚ.

In contrast to such texts as the EDC, this translator feels no compunction about reproducing both elements of an hendiadys, so that pairs such as ἄτρεπτος and ἀναλλοίωτος, or οἰκειωσάμενος καὶ ἀποφήνας can be reduced to a single term, and rhetorical groups of three reduced to two, as ܫܡܗܐ ܘܐܝܩܪܐ ܘܐܠܗܘܬܐ for τῇ ὁμωνυμίᾳ, τῇ ἰσοτιμίᾳ, τῇ ἀξίᾳ. This also produces a precise identity of οὐσία and φύσις.[3]

He shows the occasional truly expansive rendering, most notably perhaps his trebled ܐܠܗܝܐ ܘܡܬܝܕܥܢܝܬܐ ܘܡܫܒܚܐ for simple θεῖος, where elsewhere the term is usually just ܡܫܒܚܐ or ܐܠܗܝܐ, itself evidence of the variety of equivalents employed.[4] Ebied and Wickham have suggested a Julianist doctrinal tendency in this forceful rendering but do not find any such tendency to be applied consistently.[5]

Ep46

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[1] 36,20&22 [56,13&16].
[2] 152,2 [40,4], 153,9 [41,27] and 153,7 [41,23]; 153,13 [42,5] and 153,17 [42,10].
[3] 156,13-4 [45,19]; 155,14-5 [44,9]; 152,6 [40,9-10]; 156,14-5 [45,21].
[4] 156,5 [45,7] and cf. e.g. 156,16 [45,22] and 153,14 [42,7].
[5] Ebied and Wickham, *Syriac Letters*, xii-xv (Textus volume).

There is not much to add for the lexical equivalents found here, other than what has been said above. Note the very unusual idiomatic ܡ݁ܢ ܡ݁ܢ ܠܓܒ for ἀνὰ μέρος, which is unique here for this common Cyrilline expression, and is otherwise always ܡܢ݁ܗ ܘܡܢܗ - it is reminiscent of a rendering in Ep44 where ἄνω καὶ κάτω is rendered as ܠܓܒ ܡܢ ܠܓܒ. There is another parallel with Ep44 in the use of ܐܬܚܪܝ for φιλονεικεῖν.[1]

The tendency is towards simplicity, choosing fewer different Syriac words even where a number of Greek ones exist, thus we see in the first few lines alone the ܥܩܠ root used for both σκαμβός and διεστραμμένος, and ܫܪܝܪ for both εὐθειής and ἀσφαλής.[2] There is certainly no desire to find more different words than is strictly necessary for the general sense.

Words such as εἰπεῖν and ὁμολογεῖν seem to be able to be ܐܡܪ and ܐܘܕܝ almost indiscriminately, while a complex word such as θεοπάθεια is paraphrastically explained as ܐܠܗܐ ܚܫܘܗܝ ܚܫܐ (we should probably understand the last two words to be in parenthesis).[3]

Ep50

We have noted already the very idiomatic nature of some of the formal and lexical choices of this translator, and here we shall limit ourselves to mentioning a few others of note. Where an exact equivalent would just be too complex, a much simpler word is easily found, e.g. ܣܟܠܐܝܬ (*foolishly*) for the rather unusual γραοπρεπῶς, and probably ܛܠܝܐܝܬ for μάλα νεανισκῶς; sometimes this involves a certain amount of periphrasis, hence ܡܚܠܡܝܢ ܕܐܣܘܢ for ἀκεσταῖς; and in yet other places we see that kind of simplification of rhetorical synonyms that is common to many of our texts, such as ܐܡܪ for both διατείνειν and for διισχυρίζειν.[4]

There are other significant tendencies which indicate how this translator thinks about his meanings: he uses cultural modulations for many words, e.g. ܫܪܝܪܐܝܬ for ὁμολογουμένως (where ܡܘܕܝܢ was found elsewhere), ܡܦܩ ܒܪܘܚܐ for

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[1] 162,3 [52,13]; parallels in Ep44, 36,5 [55,16]; 162,1 [52,5]; and again in Ep44, 36,4 [55,14].
[2] 158,2 [47,11&12]; 158,3&6 [47,14&17].
[3] e.g. 158,15 [48,2] and 158,16 [48,4]; 161,9 [51,9].
[4] 91,2 [f.140vb]; 91,1 [f.140vb]; 91,9 [f.141ra]; 93,4 [f.142rb] and 96,25 [f.144vb].

ἀπότεξιν οἰκειούμενος, ⟨Syr.⟩ for συκοφαντίαι etc., and we also see formulae being simplified, such as ⟨Syr.⟩ ⟨Syr.⟩ for θεσπέσιος βαπτιστής.[1] It is typical of him also to use ⟨Syr.⟩ for φωνή when referring to a 'saying' of scripture, where other texts would doubtless use ⟨Syr.⟩ ⟨Syr.⟩ or ⟨Syr.⟩.[2] But we also see some significant *signifié* renderings, where the real meaning behind a simple word has been grasped and rendered - ⟨Syr.⟩ being used for ἔχειν where the meaning is to 'take up/receive' with ἀρχὴν ὑπάρξεως as object.[3]

Ep55

A glance at the results of the analysis of the translations of Apollinarian language (above, under λογικός and νοερός etc.) confirms that with this letter we have something a little more literal, at the level of lexical equivalence, than in the previous text, and Ebied and Wickham describe it as "fairly, but not intolerably, close." Without presuming to define what 'intolerably close' might really look like in practice, we can note that in general the level of equivalency here is high and somewhat closer to what we saw in Ep39 and EDC, as we might note from equivalences such as μᾶλλον which is consistently rendered with ⟨Syr.⟩, where other translators might have translated it only sporadically or simply incorporated its semantic weight into a ⟨Syr.⟩ or ⟨Syr.⟩. There is a telling comparison with Ep40 in their respective allusions to Rom 9.4 – for νομοθεσία Ep55 has the full term ⟨Syr.⟩ ⟨Syr.⟩ rather than the shorter ⟨Syr.⟩ which was sufficiently precise for the translator of Ep40.[4]

Despite this we can of course point to numerous places, especially with the less important items, where he does not keep any strict equivalency – so to take examples at random, we have ⟨Syr.⟩ for δόγματα as well as for πίστις, ⟨Syr.⟩ for ἱερός and θεόπνευστος, ⟨Syr.⟩ ⟨Syr.⟩ for both ἀκατάσκωπτος and ἀδιάβλητος.[5] We also find some thoughtful idiomatic modulations such as ⟨Syr.⟩ for πρόξενος, and using ⟨Syr.⟩ for λόγοι where the term refers to a 'discourse' and ⟨Syr.⟩ where it means 'praise,

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[1] 94,11 [f.143ra] (95,6 [f.143va] for ⟨Syr.⟩); 95,15 [f.143vb]; 94,7 [f.143ra]; 98,30 [f.146rb].
[2] 94,28 [f.143rb].
[3] 91,13 [f.141ra].
[4] 58,20 [18,6]; Ep40, 28,12 [35,20].
[5] 49,8 [1,12] and 49,5 [1,7]; 49,26 [2,12] and 50,5 [2,23]; 49,13 [2,19] and 49,15 [2,23].

commendation', in both of which cases ܪܚܠܡ is best avoided.[1] There is similar variation for σαφῶς, where we find both ܚܘܪܟܚܟܚ and ܚܘܪܝܣܢ (others might have used ܚܘܪܟܣܢܢ).[2] The platonic formula ὁ τῶν ὅλων γενεσιουργὸς καὶ δεσπότης becomes the simpler, and quite Semitic, ܪܝܐܣܟܐ ܐܢ ܪܝܣ. The formula is based on Timaeus 28c and Cyril is placing himself within the tradition of Alexandrian (platonic) monotheism, but the translator has no interest in making such allusions evident (if he understood them at all).[3] Along the same lines, the translator does not succumb to using ܪܚܣܣܐܟ for δόξα when it means 'opinion' and he will sometimes use a pair of words for one, e.g. πληθύς = ܪܚܣܐܢ ܣܠܐ, or τοῖς ἐπιμεληταῖς (those who have a care) = ܪܚܢܠ ܐܢܘ ܟܘܣܢ ܟܠܣ (those who have a burden of care),[4] as well as sometimes using fuller verbs in place of existential ones, thus for τοὺς οἵπερ ἄν γένοιντο περὶ θεοῦ λόγους (the words, whichever they may be, concerning God), ܪܚܠܡ ܟܣܪܟܣ ܪܣܠܪ ܐܢ (the words which are spoken concerning God).[5] Finally, in this connection a comment on the usage of the term μυσταγωγοί. Here in Ep55, the translator seeks out a number of expressions for it: ܪܝܪ ܣܣܢܟ, ܪܝܪܝܣ ܣܣܠܟ (the verb ܪܣܠ also being used for μυσταγωγέω; the same is found in Ep39),[6] and ܟܠܪ ܪܝܪܝ ܣܠܠܣܢ.[7] We may compare this with even more 'dynamic' equivalents in RF, where we find ܪܝܢܣ ܪܝܪܠ ,ܣܣܢܝܣܪܢ ܪܚܣܠܣ (the apostles who proclaimed the true mystery) and CO, where μυσταγωγήκασιν is rendered ܪܚܣܝܪܝ ܪܚܣܠܐܣܢ ܟܣܪܢܝ (they instructed in the mysterious doctrines).[8] Thus within Ep55 we see a variety of terms used depending on context and meaning, but none like in RF or CO, both of which have quite dynamic equivalents.

Sometimes he can come up with quite different words for similar things, which show his 'mixed' approach to equivalency and 'literalness'. We have seen already how both ܪܚܘܟܣܪ and ܪܚܣܐ are used for οὐσία in this text; on a less significant level we can find for ἀπόρρητος the quite idiomatic ܪܚܣܣܐ, yet the more neologistic ܪܚܣܣܪܟܡ for the

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[1] 49,9 [1,14]; 50,31 [4, 4]; 49,7 [1,8].
[2] 50,31 [4,4]; 51,16 [5,6]. AT, 170,14 [476,13] and Ep39, 18,3 [f.151ra] both have the closer ܚܘܪܚܠ .
[3] 52,5 [6,8]; for the use of the formula in Christian theological writing, see J. Daniélou, *Gospel message and Hellenistic culture*, London 1973, 108-110.
[4] 51,8 [4,21]; 50,8-9 [2,27]
[5] 49,28-9 [2,15].
[6] 19,27 [f.152rb].
[7] 50,22 [3,19]; 53,6 [8,8] (57,4 [15,20] for μυσταγωγέω); 58,2 [23,10-11].
[8] RF, 46,21 [20,1]; CO, 36,28 [f.93rb].

synonymous term ἄφραστος. The same practice is evident again where Cyril speaks of God 'calling into existence' and εἰς τὸ εἶναι becomes ܢܥܘܠ whereas elsewhere the article with infinitive is done with verbal phrases.[1]

It is evident that we have to do here with a translator who is finding his way through the problems and difficulties raised by the developments in technique that we witness in the period of the Philoxenian. He often seems more at ease in the older, more liberal, style, not being too careful about lexical consistency or about mirroring Greek syntax; yet we also see a plentiful use of those sorts of simple calques which are typical of the Philoxenian, which do not injure the native idiom but yet do attempt to reflect the original carefully. The word order of the text follows the original wherever it can, but by no means slavishly. His quite varied usage places him in a period of change and uncertainty.

Contra Orientales/Contra Theodoretum

This is characterised both by inconsistency and, by comparison with the texts just dealt with, some unexpected renderings. As an example, we note the terms διάνοια and ἔννοια; the former is found as ܪܥܝܢܐ, ܬܪܥܝܬܐ, and as ܡܕܥܐ, with the latter also as ܪܥܝܢܐ.[2] It is unusual thus to have a number of Syriac synonyms employed for a single Greek term within a single text. Frequently we see that contextual meaning is more important to the translator than consistency; thus δόξα as 'opinion' is never ܫܘܒܚܐ, as in some texts, but can vary between ܬܪܥܝܬܐ and ܬܪܥܝܬܐ, the latter being the more common, and which can also be used for λόγος where the sense is appropriate;[3] λόγος itself has a variety of equivalents, including both ܡܐܡܪܐ and ܡܠܬܐ where appropriate, as well as the obvious ܡܠܬܐ;[4] ܡܐܡܪܐ is also used regularly for δόγμα, although ܡܠܬܐ can be used just as well.[5]

Further examples could easily be multiplied; to pick a few, τάσσω is rendered both as ܣܡ and as ܐܬܛܟܣ within the same sentence; τρόπος is found as both ܙܢܐ and as

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[1] 52,31 [7,19-20]; 53,15[8,22] and also e.g. 53,10 [8,15].
[2] 33,14 [f.91rc]; 34,2 [f.91vb]; 40,6 [f.94vb]; 33,17 [f.91rc].
[3] 35,6 [f.92rb]; 35,19 [f.92rc]; 40,29 [f.95rb].
[4] 40,10 [f.94vc]; 39,22 [f.94rc].
[5] 40,28 [f.95rb]; 39,22 [f.94rc].

ܪܒܝܟܐܘ; for χρηματίζω and ὀνομάζω we have, without any consistency, ܡܐܟܪ or ܡܫܘܟܬܪ;[1] κοινός is found as both ܪܥܐܟ and as ܟܗܐܪ; and an important term like μορφή, while usually being ܪܝܗܐܡܐ, is also found as ܪܝܗܘ, not an equivalent found elsewhere.[2] The term ἀξίωμα is ܪܝܠܝܐܐ and then shortly afterwards is ܪܝܐܪ, whereas ἀξία is ܪܝܠܝܐܐ in the very same sentence, while αὐθεντία becomes ܪܝܗܐܠܝܟܐ; δῶρον is ܪܝܐܪ consistently but then later appears as ܪܝܐܝܐܐ.[3]

On the other side of the coin, we see still plenty of examples of single Syriac terms doing double duty; thus there are no real alternatives to using ܪܝܘܪ...ܪܝܘܪ for both ἕτερος...ἕτερος and ἄλλος...ἄλλος; ܪܝܝ is used for both ἕπομαι and φέρομαι in close succession; the Aphel form ܟܘܪ is used for both παρακομίζω and προσποιέω.[4]

We see variety especially when it comes to epithets and standard formulas. We have already noted how introductory formulas for citations were standardised or expanded in this text (see above, under 'editing'), and the same holds at the level of individual words. Thus the scripture that is θεόπνευστος can be described equally as ܪܝܘܐܝ, ܪܝܝܗ, or ܪܝܡܐܪ.[5] Again μακάριοι is to be found as ܪܝܝܗ as well as the expected ܪܝܗܐܟ which is found in the same expression. θεσπέσιος is usually ܪܝܡܐܪ and is not distinguished therefore from θεῖος, and ἱερός is often the same as well.[6] There are various other unusual renderings which merit attention, such as the use of ܪܝܐܝܗ (vain, empty) for ψιλός, which would elsewhere always be ܪܝܗܝܝܐ. The commonly used term ἀναγκαίος is never found as the loan word, as is reasonably common in the other texts, but is usually ܪܝܠܝܪ but once ܪܝܗܗ ܟܝ. The technical Greek δόκησις even in RF's text is the neologism ܪܝܗܐܝܐܝܡܐ, but here is simply ܪܝܝ.[7]

The flexibility of approach characteristic of this translator is evident again when we see how he deals with compound terms that cannot easily be expressed in Syriac in

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[1] 38,9 [f.93vc]; 36,20 [f.93ra] vs 36,31 [f.93rb]; see all of 38,25 [f.94ra], 36,15 [f.92vc], 36,17 [f.93ra], 39,5 [f.94rb] for examples.

[2] 35,32 [f.92vb]; ܪܝܗܐܡܐ at 36,25 [f.93ra] etc, but ܪܝܗܘ, at 36,24 [f.93ra] and 36 27 [f.93rb].

[3] 39,14 [f.94rc]; 39,16 [f.94rc]; 39,16 [f.94rc]; 39,17 [f.94rc]; 34,20 [f.91vc] et passim, but 36,3 [f.92vb].

[4] 37,13-15 [f.93rc-93va]; 37,16f. [f.93va]; 37,16f. [f.93va]; 39,24/28 [f.94va];

[5] 33,16 [f.91rc]; 38,20 [f.93vc]; 40,20 [f.95ra].

[6] 34,32 [f.92ra]; 35,3 [f.92rb]; 38,14 [f.93vc]; 38,23 [f.94ra].

[7] 36,20 [f.93ra]; 36,8 [f.92vc]; 36,19 [f.93ra].

their entirety. Sometimes this simply involves bringing out the compounded preposition as a separate word, as [Syriac] [Syriac] for ἀντανίστανται. But in more complex compounds we see other, and more periphrastic, methods used; for example, ἰσογνώμονες = [Syriac] [Syriac] [Syriac], ἑτεροδιδάσκω = [Syriac] [Syriac], ἑτεροφυής = [Syriac], [Syriac], δυσβουλία = [Syriac] [Syriac], and θεηγόροι (*those who discourse of God*) = [Syriac] [Syriac].[1] Sometimes, he uses more ingenious periphrases, such as [Syriac] [Syriac] [Syriac] for μυσταγωγέω; and [Syriac] [Syriac] [Syriac] for ἀνόμοιοι, which in this type of discourse might seem closer to something like διαιρομένοι (*separated*), whereas the term ἀνομοίος comes from another type of discourse, another set of technical terms. We even have the longer periphrases [Syriac] [Syriac] [Syriac] [Syriac] for ὁμόθρονος and both [Syriac] [Syriac] and [Syriac] [Syriac] for προέρχομαι, where this refers to the incarnation of the Logos – this latter counting almost as editing for clarification.[2] On occasion he evidently feels the need to express the subtlety of the Greek with a pair of synonyms, e.g. [Syriac] [Syriac] for προτάξαντες or [Syriac] [Syriac] (*those who are censorious and worthless*) for φιλοσκώμμονας (*those who are fond of scoffing*), which is really a surrender to untranslatability (see under 'editing' above for further discussion of expansionism of this type in this text).[3] Finally, we note those very idiomatic phrases that he sometimes uses for especially difficult compound terms – under this we would include [Syriac] [Syriac] for ὁμόφρονες and similarly [Syriac] [Syriac] for ὁμοδοξία, and also such as the idiom [Syriac] [Syriac] for ἀποστρέφω.[4]

Responsiones ad Tiberium

Perhaps the most important aspect of the vocabulary of this text concerns its manner of dealing with long, difficult or obscure Greek words. The level of consistent equivalency is high, but this does not greatly distinguish this text from the others. Even here we can have the same Syriac word being used for different Greek terms, such as [Syriac] for both ἕπεσθαι and for συνάπτειν. Words for what is and is not possible are many in Greek, but in this text [Syriac] tends to be used whether negatively for

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[1] 33,18 [f.91rc]; 33,29 [f.91va]; 33,31f. [f.91vb]; 40,16 [f.94vc]; 36,28 [f.93rb]; 38,20 [f.94ra] – this last is an unusual word which turns up e.g. in Heliodorus' *Aethiopica*, and in the Orphic text, *Argonautica* – but our translator seems to have got the gist of it.
[2] 36,28 [f.93rb]; 40,27 [f.95rb]; 39,32 [f.94va]; 35,29 [f.92va] and 40,14 [f.94vc].
[3] 34,6 [f.91vb]; 34,5 [f.91vb].
[4] 33,28 [f.91va] and again 40,24 [f.95ra]; 33,29 [f.91va]; 40,30 [f.95rb].

ἀμήχανον or positively for the impersonal ἐνδέχεται.[1] This can be done to a surprising degree at times, as when ܪܚܫ is used within the same sentence for both ἀπολλύειν and ἀποβαλεῖν and ܐܘܪܚܐ for both ὁδός and τρόχια similarly.[2] The opposite also happens on occasion – in the discussion of the ascension, Cyril uses ἀναλαμβάνειν and its derivative forms frequently, but the Syriac uses forms of both ܐܬܢܣܒ and ܣܠܩ. When the same word turns up again later, this time referring rather to the moral 'acquisition' of good works, the translator uses ܩܢܝܘܬܐ, which indicates also that he is thinking not just about etymological form, but about semantic variation as well, just as we saw in the previous texts.[3]

As we can tell from this last example, there is no doubt that often this translator uses modulated renderings as a result of a thoughtful awareness of the *signifié*. Such a rendering is ܡܙܡܢܐ for πρόξενος, a technical term in Greek culture, the root of which is hardly closely related to ܙܡܢ, 'to summon, call' (a Persian loan); yet in context both Greek and Syriac here gain the accurate sense of 'someone who conveys/guides/calls [us] to a new place'.

However, the most pervasive observation that can be made about the approach of this text to vocabulary is the etymological closeness of much of it, as the translator seeks to find what he thinks of as 'more accurate' equivalences. The equivalency of ܫܘܒܚܐ with δόξα even when it refers to an 'opinion' is well known from other late translations and is consistently used here, but not generally in our other texts, where we find ܪܥܝܢܐ or similar instead, even in generally literal texts such as SDI. Sometimes these very close renderings happily coincide in meaning as well – thus the Gk ἔσθ' ὅτε goes well as ܐܝܬ ܐܡܬܝ. However, when ܡܬܘܣܛܐ ܒܡܨܥܬܐ is used to render τὸ μεσολαβοῦν (simply a *middle-being*), we can begin to see how his mind works. Similarly, a simple formulaic epithet such as θεόπνευστος, which is always ܐܠܗܝܐ or something similar in our other texts, here becomes ܢܦܝܚ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ.[4]

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[1] 140,20 [454,2] and 140,12 [453,12]; 144,7 [456,12] and 144,11-12 [456,16].
[2] 166, 12&13 [473,16x2]; 160,17&19 [469,11&13].
[3] 156,13&1 etc. [466 6&465,14 etc.]; 160,9 [469,4].
[4] 148,18 [460,8] as against 148,23 [460,12]; 158,12 [468,1]; 150,11 [461,13]; 158,11 [467,15].

Compound Greek words naturally fall most easily into this type of approach, and we even see such forms as ܠܚܪܝܫܐ ܠܚܢܝܢ for φιληδόνως, a construct phrase with an adverb instead of the second element. This form is a common calque from the Syro-Hexapla and Harklean, though even there the first element is usually a participle rather than a pure noun, as here.[1] Sometimes this can become virtually unintelligible, as when μὴ ἀποδιοριζέτωσαν ὡς δίψυχοι (*let them not divide, as waverers* – the reference is to James 1.8) becomes ܠܐ ܢܦܠܓܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܬܪܝܢ ܢܦܫܝܢ. Ebied and Wickham render this as *let them not divide him into two souls*, the error coming about due to the etymological translation of a single idiomatic word, δίψυχοι – the error is purely one of *signifié*, and not of *signifiant*.[2]

The last point to add indicates how equivalency for this translator extends even to the matter of particles. As was common in 7th century translations such as Paul of Edessa's revision of Gregory Nazianzus, so in AT ἤγουν and ἤτοι are rendered as ܐܘ ܠܚܬ, καὶ γοῦν as ܒܕܓܘܢ, and ὥσπερ as ܐܝܟ ܕܝܢ. τοίνυν can even become ܠܗܟܝܠܚܝܬ.[3] These sort of equivalents are wholly absent from our other texts.

4.ii Loan Words

'The use of foreign words is dignified'

Aristotle *Poetica* 1458a20

The following is a *selection* of the Greek loan words used in each text, split into two separate categories: A, all those loan words used to translate their precise equivalents in the Greek text; and B, those loan words used where the original term is different. This distinction is important and is not reflected in the indices of Greek loan words in the CSCO volumes which may give, for example, a listing of the instances of ܛܟܣܐ without noting whether the original is τάξις or some other word. Occasionally, a third section, C, is added containing instances where the loan word might have been expected but is not used.

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[1] 164,4 [471,18], see the discussion of this form in Nöldeke §207.
[2] 154,15 [464,15].
[3] 150,17 [462,5]; 172,19 [478,10]; 154,15 [464,15].

The selection is broadly representative, rather than exhaustive, and does not include the extremely common loans, such as ܪܘܡܝܐ, ܪܗܘܡܝܐ and ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ, but rather focuses on those which might assist in understanding the place of the text in the development of Syriac literature. It must also be borne in mind that some texts are simply far greater in length than others and this may sometimes be the principal reason for a greater bulk of loans. Nevertheless, a good idea of the increasingly common use of certain loan-words can be derived from these lists.

Note that the loan for μέν has been discussed already above and is not listed here. The use of ܕܝܢ and ܓܝܪ as standard equivalents for δέ and γάρ is consistent (except at times in the RF) and, since they are not true loans, will not be discussed here either.

De Recta Fide

A

ἆρα (54,25); ἀρχή (42,16); μῶμος (44,13);[1] εἰκών (51,14);[2] ῥιψοκίνδυνως (53,13);[3] ὄργανον (55,17); σχῆμα (56,18); στοιχεῖα (62,33).

B

ܕܝܬܩܐ (διαθήκη) for γραφή (44,35), in reference to the Old/New Testaments; ܗܪܣܝܘܛܐ (αἱρετικός), a plus in relation to the Greek text; ܫܘܐܠܐ (ζητήματα), filling in an ellipsis (46,13); ܐܣܛܪܛܝܘܛܐ (στρατιώτης)[4] for δορυφόροι (47,9); ܢܡܘܣܐ (νομός) for τινὰς ὁριστάς (53,13); ܛܘܦܣܐ (τύπος), filling in an ellipsis (54,8); the phrase ܒܡ ܕܠܝܬ ܦܘܪܣܐ (πόρος) for κατ'οὐδένα τρόπον (57,29); ܩܛܝܓܘܪܝܐ (κατηγορία) for [περιτιθέναι] τὴν γραφήν (62,28).

Quod Unus sit Christus

A

ἀναπεῖσαι (749,7); διαθήκη (765,37, in cit. Heb 10.29); σχῆμα (719,2); τύπος (774,6).

B

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[1] This is an unusual example in that the word is Semitic in origin and yet by homophony with μῶμος comes to function as a loan word, with a fairly exclusive correspondence to the Greek μῶμος and its cognates; it is fairly common throughout our corpus.

[2] ܨܠܡܐ is also used for χαρακτήρ; for details see above under the discussion of specific lexical items.

[3] Simply ܩܝܢܕܘܢܘܣ. The compound is not transliterated.

[4] This loan-word may have been chosen in order to produce alliteration with the preceding ܐܝܠܝܢ. It is also surprising that it is not spelled ܐܣܛܪܛܝܘܛܐ (Brockelmann; Payne-Smith), but this may be a scribal error caused by imitation of more regular noun endings.

ܪܚܐܘܝ‌ܠ, partly to express καταφωράω (715,6); ܘܝܐܠ for πάντως (718,2) and also for πασά πως (736,41); ܪܚܡܐܠ is also used to render ὑπόδειγμα (762,33), even in close proximity to where it is used properly for τύπος.

Explanatio Duodecim Capitulorum

<u>A</u>

ἀμώμητος (ܝܩܐܘ ܪܠ) (18,12); ἀνάγκη (19,28).[1]

<u>B</u>

ܘܝܐܠ (πόρος with compounded ܠܝ) for πάντως (19,6). Although Brock states that the direct loan-word for πάντως was used even from the late fifth century,[2] it is found nowhere in any of our texts, which use either ܘܝܐܠ or, more commonly, ܘܐܝܐ ܠܝ ܡ.

Scholia de Incarnatione

<u>A</u>

ἄρα (223,2)[3]; παράκλητος (195,24 in cit. 1 Jn 2.1); σύνοδος (222,17); τάξις (222,38); τύπος (221,15).

<u>B</u>

ܘܘܝܐܠ for πάντως (225,21).

EP39

<u>A</u>

ἀγών (16,14; 18,4); ἀναπείθων (16,15);[4] χάρτη (16,23).[5]

<u>B</u>

ܩܐܠܝܐܪ (τύπος) used for καταξιοῦν (19,2) – this is quite a dynamic choice; the Greek means something like 'to be worthy' in the sense of 'to be seen to be doing (something)'.

EP40

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[1] But this loan-word is not used for the same Greek term shortly afterwards (21,15).
[2] Brock, *Greek Words in Syriac*, 259.
[3] Used sometimes, but not at all consistently.
[4] The verb here is the Aphel form ܩܐܐܪ, not a direct loan but a derivative of the noun form ܪܚܩܝܐ from πεῖσαι.
[5] However, the word ܪܚܩܠܝܐ more accurately reflects the form χάρτη. The Greek is itself, of course, a loan from Latin.

A

ἄρα (23,29); τάξις (27,23); αἱρετικοί (26,3); διαθήκη (28,12);[1] ἐπίσκοπος (20,17 *et passim*);[2] καθαίρεσις (30,25); κατηγορεύειν (23,14); ἀναπείθειν (21,29); σύνοδος (22,1; 24,2; 30,26); τόμος (21,23); τριβοῦνος (21,16); χάρτη (22,20).

B

ܪܟܣܠ (τάξις) for τρόπος (22,10), for ποιότης (27,14); ܪܣܥܣܘ for νομοθεσία (28,12);[3] ܪܣܥܣ is used in a dynamically rendered passage (equivalent of 21,27-8), and again for αἰτία (23,26) but again the passage is simplified and the equivalences not precise – moreover, this is not a true loan-word (see above under loan-words in *De Recta Fide*); ܩܝܥܪ with the meaning of 'being accustomed', dynamically for τοῖς εἰδόσι (22,27), and again for ὁμολογουμένως (26,21); ܪܩܝܣ for προσηκάμην (22,11); ܩܝܥܠܝܪ for εἴκειν, with the meaning of 'to yield' (22,16).

EP44

A

αἱρετικός (35,8); γλωσσόκομον (37,5)[4]; πραιπόσιτος (37,6); πάπας (36,4; 37,12); ἐπίσκοπος (35,3; 37,9); ὀρθόδοξος (35,19); σύνοδος (37,7).

B

ܘܣܝܣ ܠܐ ܡ for πάντως (36,6)

EP45

A

αἵρεσις (151,17); αἱρετικός (156,24);[5] ἐπίσκοπος (151,7); ὀρθή δόξα (154,10); τάξις (152,1); ὑπομνηστικός (154,12).

B

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[1] In citation of Rom 9.4, where the Peshitta does not use the loan.
[2] On one occasion the fuller form ܪܟܣܣܣܥܪ is used (38,12).
[3] As with διαθήκη in Ep40 (above), this one is from a citation of Rom 9.4, where the Peshitta also has ܪܣܥܣܘ.
[4] Cf. Jn 12.6 (Peshitta).
[5] On both these instances the loan-word is actually ܪܟܩܝܣܝܣ (αἱρεσιώτης) but the Greek is αἱρετικός, in the first instance as an attributive adjective, in the second οἱ αἱρετικοί as a substantive; compare this with the reference to αἱρετικός in Ep44 above, and in Ep55, in which the loan-word is the more proper ܩܝܥܠܝܣ.

ܩܘܒܪ for προτρέπειν (151,9); ܘܘܝܐ ܠܒ ܡܢ for πάντως (155,17); ܩܢܠ for καταρυθμίζειν (151,12) – the loan-word is used also for its true equivalent at 152,1 (see above).

EP46

A

εὐαγγελιστής (158,16); ἀπίθανος (160,20).[1]

B

ܪܐܚܩܢܠ ܐܝܠܦ for ἐγκαλεῖσθαι (160,25); ܘܘܝܐܠ ܡܢ for πάντως (160,8).

EP50

A

ἄρα (93,20); προσωπεῖον (91,7) (as well as πρόσωπον);[2] ἄμωμος (94,16);[3] σοφιστής (98,31);[4] χριστιανός (95,4).

B

ܪܐܗܩܓܝܐ is also used where there is no clear equivalent in the original, in a dynamically rendered passage, as part of the expression ܐܠܘܝܝ ܐܗܓܝܐܝ ܪܐܚܩܘܝܒܩܡܢ ܪܐܩܠܐ (94,10 [f.143ra]).

EP55

A

ἀμώμητος (50,17);[5] αἵρεσις (50,25); αἱρετικός (54,11); ἄρα (59,35);[6] διαθήκη (58,2); ἐπίσκοπος (60,13); καθολική (51,29); ὀρθόδοξος (49,4); στοιχεῖον (51,34); σύνοδος (50,34); σχῆμα (54,10); τάξις (53,1);[7] τύπος (56,10); ὑπόμνημα (51,11).

B

ܘܘܝܐ ܠܒ ܡܢ for πάντως (61,8); ܪܐܩܩܢܝ for νομοθεσία (58,20);[1] ܪܐܩܩܢ for χαρακτήρ (49,22);[2] ܪܐܩܢܠ ܗ (τάγμα) for χορός (56,8); ܠ ܐܝܠܦ (κατηγορεῖν) for καταγράφω

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[1] ܪܐܩܘܐ, not a direct loan, but derived from the loaned root from πείθειν.

[2] The former used in a quite non-Christological sense. See also under section B.

[3] This is in citation from Heb 9.14 and follows the Peshitta use of this semi-loan word; see under *De Recta Fide*.

[4] The form is ܪܐܠܩܐܩ.

[5] Ebied and Wickham omit this from their index. See note on this as a loan word under RF and Ep40 (above).

[6] Again omitted from the index.

[7] The same phrase ἐν χάριτος τάξει is rendered just as in Ep45 (152,1).

(51,7); ܩܠܐ for λόγος (49,7), where the latter means something like a 'good report'
- ܩܠܐ is a derived noun from the verbal form ܩܠ, itself possibly derived from
καλῶς (although it may be native semitic), so the loan is at one remove, but is
nevertheless placed in this category.

C

ܪܝܬ for ἀμώμητος (49,18) rather than ܡܣ ܠܐ as we find elsewhere; εἰκών as ܨܠܡܐ
(51,32) [but see also the discussion of this term above under *Lexical Equivalence*].

Contra Orientales, Contra Theodoretum

A

αἱρετικοί (33,16); ἀκίνδυνος (33,21); ἄρα (54,9); (ὁμό)θρονος (39,32); μῶμος (40,8);
ὄργανον (60,20); πειθόμενοι (33, 25); τάξων (38,9).

B

τρόπος = ܙܢܝܐ (33,30); ἀκολουθία = both ܩܒܠ and then ܩܒܠܐ close together
(38,9f.); πάντη = ܣܘܝܐ ܟܠ ܡܢ (40,24), but this is rare; ἐν κόσμῳ = ܒܬܐܒܝܠ (112,3).

No use of ܐܢܢܩܐ or ܐܢܢܩܝܬ etc for ἀναγκαίως.

Responsiones ad Tiberium

A

αἱρετικός (168,13); ἄμωμος (172,21); ἀπίθανος (166,7);[3] ἀϋλός (174,10); εἰκῆ
(140,5);[4] γίγαντες (176,26); καθολικός (166,24); κατηγορεῖν (172,14); ὀρθόδοξος
(168,1);[5] οὐσία (140,9 *et passim*); σχῆμα (140,26); τάξις (150,10); τύπος (164,20).

In addition we have ܪܨܘܡܐ for ἐξεικονισμός (174,12), a word derived from the loan
ܨܘܪ, not found in the lexicons but roughly equal to the ܡܨܘܪܘܬܐ found in Bar

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[1] Ebied and Wickham omit this from their index; see above under *Lexical Equivalence* for discussion
of the use of this loan-word in Ep40 and Ep55.
[2] Again, see above under this specialist term in *Lexical Equivalence*, although here, its only appearance
in Ep55, it is being used in a non-Christological context.
[3] As usual the Syriac is a derived form from ܨܘܪܐ.
[4] This is said to be found quite rarely, Brock, *Greek Words in Syriac*, 259.
[5] The *plene* spelling ܐܪܬܘܕܘܟܣܝܐ; in previous texts we generally have the shorter spelling ܐܪܬܘܕܘܟܣ.

Hebraeus (see *Brockelmann* sub.voc.); even though ܪܘܩܐ is usually found for χαρακτήρ in this text rather than for εἰκών.

ܪܘܒܝܪ is found for παρεγγραφή (178,12) but seems more likely to represent the variant παραγραφή found in the mediaeval florilegium Paris Gr.1115 which is a reasonable witness to some of the text of this work. The Syriac loan-word is an unusual one – it is found in a section title in a 9th century ms of Gregory Nazianzen (Wright, *Catalogue*, p.425,c.1) and Brockelmann mentions its appearance in Bar Bahlul. It is likely a sign of the lateness of this text.

<u>B</u>

ܡܢ ܥܠ ܒܘܪܣ (πόρος) for πάντως as often before (140,19 *et passim*).

<u>C</u>

εἶτα (e.g. 164,12) is not rendered with its loan-word as in some texts from the late 6th century.[1]

4. iii Neologisms

'Tis a license that has been granted, and ever will be, to put forth a new word stamped with the current die. At each year's fall the forests change their leaves, those green in spring then fall; even so the old race of words passes away, while new-born words, like youths, flourish in vigorous life....Many names now in disuse shall appear again, many now in good repute shall be forgotten, if custom will it so; custom, the lord and arbiter and rightful legislator of language."

<div align="right">Horace, <i>Ars Poetica</i>, 58-72</div>

The following is a list, by text, of words that may be considered to be neologisms of various types, as defined by Brock.[2] As with the list of loans, this list is not exhaustive but, subject to the same reservations, may be taken as being approximately representative of the overall development that we have traced so far (see for instance the long list under AT).

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[1] According to Brock, *Greek Words in Syriac*, 258.
[2] See the various typologies in Brock, *Diachronic Aspects* and *Diachronic Features*.

For the issue of the neologisms ܝܘܣܬܪ, ܢܝܣܬܪ and their derivatives, see further above, under σάρξ, σῶμα and their derivatives.

References are made to the location of the Syriac word given, not its Greek equivalent.

De Recta Fide

ܐܚܪܝܬܣܡܣ [21,13], frequently for δόκησις; ܐܚܪܝܣܬܡ [13,5 et passim] and derivations, a universal term for οἰκονομία; ܐܠܒܘܚܬ [31,10] and ܐܚܘܠܒܘܣܚܬ [64,5]; ܐܘܠܒܘܚܬ [31,10] and ܐܚܘܐܠܒܘܚܬ [32,3 etc.];[1] ܐܒܪܝܬ [33,3], a standard epithet for David; ܐܚܘܣܝܬܚܬ [33,9]; ܐܚܘܐܠܠܢܣ [64,1]; ܐܚܘܣܝܬܣܚ [67,9]; ܐܚܘܣܣܚܬ [83,9], following the Peshitta of Heb 5.8; ܐܠܒܐܚܬ [125,4]; ܐܝܝܣ [129,3]; ܐܝܣܒ [129,10].

Quod Unus sit Christus

ܐܝܝܣܚ [f.51rb]; ܐܚܘܣܢܝܠܦ [f.51rb]; ܐܠܐܚܬ [f.51rb et passim]; ܐܚܘܣܘܘܝܬ [f.51va]; ܐܚܘܣܝܣܬ [f.51vb et passim]; ܐܚܘܣܝܠܚ [f.52ra]; ܐܘܠܒܘܚܬ [f.53ra] and ܐܚܘܐܠܒܘܚܬ [f.53ra]; ܐܝܣܣܚ [f.53rb]; ܐܚܘܣܐܣܡ [f.53rb]; ܐܣܠܠܢ [f.53va]; ܣܘܪܚܣܘܝ [f.53vb]; ܐܠܒܘܚܣ [f.92ra] and ܐܠܒܘܚܬ [f.55va], ܐܚܘܠܒܘܚܬ [f.90va]; ܐܚܘܣܡܣܚ [f.55va]; ܣܘܪܣܡܣܐܚܬ [f.56rb]; ܐܪܣܡܣ [f.56va] and ܐܚܘܣܝܣܡܣ [f.56va]; ܐܝܣܘܐܝ [f.57rb]; ܐܝܣܚ [f.57vb]; ܐܝܣܣܘ [f.57vb]; ܐܚܘܣܘܣܝܣܚܬ [f.59ra; f.70rb]; ܐܣܣܘܣܚܬ [f.61rb]; ܐܚܘܣܠܣܡܣ [f.62va]; ܐܝܣܡܣܚ [f.72vb]; ܐܣܘܝܣܡ [f.74vb]; ܐܚܘܣܣܘܚܬ [f.75va]; ܐܚܘܣܝܣܝܣܡ [f.77rb]; ܣܘܪܝܣܣܡܣ [f.77vb]; ܐܚܘܣܡܣܚܬ [f.78vb]; ܐܚܘܣܝܣܚܬ [f.90vb]; ܐܚܘܣܝܣܣ [f.95ra].

Explanatio Duodecim Capitulorum

ܣܘܪܐܠܠܣܚܬ ܐܠ [f.15rb, 16vb], fairly common throughout for ἀπορρητῶς; ܐܣܘܠܠܣܚܬ [f.16vb]; ܐܚܘܣܘܝܣܚܬ [f.15vb]; ܐܚܘܣܝܣܬ [f.16ra etc.]; ܐܝܘܣܚܬ [f.16vb] = ὁρατός; ܐܝܣܣܢܣܚܬ [f.16vb]; ܐܚܘܣܡܣܢܣܚܬ [f.18ra] for σαρκωθῆναι; ܣܘܪܐܠܣܚܣܡ [f.19ra]; ܐܚܘܣܝܣܣܚܬ [f.19ra]; ܐܚܘܣܣܢܣܡܣܚܬ [f.19ra] = δυναστεία"the first instance of this word

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[1] A neologism like this is, however, used inconsistently, e.g. for both ἄτρεπτος [41.3] and ἀκιλινές [41.4], but then with ܐܠܘܣܣ ܚܠ also being used for ἄτρεπτος [41.2].

is rendered with ܟܠܗ, even though the denotation and sense is identical]; ܪܚܘܝܢܝܫܢ [f.19ra, 19vb]; ܪܝܘܝܫ [f.20va]; ܪܠܐܡܫ [f.21ra].

Scholia de Incarnatione

ܪܚܘܝܢܝܫܟܫ [f.21vb]; ܪܚܘܝܢܝܫ [f.22rb]; ܪܝܘܠܥ [f.23vb], ܫܗܪܝܠܥ [f.38va]; ܪܝܐܠܘܗܥ [f.24rb]; ܪܝܝܝܟ ܗܥ [f.24rb]; ܪܠܐܡܫ [f.24rb]; ܪܚܘܝܢܝܫܫ [f.24ra]; ܪܝܫܫܗܥ [f.24va]; ܪܚܘܝܢܝܫܫ [f.25vb]; ܪܚܘܝܢܝܫ [f.26va]; ܫܗܪܠܠܫܗܫ [f.27ra] and ܪܠܠܠܗܗ [f.44vb]; ܪܠܗܘܗ [f.27va], ܪܚܘܠܗܘܗ [f.29ra]; ܪܚܘܗܝܝܗ [f.28vb] (for συγκαταβάσις); ܪܚܘܝܝܝܗ [f.30va]; ܪܚܘܝܝܝܟܗ [f.33vb]; ܪܚܘܝܝܝܗܥ [f.39vb]; ܪܚܘܝܝܡܫ [f.40ra]; ܪܝܝܟ ܝܗ [f.41rb]; ܪܚܘܝܝܗ [f.44ra]; ܫܗܪܠܗܗܡ [f.48ra].

Ep39

ܪܚܘܝܗܗܗ [f.150rb]; ܪܚܘܝܝܝܗ [f.150rb]; ܪܚܘܝܠܥ [f.150va]; ܪܫܘܝܝܝܗ [f.150va]; ܪܝܐܠܘܗܥ [f.151va]; ܪܝܝܟ ܗܥ [f.151va]; ܪܫܠܠܗܗ [f.151va]; ܪܝܝܠܥ [f.151va]; ܪܚܘܝܝܝܡ [f.151va].

Ep40

ܪܝܝܠܥ [31,2] and the twin forms ܪܚܘܠܝܥ [37,21] and ܪܚܘܠܝܥ [37,12]; ܪܚܘܝܝܡܫ [37,13].

Ep44

Ep45

ܪܚܘܝܝܝܗ [39,9]; ܪܚܘܠܝܥ [39,13], cf.Ep40 above for this form; ܪܠܗܘܗ [45,24] and ܪܚܘܠܗܘܗ [44,15]; ܪܝܐܠܘܗܥ [45,19]; ܪܚܘܝܡܫ [46,6].

Ep46

ܪܝܝܠܥ [50,8] and ܪܚܘܝܝܠܥ [50,11]; ܪܚܘܝܡܝܗ [50,22]; ܪܚܘܝܝܝ [50,22]; ܪܫܘܝܝܝܥ [52,29].

Ep50

ܪܚܘܝܝܡܫ [f.140vb]; ܪܝܝܠܥ [f.141vb]; ܪܚܘܝܝܝ [f.143va].

Ep55

ܐܚܐܘܒܐܒܐ [4,2]; ܐܚܐܟܠܓ [4,7]; ܐܟܐܠܐܚ [4,19]; ܐܚܘܢܝܘܐܚ [5,10]; ܐܠܘܐܚ
[5,22]; ܐܟܢܟ ܐܚ [5,23]; ܐܠܒܐܚ [5,28], in cit. Rom 1.23 (Peshitta has ܐܠܒܘܐܚ);
ܐܚܪܐܒܢܐܚ [7,9]; ܐܢܐܒܐܚ [7,20]; ܐܚܐܘܒܒܐܚ [9,2]; ܐܚܐܘܒܒ [9,2]; ܐܚܘܐܚܐܢ
[10,10].

Contra Orientales/Contra Theodoretum

ܐܚܐܘܒܒܐܚ [f.91va]; ܐܠܒܘܐܚ [f.91vb]; ܐܟܢܟ ܐܚ [f.92rb]; ܐܚܐܘܠܘܐܚ [f.92vc];
ܐܚܐܘܟ [f.94ra]; ܐܚܐܘܒܒ [f.94ra]; ܐܠܘܐܚ [f.94ra]; ܐܚܐܘܒܒ [leg. for ܐܚܐܒܒ]
[f.94va]; ܐܚܐܘܒܒܐܚ [f.122rb].

Responsiones ad Tiberium

ܐܒܒܒ [457,9]; ܐܚܐܘܒܘܐ [457,14]; ܐܚܐܘܒܢܟ ܐܚ [458,14]; ܐܟܢܒܐܚ [459,6];
ܐܒܢܒܐܚ [456,7]; ܐܢܐܒܐܚ [461,13]; ܐܚܐܘܒܒ [463,6]; ܐܚܐܘܒܒ [464,17];
ܐܚܪܐܒܐܒܐܚ [465,10]; ܐܚܪܐܠܘܐܚ [465,11]; ܐܚܘܐܚܐܢ [465,13]; ܐܢܒܒ ܐܚ [466,10]
and ܐܚܢܒܒ ܐܚ [479,10]; ܐܚܘܠܠܒܐܚ [466,14]; ܐܢܒܒ [468,17]; ܐܚܐܘܒܒܐܚ [469,1];
ܐܚܘܒܐܒܐ [469,2]; ܐܒܒܘܒ [469,8]; ܐܚܘܒܒܠܐܚ [473,10]; ܐܚܐܘܒܒܘܒ [476,4];
ܐܢܒܒ [478,6]; ܐܚܐܘܒܒܐܚ [478,13]; ܐܚܘܒܒ [478,18]; ܐܚܐܠܒܒ [478,13];
ܐܚܐܘܒܒ [479,12]; ܐܚܘܒܒܐܚ [479,19]; ܐܢܒܒ [481,11]; ܐܟܢܒܐܚ [481,16];
ܐܢܒܒ [481,16]; ܐܠܘܐܚ [481,19].

3.ii

Comparison of Translation Techniques in other texts

Having described in as much detail as space allows the various techniques used by our texts across a range of criteria, we are now in a position to develop the observations made in the last section (3.i) by introducing a new method. Cyril is plentifully quoted by subsequent authors, both Syriac and Greek. Where such authors quote from our texts, therefore, we have extant *two* Syriac versions of the same passage, one of which will often be datable. By comparing these passages, we hope to shed further light on the observations made thus far with regard to the techniques of our texts.

The most important author in this connection is Severus of Antioch, whose works are extant only in their Syriac versions. Others will also be mentioned as we proceed, such as the author of the life of John of Tella, Theodosius of Alexandria, and Peter of Callinicum. These are all (reasonably) datable texts.

The Syriac versions of the majority of the works of Severus have traditionally been ascribed to the deposed monophysite bishop Paul of Callinicum.[1] The basis for this attribution rests on the colophon of Vat.Syr.140, the ms which contains the dossier of works written by Severus and Julian of Halicarnassus (the Anti-Julianist Polemic). This colophon (f.145v) attributes the translation to Paul and dates his work to 528. The ms itself is of 6th century date and there is no reason to doubt its testimony in this matter. Can any of the other Syriac versions of Severus be ascribed to Paul? When Lebon first published the *Liber Contra Impium Grammaticum* (CG) in 1929, he ascribed the work again "ad eundem interpretem [sc. the translator of the Anti-Julianist works] probabiliter, haud tamen certo, libri quoque contra impium grammaticum syriacam versionem auctores hodierni communiter referunt," though he does not tell us who these 'auctores hodierni' are.[2]

The ascription also of the translation of the *Sergius correspondence* to Paul of Callinicum rested with Baumstark and was similarly adopted by Lebon.[3] The

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[1] Thus Duval, *Littérature Syriaque*, 316.
[2] Lebon, *Contra Impium Grammaticum*, versio, p.ii.
[3] Baumstark, *Geschichte*, 160; Lebon, *Orationes ac Epistulae*, v (versio).

Cathedral Homilies exist in two versions, one known to be by Jacob of Edessa, the other, older version, ascribed again to Paul – thus says Brière, that this deduction was made "de la parenté qui existe entre les traductions précitées [i.e. the three texts mentioned so far] et une version syriaque des 125 homélies cathédrales de Sévère d'Antioche." He recognises that only the anti-Julianist corpus is actually explicit on this matter and that the others are deductions from this based on similarity (of style).[1] Although we have no reason to doubt these judgments, it is worth keeping in mind that the attribution of this large corpus to Paul of Callinicum in the late 520s rests on only one colophon to one of the works involved.

One other vital work, however, can safely be attributed to Paul, namely the *Philalethes*. For if we compare a long citation which Severus makes from the *Philalethes* in one of his defences against Julian with the parallel text in the *Philalethes* itself, we can observe that the two are identical for a full 51 lines of text.[2] From this one observation we are able to conclude that the translator of the anti-Julianist work (i.e. Paul of Callinicum) was making use of an already extant translation of the *Philalethes*. Given the short time available for this, together with all the other considerations mentioned, it seems extremely likely that this translator was himself. We can thus firmly attribute the translation of the *Philalethes* to Paul, despite the editor's own reticence in this matter, and thus expand the corpus of works clearly attributable to this translator.

Severus' other work, the *Orationes ad Nephalium* has come down to us in a single ms (Mausiliensis 30), the colophon of which gives the translator as Athanasius of Nisibis, who was also the translator of some of Severus' correspondence, which he published in 668/9. We can assume that his version of the *Ad Nephalium* comes from a similar date. His work thus belongs to the 'highest' period of Syriac translations, more or less contemporary with those of Jacob of Edessa.[3] The use of the credal term ܟ̈ܐ

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[1] Brière, *Introduction générale aux homélies de Sévère d'Antioche*, 17; the same ascription was made already by previous scholars, see Wright 94f., Duval 316f., Baumstark, 160.
[2] Texts: Hespel, *Philalèthe* (Textus) 348,9-350,3, and Hespel, *Sévère: La polemique antijulianiste* (Textus) III,115,22-117,10.
[3] This Athanasius is not to be confused with his contemporary namesake of Balad, the translator of and commentator upon Aristotle; see Baumstark, *Geschichte*, 259.

ܪܘܚܐ by this translator confirms this late date – Jacob of Edessa being especially noted for its use.[1]

Basing ourselves on these reasonably well-fixed points, we are now able to look at the texts where they overlap. The method of comparing parallel texts in patristic citations was used by Van Roey and Allen in their study of the various Syriac versions of the works of Theodosius of Alexandria, although in their case the main purpose of the comparison was rather to ascertain the identity of the translators.[2] The method used there did not extend beyond comparison of vocabulary. Beyond establishing that the various extant versions were all by different translators and that they were in turn all different from the full Syriac versions of the same works (in this case, Paul of Callinicum's Severus and Paul of Edessa's Gregory Nazianzen), the analysis did not go much further. In this chapter, by contrast, we shall be looking at translation technique across roughly the same range of criteria that we used in the foregoing chapter. For each text a small selection of examples will be given out of the usually very large number available both in Paul's translation work and in the large Syriac florilegia, the mss of which were decribed in 2.i. Only the shorter passages will be cited in full, in order to provide the proper evidence without overburdening the length; but the relevant parts of all the example passages will be fully discussed.

The abbreviations for the various texts will frequently be used in the following discussions. The reader is referred back to the key on p.1-3.

Citations of the *De Recta Fide*

Example 1
[Greek: 45,8-12]
τὴν ἀπὸ γῆς σάρκα ταῖς ἀνωτάτω δόξαις στεφανοῦν παραιτούμενοι καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄγαν ἀμαθίας νόθην τινὰ καὶ παρεφθαρμένην νοσοῦντες εὐλάβειαν παρατετράφθαι φασὶ τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς φύντα λόγον εἰς ὀστέων τε καὶ νεύρων καὶ σάρκος φύσιν, τὴν ἐκ

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[1] Gribomont, *La catechèse*, 153, n.67, although Gribomont here seems unaware of the external attribution to Athanasius.
[2] Van Roey and Allen, *Monophysite Texts*, 119-22.

παρθένου γέννησιν τοῦ Ἐμμανουὴλ πλατὺ γελῶντες οἱ τάλανες καὶ τὸ ἀπρεπὲς καταγράφοντες τῆς οὕτως ἀρίστης καὶ θεοπρεποῦς οἰκονομίας..

[Syriac: 12,6-13,6]

ܡܢ ܪܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܪܐ ܐܝܪ ܡܢ ܪܐ ܐܝܪ

[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: PHL 79,16-24]

ܡܢ ܪܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܪܐ ܐܝܪ ܡܢ ܪܐ ܐܝܪ

In contrast to those many passages where the translator of *De Recta Fide* treated his text very lightly, adding his own editorial adjustments and transposing only the general idea of the sentences, this example comes from a passage in which he has used a more exact technique, thus providing a more useful comparison with the contrasting technique used by Paul of Callinicum.

While *De Recta Fide* uses two words for παραιτούμενοι and puts them at the beginning of the clause, Paul of Callinicum tries to imitate the Greek word order by putting ܐܪܒܥܐ at the end. The ܪܓܠܐ/ܪܝܡܐ distinction is shown clearly, as well as *De Recta Fide*'s inconsistency in using ܪܝܡܐ for the second instance of σάρξ. The phrase ταῖς ἀνωτάτω δόξαις is more accurately expressed with an adjectival phrase in Paul of Callinicum than the dynamic modulation 'name of the Godhead' in *De Recta Fide*. While there are a number of agreements in vocabulary, e.g. for νόθης and παρατρέφω, as well as for ὀστέων τε καὶ νεύρων, Paul of Callinicum's greater rigidity can also lead to misleading results, thus the latter's use of ܟܬܒ for καταγράφω where *De Recta Fide*'s ܨܚ actually brings the reader much closer to the true *signifié* of the verb.

Again, it is not quite obvious why Paul of Callinicum should turn the first clause into a passive when the verb στεφανοῦν is clearly active; the same can be said of Paul of Callinicum's choice of ܀ܢܝ for φύω (probably on the basis of an etymology) where *De Recta Fide* has more naturally used a form of ܝܠ.

Example 2

[Greek: 48,12-25] [Syriac: 10,13-13,6] [Citation in Paul of Callinicum: PHL 80,15-81,7]

As for καταγράφειν above, so now for καθορίζειν, we see Paul of Callinicum using an etymological equivalent, in this case ܢܘܚ, and *De Recta Fide* the *signifié* equivalent, ܢܝܣ. Where καταγράφειν re-appears later in this citation and the meaning is 'to ascribe', *De Recta Fide* simply uses ܝܣܪ, while Paul of Callinicum of course retains his consistency with ܗܟ again. Paul of Callinicum is more prepared to use new forms, words such as ܒܘܪܟܝܟܝܢܝ for ἀκατάσειστον, where *De Recta Fide* has only ܒܘܪܝܝܣ, changing the part-of-speech as well as the root.

De Recta Fide's freedom with regard to syntactical relationships is again in evidence, as τῆς οὕτω παγκάλης καὶ ἀρίστης βουλῆς (*of the so all-perfect and wonderful plan*) becomes ܠܘܒ ܪܕܪܗ ܪܗܩܘܝܒܝܢ ܪܗܣܝܝ (*the wisdom of the dispensaton that is all-wonderful*) in *De Recta Fide*, but accurately ܪܝܠܝܢܐ ܪܝܣܥ ܠܣ ܪܚܥܗܝ ܪܒܝܝܝܠ in Paul of Callinicum – thus hendiadys generally is respected in Paul of Callinicum but rarely so in *De Recta Fide*.

Again, however, we note that *De Recta Fide* is quite capable of coming up with some better and more accurate renderings of its own. Thus for the tricky γηγενές Paul of Callinicum has ܪܒܝܝܪ ܝܣ ܢܠ, while *De Recta Fide* has the adjectival ܪܒܝܝܪ; for ὕπαρξις, *De Recta Fide* has ܪܗܘܒܘܪ, Paul of Callinicum ܪܒܝ. Paul of Callinicum has no advance on *De Recta Fide* when it comes to expressing modality (optatives, ἄν etc.) and finding different equivalents for the verbs of existence (ὑπάρχω, κεῖμαι etc.).

Example 3

A part of one of the extracts used in PHL is also quoted in a tractate of the mid-6th century monophysite patriarch Theodosius of Alexandria [*Oratio theologica*, Geerard 7137, Syriac only extant], written in 556/7.

This Tractate exists in 3 different, though seemingly related, Syriac translations, designtaed as H, B2 and F (according to the sigla used by Van Roey and Allen, *Monophysite Texts*). The editors do not come to any firm conclusions about the relationships between the versions other than noting their general independence from one another

All three versions have been edited, with our citation located as follows:

H = Chabot, *Documenta* 74,11-19 [versio, 51,24-32] (from BL Add 14602, s.v/vi).

B2 = Van Roey and Allen, 180,25-32 [versio, 248] (from BL Add 12155, s.viii).

F = Van Roey and Allen, p.210,25-32. [versio, 248] (from BL Add 14541, s.viii/ix).

Below is printed the Greek of the *De Recta Fide* (52,19-25), followed by the Syriac version (50,2-8). Beneath this is Paul of Callinicum's version (PHL 82,18-26), followed by version H of Theodosius' *Tractate*. Beneath these is an apparatus containing the variants found in the alternative versions of the *Tractate*, viz. B2 and F.

τὸν θεοῦ μεσίτην καὶ ἀνθρώπων κατὰ τὰς γραφὰς συγκεῖσθαι φαμὲν

ܘܠܗܘ ܡܨ̈ܥܝܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܡܢ ܐܢܫܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ̈ܝܢ ܟܬ̈ܒܐ. ܡܫܟ̈ܚܢ ܡܢ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ,

ܘܠܗܘ ܡܨ̈ܥܝܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܡܢ ܟܬ̈ܒܐ. ܐܝܟ ܟܬ̈ܒܐ ܐܡܪ̈ܝܢ ܡܢ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܫܟ̈ܚܢ.

ܡܨ̈ܥܝܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܡܢ̈ܫܐ ܐܝܟ ܟܬ̈ܒܐ. ܕܡܪ̈ܟܒܝܢ ܐܡܪ̈ܝܢ ܡܢ

ܕܡܪ̈ܟܒ] ܡܪ̈ܟܒܝܢ, quod ponunt post ܐܡܪ̈ܝܢ B2,F

ܕܐܠܗܐ] ܕܝܠܗ B2,F

ἔκ τε τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀνθρωπότητος τελείως ἐχούσης κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον λόγον

ܡܢ ܐܢܫܘܬܐ ܕܡܛܠܬܢ

ܡܢ ܐܢܫܘܬܐ ܕܝܠܢ ܕܡܫܡܠܝܐܝܬ ܐܝܬܝܗ̇. ܐܝܟ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ̇.

ܡܢ ܐܢܫܘܬܐ ܕܝܠܢ ܕܡܫܡܠܝܐܝܬ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ̇ ܐܝܟ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ̇:

ܐܝܬ ܠܗ̇] ܐܝܬܝܗ̇ B2

καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πεφηνότος ἐκ θεοῦ κατὰ φύσιν υἱοῦ, τουτέστι τοῦ μονογενοῦς,

قـْ هو قـْi قـٍ حـٍ حـٍ هـٍ هـٍ نـٍ ,mقـ

حـٍ هـٍ قـٍ هـٍ قـٍ هـٍ .

حـٍ هـٍ ,قـٍ هـٍ حـٍ هـٍ حـٍ .

,ـٍ] جـٍ B2

قـٍ] قـٍ B2 قـٍ, sed pon. post قـٍ, F

قـٍ] هـٍ B2

هـٍ add. ante قـٍ B2,F

قـٍ pon. post هـٍ B2,F

διαβεβαιούμεθα δὲ σύνοδον μέν τινα καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ λόγον συνδρομὴν

قـٍ هـٍ قـٍ قـٍ قـٍ قـٍ .قـٍ قـٍ

قـٍ هـٍ .قـٍ هـٍ [1]قـٍ .قـٍ هـٍ قـٍ قـٍ قـٍ

قـٍ هـٍ قـٍ قـٍ هـٍ قـٍ قـٍ :

قـٍ] قـٍ B2

قـٍ] قـٍ B2,F

قـٍ] قـٍ هـٍ B2,F

قـٍ] قـٍ B2; قـٍ sed pon. post قـٍ F

قـٍ] om. B2,F

εἰς ἕνωσιν ἀνίσων τε καὶ ἀνομοίων πεπρᾶχθαι φύσεων·

قـٍ قـٍ قـٍ قـٍ قـٍ قـٍ قـٍ قـٍ .

قـٍ قـٍ قـٍ .قـٍ قـٍ قـٍ قـٍ .

قـٍ قـٍ قـٍ قـٍ قـٍ قـٍ .

قـٍ] قـٍ B2

قـٍ] قـٍ B2

قـٍ add. F pro قـٍ

قـٍ om. F

ἕνα δ’ οὖν ὅμως Χριστὸν καὶ κύριον καὶ υἱὸν ἐπιγινώσκομεν,

قـٍ قـٍ قـٍ قـٍ قـٍ .

قـٍ قـٍ قـٍ قـٍ قـٍ قـٍ .

قـٍ قـٍ قـٍ قـٍ قـٍ .

قـٍ] قـٍ B2,F

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[1] قـٍ leg. Hespel.

ἐν ταυτῷ καὶ ὑπάρχοντα καὶ νοούμενον θεόν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἄνθρωπον.

܀ܪܒܝܢܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܬܒܝܢ ܘܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܕܗܘ

܀ܪܢܐ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܬܒܝܢ ܘܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܐܢܫܐܝܬ

ܪܒܝܢܐ ܚܕ ܐܝܟ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܬܒܝܢ ܘܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܒܗ ܒܗ ܘܗܝ

ܡܬܒܝܢ ܘܐܝܬܘܗܝ] ܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ ܘܐܝܬܘܗܝܐ F

ܐܢܫܐ ܐܝܟ] ܐܢܫܐܝܬ B2,F

The differences between *De Recta Fide* and Paul of Callinicum are as we would expect. In particular, note the way συγκεῖσθαι is reduced to a copula in *De Recta Fide* but given the status of an indicative in the others; κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον λόγον is virtually ignored in *De Recta Fide*; *De Recta Fide*'s loose use of ܚܝܐ ܒܪ for a term other than ὁμοούσιος, and its avoidance of the term συνδρομήν where possible. Many of these traits have been noted previously but are highlighted by the contrasting techniques of the other translators.

All three versions of Theodosius' citation represent a style totally alien to that of *De Recta Fide*, but the comparison with Paul of Callinicum is intriguing. The latter predates the writing of Theodosius' tractate by a generation, yet there is no marked difference between them. In places, in fact, Paul of Callinicum has the edge on H as an exact representation of the original.

B2 and F are a marginal improvement on H (e.g. ܪܗܡܝ ܕܘܩܥ for συνδρομὴν and some alterations in word order), but then ܗܠ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܬܡܠܟܢ for ܗܠ ܐܝܬ for τελείως ἐχούσης is less idiomatic than B2's ܡܐܝܬ ܐܝܬܡܠܟܢ. Paul of Callinicum appears to be slightly closer to B2 than to any other version, showing some common idiosyncrasies which must be related, such as ܐܝܬܝܐ ܐܒܐ ܡܢ ܫܘܕܐ ܗܘ ܐܒ ܡܢܘ. Overall, B2 and Paul of Callinicum can easily be seen as the products of very similar translators, brought up in the same schools and using much the same techniques.

We move on now to three examples of citations in the florilegia.

Example 4

[Greek: 55,8-13]

καὶ τοῦτο εἰδὼς ὁ θεσπέσιος γράφει Παῦλος· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐφορέσαμεν τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ χοικοῦ, φορέσωμεν καὶ τὴν εἰκόνα τοῦ ἐπουρανίου. εἰκόνα μὲν γὰρ τοῦ χοικοῦ τὸ εὐόλισθον ἔφη πρὸς ἁμαρτίαν καὶ τὸν ἐντεῦθεν ἡμῖν ἐπιρριφέντα θάνατον, εἰκόνα δὲ αὖ τοῦ ἐπουρανίου, τουτέστι Χριστοῦ τὸ ἑδραῖον εἰς ἁγιασμὸν καὶ τὴν ἐκ θανάτου καὶ φθορᾶς ἀνακομιδήν τε καὶ ἀνακαίνισιν εἰς ἀφθαρσίαν καὶ ζωήν.

[Syriac: 63,10-64,5]

ܐܚܪܢ ܡܠܝܘܗܝ ܠܠܒ ܐܢܐ ܡܢ ܐܚܪܢ ܡܠܝܘܗܝ ܠܠܒܢ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܒܗ ܦܘܠܘܣ ܟܬܒ ܗܘܐ ܚܟܝܡ ܘܐܝܟܢܐ .ܕܐܝܟ ܕܠܒܫܢ ܨܘܪܬܐ ܐܚܪܝ ܡܢ ܐܚܪܢ ܦ ܡܠܝܘܗܝ ܟܬܒ ܡܢ ܕܝ ܨܘܪܬܐ ܡܢ ܕܦܓܪ ܡܢ ܐܚܪܢ ܣܓܝ ܠܐ ܬܘܒ ܕܐܝܟ ܡܠܝܘܗܝ ܦܓܪ ܦ ܗܢܘ ܨܘܪܬܐ ܡܢ ܐܚܪܢ ܐܡܪ ܗܢܘ .ܕܒܝܬܘܗܝ ܘܩܘܝܡܐ ܘܕܘܟܝܐ .ܕܚܕܬܘܬܐ ܩܝܡܬ ܚܝܐ ܡܢ ܚܒܠ ܘܡܘܬ ܒܚܪܬܐ .ܕܠܐܡܘܬܘܬܐ

[Citation in Florilegium: Add 14536, f.15a]

ܘܗܢܐ ܕܝ ܐܦ ܠܠܒ .ܕܦܘܠܘܣ ܠܠܒܢ ܐܝܟܢܐ .ܗܕܐ ܒܗ ܦܘܠܘܣ ܟܬܒ ܟܝܡܐ ܟܕ ܒܗ ܕܐܝܟ ܣܓܝ ܡܢ ܕܨܘܪܬܐ ܘܐܝܟܢ ܬܘܒ ܐܡܪ ܕܨܘܪܬܐ ܕܦܓܪ ܡܢ ܒܚܪܬܐ .ܕܠܠܒ .ܨܘܪܬܐ ܓܝܪ ܕܦܓܪ ܒܚܪܬܐ ܘܩܘܝܡܐ ܕܬܚܝܒܘ ܠܐܒܝܠܐ ܚܛܝܐ ܦ ܗܢܘ ܨܘܪܬܐ ܕܝ ܠܠܒ .ܕܒܝܬܘܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܕܕܘܟܝܐ ܘܕܚܝܐ ܘܚܝܐ .ܕܠܐܡܘܬܘܬܐ

The obvious differences abound: *De Recta Fide* alters the structure of even the simple first clause, making ܐܡܪ the main verb and ܟܬܒ the subordinate; he uses ܟܝܡܐ loosely for θεσπέσιος; it uses the analytical phrase ܨܘܪܬܐ ܦ ܗܢܘ...ܦܓܪ ܦ ܗܢܘ where the citation uses an adjectival formal equivalent; it varies the terms for χοϊκός, using ܗܢܘ ܕܦܓܪ ܦ on the second occasion; it omits any reference to ἔφη; the relationships of the list of nouns in the last clause are severely rearranged in *De Recta Fide* (perhaps to make greater sense to the translator) but carefully mirrored in the citation.

Example 5

[Greek: 55,34-56,5]

οὐ γὰρ που τήν τε ἄληπτον παντελῶς καὶ ἀνάλωτον τῷ θανάτῳ φύσιν, τουτέστιν τὴν θεότητα του μονογενοῦς τῶν ὑπὸ χθόνα μυχῶν ἀνακεκομίσθαι φήσομεν. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἠξιώθη τὸ χρῆμα θαύματος, εἰ μὴ μεμένηκεν εἰς τὸν ἅιδην ὁ ἐκ θεοῦ λόγος, τῇ τῆς θεότητος ἐνεργείᾳ τε καὶ φύσει παραδόξως καὶ ὑπὲρ λόγον πληρῶν μὲν τὰ πάντα

καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐπιδημῶν. ἀνωτέρω γὰρ τόπου καὶ περιορισμοῦ καὶ μεγέθους μετηρτοῦ τὸ θεῖον.

[Syriac: 67,5-68,1]

ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܥܠ ܒܝܬܗ ܕܚܝܠܬܐ. ܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܚܝܠ. ܘܠܐ ܡܬܚܕܪ ܠܥܠ ܟܝܬ ܡܢ ܟܬܪ
ܐܝܟ. ܐܝܟܪ ܐܝܟ. ܐܠܟܝܢܐ. ܡܢ ܐܝܟܐܝܠ. ܒܛܠܒ ܗܕܝܘܐ. ܠܬܚܠܒ ܕܡܢ ܐܝܙܘܪܗ ܘܡܘܗ ܕܡܛܪ.
ܕܠܗ. ܐܠܐ ܝܗܠ ܗܒܝܒ ܐܠܗܐ. ܗܘ ܕܡܬܚܕܬܢܘܬܐ ܕܡܟܘܢܗܘ ܘܡܚܣܐ ܘܒܐܪܝܡܬ.
ܘܐܕܝ ܠܐ ܗܕܐܝܐ. ܠܥ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܝܬܝܪ ܡܢ ܗܕܝܘܐ. ܒܝܬ ܗܒܝܒ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܠܥܠ ܗܒܝܒ
ܐܝܬܪ. ܝܗܘܕܝܬܐ ܒܥܡܕܐ ܡܬܝܕܥܐ ܘܡܟܣܒܪܢ ܚܒܪܐ.

[Citation in Florilegium: Add 12155,f.55v]

ܠܥ ܟܝܬ ܟܠܢܫ ܗܘ ܠܐ ܡܬܚܕܪ ܝܗ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܚܝܠܝܢ ܠܟܝ̈ܐ ܕܡܟܘܢܗܘ
ܕܚܝܠܬܐ. ܡܢ ܟܬܪ ܩܒܐ ܚܕܝܬܐ ܕܐܝܪܐ. ܠܥ ܟܝ ܗܘܐ ܚܒܝܒ ܠܥ ܛܒܘܐ.
ܠܬܚܠܒ ܘܡܟܘܢܗܘ ܒܝܬ ܗܒܝܒ ܐܝܟܐ ܠܐ ܘܐܠܐ. ܡܢ ܒܗ ܗܘ ܗܕܝܘܐ ܒ ܡܬܚܕܬܢܘܬܐ ܘܡܟܘܢܗܘ.
ܕܡܟܘܢܗܘ. ܒܐܪܝܡܬ ܘܠܠܘ ܘܠܠܘ ܝܗ ܕܒ ܠܥ ܚܒ ܡܢ ܗܕܝܘܐ ܘܠܠܘ ܠܥ ܚܝܠܬܐ ܡܢ ܠܠ
ܚܒܝܒܐ. ܐܝܟܪ ܟܣܒܪܢ ܗܒܝܒ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܬܝܕܥܐ ܚܒܪܐ.

Many of the same sort of differences as we saw in the previous examples are simply repeated. Thus *De Recta Fide* will change some aspects outright, e.g. 'caves of death' for 'caves beneath the earth', ܐܠܒܣ for ἀνακεκομίσθαι, where the citation uses the passive more accurately; again we see the difference between analytical and adjectival equivalents for Greek adjectives; the typical formulaic ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ where the citation has correctly ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܡܠܬܐ; the word order throughout is as closely as possible mirrored in the citation, and even μὲν receives its loan equivalent; the final clause is quite reformed in *De Recta Fide* and mirrored in the citation.

Example 6
[Greek: 71,34-72,6]

τεθναίη γὰρ ἄν οὔτι που καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ὁ λόγος. φαμὲν οὖν ὅτι τεθνεώσης αὐτοῦ τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτὸς τοῦτο λέγεται παθεῖν. οὐκοῦν οὐ δίχα σαρκός, ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ μᾶλλον καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτῆς τὴν τῆς κυριότητος ἀνεδήσατο δόξαν ὁ νόμῳ σαρκὸς καὶ φύσει τῇ καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς τεθνεὼς καὶ ἐγεγηρμένος, ἀνθρώπινον μὲν τὸ τεθνάναι πάθος, ἐνέργημα δὲ θεικὸν τὸ ἀναβιῶναι δεικνύς, ἵνα δι᾽ ἀμφοῖν γνωρίζηται καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς τε ἅμα καὶ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς ὡς θεὸς καὶ τῶν ὅλων γεγονὼς ὁρῷτο κύριος ὁ καὶ πρὸ σαρκὸς βασιλεύων μετὰ τοῦ ἰδίου πατρός.

[Syriac: 147,6-148,4]

ܐܠܗܐ ܓܝܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܢܚܡܘ ܠܐ ܐܢܬܐ. ܐܬܪܝܢ ܡܢ ܐܪܬܐ ܕܠܥܠܬ ܕܒܢܚܫ ܗܘ ܕܝܢܝܢ. ܙܘܝ.

ܗܝܐ ܪܡܐ ܕܝܢ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܣܦܐ ܐܠܐ ܣܦܐ. ܐܠܐ ܣܘܦܐ ܘܣܦܐ ܐܠܐ ܣܦܐ ܡܢ. ܣܘܦܐ ܕܢܘܪܬܐ ܩܡܠܗ.

ܗܘ ܕܗܠܬܐ ܐܪܣܝ ܕܒܢܘܪܐ ܕܠܝ ܕܡܢ ܣܡ ܒܢܚܫܘܬ ܗܘܐ ܓܝܪ ܗܘܐ ܚܢ ܐܬܪܐ.

ܕܚܢܘ ܡܢ ܣܝܡܕܘ ܢܗܘܪ ܗܘܐ ܐܣܬܠܗ ܒܕܢ ܐܬܬܪܝܢ ܬܚܠܝܬ ܕܐܬܪܝܟܬ ܐܒܕ.

ܘܩܠܐ ܕܢܚܫ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܬ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܚܕܝܘ ܘܗܘܐܢ ܗܘܐܬ ܪܐ ܥܠ ܚܠ ܗܘ ܕܐܦ ܡܢ ܣܘܦܐ.

ܡܬܒܠܥ ܗܘܐ ܟܐ ܐܒܕܘ,

[Citation in Florilegium: Add 14532, f.50v]

ܠܥܠܬܐ ܐܬܪܝܢ ܗܘ ܠܒܗ ܕܣܐܡ ܒܢܚܫܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܬܪܝܢ. ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܡܠܘ ܡܢܗ ܠܢ ܥܠ ܒܢܚ. ܕܥܠܬ ܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܣܦܐ ܐܠܗ ܗܠܬܐ. ܣܦܘ ܠܢ ܕܝܢ ܣܦܐ ܡܢ ܒܗ. ܕܝܢ ܛܝܒܬܘ ܘܣܘܒܟܝܬ ܐܬܢܘܒܟܐܠ ܡܢܩܘ ܐܬܟܠܗܬ.

ܕܣܒܘܬܐ ܕܣܐܡܢ ܘܒܢܚܫ ܘܣܘܦܐ ܕܠܒܗ ܕܝܢ ܣܡ ܒܕܢ ܠܢ ܐܢܬܪ ܡܢ ܣܝܡܕܘ ܓܝܪ ܐܢܬ, ܗܘ ܕܚܢܘ,

ܒܢܚܝܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܗܝ ܒܗ ܪܐܝ ܚܢ, ܗܘ ܕܣܝܡܠܗ ܕܝܢ ܒܕܢ ܬܚܠܝܬ ܐܬܪܝܟܬ ܐܒܕ ܐܝܟ ܘܩܠܐ.

ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܗܘܐܬܐ ܥܠ ܚܠ ܕܢܘܪܬ ܗܘ ܕܐܦ ܒܢܚܫ ܣܡ ܒܕܢ ܕܝܢ. ܕܚܢܝܬ ܥܠ ܐܬܪܐ ܩܡܗܘ. ܡܬܒܠܥ ܗܘܐ ܟܐ ܒܢܚܫ ܣܡ.

ܐܒܕܘ,

Note the obvious word order accuracy with the very first word, as well as *De Recta Fide*'s modulation ܒܢܚܫܘ for καθ' ἑαυτόν; obvious omissions in *De Recta Fide*, such as for μᾶλλον, as well as ellipses supplied such as ܣܦܐ ܣܡܘ for καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς; also, the proper use of loans in the citation, ܣܘܒܟܝܬ rather than ܣܒܘܬ, and ܕܝܢ for μέν, as always in Paul of Callinicum as well. Especially also the mirror rendering of ἀνθρώπινον μὲν τὸ τεθνάναι πάθος, ἐνέργημα δὲ θεικὸν τὸ ἀναβιῶναι δεικνύς as ܐܢܬܪ ܡܢ ܣܝܡܕܘ ܓܝܪ ܐܢܬ, ܗܘ ܕܚܢܘ ܒܢܚܝܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܗܝ ܒܗ ܪܐܝ ܚܢ, ܗܘ (*showing [the fact of] dying to be a human suffering, but [the fact of] living [to be] a divine working*) rather than *De Recta Fide*'s non-mirror but *signifié*-oriented ܕܢܘܪܬ ܗܘ ܡܬܒܠܥ ܗܘܐ ܟܐ ܒܢܚܫ ܣܡ ܒܕܢ ܕܝܢ ܛܝܒܬܘ.

Example 7
[Greek: 56,30-57,4]
οἰχέσθω δὴ οὖν λῆρος μὲν ἅπας μῦθός τε ἀδρανὴς καὶ ψευδοδοξία καὶ κεκομψευμένων ῥημάτων φενακισμός. ἔστι γὰρ τὸ θεῖον ἡμῶν μυστήριον οὐκ ἐν πειθοῖ σοφίας ἀνθρωπίνης λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀποδείξει πνεύματος.

[Syriac: 71,10-72,6]

[Syriac text — 3 lines]

[Citation in Peter of Callinicum: *Contra Damianum* III,XLIX,220-5]

[Syriac text — 3 lines]

This citation in the early 7th century translation of Peter of Callinicum shows many of the same traits as in the foregoing examples. Thus *De Recta Fide* shows rhetorical flexibility especially in the initial, polemical, sentence, whereas the citation makes every effort to render the grammar with great precision and every word is present. ἀνθρωπίνης is retained as a proper adjective in the citation but becomes analytical in *De Recta Fide*. The latter also adds 'holy' to 'spirit' (in the interests of formulaic accuracy?) and then adds a phrase, *expressing spiritual things to spiritual people*, from 2 Cor 2.13 to the citation of 2 Cor 2.4. This is typical of *De Recta Fide*'s expansionism.

Citations of *Quod Unus Sit Christus*

Example 1
[Greek: 735,36-736,2]
ἆρ' οὖν συγκέχυνται καὶ μία γεγόνασιν ἄμφω φύσεις.
εἶτα τίς οὕτως ἐμβρόντητός τε καὶ ἀμαθὴς εἴη ἂν ὡς ἢ τὴν θείαν οἴεσθαι τοῦ λόγου τετράφθαι φύσιν εἰς ὅπερ οὐκ ἦν, ἢ μεταχῶρησθαι τὴν σάρκα, κατά γε τὸν τῆς ἀλλοιώσεως τρόπον, εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ λόγου; ἀμήχανον γάρ. ἕνα γε μὴν υἱὸν καὶ μίαν αὐτοῦ φύσιν εἶναί φαμεν, κἂν εἰ ἐν προσλήψει νοοῖτο γενέσθαι σαρκός, ψυχὴν ἐχούσης τὴν νοεράν. αὐτοῦ γάρ, ὡς ἔφην, γέγονε τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, νοεῖται δὲ πρὸς ἡμῶν οὐχ ἑτέρως πλὴν ὅτι κατὰ τοῦτον αὐτὸν τὸν τρόπον θεὸς ὁμοῦ τε καὶ ἄνθρωπος.

[Syriac: f.64rb-va]

[Syriac text — 1 line]

[Four lines of Syriac text]

[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: PHL 172,2-12]

[Syriac text]

[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: CG III,2,250,2-12[1]]

[Syriac text]

[Citation in Athanasius of Nisibis: AN 57,6-16]

[Syriac text]

The citation indicates quite clearly the technical gulf between the original version and the later attempts. The original Syriac text even descends to extreme paraphrase towards the end, but even where the translator is at least trying to render Cyril's exact

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[1] Also cited at CG I,25-6 and CG III,1,155.

[2] Sic, probably reprenting an underlying φύσις.

words, his technique is very far from the stage of development witnessed by the other three together, as the following examples indicate:

- the loan ܐܪܐ used in the citations.
- ܐ ܐܝܟ for ὡς in the citations.
- There is no attempt to render εἴη in the earlier version.
- ܐܠܐ ܐܠ rather than the idiom ܐܠܘ ܥܠ (Sy)
- οἴεσθαι becomes just 'to say' in the earlier version, but is properly rendered in the citations.
- The earlier version has 'nature of God the Word' rather than 'divine nature of the Word' (θείαν was probably missing from Vorlagen of AN and PHL).
- Note how difficult syntax such as εἰς ὅπερ οὐκ ἦν is rendered idiomatically in Sy as ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܐܠܐ ܠܡܐ, but in all the citations as ܗܘܐ, ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܡܐ ܠܗ.
- Again Sy uses the same term for τετράφθαι and μεταχωρῆσθαι, the citations all using ܚܠܦ and ܐܝܟ respectively.
- Sy omits κατά γε τὸν τῆς ἀλλοιώσεως τρόπον entirely, but the citations all use roughly the same formula.
- εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ λόγου is rendered in Sy as ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܠܡܐ, but the citations all have ܐܠܬܐ ܥܠܗ ܠܗ.

This list is given primarily not to show how idiomatic the older translation can be, but rather to illustrate how far technique had advanced already in Paul of Callinicum. It can be seen that most of the techniques for mirroring used by Athanasius have already been developed in Paul's work. The following extra points might be noted about these two versions:

- The loan ܐܓܘܪ is used only by Athanasius.
- The subjunctive εἴη is ܐܝܬܘܗܝ in Paul but ܗܘܐ for Athanasius.
- Paul's ܐܝܬܝܬܘܝ ܗ for τὴν νοεράν shows his awareness of the resumptive article, and a willingness to mirror it. Athanasius, however, omits the extra pronoun.
- Athanasius has, more correctly, ܐܢܫܝܐ ܗ, rather than ܐܢܫܘܬܐ, for τὸ ἀνθρώπινον.

Example 2

[Greek: 775,41-776,21] [Syriac: f.93va-94ra] [Citation in Paul of Callinicum: AJP I, 144,20-145,14] [Citation in Athanasius of Nisibis: AN 43,27-44,7]

As in the previous citation, in a whole host of areas, the older version (Sy) is far outstripped in precision by Paul and Athanasius:

- ܪܓܫܐ for σάρξ in Sy, always ܒܣܪ in Paul and Athanasius.

- Various idioms are used instead of literal mirroring, e.g. ܠܚܡ ܠܐܢܫ, and ܚܣܝܪ ܗܘ ܗܢ ܠܝܕܥܬܗ whereas the citations mirror correctly – in the latter case they are almost identical.

- The citations are always careful to use ܟܕ before all participial clauses, whereas Sy turns them into principal verbs by omitting ܟܕ.

- For a difficult Greek idiom such as κατά τοιόνδε τινά τρόπον, Sy uses a simple Syriac idiom, ܒܗܢ ܙܢܘܡܐ; Paul and Athanasius, however, make similar attempts at mirroring the Greek, the one with ܒܙܢ ܕܐܝܟ ܗܢ, the other with ܒܙܢ ܕܐܝܟ ܗܢ ܗܕܐ.

- The citations use ܡܢ consistenty for μέν, and the loan ܦܪܨܘܦܐ is also found in them only (Sy uses an adverb ܒܩܢܘܡܐܝܬ).

- The citations use neologistic formations such as ܠܐ ܡܬܡܠܠܢܝܬܐ where Sy uses a native idiom, paraphrasing ܠܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܡܪܐ ܠܝܕܥܬܐ.

Comparing Paul with Athanasius, we see again that Athanasius tends to be slightly more consistent in his mirror-techniques. For example, τοῖς εἰς ὀρθότητα λογισμοῖς in Sy was just ܠܬܪܝܨܘܬ ܡܚܫܒܬܐ, in Paul it becomes ܒܗܠܝܢ ܕܠܘܬ ܬܪܝܨܘܬ, but is most perfectly mirrored by Athanasius as ܠܬܪܝܨܘܬ...ܠܘܬ ܬܪܝܨܘܬܐ. Sometimes, however, Paul is more careful, for example when using different terms for ὑπερηρμένος and ὑπέρτατος, whilst Athanasius uses ܡܥܠܝܐ for both.

However, the most intriguing aspect of this whole citation is contained in the following passage:

ܐܢܫܐ ܓܝܪ ܥܠܝܐ ܕܐܢܝܢ ܐܘ ܗܘܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܗܢ ܒ ܒܬܘܕܒܬܐ ܠܟܠ ܕܢܐܝ:

ܡܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܠܐܝܢܐ: ܘܣܝܡ ܠܗܘܢ ܥܠ ܗܒܬ ܡܩܝܡܢܐ ܠܝܫܘܒܬܐ: ܐܘ ܡܢ ܕܟܠܗ ܘܗܕܝܘ ܡܢ

ܡܬܪܘ: ܡܛܝܒܐ ܗܕܐ ܓܝܪ ܠܗ ܗܘܐ ܡܗ, ܘܐܠܗܐ ܗܘܐ ܝܘܠܦܢܐ: ܠܚܘܝܐ ܠܐ ܕܗܘܝܐ ܡܘܬܗ ܒܓܘ ܟܠ ܐܢܘܢ ܡ ܗܘ

ܕܗܘܢܐ ܗܘ ܘܚܘܒܐ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܬܪܐܝܬ ܡܕ ܒܩܪܒ ܐܝܟ ܢܫܝ ܟܕ ܐܠܝܨܘܬܗ ܒܐ ܢܝ

For here the original version and Paul's citation, despite differing very considerably elsewhere, coincide almost verbatim (the only variations are that Paul has ܡܬܪ for ܡܬܪܒ and ܠܚܘܝܐ for ܠܚܘܐܪ). This is true even in the very paraphrastic rendering of ταῖς τοῦ πυρὸς ὁμιλήσασα προσβολαῖς, εἰσδέχεται μὲν αὐτὸ καὶ κατωδίνει τὴν φλόγα (when [the iron] has been introduced into the ragings of the fire, it receives it and is in pain [on account of] the flame) as ܒܕ ܒܬܐܪܘ ܠܘܒ ܟܕ ܗܘܐ ܢܝܐܪ: ܠܚܘ ܡܩܒܠܐ ܠܗ

ܟܕ ܩܪܒܐ: ܘܡܩܒܠܐ ܠܢܘܪܐ ܕܡܬܠܝܝܐ ܠܫܠܗܒܝܬܐ (when [the iron] is brought close to the ragings of the fire, it receives the fire and brings the flame right inside), which Athanasius instead mirrors very carefully as ܐܬܪܐ, ܗܕܐ ܒܩܪܘܐ ܕܒܢܘܪܐ ܢܝܐܪ: ܡܩܒܠܐ ܠܗ

ܡܢ ܗܘ ܘܡܩܒܠܐ ܠܗ ܠܢܘܪܐ ܠܫܠܗܒܝܬܐ - with ܐܬܪܐ and ܚܘܝ being especially carefully chosen equivalents. It is difficult to believe that Paul is not here copying the earlier translator's interpretation of the passage, so close are they to each other and so far from the exact wording of Cyril (or any known variants of the Greek text). We should probably have to say that Paul had the earlier version before him (despite the fact that it is Severus that he is translating),perhaps in the form of a florilegium taken from already-translated Syriac texts.

Example 3
[Greek: 719,31-720,3]
συνεισφέρεται τοίνυν τοῖς τῆς σαρκώσεως λόγοις, καὶ τὰ δι' αὐτὴν οἰκονομικῶς ἐπενηνεγμένα τῷ τὴν ἑκούσιον παθόντι κένωσιν, καθάπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τὸ πεινῆν καὶ τὸ κοπιᾶν. ὥσπερ γὰρ οὐκ ἂν κεκοπίακεν αὐτὸς ᾧ ἡ πᾶσα δύναμις, οὐδ' ἂν εἴρητο πεινῆσαι, τροφὴ καὶ ζωὴ τῶν ὅλων ὑπάρχων αὐτός, μὴ οὐχὶ προοικειωσάμενος σῶμα τὸ πεινῆν τε καὶ κοπιᾶν πεφυκός, οὕτως οὐκ ἂν ἐν ἀνόμοις κατελογίσθη πώποτε – γενέσθαι γὰρ οὕτω φαμὲν ἁμαρτίαν αὐτὸν – οὐκ ἂν γέγονε κατάρα, σταυρὸν ὑπομείνας τὸν δι' ἡμᾶς, εἰ μὴ γέγονε σάρξ, τουτέστιν ἐσαρκώθη τε καὶ ἐνηνθρώπησατε, τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς <δι' ἡμᾶς> ὑπομείνας γέννησιν ἀνθρωποπρεπῶς, τὴν διά γέ φημι τῆς ἁγίας παρθένου.

[Syriac: f.54ra-b]
ܡܬܪ ܠܝܢ ܢܫܝܐ ܕܒܬܪܢܝܘܬܗ, ܐܦ ܒܕܡܬܢܝܘܬܐ ܐܠܝܢ ܕܝܫ, ܠܥܠܬ, ܘܗܘ ܣܘܡ ܗܕܐ ܕܩܢܝܝܘܢ
ܩܢܘ ܡܥܒܐ ܐܝܢܐ ܕܦܢ, ܘܐܠܐ ܐܬܐܡܪ ܠܓܝܪ ܐܠܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ: ܗܘܢܗ ܕܟܠܝ ܕܝܢ ܠܐ: ܘܠܐ

ܐܢ ܗܘܐܐ .ܐܐܠܬܠܘ ܠܓܒܐ ܕܝܪ ܩܪ̈ܝܐ ܕܠܝ ܠܐ ܐܠܐ ܥܠ ܕܗܘܪܬܗ ܩܢܘܡܗ ܗܘܐ ܓܢ

ܠܐ ܥܠ ܗܢ ܕܡܟܒܐ ܡܠܟܗ ܐܢ̈ܫܝܢ ܐܡܪܝܢ܇ ܗܘܐ ܡܥܒܕܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܗ ܘܠܐ ܠܟܘܢ

ܒ ܗܘܩܘ ܩܪ̈ܝܐ ܕܠ ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ ܠܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܣܘܣܪܐ .ܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ ܗܘ ܐܠܦܐܠ

ܐܣ̈ܝܪ .ܗܟܢܐ ܡܣܒ ܕܠܬܐ܇ ܡܗܠ ܐܠܦܐܠ ܐܦܠܢ ܘܐܬܝ ܐܬܕܟܪ ܐ̈ܠܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܬܪ̈ܝܗ ܗܘ .ܟܬܝܒܠ ܗܘܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܪ̈ܝܢ

.ܐܬܠܘܬܐ ܐܠܬܠܒ

[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: AJP II 268,25-269,7]

ܐܡ̈ܝܪ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܢ ܓܝܪ ܥܠ ܐ̈ܠܬܐ ܕܒܪ̈ܝܬܗ ܗܘܢܐ܇ ܘܡܢܗ ܐܬܬܠܠܬܗ ܗܘ ܥܠ

ܕܬܬܒܪܢ ܒܝܠ ܠܒܕ ܣܘ̈ܣܐ܇ ܐܟ̈ܝܪ ܗܘܐ܇ ܒܗܪ ܐܡ̈ܝܪ .ܘܓܒܗ܇ ܘܗܝ܇ ܘܡܠܘܗܐ ܐ̈ܠܬܐ ܕܠܢ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ ܗܘ

.ܠܒܕ ܕܥܒܕܐ ܐܣ̈ܝܪܬܗ ,ܡܐܬܝܗ ܗܘ ܒܐ ܗܘܐ ܓܢ ܗܘܢ ܐܬܪ̈ܒܝܐ ܘܠܐ .ܣܠܘ ܥܠܗ ,ܡܐܬܝܗ

ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ ܠܝ ܡܣܒ .ܪܚܝ ܩܪ̈ܝܐ ܕܓܒܝ ܠܓܒܐ ܗܘܩܘܘ .ܐܬܠܘ ܡܣܒ ܐܠܐ ܗܘܐ܇ ܟܬܝܒܠ

ܟܣ̈ܐ ܒܗ܇ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܐܝܢ ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܗܘ ܘܠܐ .ܡܗܠ ܗܘܢܗ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܒܝܠ ܐܬܕܟܪ ܗܘ ܕܡܣܒ ܒ ܐ̈ܠܦܠ ܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ ܣܘܣܪܐ

ܒܠܘܗ܇ ܐܠܐ ܠܒܕ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܗܘܐ ܗܘ ܒܝܠ ܘܬܪ̈ܝܗ .ܠܒܘ ܘܐܬܬܒܪܢ ܐܬܒܪܢܬܗ ܗܘ܇ ܘܐܬܡܠܠ ܐܬܕܟܪܘ ,ܠܟܘ̈ܬܗ ܟܬܝܒܠ ܠܒܘ

.ܐܬܠܘܬܐ ܐܠܬܠܒ ܕܠܢ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܐܣܝܪ ܐܡܪ :ܐܬܗܟܣܐܬܠ ܐܢ̈ܫܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ

[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: SG 139,18-28]

This is largely as the foregoing. The two most notable variants being:

ܩܪ̈ܝܐ ܚܝ ܕܡܣܒ] ܐܬܫܬܘܠ ܗܪܚܢ ܘܠܗܢ

ܐܣ̈ܝܪ] ܐܒܠܝ

We see in this passage a number of the usual differences which signify the gulf in technique that lies between the older translator and Paul of Callinicum.

- καθάπερ ἀμέλει καὶ τὸ πεινῆν καὶ τὸ κοπιᾶν is reduced simply to ܕܒܓܢ ܐ̈ܠܬܐ
  ,ܘܠܐ in Sy, but the infinitives are mirrored as ܐ̈ܠܬܝܘ ܕܒܓܢ ,ܘܗܝ ܐ̈ܠܬܝܪ in
  Paul's version.

- Cyril rhetorically varies his expressions, thus : ὥσπερ γὰρ οὐκ ἂν κεκοπίακεν
  αὐτὸς ᾧ ἡ πᾶσα δύναμις, οὐδ' ἂν εἴρητο πεινῆσαι, τροφὴ καὶ ζωὴ τῶν ὅλων
  ὑπάρχων αὐτός, but Sy has quite altered this into a Syriac parallism, ܐ̈ܠܬܝܪ ܒܝܠ
  :ܠܒ ܩܪ̈ܝܒܠ ܐܘܣܗ ܗܘܐ ܓܢ ܘܠܐ :ܠܒܗ ܠܒܝܒܗ ܐܘܣܗ :ܗܘܐ ܐ̈ܠܬܐ ܕܠܢ, while
  Paul is far more accurate.

- ܕܒܢ is a much closer equivalent than ܒܝܡ for πεφυκός, as is ܐܬܗܟܣܐܬܠ ܐ̈ܠܬܐ than
  ܐܢ̈ܫܐ ܒܠ ܐ̈ܠܬܐ for ἀνθρωποπρεπῶς.

- There are various syntactical differences: Paul uses ܒ to show the
  subordinations (e.g.ܐܣ̈ܝܪ ܚܝ̈ܣ ܒ) where Sy makes two clauses (ܗܘܐ ܚܝ̈ܣܬܗܘ

ⲣⲱⲟⲓ); for ὑπομείνας γέννησιν Sy has the verb ܐܬܝܠܕ, Paul's ܗܘܐ ܡܣܒ

probably reflecting a variant γένεσιν.

However, the most interesting point to emerge from this passage is the older translator's use of the phrase ܠܒܫ ܓܫܡ - a usage already mentioned *ad.loc.* in Part 3.i. He uses the clothing metaphor here for both προοικειωσάμενος σῶμα and as shorthand for γέγονε σάρξ, τουτέστιν ἐσαρκώθη. It is interesting that Paul has not found it easy to deal with the first of these either, coming up with ܚܕ ܓܫܡ in AJP and ܕܠܗ ܩܢܘܡܐ ܠܩܢܘܡܐ in SG, both typically monophysite phrases which do not quite match the Greek words, but evidently say what Paul thought Severus wanted Cyril to mean. In another place where the *Quod Unus Sit Christus* is cited in Severus, the phrase σεσαρκωμένου τε καὶ ἐνηνθρωπηκότος is rendered in the older version as ܐܬܒܣܪ ܘܐܬܒܪܢܫ, and the noun ἐνανθρωπήσις as ܡܬܒܪܢܫܢܘܬܐ. At that place, Athanasius of Nisibis represents the former phrase with ܡܒܣܪܐ ܘܡܒܪܢܫ and the latter with ܡܬܒܪܢܫܢܘܬܐ, as also does Paul once, though on another occasion as ܡܒܣܪ ܘܡܒܪܢܫ.[1] The implications of all this will be discussed in the conclusions that follow in the next section.

Citations of *Explanatio Duodecim Capitulorum*

Example 1
We have just a single citation in the Severan corpus, which is found in AJP, in addition to some citations in the florilegia.

[Greek: 25,17-28]
ἀπαθὴς μὲν καὶ ἀθάνατος ὁ ἐκ θεοῦ πατρός ἐστι λόγος· ἀνωτέρω γὰρ τοῦ πάσχειν ἡ θεία τε καὶ ἀπόρρητός ἐστι φύσις καὶ αὐτὴ τὰ πάντα ζωογονεῖ καὶ φθορᾶς ἀμείνων ἐστὶν καὶ παντὸς τοῦ λυπεῖν εἰωθότος.

[Syriac: f.21ra-b]

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[1] 737,3/15 = Sy: f.65rb-va = (in Paul) AJP I 143,15/144,2; PHL 172,16/29; AN 57,19-20/58,3.

ܪܚܝܟ ܝܫܘܝ ܡܢ ܠܥܠ ܗܘ ܠܐܝܢ ܪܐܠܐܪ ܕܡܢ ܪܐܠܗܬ ,ܡܘܬܝܪ ܪܐܗܩܬ ܪܠܐ ܪܐܩܐܨ ܪܠ

ܝܕܥܬ ܡܕܬ ܠܝ ܡܢ ,ܪܠܐܨܠ ܡܢ ܐܢ ,ܗܒܝ ܪܐܚܒ ܡܪܬ ܠܠ ܘܗܘ .ܪܐܠܠܬܝܚܬ ܪܠܐ ܪܗܡܠܐܪ

.ܐܘܒܝܠ

[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: AJP II,213,21-214,9]

ܡܢ ܝܫܘܝ ܗܘ ܠܥܠ ܠܐܝܢ ܪܐܒܪ ܪܐܠܐܪ ܕܡܢ ܗܡ ܪܐܠܗܬ ,ܡܘܬܝܪ ܪܐܗܩܬ ܪܠܐ ܡܢ ܪܐܩܐܨ ܪܠ

ܡܢܘ .ܪܠܐܨܠ ܡܢ ܐܢ ܠܝܚܬ :ܠܠ ܪܐܚܒ ܘܗܘ .ܪܐܠܠܬܝܚܬ ܪܠܐ ܪܗܡܠܐܪ ܪܚܝܢ ܗܡ :ܝܚܠܗܪ

.ܐܝܨܪܗ ܝܕܬܪ ܡܕܬܠ ܠܒ

Paul of Callinicum's is the more developed version in its use of the loan ܡܢ, in its greater use of the demonstrative for the article where needed, and in the representation of Greek infinitives with Syriac ones (πάσχειν) (also contrast the use of infinitives for other parts of speech in the Syriac *Explanatio*, e.g. εἰωθότος). Apart from these minor improvements in Paul of Callinicum's style, however, the similarity of the versions is quite evident. The only other noteworthy difference in this citation is the rendering of οὐσιωδῶς [25,19] as ܒܐܚܝܬ in *Explanatio* but as ܪܐܘܡܐܒ in Paul of Callinicum. This contrasts with the citation of *Ad Tiberium* (also found in Paul of Callinicum, see below), where the same term is rendered by the loan-word in the Syriac version of *Ad Tiberium* but *not* in Paul of Callinicum, where ܒܐܚܝܬ is found. Overall, we see here a confirmation of our earlier conclusion regarding the relatively late date of the *Explanatio*.

Example 2
[Greek: 19,4-6]
οἱ διαιροῦντες τοίνυν τὰς ὑποστάσεις μετὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος τιθέντες ἑκατέραν, τουτέστιν ἄνθρωπον καὶ θεόν, ἐπινοοῦντες δὲ συνάφειαν αὐτοῖς τὴν κατά γε μόνην τὴν ἀξίαν, δύο που πάντως ἱστῶσιν υἱούς.

[Syriac: f.16va-b]
ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܗܟܝܠ ܡܕ ܕܡܩܪܝܢ ܠܗܠ ܦܝܨ ܠܩܘܢ ܠܩܕܡܬ ܒܪܕ ܘܝܕܝܐܗ. ܘܡܪܘ ܘܣܝܡܝܢ ܠܠ ܗܕ

ܡܕܡܘܨ .ܢܘܡܪ، ܕܝ ܗܡܘ ܠܐܒܝܠ ܘܝܪܝܨܪ. ܘܡܣܓܠܒܝܢ ܡܢ ܠܒܥܝ ܣܦܘܡ, ܣܘܦܐܗܪ. ܗܡ, ܪܐܟܝܐ ܕܪܐܝܐܗ

.ܟܒܝ ܡܩܣܒܝܢ ܠܬܘܒܝ ܐܝܪ. ܡܢ ܠܒܝܬܘ ܣܡܝܩܝܢ ܒܝܢ

[Citation in Florilegium: Add 12154, f.24r]

[Syriac text — 3 lines]

The two versions show different techniques for certain details, and yet one could not say for sure that either was more 'developed' in terms of technique. *Explanatio* is sometimes better at word order (e.g. the last phrase) and he includes [Syriac] for κατά, while the other version's [Syriac] is better than [Syriac] for αὐτοῖς, and [Syriac] is probably a more accurate (according to these rules) technique than [Syriac] for ἑκάτεραν, though one cannot be sure; one also cannot help feeling that *Explanatio*'s plain [Syriac] for μετά (after) is a deliberate rejection of [Syriac] in order to achieve a one-word-for-one-word equivalency.

Example 3

[Greek: 19,12-15]

τοὺς δὲ μὴ οὕτω πιστεύοντας, διιστάντας δέ, ὡς ἔφην, τὰς ὑποστάσεις μετὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν καὶ ψιλὴν αὐταῖς συνάφειαν ἐπινοοῦντας κατὰ μόνην τὴν ἀξίαν ἢ γοῦν αὐθεντίαν, ἀλλοτριοῖ τῶν ὀρθὰ φρονεῖν εἰωθότων ὁ προκείμενος ἀναθεματισμός.

[Syriac: f.16vb-17ra]

[Syriac text — 3 lines]

[Citation in Florilegium: Add 12154, f.24r]

[Syriac text — 3 lines]

Again we see *Explanatio* concerned to mirror the article with its [Syriac]...[Syriac], as also in the previous example; it also keeps a Syriac infinitive for a Greek one (φρονεῖν). On the other side, [Syriac] for [Syriac] is a revision well known from the

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[1] ? leg. cum syame.
[2] ? leg.

Harklean and is certainly the more 'developed' form, found here in the citation; the citation also correctly has a plural noun for ὀρθά (although the adverb is far better from the idiomatic point of view). The difference in the renderings for κατὰ μόνην τὴν ἀξίαν ἤ γοῦν αὐθεντίαν is quite acute and can only be put down to a difference in Vorlage, thus having no bearing on the question of translation technique.

Citations of *Scholia De Incarnatione*

Example 1

[Greek: 226,40-229,8]

ἐγήγερται κατᾶ βούλησιν θεοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον ἡ ἁγία σκηνὴ καὶ ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ πολυτρόπως μορφούμενος ὁ Ἐμμανουήλ. ἔφη τοίνυν ὁ τῶν ὅλων θεὸς τῷ θεσπεσίῳ Μωυσῇ· καὶ ποιήσεις κιβωτὸν μαρτυρίου ἐκ ξύλων ἀσήπτων, δύο πήχεων καὶ ἡμίσους τὸ μῆκος καὶ πήχεως[1] καὶ ἡμίσους τὸ πλάτος καὶ πήχεος καὶ ἡμίσους τὸ ὕψος καὶ καταχρυσώσεις αὐτὴν χρυσίῳ καθαρῷ· ἔξωθεν καὶ ἔσωθεν χρυσώσεις αὐτήν. ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἄσηπτον ξύλον εἴη ἂν εἰς τύπον τοῦ ἀφθάρτου σώματος (ἄσηπτος γὰρ ἡ κέδρος), τὸ δέ γε χρυσίον ὡς ὕλη τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερημένη τῆς θείας ἡμῖν οὐσίας κατασημήνειεν ἂν τὴν ὑπεροχήν.

[Syriac: Add 14557, f.27rb-va]

.ܠܐܟܘܬܚ ܡܒ ܗܘܐ ܬܘܪܐܐ .ܪܒܝܬܡܒ ܪܥܠܐܪܐܢ ܪܘܡܣܓ ܐܝܟ .ܪܥܒܝܗ ܪܚܝܪܒ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ

ܡܢ ܪܬܝܗܘܣܡܗܢ ܪܝܗܐܣܒ ܝܒܢܢ .ܪܥܢܡ ܪܡܒܠܛ ܠܟܢ ܪܥܠܐܪ ܠܐܘܗ ܐܡܪܐ .ܘܒ ܠܡܚ ܥܠܛܝܗܢ

ܪܚܬܡܪܐ .ܪܒܝܗ ܥܠܓܝܗ ܪܚܬܡܪܐ .ܪܝܐܝܪ ܥܠܓܝܗ ܐܡܪܐ ܐܝܗܗ .ܠܠܡܚܗ ܪܠܐܢ ܪܥܡܝܣ

ܠܡܚܗ ܪܥܡܝܣ .ܪܣܚܡܒ ܥܠܣܐܝܣ ܝܒܠ ܡܗܘ ܥܠܠ ܡܗ .ܪܝܢܢ ܪܣܚܡܒ ܥܠܣܐܝܣܗ .ܪܥܢܐܝ ܥܠܓܝܗ

ܥܠܢ ܪܣܚܢܢ .ܪܝܝܪ ܠܠܒܚܗ ܝܥܠ ܪܠ ܪܥܝܠܒܝܟܗܢ ܪܠ ܪܝܓܝܗܢ ܪܥܒܣܐܠܒ ܪܘܣܝ .ܠܠܒܚܗ ܪܠܢ

.ܠ ܒܢܝ ܪܥܠܐܪ ܪܝܢܢܗ ܪܚܬܐܠܝܐܠ .ܪܝܝܘܪ ܝܠܡ ܡܢ ܠܝܚܢܗ ܪܝܢܐ ܐܝܟ

[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: AJP II 81,24-82,7]

ܡܒ ܗܘܐ ܝܥܒܝܗܢ ܪܝܐܝܣܒ ܪܥܡܘܐܠܒ ܒܢ .ܪܥܠܐܪܢ ܣܝܒܝܥܝܣ ܪܒܝܬܡܒ ܪܝܢܐܡܒ ܝܢܘܐܝܪ .ܠܐܟܘܬܚ

ܪܥܐܝܣ ܡܢ ܪܬܝܗܘܣܝܗܢ ܪܝܗܐܣܒܐ ܝܒܢܝܗܢ .ܪܥܢܡ ܪܥܝܣܠ ܠܒܢ ܪܥܠܐܪ ܠܐܘܗ ܐܡܪܐ .ܠܐܟܘܬܚ

ܪܚܬܡܪܐ ܥܠܣܐܝܣ .ܥܠܓܝܗ ܐܡܪܐ ܐܝܗܗ ܥܠܣܐܝܗ .ܥܠܓܝܗ ܐܡܪܐ ܐܝܗܗ ܥܠܣܐܝܪܐ .ܝܥܠܒܚܗ ܪܠܢ

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[1] Part of a citation of Ex 25.10. The dual form is Cyril's own (LXX has φύσις), which Paul of Callinicum follows in his citation.

[Syriac text — three lines]

[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: PHL 63,5-16]

[Syriac text — six lines]

All three versions have a fairly high degree of precision and consistency here. However, there are a few points where the citations are more 'advanced'. For example, Paul of Callinicum uses ܒ for κατα consistently, whereas *Scholia* uses different prepositions; for ἀλλα...μέν both citations carefully have ܡܢ...ܐܠܐ, and both use the loan ܗܘܠܐ for ὕλη as well. The omission of ܚܕܐ from the citations is so unexpected that the word must have been absent from Severus' citation on both occasions.

However, the three ways of rendering καὶ ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ πολυτρόπως μορφούμενος ὁ Ἐμμανούηλ are all quite different, and none are especially good mirrors of the original (all omitting the καὶ, for example). All three also use different formulaic epithets for θεσπέσιος, respectively ܢܨܝܚܐ, ܩܕܝܫܐ, and ܐܠܗܝܐ.

What is perhaps most intriguing are the significant differences between PHL and AJP, supposedly written by the same translator. For instance, AJP puts the measurements after the dimension being measured (against all scriptural versions); PHL has the positions of ὑπερημένη and ὑπεροχήν more exactly than AJP (or *Scholia*); PHL also tellingly uses the important loan ܐܣܟܐ, where *Scholia* and AJP have ܟܝܢ; AJP has the rather poor equivalent ܪܒܘܬ for ὑπεροχή. On AJP's side, PHL has ܥܠ instead of ܕ for δε, and ἐγήγερται is treated as passive only in AJP.

Example 2

[Greek: 222,31-3]

οὐ διοριστέον οὖν ἄρα τὸν ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν εἰς ἄνθρωπον ἰδικῶς καὶ εἰς θεὸν ἰδικῶς, ἀλλ' ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν εἶναι φαμέν, τὴν τῶν φύσεων εἰδότες διαφορὰν καὶ ἀσυγχύτους ἀλλήλαις τηροῦντες αὐτάς.

[Syriac: Add 14557, f.30vb-31ra]

.ܒܐܪܢܐܡܝܠ ܘܐܠܗܐ ܒܐܪܢܐܡܝܠ ܐܢܫܐ ܠܗ .ܡܫܝܚܐ ܚܕ ܟܝܢ ܡܠܬ ܦܪܝܫܐܝܬ ܚܢܢ ܠܐ
ܒܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܝܩܪ .ܕܝܢܐ ܘܟܝܢܐ ܚܕ ܚܕ ܒܕ .ܦܪܫܐ ,ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܒܕ ܗܘܐ ܚܕ ܐܝܟ
.ܒܕܝܢܐ ܡܠܒܠܒ ܠܐ

[Citation in Athanasius of Nisibis: AN 23,10-14]

ܘܐܠܗܐ ܒܐܪܢܠܝ ܐܢܫܐܠ .ܡܫܝܚܐ ܚܕ ܟܝܢ ܚܕ ܠܗܠ ܐܓܠܝܠ ܐܝܟ ܚܢܢ ܕܠ
.ܒܐܪܢܠܝ ܕܠܝܚܕ ܟܝܢ ,ܡܫܝܚܐ ܦܪܝܫ ܠܗ ܒܕ ܚܕܘ ܚܕ ܐܝܟ .ܒܐܪܢܠܝ
.ܒܕܝܢܐ ܚܕܕܐ ܠܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܝܩܪܝܢ ܘܟܝܢܐ .ܕܚܕܢܐ

Athanasius shows a whole series of obviously more 'advanced' renderings, which reflect a more carefully formulated set of rules. Some of these are lexical, e.g the loan ܐܝܟ for the particle ἄρα (this is quite unusual, as even in seventh century versions, it tends to be used for the interrogative ἆρα only – see Appendix 1), the etymologically correct ܕܝܢܐ for ἰδικῶς; some are syntactical, for instance note Athanasius' inclusions of ܗܘ for the article before ἕνα and his correct interpretation of ἀσυγχύτους as an adjective rather than a participle. On the other hand, even his mirroring is not perfect – he could easily have made the word order more accurate had he wanted to, for example in the last clause, but instead chooses the more natural order. *Scholia* has some idiomatic leanings as against Athanasius, e.g. the typical idiom ܒܕ for ܚܕ. His omission of the second Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν is more likely to be a scribal error (either before or after translation) than a deliberate abbreviation.

Example 3

[Greek: 228,20-4]

νοεῖται γὰρ πάντως ὡς ἕτερον ἐν ἑτέρῳ τὸ κατοικοῦν, τουτέστιν ἡ θεία φύσις ἐν ἀνθρωπότητι καὶ οὐ παθοῦσα φυρμὸν ἢ ἀνάχυσίν τινα καὶ μετάστασιν τὴν εἰς ὅπερ οὐκ ἦν. τὸ γὰρ ἐνοικεῖν ἑτέρῳ λεγόμενον οὐκ αὐτὸ γέγονε τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἐστὶν τὸ ἐν ᾧ κατοικεῖ, νοεῖται δὲ μᾶλλον ἕτερον ἐν ἑτέρῳ.

[Syriac: Add 14557, f.39ra]

[Syriac text — four lines]

[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: PHL 67,21-27]

[Syriac text — four lines]

[Citation in Athanasius of Nisibis: AN 23,15-21]

[Syriac text — four lines]

On the one hand, the citations show some advance on *Scholia*, e.g. in the latter's use of ܡܪܢ for ἕτερον, ܚܫ for παθεῖν, but in general there is no great difference between them. There is certainly no fiddling with the text in *Scholia* and there is throughout an attempt to bring the translation into very close harmony with the original, although the precise rules for this are not yet sufficient to create the sort of mirror that we can see in the Paul of Callinicum citation.

Athanasius, however, shows a number of odd renderings which are less precise than Paul's, e.g. ܣܘܣܝܐܠܢ rather than the exact loan ܣܘܠܝܣ, the lack of ܐܝܟ for ὡς, the omission of καὶ before οὐ παθοῦσα, of τινα after ἀνάχυσιν, the word order of τὸ γὰρ ἐνοικεῖν ἑτέρῳ λεγόμενον οὐκ αὐτὸ γέγονε τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἐστὶν τὸ ἐν ᾧ κατοικει, which in Athanasius is all altered to an idiomatic order, whereas in Paul each word follows precisely its equivalent in the Vorlage. This whole series of differences in which Paul is a better mirror than Athanasius, despite being made 150 years earlier, again points to that early development of technique which we have seen in other places already.

Citations of *Ep39*

Example 1

One typical sentence should illustrate the closeness of these two texts:

[Greek: 17,18-20]

ἴσμεν τοὺς θεολόγους ἄνδρας τὰς μὲν κοινοποιοῦντας ὡς ἐφ' ἑνὸς προσώπου, τὰς δὲ διαιροῦντας ὡς ἐπὶ δύο φύσεων, καὶ τὰς μὲν θεοπρεπεῖς κατὰ τὴν θεότητα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, τὰς δὲ ταπεινὰς κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα παραδιδόντας.

[Syriac: Add 14557, f.150vb]

ܝܕܥ ܝܢܢ ܠܬܐܘܠܘ̈ܓܘ ܓܒܪ̈ܐ ܕܠܗܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܚܕ ܦܪܨܘܦܐ

ܡܫܘܬܦܝܢ ܠܗܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܥܠ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܟܝ̈ܢܝܢ ܦܠܓܝܢ

ܘܠܗܝܢ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܠܗܘܬܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ

[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: PHL 14,9-13]

ܝܕܥ ܝܢܢ ܕܠܬܐܘܠܘ̈ܓܘ ܓܒܪ̈ܐ ܡܫܘܬܦܝܢ

We find here a much greater similarity of style between the full version and Paul of Callinicum's version, quite different from the contrasts that we saw for the *De Recta Fide*. Both versions make a strong attempt the render the etymology of θεολόγους and κοινοποιοῦντας, both use the loan ܡܢ for μέν, and for long stretches the two versions can be almost verbatim.

Paul of Callinicum remains slightly the more formally precise – note, for instance, its participles ܡܫܘܬܦܝܢ/ܦܠܓܝܢ where the other has ܡܫܘܬܦ/ܦܠܓ. Ep39 has more variations of word order, a few more idiomatic phrases in amongst the mirror renderings, and is a little less concerned with the minutiae of the Greek syntax and particles.

Example 2

[Greek: 19,8-9]

κἂν εἰ πανσόφως αὐτὸς οἰκονομῶν τὸ μυστήριον ἑαυτῷ προσνέμων ὁρῷτο τὰ τῇ ἰδίᾳ σαρκὶ συμβεβηκότα πάθη.

[Syriac: Add 14557, f.151vb]

ܐ̈ܦ ܗܘ ܚܒܝܫܐ ܒܚܝܠܬܐ ܒܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ ܕܗܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܠܥܠ ܣܘܓܐܗ ܠܥܡܐ ܢܩܝܢ ܠܐܬܒܪ ܡܫܒܚ ܗܘ
ܠܗܘܢ

[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: PHL 15,14-6]

ܐ̈ܦ ܗܢ ܒܗ ܕܚܠ ܗܘ ܡܚܝܒ ܗܘ ܒܪܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܚܝܘܬܐ. ܗܘܢ ܠܗ ܚܘܒܐ ܢܝܫܐ ܐܝܟ ܠܥܡܐ
ܠܡܫܡ

We get a glimpse here, perhaps, of the difference between a more independent worker, seeking his own way of expressing his Vorlage with precision, but sometimes struggling against the desire to keep expressing things in a natural manner (*Ep39*), and on the other hand an assured and well-practiced hand trained in a school of translation, who has worked out his techniques, and applies them to his text as rules to a mathematical equation.

The following lists some of the more typical differences found between the versions of *Ep39* in Add 14557 and in the citations in Paul of Callinicum, other than as found in the above examples:

a) Syntax

Ep39 prefers anticipatory suffixes and indeed suffixes generally, in conformity with Syriac idiom (e.g. ܐܠܗܘܬܗ and ܐܢܫܘܬܗ for τὴν θεότητα and τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα where Paul simply uses the un-suffixed emphatic form). In the same vein, Paul will take care fully to render ἡμετέραν [17,12] with ܕܝܠܢ where Ep39 is content with the suffix alone.

Ep39 will sometimes have a shot at retaining a proper adjective for an adjective, e.g. τέλειον [17,10] as ܡܫܡܠܝܐ (in Paul as well); but often prefers the analytical construction, e.g. ἀσυγχύτου [17,15] as ܕܠܐ ܒܘܠܒܠܐ (ܡܒܠܒܠܬܐ ܕܠܐ in Paul) and ἀποστολικάς [17,17] as ܕܫܠܝ̈ܚܐ (ܫܠܝ̈ܚܝܬܐ in Paul).

b) Word Order

Even where both have come up with the same rendering, the word order can differ, with Paul following the Greek accurately, thus:

[Greek: 17,14] δύο γὰρ φύσεων ἕνωσις γέγονεν

[Syriac: f.150vb] ܪ̈ܝܫܐ ܕܝܢܬ ܗܘܐ ܓܝܪ ܕܚܕܝܘܬܐ

[Paul: PHL 14,2-3] ܕܚܕܝܘܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܪ̈ܝܫܐ ܓܝܪ ܕܝܢ

Sometimes concern for word order is about the only thing differentiating the texts. Thus this clause:

[Greek: 19,7-8] ἀπαθῆ δὲ πρὸς τούτῳ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον ὑπάρχειν ὁμολογοῦμεν ἅπαντες

[Syriac: f.151vb] ܚܢܢ ܕܝܢ̈ܩܘ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܬܗ ܂ܡܘܬܐ ܚܫܘܫܐ ܘܠܐ ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܬܘܒ

[Paul: PHL 15,13-4] ܂ܡܘܬܐ ܕܝܢ̈ܩܘ ܠܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܬܗܠ ܗܘ ܬܘܒ ܕܝܢ ܚܫܘܫܐ ܠܐ

c) Lexicon

Ep39's avoidance of the loan for εὐαγγελικάς [17,17] is unexpected (ܕܣܒܪܬܐ is used) and shows his independence to some extent. While Paul is more pedantic about compounds (thus θεοπνεύστοις [17,23] ܢܦܝܚܐ Ep39, ܢܦܘܚ ,ܡܢܗ Paul), the use of ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܡܠܠܐ for θεολόγους [17,18] in both is perhaps more typical of their joint outlook.

διά with the accusative, typically ܝ ܡܛܠ in Paul of Callinicum, and later in H, remains as the older ܝ ܥܠ in Ep39 [17,14]

We occasionally find places where Paul's choice of word is more accurate, thus φρονοῦντας [17,22] is ܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ in Ep39 but accurately ܡܬܪܥܝܢ in Paul; again, ἔχουσι [17,24], with the sense of possessing, is thus ܐܚܝܕܝܢ in Ep39 but the expected ܐܝܬ ܠ in Paul.

Sometimes Ep39 can simply paraphrase an unneccesarily tricky term, thus ὑμῖν ὁ ἀγὼν συγκεκρότηται [18,2] (*the contest has been waged by us*) is reduced to ܐܓܘܢܐ ܠ ܗܘܐ in Ep39, while being ܐܬܬܟܠܠ ܡܢ ܐܓܘܢܐ in Paul.

σαρκωθῆναι καὶ ἐνανθρωπῆσαι [17,16] is rendered generally as ܐܬܒܣܪܘ ܐܬܒܪܢܫ in Ep39 and as ܐܬܒܣܪܘ ܐܬܒܪܢܫ in Paul. Here we see Ep39 in its half-way role in using the Philoxenian credal revisions, which Paul has taken on fully. When we compare

this to the singular appearance of ܐܬܚܝܡܢܘܬܐ in Ep45, we can see how varied and gradual was the process of such revisions.

Ep39's use of ܗܘܐ where Paul has ܐܬܝܠܕ for γεγεννῆσθαι [18,5] may reflect a preference for the language of 'becoming' in the former text, or simply a misreading of the text.

Citations of *Ep40*

Example 1

According to Elijah, the biographer of the monophysite bishop John of Tella, in the dicussions that took place between the hero and the interrogator Rufinus (which appear to have been conducted in Greek and form part of the series of discussions between monophysites and Chalcedonians in 532 under the sponsorship of Justinian), John quoted Cyril three times, once each from *Quod Unus*, *Ep40* and *Ep45*. The first example of parallel texts given here includes one of these texts from Elijah's *Vita*.

[Greek: 26,6-9]

ταύτῃ τοι τὰ ἐξ ὧν ἐστιν ὁ εἷς καὶ μόνος υἱὸς καὶ κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὡς ἐννοίαις δεχόμενοι, δύο μὲν φύσεις ἡνῶσθαι φαμέν, μετὰ δέ γε τὴν ἕνωσιν, ὡς ἀνῃρημένης ἤδη τῆς εἰς δύο διατομῆς, μίαν εἶναι πιστεύομεν τὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ φύσιν ὡς ἑνός, πλὴν ἐνανθρωπήσαντος καὶ σεσαρκωμένου.

[Syriac: 32,17-22]

ܒܗܕܐ ܟܝ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ܂ ܗܘ ܚܕ ܘܒܠܚܘܕܘܗܝ܂ ܒܪܐ ܘܡܪܝܐ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ܂ ܐܝܟ
ܒܬܪܥܝܬܐ ܡܩܒܠܝܢ. ܬܪܬܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܟܝܢܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܐܬܚܝܕܘ ܠܘܬ ܚܕܝܘܬܐ܂ ܒܬܪ ܕܝܢ ܚܕܝܘܬܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܟܒܪ ܡܢ
ܗܘ ܡܢ ܟܕܘ ܗܘܐ ܕܦܘܠܓܐ ܕܠܬܪܝܢ܂ ܚܕ ܢܗܘܐ ܡܗܝܡܢܝܢ ܟܝܢܐ ܕܒܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܚܕ܂ ܣܛܪ ܡܢ ܕܗܘܐ ܒܪ
ܐܢܫܐ ܘܐܬܒܣܪ.

[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: PHL 23,12-15, up to φαμέν]

ܡܛܠ ܗܕܐ ܟܝ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ܂ ܗܘ ܚܕ ܘܒܠܚܘܕܘܗܝ܂ ܒܪܐ ܘܡܪܝܐ ܝܫܘܥ
ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܒܬܪܥܝܬܐ ܡܩܒܠܝܢ ܬܪܬܝܢ ܟܝܢܐ ܕܐܬܚܝܕܘ ܐܡܪܝܢ.

[Citation in Florilegium, Add 12155, f.34r-v]

ܪܒܘܝܬܐ ܝܘܒܐ ܪܒܝܬܐ ܘܒܐ ,ܡܘܬܐܘܒܠܘ ܬܘ ܗܘ ,ܡܘܬܐܝܪ ܕܡܪܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܪ .ܠܒܗܘ ܪܐܡܠܬܘ
ܒܪ ܐܝܟ ܪܐܗܘܬܘ ܡܢ ܘܒܪ ܒܘ ,ܘܬܪܐ ܐܝܬܘܬܪ ܪܒܝܢ ܒܪ ܘܒܬܘ ܠܠܒܘܬ ܪܒܪܘܝܬܘ ܐܝܟ
ܦܘܪ ܬܘܘ ܐܝܟ ܪܒܘܘ ܡܘܢ ,ܡܘܬܐܝܪܘ ܘܒ ܠܒܘܘܒܘ ܬܘ ܦܐܬܠܘ ܪܒܡܒ ܒܬ ܡܢ ܒܠ ܠܒܘ
.ܕܪܒܡܘ ܝܡܒܘܘ

[Citation in Elijah's *Life of John of Tella*: Brooks, Vitae Virorum, 82,17-23]

ܝܘܒܐ ܪܒܝܬܘ ܘܒܐ ,ܡܘܬܐܘܒܠܘ ܬܘ ,ܒܘ ,ܡܘܬܐܝܪ ܕܡܪܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܪ .ܠܒܗܘ ܪܒܘ ܠܠܒܘ
ܒܘ ܒܬܘ ܡܢ .ܬܘ ܦܐܬܐ ܐܘܘܒܐܝܪ ܪܒܘܘ ܒܘ ܦܐܬܘ .ܬܘ ܠܒܘܒܘ ܪܒܪܘܝܬܘ ܐܝܟ .ܪܒܘܝܬܘ
ܒܘܘ ܠܠܒܘܒܘ ,ܡܘܬܐܝܪܘ ܬܘܘ .ܦܐܬܠܘ ܪܒܡܒ ܒܬ ܡܢ ܒܠ ܠܒܘ ܒܘ ܐܝܟ .ܪܐܗܘܬܘ
.ܕܪܒܡܘ ܝܡܒܘܘ ܦܘܪ ܬܘܘ ܐܝܟ ܪܒܘ

Firstly, we note that the latter two versions are so close to being identical that they must be considered to represent the same basic translation. It is hard to see either the compiler of the florilegium or Elijah using the other as his source for such a citation. However, if we assume a common source for them, it must have differed considerably from our text in Add 14557. We may here add that in his New Testament citations, Elijah is resolutely attached to the Peshitta.[1] His use of more 'developed' techniques for the patristic citation here therefore stands in contrast to this. In this text we are seeing the juxtaposition of respect for the Biblical text, which is understandably more common in native Syriac authors than in translations, with a somewhat later mode of translation technique more typical of the mid-6th century.

By comparison with Elijah's version, the more primitive form of the Syriac Ep40 is quite evident. In the citation the difficult τὰ ἐξ ὧν ἐστιν is more exactly rendered, the Greek μέν is rendered by the Syriac loan and the passive form ἡνῶσθαι is formally rendered, whereas Ep40 used a periphrasis. Similar again is the latter's expansion of the verbal concept εἰς δύο διατομῆς into ܦܬܝ ܕܗܘܝܢ ܒܗ (while the citation has simply ܦܘܬܠܬܘ ܪܒܡܒ). Elijah keeps ܬܘ ܐܝܬܘܢ to its proper place in the word-order. The word-order is scrupulously followed especially in the last few clauses, over against the natural idiom shown in Ep40, in which also are found such loose equivalents as ܡܘܘܕܝܢ for πιστεύομεν. There are, however, also similarities in style which show that both texts have advanced beyond a certain stage of development, notably the way both insist on ܡܘܬܐܝܪ for representing ἐστίν.

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[1] See the numerous citations in the Münster edition, which can be located in the Index Patristicus.

One of Ep40's most intriguing traits is its use of ܝܣܒܐܪ to represent the perfect passive forms of σαρκόω, retaining the older ܒܣܪ ܐܬ for the aorist passive forms (the very next clause in Ep40 contains one of the latter forms for comparison). We have already commented on the implications of this usage for the dating of the revision of credal language. The contrast with the citations, however, is peculiar. The latter uses the Pael forms ܡܬܒܣܪ ܝܣܒܪ, which are very unusual, although they find a parallel in the frequent use in our texts of ܡܒܣܪ for the σεσαρκωμένου of the Cyrilline formula. It is perhaps instructive to note that ܝܣܒܐ is used for the Cyrilline formula also in the independent Syriac account of the dialogue between the Syrian and the Chalcedonian bishops in 532, an account perhaps written up by John of Beth Aphtonia. The term was already perhaps being commonly used in native Syriac writing by the middle decades of the 6th century.[1]

Example 2

[Greek: 26,27-27,4]

οὐ γάρτοι ταυτὸν ὡς ἐν ποιότητι φυσικῇ θεότης τε καὶ ἀνθρωπότης. ἐπεὶ πῶς κεκένωται θεὸς ὢν ὁ λόγος, καθεὶς ἑαυτὸν ἐν μείοσι, τουτέστιν ἐν τοῖς καθ' ἡμᾶς; ὅταν τοίνυν ὁ τῆς σαρκώσεως πολυπραγμονῆται τρόπος, δύο τὰ ἀλλήλοις ἀπορρήτως τε καὶ ἀσυγχύτως συνενηνεγμένα καθ' ἕνωσιν ὁρᾷ δὴ πάντως ὁ ἀνθρώπινος νοῦς, ἑνωθέντα γε μὴν διίστησιν οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλ' ἕνα τὸν ἐξ ἀμφοῖν καὶ θεὸν καὶ υἱὸν καὶ Χριστὸν καὶ κύριον εἶναί τε πιστεύει καὶ ἀραρότως εἰσδέχεται.

[Syriac: 33,18-27]

ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܓܝܪ ܟܘܡ ܒ̇ܗ ܒܐܢܫܘܬܐ ܗ̇ܝ ܕܐܝܟ ܡ̇ܢ ܕܒܝܠ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܟܝܢܝܬܐ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܘܐܢܫܘܬܐ ܘܐܚܪܬܐ.

ܠܐ ܗܟܝܠ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܐܣܬܪܩ ܟܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܡܠܬܐ܂ ܟܕ ܐܚܬ ܢܦܫܗ ܒܨܝܪ̈ܐܝܬ ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܒܗܠܝܢ ܕ̈ܠܘܬܢ.

ܡܐ ܗܟܝܠ ܕܡܬܥܩܒ ܙܢܐ ܕ̇ܗ̇ܘ ܕܡܬܒܣܪܢܘܬܐ܂ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܠܚ̈ܕܕܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܡ̈ܠܠܢܐܝܬ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܒܠܒܠܢܐܝܬ ܐܬܩܪܒܘ

ܠܦܘܬ ܚܕܝܘܬܐ ܚܙ̇ܐ ܡ̇ܢ ܒܟܠ ܦܪܘܣ ܗ̇ܘ ܕܢܫܐ ܐܢܫܝܐ܂ ܟܕ ܐܬܚܝܕ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐ ܡ̇ܦܪܫ ܣܟ܂ ܐܠܐ ܚܕ ܗ̇ܘ ܕܡܢ ܬܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ܂ ܘܐܠܗܐ ܘܒܪܐ ܘܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܡܪܝܐ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ

ܘܡܗܝܡܢ ܘܒܬܩܢܐܝܬ ܡܩܒܠ.

[1] See Brock, *Conversations with the Syrian Orthodox*, 107,7 (H29); but then note that ܒܣܪ ܐܬ is used a little later in the same piece, 111,27 (H46).

[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: AJP II,286,12-20, with apparatus from further citation at AJP II,322,12-5, up to καθ' ἡμᾶς]

ܡܢ ܐܦ ܘ. ܪܫܥܘܪܐܘ ܪܐܠܗܐ ܪܒܢܝܐ ܪܐܠܗܝܐܝܬܐܝ ܐܝܟ ܚܝܠܘܐ ܡܢ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܠܥܠ ܠܐ
ܡܢ ܗܘ: ܪܐܝ̈ܬܝܐ ܗܡܘ ܐܦ̈ܝ ܡܢܗ ܠܗܐ: ܡܐܝܬܐ ܪܐܠܒܐ ܐܝܬܘܐ ܪܒܢܐ: ܠܐ
ܪܠܐ ܪܪܝܬܝ ܡܝܢ ܡܢܝܬܐ: ܪܐܠܝܒܪܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܬܒܝܬܐ ܠܝܗܘ, ܐܡܪ. ܝܠܬ ܡܝܢ
ܐܠܐ. ܡܢܝ ܚܦܠܝ ܦܘܬܐ ܠܐ ܡܢ: ܝܘܕܝܐ ܪܐ. ܪܐܒܝܐ ܪܗܘܐ ܐܝܘ: ܝܘܕܝܐ ܒܪܐܠܠܝܬܐ
ܒܪܐܝܬܐ ܡܐܝܬܐ: ܡܐܝܬܐ ܡܝܢܚ ܪܐܝܬܐ ܪܚܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܪܐܠܐܘ: ܡܗܐܝܬܐ ܡܢ ܒܝ ܐܠܗ
ܡܘܬܐ.

ܪܐܝܬܝ ܪܐܠܥܝܪܬܐܘܕ] ܪܚܝܬ ܪܪܝܘܐܫܘܕ

ܪܐܗܘܝܒܬܐ...ܪܐܠܗܐ] .ܪܐܗܘܝܠܐ ܗܡܝܐ ,ܐܝܕܐ ܗܘ ܪܐܠܐܝܟ ܒܪܕ .ܪܐܠܗܐ

ܝܠܘܗ] ܝܠܗܐܠ

[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: PHL 24,15-21, up to οὐδαμῶς and omitting ἐπεὶ to καθ' ἡμᾶς]

ܗܘܝ ܝܒܝܗ ܐܡܪ...ܪܫܥܘܪܐܘ ܪܐܠܗܐ ܪܚܝܬܐ ܪܘܝܘܐܫܘܕ ܐܝܟ ܚܝܬܘ ܡܢ ܒܗ ܡܢ ܠܥܠ ܠܐ
ܪܐܝܘ ܥܝ ܡܒܝܬܐ ܒܪܐܠܒܠܝܬܐ ܪܐܠܘ ܒܪܐܠܠܝܬܐ ܪܐܝ ܝܘܝܬ: ܒܒܝܬܐ ܒܪܐܟܝܣ ܪܐܗܘܝܘܕ
ܝܗܘܠ ܫܝܒܝܢ ܒܘܬ ܠܐ ܡܢ: ܐܝܘܕܝܐܪ ܡܢ ܪܐܒܝܐ ܪܗܘܐ ܐܝܘ ܣܘܠܝܒ .ܪܐܗܘܝܒܝܢ

We continue to see the same sort of differences between Ep40 and Paul of Callinicum. Thus the direct object τὸν ἕνα, in Ep40 being just ܝܘ, in AJP is ܝܘ ܠܗ. However, both texts do have ܗܡܝܐ for ἑαυτόν, where we might expect ܠܗ ܠܗ in the later text, and both translate καθ' ἡμᾶς with ܝܠܘܡܒ ܝܠܬܕ (ܝܠܗܐܠ ܝܠܬܕ in AJP2). Some of the more significant variations between AJP and PHL may be due to textual differences in Severus' texts – perhaps explaining PHL's ܪܚܝܬܝܘ, by reading ἑνώσεως rather than σαρκώσεως, and AJP's omission of anything for ἀσυγχύτως. Disregarding these, there are still some noticeable differences between the two Severan texts, such as PHL's ܩܠܝܣ. Its rendering of the πολυ- compound with ܪܝܒܬܐ ܒܪܐܝܟܣ (Ep40, PHL) also seems to be a more careful rendering for συμφέρω than ܝܘܝܬ (AJP). In the earlier part of the citation, however, the two Severan texts are very close.

Example 3

[Greek: 26,19-22]

φωνῶν δὲ διαφορὰν κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον ἀνηρήκαμεν, εἰ καὶ ἀπόβλητον πεποιήμεθα τὸ μερίζειν αὐτὰς ὡς υἱῷ κατὰ μόνας ἐκ πατρὸς λόγῳ καὶ ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ πάλιν κατὰ

μόνας υἱῷ νοουμένῳ τῷ ἐκ γυναικός. μία γὰρ ὁμολογουμένως ἡ τοῦ λόγου φύσις, ἴσμεν δὲ ὅτι σεσάρκωταί τε καὶ ἐνηνθρώπησε, καθάπερ ἤδη προεῖπον.

[Syriac: 33,8-13]

ܐܝܟ ܐܦ̈ܝܢ ܡܪ̈ܘܩܠܝ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܒܥܠ ...

[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: PHL 24,4-9, up to τῷ ἐκ γυναικός]

[Citation in Athanasius of Nisibis: AN 27,7-13, up to ἐνηνθρώπησε]

[Citation in Florilegium: Add 12155, f.34v, from μία γὰρ]

When we then compare these citations in turn with Ep40 itself, we find that the differences are really not as great as might be expected. A phrase such as κατ' οὐδένα τρόπον becomes ...ܐܠ in Ep40 and in Paul of Callinicum and Athanasius, whereas the Peshitta would probabably translate the meaning more idiomatically, just as we find in the Peshitta Apocrypha both (2 Mac 11.31) and (Ep Jer 68). Again, Ep40 will often use to translate forms of εἶναι.

The comparison between Paul and Athanasius is also informative. In places, the two texts are identical, in others the variations are only very small or are more likely

attributable to slight changes in the text by Severus (such as Athanasius' apparent omission of an equivalent for κατὰ μόνας).

The lexical issue surrounding Ep40's ܐܬܒܣܪ has been discussed already, and we note that Athanasius and the florilegium both use the Pael forms ܒܣܪ and ܐܬܒܣܪ (σεσάρκωται καὶ ἐνηνθρώπησε), which we encountered earlier also in Elijah the biographer and a florilegium citation (above, Example 1). However, in the next sentence, Cyril uses the pair ἐσαρκώθη καὶ ἐνηνθρώπησε (i.e. using the aorist passive of σαρκόω instead of the perfect mid/pass) and the translator of the citation in the florilegium translates ܘܐܬܒܣܪ ܐܬܒܣܪ, now using passives for *both* terms. We might assume with regard to the first term that he is treating the perfect form as middle and the aorist as passive, but his different treatments of ἐνηνθρώπησε rather suggest that he is being more formulaic than morphologically accuarate. Paul of Callinicum uses ܘܐܬܒܣܪ ܐܬܒܣܪ consistently for this credal form, but it is not clear whether he would use a different form for the perfect mid/pass (which is used in the monophysite formula) since this term does not crop up in the right parts of the texts. A little further on, we have a citation from the same florilegium also using ܐܬܒܣܪܢܘܬܐ for σάρκωσις, where Ep40 has ܡܬܓܫܡܢܘܬܐ, more typical of the difference of the two styles.

Example 4
[Greek: 24,1-4]
ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἁγία καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος ἡ κατὰ τῶν Ἐφεσίων πόλιν συνειλεγμένη προενόησεν ἀναγκαίως τοῦ μὴ δεῖν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ θεοῦ πίστεως ἔκθεσιν ἑτέραν εἰσκρίνεσθαι παρά γε τὴν οὖσαν, ἥν οἱ τρισμακάριοι πατέρες ἐν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι λαλοῦντες ὡρίσαντο.

[Syriac: 29,23-5]

ܩܘܣܛܢܛܝܢ ܠܓܝ ܩܕܝܫܬܐ ܘܩܬܘܠܝܩܐ ܣܘܢܗܕܘܣ ܐܬܒܢܫܬ ܐܬܒܢܫܬ ܘܐܬܟܢܫܬ ܘܐܬܟܢܫܬ ܕܐܦܣܘܣ

ܡܢ ܒܗ̇ ܐܚܪܬܐ ܗܝ̇ ܕܚܬܝܡܐ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܢܥܘܠ ܠܐ ܬܬܚܬܡܬ.

[Citation in Florilegium: Add 14529, f.18b]

ܩܘܣܛܢܛܝܢ ܠܓܝ ܩܕܝܫܬܐ ܘܩܘܬܘܠܝܩܐ ܒܗ̇ ܕܚܬܝܡܐ ܐܬܟܢܫܬ ܒܦܠܓܘܬܐ ܕܒܝܬ

ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܐܦ ܠܐ ܒܪ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܚܪܬܐ ܣܝܡܐ ܕܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܐܚܪܬܐ ܕܐܦܣܘܣ ܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܐܢܝܢ

ܕܐܝܬ ܗܢܘܢ ܛܘܒܢܐ ܕܚܬܝܡܐ ܩܕܡܝܬܐ ܒܪ ܓܠܝܐ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܡܠܠܝܢ ܬܚܡܘ.

The example simply serves to highlight how much Ep40 sometimes abbreviates his material, a feature already discussed, and sometimes adds, e.g. the name of Nicaea. However, note that the writer of Ep40 already uses the adjectival phrase ܟ‍ܝ‍ܢܐ ܡ‍ܫ‍ܝ‍ܚܝܐ whereas the much more accurate version in the citation has the older ܟ‍ܝ‍ܢܐ ܡ‍ܫ‍ܝ‍ܚܝܐ.

Further examples

The following are some further examples of the differences found in the Paul of Callinicum citations which tend to be carried through the texts consistently. In each example, the text of the Syriac Ep40 is followed by Paul of Callinicum's version.

a) Syntactical structural alterations

οὐ ἐξ ἰδίας λαβόντα φύσεως κατασκευάσαι τὸ σῶμα τὸν λόγον ὑπονοήσομεν [26,3-5]

ܠܐ ܗ‍ܟܢ ܚ‍ܢܢ ܣ‍ܒ‍ܪ‍ܝ‍ܢ‍ܢ

ܠܐ ܗ‍ܟܢ ܚ‍ܢܢ ܣ‍ܒ‍ܪ‍ܝ‍ܢ‍ܢ

b) Alterations of morphological forms

θεότης καὶ ἀνθρωπότης [26,25] ܐ‍ܠ‍ܗ‍ܘ‍ܬܐ ܘܐ‍ܢ‍ܫ‍ܘ‍ܬܐ / ܐ‍ܠ‍ܗ‍ܝ‍ܘ‍ܬܐ ܘܐ‍ܢ‍ܫ‍ܝ‍ܘ‍ܬܐ

θεοπρεπῶς τε ἅμα καὶ ἀνθρωπίνως διαλεγόμενον [30,5]

ܐ‍ܠ‍ܗ‍ܐ‍ܝ‍ܬ ܘܐ‍ܢ‍ܫ‍ܐ‍ܝܬ / ܡ‍ܡ‍ܠ‍ܠ ܡ‍ܠ‍ܐ‍ܟ‍ܐ‍ܝ‍ܬ

c) Word for word equivalence

ἡμῶσθαι φαμέν [26,7] ܐ‍ܡ‍ܪ‍ܝ‍ܢ / ܐ‍ܡ‍ܪ‍ܝ‍ܢ ܕ‍ܐ‍ܬ‍ܚ‍ܒ‍ܠ‍ܬ

ὁμολογίαν ποιούμενοι [26,13] ܡ‍ܘ‍ܕ‍ܝ‍ܢ / ܥ‍ܒ‍ܕ‍ܝ‍ܢ ܬ‍ܘ‍ܕ‍ܝ‍ܬܐ

ἀπορρήτως [27,2] ܠܐ ܐ‍ܝ‍ܟ ܕ‍ܠ‍ܡ‍ܐ‍ܡ‍ܪ / ܠܐ ܡ‍ܬ‍ܡ‍ܠ‍ܠ‍ܐ‍ܝ‍ܬ

ἑνωθέντα [27,3] ܡ‍ܢ ܕܐ‍ܬ‍ܚ‍ܝ‍ܕ / ܒ‍ܬ‍ܪ ܕ‍ܗ‍ܘܘ ܚܕ

τὸ θεοπρεπὲς καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον [28,18]

ܪ݂ܟܬ̈ܝܪܐ ܪ݂ܟ݂ܘܬ݂ܐ݂ܠ݂ܪ݂ / ܪ݂ܟ݂ܬ݂ܝܪ݂ ܸܚ݂ܘ ܟ݂ܡ݂ܪ݂ܠ ܟ݂ܪ݂ܟ݂ܐܝ ܸܚ݂

μεταφοίτησις [29,23] omitted as otiose in Ep40 / ܟ݂ܘܣܥ

εἶναι ὅ ἐστιν [29,23] ܣܐܬ݂ܝܪ݂ܝ ܘܝܪ݂ ܙܬ݂ܙ݂ / ܣܐܬ݂ܝܪ݂ܝ ܟ݂ܙ݂ ܐܚ݂ ܣܐܬ݂ܝܪ݂ ܟ݂ܐܚܝ

τὰ Ἀρείου [30,1] ܨܐܘܝܪ݂ܝ ܘܝܪ݂ / ܨܐܘܝܪ݂ܝ ܝ݂ܠܚ

d) Adjectives translated as adjectives

οἰκονομικὴν καὶ ἀπόρρητον [26,2]

ܟ݂ܠܠܙܚܙ ܟ݂ܠܝ ܟ݂ܗܘܝܒ݂ܝܙܙܝ / ܪ݂ܗܘܠܠܙܚܙ ܟ݂ܠܐ ܟ݂ܗܘܝܒ݂ܙܙ

ἀδιάσπαστον [26,3] ܙܝܚ݂ܩ ܟ݂ܠܝ / ܟ݂ܗܘܝܐܩܙܚ݂ܙ ܟ݂ܠ

e) Reflexives

ἑαυτῷ [26,4] ܚ݂ܠ / ܚ݂ܠ ܐܚ݂

f) Infinitive for infinitive

διανέμειν [26,15] ܝ݂ܠܐܚ / ܐܝ݂ܠܐܚܙ

g) Resumptive articles with demonstratives

υἱῷ τῳ ἐκ γυναικός [26,21] ܟ݂ܝܒ݂…ܟ݂ܗܘܗܝܪ݂ ܙܚ ܣܐܬ݂ܝܪ݂ܝ / ܟ݂ܗܘܗܝܪ݂ ܙܚܝ ܐܚ݂ܠ ܟ݂ܝܒ݂

h) Copula

ἦν [29,19] ܚ݂ܐܚ݂ / ܚ݂ܐܚ݂ ܚ݂ܝܒ݂ܝܪ݂

i) Word Order

For the most part, Ep40 is quite careful about word order; while observing good Syriac, the translator nevertheless does appear to be taking note of the order of the words in his Vorlage. Yet in Paul's work we naturally see a much stricter adherence in this area, often in quite small matters, such as:

ἑπόμενοι δὲ πανταχῇ [26,5] ܝ݂ܣܩܝ ܘ݂ܝܐܝ ܝ݂ܚ݂ ܚ݂ܚ݂ ܝ݂ܒ݂ / ܘ݂ܝܐܝ ܝ݂ܚ݂ ܚ݂ܚ݂ ܝ݂ܚ ܝ݂ܣܩܝ ܝ݂ܒ݂

περιεργάζοιτό τις [26,23] ܒܡܩ ܐܢܫ / ܐܢܫ ܢܦܚܒܢ

j) Compound words

θεοπνεύστοις [26,5] ܐܠܗܝܐ / ܐܠܗܝܐ, ܒܢܘ̈ܐ

θεηγόρων [26,13] ܐܠܗܝܐܬ / ܐܠܗܝܐܬ ܡܠܠܝ

θεοπρεπεῖς [26,18] ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐܠܗܐ / ܦܐܝܢ ܠܐܠܗܐ

πολυπραγμονῆται [27,1] ܡܬܒܨܐ / ܡܬܒܨܐ ܣܓܝܐܝܬ

k) Other key terms

σῶμα [26,4] [29,21] ܓܘܫܡܐ / ܦܓܪܐ

ὀνομάσας [28,14] ܐܡܪ / ܫܡܗ

κεφαλαίοις [26,16] ܪ̈ܫܐ / ܩܦܠܐܐ

προσάπτω [26,18] ܢܩܦ / ܐܪܡܐ

ἐσαρκώθη [26,23] ܐܬܓܫܡ / ܐܬܒܣܪ

ἐνανθρώπησεν [26,23] ܒܪܢܫܐ ܗܘܐ / ܐܬܒܪܢܫ

σάρξ [30,1] ܦܓܪܐ / ܒܣܪܐ

l) Particles/prepositions

ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ [28,17f.] ܥܠ ܡܪܝܐ / ܒܡܪܝܐ

μέν [26,16] omitted / ܡܢ

γοῦν [26,15] [26,25] [29,22] omitted / ܟܝܬ

ὅταν [27,1] ܪܒ / ,ܟܒܘܪ

πάντως [27,2] omitted / ܘܐܠܝܣ

μᾶλλον [28,19] omitted / ܝܘܪܝܟ

τοιουτῶν [29,26] ܝܠܡ ܡ / ܝܠܡ ܘܝܪܝܝ ܡ

There are also, however, some notable similarities which show that the style of Ep40 was already sufficiently advanced that Paul of Callinicum could come up, quite independently, with exactly the same result.

οἶον [27,22] ܪܝܪ ܬܘܪ ܪܒܘܪ ܘܝܪ / ܪܝܪ ܬܘܪ ܝܘܪ ܘܝܪ

κρᾶσις ἤ σύγχυσις ἤ φυρμὸς ἤ μεταβολή [29,21-2]
ܪܘܠܘܐܣܐ ܪܘܣܐܣܘܐ ܪܠܒܠܐܣܐ ܪܝ ܝܐܣ
ܪܘܠܘܐܣ ܐܪ ܪܘܣܐܣܘ ܐܪ ܪܠܒܠܐܣ ܐܪ ܪܝ ܝܐܣ

ᾠήθησαν δὲ πρὸς τούτῳ καὶ ταῖς Ἀρείου με συμφέρεσθαι δυσφημίαις [29,24]
ܪܝܪ ܝܠܐ ܘܣܝܪܝ ,ܣܢܒܝܐܠ ܐܪܝ ܪܝܡ ܝܘ ܝܝ ܘܒܡܘܪ
ܪܝܪ ܝܠܐ ܘܘܣܝܪܝ ,ܣܢܒܝܐܠ ܐܪܝ ܙܪܝܡ ܝܘ ܝܝ ܘܒܡܘܪ

Citations of Ep44

Example 1
[Greek: 35,18-36,2]
ἐπειδὴ δὲ πάντες οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀνατολῆς νομίζουσιν ἡμᾶς τοὺς ὀρθοδόξους ταῖς Ἀπολλιναρίου δόξαις ἀκολουθεῖν καὶ φρονεῖν ὅτι σύγκρασις ἐγένετο ἤ σύγχυσις (τοιαύταις γὰρ αὐτοὶ κέχρηνται φωναῖς, ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου μεταβεβηκότος εἰς φύσιν σαρκὸς καὶ τῆς σαρκὸς τραπείσης εἰς φύσιν θειότητος), συγκεχωρήκαμεν αὐτοῖς οὐ διελεῖν δύο τὸν ἕνα υἱόν, μὴ γένοιτο, ἀλλ' ὁμολογῆσαι μόνον ὅτι οὔτε σύγχυσις ἐγένετο οὔτε κρᾶσις, ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν γὰρ σὰρξ σὰρξ ἦν ὡς ἐκ γυναικὸς

ληφθεῖσα, ὁ δὲ λόγος ὡς ἐκ πατρὸς γεννθηεὶς λόγος ἦν· πλὴν εἷς ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ υἱὸς καὶ κύριος κατὰ τὴν Ἰωάννου φωνήν.

[Syriac: 55,1-12]

[Syriac text — 7 lines]

[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: PHL 12,24-13,12]

[Syriac text — 7 lines]

These two versions are not so very far apart as appeared to be the case with Ep40. Yet there are a series of differences which still place Ep44 well prior to Paul of Callinicum in terms of style. Thus in the first line (above) we have the strictly unnecessary additions of [Syriac] and [Syriac], and the [Syriac]/[Syriac] distinction which we have come across before. Further on, Paul twice uses an infinitive for an infinitive where Ep44 is content with the impf. (διελεῖν and ὁμολογῆσαι).

On the other hand, Paul fails to show the tense of ἦν by adding [Syriac] and uses the more idiomatic [Syriac] for φωνή where Ep44 achieves a word-for-word consistency.

We note in addition from the next passage of PHL (not cited here) further points: for παρασκεύαζε [παρασκευάσαμεν] αὐτοὺς προσέχειν [36,3] Paul has [Syriac] [Syriac] but Ep44 the closer [Syriac] [Syriac] [Syriac]. For the idiom ἄνω καὶ κάτω

[36,5] Paul has the accurate ܟܠ ܘܟܝܢܐ while Ep44 has the dynamic ܡܢ ܟܠ ܓܒܝܢ, and similarly for πάντως [36,6] Paul has the direct loan ܦܢܛܘܣ, Ep44 the idiom (though also involving a loan) ܡܢ ܟܠ ܦܪܘܣ.

Example 2

[Greek: 36,7-9]

ὅπου γὰρ ἕνωσις ὀνομάζεται, οὐχ ἑνὸς πράγματος σημαίνεται σύνοδος, ἀλλ᾽ ἤ δύο ἤ καὶ πλειόνων καὶ διαφόρων ἀλλήλοις κατὰ τὴν φύσιν.

[Syriac: 55,20-3]

ܐܝܟܐ ܓܝܪ ܕܐܚܝܕܘܬܐ ܡܬܫܡܗܐ ܕܠܘ ܕܚܕ ܣܘܥܪܢܐ ܡܫܬܘܕܥܐ ܟܢܘܫܝܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܘ ܕܬܪܝܢ
ܐܘ ܕܝܬܝܪܐ ܘܡܫܚܠܦܝܢ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܚܕܐ ܒܟܝܢܐ.

[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: PHL 16,22-17,4]

ܐܝܟܐ ܓܝܪ ܕܐܚܝܕܘܬܐ ܡܫܬܡܗܐ ܕܠܘ ܕܚܕ ܣܘܥܪܢܐ ܡܫܬܘܕܥܐ ܟܢܘܫܝܐ ܒܡܢ ܕܝܢܐ ܐܠܐ
ܕܬܪܝܢ ܐܘ ܕܝܬܝܪܐ ܘܡܫܚܠܦܝܢ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܚܕܐ ܒܟܝܢܐ.

[Citation in Athanasius of Nisibis: AN 27,21-8]

ܐܝܢ ܗܟܢ ܡܣܒ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܫܘܝܐ ܘܬܪܝܢ ܕܣܓܝܐܐ ܒܡܫܬܟܚܢܘܬܐ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܘܡܫܚܠܦܐ.

Note the almost verbatim nature of the versions, though Paul of Callinicum is marginally more precise with his circumlocution ܒܡܢ ܕܝܢܐ. Paul and Ep44 are thus very close in terms of style.

Example 3

[Greek: 35,7-18]

οὐ πάντα ὅσα λέγουσιν οἱ αἱρετικοί, φεύγειν καὶ παραιτεῖσθαι χρή· πολλὰ γὰρ ὁμολογοῦσιν ὧν καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁμολογοῦμεν. οἷον Ἀρειανοὶ ὅταν λέγωσι τὸν πατέρα ὅτι δημιουργός ἐστι τῶν ὅλων καὶ κύριος.

[Syriac: 54,10-55,1]

ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܟܡܐ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܗܪܛܝܩܘ ܕܢܥܪܘܩ ܘܢܫܬܐܠ ܘܠܐ ܣܓܝܐܬܐ ܓܝܪ
ܡܘܕܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܦ ܚܢܢ ܡܘܕܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܪܝܢܘ ܡܐ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܐܒܐ ܕܥܒܘܕܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ
ܕܟܠ ܘܡܪܝܐ.

[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: AJP II,72,7-22]

ܐܠ ܡܢ ܠܟܠܗ ܐܪܡܐ ܐܠܝܘ ܐܕܡܪܝܢ ܡܩܒܝܠܘ ܐܢ ܠܟܠܘ ܘܐܬܐܠܐ ܐܒܪܝܥܡ.

ܕܠܐ ܐܝܢ ܘܝ ܐܝܢ ܘܝ ܡܩܒܝ ܢܘ. ܐܪܝܝܗ ܐܪܡܐܢ ܐܪܡܐ. ܐܪܡܕܘ ܐܪܡܐܝ ܕܡܝܢ

ܕܡܠ ܐܡܝܪ.

Again we can see that the two Syriac versions are remarkably similar. The only major difference is the use of ܘܒ in Paul's version where Ep44 has ܫܠܡ, a matter already extensively discussed.

Example 4

[Greek: 36,10-12]

τῆς ἑνώσεως ὁμολογουμένης οὐκέτι διίστανται ἀλλήλων τὰ ἑνωθέντα, ἀλλ' εἰς λοιπὸν υἱός, μία φύσις αὐτοῦ, ὡς σαρκωθέντος τοῦ λόγου.

[Syriac: 55,26-8]

ܐܒܪ ܡܠܟܘ ܘܝ ܐܠܐ: ܐܬܚܘܝܕܐ ܐܠܝܪ ܐܕܝܘ ܡܢ ܡܬܝܘܕܐ ܡܠܟܘ ܐܠ ܐܚܕܝܘ [1]ܐܝܪܘܕܐ ܒ

ܐܕܠܘ ܫܠܡ ܐܝܪܐ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ. ܘܝ ܚܒܝܕܘ

[Syriac citation in Florilegium: Add 12155, f.34v / Add 12154, f.20r]

ܐܒܪ ܡܠܟܘ ܘܝ ܐܠܐ ܐܬܚܘܝܕܐ ܐܠܗ ܐܕܝܘ ܡܢ ܡܬܠܘܕܐ ܡܠܟܘ ܐܠ. ܐܝܪܘܕܐ ܐܝܪܘܕܐ ܒ

ܐܕܠܘ ܝܒܘܬܐܝܪܐ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܘܝ ܚܒܝܕܘ

[Syriac citation in Paul of Callinicum: PHL 17,2-4 (until ἑνωθέντα)]

ܐܬܚܘܝܕܐ ܐܠܗ ܐܕܝܘ ܡܢ ܡܣܘܝܕܐ ܐܠ. ܐܝܪܘܕܐ ܐܕܝܘ ܒ.

The extract is short but the two are clearly in harmony as far as overall method is concerned, the principle difference being only that between ܫܠܡ ܐܝܪ and ܝܒܘܬܐܝܪ. ܐܠܗ may also be considered an advance on ܐܠܝܪ (a revision typical of the Harklean), while ܫܝܒܘܬ and ܝܒܘܬܐܝܪ are synonymous alternatives.

Example 5

[Greek: 35,10-14]

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[1] The other ms has ܐܝܪܘܕܬܘ.

οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ Νεστορίου, κἄν λέγῃ δύο φύσεις τὴν διαφορὰν σημαίνων τῆς σαρκὸς καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου· ἑτέρα γὰρ ἡ τοῦ λόγου φύσις καὶ ἑτέρα ἡ τῆς σαρκός. ἀλλ' οὐκέτι τὴν ἕνωσιν ὁμολογεῖ μεθ' ἡμῶν. ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἐνώσαντες ταῦτα ἕνα Χριστόν, ἕνα υἱὸν, τὸν αὐτὸν ἕνα κύριον ὁμολογοῦμεν καὶ λοιπὸν μίαν τὴν τοῦ υἱοῦ φύσιν σεσαρκωμένην.

[Syriac: 54,15-20]

ܗܘ̈ܐ ܕܐܦ ܥܠ ܢܣܛܘܪܝܘܣ: ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܬ̈ܪܝܢ ܟ̈ܝܢܐ ܟܕ ܡܘܕܥ ܦܘܪܫܢܐ ܕܒܣܪܐ ܘܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܬܐ.

[Syriac citation in Florilegium: Add 12154, f.10v]

ܗܘ̈ܐ ܗܟܝܠ ܐܦ ܥܠ ܢܣܛܘܪܝܘܣ. ܐܦ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܬ̈ܪܝܢ ܟ̈ܝܢܐ ܟܕ ܡܘܕܥ ܦܘܪܫܢܐ ܕܒܣܪܐ ܘܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܬܐ.

Again, the versions show a very similar style, with the citation showing just a few more 'developed' features. Ep44 occasionally shirks the original, as in omitting any real equivalent for ἐπί - it is, after all, unnecessary to the meaning. The translation of the phrase beginning κἄν λέγῃ is almost identical in terms of wording, but the citation has made a more conscious effort to represent the word order of the original, though neither feels the need of using a calque to represent the subjunctive as might have occurred in later 7th century versions. Again, we note the difference of equivalents for σεσαρκωμένην, though it is perhaps even more significant that both translators use an active form for this middle perfect (cf. the passive in the previous example), a distinction which is found sporadically in some of the other texts too. In places the two versions are so similar that we might even take the citation as a revision of the other, but it is just as likely that the simple formulaic nature of the text led similarly-minded translators to equally similar renderings.

Citations of *Ep45/46*

Example 1

[Greek: 153,20-4]

ὅταν οὖν ἐννοῶμεν τοῦτο, οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦμεν τὴν εἰς ἑνότητα συνδρομὴν ἐκ δύο φύσεων γεγενῆσθαι λέγοντες· μετὰ μέντοι τὴν ἕνωσιν οὐ διαιροῦμεν τὰς φύσεις ἀπ' ἀλλήλων οὐδὲ εἰς δύο τέμνομεν υἱοῦς τὸν ἕνα καὶ ἀμέριστον, ἀλλ' ἕνα φαμὲν υἱὸν καὶ ὡς οἱ πατέρες εἰρήκασιν, μίαν φύσιν τοῦ λόγου σεσαρκωμένην.

[Syriac: 42,15-20]

ܗܕܐ ܗܟܝܠ ܡܐ ܕܡܬܚܫܒܝܢܢ ܠܐ ܡܥܘܠܝܢ ܗܕܐ ܠܘܬ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܬܪܬܝܢ ܟܝܢܝܢ ܕܗܘܬ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܐܝܬܝܗ

ܟܕ ܗܟܝܠ .ܒܬܪ ܕܝܢ ܚܕܝܘܬܐ ܠܐ ܡܦܠܓܝܢ ܟܝܢܐ ܡܢ ܚܕܕܐ ܘܠܐ ܠܬܪܝܢ ܒܢܝܐ

ܠܗܘ ܕܚܕ ܗܘ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܦܠܓܢܐ. ܐܠܐ ܚܕ ܒܪܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܚܢܢ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܐܦ ܐܒܗܬܐ ܐܡܪܘ ܚܕ ܟܝܢܐ

ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܬܒܣܪ.

[Citation in Florilegium: Add 12155, f.34v (= Add 12154, f. 19v)]

ܐܡܪܐ, ܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ ܠܘܬ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܬܪܬܝܢ ܟܝܢܝܢ ܕܗܘܬ ܘܗܕܐ. ܕܡܥܘܠܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ

ܐܝܬܝܗ ܟܝܢܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܡܢ .ܒܬܪ ܕܝܢ ܚܕܝܘܬܐ ܠܐ ܡܦܠܓܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܚܕܕܐ. ܘܠܐ

ܠܬܪܝܢ ܒܢܝܐ ܠܗܘ ܕܚܕ ܗܘ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܦܠܓܢܐ. ܐܠܐ ܚܕ ܒܪܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܘܐܝܟ ܕܐܒܗܬܐ

ܐܡܪܘ. ܚܕ ܟܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܬܒܣܪ.

Note that Ep45 abbreviates τὴν εἰς ἑνότητα συνδρομὴν to 'union' only; other such variants include Ep45's ܕܠܐ ܡܬܦܠܓ (*which* is not to be divided) where the citation correctly has ܘܠܐ ܡܬܦܠܓ (*and* is not to be divided), and, as so often, we see the use of the analytical form in the earlier text, the adjectival in the later. The difference between ܕܐܬܒܣܪ and ܕܡܒܣܪ has been discussed at length already – we have noted how even the early translators such as Ep45 sometimes distinguish, as here, between the passive ἐσαρκώθη of the creed and the middle σεσαρκωμένος of the monophysite slogan.

Example 2

[Greek: 161,19-23]

ὁ γάρτοι λέγων σαρκὶ παθεῖν γυμνῇ τὸν κύριον ἄλογον καὶ ἀκούσιον ποιεῖ τὸ πάθος· ἐὰν δέ τις εἴπῃ μετὰ ψυχῆς νοερᾶς παθεῖν αὐτόν, ἵνα ᾖ τὸ πάθος ἑκούσιον, οὐδὲν κωλύει λέγειν τῇ φύσει τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος αὐτὸν παθεῖν. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο ἀληθές, πῶς οὐ τὰς δύο φύσεις ὑφεστάναι δώσομεν μετὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν ἀδιαιρέτως;

[Syriac: 51,25-30]

.ܪܚܘܠ ܡܠ ܢܚ̣ ܪܚܘܓ̣ ܪܚܠܪ ܪܚܝܝ ܪܚܠܪ :ܕܝܪܚܝܠܚܛ ܐܝܓܛ ܟܝܢ ܚܝܪ ܐܝܪܪܪ ܐܝܠܐ ܡܐ

ܐܝܪܪܐܠ ܪܚܠܚ ܪܚ .ܪܚܘܓܝ ܪܚܝ ܪܚܘܡܝܪ .ܝܘ ܪܚܝܕܝܚܐܝ ܪܚܚܝ ܝܚܝ ܐܝܪܪ ܙܝܪ ܗܝ ܐܟ

ܐܕܚ ܐܢܚܝܕܝܪ ܪܚܝܒ ܗܝܕܝ ܝܘܝ ܪܚ ܪܚܝܪ ܪܝܝܝ ܪܝܝܘܝ ܘܢܝܪܛ .ܝܘ ܪܚܝܛܝܪܝ ܪܚܝܝܝ

.ܙܝܡܓ ܪܚܝ ܪܚܝܛܝܘ

[Citation in Florilegium: Add 12154, f.188r]

ܪܚܝܕܝܚܐܝ ܪܚܚܝ ܝܚܝ :ܐܝܪܪ ܙܝܪ ܗܝ ܐܟ .ܪܚܘܠ ܡܠ ܢܚ̣ ܪܚܘܓ̣ ܪܚܝܚܝܝ ܐܝܪܪ ܡܐ

ܗܝ ܐܢܛܘ .ܝܘ ܪܚܝܛܝܪܝ ܪܚܝܝܝ .ܐܝܪܪܐܠ ܪܚܝܝ ܝܝܝ ܗܝܠ .ܪܚܝ ܪܚܘܡܝ ܪܚܘܓܝ ܐܠܓܝ :ܝܘ

ܕܝܪܚܢܠܗܛ ܪܚ ܪܚܝܛܝܘ ܐܕܚ ܝܝܘܕܝܪܝ ܐܠܝ ܗܝܚ ܝܝܚ ܗܝܕܝ ܐܠ ܪܚܝܪ ܪܝܝܝ ܪܝܝܘ

Where these two can be directly compared, we can note such details as the adjectival forms ܪܚܘܓ̣ and ܪܚܝܢܠܗܛ in the citation, where the analytical ܝ is preferred in Ep46; ܪܚܝܝ ܝܝܝ ܗܝܠ is more accurate than ܪܚܠܝ ܪܚ for οὐδὲν κωλύει. Perhaps most noticeable is Ep46's abbreviation of πῶς οὐ ὑφεστάναι δώσομεν to ܝܘܝ (*how are we not supposing* rather than *how will we not concede to exist*) while the citation has tried to mirror the original – the first rendering is an instance of dynamic modulation, the second of true lexical equivalence.

Example 3

[Greek: 153,7-10]

ἑνοῦντες τοίνυν ἡμεῖς τῇ ἁγίᾳ σαρκὶ ψυχὴν ἐχούσῃ τὴν νοερὰν ἀπορρήτως τε καὶ ὑπὲρ νοῦν τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς λόγον ἀσυγχύτως ἀτρέπτως ἀμεταβλήτως, ἕνα υἱὸν καὶ Χριστὸν καὶ κύριον ὁμολογοῦμεν, τὸν αὐτὸν θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον, οὐχ ἕτερον καὶ ἕτερον, ἀλλ᾽ ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτο κἀκεῖνο ὑπάρχοντα καὶ νοούμενον.

[Syriac: 41, 23-9]

ܝܚܝܝܝ ܪܚܛܚܝ ܗܝܝܒ ܝܚ .ܝܠܐܝܪܝ :ܪܚܘܠܪ ܗܝܝ ܪܚܠܝ ܪܚܘܠܪܠ ܝܝܝܗܝ ܝܘ ܠܝܝܡ ܝܝܘ

ܪܚܘܠܝܘܚ ܪܚܝܝ ܪܚܠܝܒܝ ܪܚܝܝ ܪܝܝܝܝ ܪܚܘ ܠܠܝܝܝ ܪܚܠܝ ܝܝܝ ܐܝܪܪ .ܪܚܝܠܝܝ ܪܚܛܚܝ

ܗܠ .ܪܚܝܝܪ ܝܛ ܪܚܘܠܪ ܗܠ ܒ ܗܠ ܝܝܝܝ ܪܚܝܝܛ ܪܚܝܝܝܛ ܪܝ ܝܘ .ܝܝܢ ܗܛ ܪܚܝܝ

.ܝܝܝܗܛ ,ܡܗܕܝܪ ܪܚܝܛܘ ܪܚܝ ܒ ܗ̇ܛ ܒ ܗ̇ܛܘ ܝܘ ܪܚܝܪ ܪܝܝܘܪܛ ܪܝܝܘܪ

[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: PHL 27,4-10]

[Syriac text — 4 lines]

[Citation in Florilegium: Mingana 69, f.12r]

[Syriac text — 4 lines]

In the full version of the text, the syntactical structure is quite altered, with subordinate clauses becoming main clauses; the ἔχω clause is avoided by circumlocution; other idioms, such as ܒܪܡ ܐܝܟ, are added to smooth the démarche; the awkward ܗܕܐ ܘܗܕܐ for τοῦτο κἀκεῖνο suggests a translator struggling to find accurate ways of translating out of a more synonym-rich language than his own.

When we compare the Paul of Callinicum's version with the florilegium citation, we note that the latter is actually more 'advanced' as a mirror of the original. It correctly places ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ before, rather than after, τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς λόγον, which phrase is itself more carefully rendered as ܗܘ ܕܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܒܐ; the adjectives are treated as such and not (unusually for Paul of Callinicum) analytically.[1] The florilegium text, however, translates τὸν αὐτὸν differently on each occasion whereas Paul of Callinicum was consistent in his renderings.

Example 4
[Greek: 155,27-156,5]
μετὰ δέ γε τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἦν μὲν αὐτὸ τὸ σῶμα τὸ πεπονθός, πλὴν οὐκέτι τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας ἀσθενείας ἔχον ἐν ἑαυτῷ. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι πείνης ἢ κόπου ἢ ἑτέρου τινὸς τῶν τοιούτων δεκτικὸν εἶναί τι φαμὲν αὐτό, ἀλλὰ λοιπὸν ἄφθαρτον καὶ οὐχὶ τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ ζωοποιόν· ζωῆς γὰρ σῶμα ἐστί, τουτέστι τοῦ μονογενοῦς, κατελαμπρύνθη δὲ καὶ δόξῃ τῇ θεοπρεστάτῃ.

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[1] The addition of a fourth adjective in the florilgium citation should probably be put down to a textual variant in the Vorlage or to an overzealous scribe within the Syriac transmission. It is unlikely to be a function of translation technique.

[Syriac: 44,30-45,6]

ܐ ܒܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܐܝܬ ܒܠ ܦܪܘܣ .ܗܘܝ ܠܥܣܡܘܬܗ ܗܘ ܗܘܐ ܡܐܝܬܐ ܡܣܝܒܪ ܕܝܢ ܒܟܝ

ܕܒܩܢܘܡܗ ܡܢ ܦܪܫܐܝܬ: ܡܗܝܡܢ ܕܗܕܐ ܒܝܕ ܐܘ ܩܝܡܐ ܐܘ ܠܐܬܗܐܕܠ ܟܘܬ ܠܥܠ ܐܠ .ܐܒܘܪܐ

ܠܥܠ ܗܘ ܥܣܡܘܬܠ .ܗܘ ܠܚܝܐ ܐܘ ܐܠܐ ܡܒܠܝܣ ܗܝܐ ܘܠܗ ܗܘ ܡܗܝܡܢ ܠܐ ܠܚܒܗ ܐܠܐ

.ܐܕܡܐܠܟ ܡܒܘܩܒܣ ܐܘ ܕܝܢ ܟܠܝܗܘ .ܡܚܝܕܢܝܐ ܕܝܢ ܗܘܢ: ܐܫܝܢ

[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: PHL 29,23-30,3]

ܐܝܬ ܟܘܬ ܒܠ ܐܝܬ ܒܠ ܦܪܘܣ .ܗܘܝ ܦܪܨܘܦܐ ܗܘ ܠܥܠ ܦܪ ܗܘܐ ܡܐܝܬܐ ܣܡܣܝܒܪ ܡܢ ܦܪܫܐܝܬ ܒܝܕ ܦܪ

ܦܪܝܡ ܐܘ .ܠܐܬܗܐܕܠ ܐܘ ܒܩܢܘܡܗ ܡܢ ܦܪܫܐܝܬ ܟܘܬ ܠܥܠ ܠܐ .ܟܣܝܪܐ ܟܡܝܐܕ ܒܗ ܥܠ ܗܘܐ

.ܗܘܠܒܣ ܗܝܐ ܘܠܗ .ܟܬܠܘܒܐ ܠܐ ܠܚܝܕ ܐܠܐ .ܟܬܒܡܣ ܡܣܝܒܪ ܦܠܗܢ ܟܦܪܝܕܗ ܡܢ ܐܨܘܒܪ

ܐܝܣܒܣܕ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܗܡܣܐܬ .ܐܥܝܫܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܗܘܢ: ܡܣܝܒܪ ܐܫܝܢ ܠܥܠ ܦܪܨܘܦܐ .ܠܚܝܕ ܐܘ ܐܠܐ

.ܐܡܠܐܠ ܐܪܒܣ ܗܘ

[Citation in Florilegium: Mingana 69, 31r]

ܒܗ ܠܗ ܐܝܬ ܒܠ ܦܪܘܣ .ܗܘܝ ܦܪܨܘܦܐ ܗܘ ܗܩ ܦܪ ܗܘܐ ܡܐܝܬܐ .ܡܣܝܒܪ ܕܝܢ ܐܫܝܢ

ܐܘ .ܠܐܬܗܐܕܠ ܐܘ ܩܝܡܐܕ ܟܠܒܡܬ .ܡܣܝܒܪܗ ܦܪܨܘܦܐ ܡܣܝܒܪ ܠܥܠ ܠܐ .ܟܣܝܪܐ ܗܕܠܝܬ

ܦܪܝܡܘ ܠܐܪ .ܦܪܝܡ ܦܝܘܪ .ܝܘܪܐ ܗܝܐ ܘܠܗ .ܟܒܠܡܘܬ ܠܐ ܠܚܝܕ ܐܠܐ ܦܠܣ ܟܦܪܝܕ ܦܝܘܪ

.ܐܒܘܡܐܠܪ ܐܬܘܩܒܕܡܘ ܕܝܢ ܐܡܘܓܐܪ .ܐܥܝܫܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܗܘܢ: ܐܫܝܢ ܡܣܝܒܪ ܠܥܠ ܦܪܨܘܦܐ ܐܫܝܢ

The two citations again show a much more developed technique than is evident in the earlier attempt. Both use ܦܪܨܘܦܐ for σῶμα (avoiding ܐܥܣܡܘܬ), as well as the particle ܕܝܢ for μέν. While all three translators have attempted a calque for ἔχον, they have done so to varying degrees, the first using merely ܒܗ ܐܝܬ for ἔχον ἐν ἑαυτῷ, the florilegium citation including the ܠܗ which is typical of the fuller calque, but only Paul of Callinicum also providing a tense marker with ܗܘܐ. Both the citations use another calque for τῶν τοιούτων, a common marker of this type of technique. Where the full version will easily modulate even ἄφθαρτον to ܐܠܐ ܡܒܠܝܐ, the others make careful attempts at the vocabulary, though with differing results, e.g. ܡܒܠܣ ܐܫܝܢ / ܡܚܝܐ for ζωοποιόν, and ܐܡܠܐܗܬ / ܐܡܠܐܠ ܐܪܒܣ for θεοπρεπεστάτη.

Further illustrations of the difference between the original translator of Ep45/46 and Paul of Callinicum

The above examples have illustrated some of the differences in technique between the original translators of Ep45/46 and Paul of Callinicum. Since these letters are

copiously quoted by Severus (because they were so by his opponents), there is an abundance of material for comparison. Here follow, therefore, further general illustrations of the differences, in various categories. In each case, the text of Ep45/46 in its full Syriac version is given first, Paul of Callinicum second.

a) Major structural alterations

κἂν τοῖς τῆς συνθέσεως λόγοις ἐνυπάρχῃ τὸ διάφορον κατὰ φύσιν τῶν εἰς ἑνότηα συγκεκομισμένων [160,5-7] (*even if the difference by nature of the things that have been brought together into a unity is still present in the concepts of the compound*)

ܘܐܦ ܠܚܘܫ̈ܒܐ ܕܪܘܟܒܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܠܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܝܟ ܚܢܢ ܕܐܬܩܪܒ ܐܝܬ ܕܒܟܝܢܐ ܦܘܪܫܐ ܐܦ

ܐܦ ܟܕ ܐܝܬ ܗܘ ܦܘܪܫܐ ܕܒܟܝܢܐ ܒܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܬܩܪܒ ܠܚܕܝܘܬܐ

ἑνοῦντες ἡμεῖς τῇ σαρκὶ τὸν λόγον [153,7-8]

ܟܕ ܡܚܝܕܝܢ ܠܡܠܬܐ ܒܒܣܪܐ / ܚܢܢ ܟܕ ܡܚܝܕܝܢܢ ܠܡܠܬܐ ܥܡ ܒܣܪܐ

ἀναγκαῖον γέγονεν τὸ ἐνανθρωπῆσαι τὸν λόγον [155,7-8]

ܐܠܨܝܐ ܗܘܬ ܕܐܬܒܪܢܫ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܗܘܐ ܟܕ / ܐܠܨܝ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܬܒܪܢܫ ܠܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ

ἵνα clause [155,8] ܘ (treated in apposition with foregoing clause) / ܡܛܠ

ἵνα clause [155,22] ܕ / ܡܛܠ

b) Alterations of morphological forms

μεταβολή [152,28] ܐܫܬܚܠܦ / ܫܘܚܠܦܐ

μεταβολή φύσεως [153,4] ܟܕ ܡܫܬܚܠܦ ܒܟܝܢܐ / ܒܫܘܚܠܦܐ ܕܟܝܢܐ

c) Periphrastic used or avoided

τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς λόγον [153,8]

ܠܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܒܐ / ܠܗܘ ܕܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܒܐ ܡܠܬܐ

ὑπὲρ νοῦν [153,8] ܕܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܪܥܝܢܐ / ܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܗܘܢܐ

εἰ μὴ σῶμα πεφόρηκε τὸ ἀνθρώπινον [153,16]

ܥܠ ܐܘܗ ܠܐ ܐܝܣܝܪ ܐܣܐܣܐܠ ܐܠܕ / [1] ܐܝܣܝܪ ܘܚ ܠܐܙ ܐܫܝܓ ܠܐ ܐܪ

τὴν καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς σύνθεσιν καθ᾽ ἣν ἐσμὲν ἄνθρωποι [154,4]

ܐܝܣܝܪ ܒܕ ܐܝܬܪ ܡܢ ܐܝܣܝܪ / ܐܝܣܝܪ ܒܕ ܐܝܬܪ ܡܗܙ ܠܝܙ ܘܚ ܐܒܙܘܝ

τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως [155,5-6] ܐܢܫ / ܐܝܣܝܪ ܘܚ ܐܢܫ

ἔχον ἐν ἑαυτῷ [156,1-2] ܒܗ ܐܝܬ / ܒܗ ܠܗ ܐܘܗ ܐܝܬ

d) Formal equivalence of adjectives

ἀμέριστον [153,22] ܡܬܦܠܓ ܐܠܕ / ܡܬܬܦܠܓ ܐܠ

ἀληθινός [155,23] ܐܝܬܝܪܝܬ / ܝܪܝܬ

δεκτικόν [156,2] ܡܩܒܠܢ / ܡܩܒܠܐ

ἀπορρήτῳ [156,16] ܡܬܡܠܠ ܐܠܕ / ܡܬܡܠܠ ܐܠ

Sometimes Ep45/46 anticipates Paul of Callinicum:

ἄφθαρτον [156,17] ܡܬܚܒܠ ܐܠ in both texts

e) Formal equivalence of infinitives

ὁμολογεῖν [152,14] ܐܘܕܝ / ܠܡܘܕܝܘ

f) The resumptive article with demonstratives

ἐκ τῆς παραβάσεως τῆς ἐν Ἀδάμ [155,5]

ܕܐܕܡ ܗܝܘܒܥܐ ܒܪܥ / ܕܐܕܡܕ ܘܚ ܐܝܘܒܥܐ ܒܥ ܡܢ

This is usual, but not always:

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[1] It appears here that Ep45 is deliberately avoiding the clothing metaphor, showing the sort of theological considerations associated with Philoxenus, while Paul of Callinicum's concern is more philological, and he simply chooses the closest lexical equivalent for Cyril's words.

τῶν πατέρων τις τῶν ἁγίων [155,17-18]

[Syriac text]

g) Calque on the copula (even when unexpressed)

ἐπειδήπερ ἐστὶν ζωὴ [155,9-10]

[Syriac text]

εἰ μία φύσις τὸ ὅλον [154,10]

[Syriac text]

ἦν [155,11]

[Syriac text]

(sometimes the results are mixed)

μετὰ τοῦ εἶναι ἄνθρωπος καὶ θεός ἐστιν ἀληθινός [155,23]

[Syriac text]

[Syriac text]

h) Word order

βασανίζοντες εὐτεχνῶς [153,12]

[Syriac text]

περιαθροῦντες ἰσχνῶς τὸ μυστήριον [153,13]

[Syriac text]

θαλάσσαις ἐπιτιμῶν, νεκροὺς ἐγείρων [155,24]

[Syriac text]

i) Compound words

πεπλαστούργηκε [153,15]

[Syriac text]

συνδρομήν [153,20] omitted /

[Syriac text]

θεοπρεπεστάτη [156,4]

[Syriac text]

j) Key technical terms

τὸν [ἐκ] τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον [155,8 etc.]

[Syriac text]

σῶμα [152,28] [153,15] ܟܣܘܡܐ (but ܓܘܫܡܐ occasionally, e.g. 154,5) / ܓܘܫܡܐ

ἐσαρκώθη [152,26] [153,14] ܐܬܒܣܪ / ܐܬܓܫܡ

ἐνανθρώπησεν [152,26] [153,14] ܒܪܢܫܐ ܗܘܐ / ܐܬܒܪܢܫ

σάρξ [153,13] ܒܣܪ / ܓܫܡܐ

σωτηρίαν [155,7] ܚܝܐ / [1] ܦܘܪܩܢܐ

k) Particles

μᾶλλον [153,4] [153,15] omitted in Ep45/ ܝܬܝܪܐܝܬ

μέν [154,5 etc.] omitted / ܡܢ

ἤτοι [155,7] ܐܘ / ܐܝܟ ܐܘ

Having decribed the differences between the techniques of Ep45/46 and Paul of Callinicum, we can now move on to some further examples which illustrate the differences and similarities between the styles of Paul of Callinicum and Athansius of Nisibis, as before.

Example 5

In this case, the various versions are set out in parallel in the following order:

[Greek: 153,17-154,2]

[Syriac: 42,10-23]

[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: PHL 27,22-28,6]

[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: CG I/II,87,29-88,10 & 121,12-17]

[Citation in Athanasius of Nisibis: AN 30,8-31,3][1]

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[1] This is a distinction also found between the Peshitta and Philoxenian, and in some of our texts, such as the *Explanatio*.

ὁρῶμεν ὅτι δύο φύσεις συνῆλθον ἀλλήλαις, καθ᾽ ἕνωσιν ἀδιάσπαστον ἀσυγχύτως

καὶ ἀτρέπτως·

ܐܢܝܢ ܕܬܪܝܢ ܟܝ̈ܢܐ ܠܘܬ ܚܕ̈ܕܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܦܪܫܢܝܬܐ ܘܡܚܠܛܐ ܘܫܚܠܦܘܬܐ

ܚܙܝܢ ܕܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܟܝ̈ܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܬܦܘ ܠܘܬ ܚܕ̈ܕܐ ܒܚܕܝܘܬܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܦܪܫܢܝܬܐ ܠܐ

ܡܬܚܒܠܢܝܬܐ.

ܚܙܝܢ ܕܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܟܝ̈ܢܐ ܐܫܬܘܬܦܘ ܠܘܬ ܚܕ̈ܕܐ. ܒܚܕܝܘܬܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܚܒܠܢܝܬܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܦܪܫܢܝܬܐ

ܫܘܝܐܝܬ.

ܚܙܝܢ ܕܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܟܝ̈ܢܐ ܒܚ ܐܫܬܘܬܦܘ ܠܚܕܝܘܬܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܦܪ̈ܫܢܝܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܚܠܛܢܝܬܐ

ܘܠܐ ܡܬܚܠܦܢܝܬܐ.

ἡ γὰρ σὰρξ σάρξ ἐστιν καὶ οὐ θεότης, εἰ καὶ γέγονεν θεοῦ σάρξ

ܒܣܪܐ ܓܝܪ ܒܣܪܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ, ܘܠܐ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܘܐܦܢ ܗܘܐ ܒܣܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ

ܒܣܪܐ ܓܝܪ ܒܣܪܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ, ܘܠܐ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ. ܐܦ ܟܕ ܗܘܐ ܒܣܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ

ܒܣܪܐ ܓܝܪ ܒܣܪܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ, ܘܠܐ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ. ܐܦ ܗܘܐ ܒܣܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ.

ܒܣܪܐ ܓܝܪ ܒܣܪܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ, ܘܠܐ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ. ܐܦ ܗܘܐܘ ܒܣܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ.

ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ λόγος θεός ἐστιν καὶ οὐ σάρξ, εἰ καὶ ἰδίαν ἐποίησατο τὴν σάρκα

οἰκονομικῶς.

ܘܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܡܠܬܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܣܪܐ ܘܐܦܢ ܕܝܠܢܝܬ ܥܒܕܗ ܠܒܣܪܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܐܝܬ

ܡܕܒܪܢܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܕܒܪܘܬܐ ܗܘ ܡܠܬܐ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܠܐ ܒܣܪܐ, ܐܟ ܕܝܠܗ ܥܒܕ ܠܒܣܪܐ

ܡܕܒܪܢܐܝܬ.

ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܡܠܬܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘܘ. ܘܠܐ ܒܣܪܐ, ܐܟ ܕܝܠܗ ܥܒܕ ܠܒܣܪܐ

ܡܕܒܪܢܐܝܬ.

ܗܟܢܐ ܗܕ ܕܒܪܘܬܐ ܐܦ ܡܠܬܐ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܠܐ ܒܣܪܐ, ܐܟ ܕܝܠܗ ܥܒܕ ܠܒܣܪܐ

ܡܕܒܪܢܐܝܬ.

ὅταν οὖν ἐννοῶμεν τοῦτο, οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦμεν τὴν εἰς ἑνότητα συνδρομὴν ἐκ δύο

φύσεων γεγεννῆσθαι λέγοντες·

ܟܕ ܗܟܝܠ ܕܗܢܐ ܡܣܬܟܠܝܢ ܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܡܥܘܠܝܢ ܠܗ ܠܚܕܝܘܬܐ ܕܐܬܝܪܐ ܡܢ ܬܪܝܢ ܟܝ̈ܢܝܢ ܕܡ ܢܬܗ ܗܘܬ

ܐܝܟ ܕܗܟܝܠ ܡܣܬܟܠܝܢ ܠܗܢܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܡܥܠܝܢ ܠܚܕܝܘܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܟܝ̈ܢܝܢ ܗܘ

ܘܠܚܕܝܘܬܐ: ܐܬܝܠܕ ܡܢ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܟܝ̈ܢ̈ܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܢ ܗܘܬ

ܐܝܟ ܕܗܟܝܠ ܡܣܬܟܠܝܢ ܠܗܢܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܡܥܠܝܢ ܠܚܕܝܘܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܟܝ̈ܢ̈ܝܢ ܗܘܬ

ܕܡܢ ܬܪ̈ܝܢ ܟܝ̈ܢܝܢ ܐܬܝܠܕ ܗܘܬ.

μετὰ μέντοι τὴν ἕνωσιν οὐ διαιροῦμεν τὰς φύσεις ἀπ' ἀλλήλων οὐδὲ εἰς δύο
τέμνομεν υἱοὺς τὸν ἕνα καὶ ἀμέριστον,

ἀλλ' ἕνα φαμὲν υἱὸν καὶ ὡς οἱ πατέρες εἰρήκασιν, μιὰν φύσιν τοῦ λόγου
σεσαρκωμένην.

X

οὐκοῦν ὅσον μὲν ἧκεν εἰς ἔννοιαν καὶ εἰς μόνον τὸ ὁρᾶν τοῖς τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμμασιν

X

τίνα τρόπον ἐνηνθρώπησεν ὁ μονογενής, δύο τὰς φύσεις εἶναι φαμὲν τὰς ἑνωθείσας,

X

ἕνα δὲ Χριστὸν καὶ υἱὸν καὶ κύριον, τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον ἐνανθρωπήσαντα καὶ
σεσαρκωμένον

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Sometimes Paul of Callinicum is actually a closer 'mirror' than Athanasius, e.g.

- His rendering καθ' ἕνωσιν as ܐܬܘܝܕܚܒ, where Athanasius has ܐܬܘܝܕܚܠ.

- In the phrase δύο τὰς φύσεις εἶναι φαμὲν τὰς ἐνωθείσας, Paul adheres more closely to the word order than Athanasius.

There are some areas where Athanasius has certainly achieved a more mirror-like version than Paul, for example:

- Athanasius tends to like to show the direct objects more clearly, e.g. by prefacing ܠܗ or ܠܗܘܢ.

- Paul is sometimes inconsistent, using in CG ܐܫܢܝܟ ܥܠ ܐܕܝ, but in PHL ܐܕ ܐܬܝܢܬܝܠܒ.

- Athanasius is so careful to render every particle such as the καί in ὁμοίως δὲ καί and εἰ καὶ ἰδίαν, where Paul is more content to be idiomatic.

- Athanasius adds ܢܝ before the participial phrase ἐκ δύο φύσεων γεγεννῆσθαι λέγοντες, where even Paul uses only ܢ.

- Although Paul and Athanasius both use ܡܣܪܒܝ for σεσαρκωμένος, Paul is still treating such terms as analytical expressions (ܡܣܪܒܝ ܕ) whereas Athanasius has moved on to treating them as proper adjectives (ܡܣܪܒܝܐ).

Both translators can be seen to be struggling with the difficult expression τὴν εἰς ἑνότητα συνδρομήν, Paul rendering it once as ܠܬܘܝܚܝܕ ܗܘ ܐܝܬ ܢܡܕ ܐܠܗܘܬ, once as ܐܬܘܝܚܝܕ ܕܓܫ ܐܬܝܬܐܕ ܐܠܗܘܬ, Athanasius having ܐܬܘܝܚܝܕ ܬܘܠܕ ܐܠܗܘܬ ܬܘܢܫܠ. The older translator found the challenge too much and abbreviated to ܐܬܘܝܕܚܠ alone.

We should probably take Athanasius' use of ܬܝܐܫܝܕܬܡܣ ܐܠ as representing a corruption of ἀδιάσπαστον to ἀδιασπάστως, rather than as a failure in his formal equivalence.

Example 6

[Greek: 162,8-9]

ὥστε τὰς δύο μηκέτι μὲν εἶναι δύο, δι᾽ ἀμφοῖν δὲ τὸ ἓν ἀποτελεῖσθαι ζῷον.

[Syriac: 52,15-6]

.ܕܗܘܐ ܚܝܘܬܐ ܚܕ ܟܘܢܗܝܢ ܡܢ ܐܠܐ ܬܪܝܢ ܠܡܗܘܐ ܟܘܢܝܗܝܢ ܡܟܝܠ ܘܠܐ

[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: CG I/II,98,16-8]

ܚܝܘܬܐ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܟܘܢܝܗܝ ܒܕ .ܬܪܝ ܟܘܢܝܗܘܐ ܢܗܘܘܢ ܬܪܝܢ ܠܐ ܬܪܝ ܕܐܢܘܢ ܐܪܒܥ
.ܡܬܕܒܪܐ

[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: SG 94,15-7]

ܚܝܘܬܐ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܬܪܝܗ ܒܕ .ܬܪܝܗ ܟܘܢܝܗܘܐ ܢܗܘܘܢ ܕܚ ܬܪܝܗ ܠܐ ܬܪܝܗܝ ܐܪܒܥ
.ܬܬܕܒܪܐ

[Citation in Athanasius of Nisibis AN 31,13-5]

ܬܪܝ ܡܢ ܟܘܢܝܗܝ [ܕܚ]¹ ܒܕ .ܬܪܝܗ ܟܘܢܝܗܘܐ ܢܗܘܘܢ ܕܚ ܬܪܝܗ ܠܐ ܬܪܝܗ ܕܐܢܘܢ ܐܪܒܥ
.ܡܬܕܒܪܐܬ ܚܝܘܬܐ

Note the different approaches to ἀποτελεῖσθαι. The older version simply paraphrases; Paul uses once the participle, and once the perfect, Athanasius uses the imperfect. As both Paul and Athanasius had used ܕ ܐܪܒܥ + impf for ὥστε + inf. in the first clause (as was usual in the Harklean, e.g. Mk 2.2), only Athanasius has been consistent to his rules.

Example 7

[Greek: 162,18-22]

τὸ δὲ ἀδιαιρέτως προστεθὲν δοκεῖ μὲν πῶς παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ὀρθῆς εἶναι δόξης σημαντικόν, αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐχ οὕτως νοοῦσιν. τὸ γὰρ ἀδιαίρετον παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τὰς Νεστορίου κενοφωνίας καθ᾽ ἕτερον λαμβάνεται τρόπον· φασὶ γὰρ ὅτι τῇ ἰσοτιμίᾳ, τῇ ταυτοβουλίᾳ, τῇ αὐθεντίᾳ ἀδιαίρετός ἐστι τοῦ λογοῦ ὁ ἐν ᾧ κατῴκηκεν, ἄνθρωπος, ὥστε οὐχ ἁπλῶς τὰς λέξεις προφέρουσιν, ἀλλὰ μετά τινος δόλου καὶ κακουργίας.

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¹ ܕܚ in margine notatur.

[Syriac:52,27-58,6]

ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܕܠܐܝܢܐ ܦܣܘܩܝܐܘܬܐ ܕܡܢܗܘܢ ܡܣܬܟܠܝܢ ܠܟܠ ܕܡܢܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܠܕܘܠܩܗ ܕܡܢܗܘܢ

ܐܠܗܝ ܟܠܢܐ ܕܡܠܠܝܐ ܐܒܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܣܬܟܠ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܟܘܠܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܣܬܟܠ

ܡܠܠܝܐ ܥܠ ܡܢ ܕܕܝܢ ܟܣܦܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܣܘܣܝܐ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܐܝܟ ܚܝܘܬܐ ܕܟܬܝܒܢ ܟܠ ܚܝܠܐ ܥܡ

ܘܟܠ ܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܩܕܝܫ ܠܐ ܩܐ ܒܪܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܥܠ ܘܟܠ ܡܢ ܒܗ ܚܕܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܡܗ ܕܠ

ܦܐܪܘܬܐ ܘܡܢܝܐ ܐܝܢ ܐܠܐ ܠܟܠܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܝܟ ܟܠܢ ܘܡܣܬܟܠܢ

[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: CG I/II,126,16-25]

ܗܝ ܕܝܢ ܠܐ ܕܡܣܬܟܠܘܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܢ ܠܟܠ ܕܡܢܗܘܢ ܕܡܢܗܘܢ ܟܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܬܟܬܒ

ܐܝܟ ܕܡܣܬܟܠܢܘܬܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܥܠ ܡܢ ܕܠ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܢ ܕܝܢ ܗܘ ܐܠܐ ܠܟܠ ܕܝܢ ܠܐ ܡܠܠܝܐ

ܐܝܟ ܐܢܘܢ ܣܘܣܝܐ ܕܟܬܒܢ ܡܠܠܝܐ ܕܟܬܝܒܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܟܠ ܥܡ ܐܝܟ ܥܠ ܡܢ ܩܕܡܝܢ ܐܝܟ

ܡܢ ܟܠ ܐܠܗ ܡܟܬܒ ܠܐ ܟܠܗ ܘܡܣܬܟܠܢ ܟܠ ܘܩܐ ܚܝܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܕܡܢܗ ܒܗ ܚܕܐ ܗܘ ܡܣܬܟܠ

ܡܢ ܟܠ ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܟܠ ܘܡܣܬܟܠܝܢ ܠܟܠܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܠܐ ܠܟܠܢ ܦܐܪܘܬܐ

ܘܡܝܬܪܘܬܐ ܕܣܘܣ

[Citation in Athanasius of Nisibis: AN 43,27-44,7]

ܠܟܠ [ܒܟܠ][1] ܟܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܢ ܟܠܐ ܕܡܢܗܘܢ ܕܡܣܬܟܠܘܬܐ ܟܠܐ ܕܝܢ ܗܘ

ܥܠ ܗܘ ܠܐ ܟܠܐ ܡܠܠܝܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܥܠ ܡܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܣܬܟܠ ܕܡܣܬܟܠܢܘܬܐ ܕܡܣܬܟܠܢܘܬܐ

ܐܝܟ ܡܠܠܝܐ ܕܟܬܝܒܢ ܟܠ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܟܠ ܥܡ ܩܕܡ ܚܕ ܣܘܣܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܣܬܟܠ ܟܠܐ

ܐܠܗ ܟܠ ܗܘ ܟܠ ܡܟܬܒ ܠܐ ܡܟܬܒܘܬܐ ܚܝܐ ܕܡܝܐ ܣܘܣ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܝܢ ܥܡ ܐܡܪ

ܡܝܬܪܘܬܐ ܥܡ ܟܠܐ ܕܒܟܠ ܠܟܠ ܦܪܝܣ ܕܡܣܬܟܠ ܥܠ ܕܝܢ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܟܠܐ ܟܠܗ

ܡܣܬܟܠܘ ܕܣܘܣ

Again, we see here a few issues that separate Athanasius from Paul of Callinicum, although in general the major leap occurs between the first and second texts, not between the second and third.

- Typical of Athanasius is the translation of δόξα (here *opinion*) by ܡܣܬܟܠܢܘܬܐ. Ep46's ܕܘܠܩܗ is really closer than Paul's ܡܣܬܟܠܝܢ, who also may have read ὀρθῶς for ὀρθῆς.

- Paul uses the analytic formation ܠܐ ܦܣܘܩܝܐ for τὸ ἀδιαίρετον but even Athanasius here has the adverbial ܗܝ ܕܠܐ ܡܣܬܟܠܐܝܬ.

- Athanasius' ܩܠܐ ܚܕܬ ܡܣܬܟܠܢܘܬܗ is a more mirror-like attempt to render the compound κενοφωνίας than Paul's ܡܣܬܟܠܝܢ ܕܟܠܡ - Ep46's reading of καινοφωνίας has been mentioned before. However, the opposite is found

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[1] leg.om.?

for κακουργίας, Paul rendering it as ܐܟܘܠܬܐ ܠܐܟܘܬܐ and Athanasius as
ܐܟܘܠܬܐ.

- Athanasius uses the loan-words ܐܣܟܘܠܐ and ܠܣܡܘܢ, Paul having ܐܟܣܘܪܐ
  and ܒܝܬܐ.

Example 8

John of Tella (according to his biographer Elijah), after citing from Ep40 (see above), quotes Cyril again, this time from the Successsus correspondence, the citation being discontinued by an interruption and resumed further on (Brooks' edition, p.83,1-4 and 91,28-92,2). However, the citation seems to be too much of a paraphrased version of the original (153,20-154,3) to be of use as a direct comparison, though we may note again the much more Hellenised feeling of the Syriac and the use of the revised credal term ܐܟܘܣܝܘܒܬܐ.

Citations of *Ep50*

Example 1

[Greek: 99,33-100,6]

ἀλλ' ὀρθόν μοι πάλιν ἵστησι τὸ οὖς ὁ πικρὸς εἰς θεωρίας καὶ δεινὸς εἰς συκοφαντίας καὶ δὴ καί φησιν· εἰ ἕτερος ὁ κατοικῶν, ἕτερος δὲ ὁμοίως ὁ ἐν ᾧ κατοικῆσαι λέγεται, πῶς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον διαιρεῖσθαι τὰς ὑποστάσεις καὶ ὑφεστάναι λέγειν ἀνὰ μέρος ἑκατέραν; εἶτα ὅποι ποτὲ λοιπὸν τὸ ἓν πρόσωπον, εἰπέ μοι· ἓν γὰρ πρόσωπον τοῦ Χριστοῦ προσποιοῦνται λέγειν, δύο δὲ ὑποστάσεων ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος κειμένων ἔσονταί που πάντως καὶ πρόσωπα δύο. ἀλλ' εἰσβαίνουσι νομοθέται, τὸ αὐτοῖς δοκοῦν ὡς ὀρθῶς ἔχον πάντῃ τε καὶ πάντως κρατύνοντες. διαιροῦντες γάρ, φασίν, τὰς ὑποστάσεις ἐνοῦμεν τὸ πρόσωπον. καὶ πῶς οὐκ ἀπίθανον τοῦτο καὶ ἀμαθὲς καὶ ἀμήχανον;

[Syriac: Add 14557, f.147rb-va]

ܐܠܐ ܬܘܒ ܦܩܕ ܠܝ ܐܩܝܡ ܐܘܕܢܝ ܠܡܥܠܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܗܢܐ: ܗܘܐ ܡܪܝܪܐ ܠܬܐܘܪܝܐ ܘܡܪܝܪܐ ܠܡܥܠܐ ܐܝܟ .ܘܐܡܪ

ܐܚܪܢܐ ܗܘ ܗܘ ܥܡܘܪܐ: ܐܚܪܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܗܘ ܗܘ ܕܒܗ ܡܬܐܡܪ ܕܥܡܪ ܠܐ ܐܠܨܐ ܕܢܬܦܪܫܢ

ܩܢܘܡܐ ܘܢܩܘܡ ܡܣܬܟܠ ܐܡܪ ܠ ܘܐܚܪܝܢ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܒܗ ܡܬܐܡܪ .ܩܢܘܡܐ ܚܕ ܕܝܢ ܬܘܒ

ܦܪܨܘܦܐ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ, ܐܝܟ ܐܢ ܬܪܝܢ ܩܢܘܡܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܬܬܣܝܡܝܢ ܡܢ ܕܒܝ̈ܬܐ .ܢܗܘܘܢ

[Syriac text]

[Citation in Florilegium: Add 12155, f.48v / Mingana 69, f.8b]

[Syriac text]

[Citation in Athanasius of Nisibis: AN 67,26-68,6 (only from 100,2, εἶτα ὅποι)]

[Syriac text]

The Syriac version of Ep50 shows very clear signs of being a loose translation in all sorts of ways. There are none of the attempts at formal correspondence and word-order accuracy that we see in the Florilegium citation, such as in [Syriac] [Syriac] [Syriac] (where the other has the circumlocution [Syriac]). Again, the expression [Syriac] is that much closer to the form of the original than [Syriac], even though the latter has lost none of its rhetorical force.

The particles are considerably more carefully rendered in the florilegium citation than in the full version; the latter omits equivalents for ὁμοίως and λέγεται and the whole of ὑφεστάναι λέγειν ἀνὰ μέρος ἑκατέραν is reduced to [Syriac]; there is also a good example of modulation, the use of one culturally-relevant stock phrase for another, where the triad οὐκ ἀπίθανον τοῦτο καὶ ἀμαθὲς καὶ ἀμήχανον becomes [Syriac], whereas the citation carefully renders it as [Syriac]

ܪܘܝܩܐ ܥܠ ܚܝܠܐ ܪܪܐܠܝ ܪܠܐ ܪܗܘ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܪܟܝܐ. Such alterations are found throughout this passage and are fully typical of the translation as a whole.

The difference between the original version and Athanasius' attempt may be considered to be even greater. The latter insists on some extremely close renderings, such as ܚܝܪܐܠܝ for ἴδιᾳ and ܟܝܣ ܪܠܝ for ἀπίθανον. Comparing its syntax with that of the Florilegium citation, ܡܝܒܪܝ ܪܟܐܘܘܪ ܡܐܝܡ is a much more precise attempt at προσποιοῦνται λέγειν than ܡܝܒܪ ܪܟܐܘܘܪܗܝ ܘܝܪ (while the original avoids προσποιοῦνται entirely). The same pattern continues with the genitive absolute represented much more carefully in Athanasius than in the Florilegium. A term such as ܪܚܠܝ ܘܡܝܬܘ ܪܠ (for ἀμήχανον) is typical again of Athanasius' version, where the Florilegium uses ܪܘܝܩܐ ܥܠ.

Example 2

[Greek: 91,31-92,1]

οὐκοῦν ὁμολογουμένως μὲν τὸ ἀπὸ σαρκὸς σάρξ ἐστιν, τὸ δὲ ἐκ θεοῦ θεός· ἔστι δὲ κατὰ ταυτὸν ἀμφότερα Χριστός, εἷς ὢν υἱὸς καὶ κύριος μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας αὐτοῦ σαρκός, οὐκ ἀψύχου μᾶλλον, ὡς ἔφην, ἀλλ' ἐψυχωμένης νοερῶς. μὴ τοίνυν διατεμνέτωσαν εἰς δύο τὸν ἕνα υἱὸν ἡμῖν, ἀνὰ μέρος ἱστάντες τὸν λόγον καὶ υἱὸν ἕτερον ἰδικῶς τε καὶ ἀνὰ μέρος ἄνθρωπον τὸν ἐκ γυναικός, καθά φασιν αὐτοί.

[Syriac: Add 14557, f.141rb-va] & [Cited in Florilegium: Mingana 69, f.12r]

ܡܢ ܒܠ ܪܟܐܝ ܣ ܗ ܡܝܒܪ ܡܝܒܕ ܗܡ ܪܝܟܐ ܪܝܟܐ ܗܝ ܡܝܒܕܝ ܗ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܡ: ܪܐܠܟ
ܪܝ ܐܝܬܒܪܝܬܗ ܘܝܪ ܪܟܘܣܘ ܥܝܠܩ ܡܥ: ܪܟܝܒܘ ܪܟܒ ܬܘ ܪܟܘܡܣ ܬܘ: ܪܬܘܣܪ ܡܣܝܬܒܬ ܝܪ
ܪܟܒܘ ܪܚܠܝ ܗܘܗܝ ܡܣܘܣܝ ܚܝܪܬܘܡܘ. ܪܟܒ ܬܠ ܡܝܬܠ ܠ ܡܣܝܒܝ ܠܝܣܡ ܪܠ, ܡܝܐܝܬܘܗܝ.
ܡܝܒܪ ܡܣܘܗܝ ܘܝܪ ܪܚܬܘܗܝ ܗܝ ܗܘܗܝ ܪܟܝܒܠ ܚܝܪܬܘܡܘ.

[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: PHL 41,16-21 (to νοερῶς only)]

ܡܝ ܡܣܘܬܗܝ ܪܟܐܠܟ ܪܟܐܠܟ ܗܝ ܡܝ ܗܘܗܝ: ܡܣܘܬܗܝ ܪܟܝܒܘ ܪܟܝܒܘ ܗܝ ܗܘܗܝ ܡܝܐܝܬܘܗ
ܪܟܐܝܒ ܪܠ ܥܠ ܡܠܝܗܝ ܪܟܝܒܘ ܡܥ: ܪܟܒܘ ܬܘܗܝ ܪܟܒ ܬܘ, ܡܣܘܬܗܝܝ ܪܟܘܣܝ. ܪܬܘܣܪ ܡܣܝܬܒܬ
ܚܝܪܬܘܗܝܐܝ ܪܒܝܗܝ. ܐܝܬܒܪܝܬܗ ܘܝܪ ܚܝܪܒܝܚ ܪܠܟ.

In the previous case the Mingana 69 florilegium contained a citation differing considerably from the full Syriac version, as has been the case with all florilegium

citations thus far. Here we have a case of a citation evidently made directly from the existing Syriac version, with which it agrees verbatim. Thus whereas normally these Syriac florilegia must have been translated from existing Greek florilegia (as was certainly the case with the *Florilegium Edessenum*, for instance), here we have an instance of Syriac translations being used as the quarry for citations. Mingana 69 has a mixture of the two types, and is thus a composite compilation.[1]

When we compare this to Paul of Callinicum's rendering, the difference in consistency is especially noticeable. Thus the copula, always represented by ܐܝܬ + suffixes in Paul, is so in Ep50 only periodically; similarly σάρξ is always ܒܣܪ in Paul, but only sometimes in the original version. It is typical of Ep50 to abbreviate the unnecessary, thus μετὰ σαρκός, οὐκ ἀψύχου μᾶλλον, ἀλλ' ἐψυχωμένης νοερῶς reduced to just ܥܡ ܦܓܪ ܢܦܝܫܐ in the former text, where the other uses formally precise terms to represent the complete construction.

Example 3

[Greek: 95,6-8]

ἀπαθὴς μὲν οὖν ὁμολογουμένως, ὡς ἔφην, κατ' ἰδίαν φύσιν ὁ ἐκ θεοῦ λόγος, λέγεται δ' οὖν σαρκὶ τῇ ἰδίᾳ παθεῖν κατὰ τὰς γραφάς; ἦν γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ πάσχοντι σώματι.

[Syriac: Add 14557, f.143va-b]

ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܡܬܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܚܫܘܫܐ ܠܐ ܚܝܠܢ ܒܟܝܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܬܐܡܪ ܒܦܓܪܗ ܚܘ.
ܐܝܟ ܦܬܫܒ ܕܒܗܪ ܐܬܟܪܗ ܡܛܠ ܟܬܒܐ ܗܘܐ ܓܝܪ ܒܗ ܒܦܓܪܐ ܚܫܘܫܐ.

[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: PHL 41,23-42,3]

ܠܐ ܚܫܘܫܐ ܡܢ ܗܟܝܠ ܟܕ ܡܣܬܒܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܬ ܒܟܝܢܐ ܚܘ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܡܬܐܡܪ ܕܝܢ ܒܦܓܪܐ ܕܒܗܪ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܢܚܫ ܐܝܟ ܟܬܒܐ ܗܘܐ ܓܝܪ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܒܦܓܪܐ ܗܘ ܚܫܘܫܐ.

Again we note especially the equivalence of particles achieved in the citation (ܒ...ܕܝܢ...ܓܝܪ), as well as the much closer attention to word order, with each word being carefully replaced by another in the citation. The use of Syriac stock phrases

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[1] On the *Florilegium Edessenum*, see esp. the article by Abramowski, *Zur geplanten Ausgabe*; its Greek origin is known from its close relationship to the well known anti-Chalcedonian collection in a Vatican ms, published and discussed by Schwartz, *Cod Vat 1431*.

(ܪܬܠܒ ܪܬܠܐܪ and ܐܒ̈ܬܐ ܡܪܐ ܘܝܪܐ) for Greek ones (ὁ ἐκ θεοῦ λόγος and κατὰ τὰς γραφάς) is also typical of the full version, where Paul will use formally correct constructions (ܪܬܠܐܪܐ ܪܬܠܒ and ܪܬܒܪܐ ܘܝܪܐ). The full version does use such 'advanced' techniques as ܪܬܐܡ ܡܘܐܬܪ for ἦν, and its adherence to ܪܬܝܓܐ for σῶμα indicates its older provenance.

Citations of *Ep55*

Despite its greater length, this work is cited very little. We have just two citations in Severus, once each in PHL and AJP, and none in the florilegia. It was not such a well known text in its original form, even though it was included as the first item in the corpus of Cyril's works, Add 14557.

Example 1
[Greek: 54,25-33]
[Syriac: 10,29-11,13]
[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: PHL 40,9-24]

ὁ σοφὸς Ἰωάννης σάρκα φησὶ γενέσθαι τὸν λόγον

ܪܬܐܡ ܪܬܝܓܒ ܪܬܠܒܕܐ ܐܡܪܐ ܝܘܚܢ ܪܬܢܝܣ

ܪܬܠܒ ܪܬܐܡܕ ܐܡܪܐ ܪܬܝܓܒ ܪܬܢܝܣ ܗܘ ܝܘܚܢ

γέγονε δὲ σάρξ οὐ κατὰ μέταστασιν ἢ τροπὴν ἢ ἀλλοίωσιν

ܪܬܝܠܓܒܣ ܐܘ ܪܬܠܝܘܐܒܣ ܐܘ ܪܬܚܝܐܒܕ ܒ ܪܬܐܡ ܐܠ ܪܬܝܓܒ ܗܘܝ ܪܬܐܡ

ܪܬܝܠܓܒܣ ܐܘ ܪܬܠܝܘܐܒܣ ܐܘ ܪܬܚܝܐܒܕ ܠ ܪܬܝܓܒ ܗܘܝ ܪܬܐܡ

εἰς τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς φύσιν μεταβαλὼν οὔτε μὴν φυρμὸν ἢ σύγκρασιν

ܪܬܠ ܝܓܒ ܐܘ ܪܬܠܒܠܒ ܒܘܬ ܪܬܠܐ ܘܝܣܡܬܪ ܪܬܝܓܒܕ ܪܬܚܝܠ

ܪܬܠ ܝܓܒ ܐܘ ܪܬܒܘܣܘ ܒ ܪܬܠܐܪ ܐܠܘܬܟܪ ܪܬܝܓܒܕ ܪܬܚܝܠ ܒ

ἢ τὴν θρυλουμένην παρά τισι συνουσίωσιν ὑπομείνας ἀμήχανον γάρ, ἐπείπερ ἐστὶ κατὰ φύσιν

ܣܝܒܣ ܝܓܠ ܡܘܐܬܪ ܪܬܓܙܘ ܝܓܠ ܐܠ ܐܒܝܣ ܪܬܝܢ ܒܘܬܝܣܘ ܐܝܬܪ ܡ ܪܬܠܓܒܬܕ ܗܘ ܐܘ

ܗܘ ܐܘ ܕܐܬܝܠܕܬ ܡܢ ܐܬܪܐ ... ܚܕܐ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ... ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ
ܚܕܝܐ.

άτρέπτως τε καὶ ἀναλλοιώτως ἔχων,

ܠܐ ܡܬܗܦܟܢܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܚܠܦ ܓܢܝܐ.
ܕܠܐ ܡܬܗܦܟܢܘܬ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܚܠܦ ܓܢܝܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ.

σάρκα δὲ μᾶλλον, ὡς ἔφην, ἐψυχωμένην ψυχῇ νοερᾷ

ܐܢܬ ܕܝܢ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܗܝ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܬ ܐܡܪ ܒܣܪܐ ܕܡܢܦܫ ܒܢܦܫܐ ܡܠܝܠܬܐ.
ܐܠܐ ܒܣܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܬ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܣܪܐ ܕܡܢܦܫ ܒܢܦܫܐ ܡܠܝܠܬܐ.

ἐκ παρθενικοῦ καὶ ἀχράντου σώματος λαβὼν καὶ ἰδίαν αὐτὴν ποιησάμενος.

ܗܘ ܕܡܢ ܦܓܪܐ ܒܬܘܠܐ ܘܠܐ ܛܡܐ ܢܣܒ ܘܕܝܠܗ ܥܒܕܗ.
ܡܢ ܦܓܪܐ ܒܬܘܠܐ ܘܠܐ ܛܡܐ ܢܣܒ ܘܕܝܠܗ ܥܒܕܗ.

ἔθος δὲ τῇ θεοπνεύστῃ γραφῇ

ܥܝܕܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܟܬܒܐ ܐܠܗܝܐ.
ܥܝܕܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܟܬܒܐ ܐܡܪ ܪܘܚܐ.

καὶ ἀπὸ μόνης ἔσθ’ ὅτε τῆς σαρκὸς ὅλον ἄνθρωπον ὑποδηλοῦν.

ܕܐܦ ܡܢ ܒܣܪܐ ܠܚܘܕܘܗܝ ܐܡܬܝ ܕܝܢ ܪܡܙ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܟܠܗ.
ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܐܦ ܕܡܢ ܒܣܪܐ ܠܚܘܕܘܗܝ ܐܡܬܝ ܕܝܢ ܐܢܫ ܒܪ ܟܠܗ.

ἐκχεῶ γάρ, φησίν, ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα.

ܐܡܪ ܓܝܪ ܕܐܫܘܕ ܡܢ ܪܘܚܝ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܒܣܪ.
ܐܫܘܕ ܐܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܡܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܝܠܝ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܒܣܪ.

οὐ γάρτοι σαρξὶν οὐκ ἐψυχωμέναις ψυχῇ νοερᾷ τὴν τοῦ πνεύματος χάριν ἐνήσειν
θεὸς ἐπηγγέλετο,

ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܓܝܪ ܠܒܣܪܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܢܦܫ ܒܢܦܫܐ ܡܠܝܠܬܐ ܛܝܒܘܬܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܕܢܪܡܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܫܬܘܕܝ.
ܠܐ ܓܝܪ ܠܒܣܪܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܢܦܫ ܒܢܦܫܐ ܡܠܝܠܬܐ ܕܢܪܡܐ ܪܘܚܐ ܡܘܗܒܬܐ ܐܫܬܘܕܝ ܐܠܗܐ.

ἀνθρώποις δὲ μᾶλλον τοῖς συνεστῶσιν ἐκ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος.

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[1] ܕܡܪܝܐ] corr. ܡܪܝܐ Hespel.

.ܐܝܟ ܐܢܫ ܕܡܚܕܬ ܡܢ ܚܝܠܐ ܘܡܝܩ.

❖ܐܢܐ ܐܒܐ ܐܢܫ ܬܠܝܬܐܝܬ ܐܠܝܢ ܕܡܚܕܬ ܡܢ ܚܝܠܐ ܘܡܝܩ❖

Paul of Callinicum shows a text that is closer to the Greek, but the differences are not very great. To give some examples: 1) where Ep55 inserts Jn 1.14 as known from the Syriac versions, Paul is careful to place the words in the order as they are in the text, with ܒܣܪܐ even before ܐܬܐ in the first line; 2) Paul uses ܕ ܡܠܠ for ἐπεί where Ep55 does not render it; 3) Ep55 has left some idiomatic suffixes, such as in ܚܡܘ (Paul ܚܙܐ), and also proleptically, as in ܡܢ ܚܡܘ ܕܒܣܪܐ ܒܛܘܠܘܣܡܘ, (Paul ܡܢ ܒܣܪܐ ܕܒܛܘܠܘ) for ἀπὸ σαρκός; 4) Paul preserves the Greek word order at ܘܕܝܠܗ ܢܝܫܚ (Ep55 ܘܕܝܠܗ ܘܢܝܫܚ); 5) Paul has ܝܬܝܪܐܝܬ correctly for μᾶλλον (final line) where Ep55 omits; 6) the article + ptc. combination more accurately rendered in Paul as ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕ where Ep55 has only ܕ - the latter the usual Peshitta method; 7) the long subordinate clause with participles is more accurately represented in Paul, where ἔχων + adverbs is represented with ܐܝܬܘܗܝ, + adjectives, while Ep55 omits any verb and therefore has to add ܗܘ ܕ before the next participle.

Occasionally we see the opposite trend, for instance when Ep55 treats σαρξὶν οὐκ ἐψυχωμέναις correctly as plural, though Paul's singlular may have been based on an unknown variant.

For much of the time it could not safely be said that Paul is significantly more 'advanced' in technique than the other, however. This becomes especially clear when we bear in mind the gap between Ep40,45,46,50 and *their* citations in Paul of Callinicum. Both Ep55 and Paul have a strong concern for the exact wording of the original, without abandoning Syriac comprehensibility. We shall see later how both these texts reflect in their citations the effects of the Philoxenian revision of the New Testament, and both appear to come from the same general era of translation. Within this framework, however, Paul (probably to be dated to c.530) does represent an even more accurate 'mirror' than Ep55.

Example 2

[Greek: 59,1-4]

[Syriac: 19,10-16]

[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: AJP I, 108,12-16]

εἶτα πῶς γέγονε πρωτότοκος ἐκ νεκρῶν καὶ ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων;

[Syriac text]

[Syriac text]

ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὴν τοῦ θανάτου δεκτικὴν ἰδίαν ἐποιήσατο σάρκα,

[Syriac text]

[Syriac text]

χάριτι θεοῦ, καθά φησιν ὁ πάνσοφος Παῦλος,

[Syriac text]

[Syriac text]

ὑπὲρ παντὸς ἐγεύσατο θανάτου τῇ παθεῖν αὐτὸν δυναμένῃ σαρκί,

[Syriac text]

[Syriac text]

οὐκ ἀποβαλὼν αὐτὸς τὸ εἶναι ζωή.

[Syriac text]

[Syriac text]

Even more clearly than in the foregoing example, we can see here two translators at work with a very similar attitude and technique. Ep55 adds an explanatory [Syriac] [Syriac] where Paul of Callinicum does not, adds an idiomatic [Syriac] for καθά, again explains δυναμένη by adding another [Syriac], and adds a rather unnecessary [Syriac] in trying to express τὸ εἶναι.

Although Paul does, therefore, reflect the purer mirror, Ep55's paraphrases are quite deliberate clarifications and these do not alter the decription of his basic technique, the similarity of which to that of Paul is quite evident in the close similarity between these texts at so many points.

No citations of Ep55 were found in the florilegia consulted. Given the paucity of citations also in Severus, we may assume that this letter was not especially well read by Cyril's successors, and perhaps was not present in many of the collections of the Acts of Ephesus since it does not relate as directly as the other letters to the issues surrounding the Formula of Reunion.

Citations of *Contra Orientales/Contra Theodoretum*

Example 1

[Greek: 112,17-20]

εἰ λέγοιμεν σάρκα γενέσθαι τὸν λόγον, οὐ σύγχυσιν, οὐ φυρμὸν ἢ τροπὴν ἢ ἀλλοίωσιν συμβῆναι περὶ αὐτὸν φαμέν ἡνῶσθαι δὲ μᾶλλον ἀφράστως τε καὶ ἀπορρήτως ἁγίῳ σώματι ψυχὴν ἔχοντι τὴν νοεράν. τὸ δὲ ἐνοῦσθαι λεγόμενον οὐ συγχεῖται πάντως, ἐν προσλήψει δὲ μᾶλλον ἑτέρου γίνεται.

[Syriac: Add 12156, f.109rb-c]

ܐܘ ܪܘܠܝܘܣܐ ܐܘ ܪܡܙܘ ܐܘ ܪܠܒܠܩ ܗܘܐ ܠܐ .ܪܝܡܐ ܗܘܐ ܪܒܠܡܐ ܡܝܒܪܐ ܐܪ

ܪܒܟܘܘܐ ܪܒܠܡ ܡܢ ܠܠ ܐܬܪܝܒܘ ܣܘܐܬܪܐ ܐܠܐ .ܡܐ ܟܠܐ ܦܢ ܦܝܒܪܐ ܪܥܠܝܩܘܣܐ

ܘܠܒܠܒܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܪܐ ܐܡܪܐܬܐ ܦܢ ܗܘ .ܪܘܘܣܘܢ ܪܒܐܝ ܡܐ ܐܬܪܝ ܪܐܝܐ ܪܝܓܠ

.ܪܝܘܝ ܗܘܐ ܪܕܩܘܣܡܘ ܪܐܘܣ ܐܠܐ ܠܒܠܒܐ.

[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: PHL 32,15-22]

ܐܘ .ܪܘܠܝܘܣܐ ܐܘ ܪܡܙܘ ܪܠܐ ܪܠܒܠܩ ܪܠܐ .ܪܒܠܡ ܗܡ ܗܘܐ ܪܝܡܐܝ ܦܢ ܦܝܒܪܐ ܐܪ

ܪܠܐ ܐܬܪܝܘܘܪܬܡ ܪܠ ܐܬܪܝܒܘ ܣܘܐܬܪܐ ܐܠܐ .ܡܐ ܟܠܐ ܦܢ ܦܝܒܪܐ ܪܥܠܝܩܘܣܐ

ܪܠ .ܣܘܐܬܪܐ ܐܡܪܐܬܐ ܦܢ ܗܘ .ܪܘܘܣܘܢ ܘܠ ܐܬܪ ܪܥܐܝܝ ܪܥܠܝܩ ܪܝܓܠ .ܐܬܪܐܠܠܡܬܡ

.ܪܝܘܪܐܝ ܗܘܐ ܪܕܩܘܣܡܒ ܐܬܪܝܒܘ ܪܐܠܐ ܘܠܝܩ ܠܒܠܒܐ.

We can point immediately to a few typical differences

- *Contra Theodoretum* copies Jn 1.14's version of the wording, where Paul of Callinicum copies Cyril's order
- Paul attempts neologisms on ἀφράστως τε καὶ ἀπορρήτως where *Contra Theodoretum* is content with older idioms

- *Contra Theodoretum* is slightly more periphrastic at the end as he perhaps struggles to make the meaning clear enough.

In general, however, it can be seen that the techniques used are reasonably close, resulting in some very similar renderings. Both texts having a strong and direct concern for mirroring the original as best they can, although Paul seems to apply rules a little more consistently in order to achieve this.

Example 2
[Greek: 120,11-14]
οὐκοῦν κατὰ γε τὸν ἴσον λόγον πολυπραγμονοῦντες τὴν ἕνωσιν, ἥπερ ἄν ἐπὶ Χριστῷ πεπρᾶχθαι νοοῖτο, τῇ μὲν θεωρίᾳ θεότητός τε καὶ ἀνθρωπότητος σύνοδον ἀληθῆ καθ᾽ ἕνωσιν γενέσθαι φαμέν.

[Syriac: Add 12156, f.112rb-c]

ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܡܕܡ ܕܗܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ . ܐܡܪ ܐܘܬܐ . ܝܕ ܠܗ ܕܗܪܝ ܡܣܬܒܪܢܝܬܐ ܠܗ ܠܘܬܐܝܘܬܐ .

ܕܐܝܬܝܗ . ܡܕܡ ܝܚ ܘܝܠܘ ܒܚܘܝ ܘܒܪܫܝܐ ܕܝܠܝܢܘܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܣܘܢܘܕܐ ܕܫܪܝܪܐ .

ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܘܐܢܫܘܬܐ .

[Syriac citation in Paul of Callinicum: PHL 34,11-14]

ܡܢ ܗܟ ܕܝܢ ܕܗܠܝܢ ܥܒܝܕܐ ܫܘܒܚ ܕܗܘܬ ܠܘܬ ܐܝܘܬܐ ܒܡܣܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܝܠܝܢܘܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܡܣܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܗܘܬ .

ܘܬܚܘܝܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܐܢܫܘܬܐ ܘܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܬܐܘܪܝܐܣ ܕܒܪ ܟܝܢܐ ܣܘܢܘܕܐ ܕܝܠܝܢܘܬܐ . ܐܡܪ ܗܘܬ .

ܚܝܢ .

This example, on the other hand, shows just how different these two translators can be, for example in the closer adherence of Paul of Callinicum to the structure of the original, keeping the morphological categories where possible (the adj. ἴσον), attempts at compunds (σύνοδον and πολυπραγμονοῦντες), the loan (θεωρία), the carefully followed word order (see the last clause), the avoidance of *Contra Theodoretum*'s periphrases, and so forth.

Here follows a break down of some of the more typical differences to be found in these texts between the full versions and the citations found in Paul.

a) Structural

τροπῆς τινος δίχα καὶ συγχύσεως [115,14-5]

ܪܟܠܬܠܬܐ ܪܟܠܐ ܡܬܢ ܪܟܘܢܢܣܚ ܪܟܠܐ / ܪܟܠܬܠܬܐܐ ܡܬܢ ܪܟܐܠܘܢܣܚ ܡܢ ܐܡܦ

οὐδενὶ τῶν ὄντων [145,2-3] ܪܟܘܢܬܐ ܡܢ ܐܢܪ ܡܢ / ܢܐܡܠܬܘܪܟܐ ܐܠܢܪ ܡܢ

b) Syntactical

ἀληθινόν [112,23] ܪܟܘܘܬܐ / ܪܟܘܘܬ

τοῦ δύνασθαί τι παθεῖν ἐπέκεινα (*far from being capable of suffering anything*)
[145,4]

ܐܡܘܢ ܠܐܡ ܡܢ ,ܐܬܡܐ / ܡܬܢܡ ܪܟܘܘܢܐ ܡܢܚܘܢܐ ,ܐܚ ܡܢ ܠܐܡܠ

ἀπαθής [145,8] ܪܟܘܘ ܪܟܠܢܐ / ܪܟܘܐܘܘ ܪܟܠ
[but not always: ἀνεδήν [141,10] is ܪܟܘܢܐܢ ܪܟܠܢܐ in both versions]

τὸ ἀνθρώπινον...τὸ θεοπρεπές [141,8] ܪܟܚܘܡܠܪܟ...ܪܟܚܘܢܪܟ / ܪܟܡܠܪܟ ܚܐܢܪܟܐ...ܪܟܚܘܢܪܟܐ ,ܚ

c) Word Order

ἀνθρωπείᾳ φύσει κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἑνωθείς [115,14]

ܪܟܘܢܪܟ ܪܟܘܢܠ ܪܟܘܘܘܐ ܬܘܚܐܪܟ ܢܐ / ܬܘܚܐܪܟ ܪܟܘܘܘܐ ܪܟܘܢܪܟ ܪܟܘܢܠ ܢܐ

d) Lexical

There is an instance of both texts using ܪܟܘܢܐ for σάρξ [112,21], which for Paul at least is very unusual. *Contra Theodoretum*, however, uses ܪܟܘܢܐ more often [115,21]. But as we saw in *Contra Orientales*, so *Contra Theodoretum* is quite inconsistent at times, thus σαρκὶ is once ܪܟܘܢܐ and once ܪܟܘܐܢ in the same section [145,8&12].

In general, however, Paul has many more accurate renderings, e.g.:

ὑποφαίνοντος [115,13] ܪܟܐܢܐܡ / ܪܟܘܐܘܡܢ

κοινόν [115,19] ܪܟܘܢܘܘ / ܪܟܘܐܢܩ

θεωρία [120,13] ܩܘܡܐ / ܐܝܩܪܐ

ἐχούσης [115,21] ܡܐ / ܥܠ ܐܝܬ

θεοσημείας [131,6] ܐܬܘܬܐ / ܐܬܐܠܐ ܐܬܐܬܐ

The loan word ܐܘܪܓܢܘܢ is found in the expression ܕܒܝܕ ܐܘܪܓܢܘܢ ܒܕ for δι' ὀργάνου σώματος [131,6] in both texts (also *Contra Theodoretum* 130,16 for the adjective ὀργανικήν). *Contra Orientales* [60,20] also uses the same loan, though the same expression is there more loosely rendered ܐܘܪܓܢܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܒ. This latter expression is found also in the *De Recta Fide* for the Greek καθάπερ ὀργάνῳ [55,17 / 65,3] – thus the loan was evidently in use at an early stage and its occurrence in *Contra Orientales* and *Contra Theodoretum* as well as Paul of Callinicum occasions no surprise.

ἦν [145,4] ܗܘܐ / ܗܘܐ ܡܘܬܐ

ἤ γοῦν [115,13] ܕܝܢ ܗܘ / ܐܘ ܐܝܬ

μέν [145,2] omitted / ܡܢ

As an example of *Contra Theodoretum* actually having the more accurate equivalent:
εὐτεχνῶς [145,6] ܐܘܡܢܐܝܬ / ܐܘܡܢܐܝܬ

Now that we have attempted to describe the difference between the translator of CO/CT and Paul of Callinicum, we can move on to some examples which allow us further to compare Paul with other translators, as we have done before, against the background of the original version.

Example 3
[Greek: 139,18-24]
ἔκλαυσεν ἀνθρωπίνως, ἵνα τὸ σὸν περιστείλῃ δάκρυον· ἐδειλίασεν οἰκονομικῶς ἐφιεὶς τῇ σαρκὶ καὶ πάσχειν ἔσθ' ὅτε τὰ ἴδια, ἵν' εὐτολμοτάτους ἡμᾶς ἀποφήνῃ· παρῃτήσατο τὸ ποτήριον, ἵνα τῆς Ἰουδαίων δυσσεβείας ὁ σταυρὸς κατηγορῇ·

ἀσθενῆσαι λέγεται κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον, ἵνα παύσῃ τὴν σὴν ἀσθένειαν· δεήσεις ἀνέτεινε καὶ ἱκετηρίας, ἵνα καὶ ταῖς παρὰ σοῦ λιταῖς βάσιμον ἀποφήνῃ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἀκοήν· ἐνύσταξεν [om. plur. mss et Syr], ἵνα σὺ μάθῃς μὴ νυστάζειν ἐν πειρασμοῖς, συντείνεσθαι δὲ μᾶλλον εἰς προσευχάς.

[Syriac: Add 12156, f.119vc]

ܚܠܦ ܐܟܣܝܢܐ ܕܟܬܒܘܬܐ ܕܠܒܢ ܐܝܟ ܠܒܝ ܩܕܡ ܕܡܬܒܪܚܘܬ ܕܠܒܢ ... [Syriac text]

[Syriac citation in Paul of Callinicum: AJP I,132,22-133,3]

[Syriac text]

[Citation in Athanasius of Nisibis: AN 66,21-30]

[Syriac text]

Some of the differences between the older *Contra Theodoretum* and the two citations are quite striking. The latter have both ponderously tried to translate ἔσθ' ὅτε from its components, whereas the earlier text translates only by another idiom, ܚܒܢ ܐܡܬܝ; εὐτολμοτάτους is the subject of a periphrasis from *Contra Theodoretum*, 'courageous unto death'.

It is instructive to see again how far Athanasius has advanced beyond Paul. Athanasius has developed the use of ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕ for ἵνα, where Paul of Callinicum still

follows the older usage of ܝ alone; Athanasius tends to use ܠ to indicate the object (ܢܝܗܝܬܝܐܠ); he has rejected ܝܘܡܚ for ܓܠܚ; Paul has interpreted ἀνέτεινε as imperfect (which is unlikely, but not grammatically incorrect), and translated μὴ νυστάζειν with ܡܐ ܗܘܬܠ ܐܠܕ in order to express, perhaps, the atemporal sense of the infinitive, whereas Athanasius has the more expected ܗܘܬ ܐܠܕ; Paul's omission of μᾶλλον looks like an oversight.

These are, in the main, minor differences and the distance between Paul and Athanasius is not all that great in terms of their use of grammar and formal equivalence. In fact, in most places, all three versions are reasonably similar. We have seen elsewhere how translation techniques appear to have developed rapidly in the decades either side of the turn of the sixth century, and in these texts we see products of these developments in their earlier and more mature stages.

We saw an instance above of a text (Ep50) being cited from its Syriac version in one of the florilegia. The same has been found also for *Contra Theodoretum*, as the extract just described as *example 3* is found also in the florilegium Add 14535, f.2b, in exactly the same version as the normal Syriac version of Add 12156, albeit with a couple of minor variants, viz.:

ܢܝܗܝܬܘܢܠ ܪܒܣܕ] ܪܒܣ ܝܠܝܕ ܢܝܗܝܬܘܢܠܕ

ܠܐܐܬ] om.

Again this shows how some of these collections were made by Syrians from existing Syriac translations and not merely taken over *in toto* from Greek florilegia.

Example 4
[Greek: 50,5-8]
ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἑνὸς προσώπου καὶ φύσεως ἢ γοῦν ὑποστάσεως μιᾶς βασανίζων ὁ λόγος τὰ ἐξ ὧν ἐστιν ἤτοι σύγχειται φυσικῶς, ἐπιφέρῃ τὸ σύν ἤτοι τὸ μετά, τετήρηκε τῷ σημαινομένῳ καὶ οὕτω τὸ ἓν εἶναι κατὰ σύνθεσιν καὶ οὐκ εἰς δύο διῃρημένως διοριεῖ.

[Syriac: Add 12156, f.100ra]

[Syriac text — three lines]

[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: PHL 171,4-9]

[Syriac text — three lines]

[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: CG I/II 70,20-24]

[Syriac text — three lines]

[Citation in Athanasius of Nisibis: AN 31,20-25]

[Syriac text — three lines]

Most important are the similarities between the three citations as against the older version – matters of the type already seen aplenty, such as the use of ܟ݂ and ܐܝܬܘ, the correct tense equivalencies (pf ܗܘܐ), and the use of ܗܘ before the ܐܝܬܘܗܝ, to express τὸ ἓν εἶναι. Athanasius has the occasional advance on Paul, such as in the calque ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ.

On the other hand the latter's ܬܚܘܡܬ is a more etymological equivalent for διοριεῖ than ܡܒܕܩ, and a little further on Athanasius even imitates the older version by incorporating a κατὰ σύνθεσιν into the structure as ܒܕܡܐ (PHL: ܐܝܟ ܕܡܐ)[1].

However, when we compare a set of parallels such as this with the examples given under, e.g., Ep45/46 above, we can see how close all four are in fact to one another in many of their expressions, and especially in their system of structural equivalency. In the continuation of this citation, Athanasius and Paul are parallel almost verbatim for long stretches.

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[1] 50,11 = Add 12156, f.100ra = PHL 171,12 = AN 32,2.

Example 5

[Greek: 123,23-8]

εἰ δὲ ἀληθὲς ὅτι παραπλησίως ἡμῖν μετέσχεν αἵματος καὶ σαρκὸς καὶ ὡμοιώθη κατὰ πάντα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, ἡμῖν δηλονότι, τί τὸ τῆς οἰκονομίας εὐτεχνὲς ἀνοητότατα διασύρουσιν, φωνῆς ἀνθρωπίνης οὐκ ἀνεχόμενοι καὶ τὸ ἐν λόγοις μικροπρεπὲς διὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν, ὡς ἑτέρῳ κατ' ἰδίαν υἱῷ, τῇ τοῦ δούλου μορφῇ, καθάπερ αὐτοὶ φασίν, ἀνατιθέναι σπουδάζοντες· ἀσύνετον δὲ παντελῶς τὸ σκήπτεσθαι μὲν δεδιέναι τὰς τῶν αἱρετικῶν δυστροπίας, εἶτα τῆς ὀρθῆς πίστεως τὴν παράδοσιν ἀποκομίζειν αὐτοὺς ἔξω τοῦ καθήκοντος λόγου.

[Syriac: Add 12156, f.113vb]

ܐܢ ܓܝܪ ܫܪܝܪ ܕܐܟܘܬܢ ܐܫܬܘܬܦ ܠܕܡܐ ܘܠܒܣܪܐ ܘܐܬܕܡܝ ܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܠܐܚܝ̈ܗܘ ܡܗ

ܡܛܠ ܕܐܢ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܫܘܕܥܐ ܠܩܠܐ ܐܢܫܝܐ ܠܐ ܡܩܒܠ ܘܠܗܝ ܕܒܡ̈ܠܐ

ܡܟܝܟܐ ܡܛܠ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐܚܪܢܐ ܒܪܐ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܥܒܕܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܗܢܘܢ ܐܡܪܝܢ

ܡܥܠܝܢ ܠܡ̈ܕܝܢܝܘ ܟܕ ܛܒ ܠܐ ܡܣܬܟܠ ܠܓܡܪ ܗܝ ܕܐܬܛܠܩ ܕܢܕܚܠܘܢ

ܠܘܥܕܢܝܗ̈ܘܢ ܕܗܪܛܝܩܘ ܘܗܝܕܝܢ ܫܘܠܡܢܐ ܕܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܬܪܝܨܬܐ ܢܦܩܘܢ

[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: CG I/II 219,22-220,3]

[Citation in Athanasius of Nisibis: AN 65,6-16]

The most instructive observations here concern the similarity of the two citations over against the original version:

- For the tricky φωνῆς ἀνθρωπίνης οὐκ ἀνεχόμενοι καὶ τὸ ἐν λόγοις μικροπρεπές, we see the older version struggling and somewhat paraphrasing with its ܪܠܒܢ ܟܘܝܐܟܠܐ .ܪܟܒܘܪܝܪ ܪܠܐ ܟܢܠ ܟܘܣܝܠܟܢ ܪܠܗ ܡܒ (*in that they are not typifying the human words and the lowly speech*), whereas Paul of Callinicum uses ܟ to signify the type of subordination, gets the word order exactly as the Greek, and has (correctly) ܪܠܚܒܗܣ ܪܟܗܘܪܟܒ ܟܘܝܐܟܠܐ (*the lowliness that is in the words*). Athanasius has a similar rendering (syntactically) but with less concern for the word order than Paul.

- In the following clause (ὡς ἑτέρῳ...σπουδάζοντες) Athanasius and Paul are again very close, where the older version has changed the order of the phrases and also their inner relationships (e.g. adding a ܘ).

- Note the similarity between the latter two versions in their translation of the difficult ἀσύνετον δὲ παντελῶς τὸ σκήπτεσθαι μὲν δεδιέναι, whereas the earlier version has paraphrased somewhat.

There are a few matters where they differ in significant ways:

- Paul paraphrases εὐτεχνές merely as ܪܟܒܘ, whereas both the other two use similar compound forms: ܪܟܗܘܒܘܐܪ ܟܗܘܪܟܒ (Sy) and ܣܟܗܘܒܘܐܪ ܟܘܝܐܒܒ (Athanasius).

- For ἀνοητότατα Athanasius has just ܟܘܪܠܒܣ, Paul using a compound form, ܪܠܘܣ ܟܗܩܘܐܣ.

- As we have seen before, Athanasius makes use of the loan ܪܠܘܪܟ, which Paul does not yet have.

Example 6

[Greek: 115,9-15]

Νεστορίου τοιγαροῦν ἀναιροῦντος πανταχοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου τὴν κατὰ σάρκα γέννησιν καὶ μόνων ἡμῖν ἀξιωμάτων ἑνότητα παρεισκρίνοντος ἄνθρωπόν τε θεῷ συνῆφθαι λέγοντος τῇ τῆς υἱότητος ὁμωνυμίᾳ τετιμημένον, ἀναγκαίως ἡμεῖς τοῖς ἐκείνου μαχόμενοι τὴν καθ᾽ ὑπόστασιν ἕνωσιν γενέσθαι φαμέν, τοῦ καθ᾽ ὑπόστασιν οὐδὲν ἕτερον ὑποφαίνοντος πλὴν ὅτι μόνον ἡ τοῦ λόγου φύσις ἢ γοῦν ὑπόστασις, ὃ

ἔστιν αὐτὸς ὁ λόγος, ἀνθρωπείᾳ φύσει κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ἐνωθεὶς τροπῆς τινος δίχα καὶ συγχύσεως, καθὰ πλειστάκις εἰρήκαμεν.

[Syriac: Add 12156, f.110rc]

ܠܡܟܐ ܕܐܠܗ ܕܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܒܗܦ ܡܗܘܝܠܐ ܒܗܘܐ ܠܒܗ ܗܘܐ ܡܬܒܪ ܩܐܠܦܘܡܝ ܠܡܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ

[Syriac lines — Add 12156, f.110rc]

[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: PHL 33,9-15 (from τὴν καθ' ὑπόστασιν ἔνωσιν only)]

[Syriac lines — PHL 33,9-15]

[Syriac citation in Florilegium: Add 12155, f.15v]

[Syriac lines — Add 12155, f.15v]

The citation is certainly a closer mirror on the original than *Contra Theodoretum*, but the difference is not so very great – he is slightly more careful about word order (e.g. *Contra Theodoretum*'s ܩܢܘܡܐ ܠܗ ܒܪܝܬ ܐܬܚܝܕ against ܒܪܝܬ ܩܢܘܡܐ ܠܗ ܐܬܚܝܕ); he adds explanatory phrases such as ܒܗ ܡܠܒܫ. On the other hand, *Contra Theodoretum*, favours the analytic construction ܕܩܢܘܡܐ ܗܘ ܕܟܝܢܐ rather than ܩܢܘܡܝܬ ܟܝܢܐ; δίχα is rendered properly as ܣܛܪ only in the citation.

When we compare both with Paul of Callinicum's version, we see that this is more similar in style to the citation (e.g. both use ܩܢܘܡܝܬ); occasionally Paul achieves an

even closer mirror, e.g. in rendering τινός as ܡܕܡ and ἤ γοῦν as ܗܟܝܠ ܐܘ (where both *Contra Theodoretum* and the citation have ܕܝܢ ܗܢܐ, as if the Greek were τουτέστιν); but then ܐܠܐ ܐܦ in the citation is probably better than ܐܠܐ alone for πλήν, and Paul seems to have a redundant ܠܗܢܐܝܘܬ which may, however, reflect an underlying variant.

Example 7
[Greek: 142,1-5]
εἰ γὰρ ἀληθής ἡ ἕνωσις, οὐ δύο που πάντως εἰσίν, ἀλλ' εἷς τε καὶ μόνος ὁ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν νοεῖται Χριστός. πρόδηλον οὖν ὅτι πλάττονται μὲν ὁμολογεῖν τὴν ἕνωσιν τὰς τῶν ἁπλουστέρων ὑποτρέχοντες γνώμας, συνάφειαν δὲ φρονοῦσι τὴν ἔξωθέν τε καὶ σχετικήν, ἥν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐσχήκαμεν, κοινωνοὶ τῆς θείας αὐτοῦ φύσεως ἀναδεδειγμένοι διὰ τοῦ πνεύματος.

[Syriac: Add 12156, f.120vc]

[Syriac text: four lines]

[Citation in Florilegium: Add 12155, f.36r]

[Syriac text: four lines]

Note again the places where the citation has much closer renderings, e.g. ܟܠܗ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܟܠ ... ܕܠܐ ܐܠܗܘܬ, where word order and syntax is strictly mirrored. *Contra Theodoretum*'s ܚܒܐ is quite a dynamic modulation, ܐܬܚܝܢ being the more etymological rendering, if that is the citation's true reading.

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[1] sic, ?leg ܐܬܚܝܢ.

Example 8

[Greek: 55,29-34]

τίς οὖν ἄρα τῶν οὕτως αἰσχρῶν ἐπακούσας λόγων οὐ πάντα ἂν ἕλοιτο παθεῖν ἢ τὴν

τῷ θεῷ κατεστυγημένη ἀγαπῆσαι σιγήν; ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ὁ Χριστός αἰσχύνης

καταφρονήσας σταυρὸν ὑπέμεινεν καὶ τὸν κατὰ σάρκα θάνατον· εἶτα ἡμεῖς οὐδὲ ταῖς

εἰς λόγους εὐνοίαις ἀμειψόμεθα τὸν εὐεργέτην, ἀλλ’ ἡσυχῇ καθεδούμεθα τῶν οὕτως

ἐκτόπων δυσφημιῶν ἀκροώμενοι ἢ τάχα που καὶ μεριζόμενοι τῆς κατ’ αὐτοῦ

γλωσσαλγίας τὰ ἐγκλήματα;

[Syriac: Add 12156, f.103ra-b]

ܟܕ ܗܟܝܠ ܡܢ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܗܟܢܐ ܫܟܝܪܐ ܘܠܐ ܥܠ ܕܗܢ ܕܐܝܟ ܗܠܝܢ ܫܟܝܪ̈ܐ ܫܡܥ ܡܠ̈ܐ ܐܘ ܪܚܡ ܫܠܝܐ܂

[Citation in Peter of Callinicum: Contra Damianum III,XXXV,92-7]

On the technique of the translator of the *Contra Damianum* (early 7th century), note especially:

- the use of the loan ܐܪܐ, even for the non-interrogative form of the particle.

- the etymological equivalent ܒܝܫܘܬ ܠܫܢܐ (where *Contra Orientales* uses a dynamic modulation, ܪܚܝܘܬ ܠܫܢܐ),

- the careful use of ܟܕ + pf for the aorist ptcs (*Contra Orientales* alters the structure instead),

- the care taken over prepositions (ܠܩܘܒܠܗ for κατ’ αὐτοῦ, where *Contra Orientales* uses ܥܠܘܗܝ).

On *Contra Orientales'* side, the abbreviation of αἰσχρῶν λόγων to ܐܚܝܫܘܬ, and the expansion of πάντα to ܟܠ ܡܕܡ are both typical editorial techniques shown by this translator which are quite absent from the other text.

The question as to whether Peter's work was translated from a Greek original or first written in Syriac remains uncertain, for it has been suggested that some of his patristic citations appear to be taken from pre-existing Syriac versions.[1] If true, this would clearly indicate that Peter wrote in Syriac. In our example here, however, despite the similarity of the middle portion, it would be difficult to conclude that the author of the second version knew of the first. If Peter did write in Syriac, he seems not to have known of this particular text. Rather, the citation reflects more closely the style of translation of the early 7th century.

Example 9

[Greek: 58,32-59,4]

ὁ ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς λόγος, γέννησιν δὲ μᾶλλον ὑπομείνας τὴν κατὰ σάρκα...ἐπέφανεν ἡμῖν θεὸς κύριος κατὰ τὰς γραφάς. ἴδιον οὖν σῶμα φαμὲν γενέσθαι τοῦ λόγου καὶ οὐκ ἀνθρώπου τινὸς ἰδικῶς καὶ κεχωρισμένως ἑτέρου παρ' αὐτὸν νοουμένου Χριστοῦ καὶ υἱοῦ, ὥσπερ δὲ ἴδιον ἡμῶν ἑκάστου λέγεται σῶμα τὸ ἰδικῶς αὐτοῦ, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς Χριστοῦ νοητέον. καίτοι γὰρ ὑπάρχον τοῖς ἡμετέροις σώμασιν ὁμογενὲς ἢ γοῦν ὁμοούσιον (γενέννηται γὰρ ἐκ γυναικός), ἴδιον αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἔφην, νοεῖται καὶ λέγεται. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ζωὴ κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶν ὁ ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς λόγος, ζωοποιὸν ἀπέφηνε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ σάρκα.

[Syriac: Add 12156, f.104vb-c]

ܐܝܟ ܕܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܒ ܗܘ .ܓܝܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܢ ܡܠܬܐ
ܡܛܠܗ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ .ܕܢܚܬ ܗܘ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܡܣܝܒܪ ܗܘܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܒܣܪ ܐܠܐ ܝܠܝܕܘܬܐ ܠܢ ...
ܝܠܕ ܗܘܐ ܘܠܐ .ܐܠܗܐ ܡܪܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܟܬܒܐ ܡܢ ܓܝܪ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܡܢ ܐܢܬܬܐ
ܡܩܒܠܝܢ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܘܠܐ .ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܬ ܡܢ ܒܠ ܡܬܝܕܥ ܘܡܬܐܡܪ .ܐܦ ܥܠ ܚܕ ܡܫܝܚܐ
ܡܬܝܕܥܢܐ ܝܬܝܪܐܝܬ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܝܠܝܕܐ ܡܢ ...
ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܚܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܟܝܢܐ ܐܠܗܐ .ܐܬܚܘܝ ܡܢ ܒܠ ܡܣܝܒܪ ...
ܡܚܝܢ .ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܗܘ ܒܣܪܗ ...
.ܡܚܝܢ

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[1] Brock, *Review of Van Roey, Ebied, Wickham (eds.), Petri Callinicensis Contra Damianum.*

ܡܢ ܕܒܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܐܠܗ ܕܥܠܝܟ ܠ ܕܝܢ ܕܩܒܠ ܣܝܡ ܐܝܠ ܒܗ ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗ ܡܢܝ ܕܒܠܗ

ܒܗ ܫܩܠܬ ܐܘܪܕܢܘܝܠ ܐܢܫ ܒ ܐܝܟܕ ܗܘܐ ܘܠܐ ܦܘܓܐ ܗܘܬ ܡܢ ܝܕܥܝܢ ܐܠܗܘܬ ܠܗܘܡ

ܗܘ ܦܘܓܐ ܒܪܝܬ ܡܢ ܝܘ ܠܗ ܕܒܠܗ ܐܢܫ ܐܒܪ ܘܡܐ ܣܗܕܘܬ ܢܦܫܬ ܡܢܘ ܒܠ ܐܝܘ

ܒ ܡܘܬܘܐ ܠܠ ܦܪܘ ܠܒܟܣ ܣܗܕܘܬ ܝܘ ܐܦܪ ܐܡܗ ܕܒܠܗ ܡܘܬܘܐ ܐܘܪܕܢܘܝܠ

ܐܒ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܠܗ ܐܠܗܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܠܠ ܗܘܬ ܚܝܐ ܒ ܒܝܐ ܐܘ ܠܗ ܦܘܓܐܝ ܡܘܡܠܩ

ܐܒܪ ܐܠܗܪ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܗܘ ܡܘܬܘܐ ܣܗܕܘܐ ܢܦܫܝ ܠܩܠܡܐ ܒܪܘܐܬܘ ܠܒܟܡܘ ܐܬܒܪܝ

ܡܢܠܗ ܪܝܡܠ ܢܦܫ ܢܦܫܘܐܒ

This is an important citation since the ms in which the Florilegium Edessenum is found can be dated before 562. Potentially of far greater import, however, is the fact that an obscure quotation from Alexander of Alexandria is to be found both in the *Florilegium Edessenum* and in Philoxenus' Florilegium appended to his *Memre against Habbib* (= *Decem Dissertationes*), the two quotations conforming verbatim to each other. At least some of the entries in the Florilegium therefore had achieved their current form already before 484. There is therefore a good chance that the citation we have here should also be given the same terminus ante quem, though there are other possibilities, e.g. that the *Florilegium Edessenum* as we have it in Add 12156 had undergone substantial revision and expansion some time after 484 and much closer to 562, which revision would have included the addition of our citation of Cyril's *Contra Orientales* here given. A perusal and comparison of the above texts will also show that it is the cited version that is much the more 'advanced' (in the sense of the word to which we have become accustomed), as the following highlights illustrate:

- The full version has ܒܘܪܕܝܓܐ for κατὰ σάρκα, where the citation has ܝܩܒܪܢ.

- It also uses idioms such as ܪܒܗܝܐ ܡܗܠܡ ܐܝܟܪ (Florilegium: ܪܒܗܐ ܐܝܟܪ)

- The indefinite ἀνθρώπου τινός is idiomatically rendered as ܐܢܫ ܒܪ ܡܢ ܝܘ in the full version, but correctly ܐܢܫ ܒ ܒܪ in the citation.

- The citation uses ܚܝܐ ܐܘ, a phrase that Paul of Callinicum used frequently but not often found in our texts.

- The citation is more consistent in using ܠܒܟܣܪ consistently for the passive forms of νοέω – the other mixes use of ܠܒܟܣܪ with ܪܝܬܝܪ.

- Th citation uses ܡܘܬܘܐ 'correctly' for ἐστίν in the final clause, where the full version does not.

- ܐܡܪ is a very inexact equivalent for ἀποφαίνω – the citation has ܚܘܐ.

On the other side of the balance, the citation adds ,ܐܝܬܘܗܝ unnecessarily as part of the expression ἴδιον λέγεται σῶμα αὐτοῦ, which the other, quite rightly, does not need.

If we could be sure of the early date of this Syriac citation, it would provide strong evidence indeed of a very considerable effort towards mirror translation (although very imperfectly developed still) already in the fifth century. However, it is more likely that it is simply a later addition to the collection, predating its known form in the ms whose *terminus ante quem* is 562.

Citations of *Ad Tiberium*

Example 1
[Greek: 166:13]
[Syriac: 473,16-17]
[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: AJP I,29,16-17; I,291,25-6; II,52,26-7]

ἀποβεβλήκαμεν γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν ἐνόντων οὐσιωδῶς

AT	ܐܪܡܝܢ ܓܝܪ ܘܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܐܘܣܝܐܝܬ
AJP1	ܐܘܒܕܢ ܓܝܪ ܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܡܢ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܟܝܢܐܝܬ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܠܗ
AJP2	ܠܐ ܐܘܒܕܢ ܡܕܡ ܡܢ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܟܝܢܐ (paraphrase)
AJP3	ܐܘܒܕܢ ܓܝܪ ܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܡܢ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܒܟܝܢܐ

We can see that *Ad Tiberium* is actually a little more forward thinking than Paul of Callinicum here, especially in the increased use of loans (ܐܘܣܝܐܝܬ); the use of ܗܠܝܢ ܕ rather than ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕ for the article + ptc construction is also typical of a Philoxenian/Harklean type revision (cf. e.g. Romans 2.8 in Appendix 2)

Example 2
[Greek: 150,3-152,18]
[Syriac: 461,5-463,16]
[Citation in Paul of Callinicum: PHL 73,19-75,11]

This is a significant passage, as it demonstrates, possibly even more clearly than the citation of Ep55 in AJP, the similarity between the translators. A cursory glance at the texts indicates that these translators have been taught and use the very same techniques for almost every grammatical category and there is a very high incidence of agreement in lexical choices as well. As this is a lengthy citation it will not be given in full here, but some points of note are given below. As usual, AT will be given first; the citation in Paul second.

a) Structural

The texts are too close and too respectful of the Greek structure to show any differences at this level. We note only one point from a NT citation.

οἱ θησαυροὶ τῆς σοφίας καὶ γνώσεως ἀπόκρυφοι [150,21-2 (Col 2.3)]

ܪܕܝܝܬܐ ܪܕܝܝܬ݂ܐܠܝܘ ܪܕܝܬܐܘܘܝ ܪܕܝܬܝܘܐ / ܪܕܝܝܬܐܘ ܪܕܝܬܐܘܘܝ ܪܕܝܝܬ݂ܐܠܝܘ ܪܕܝܬܝܘܐ

The use of ܪܕܝܝܬ݂ܐܠܝܘ for ἀπόκρυφοι is found before its use in the Harklean only in the Severan texts and here in *Ad Tiberium*. It shows a probable awareness of the Philoxenian. However, the two texts interpret the structure differently, *Ad Tiberium* reading ἀπόκρυφοι as a separate substantive co-ordinating with θησαυροὶ rather than as an adjectival attribute to it.

b) Syntactical

Here we see signs of both texts attempting more precise 'mirror' versions, sometimes in places where the other has not done likewise, thus:

τῶν ἐν τῷ πατρί [150,25] ܪܕܐܘܐܝ ܗܠܡ / ܪܕܐܘܐ ܐܝܪܐܝ ܐܠܝܪ

This shows again *Ad Tiberium*'s attempts to mirror slightly more perfectly. The use of the full demonstrative in such cases is typical of H (where P would use ܐܠܝܪ as Paul of Callinicum does here). The use of ܐܝܪ by Paul of Callinicum, while putting across the meaning with great precision, does not actually 'mirror' a Greek word, and so *Ad Tiberium* has nothing.

However, sometimes the boot is on the other foot, with Paul reflecting the genitive properly:

τὴν τῆς συντελείας ἡμέραν [152,1] ܪܫܝܐ ܪܡܘܐ / ܪܡܠܐܙܝ ܪܡܘܐ

Paul adds ܠ for direct objects, e.g. both τι and Χριστόν [150,12].

He also tends to be more likely to use demonstratives to reflect the article, e.g. with a phrase such as τὸν ἐν οὐρανοῖς πατέρα [150,22-3] becoming ܪܫܝܟܙܝ ܐܘ ܪܒܪ; or again πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ [152,4], simply ܐܒܝ ܡܢܠܒ in *Ad Tiberium*, but ܦܠܪ ܡܢܠܒ ܡܒܝ in Paul.

c) Word order

Very occasionally, we see an obvious attempt by Paul of Callinicum to get close to the word order, where *Ad Tiberium* has failed to do so, but this is unusual, e.g.

τρέχουσι κατὰ πετρῶν [150,13] ܦܠܡܢܝ ܪܟܐܦ ܠܟ / ܪܟܐܦ ܠܟ ܦܠܡܢܝ

d) Lexical

In general, it is similarities rather than differences which stand out, as can be seen in any sentence of the texts; but, to give one example, while the expression τὸ τῇ ἀνθρωπότητι πρέπον is ܪܐܢܐܫܪܠ ܪܘܪܒܝ ܐܘ in AT and in Paul, a look at the comparisons between Ep40 or Ep45 and Paul of Callinicum will show that those texts would simplify or paraphrase with something like ܪܐܫܪ.

Often we see small differences of no significance where all the rest of the clause is identical:

νοεῖται [150,13] [152,11] ܠܒܟܡܢ / ܐܙܒܟܢ

φύντα [150,24] ܝܘܫ / ܝܫܝ

εἰκότως [152,10] ܕܘܪܒܝܝ / ܕܘܪܐܪܒ

While *Ad Tiberium* can sometimes be more conscientious about compounds (thus the formulaic θεσπέσιος [150,22] is ܐܠܗܝܬ ܡܠܬܐ in *Ad Tiberium*, but only ܐܠܗܐ in Paul of Callinicum), the opposite is just as likely (ἀτοπίαν [152,6] ܫܟܝܪܘܬܐ in *Ad Tiberium*, ܗܝ ܕܠܐ ܘܠܐ in Paul of Callinicum).

On Paul's side, this text has the loan ܐܪܐ for ἄρα where *Ad Tiberium* does not [152,1] (only for the interrogative ἆρα, see Appendix 2).

Ad Tiberium's one use of ܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܬܐ for ὁ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος (ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܬܐ Paul of Callinicum) [152,8] may be a scribal slip or a brief reversion to older Syriac formulae.

There is one especially interesting rendering:
ὁμοούσιος...ὁμοούσιος [150,15&17] ܒܐܘܣܝܐ / ܫܘܐ...ܒܪ ܟܝܢܐ / ܟܝܢܐ ܒܪ...ܒܪ ܟܝܢܐ

Ad Tiberium is experimenting with new forms, here using alternatives within the same sentence. ܒܪ ܟܝܢܐ still seems to be fairly standard even after Philoxenus, with ܒܪ ܐܘܣܝܐ used only sporadically, as we can see in Paul of Callinicum's treatment of the creed in his version of the *Cathedral Homilies*.

With forms of the copula and other difficult verbs, *Ad Tiberium* actually seems to have the edge slightly:
οὕτως ἔχῃ [150,15] ܐܝܬ ܠܗ / ܐܝܬܘܗܝ

Here *Ad Tiberium* has attempted to render the word itself, whereas Paul is content with reflecting the simple meaning, 'it were thus'.

ἔσται [150,16] ܐܝܬܘܗܝ / ܗܘܐ

Although *Ad Tiberium* will sometimes have ܐܝܬܘܗܝ as a subject indicator even when there is no expressed copula in the Vorlage, he is less likely to use ܗܘܐ as Paul does here.

τὰ ἐσόμενα [152,11] ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܗܘܝܢ / ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܥܬܝܕܝܢ ܕܢܗܘܘܢ

Example 3

[Greek: 174,8-24]

[Syriac: 479,8-480,6]

[Citation in florilegium: Add 12155, f.93r-v]

Here we have another instance of identical texts – as we had earlier for Ep50 and for *Contra Theodoretum* (Example 4). The length of the citation makes it quite clear that we have the same Syriac version in both instances. Thus for this portion at least of the large florilegium Add 12155 the compiler is working from Syriac texts. A more exhaustive survey of the citations in the great florilegia could probably turn up more examples of this and discover how widespread it was by comparison with the use of translated Greek anthologies. These direct Syriac quotations are the exception, however, to the more usual findings, in which the compiler always quoted a version in a somewhat more revised form than those found in the full translations. We can only conclude that these were made directly from Greek florilegia at a date somewhat later than that of the 'full versions'.

Summary to Parts 3.i-ii

These last sections (3.i and 3.ii) have been long and fairly exhaustive. At this point, we shall therefore try to summarise the findings with regard to each of the texts that have been analysed, incorporating the material from 3.i (studying the texts internally and assessing the techniques used in each) with that from 3.ii (where we compared the texts with external fixed points, such as citations in Severus, Philoxenus and elsewhere).

General conclusions for *De Recta Fide*

We have seen how this text has undergone a great deal of basic editing, with examples of whole sentences and even small passages being added by the translator, a process reminiscent of that used, though not on the same scale, in the version of Basil's *De Spiritu Sancto*.[1] Very often the smaller additions and omissions related to sections which could be described as polemical or at least rhetorical, in which not much was lost by the alteration; but there were also some instances of substantial clarification in doctrinal statements as well. Under the 'treatment of larger translation units', we saw that there was really a great deal of variety among the techniques used through this text. It was clear that in general the translator was thinking in terms of large units of at least sentence length. Often, however, the various clauses or sub-units within a longer sentence would retain their order and mutual relations while each was treated with a freer method, or, on other occasions, a whole section could be translated with great word-for-word accuracy. On the whole, however, the inner relations of a Greek periodic sentence are not respected very often and in general the translator restructures the sentences to fit an idiom more natural to the target language, trying to avoid too many subordinations where possible.

It was virtually impossible to make any meaningful analysis along the line of 'formal equivalency', for this text simply does not cohere enough with its *Vorlage* at the narrower unit-level. Whereas with our other texts, we are able to see how certain fixed 'rules' are used with greater or lesser degrees of variation, with the *De Recta Fide* the

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[1] See Taylor, *De Spiritu Sancto*.

vagaries are too great for this kind of analysis. However, it has been useful to look at some of the important lexical equivalents that are used in the text, as long as we observe the caveat that no deliberate consistency is aimed for.

In fact, this latter point comes out quite clearly if we analyse the *De Recta Fide*'s renderings of σάρξ, in which we saw that ܪܝܡܐ and ܪܝܟܐ were used almost side-by-side (and with the latter also for σῶμα) in a way that seems quite deliberate. We noted the appearance of the well-known clothing metaphor for describing the incarnation, even for such technical terms as τὸ ἡνῶσθαι τῇ σαρκί and ἐνανθρωπεῖν, indicating the sort of early creed with which this translator was probably familiar (not to mention Hebrews 5.7 in the Peshitta). Theological concern may well also be behind the very frequent and marked omission of active words to do with 'joining together' (συνδρομή, σύμβασις etc.) – the translator prefers simply to leave expressions such as 'from two'. This would seem to suggest an attempt, even at this (probably) early date to nuance the Cyrilline Christological terminology. Other important aspects of Cyrilline terminology are left unnoticed by the translator, such as the ἴδιος-related language, and we noted a good deal of variation in other word-groups as well. Terms such as ܪܩܘܡܐ and ܪܚܝܢ are not used only and always for their (later) technical equivalents, ὑπόστασις and φύσις/οὐσία. While there are some interesting neologisms used, adjectives such as ܪܚܠܚܡܐ ܪܠ developed for Greek compounds, these are far fewer in number than we find in the other texts, and the number of loans used is correspondingly few (thus we noted the use of ܪܝܡܘ in the text but not as a direct equivalent for εἰκών).

The evidence of the citations is very voluminous for this well-cited text. Having described the technique used in the *De Recta Fide* as we have, the comparison with these other texts added more to our knowledge of them rather than of the *De Recta Fide* itself. The latter clearly edited many of the texts which were more accurately rendered in our citations, but we also saw how closely they were mirroring the *signifiant* of the text even when *De Recta Fide* also was translating with a higher degree of accuracy than usual. Barbara Aland has suggested that *De Recta Fide* shares many characteristics of translation style with the Peshitta[1] and this sort of evidence

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[1] Aland and Juckel, *Die Katholischen Briefe*, 97-104.

shows that such a judgment can be borne out at least for those passages where the *De Recta Fide* is actually carefully rendering the original (such as is the case in the NT citations which are her main concern), since in these passages there is a technique that is very loose by the standards of the sixth century, and full of dynamic modulation and restructuring, and yet has a great respect for the *signifié* of the original. In other passages, however, we have seen a great deal of editing on a higher level, both in the sense of adding or subtracting clauses and even sentences, and also in the sense of using the whole sentence as the unit of translation, freely restructuring on a large scale. This approach is quite unlike that of the Peshitta.

With regard to Paul of Callinicum, his style can be seen to be not only a huge advance on *De Recta Fide*, but also similar to, if not even more precise, than that used in the Syriac version of Theodosius of Alexandria.

General conclusions for *Quod Unus Sit Christus*

Extensive examples were given from this text of the translator's editorial activity. In general, this never goes so far as to omit or add whole sentences, as is occasionally found in the *De Recta Fide*, but the Syriac is plentifully littered with both amplifications (esp. supplying ellipses) and simplifications (esp. of rhetorically extravagant passages). The translator is without doubt reader-oriented, trying to make the text as transparent as possible but without consciously adding anything that could not be said to be implicit already in the original.

When we looked more closely at the translator's actual approach to the sentences of his Vorlage, we noted that, most of the time, complex periodic sentences are simplified, parataxis being substituted for the subordinations. It is important to stress that this technique is the norm in the *Quod unus sit Christus* and not at all exceptional, as was found to be the case for some others. There is very little attempt to replicate the Greek word order, and we can safely say that the unit of translation for the *Quod unus sit Christus* is the sentence as a whole (whereas for the *De Recta Fide* it was often larger than the sentence).

There was found to be little precise formal equivalence among the verbs – tense values were generally retained but not according to any strict rules. This can be seen especially in the inconsistent pattern of usage of ܗܘ and of ܐܝܬܘܗܝ, for forms of εἶναι. The same was again true amongst pronouns and adjectives where formal equivalence became possible in some places. In *Quod unus sit Christus*, however, some of these techniques are foreshadowed, e.g. the representation of the resumptive article, but only very inconsistently, and plenty of Syriac idioms (such as proleptic pronouns) are frequently retained.

Moving onto the matter of lexical equivalence. The all-important σάρξ group shows an interesting pattern. We saw that in many ways the translator shows himself of the 'old school', using loose terminology, the term ܒܣܪ for flesh, and the clothing metaphor appearing frequently even where this does not precisely reflect the Greek wording. Yet he is also aware of the Philoxenian neologism ܐܬܒܣܪ and Paul of Callinicum's ܡܒܣܪ, both of which he uses on occasion. The twin neologisms ܐܬܒܪܢܫ and ܡܬܒܪܢܫܢܘܬܐ are also known, though again used only rarely. Other notable lexical matters include the avoidance of a verbal equivalent for ψυχοῦν (as also *De Recta Fide*), and no recognition of the different terms Cyril uses for con-joining, mixture and change. A similar lack of direct equivalence was found for most of the word groups studied. The loan for μέν was found only once, being omitted in the vast majority of cases. Only a very few loan words are used in the text (especially given its length) and these reveal nothing beyond what we would expect in fairly early (5th century) texts. There are, however, a perhaps surprising number of neologistic formations of the '–ana' and '-anutha' types, built onto Pael and Aphel participles. Although these formations are by no means absent from early texts, their proliferation is a clear sign of the later translational style, as witnessed by the significant increase in their numbers in those texts that underwent translational revision.[1]

In most of these areas *Quod unus sit Christus* can be placed alongside the *De Recta Fide* in terms of the techniques used. However, the occasional use of a much more advanced form, as well as the lack of the sort of large-scale editing found in the other

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[1] See Brock, *Diachronic Aspects*, 323-4.

texts, conclusively shows that they are not from the same hand and do not reflect quite the same attitude towards the task of translating Greek into Syriac.

All these techniques are thrown into relief by the comparison between *Quod unus sit Christus* and Paul of Callinicum's citations. Here we saw how approaches to editing, to the structure of sentences, to formal and lexical equivalences differ considerably between these translators.

One issue that the comparison between the *Quod unus* and the later citations threw up was the free, and quite frequent, use of the clothing metaphor, which places the translator of the former text in the pre-Philoxenian tradition, and as such he should probably be dated. However, his occasional use of the neologisms which Philoxenus introduced into the creed seem to prefigure the bishop's work of revision. Unless, that is, we accept De Halleux's proposal that such readings as this should be taken as signs of the later revision of an earlier text. But if this is so, the revision has taken on a very haphazard form indeed, so infrequently is it applied. Would it not be more satisfactory to assume rather that the translator was experimenting with new possibilities at the same time as using the traditional formulae, which he was slowly beginning to recognise as unfit for Cyrillian Christology. By Paul of Callinicum's day there was no longer any doubt that the new forms should be used consistently – the only question remained about the distribution of active and passive forms, depending on the reading of the middle forms in Greek – and we still see some of that stage of experimentation in Paul's citation in the *Anti-Julianist Corpus*. By the time of Athanasius of Nisibis, all such matters had been settled, with the middle forms receiving Aphels and the passives Ettaphals.

General conclusions for *Explanatio Duodecim Capitulorum*

The editing in this text was of a fairly minor nature, involving generally the omission of otiose rhetorical flourishes and the occasional simplification or clarification. But these are few and far between in a text which has a high degree of respect for the structure and wording of the *Vorlage*. The unit of translation is at a fairly low level and generally there is an attempt to mirror the wording as it proceeds, the demarche, and to maintain the periodic structure of each sentence. We saw, however, that there

were still a number of places where we could see that the structure had been altered, although some of these can probably be put down to variants in the *Vorlage*, which may explain some of this translator's more surprising renderings. We noted also the general closeness of the word order and some of its effects.

We noted also a high degree of consistency with regard to the formal equivalence of verbs, especially in the indicative. Among participles too, there is in general a careful distinction maintained between tenses and functions. Among infinitives there is found a higher degree of variation, partly depending on function (whether they are direct objects or part of indirect speech), partly on the difficulty of making precise renderings, and thus periphrases are sometimes used. Again, when we looked at the verbs of existence, we could see that while a strict equivalency was effectively maintained for indicative forms, there was some uncertainty about which calque to use for infinitive and modal forms, and no attempt to distinguish different verbs of existence (εἶναι, ὑπάρχειν, φαίνεσθαι). There was a similar 'grasping after' formal equivalence among the non-verbal syntax, for example in the use of ܠ for direct objects, in the treatment of possessives with ܠܕ and in the ways of rendering relatives, and especially implied relatives with the resumptive article. In all this we saw the translator working within a set of fairly dogmatic rules but deviating from them significantly often, not wanting to violate his own idiom and yet neither wanting to use periphrasis or entirely alter the grammatical categories of the original.

Among the lexical equivalents, the *Explanatio* was seen to be one of the texts in the middle stage of the credal revisions, with ܢܝܒܬܐܘ ܡܥܠ ܐܬ, yet always maintaining ܪܝܣܒ and ܪܝܓܦ scrupulously for σάρξ and σῶμα. The consistent rendering ܐܬܘܢܝܒܬܕ ܪܝܣܒ ܡܥܕ for μετὰ σαρκὸς οἰκονομία placed it with *Ad Tiberium* in terms of formal precision. In general, consistencies are maintained, though not followed through especially strongly in less technical matters: thus while the terms ἀλλοίωσις and μετάστασις were always distinguished carefully, συνάπτειν could be rendered with either ܝܚܐ or ܦܩܢ. We saw examples of the very careful rendering of compounds, such as we would not see in the *Quod Unus*, and yet again this was not carried through with total consistency, and we also saw instances of different Greek terms receiving the same rendering in close proximity, and vice versa, as well as a certain flattening of

the variety of personal epithets, and a number of modulated (cultural) equivalents in Cyril's more rhetorical language (cf.*Ep40*). Yet the one-to-one nature that we see in this text in its grammatical features is also present in the lexical, for hendiadys is always retained as such, in contrast to the usage of the freer texts.

Although there are not many specially noticeable loans or neologistic formations in this short text, the use of certain of the latter, such as ܡܬܓܫܡܢܘܬܐ does seem to mark a more developed stage than that of the *Quod Unus*.

These sorts of conclusions have been confirmed also by the citations, though few in number, in Severus and in the florilegia. Here we could sometimes barely distinguish between the styles, although the citations generally had the edge in mirroring. In Part 3.iv.a, we will show that this version is itself a revision of an earlier Syriac edition of the *Explanatio*. Given that this is the case, it seems reasonable to attribute many of the unevennesses of the version (its occasional lack of inner consistency and apparent slips from what appear to be its 'rules') to aspects of the original which escaped the reviser's attention. The reviser's understanding of the same 'rules' of method as we can observe in Paul of Callinicum, the florilegia, *Ad Tiberium* etc. point to his work as taking place no earlier than Philoxenus.[1]

General conclusions for *Scholia De Incarnatione*

There was found to be very little editorial activity of any kind in this text, being limited to the occasional explanatory rendering – but this only very rarely. There is a similar dearth of restructuring of sentences – again a few instances were found but these exceptions only proved the general rule. The word order, however, is not slavishly imitative. The translator follows the word order where it is easy to do so, but has no qualms about using whichever order comes most easily to the Syriac syntax.

The level of formal equivalence was found to be very high, especially among verbs. The set of 'rules' that seem to have been functioning for the translator of the *Explanatio* were used also here in the vast majority of cases. Thus, ܟ was used

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[1] We will have cause to comment further on this dating in the light of new and important evidence. See 3.iv.b below.

consistently to introduce subordinating participles, and the calques for εἶναι based around ‏,ܡܐܝܬ‎ are found passim. Only amongst infinitives was there a degree of variation, with Syriac infinitives mixing equally with imperfects. The same care for distinct grammatical categories was found among pronouns and adjectives, and the resumptive pronoun is almost always represented (unlike in *De Recta Fide* or *Quod Unus sit Christus*).

The *Scholia* uses ‏ܒܣܪܐ‎ and its cognates for the σάρξ group and tends to differentiate different forms carefully, though it uses ‏ܐܬܓܫܡ‎ rather than ‏ܐܬܒܣܪ‎. We noted the careful and deliberate exclusion of the clothing metaphor. The use of the phrase ‏ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܒܣܪ ܒܣܪܐ‎ for μετὰ σαρκὸς οἰκονομία was especially noted, while ‏ܐܬܒܪܢܫ‎ was the normal form for ἐνανθρωπεῖν.

There was a good example of verbal equivalence in the careful retention of the ‏ܚܠܦ‎ root for τροπή related words. μᾶλλον, as in *Explanatio*, was always rendered with ‏ܝܬܝܪܐܝܬ‎, and the loan for μέν found in about a quarter of all instances. On the other hand, there was a degree of inconsistency with regard to particles and similar unusual practices such as ‏ܩܢܐ‎ for ἔχει, instead of some form of ‏ܐܝܬ ܠܗ‎.

The number of neologistic formations was quite large overall given the small size of the available text and shows a preference for new extended forms rather than the use of construct phrases to express compound Greek forms. There were no especially surprising loan words.

The three examples we saw of citations from the *Scholia* in Severus were illuminating. They showed how close in style the translator was to Paul of Callinicum. In some minor matters, the latter showed a greater ability to mirror the Greek grammar but in all essentials the techniques were the same. This places the *Scholia* in a tradition very similar to what we have seen for the *Explanatio*, and very different from *De Recta Fide* or *Quod Unus sit Christus*.

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General conclusions for *Ep39*

Overall, this translation has proved conspicuous for its close adherence to its *Vorlage*. We saw very little in the way of 'editing' – only a single marked instance which may well have been theologically motivated. Although the translator is aware of larger units (as we saw in the case of a lexical echo that he uses) his basic unit of translation is clearly the individual word, and he attempts to make each word have its precise equivalent in the Syriac version. Under 'restructuring', however, we noticed that there were exceptions to this at times and we described two examples where the structure of the Greek sentence had been altered – but these two formed exceptions rather than the norm.

In the matter of the formal equivalence of verbs and verbals, we used this text as a basis for describing the 'standard' set of equivalents which seem to be accepted by all our texts and deviations from which can be used as a criterion of inconsistency. There is very little such inconsistency in *this* text, although among participles a couple of instances were found. The calques on ἔχω and the subjunctives of εἰμί and ἔχω are, however, not included in the set as they are not generally found in any of our texts, the one exception being the pervasive use of ܟ̇ܘܢ ,ܐ̣ܝܬܘܗܝ for the past copula, the non-use of which is a mark of our 'earlier' texts. In the area of non-verbal forms too there was a high degree of consistency, with again some marked divergences from the norm in places where the translator evidently felt the need to make the real *meaning* of the original more apparent that a formal translation could achieve.

Ep39 is one of those texts with the formulaic pattern ܐ̇ܝܬ ܠܥܠ ܘܐ̇ܬܒܪܝ, representing a position half-way to the full Philoxenian credal revision. We do not find the loan ܐܘܣܝܐ. It keeps a consistent set of equivalents among the words for changing, altering etc, while there is a certain amount of flexibility with the use of ἴδιος. Again, under φωναί, we noted that *Ep39* is keen to maintain one word per word equivalency and yet does sometimes distinguish between different meanings of the same Greek term. When it comes to smaller items the same sort of mix of literalness with an admixture of liberality is found: thus while μᾶλλον is often omitted, μέν is usually translated with the loan and while it will always and only use ܓܝܪ and ܕܝܢ for γάρ and

δὲ, the postpositive position of these terms is not always maintained. Overall, we noted this text's tendency to use a limited range of vocabulary and occasional dynamic modulations, balanced by its frequent attempts to render compound terms with etymological rather than dynamic equivalents. For a short text, there are quite a few of the longer neologistic word formations.

A look at the Severan citations discussed above confirms this general impression, of a translator feeling for his way towards a strict and formal 'technique' which he has not yet mastered. He knows already most of the systems of equivalences used by Paul of Callinicum, but does not himself apply them as consistently – indeed on occasion we can see him using quite marked dynamic modulations. He has certainly not yet given up on the *signifié* but neither is he prepared to take the sort of liberties with the text that we see in the case of either *De Recta Fide* or *Quod Unus sit Christus*. Paul of Callinicum's versions strike the reader as more assured and consistent in method.

General conclusions for *Ep40*

The style of *Ep40* is immediately noticeable by the free manner in which it treats much of the Greek text. We have noted its tendency to edit and clarify the meaning on a number of occasions, as well as often abbreviating it. However, there was found to be an important distinction between those passages which were more freely treated, which tended to be rhetorical or polemical in character, and those for which the translator felt a greater respect, which tended to be the passages of theological argument. In these latter the translator shows himself a capable reader and takes care to render more precisely, although he is even here tempted to abbreviate. The restructuring of clauses is common, usually with an aim to simplification, shortening sentences with too many subordinations.

This extensive restructuring means that there is also no system as such for representing the morphological forms of the verbs – i.e. when the translator has a main verb for a participle, this is not because he is being inconsistent to a set of rules for formal equivalence but because he has restructured the whole paragraph for the sake of simplicity. Where we can more easily analyse his formal equivalence we saw that he does indeed hold to a roughly similar system to that described for *Ep39*,

though unsurprisingly not so consistently as that text does. In all, however, this version deals with its text much less freely than does *De Recta Fide*.

What this sort of approach may indicate is that the period during which Cyril's epistolary purpose was important is long passed. Cyril was trying to prove that the Eastern bishops are orthodox despite their use of language which may appear to some to imply division in the one Christ. This urgent polemical requirement is no longer a concern for the translator or his audience. His purpose (unlike that of a modern editor serving the needs of historians of church and dogma) is not to bring us into the historical world of Cyril and his battles, but rather to present for our use the Christological conclusions of the great authority himself, so that we also might be orthodox in our dogmatical formulations. For *his* purpose, therefore, there is no point in translating in detail or with precision those passages, or even sentences and clauses, which do not contribute to the overall purpose. It would be harsh to censure any translator for such a transparently 'sensible' approach.

When we move on to lexical matters, we noted *Ep40*'s generally vague use of terms which sometimes force him even into periphrasis as a means of avoiding confusion. Perhaps the most significant, however, is his unexpected use of ܐܬܒܣܡ and ܐܬܓܫܡ within the same sentence. If it were only for the former, we might reasonably raise the possibility that the text has undergone some revision in the light of the Philoxenian credal revisions. However, were this the case, the reviser has done a very haphazard job, leaving many inexact expressions all over the text (not just the obvious example of the ܐܬܓܫܡ in the same sentence, but also such as ܒܣܪܐ sometimes for σάρξ, as well as all the abbreviations and alterations that we have noted already). The alternative possibility with which we shall have to deal is that such terms were actually already being developed at the coalface of translation work before Philoxenus, that the latter introduced and systematised such revisions *after*, and as a result of, having been exposed to texts such as this.

In a similar vein, we note the unexpectedly large number of loan words used in this text, especially the unusual ܐܝܪ. When we compare with Ep39, for instance, which generally has a more rigorous approach, this becomes quite marked and surprising.

Again, we are perhaps looking at a translator experimenting with new forms at an early stage.

When we compare *Ep40* with the citations elsewhere we find the large gap we would expect. The florilegium citation showed just how much *Ep40* can abbreviate his material; with regard to Paul of Callinicum's method, we have listed a series of cases which highlight where the latter shows a more 'advanced' style than is found in *Ep40*. The gap between the two is fairly similar to that between Peshitta and Philoxenian NT. Yet there are a couple of important qualifications here. The first is that *Ep40* is still capable of some extremely close renderings and is clearly trying at times to find a more precise way of representing Greek than we would ever find in the Peshitta – hence his use of ܝܡܒܠܐ as well as certain other syntactical traits. Secondly, the gap between Paul of Callinicum and Athanasius of Nisibis did not appear to be as great as we might expect.

When we compare all these texts together we may suggest that *Ep40* belongs to a period (which we know to be before 484) when translators were already on the search for better techniques of the type we see in the Philoxenian revisions, and furthermore that great advances in this direction had been made by Paul of Callinicum's time (c.530), such that even Athanasius of Nisibis over a century later did not use a system significantly different from Paul's. The focused period of change therefore seems to lie between, say, 450 and 530, rather than later in the sixth century. We shall return to this suggestion later.

General conclusions for *Ep44*

Although this is our shortest text, we can still see some distinctive aspects of its style. There was found to be one or two instances of simplification, although the extent of this may appear exaggerated due to some underlying textual variants. Since in this letter Cyril himself quotes the beginning of his *Ep40*, we were able to compare how the two translators dealt with the same material and saw how much more careful *Ep44* was to render each word – while *Ep40* had taken the whole sentence as his unit of translation.

In the matter of morphological formal equivalence, we saw a reasonably high level of consistency and accuracy but with enough exceptions to prevent us from grouping this text with those that are true 'mirrors'. We also noted a series of places where the translator was more careful about word order than we would expect among our earlier texts.[1]

In matters of lexical correspondence, we saw that this text distinguished σεσαρκωμένος from σαρκωθείς; ܪܘܚ ܒ is used for ὁμοούσιος; there are various places where different Greek terms, such as ἀκολουθεῖν and σύμφερειν are not distinguished; the use of ܩܠܐ instead of ܩܠܐ ܒܬ was particularly noticeable and set this text apart from most of the others (including the obviously later citation in the *Philalethes*); the loan word for μέν is used in the majority of cases, and this fact also puts this text in a different category from the 'early' group; other lexical equivalencies we have seen make the same point, e.g. ܪܚܝܢ for θεωρία, which shows a desire for etymological equivalents. With regard to the use of loans, *Ep44* is perhaps significantly more advanced than some others. Although we cannot be sure whether the freer translators might have used unusual loans such as ܪܦܪܩܘܣܝܣ (πραιπόσιτος),[2] its presence in *Ep44* does at least indicate a certain tendency.

When comparing the texts quoted in Severus, we saw that the techniques used by this translator and Paul of Callinicum were in places very close, but that Paul simply applied them more consistently than does *Ep44*. The same was found in the case of the florilegium citations, where one could not easily say which text was using the more precise method.

It seems, then, that we can rightly question the opinion of the editors that this text comes from the same hand as do *Ep 45/46*. Rather, it is the product of a slightly later and more developed technique, although, as the citations suggest, not so advanced as that used by Paul of Callinicum in c.530. It may well even be that it *is* contemporary with the early group but simply witnesses to the variety of techniques in use at that time.

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[1] E.g. see under section on 'The language of mixture' in 3.ii above.
[2] Brockelmann notes a usage of this loan in John of Ephesus (mid 6th century).

General conclusions for *Ep45/46*

Certain specific renderings and terms confirmed the editors' conclusion that these two texts form a unit and were translated by the same hand. Further evidence of this is forthcoming under Part 3.iii, the analysis of the Biblical citations.

Under the heading of 'editing' we saw that they are quite free in their treatment of some types of clause and phrase, occasionally omitting whole phrases as unnecessary, although not as frequently or completely as *Ep40* sometimes does, and certainly not to the degree found in *De Recta Fide*. Under 'larger translation units' we showed examples of completely rewritten sentences, indicating how this translator is thinking in terms of whole sentences – he appears as an exegete of his material rather than a slave to it; in other words his focus is still on the *signifié*, though not the extent that we saw in *Ep40*. When we looked at his treatment of structure, we noted also how this translator extensively restructures the Greek periodic sentences, especially when dealing with difficult subordinations such as genitive absolutes. It was commented that this sort of approach is one which has a high regard for the terminological content of Christological discussion but has little time for the niceties of Greek grammar.

When we got down to the level of the word we saw that in fact, there could sometimes be a very close and consistent correspondence of word order; in addition, the tense equivalencies are broadly maintained, although exceptions are frequently to be found, especially within subordinate clauses and with participles.

On the level of word choice, these impressions are reinforced. ܪܝܣ is used for σάρξ, but again inconsistently and σαρκωθῆναι/σεσαρκωμένος do appear to be distinguished but by no means consistently. There were even some differences between *Ep45* and *Ep46* in this matter, with the latter being even less consistent than the former; in *Ep46* we also find the 'revised' form ܝܬܒܠܐ, despite the early date given it on external grounds. These differences may count against identity of authorship, but are more likely just to indicate a loose technique in general. This point does throw up, however, an important issue with regard to De Halleux's conclusions

concerning the credal language, which have been discussed already at various points.[1] Having concluded that Philoxenus himself authorised the use of the new credal neologisms in c.500, he goes on to suggest that the occasional use of ܐܬܒܣܪ in these Cyrilline texts (such as Ep40) is a sign of later revision and not, as the editors suggested, an Apollinarist or Eutychian alteration. However, if they are revisions, they are very sporadic indeed, and we have noted the wide-scale use, in *Quod Unus sit Christus* for example, of the clothing metaphor alongside the neologisms. In the light of our wider perspective on the style and usage in all these texts, therefore, it may be that the reason for these words being present in these 'early' texts may simply be that they were invented by these translators themselves in their search for better ways of translating Christological language. De Halleux himself concedes, after all, that Philoxenus probably did not first come across the difficulty himself and probably that the neologisms for these terms 'aient déjà été créés et employés sporadiquement auparavant...il n'ait fait que les appuyer de son autorité.'[2]

Similar patterns were noted for other groups of words, and roots such as ܫܚܠ do multiple duty for forms of τρέπω, μεταβάλλω, μεταχωρέω and διαφέρω, to give just one example. Both οὐσία and φύσις are rendered with ܟܝܢ. The loan for μέν is not used. Under lexical equivalences in general we noted many examples of free renderings and varieties of possible equivalences. Similarly, there is a relative dearth of loans and new word formations in these two texts.

All these factors can be seen at work again where we have comparisons from Paul of Callinicum, Athanasius of Nisibis or the florilegia. Throughout, we saw examples of restructuring and paraphrasing and of non-formal equivalence at the morphological level. These are the characteristics of the version. The total level of freedom is certainly not that of the *De Recta Fide*, which is quite different in style, and yet fully matches the early date that we can give to these two texts on external grounds. The methods found in the citations were of the advanced variety that we have come to expect, and again we noted that Paul and Athanasius do not differ very greatly.

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[1] De Halleux, *La Philoxénienne du symbole*. See above under σάρξ and ἄνθρωπος in Part 3.i.
[2] ibid., 307.

General conclusions for *Ep50*

This is one of the texts dated externally as being prior to 484 on the basis that the same version is quoted by Philoxenus in his early work against Habbib.

When we came to the text itself, we noted the extensive editing practices used by this translator, of which a number of examples were given of both omissions and additions, sometimes for clarification, sometimes for the abbreviation of unnecessarily verbose polemic. Given both this tendency to edit and more especially the tendency to restructure the Greek periods, sometimes extensively over a long sentence, it is quite clear that the basic unit being used by the translator is the whole sentence, although within this basic principle he is quite capable of attempting a close word-for-word rendering as well – these approaches are not mutually exclusive. With regard to formal equivalence, we again found that there was no great consistency, no distinctions being made between imperfects and aorists, and no consistent method for the copula, although the use of ܪ݂ܘܐ ,ܡܐܟܝܐ for the past copula *is* used in this text.

In the matter of lexical equivalents, there is an expected lack of real consistency with, e.g., σάρξ turning up as ܪ݁ܝܡܐ, ܪ݁ܝܠܐ or ܪ݂ܠܝܐܠ. We found the signs typical of an early version, not too much concerned with technical terminology, being prepared to use an idiom such as ܪ݁ܝܐ ܝܐ for terms other than ὁμοούσιος. Parallel to the other early texts, ܪ݂ܠܠܠܡ could represent νοερός just as easily as λογικός. Again we noted great inconsistency among the group of terms related to ἴδιος, ἀνὰ μέρος etc. The term φωναί is found with three different equivalents, roughly according to purpose and context, a clear indication of a translator whose primary concern is with the *signifié* of the text. We found a single instance of the loan for μέν, as also for ἄρα, which was unexpected but only highlighted the general inconsistency of equivalents. In all, we found a number of instances of lexical simplifications (such as ܟܝܪ݁ܣܝܐ (*foolishly*) for γραοπρεπῶς) and formulaic equivalents.

The citations confirmed these observations, especially the citation from the florilegium which highlighted the types of abbreviations found in *Ep50*. The

circulation of the full Syriac version was evidently sufficient to be itself quoted in some florilegia, as we found a direct citation in a Mingana ms.

The text of *Ep50* lives up to the expectations resulting from its known early date. It conforms very closely with the style of *Ep40*, being capable of very close and accurate translation of a reasonably 'advanced' style when the translator chooses to do so, but more often taking whole clauses and sentences as the basic unit and using dynamic transposition and modulation liberally. *Ep45/46*, which fall into the same category as regards date, do not appear to be quite so freely treated as *Ep40/50*. Although this may merely be coincidental and there is no bar in principal to concluding that all four are from the same hand, nevertheless the differences between the two sub-groups are marked enough for us to assign them to slightly different applications of the same general technique.

General conclusions for *Ep55*

The analysis of the textual particularities of *Ep55* showed some distinct differences from the 'early' group. Although there were numerous instances of 'editing' these were almost always confined to individual words or clauses, used as a way of clarifying grammatical obscurities. They do not reach the sort of extensive editing of sentences that we find in *Ep50*, for instance, or of whole passages in *De Recta Fide*.

Although the text does not really contain sentence restructuring of the type that we have seen in the past few texts, there are instances of changes in morphological categories, deviations from what appear to be the norms of formal equivalence, though even these are not common – we saw some examples of the alteration of the inner relationships within a phrase aiming at simplification.

When it comes to the equivalence of tense forms, we noted that in general these are very rigidly maintained. Certain difficulties remained, however, for this translator; he is quite inconsistent in his technique for rendering infinitives, especially when attached to the article; again, although his rendering of the copula shows a keen awareness of how exactly to reflect the Greek form, the older idiom is also found not

infrequently. Similarly in non-verbal forms, we saw the odd instance where a lack of rigour in his system led to an ambiguity, but these instances are rare.

Ep55 is one of those 'middle' texts which uses ܘܐܬܒܪܝ ܐܠܗ ܐܬܐ as its credal formula (half way to the fully revised version), developing both terms into the neologisms ܬܐܠܗܘܬܐ and ܬܡܬܒܪܝܢܘܬܐ, which are not found in the early group; similarly, it has arrived at the almost entirely consistent equivalency of σάρξ and ܒܣܪܐ. Again, a middle position is taken with regard to using ܐܟܝܢܐ ܒ for ὁμοούσιος, since ܒܪ ܟܝܢܐ is also found often. The use of developed forms such as ܕܡܬܗܦܟ and ܕܡܫܬܓܢܐ, accurately reflecting τρεπτός and ἀλλοιωτός, indicates the sort of approach to lexical equivalents which is most typical of this version, and is seen also in the more careful approach to the ἴδιος group of words. The loan for μέν was found in exactly 50% of instances which, while it looks like inconsistency, rather shows the onward progress towards a developed technique which is in evidence here, for the early texts barely use the loan at all while the more developed ones (such as *Ad Tiberium* or Paul of Callinicum) use it almost all the time. In overviewing the text's approach to lexical equivalency, we noted that while the degree of consistency and formal precision was high, there was a marked respect for the *signifié* as well, evident for example in his use of multiple terms for λόγος where the contexts differed, in not falling into the later practice of always using ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ for δόξα, and in his variety of renderings for μυσταγωγοί. There are a significant number of loan words found overall in the text, most noticeably perhaps the frequent use of ܐܪܐ for the interrogative particle.

It is evident that we have to do here with a translator who is finding his way through the problems and difficulties raised by the developments in technique that we witness in the period of the Philoxenian NT. He often seems more at ease in the older, more liberal, style, not being too careful about lexical consistency or about mirroring Greek syntax; yet we also see a plentiful use of those sorts of simple calques which are typical of the Philoxenian, which do not injure the native idiom but yet do attempt to reflect the *signifiant*. The word order of the text follows the original wherever it can, but by no means slavishly. His quite varied usage places him in a period of change and uncertainty.

The evidence of the two significant citations found in Paul of Callinicum confirm this perspective. They show that the translator of *Ep55* is not far from the levels of consistency and purity of technique found in Paul. We did observe a certain degree of variation in *Ep55*, e.g. a few loose renderings of difficult grammatical forms and a few clarifications, as well as other idiomatic touches such as proleptic possessive suffixes; but on the whole the two versions (*Ep55* and Paul of Callinicum) are very much closer than was found to be the case with *Ep40,45/46,50*.

General conclusions for *Contra Orientales / Contra Theodoretum*

We described quite a wide variety of editorial alterations in these texts (which have been confirmed as belonging to the same translator – for which further evidence in 3.iii below). These usually involved additions of some sort for purposes of clarification. While omissions are rare, the text is generally expansionist in its approach to individual terms and sometimes whole clauses, though never the kind of additions that we occasionally see in *De Recta Fide*. Some of these alterations were due to obscurities in the Greek, others to formulae, but usually there was good reason for them and we cannot attribute sloppiness to this translator. Again, we noted a number of instances of restructuring Greek periods but saw that this was in general the exception rather than the rule – the majority of sentences having their structures closely mirrored.

The same sort of pattern can be seen when we turn to the formal equivalence of the verbs. In general, the standards are maintained to a high degree, but there are enough exceptions and inconsistencies to be noticeable. There is also a sense here of a translator finding his way forward towards a consistent technique for those difficult constructions for which to find equivalents, the infinitive clauses, the subjunctives, genitive absolutes etc. It is here that we find the greatest inconsistencies, with 'mirror' versions (calques on the Greek forms) alternating with more idiomatic Syriac. The same holds also for non-verbal forms, that although there is a generally high level of consistency in keeping to a set of mirroring rules, there are a number of exceptions as well. This is especially true in the area of prepositions and pronouns. Here it is the inner meaning of the clause or phrase, rather than a special concern for one-for-one equivalence, that is uppermost in the translator's mind. This tendency leads even to

the use of ܢܦܫ or ܩܢܘܡܐ for the reflexive pronoun, which constitutes a dynamic transposition (altering one grammatical form for another) and a healthy respect for the *signifié*.

Turning now to individual lexical matters, the 'in-between' nature of this text is again in evidence when we see that ܒܣܪܐ is used almost always for σάρξ but that ܒܣܪ is used when Jn 1.14 is being cited – it is unlikely that the translator is rejecting ܒܣܪ for a more 'accurate' ܒܣܪܐ, and so we can only assume that he is aware of the different terms and their overlapping usage; it appears that *Contra Theodoretum* has slightly more instances of ܒܣܪ for σάρξ than *Contra Orientales* does, which may indicate a change in approach even within this work. μετὰ σαρκὸς οἰκονομία is ܒܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܒܣܪ, which shows a greater affinity with *Ep45* than with the more advanced texts such as *Ep55* and *Ad Tiberium*. When it comes to the credal formula, however, we find not only ܐܬܒܣܪ (which we would probably expect) but also ܐܬܒܪܢܫ for ἐνανθρωπεῖν, which seems to show the influence of the Philoxenian credal revisions. More uncertainty surrounds οὐσία, which is ܐܘܣܝܐ when alone but the traditional ܒܪ ܟܝܢܐ when compounded as ὁμοούσιος, and the latter can be used for other unrelated terms as well. ܡܠܝܠܬܐ and ܝܕܘܥܬܢܘܬܐ can be used indiscriminately for λογικός and νοερός. We noted other peculiarities such as the lack of the phrase ܒܗ ܘܠܗ, which is fairly common in most other texts, and the general lack of any consistent method for dealing with that wide range of terms relating to 'uniqueness' and 'ownership' for which Cyril often uses ἴδιος-related words. For compound terms we find periphrases more often than etymological equivalents which try to include all the elements. In general there was found a fairly wide variety and inconsistency in lexical equivalence, such that Syriac words would frequently do double duty and, more significantly, differing Syriac terms could be used for the same Greek ones where necessary. There is thus a constant overlapping of semantic ranges which reveals the translator's focus on the *signifié*. In line with these observations on lexical usage is the relative dearth of loans and neologistic word formations in these texts. The loan ܐܐܪ is found sporadically in the *Contra Theodoretum*, but this is the only real point of note. Rather than produce new adjectival formations, this translator will generally prefer construct phrases or some other periphrasis for Greek compound ideas.

Finally, we can look at the conclusions gained from the very numerous citations of these two works, both in Severus and in the florilegia. One of the florilegia was actually found to have the same version as our text of *Contra Theodoretum* which indicates that the latter was continuing to be used and read in an unrevised form a long time after it must have been translated. Otherwise, we see that Paul of Callinicum's version shows some strong advances on *Contra Orientales / Contra Theodoretum*, although the difference is not nearly so great as we found, e.g., for *De Recta Fide*. However, Paul clearly has a far greater concern for the *signifiant* of the text, a concern which shows itself in his grammatical calques, his word order, his use of adjectival phrases in order to achieve one word per word consistency etc. The various versions found in the florilegia were not vastly different, though even here, where the quotes overlapped also with Paul of Callinicum, the latter was seen to have the more 'advanced' technique for grammatical mirroring.

It was especially important to note the quotation in Philoxenus' *Ep Senoun*, where a version of *Contra Orientales* very similar to that in Paul of Callinicum was found. In other words, while in his earlier florilegium (in *Memre contra Habbib*, dated c.484) the texts were copied directly from an already-translated version, we have here, in all probability, a newer version, made according to the standards to which Philoxenus was more accustomed by 521. It may be that he is quoting from a florilegium again, but if so that florilegium must itself be of relatively recent origin and is very comparable in style to Paul of Callinicum, while being a good deal more advanced than *Contra Orientales / Contra Theodoretum*. On this basis we ought to date the latter well before 520 and perhaps place it closer to the others of the early group, i.e. in the late 5ᵗʰ century, in which case the search for a perfect translation technique which we can see going on in these two texts could be described as a forerunner and not a result of Philoxenus' revisions. We have had other pointers towards such a conclusion already.

General conclusions for *Ad Tiberium*

We noted a few isolated instances of 'editing' in this text, one notable case where the concept of 'coming into' a man is substituted for θεοποεῖν, but in general these

editorial alterations are very minor and rare. Again, instances of syntactical restructuring are quite absent – we gave a couple of examples where the meaning has been apparently altered in the Syriac but these appear to be due either to error or, paradoxically, to the over-use of this very technique of precise equivalency. This technique was especially evident in the matter of word order where we saw a very high degree of deliberate coincidence. The word order will only be altered for the sake of clarity or idiom very occasionally, usually for reasons such as keeping subjects before objects.

When we turn to the formal equivalence of the verbs, again we noted that there are almost no exceptions to the general rules of equivalency – it is doubtless the *signifiant* which is of most concern to this translator and he takes the morpheme as his unit to be rendered. The rendering of the copula too is always carried out using some method to show the tense and mood being used, such that, e.g., ܡܩܝܡܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܗܘ is used for τὸ εἶναι. However, the seventh century calques designed to reflect subjunctives and in particular for the forms of ἔχω are not used here.

Turning to specific lexical matters, we noted the strange split between the use of ܓܘܫܡܐ for σῶμα before Question 3 and ܦܓܪܐ after that point, an oddity matched by confusion over certain σῶμα-related compounds, evidence of a certain lack of sureness in technique at this point at least. Similarly, there was some lack of certainty over ὁμοούσιος, which was still ܒܪ ܟܝܢܐ on one occasion, although the loan word is used in all other cases. Only the *Ad Tiberium* and *Explanatio* translate the phrase μετὰ σαρκὸς οἰκονομία precisely as ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܥܡ ܒܣܪܐ. We noted the use of the neologism ܐܬܒܣܪ, although unfortunately σαρκωθῆναι is not used in this text. There is a consistent distinction between λογικός (ܡܠܝܠܬܐ) and νοερός (ܝܕܥܬܢܝܬܐ) which most texts do not make. Among the word groups relating to change, division etc. we saw a similar concern for keeping different Syriac roots for separate Greek ones as far as this was possible. ܕܝܠܝܬܐ, rather than ܕܝܠ + suffix, is used for ἴδιος to maintain the adjective for adjective equivalency. The use of the adjectival ܚܕܐ ܩܢܘܡܐ similarly sets this text apart – we saw its use even in an early text, *Ep40*, but that was an exception to normal usage, whereas in *Ad Tiberium* it is found consistently. Although in general we noted a number of places where the same Syriac term was used for

multiple Greek ones, and vice versa, what was most striking was the very great concern for root-equivalency, translating all parts of compound terms, even when the result made little sense in Syriac, and sometimes led to misunderstanding entirely. There was also a significantly higher incidence of loans and neologisms in *Ad Tiberium* than in our other texts. Thus the use of the loans ܐܘܣܝܐ and ܡܠܐ sets this text apart from the others, as also does the use of the loan for μέν in 80% of instances, a record probably comparable to that of Paul of Callinicum. The insistence on translating many of the particles, e.g. using ܟܝܬ, also marks this text off from all our others and places it closer to known 6th century techniques. The same is true of uses such as ܚܝܬ for ὕπαρξις, unparalleled in the other texts. The number of neologistic word formations is extremely high (relative to text length) when compared with our other texts.

When we compared the *Ad Tiberium* with the citations in Paul of Callinicum we saw an especially close resemblance. In fact, on occasion, *Ad Tiberium* appeared to be using the more 'advanced' mirror technique. On other occasions, such as in the renderings for ὁμοούσιος, there was evidence that Paul of Callinicum had the more settled technique. It is the similarities above all, however, which we should note. Both the *Ad Tiberium* and Paul of Callinicum appear to come from much the same 'school', using the same range of calques and formal equivalences, including the non-use of those more extreme mirror readings which will appear only in the 7th century. Finally, our text was obviously considered of good enough quality to be used directly in the florilegia rather than retranslated from Greek originals, as was the case with most of the texts.

The advanced technique used by *Ad Tiberium*, sometimes more of a mirror even than Paul of Callinicum's version, confirms what we suggested earlier when analysing *Ad Tiberium* by itself, that the technique used was markedly different from that of most of the other texts. These two translators are evidently related in their methods, sometimes paralleling each other closely. We can perhaps envisage the schools of Syriac translation becoming increasingly homogeneous in their methods and rules as the sixth century progressed, each new translator struggling for ever greater correctness in his work. The translator of *Ad Tiberium* has come close to where

Thomas of Harkel would leave off in his new exercise of revising the Philoxenian early in the following century, and we cannot exclude the possibility (given regional and personal variation in styles) that *Ad Tiberium* was made at a later date than the Harklean, its earliest witness being a ms of the 7th/8th century.

General conclusions to Paul of Callinicum and Athanasius of Nisibis

One of the more intriguing side-effects of the study of the citations (3.ii) was the comparison that we could often make between the translation techniques used by Paul of Callinicum and those of Athanasius of Nisibis. For Severus quotes Cyril so often that we have frequently found the same citations in both the *Anti-Julianist* work, which Paul translated (probably along with the *Philalethes* and the *Contra Impium Grammaticum*), and in the *Ad Nephalium*, translated by Athanasius. These two figures worked more than a century apart and we should expect to find the mirror technique a good deal more advanced in the latter translator than in the former, just as the seventh century is considered the peak of the development of the literalist school whereas the sixth is a more intermediate and experimental stage.

The findings of the texts here presented, however, suggest that the two versions are not, in most respects, so very different from each other. This is thrown into even starker relief when Paul and Athanasius are together compared as against our full Syriac versions which mostly cannot have preceded Paul by more than 50 years at the most.

It is true that in many cases Athanasius has indeed achieved a better mirror – note, for example, the use of loan ܐܝܪ, and formal mirrors such as ܐܢܫܘܬܐ ܗܘ for τὸ ἀνθρώπινον rather than Paul's ܐܢܫܘܬܐ. At other times, however, the reverse can be the case – see Example 3 under *Scholia*, for instance, where Paul used the loan ܦܪܘܣܘܦ and a series of other mirror equivalents, especially in grammar, which Athanasius failed to use; Example 4 under *Contra Orientales / Theodoretum*, where Athanasius has even failed to maintain a piece of syntactic structure as well as Paul has; and again Examples 5 and 6 under *Ep45/46*, where we can see clearly how hard both sides are

struggling to mirror the original exactly, and Paul sometimes manages the word order even better than Athanasius does.[1]

We must not overestimate Paul's 'achievement', however. For there can be no doubt that Athanasius has achieved overall the more 'perfect' style – as we can see in a number of places in Example 7 under *Ep45/46*, where, for instance, he uses ܐܬܘܢܥܬ for δόξα (in the sense of *opinion*), which Paul never does, and further loans such as ܐܠܝܬܘܐ and ܠܝܣܝܩ, which Paul does not use.

We shall draw some more general conclusions from these points at the close of Part 3.

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[1] See also Example 3 under *Ep40*; Example 2 under *Ep44*; Examples 3 and 5 under *Contra Orientales / Theodoretum*.

3.iii

Translation Techniques in the Scriptural Citations

3.iii.a
A Method for assessing Scriptural Citations and the Question of their Origin

Before proceeding to make use of the citations in our texts for any light these may shed either on the background to these texts or on the textual history of the Syriac versions, we must deal further with an issue already raised on more than one occasion, namely whether we can rightly use citations from translation literature as evidence for an underlying Syriac text of the scriptures. How can we be sure that an author is inserting citations from a pre-existing version rather than merely making his own new renderings from his Vorlage?

Albert Schweitzer once made the observation that a bilingual Alsatian preacher (including himself) will "never give his own version of Biblical passages, but will without exception keep to the traditional form in the language which he is using, and this even where he would be capable of giving a more exact rendering...[and] will even perhaps use an argument which goes against the sense of the original, which he is supposed to be acquainted with."[1]

In outlining developments in translation technique, Brock suggests that in general earlier translators inserted citations from their familiar texts and later ones copied the Vorlagen even when the two did not agree, and points to this change in practice as a symptom of Hellenisation.[2] Baumstark has shown, for instance, that the translator of Titus of Bostra's *Contra Manichaeos* inserted Peshitta quotations into his work rather than making his own new renderings; in fact, he did the same for the quotations from the Manichaean scriptures as well.[3] When he analysed the OT citations in the Syriac

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[1] Albert Schweitzer, *Paul and his Interpreters* (tr. W. Montgomery). New York, 1956, 89, n.1. The context is Paul's use of Septuagintal citations, even where he perhaps knew the Hebrew to be significantly different.

[2] Brock, *Antagonism to Assimilation*, 18 and *Greek into Syriac*, 3.

[3] Baumstark, *Titus von Bostra* and *Der Text der Mani-Zitaten*; see also Pedersen, *Demonstrative proof in defence of God*, 83.

Didascalia, he came to the broad conclusion that the Peshitta was being used by the translator except where the Greek original clearly had a widely differing text.[1]

In the early sixth century, both Moses of Aggel and the anonymous translator of Gregory Nyssa's Song of Songs Commentary include in their prefaces a brief discussion of this issue, both making it clear that they prefer to copy the citations as found in their Vorlagen, even when these are in discord with the Peshitta. Since both these works are OT commentaries, the discord is often all the greater, the Peshitta being a Hebrew-based version while their Vorlagen obviously quote from LXX.

In discussing this question as it relates to the reconstruction of Syriac Bible versions from translation literature, Vööbus argues that such citations in translation literature *can* be used where one is locating older readings creeping in *against* the Greek Vorlage of the text, and this assumption is shown to have some substance in his analysis of the Old Syriac influence on the Syriac version of Cyril's *De Recta Fide*.[2] However, where we are looking for a *revised* version, such as the Philoxenian, the same can hardly be true, for we can never be sure whether we are looking at such a revised version or just the translator's own *ad hoc* translation of his Vorlage.[3] Vööbus speaks of the citations in the ps-Clementine *Recognitions* (Add 12150) as being contrary to 'the usual method of inserting Biblical quotations taken from his [the translator's] familiar text of scripture," and from this text concludes that the translator used the Peshitta.[4]

Barbara Aland's use of the translation literature, in concert with Philoxenus' citations, to reconstruct the Philoxenian are clearly based on the assumption that translators are not simply re-rendering their Vorlagen at every opportunity. She points out instances where textual differences between the texts indicate that this assumption is well-founded.[5] It stands to reason, she argues, that a newly circulating version, claiming to be philologically accurate and anti-heretical (as the Philoxenian was) would be well

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[1] Baumstark, *Bibelzitate* deals with both these texts, and his *Titus von Bostra* has some further details, with examples given on 258-62.
[2] See Vööbus, *Rabbula*, 10-4.
[3] Vööbus, *Early Versions*, 110, n.3.
[4] ibid., 96; but also see the disagreement of Kerschensteiner, *Paulustext*, 190.
[5] Aland, *Philoxenianisch*, 324f. Cf. especially Lk 2.14 in her appendix of texts.

used in such situations; she does not, however, deal with the objection that our only witness to the use of the Philoxenian, Moses of Aggel, precisely does *not* use that version in his own translation work, preferring to make his own renderings from Cyril's own text. The proof, however, lies in Aland's results, carefully laid out in this article, in which she concludes that many readings from the Philoxenian can indeed be reconstructed, especially by using the criterion of agreement between a late writing of Philoxenus (usually CPJ or EpS) and at least one other piece of 6th century translation literature (usually Paul of Callinicum's version of Severus, Cyril's Luke Commentary, the Apollinarian corpus, or Timothy Ailuros). We shall discuss Aland's attempts to reconstruct the Philoxenian further below; for now, we simply note her argument that citations in translation literature *can* be used to this end, but that 'style' is, in many ways, more important than precise wording. The 6th century translators 'use' the Philoxenian in a slightly plastic way, rather as Jacob of Edessa will 'use' the Harklean. The relationship between Rabbula's style and the Peshitta has been interpreted by Aland in a like manner.[1] She shows in this later work how much less optimistic she is about reconstructing earlier versions from citations (such as using the *De Recta Fide* for the Old Syriac text) due to the more flexible approach taken to translation generally at that time.

We here add an example from one of our texts, which seems to suggest that citations were inserted for the most part, rather than re-rendered: where Paul of Callinicum's *Philalethes* translation and the Syriac of the *Contra Theodoretum* overlap, the former generally shows a much closer approximation to the Greek in many small matters (see Part 3.ii for details). However, where the scriptures are being cited within these longer citations, the difference between them is much less marked. Thus, for example, where a passage of the *Contra Theodoretum* is cited in the 64th chapter of the *Florilegium Cyrillianum* the Syriac versions of the two texts diverge at many points until we reach the citation of Heb 2.9, at which point they become identical, until the end of the citation, whence they again diverge somewhat. This sort of evidence can be used to show that these translators are very often taking their scriptural citations from a common source, a pre-existing Syriac version, perhaps sometimes from memory, and perhaps sometimes with a greater or lesser accuracy; but the general point

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[1] Aland and Juckel, *Die Katholischen Briefe*, 100f..

nevertheless is that these citations are not brand new attempts but reflect, whether verbatim or not, older versions which we may be able to trace across different texts.

Finally, we can add to this discussion the question of the possibility that translators also inserted citations from existing texts in the case of patristic, as well as Biblical, loci. The possibility is raised, for example, by the editors of Peter of Callinicum's *Contra Damianum*, which includes such a wealth of citations.[1] They briefly compared the citations of Basil's *Adversus Eunomium* and found good evidence that the translator of Peter's work may well have been using pre-existing versions of Basil for those passages; however, the same was found not to be the case for the citations of Gregory Nazianzen. In general, it would seem unlikely that translators would go to this trouble and would rather just make a new rendering of their own (as was certainly done by Paul of Callinicum with the numerous Cyrilline citations in Severus' works, as we shall see); yet we shall bear in mind the possibility of such influences as well.

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3.iii.b

The De Recta Fide Citations: a special case

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A brief word needs to be added about the debate over the New Testament citations in the *De Recta Fide* which have been the subject of extensive debate. This is due to the attribution of the work to Rabbula of Edessa, an attribution which, as we have shown, is open to question in the first place.[2] Given the attribution, however, Vööbus claimed to have found very significant remains of the Old Syriac text form used by Rabbula in this work, and he used this evidence against Burkitt's previously dominant theory that Rabbula was the author of the Peshitta.[3] Thus these citations concern the authorship of the Peshitta itself and have as a result attracted much interest. Matthew Black took up the task of defending Burkitt, or at least of defending Rabbula's *use* of the Peshitta in this translation. One of his most important points from our perspective is that many of Vööbus' so-called OS readings often hinge on very small differences and are more easily explicable on the basis that Rabbula was using his own renderings. It will be

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[1] Ebied, Roey and Wickham, *Contra Damianum*, I, xxiv-xxxvi.
[2] See above, Part 2.ii, p.55.
[3] Vööbus, *Rabbula*.

important to bear this sort of observation in mind when we come to deal with the citations in our text, and to be similarly cautious.

The bi-polar debate went on for some time, with neither side making much alteration to the original conclusions.[1] Vööbus extended his 'discovery' of the 5th century use of the Old Syriac into a number of other texts, even as far as Philoxenus and Jacob of Serug.[2] Vööbus' theories received a strong negative reaction from Kerschensteiner's collection of Old Syriac remains of the Pauline letters. He showed that numerous citations which Vööbus took for Peshitta readings in fact go back to older versions. He believed that Vööbus' arguments against Rabbula's authorship of the Peshitta were, as a result, void.[3] Barbara Aland has added further arguments against Vööbus' original propositions, focusing on how Rabbula's own translation style is simply similar to that of the Peshitta, sometimes sticking close to the Greek, sometimes treating it more freely (thus explaining many of the odd readings), and on the otherwise doubtful attribution of the Syriac *Recta Fide* to Rabbula in the first place.[4]

There is no need here to enter into the details of the arguments on each side of this debate. It concerns us partially because it raises the issue of the use of citations in translation texts, whether such can be used to make deductions about Syriac Bible versions, and also because it obviously concerns one of the texts itself here under discussion. For the study of the style in the rest of the text must be of some importance in answering questions about the citations. Thus, "allerdings müßte zur genauen Klärung dieser Frage nun unbedingt eine eindringliche Untersuchung des gesamten syrischen Textes von *De recta fide* folgen,"[5] which, we hope, will be our task!

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[1] Black's original riposte, which contains the details of the argument, is contained in Black, *Rabbula* and in *The Peshitta and Its Predecessors*, along with later summaries and additions in *Zur Geschichte des syrischen Evangeliestextes* and *The Syriac Versional Tradition*. Vööbus' later additions are to be found in *Gospel Text I*, 61-71 (especially 65,n.2) and *Early Versions*, 92ff. .
[2] Vööbus, *Circulation of the Peshitta*, with a reply in Black, *Jacob of Serug*.
[3] Kerschensteiner, *Paulustext*, 185f.
[4] Aland and Juckel, *Die Katholischen Briefe*, 94-107, and our discussions above.
[5] ibid., 102.

Because of the careful analysis of the gospel citations of the *Recta Fide* by Matthew Black, of the Pauline citations by Kerschensteiner, and of the Catholics by the Münster team, we do not consider it necessary, in the following analysis of citations, to deal with these over again. The results can be found in the publications of these scholars.[1] When we come, however, to the Old Testament citations, it will prove of value to return again to the *De Recta Fide*.

3.iii.c
The Philoxenian Translation of the Bible

The following is a brief overview of the point modern research has reached in the matters surrounding the lost Philoxenian translation of the scriptures (X, in our designation).

Much energy has been expended in debating the identity of the text published by Joseph White in 1778-1799, whether it should be identified as essentially the version produced under Philoxenus' supervision in 507/8, about which we are informed both by the colophons and Moses of Aggel's testimony (thus reducing Thomas of Harkel's contribution to the famous Harklean margin), or else a more fully revised text produced by Thomas – a proper 'Harklean' version. This has now long since been resolved in favour of the latter.[2] The Philoxenian being lost, the matter therefore remains of trying to describe its character and, where possible, to reconstruct it. The following outline attempts to clarify the possibilities in this area that have so far been explored.

Assemani first drew attention to the significance of the letter written by Moses of Aggel, sometime in the middle of the sixth century, to his patron/client Paphnutius, as a preface to his Syriac version of Cyril's *Glaphyra*, his Pentateuch commentary:

> I ask the reader to consider attentively the words of this text, for they are profound. When he should find quotations from the sacred Scriptures

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[1] i.e. in Black, *Rabbula*; Kerschensteiner, *Paulustext*, and Aland and Juckel, *Die Katholischen Briefe*.
[2] Brock, *Resolution*, a 'resolution' which has not since been questioned.

which have been set down in this translation, let him not be worried that they do not conform with the Syriac exemplars, because there is indeed quite a difference between the versions and traditions of the scriptures. If he wants to discover the truth, then when he takes a look at the translation of the New Testament and Psalms that the chorepiscopus Polycarp (may his soul be at rest) made into Syriac for the faithful and learned Xenaias of Mabbog (worthy of blessed memory), he will wonder at the differences that there are in the translation of the Syriac from the Greek.[1]

Interpretations have been somewhat mixed. Budge commented on the basis of this text that the Philoxenian version was the standard work of Moses' day. However, the text has generally been taken to mean something rather different. In fact, Moses is translating the Biblical text from Cyril as he sees it and is now warning the reader lest he note the discrepancies between his Syriac renderings and the accustomed text of the Peshitta. If the reader is concerned, he is referred to the Philoxenian version better to appreciate the gap between the Greek text and the Peshitta in many places. We should not, therefore, necessarily seek to find the Philoxenian in Moses' writings. Although Gwynn did suggest that the Old Testament Philoxenian is indeed to be found in this text, Jenkins has shown this not to be the case.[2] Even as far back as Lebon, it has been suggested that the reading *et Davidis* in the letter was a corruption and that no Old Testament Philoxenian ever existed.[3] The issue of the Philoxenian Old Testament will be taken up further below under Part 3.iii.d in its appropriate place.

Remains of the Philoxenian New Testament

The first attempt to find remains of Philoxenus' version of the New Testament in his own writings was made by Guidi. He claimed to have found it in the Biblical citations in the *Letter to the monks of Teleda*.[4] Despite the fact that this text can be dated to Philoxenus' exile many years after the production of the Philoxenian, Zuntz has refuted Guidi's evidence on this point.[5] Shortly afterwards, in his edition of the *Discourses* of Philoxenus, Budge laid out many of the citations in another attempt to

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[1] My translation - Syriac in Guidi, *Mose di Aggel*, 404. Also quoted in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* II,82-3.
[2] Jenkins, *Old Testament Quotations*, 199.
[3] Lebon, *La Version Philoxénienne*, 414f.
[4] Guidi, *La lettera di Filosseno*
[5] Zuntz, *Ancestry*, 41.

pin down this lost version, but found no such readings in his text, which was almost certainly written well before 508 in any case.

Meanwhile Gwynn had made a couple of important suggestions, firstly that the Philoxenian Old Testament was traceable in Moses of Aggel's text of the *Glaphyra* (this has been mentioned already) and second that the so-called Pococke Epistles and Crawford Apocalypse, the Syriac versions of the Minor Catholic Epistles and the Book of Revelation that are generally included in modern editions of the Peshitta, in fact represent Philoxenus' text. His argument was largely based on the grounds that these texts seem to precede in style and date the Harklean version of these books.[1]

Lebon's 1911 contribution has already been mentioned. He cast doubt on the existence of any Old Testament Philoxenian. He also doubted the presence of the Minor Catholics and the Apocalypse in the Philoxenian canon on the grounds that Philoxenus never quotes these books and is more likely to be following the Antiochian canon used by Theodore (and presumably by the school at Edessa in the fifth century) which also lacked them.[2] More recently, Siker has upheld this position with regard to the Philoxenian canon.[3] Lebon himself seriously doubted whether any remains of the Philoxenian could be recovered, although his investigations focused largely on the Syriac massora as a possible source of such remains. He even doubted the identification of White's text with the Harklean and would allow to the Pococke and Crawford texts no more than that they were unknown versions whose terminus *ante quem* could be established only by the date of the earliest ms (i.e. late 9th century).[4] Finally, Lebon criticised Budge's attempt to find the Philoxenian by using Philoxenus' own citations, on the basis that that the chronology of his texts first needed to be fixed by other methods.[5] Although he doubted there was any profit in such an approach, this small footnote in fact pointed the true way forwards.

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[1] Gwynn, *Apocalypse* and *Later Syriac Versions*. The arguments are contained in the introductions to these editions.
[2] Lebon, *La Version Philoxénienne*, 415-6. The argument from silence with regard to Philoxenus never citing the books in question only holds if that silence extends all the way to the early seventh century (the date of the Harklean) among Syriac writers.
[3] Siker, *Catholic Epistles*.
[4] Lebon, *La Version Philoxénienne*, 424-35.
[5] ibid., 436, n1.

The next major contribution to the actual reconstruction of Philoxenus' New Testament was that of Zuntz in 1945. After discussing at length the evidence of the Harklean colophons, Zuntz identifies X as a product of the 6th century 'school' of translation which eventually leads to the Harklean (H). It is thus that he describes it as a 'half-way house' to H, a term used frequently ever since.[1] He determines to find the Philoxenian in a wide range of texts, starting with Philoxenus' own *Tractatus Tres*.[2] After dealing with eleven citations in this text, Zuntz concludes that, since P still dominates the citations, X was only being interwoven sporadically into his text. This does not deter him, however, from affirming that X is indeed to be found in some of these citations. Many of the examples are indeed quite convincing on this count, showing close affinities to H. On the basis of his theory of the 'school of translation', Zuntz goes on to suggest that the citations in the translation literature of the 6th century are not identical with X, but rather that, as a product of the 'rules of the school', show the tendency of moving from P to H which is typical also of X.[3] He is not especially confident, therefore, of reconstructing X itself on the basis of these texts, although he does find further evidence in a number of other 6th century texts.

A few years later, Arthur Vööbus turned his attention, thus far directed mainly on the Old Syriac, to the Philoxenian question.[4] While praising Zuntz for having at least looked for a solution in the 6th century texts, he points to flaws in his solution; firstly, he claims, the *Tractatus Tres* shows signs of an OS text (i.e. according to his own claims in *Circulation of the Peshitta*, but some may consider the arguments here tendentious) and thus what Zuntz saw as apparent X-readings may in fact be *ad hoc* revisions of OS readings (in fact if we look at Zuntz's actual examples, this becomes most doubtful; for his point is made not by the fact that the readings are revised *per se* but by the fact that they agree with H in many respects); secondly, he claims that much of Zuntz's thesis is based on the translation literature, where citations could be used to detect versions where older readings, against the Greek, are preserved, but hardly for a revised version where one could not distinguish such a version from *ad*

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[1] Zuntz, *Ancestry*, 41

[2] Vaschalde, *Tractatus tres*. Other important texts, such as the Commentary to the Johannine Prologue and the Commentary on Matthew and Luke, had not yet been published when Zuntz wrote; but he was aware of their potential.

[3] Zuntz, *Ancestry*, 62-4.

[4] In Vööbus, *New Data* and *Early Versions*.

hoc translations made for the purpose of the text itself. This is an important point, and one which we discussed already above (Part 3.iii.a).

Vööbus finds the best solution in the citations found in the *Commentary on the Johannine Prologue*. However, it is strange that while he gives two reasons for this, first that as a commentary its citations are less likely to be made from memory, second that the ms is especially old, he does not mention what seems to us the supreme fact, that it is in this very text that Philoxenus discusses X and comments directly on some of its readings. Any study should make its beginning with these references (as does Brock, *Resolution*). The result is that Vööbus comes to exactly the same conclusions as Zuntz did – "we have before us, then, the true solution of this old problem."[1] It is odd that at this point the accusation levelled at Zuntz, viz. that the *Tractatus Tres* contains Old Syriac elements and therefore cannot accurately represent X, is brushed aside when he recognises that there are also OS elements in the *Commentary on the Johannine Prologue* by simply claiming that the latter has 'a quite different text of distinct character,' which is rather what Zuntz had claimed for his text too.[2] The work, however, is important in confirming Zuntz's approach. This is especially so in Vööbus' argument that the Pococke Epistles and Crawford Apocalypse do, in fact, represent Philoxenus' version, given the similarity of style between these and the text reconstructed from the citations.

The combined work of Zuntz and Vööbus was acknowledged by Brock when he laid out in a straightforward and methodical way the solution of the problem of the identity of White's text and showed how X can be partially reconstructed from the *Commentary on the Johannine Prologue*, starting with Philoxenus' explicit references to the revision of four particular verses. The nature of Zuntz's 'half-way house' is thus more carefully described.

Both Zuntz and Vööbus suggested that ML (Philoxenus' Commentary on Matthew and Luke) would also be a valuable repository of X-readings. The remains of this work became the subject of a doctoral dissertation, which found that, on the contrary,

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[1] Vööbus, *Early Versions*, 116.
[2] ibid., 111. In fact, much of Vööbus seems simply to repeat Zuntz – thus the mention of βαστάζειν at p.117, n.4 is almost certainly taken from Zuntz p.51 unacknowledged. The same arguments are repeated in Vööbus, *Circulation of the Peshitta*.

there were a number of places where ML follows P against a revision found in either CPJ, EpSenoun, or TT.[1] However, it had been noted already by Zuntz that Philoxenus sometimes quotes P and only interwove X on occasion, and indeed 25 citations are located in which there does appear to be some level of revision: "these readings are too numerous and too striking to be put down to chance. What they show is…a text standing between the Peshitta and the Harklean which it is most natural to identify with the Philoxenian."[2] However, far from suggesting that ML therefore postdates 507/8, Watt continues to date the text to before X, on the counts that a) the historical context fits better the time around 506, and b) ML is likely to predate CPJ and therefore also X which is discussed only in CPJ.

Thus, perhaps, these 'X' readings actually belong to a 'pre-Philoxenian', on which Philoxenus was already working before Polycarp undertook the greater task in 507/8. In support of this suggestion he gives a couple of examples of places where the reading is almost, but not quite, X. The final conclusion on this text is that "the majority of the NT quotations in this commentary are cited according to the Peshitta, but there are a small number of Old Syriac, and a greater number of Philoxenian, readings."[3]

De Halleux's famous monograph on Philoxenus was naturally a watershed in our understanding of the great man's writings, and the Philoxenian New Testament has an important place in his study.[4] While approving in general terms of the idea of locating the Philoxenian in the citations, De Halleux demanded that some key criteria should be met; namely, that the texts used should be firmly authentic, that they should be dated on other grounds to the period after 508 (Vööbus and Zuntz both receive criticism on this point), that care should be taken to recognise that Philoxenus' vulgate is as likely to have been OS as P,[5] and finally that care be taken with Philoxenus' free treatment of citations. De Halleux then brings into the debate Philoxenus' own discussion of his version in the CPJ. Here, the bishop claims that followers of

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[1] Watt, *Fragments*, 49-60.
[2] ibid., 57.
[3] ibid., 59.
[4] De Halleux, *Philoxène*, 117-25.
[5] This warning is based, of course, on Vööbus' well-known assertions regarding the extent of Old Syriac influence even in the school of Edessa in the 5th century, for which see Vööbus, *Circulation of the Peshitta*.

Theodore and Nestorius have falsified parts of the text. He blames the failure of the vulgate to represent accurately the Greek wording on the ignorance of the translators.[1] There are a couple of important conclusions drawn. The first is that the Minor Catholics were probably *not* included, since Philoxenus nowhere mentions this issue – *contra* the opinions of Vööbus and Zuntz; secondly, he argues that the version was 'theological' rather than 'philological' in motivation, i.e. it was caused by concerns over dogma rather than with a concern for textual accuracy *per se*. We might question whether such a distinction would have made any sense to the exegete for whom the true translator 'ne doit pas choisir les paroles [les mieux] adaptées à chaque langue, mais bien chercher les mots et les noms prononcés par Dieu ou son Esprit.'[2]

Finally, he mentions the four verses which Philoxenus discusses in this connection (Mt 1.1 & 18, Rom 1.3, Heb 5.7, Heb 10.5), the only places for which we therefore have an absolutely certain Philoxenian reading.[3] This is significant because, De Halleux notes, Philoxenus uses the old 'nestorianised' versions in his earlier texts and seems to have been drawn towards questioning their accuracy only when he began his exegetical work, itself designed to counter the influence of the Antiochian masters. This observation will be of importance for us later on.

The next important landmark is to be found in Brock's study of the so-called Euthalian material and its supposed link to the Philoxenian NT.[4] The significance of this study lies especially in the fact that, since there is insufficient overlapping material to show the close relationship between the Euthalian prefaces and X, the study had to be based on an analysis of style and translation technique. Brock's conclusions show the value of this kind of approach, a fact which will be of importance for us as we proceed. Vööbus had already used such an argument when discussing the 'Philoxenian' of the Minor Catholics, but Brock does so here with far greater precision and depth. This was followed up by the article in which Brock

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[1] One of the verses discussed by Philoxenus in this connection is Hebrews 5.7 where Philoxenus discards the Peshitta's use of the clothing metaphor. This he obviously found in his vulgate. We know from Kerschensteiner's study that the Old Syriac tradition did know of the correct reading. It was the distinctive Peshitta tradition which gave Philoxenus his 'vulgate' text at this point.

[2] De Halleux, *Philoxène*, 121, n.20.

[3] ibid., 124.

[4] Brock, *Euthalian Material*. It is built on earlier studies, Dobschütz, *Euthaliusstudien*, and Zuntz, *Ancestry*.

proved the identity between White's text and the Harklean and gave further evidence for the characterisation of the Philoxenian, describing some of the translation techniques adopted. We will come across many of these later.

Meanwhile, the reconstruction of X continued apace, above all with Barbara Aland's 1981 article on what she dubbed the 'philoxenianisch-harklensische Übersetzungstradition'.[1] The importance of this article lies in the extensive use made of the 6th century translation literature (in defiance of Vööbus' warnings) as a check on the citations in Philoxenus. She claims to have found something surprising: "Denn, wie ich vor einiger Zeit zu meinem Erstaunen feststellte, findet sich in einer bestimmten syrischen Literaturgattung, nämlich den monophysitischen Übersetzungen griechischer Väter, durchweg ein neutestamentlicher Text zitiert, auf den das einzige Definitionsmerkmal für die Philoxeniana, das wir besitzen, vollkommen zutrifft : es ist ein Text «mid-way» zwischen Peschitta und Harklensis."[2] In general, her criteria for reconstructing X lies in any close agreement between a Philoxenian citation from one of his late texts (usually CPJ) with at least one other 6th century patristic translation. Although it might be expected that citations in translation literature would be a bad witness for a revised version of the actual scripture (since revision-minded translators would use their own 'new' renderings rather than imitate the Peshitta), she actually finds that there are instances where the citations show variants which are only explicable from a pre-existing Syriac revision.[3]

Initially, her findings are based on a study of the citations in Severus of Antioch's Anti-Julianist polemical works (AJP), translated as a corpus by Paul of Callinicum in 528 and copied into the earliest extant manuscript within half a century. She deals with the objection (raised by Brock) that similarities between this and CPJ are due only to a common background of technique by the suggestion that it is precisely in Bible translation that we would be most likely to see pioneer work in this field, and that if a number of individuals were all citing in such a manner (i.e. revising P in the direction of H), this is most likely due to the actual existence and use (if not

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[1] Aland, *Philoxenianisch*.
[2] ibid., 324.
[3] e.g. see example 12 in the Appendix.

consistently) of 'X'.[1] Having shown how AJP thus fits into the picture, she casts her net wider to other translated texts, such as those of Timothy Ailuros, Cyril's Luke Commentary, Zacharias Rhetor and the Apollinarian corpus. In these again she finds the techniques of what is becoming known as the X/H tradition, where texts that are close in style but not necessarily in wording are found.[2] Although Aland's arguments about deriving data from such citations are open to exactly the same objections as were Zuntz's, anyone actually reading the numerous examples given in the Appendix cannot but be impressed by the way in which 6th century monophysite texts show a seismic shift in their citations, away from P and towards H. Without being too forward on the possibilities of actually reconstructing X, Aland is very strong on the existence of the X/H tradition and its influence on the methods of Thomas of Harkel himself.

In a later article, Aland sums up how she views the Philoxenian revision.[3] It is Philoxenus' internal theological motivation which leads naturally to the desire for a better version of the New Testament. The Peshitta satisfied the Antiochene schools and they felt no need for a change, whereas Philoxenus' increasing dependence on exact Biblical wording for the development of his theology in the first ever monophysite commentaries required something philologically more accurate. In fact, only a strong theological motivation would probably have been sufficient to allow a new version into the church.

When the volumes of the *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung* first came out of the Münster Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung soon after those articles, the value of the citations in the translation literature became even more apparent. Indeed their value is part of the very grounds for the edition itself. The importance attached by Aland to this method was such that the full text of Paul of Callinicum's translation of Severus' Homilies was collated from the unedited mss for the purpose of including their evidence in the volumes of the Pauline Epistles. The introductions to the volumes are of great value in elucidating the textual history of the

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[1] We may add that Aland finds support for her postulated 'free usage' of X by Philoxenus and Paul in the equally 'free' manner in which Jacob of Edessa 'uses' the Harklean in his revised version of Severus' Homilies.
[2] See esp. p.330ff.
[3] Aland, *Monophysitismus*.

various versions and revisions, although nothing new is added in principle to what was already shown in the 1981 article. Because neither the Minor Catholics nor Revelation have yet been produced, there has as yet been no further light shed on the question of whether these were in the Philoxenian New Testament. The material is now present for studies such as those proposed by Brock, "it would be good to have a series of monographs, on the lines of those under way for the Greek Fathers, providing the full evidence for the Biblical text quoted by individual Syriac writers, accompanied by a textual (and perhaps, exegetical) commentary."[1] This would begin to reap the harvest from the evidence that is now available.

One of these blocks of newly-available evidence may be of especial interest for the issue of the Philoxenian revision. When Paul of Callinicum translated Severus' anti-Julianist corpus he prefixed an introduction which itself contains a number of NT citations, which he has *not* always taken direct from the Peshitta. There are few people, other than Philoxenus himself, who would be better placed than Paul, both in terms of date and of literary context, to use to the Philoxenian revision in his own writings. Did he in fact do so?

Firstly, we must note that many of the citations contained in this preface, mainly concerning corruptibility, are in fact taken from later points in Severus' text – these are therefore Paul's translations of Severus rather than pristine quotes from his own version of scripture. A few, however, are not taken from Severus and might therefore throw some light on Paul's Bible version. These citations can therefore be firmly attributed to Paul himself.[2] They are as follows, showing Paul of Callinicum's differences from the Peshitta.

Gen 6.12 [AJP 3,5-6]
Text as Peshitta, save only in reading 'Lord God' for MT's 'God'. This is a 'plus' in the LXX.

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[1] Brock, *The Use of the Syriac Fathers for New Testament Textual Criticism*, 233.
[2] *NTSU* makes something of a hash of referencing these citations. It distinguishes only some of them as being Paul of Callinicum's own words from his preface (rather than part of his translation), while some of those that are thus distinguished have in fact been hoisted from later in his translation (e.g. 2 Cor 11.23).

Lev 19.36/Dt 25.13-5 [AJP 1,5]

This is quoted more or less as P, but from a poor memory.

Ezek 28.16-7 [AJP 3,2-5]

ܘܐܬܛܠܩ] ܐܬܚܒܠܬܐܘ PC (MT וָאֶחַלֶּלְךָ) (Gk καὶ ἐτραυματίσθης)

ܘܒܒܐܘ] ܘܐܒܪܐܘ PC

ܥܠ ܡܢ ܐܬܛܪܕ] ܐܒܕ ܡܢ PC

ܕܐܬܬܝܬܐ ܠܟ] ܕܐܬܬܝܪ PC

ܡܛܠ ܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܝܬܐ ܕܩܘܡܝܟ܂ ܢܘܟܪܝܐ ܡܢ ܥܡܡܐ܂ ܘܡܚܘܛܝܟ ܡܛܠ ܠܟ ܢܫܠܘܛܘܢ ܥܠܝܟ܂ ܢܘܟܪܝܐ ܡܢ ܥܡܡܐ.

ܢܫܠܘܛ ܥܠܝܟ PC

Ps 55.24 [AJP 4,18-9]

ܐܒܕܢܐ] ܐܬܬܒܠܥܬܐ PC

Dan 6.23 [AJP 3,22-4]

The Peshitta reads:

ܐܠܗܝ ܫܕܪ ܡܠܐܟܗ܂ ܘܐܚܕ ܦܘܡܐ ܕܐܪܝܘܬܐ܂ ܘܠܐ ܚܒܠܘܢܝ܂ ܥܠ ܕܐܬܚܙܝܬ ܩܕܡܘܗܝ ܙܟܝܐ܂ ܘܐܦ ܩܕܡܝܟ.

Paul's versions reads:

ܐܠܗܝ ܫܕܪ ܡܠܐܟܗ܂ ܘܠܐ ܐܬܚܒܠܬ ܒܗ܂ ܡܛܠ ܕܕܟܝܐ[1] ܗܘܐ.

Dan 10.8 [AJP 3,24-6]

ܠܝ] ܫܒܩܝ PC

ܐܬܚܒܠܬ] ܠܐܬܚܒܠܘܬܐ PC

ܠܐ ܐܫܬܚܪ ܒܝ ܚܝܠܐ] ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܝ ܚܝܠ PC

2 Cor 4.16 [AJP 4,2-4]

ܡܐܢܝܢ ܠܐ] ܡܬܛܠܩ ܠܐ PC [ܡܐܢܝܢ H] [Gk ἐγκακοῦμεν]

ܒܪܢ] ܠܒܪ PC [ܠܒܪ H] [Gk ἔξω]

ܐܠܐ ܕܡܢ ܠܓܘ] ܐܠܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܢ ܠܓܘ PC [as H] [Gk ἀλλ' ὁ ἔσω]

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[1] Ed. reads ܕܕܟܐ, against the ܕܕܟܝܐ of C which, given the Peshitta text, we have here adopted.

Acts 2.31 [AJP 5,1]

ܣܘܝܦ] ܣܘܡܒ PC

ܚܒܠ] ܡܬܒܠܢܚܬܒ PC

Paul has adopted some interesting revisions to the Peshitta text in these citations. In the Old Testament, it is evident that the LXX has already influenced him strongly, not just in the case of small LXX-pluses like that of Gen 6.12, but also in a whole series of readings in Ezek 28. In Acts he has substituted ܣܘܡܒ for ܣܘܝܦ, and in 2 Cor. he has added ܘܗ for the relative pronoun, both highly typical of sixth-century revision techniques, respectively in the lexical and syntactic fields, of the sort that we have seen aplenty in some of our texts and in the Severan citations. Perhaps the most notable, however, is his use of the neologistic, more 'technically accurate' term ܡܬܒܠܢܚܬܒ in place of its simpler Peshitta equivalents at Ps 55.24, Dan 6.23, Dan 10.8, and Acts 2.31. At Dan 6.23 he has taken over the Peshitta text verbatim except for this one change. What we are surely witnessing is the revision of fifth century Biblical language in favour of the technical discourse of sixth century philosophical theology, a revision which Paul is here applying to the Biblical text, in the light of the subject he is treating (i.e. corruptibility), despite still following the Peshitta in most essentials. We do not need to assume here that Paul is copying a whole revision of the OT already made before his time (a Philoxenian OT), but rather the far more significant fact that he is himself revising the Peshitta text on an *ad hoc* basis to the needs of the new context.

The remaining citations made by Paul of Callinicum in his preface are all, in reality, taken from points later in Severus' text, and should therefore be considered as new translations made directly by Paul rather than as witnesses to his own text (pace NTSU). Here they are given with their locations in the text of Severus' Anti-Julianist corpus.

2 Cor 11.3: AJP 3,7-9/264,13-15; *Ex 18.18*: AJP 3,13-15/175,6-8; *Dt 34.7*: AJP 3,16-18/177,18-20; *Dan 3.92*: AJP 3,19-21/18,15-7; *2 Cor 11.23,6*: AJP 3,27-4,1/183,7-8; *Jer 13.7*: AJP 4,19-21/245,22-4; *Jer 15.3*: AJP 4,21-4/245,24-246,2; *1 Pet 2.22*: AJP 4,28-5,1/225,14.

3.iii.d

The Results of the Analysis of the Scriptural Citations

Introduction and method

It remains for us now to analyse the scriptural citations in our texts to see whether in fact it may be possible to attach to any of them a clear preference for one particular version over another. For the Pauline and Catholic letters, the groundwork for such an analysis has already been to some extent brought together in the Münster edition of the Syriac New Testament, at least for those of our (Cyrilline) texts which had already been previously edited. However, while the data has been set out in this work, no interpretation of these citations has yet been given.

In addition to our normal set of texts, there is included in this data citations from the Glaphyra fragments edited by Guidi (GL), Cyril's Ep101 (Syriac only) from the same ms, and the correspondence of Moses of Aggel (the latter consisting of four letters, two in Brooks' edition of ps-Zechariah Rhetor, two in Guidi's 1881 article). This correspondence is included especially because of the light it may shed on the relationship between Moses and the Philoxenian.

The study of the so-called 'philoxenianisch-harklensischen Übersetzungstradition' is one of the key aims of the 'Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung' series which has come out of the Münster Institute for NT Textual Criticism. In their parallel edition of the Pauline corpus, the editors have pointed out that "Seine Dokumentation muß daher die Hauptaufgabe sein, um die Erforschung dieser philoxenianisch-harklensischen Übersetzungstradition umfassend zu ermöglichen."[1] In their edition, between the Peshitta and Harklean are laid out the citations from the Syriac authors and translators whose dates fall between that of the rise of the Peshitta (taken as c.450) and the Harklean (early 7th century). Within this overarching category they have not attempted to distinguish a chronological order, although they warily suggest an early (pre 6th century) date for the translations of Cyril (though without any particular reasoning). Considered also of particular importance in this connection by

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[1] Aland and Juckel, *Die Paulinischen Briefe 1*, 61. The term 'philoxenian-harklean tradition,' however, was coined earlier in Aland, *Philoxenianisch*, 330.

the editors are the translations of the texts in Chabot, *Documenta*, and the earlier versions of Severus and Athanasius (they note that the *Ad Epicteteum* of the latter is quoted by the non-Greek-literate Philoxenus before the end of the 5th century). Since the development of the 'revision-tradition' is not linear, the exact dating of these texts is not crucial to the elucidation of that tradition itself.[1]

The following analysis works on the premise that all the texts contained in our survey (and this excludes *De Recta Fide*, as discussed above) lie between P and H in date. The aim is to show clearly both the extent of the influence of P on our translators as well as the influence they had on the H tradition, whether directly or indirectly. A further third aim may be for us to perceive, where we can, the remains of the Philoxenian version. In general, however, rather than refer directly to this as if it were a canonical text being followed, we will speak in more general terms of a 'philoxenian' revision-style which may be found to a greater or lesser extent in many of our texts.

In the interests of brevity, a few pertinent examples are given for each of our texts to illustrate the main conclusions. The full evidence, including all the verses only referenced here, can be seen laid out in Appendix 2.

1.Gospels

QUX

While there are many verses where P is simply followed verbatim or almost verbatim (e.g. Mt 13.55, 25.40, Jn 1.13,16,18,29,10.18,17.5 etc.) these tend to be short and simple citations. QUX is overall rather more noticeable for the independence of its citations, often using different words or constructions to those of P (e.g. Mt 16.27, Jn 13.31-2), sometimes even departing significantly from his Vorlage (Jn 5.21). It also often improves upon P according to its own canons of translation, and of course also whenever the wording of Cyril's text required some alteration of substance to be made to the wording of the Peshitta. This can be illustrated in terms of, e.g., word order and syntax at Jn 8.58 and Jn 3.12, or word order again at Jn 3.13.

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[1] Aland and Juckel, *Die Paulinischen Briefe 1*, 62.

Jn 3.12

P ܪܒܘܐܕܢ ܠܘܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܘܐܢܬܘܢ ܡܗܝܡܢܝܢ ܘܠܐ ܐܡܪܬ ܐܪܥܢܝܬܐ ܐܢ

ܬܗܝܡܢܘܢ

QUX ܠܘܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܘܐܢܬܘܢ ܡܗܝܡܢܝܢ ܘܠܐ ܐܡܪܬ ܐܪܥܢܝܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܢ

ܬܗܝܡܢܘܢ ܪܒܘܐܕܢ

It is evident throughout this, however, that P remains the 'base' text for this translator, that he knows his P text well and knows when he departs from it, as at Mt 26.39.

Mt 26.39

P ܒܪܡܘ ܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܨܒܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܬ.

QUX ܒܪܡ ܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܐ ܨܒܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܠܐܐܠܐ ܕܐܢܬ.

It can even be inconsistent between following P and being independent of it, e.g. Jn 3.31 where we see different approaches on two citing occasions.

Of Old Syriac readings we found two possible instances (Jn 10.11 and 20.23), although even these were debatable, and other instances where the P-text was clearly followed against the OS (e.g. Mt 4.4, Jn 1.11-12).

On top of this there is some evidence of revision along the lines of the Philoxenian NT. Thus vocabulary adopted by H which is already visible in other citations can be found at Mt 27.46b (see also under CT below), Jn 2.19, 10.33, and in terms of syntax also at Jn 6.51. The evidence for this is sparse and merely points to a community of technique between QUX and some other (probably contemporary) versions which led to the more thoroughgoing revision which constitutes the Philoxenian.

Jn 10.33

P ܐܢܬ ܕܥܒܕܬ ܡܛܠ ܐܠܐ.ܠܟ ܢܚ ܪܓܡܝܢ ܫܦܝܪܐ ܥܒܕܐ ܡܛܠ ܗܘܐ ܠܐ

QUX ܐܢܬ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܥܠ ܐܠܐ.ܠܟ ܪܓܡܝܢ ܠܐ ܐܠܐ ܥܒܕܐ ܥܠ

H ܠܐܠܗܐ ܡܛܠ ܐܠܐ.ܠܟ ܪܓܡܝܢ ܠܐ ܐܠܐ ܥܒܕܐ ܡܛܠ

We found in our previous analysis (Part 3.i/ii) that QUX was a loose handler of the text, frequently capable of free and distinctive renderings, abbreviations etc., which yet also showed signs of those translational rules which become more thoroughly applied in later texts such as EDC or Ep55. The translator is well aware of the developments in style that had occurred between the time of RF and his own day, but he does not feel tied to them.

EDC

At Mt 1.21 and Lk 3.6 the use of ܦܪܩ instead of ܚܝܐ for σῴζειν and cognates is a fairly clear revision of P towards H, a revision which H carried out fairly thoroughly (at least in the non-use of ܚܝܐ, since ܫܘܙܒ is also found frequently in H, e.g. at Heb 5.7).

Lk 3.6

P	ܚܙܐ ܟܠ ܒܣܪ ܚܝܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ
EDC	ܚܙܐ ܟܠ ܒܣܪ ܦܘܪܩܢܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ
H	ܚܙܐ ܟܠ ܒܣܪ ܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ

At 1 Cor 1.21, H seems to have continued X's use of ܦܪܩ for this verb, and the same is likely to be the case here also, with EDC1 as well as EDC2 probably reading pretty much as X for this verse.[1] EDC1 is considerably earlier than its revision and it is difficult to date it *after* X, in which case we should see this as a proto-Philoxenian type of revision.[2]

Elsewhere, we see other signs of the revision, e.g. ܠ for direct object (Jn 6.57), treating ܪܘܚܐ as masculine (Jn 6.63), and the ܐܝܬ + suffix/copula equivalency (Jn 10.36); yet, on the other hand, the latter usage is by no means consistently found (Jn 6.63) and the translator does not really use H's distinctive technique for relative + ptc with demonstrative (Jn 6.57), as we shall see that Ep55 generally does. Indeed, we still often see pure P texts appearing against H's revisions (Mt 15.14; Jn 10.33).

Mt 15.14

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[1] EDC exists in an unrevised and a revised version in different mss. For the evidence on this point, see below, Part 3.iv.a.
[2] For 1 Cor 1.21, see Brock, *Resolution*, 340; see also the conclusions at Watt, *Fragments*, 49.

P/EDC ܣܘܡܐ ܕܝܢ ܠܡܣܥܪ ܐܦ ܢܘܒܪ

H ܣܘܡܐ ܕܝܢ ܣܥܪܐ ܐܦ ܢܘܗܝܐ

SDI

In SDI we appear to have a text that takes P consistently as its starting point. Indeed in many texts, the Peshitta is simply repeated verbatim (Mt 1.23, Lk 2.40, 2.52, Jn 1.30, 3.13). This is even done against the normal usage of the translator, witness Mt 14.33 where the copula is translated using the Peshitta, and then when the same expression is found shortly afterwards in the run of the text ܐܝܬܘܗܝ is used in accordance with this translator's more ordinary usage. Something similar happens in one out of two instances of the copula in the citation of Jn 9.35-7, where SDI's reading is as Ep55's.

However, there are places where revisions have taken place which are specifically found elsewhere, e.g. Lk 3.6 (as EDC above), Jn 8.58, Jn 10.33, Jn 14.2, and sometimes SDI has simply made its own minor corrections (e.g. to word order at Jn 7.15). In other places where we might expect to see the revised text, we find none (Jn 1.30). There is one possible OS reading at Jn 4.22, where ܠܟܘܢ (as S) is read against ܠܡܕܡ (P), but this is doubtful.

Ep39

At Mt 1.23, the text shows revisions of P that are both lexical and syntactical, although not showing the full revision found in CPJ, which probably reflects X, itself not quite yet reaching H's rendering.

Mt 1.23

P ܐܠܗܢ ܥܡܢ ܕܡܬܦܫܩ

Ep39 ܐܠܗܢ ܥܡܢ ܕܡܬܦܫܩ ܗܘ

H ܐܠܗܐ ܥܡܢ ܕܡܬܦܫܩ ܐܝܬܘܗܝܕ ܗܘ

At Lk 1.31, we find exactly the same pattern, with the citation in CPJ drawing quite close to H while Ep39 is on the same path but not quite to the same level. This is especially notable when CPJ clearly still knows of the old P rendering.

Lk 1.31

P

Ep39

CPJ

H

[Syriac text in five lines, one per witness]

The other citations follow P.

Ep40

Ep40 clearly sides with P against OS. This is important since Vööbus has suggested that OS was the standard text in the fifth century, and yet here we have a text datable to the period 433-484 which quotes P distinctively, often against OS (e.g. see Jn 8.39b-40 where ⲱⲟⲙⲑⲟⲙ is used for ἧτε against its omission in S). This point will be extended further in the comments on Ep45,46,50 below.

As far as X is concerned, the three simple gospel citations do not suggest much, save that the translator is following P. The H reading ⲣⲓⲛⲱ at Jn 8.40 may be a P variant or could be explained along other lines. The sample, however, is insufficient for conclusions given the simplicity of the verses concerned.

Ep44

No citations from the gospels.

Ep45

Twice we see advances towards H's specific vocabulary, firstly with the term for πρόβατα at Mt 7.15 (ⲣⲟⲓⲩ for ⲣⲓⲟⲣ), and secondly for λυπός at Mt 26.38 (ⲟⲓⲑⲣ for ⲣⲟⲓⲩ). The reading at Jn 4.6 is the clearest sign that already in Ep45 we can see a translator using a text that has been revised from P to become closer to the Greek. Since CT and H are identical for this verse, we can probably assume that X was the same (CT must substantially precede H in date). If this were the case, then Ep45 shows a text half-way from P to X, revision being well underway long before the Philoxenian.

Jn 4.6

P   ܐܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܠܥܝ̈ܐ ܐܘܪܫܠܝܡ

Ep45   ܐܠܝ, ܡܢ ܠܥܝ̈ܐ ܐܘܪܫܠܝܡ

H   ܐܠܝ, ܡܢ ܒܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܐܘܪܫܠܝܡ

We may add that there is no perceptible OS influence, although the readings are too short for this to prove anything one way or another.

Ep46

No citations from the gospels.

Ep50

There are OS readings at Mt 3.15b and Jn 5.22f., the latter being especially clear, although within the same verse there are also P readings.

Jn 5.22

C   ܐܒܐ ܓܝܪ ܐܦ̱ܠܐ ܠܐ ܕܐܢ ܠܐܢܫ ܐܠܐ ܟܠܗ ܕܝܢܐ ܝܗܒ ܠܒܪܐ ܕܗܘ ܢܕܘܢ,

Ep50   ܐܒܐ [ܓܝܪ] ܐܦ̱ܠܐ ܠܐ ܕܐܢ ܠܐܢܫ ܐܠܐ ܟܠܗ ܕܝܢܐ ܝܗܒ ܠܒܪܐ.

P   ܓܝܪ ܐܒܐ ܠܐ ܕܐܢ ܠܐܢܫ ܐܠܐ ܟܠܗ ܕܝܢܐ ܝܗܒ ܠܒܪܐ.

At Jn 6.44, OS is rejected in favour of P. At Jn 14.9 we see an odd singular reading, which is not explicable on the basis of OS or P, and there are further signs of the closer representation of the syntax of εἶναι. The same occurs again at Jn 16.32 but throughout the rest of the citation P is being followed closely. Again, at Lk 1.2 we see an attempt at a closer rendering of the important term ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς.

Lk 1.2

P   ܡܢ ܩܕܝܡ

Ep50   ܡܢ ܪܝܫܐ

In general, other than these variants noted, P's text is used.

While there are, therefore, signs of OS readings in a 7th century ms of what must be a mid-5th century text, as Vööbus would have expected, P nevertheless predominates, sometimes being clearly *against* OS. We have also seen a few tentative, though not greatly significant, revisions of P's style towards something a little more 'exact'.

Ep55

Again, P is well-known to this translator, and is often the pure basis for his text (see e.g. Mt 29.29b; Mk 8.38; Jn 1.1^{x2}; Jn 1.3; Jn 10.30). However, there are clearer signs than we have seen so far of the revision of P towards what will become H's precision. Such signs include the following marks of technique:

- the masculine treatment of ܚܘܐ (Mt 10.20, though not the adjectival ܚܝܐ, cf. Jn 20.22).
- the attempt to represent the subjunctive (Mt 18.20; Lk 22.67).
- the equivalent of ἀπ' ἀρχῆς (Lk 1.2, being exactly as H, cf. Ep50).
- using the demonstrative as H does (Jn 1.30; Jn 14.9^{x2}; Jn 17.3; 17.5).
- respecting Gk word order (Jn 1.30, closely with H; Jn 17.3; but sometimes not revising this where it might be expected, Jn 8.58).
- ܐܝܡܢ for ܐܝܟ (Jn 6.53).
- ܡܢ ܕ for πρίν (exactly as H, Jn 8.58).
- ܩܒܠ for ܩܒܠ (Jn 20.22).
- sometimes just a careful avoidance of P's unnecessary paraphrastic expressions (esp. Jn 16.28).

The use of ܐܝܬ + suffixes for the parts of ἐστιν is an important part of the developing techniques for the rendering of Greek syntax. In Ep55, this is not found quite as consistently as in H, but is still common – being found at Mt 12.50, Jn 9.37, Jn 14.6, Jn 14.10, but not at Mt 18.20 (pl.), Jn 3.31 (where CPJ has it, but CL does not), Jn 17.3; we see both its use and non-use once even within a single verse (Jn 8.23b).

At Mt 28.19, we see an interesting agreement between Ep55 and ML, which may well, therefore, witness to the text of X; however, they both show different forms of revision in v19b – Ep55 anticipating some of H's forms, ML others. It may be that X

already had the full revision but that both these texts are still somewhat conservative (a fact already established with regard to ML[1]).

Mt 28.19

P	ܟܠܗܘܢ....ܐܝܠܝܗ ܡܥܡܕܝܢ ܒܫܡ ܐܒܐ ܘܒܪܐ ܘܕܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ
Ep55	ܟܠܗܘܢ....ܐܝܠܝܗ ܦܩܘܗ ܒܫܡܐ ܕܐܒܐ ܘܕܒܪܐ ܘܕܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ
ML	ܟܠܗ....ܐܝܠܝܗ ܦܩܘܗ ܒܫܡ ܐܒܐ ܘܒܪܐ ܘܕܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ
H	ܟܠܗ....ܐܝܠܝܗ ܡܥܡܕܝܢ ܒܫܡܐ ܕܐܒܐ ܘܕܒܪܐ ܘܕܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ

Again, at Jn 16.28, Ep55 and Ep39 agree in a rendering against all other versions, which, if not a sign of X, may at least imply a common technique if it is not to be assigned to chance.

Ep101

In its very few citations, this seems to show a clear P text, and one interesting reading which may well be Diatessaronic [Jn 3.13b].

CO

CO, more than any of our other texts, tends sometimes to have quite singular renderings, independent from any existing version (see Mt 7.4-5; Lk 2.14; 2.52; Jn 1.3; Jn 3.6; Jn 8.39-40; Jn 14.10b).

There are indications of OS readings on three occasions (two in Vööbus, *Gospel Text 1*: Mt 18.16 and Jn 3.13b, and one other to note, Jn 10.32). Although the evidence suggests that this may be misleading (see details in Appendix 2), there is no reason in theory why the OS might not have exerted its influence here, as Vööbus has insisted so strongly.

Agreements with P specifically against the sort of revisions we might expect are not found very frequently (see the word order in Lk 1.35, also Lk 2.52; Jn 2.19).

Of examples of revisionistic tendencies, we have noted especially:

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[1] See Watt, *Fragments*, 49-60.

Jn 6.51: here the phrase ܪܟܐܠܟܐ ܂ܡܐܝܘ ܐܠܘܝ for ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς quite clearly reflects X, since H has taken over this reading, which is quite different from P's (which CT, interestingly, follows).

Jn 6.62: the term ܂ܡܝܐܘܝܝܟ must have been X's, since CPJ shares it, although H has returned to P's ܩܘܝܟ. The use of ܪܟܐܝܪ may show a revision even beyond X, since it agrees with H against CPJ.

Jn 10.33: except for the reflexive pronoun (for which, see below), there are here again a series of H's revisions anticipated, some of which are also found in the Syriac version of Cyril's Luke Commentary, and probably again reflect X.

Mt 11.27: here there is a suggestive mixture, ἐπιγινώσκει being rendered once in accordance with P, once with H: the technique is in process of development and is applied without consistency.

Other signs of revision show only mixed results; thus the ܐܝܪ + suffix = εἶναι equivalency is used twice (Jn 3.6; Jn 6.63) and avoided twice (Mt 16.16; Jn 6.51); ܪܟܘܐܝ remains feminine grammatically (Jn 6.63), and ܂ܪܐܝ is used for the reflexive pronoun rather than H's ܢܐܠ ܐܡ calque (Jn 8.28, Jn 10.33) which itself probably goes back to X (see CPJ citation of Phil 2.7).[1]

On the other hand, the use of the demonstrative + ܝ for the relative pronoun or resumptive article is found consistently and frequently (Mt 11.27; Jn 3.6; 6.51; 6.56; 6.63; 14.9, and also Jn 10.36, where the agreement with EDC at this point points to X). In addition, we find all sorts of other indications of the revisionistic style, such as in matters of word order (Lk 1.35; Jn 3.13a; 8.28; 8.58; 10.33b; 10.35), the use of grammatically masculine forms against the natural gender of the noun (Jn 6.51), and careful equivalents for prepositions and conjunctions which become standard in H (διά, Jn 1.2; ὅτι, Jn 10.35; ܠ used appropriately, Jn 10.32), other various lexical equivalencies (Jn 10.32, 10.33, 10.35) and avoidance of superfluous words with no Gk parallel (Jn 8.28).

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[1] Discussed in Brock, *Resolution*, 334f.

CO tends to remain close to P where the differences in H are anyway very minor (e.g. Mt 5.28a; 10.8b; 12.28; Lk 1.28b; 5.21; 6.33; 6.56; 6.57; 6.62; 6.63)

CT

As with CO, the signs of revision are clear but very inconsistent and the influence of P over against any tendency to revise the text is still very strong.

On the matter of citation method, we note first that at Jn 17.5, CT has assimilated the wording of Jn 17.24, without any warrant from the Vorlage, further indication that the translator is making use of a pre-existing version and not making his own translations. In addition, an agreement in citation between CO and CT against P and H may imply a common translator (see Jn 8.39-40). As with CO, so in CT, there are also a number of fairly singular readings (Mt 3.15b; Mt 26.39b; Lk 2.52; 4.18,21).

As with CO, there are some hints of an OS influence, but, again as with CO, these could be interpreted differently. The two discussed by Vööbus (Mt 24.36 and Mt 26.39) are both also found in H and could therefore be ascribed to X's revision rather than OS's antiquity, an odd state of affairs also found on three occasions in ML.[1] There are further hints at Mt 12.28 and Mt 16.22-3.

The presence of a large number of citations of very simple or short verses makes the evaluation of the degree of revision in this text quite difficult. However, as with CO, the influence of P is still very strong, even where revision might be expected, or even occurs in other writings (e.g. Mt 1.18b; 20.18-19; Lk 1.35; Jn 6.51; Jn 15.15; 16.15).

However, there are certain developments which we do see quite clearly, such as revision of word-order anticipating H (Mt 1.20b, where CPJ agrees; Jn 12.27); places where each word is being represented by another single word against P's idiom (Mt 16.22; 26.39; Jn 15.26); H's prepositional equivalents, such as ܡܛܠ for περί (Mt 24.36); the use of ܝ ܗܘ for the relative/resumptive article (Jn 1.33; 6.56; 15.26 17.5). Above all there are some very notable lexical revisions, present in CT, which H has picked up and used, e.g. ܪܚܫܐ for τὰ δαιμόνια (Mt 12.24), ܩܕܡ for φθάνω (Mt 12.28),

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[1] Watt, *Fragments*, 47. Vööbus' discussion of these two verses in Vööbus, *Gospel Text 1*, 186.

ܟܠܐ for σκάνδαλον (Mt 16.23, known as an X word from CPJ), ܫܪܐ for λύω (Jn 2.19), ܐܘܪܚܐ ܡܕܝܪܬ for ὁδοιπορίας (Jn 4.6), and various others (Mt 3.15b, Lk 4.21; Lk 10.17). The opportunity for these sorts of revisions are only rarely spurned, e.g. for the relative pronoun and word-order (Jn 16.14), for εἶναι (Jn 16.15), the retention of ܒܝ for H's ܒܝܐ (Jn 6.56) and of ܦܫ for ܫܘܚ (Jn 12.27). Harklean calques, such as ܐܝܟܢܐ ܐ always for ὥστε (Mt 10.1b), and ܐܝܬ ܠܗ for the present ptc of ἔχω (Mt 1.18b) are not taken up in CT.

Mt 27.46 provides an important example of revision towards the Greek; here OS and P did not translate the second part of the verse, while H does so precisely. It is true that CT is merely following Cyril's Greek, but the attitude towards his Vorlage shown by this translator is thereby, in this case especially, shown to be substantially different from most of his predecessors.

AT

Given the more developed nature of the style of this text in general, the citations are surprisingly conservative in places. For instance, keeping P's ܡܬܘܡ for πώποτε (Jn 5.37) and the avoidance of ܐܝܬܝ for εἰμί indicate a conservative streak (the absence of H's calque on ἔχωσιν at Jn 10.10 should not be included, however, as this seems to be always absent in texts before H).

Signs of the X-revision are, however, certainly present. This is evidently the case in the choice of certain terms, such as ܩܪܒ for ἥψατο at both Mt 9.29 and Lk 7.14, and ܡܛܠ for περί at Mt 24.36 and Jn 8.46 (for other examples see Mt 7.15, Jn 4.6, Jn 8.46, Jn 10.10, and perhaps Jn 14.10b). The ܐܝܬܘܗܝ for ἐστιν at the end of Jn 14.10, found here in AT and also in Ep50 and Ep55, but not in Ep40 (or CPJ!), must witness an X-reading, taken over into H. Moreover, the avoidance of the idiomatic Syriac possessive suffixes on ܐܒܐ is quite a telling indication of a desire to keep close to the Greek wording (Jn 14.10), and is not found in our other texts.

From our analysis of AT's translation style, for example with regard to the copula, it would appear that he is more conservative in his citations than in the rest of his text.

GL

There is one clear indication, namely Mk 14.21, that a P text is being used, against both the possibility of OS elements, or of any significant revision towards H.

Moses' Letters

There is a clear Old Syriac citation at Mt 7.7 (ܬܫܒܩܘܢ for ܫܒܘܩܘ ܠܟܘܢ), indicating OS's continuing influence on the personal writings of this mid-6th century translator.

2. Acts, Catholic and Pauline citations (including Revelation)

QUX

The picture among the Pauline citations shows much the same pattern as the gospel citations. The translator of QUX is, more than anything else, an independent worker, making his citations fit the Greek according to his own canons of translation. Occasionally he makes significant omissions from citations (e.g. Rom 8.3, Eph 3.14) or alterations of different kinds (1 Tim 3.16), though these may be accidental. He clearly knows the P text perfectly well and very often, especially in simple phrases, will repeat it exactly (e.g. 1 Cor 1.18; 15.10; 15.22; Gal 3.13; Heb 2.12), occasionally even following it against the meaning of his own Vorlage (1 Pet 4.1; Heb 10.28-9). Frequently the QUX renderings are simply quite independent of P or any other parallel citation (1 Jn 4.14-5; Rom 6.5; 15.15-6; 1 Cor 4.7; Gal 6.14; 1 Tim 3.16; Heb 2.16-7), sometimes in a manner even looser than P (Heb 9.23-6, 2 Pet 2.19; Rom 1.21-3; Rom 8.3-4; Eph 1.19-21; Heb 1.3 etc.). Most often, however, we see a citation which is based on P's text, but brought closer into line with his own manner and style of translation, which generally constitutes an improvement on P in some manner such as syntax or word order (e.g. Acts 3.22; 13.41 where the tenses are corrected; 1 Pet 3.18; 2 Pet 4.2-3; 1 Cor 3.11; 5.7; Eph 1.21; Heb 2.11-2; 10.14 etc.). Sometimes it becomes clear that these 'advances' or revisions on P's text anticipate the Harklean and/or are so closely paralleled in other texts that a possible X-reading is lying before us. We have extracted these possible readings using the same sort of criteria as previously. Some of them are only tentative possibilities (1 Cor 1.22-5; 2 Cor 5.15;

10.4-5; 13.3-4; Gal 1.11-2; 2.19-20; Phil 2.9-11; Heb 2.14[1]; 13.8; 13.12), while a few others show clearer signs of actually being X-readings (Rom 8.32; 9.5; 10.6-9; Titus 2.11-3).

EDC

As in the gospels, we find that EDC has a pattern very similar to that of Ep55. There is very close agreement with the X/H tradition in certain places (Eph 2.3, Phil 2.6, 10-11) as well as other scattered lexical revisions of this type (Rom 1.4, Heb 1.6). The agreement of the Harklean margin with EDC has aided the reconstruction of X in one place as well (1 Tim 3.16). The evidence tends to make it quite probable that the translator of EDC, as that of Ep55 (if they were not one and the same) both made use of Philoxenus' revision, without completely abandoning P readings, although it is not impossible that this conservatism in some places should rather be attributed to X itself. The unrevised form EDC1 had some distinctly older readings, some of which even belong to a technique earlier than P (see 1 Pet 1.4) and which were updated, either according to P or according to the newer techniques, by EDC2.

SDI

Among the gospels we saw few signs of revision. Here, however, with the benefit of comparisons with other relevant citations, we can indeed see a number of revised readings being used which may owe something to X. This is especially the case at Rom 1.25, 1 Cor 1.23 and Phil 3.14, where we see striking correspondences between SDI and those citations that we might expect to represent the X-tradition. Where P is followed, it is usually in simple places where X is anyway unlikely to have differed from P (e.g. Rom 10.14, 1 Cor 15.47, 2 Cor 8.9b). Sometimes, SDI goes its own way, sometimes in very small ways (2 Cor 4.16), or rather more significantly (Col 2.8-9, Gal 1.16; supported in the latter by Jacob of Edessa), but overall it is hard not to admit some influence from the X-tradition upon SDI, a suggestion which matches with the style as described in part 3.i.

Ep39

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[1] But note here the preserved reading which follows Syriac traditions against the Greek.

The evidence of the Pauline citations confirms what we found for the gospels in this text, that there are some clear signs of the revision of the Peshitta text in the same sort of direction as was taken by X. Some of the readings are very clearly of an X-type (e.g. Phil 2.7) and probably show a level of dependence in this text on the Philoxenian version.

Ep40

The P-leanings of Ep40 are without doubt very strong. The distinctive reading of 1 Pet 3.15 provides an excellent example. In addition, where there are potential OS readings available which differ from P (e.g. Rom 9.3), Ep40 follows P. This is especially obvious for P's very distinctive rendering of Rom 9.5. This confirms our suggestion made regarding the gospel citations in this text.

Ep45/46

In the two lengthy citations from Romans and Hebrews, the nature of Ep45's citations can be discerned to some extent. To start with, there are no distinctive OS readings in the Paulines, as also in the gospels, in this pre-484 text. While following P the bulk of the time, we are seeing more revisionary readings here than we did in Ep40, especially with regard to simple syntactical points, such as the use of the demonstrative pronoun + ɹ for relative clauses, and the renderings of certain prepositions. Ep46 also has an important and early X-reading at Rom 9.5.

Ep50

Again, we have a very mixed text. In the gospels, P was very clearly the base text, and this is continued into the Paulines, as can be seen from, e.g., Phil. 2.5-7, where Philoxenus' revisions are altogether absent. In other places, such as Rom 1.25, there is some evidence of revision. We found the most significant example, however, in Heb 10.5; for here we have one of the very few absolutely certain Philoxenian readings, and Ep50 conforms to it despite its pre-Philoxenian date. This is a key piece of evidence for the genesis of the revisionistic style and shows clearly how the revisions of the Philoxenian were responding to an already growing tendency and did not constitute a complete break with past traditions.

Ep55

As we saw for the gospels, so here in the Paulines, this text shows much clearer and more consistent signs of revision than the group Ep40,45,46,50. For instance, we noted the way that different translators struggled to represent the resumptive pronoun (Rom 9.5; Heb 8.1), adjectival forms being preferred to analytical structures with ـ, and some clear lexical revisions (Heb 1.3); there are besides plenty of other strong agreements with the H-tradition against P (Rom 10.6-9). The X-readings in Phil. 2.6-8 contrast strongly with the lack of such readings in Ep50 and on its own this suggests that different NT versions lie behind these two texts.

Ep74

This translator follows P in essentials, though there is one difference where he appears to use his own vocabulary (Rom 8.35).

Ep101

This follows P throughout, as before, even where revisionistic readings were open to the translator.

CO/CT

Although CT shows some clearer signs of revision than CO, the identity of authorship is pretty certain, and the two should be treated as one. As in the gospels, the indications are very mixed. P is still clearly the base text and X-type revisions are limited mostly to grammatical niceties which are easily attributable to the schools of translation style where these points were being increasingly recognised. However, there are also some significant lexical revisions, and a number of places where the influence of the X/H-tradition is quite clear. In all, the writer is conservative in his citations and uses P where possible, but wherever he feels that X has understood or represented the text significantly better, he seems to have followed the latter. It has also to be noted, however, that there are a relatively large number of distinctive renderings, where the translator's concern over P's text has led him to make his own version as against any others he may have known. This observation is corroborated especially when we see CO and CT sharing just such unique readings on a number of occasions. On this evidence it is hard to tell whether the translator in fact knew X at first hand, or whether he was part of the attempts at revision which seem to have sporadically preceded X. On the whole, we would tend towards the former view,

given the number of close agreements with X/H on occasion, but the latter view is still plausible.

AT

As with Ep55/EDC, a whole series of readings present themselves which can be attributed either to X specifically, or at least to the X/H tradition (e.g. Rom 8.3-4, 1 Cor 2.10, Eph 1.21, Phil 2.5, Heb 13.7), and again the Harklean margin has been of some assistance (Rom 7.22-5); some of these readings, in fact, even seem to show developments in this tradition beyond X (Rom 8.29-30, Gal 4.19). However, there is some conservative tendency (e.g. 1 Cor 2.10), which was also noted in the gospels. There is also a degree of independence in this text which is not so evident elsewhere and which results in quite singular readings apparently quite independent of any versions (e.g. Rom 7.22-5) – this probably reflects the same technique as we see whenever Cyril's text varies noticeably from the Syriac versions, in which cases most of our texts, even those closely allied to P, will prefer to follow their Vorlage ahead of their received version(s).

GL

The evidence here is a good deal more extensive than in the gospels, and we can begin to get a good look at Moses of Aggel's method for Biblical citations. We found that GL agrees with H in individual lexical choices quite often. However, although P clearly exerts a fairly strong influence, the readings tend to be quite individualistic and are still far from being of the H-type. It is fairly clear that Moses is making his own new renderings from his Vorlage and is doing so using a method certainly more concerned with the precise wording of the original than is P. We can see what Moses meant when he warned his readers that they might find discrepancies between their 'vulgate' and what they would read in his translation.

Moses' Letters

These have shown a clear P text, both in the correspondence contained in Zechariah Rhetor, and in that in Vat Syr 107 (Guidi, *Mose di Aggel*), where it precedes GL. In the gospels, we even saw that there was an Old Syriac remnant. The fact that the Peshitta is Moses' Bible itself is instructive, since he is clearly so steeped in the 'modern' schools of translation. As is well known, he discusses the Philoxenian and

directs his readers towards it. In his letters, he uses Greek terminology, discussing terms such as ἱστορία, θεωρία, ἀρετή etc., and he had read Evagrius (see ZR 19,19). In his translation of the Glaphyra, he does not insert a Peshitta text (at least for NT citations) but makes his own direct renderings from Cyril's text. Yet in his own Syriac compositions, it is the Peshitta (with perhaps OS remnants) that he prefers to use. This usage highlights well the difference in purpose between the versions, and why it is that we find our best evidence for the X/H-tradition not in the native Syriac literature but in the translation literature.

3. Old Testament

The aim of this part of our enquiry is somewhat different to that for the NT citations. There, we were especially looking for signs of the influence of the Philoxenian version, or at least of the same types of revision as must have been contained in that version. When we turn to the Old Testament citations, we are looking rather for signs of different translators' approaches to the texts in front of them and their relationships to the received text of the scriptures. In other words, our translators have a choice before them, between inserting Peshitta citations or making their own new versions. Sometimes they are carrying out the latter procedure but are still influenced by the Peshitta. The extent of this influence, especially where Peshitta and LXX differ, will be a mark of their translation style.

However, from a methodological point of view, we will have to take especial care of how we interpret the texts. The Peshitta itself was revised towards the Greek on a number of occasions, and a 'Philoxenian' of the Old Testament may even have existed (more on this below). We will thus have to distinguish between a translator's own new rendering and a rendering known to him from an already-revised Peshitta. It should, in general, however, be possible to assess the extent to which the Peshitta influences a particular text and to order our different texts accordingly by this means.

Remains of the 'Philoxenian' Old Testament

Since the publication of Moses of Aggel's letter in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, the question of the apparent reference there to a Philoxenian version of 'David' (i.e. Psalms) has occasionally raised some debate over the possibility of recovering some portion of this lost text.

When Ceriani published the Isaiah fragments from Add 17106 (Ceriani, *Esaiae Fragmenta*) he made the suggestion that his otherwise unidentified fragments were from this lost version.[1] Gwynn also assumed the existence of such a version (in the sense of a Peshitta text revised in accordance with a Greek text) from the evidence of Moses of Aggel and claimed to have found evidence for this in the Isaiah citations within Moses' translation of Cyril's *Glaphyra*. In 1911, Lebon published his extensive article on the whole question of the Philoxenian revisions and deconstructed Moses of Aggel's evidence for an OT aspect to that revision, showing the apparent reference to 'David' as a scribal error.[2] This at least dispensed with any argument for the existence of a Philoxenian Psalter. Ceriani and Gwynn's arguments about Isaiah were also queried by Lebon – Gwynn had misunderstood Moses' approach to scriptural citation, and Ceriani's text could not be confidently identified.[3] With these bases gone, the only evidence for the version could be the discovery of citations in the mss themselves.

R.G. Jenkins began this search with an article on the Isaiah quotations in Philoxenus, in which a very close connection was found between Philoxenus' version of Isa 45.9 and the same verse in the so-called 'syl' text, namely Ceriani's abovementioned fragments, now identified as being from a Lucianic recension.[4] He extended the similarity to other verses also, concluding that here he had re-discovered the Philoxenian of Isaiah, a translation that was, unsurprisingly perhaps, described as a 'half-way house' to the Syro-Hexapla. Following on from Fox's work on the Matthew/Luke Commentary fragments, Jenkins assessed the OT citations in Philoxenus more systematically.[5] He finds that in the earlier works, Philoxenus quotes straight from P, but in his later works we find a distinctively different text, which is

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[1] He wrote 'si tamen conjecturis aliquid dandum, versionis cura Philoxeni Mabugensis factae reliquias in his foliis servatas esse putarem.' (p.5, cited in Jenkins, *Isaiah*, 33, n5).
[2] Lebon, *La Version Philoxénienne*, 414-5.
[3] ibid., 420-4.
[4] Jenkins, *Isaiah*.
[5] Fox, *Matthew-Luke commentary*, Jenkins, *Old Testament Quotations*.

related to 'syl' and has been carefully revised to the Greek (it is noteworthy, too, that this change is absent in the Psalms, where we would naturally expect an older, liturgically-functioning, version to persist). He claims to have thus 'demonstrated [as] probable' that this is the Philoxenian OT.[1] As to external evidence, he partly resurrects claims that the Syro-Hexaplaric scholion to Isa 9.5 preserves a Philoxenian reading, but finds Gwynn's hypothesis of Moses of Aggel's use of the revised version in the *Glaphyra* to be unsustainable. The texts themselves are thus the real basis for his conclusions.

One of the greatest difficulties with the identification of the Philoxenian OT is the question of how this posited version might relate to the various revisions that P appears to have undergone. How would one really be able to distinguish a haphazard or one-off revision of P towards LXX from 'Philoxenian OT'? If Philoxenus does indeed show a distinctive, non-P, Lucianic, text, what right have we to suggest that this version was in some sense 'his' or commissioned by him. Could he not simply have been making use of a revised P-text, making the shift at about the same time as he began to appreciate the need for revised texts more generally (i.e. c.505)?[2] The only way in which we can be sure that he was an originator of such a revision would be some external references, such as we have for the New Testament revision. However, whether or not we describe this version as 'Philoxenian' does not affect the more general and important question of what position our translators have taken on the question of the Peshitta text and its influence and authority vis à vis the Greek Vorlagen that they are translating. And to this question we now turn, dealing with each text separately.

We can proceed, then, to look at the citations in our texts.

RF

There were some verses in which RF made his own translation quite separate and different from that found in the Peshitta, e.g. Is 61.10, Ps 74.6, Ex 3.14, Bar 3.3. However, there are a similar number of others where P seems to be the version of

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[1] Jenkins, *Old Testament Quotations*, 129.
[2] Jenkins does indeed concede this point (p.204) but if we concede it seriously, we probably should drop the title 'Philoxenian' from this version as misleading (implying that he may have been its originator) and call it instead by the abbreviation 'syl' to denote its Lucianic text-type.

choice, in cases where there are no great divergences between it and LXX, e.g. at Is 7.14, Is 37.6, Ps 2.7; and even where the Vorlage takes over, P hovers in the background (Is 62.2). A few isolated examples, however, show that P was ultimately of greater importance than the Vorlage to this translator, most notably at Ps 88.7, Micah 5.2 and Prov 8.11.

QUX

14 out of the 33 Old Testament citations can be reasonably described as having a largely independent character (i.e. quite distinct from P), and this description sums up QUX's approach to the Biblical text. In a number of cases, however, it is clear that P's phrasing and expressions are used in lieu of anything new, where these are taken to express adequately the Greek that the translator is trying to render (e.g. Ws 1.13-4, Zeph 2.1-2, Isa 60.1-2). Sometimes P is clearly the basis of the whole citation, either completely where P=LXX (e.g. Num 16.11, Ps 89.1, 135.12, Ws 2.24, Joel 3.1) or altered only where LXX and P differ (Ps 44.7-8, Amos 7.14-5, Hab 3.13). Sometimes, but not often, QUX is extremely loose with his citing method, as most clearly seen at Ps 104.15, where a large part is omitted (see also 1Sa 8.7, 1Ki 19.10, Ps 49.2-3). Finally, there are a couple of important places where the P text has actually taken precedence over the Vorlage/LXX (Ps 21.8, 21.19) – less surprising in a messianic psalm.

In all, the QUX translator clearly knew and used the P text where he could, or where it influenced him unintentionally, but his renderings are not slavish, and he departs from it considerably, both where his Vorlage demands it, and even where it does not he usually shows his strong independence.

EDC

At Ps 44.8, P is followed in both EDC1 and EDC2 where there appears no need to change it due to its closeness to LXX. Elsewhere, however, EDC is quite independent of P, and much closer to LXX both in technique and readings (Pr 8.9, Amos 3.12-13, Is 62.10).

SDI

Here we see a number of instances where P is clearly being cited, in default of any variance from LXX, e.g. Ps 44.8, 68.22, 104.15. Often also we see P being used as the basis for the citation but with small alterations designed to bring it into line with the translator's Vorlage, e.g. at Isa 7.14 (tenses altered), Hab 3.13, Is 6.6-7, 50.6, Cant 2.1. As expected, where the two differ more substantially, SDI is quite independent of P (Ps 21.17-8, Job 4.19, Is 26.9, 32.6, 53.5). At Dt 10.22, SDI follows an unusual variant in Cyril and has a further variant of his own unattested elsewhere, probably indicating only his own independence and occasional freedom from a fixed text-form.

Ep39

Here, by contrast, we clearly have a text which has very little concern to reproduce P. In one verse, Is 50.6, P appeared to have some influence over the choice of wording and phrasing, but not at the expense of being a close rendering of the Greek. Elsewhere, the Greek clearly predominates at the expense of P (especially Is 7.14, Is 26.12, Ps 95.11).

Ep40

Here P predominates overall (Zeph 2.1-2), but there is clearly some tension, as the translator attempts to keep to his Vorlage at the same time (Is 32.6, Jer 4.3).

Ep45/46

At Is 36.6, Ep46 appears to be strongly under the influence of P, but this is the only significant OT citation in these letters.

Ep50

Close parallels to P can be found at Ps 10.2 and Is 50.11. There is, however, a good instance of concern for Vorlage at Hab 2.15, where LXX's extra word has been etymologically translated, although P is used as the base text for the rest of the verse.

Ep55

Most of the time Ep55 quite clearly has his own renderings without concern for the wording of P, the most significant example being at Gen 32.25ff. (also at e.g. Ex 28.30, Dt 18.13, Ps 17.45f., Pr 4.25, Dan 7.13f. etc.). However, we can sometimes see that, where P and LXX are sufficiently close, there is a clear knowledge and imitation

of P in this text (Is 1.2, Ps 12.4). Often it is clear that P is indeed the base text being used by the translator until he finds a discrepancy sufficient to warrant his own rendering, a technique especially in evidence at Ps 77.15ff. and Is 53.7-8 as well as elsewhere on a smaller scale, e.g. Job 12.22 (only word order making the change necessary) and Ps 49.2-3. He evidently has a great deal of respect for P and a desire to use it, but never at the expense of his Vorlage (see Ps 77.15ff. for a possible exception).

Ep74

Follows the Greek only where this differs from P.

Ep101

Two simple citations, following P exactly, but not in defiance of the Greek.

CO/CT

As we noted that these texts show very mixed methods generally in their translation techniques, so here also we can discern an ambivalent attitude towards the Peshitta text. Occasionally this translator adopts a P text rather than respecting his Vorlage (1Ki 18.21, Is 53.3), while on the other hand there are numerous places where P is strongly rejected in favour of LXX, where the readings differ substantially (e.g. Is 40.15, Job 4.19) or a new rendering is simply given even where P and LXX are similar in their readings (e.g. Ps 23.10, Ps 146.6, Sus 42). At the majority of places, however, some P influence can be detected. Sometimes, this means that P is used and only altered where strictly necessary to ensure the meaning of the Greek text is being properly conveyed (e.g. Ps 51.3-4, Ps 76.4, Ps 199.2, Pr 19.5, Amos 7.14f., Jer 9.1); elsewhere, the version is properly speaking independent of P but the translator's knowledge of P still shows through in his choice of words or phrasing (e.g. Pr 9.9, Is 11.1-3, possibly Isa 49.3-6). In one place (Is 9.6) he may be using an already revised version of P which is found in some mss. Ultimately, the *signifié* of the LXX is the motivating factor in all his renderings, but P cannot be set aside as it has still a significant hold on how this translator composes his citations.

AT

At a few places there is some suggestion that P has influenced the wording of AT, (e.g. Ex 12.46, Zech 4.10, Is 8.18, Wis 1.7) but we cannot be certain about this as these verses are often very simple anyway. In the majority of citations, AT is quite independent of P, using his own quite divergent techniques (Gen 4.26, Ps 18.10, Is 40.5, Ezek 34.14 etc.)

GL

P is generally followed to the letter (e.g. Dan 7.10), sometimes even for long periods (Dt 17.2-6), although where LXX is substantially different, there is no doubt that Moses follows the latter instead, a fact that can be seen to some degree in a majority of the citations, e.g. at Ps 118.105, Pr 2.4 and Dt 17.2-6, Isa. 55.8-9.

Moses' Letters

Paphnutius and Moses clearly use a Peshitta text throughout, varying it only for fitting the context. If they were aware of divergent LXX readings, they do not show it in these citations (e.g. Eccl 7.11). At one place we can even see an earlier form of the P-text than we have in our mss (Eccl 10.1-2). The same is true of Moses' correspondence as contained in Zacharias Rhetor.

3.iv

Further Light from Other Texts

3.i-ii dealt systematically with the texts from various angles in an attempt to describe as fully as possible the differences between the various translation techniques found therein. Part 3.iv aims, as it were, to 'pick up the pieces' by dealing with a number of other issues, all of which help to throw some further light on our texts, their histories and contexts. The first of these concerns the posited revision of the *Explanatio*. We then move on to look at the various versions of the 12 anathemas current in Syriac texts, the usefulness of studying patristic citations in the *Contra Orientales*, the text of Zeno's *Henotikon* in Syriac, and finally the general question of the relationship between Cyril's writings and the theological language of Philoxenus.

3.iv.a

The Two Versions of the *Explanatio Duodecim Capitulorum*

"Why after so many and so distinguished translators do you imagine that you have something original to say?"   Augustine[1]

The text of the EDC contained in Add 14663 (s.6/7), f.1r-2v, differs from that found printed by Bedjan from Add 14557(s.7), f.14r-21r (of which further copies exist in Add 17150 (s.7/8), f.17r ff., and in Oxford Marsh 101, f.62r-69v).

Here we will aim to show that the published version (EDC2 here) which we have been dealing with so far is, in fact, a revised form of an earlier version (EDC1), which is partially extant in Add 14663. On the whole the wording of the versions is very close and the revision has only focused upon specific items and grammatical issues in its attempt to bring it up to date with more 'current' trends in translation technique. Some of the principle differences will be illustrated in what follows:

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[1] As quoted by Jerome, *Ep.112*, CSEL 55, 390,13-14.

Note firstly the following sentence, with EDC1 given on the upper line, EDC2 on the lower [22,10-15 / f.18vb-19ra]

καίτοι γὰρ ὑπάρχων αὐτὸς τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος χορηγὸς καὶ οὐκ ἐκ μέτρου διδοὺς

ܦܠܚܐ ܗܠ ܗܒܬ ܪܒܝܐܒ ܗܘܐ ܘܠܐ .ܪܝܩܕܐ ܪܘܚܐ ܗܘܗܘ ܗܘܐ ܗܘ ܝܟ ܕܟ ܗܐ

ܦܠܚܐ ܗܠ ܗܒܘ ܪܒܘܐܒ ܢ ܗܘܐ ܘܠܐ: ܪܝܩܕܐ ܪܘܚܐ ܗܘܗܘ ܗܘ ,ܡܕܝܐ ܕܟ ܗܐܘ

τοῖς ἀξιοῖς αὐτό (πλήρης γάρ ἐστιν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πληρώματος αὐτοῦ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἐλάβομεν κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον),

.ܒܬܒܐܕ ܐܝܟ ܕܝܢ ܩܒܠܢ ܟܠ ܡܢܛܠܘܬܗ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܡܠܝܐ ܝܟ ܗܘ .ܗܠ ܦܐܝ

.ܒܬܒܐܕ ܐܝܟ ܩܒܠܢ ܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܡܡܠܝܘܬܗ ܡܢ ,ܡܕܝܐ ܝܟ ܪܟܠܗ: ܦܐܝ

οἰκονομικῶς ὡς ἄνθρωπος κεχρῖσθαι λέγεται νοητῶς, καταπτάντος ἐπ' αὐτὸν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἵνα καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν καταμείνῃ,

ܡܢ ܐܟܕܐ ܪܝܩܕܐ ܪܘܚ ,ܡܥܠܝ ܗܘܝ ܗܘܝܬܗ ܕ ܡܣܬܟܠܐܕ ܐܬܐܪܘܬܗ ܪܒܘܝܬܒ ܡܛܠ

.ܢܩܘܐ

ܪܘܚ ,ܡܥܠܝ ܐܟܐܢ ܪ ܡܬܐܟܠܬܡܣܐ ܗܘ ܡܣܬܟܠܐܕ ܐܬܐܪܘܬܗ ܪܟܝܐ ܒܪ ܐܝܟ ܐܬܪܝܬܒ

ܝܪܒܢ ܡܢ ܐܟܕܐ .ܪܝܩܕܐ

καίτοι διὰ τὴν ἐν Ἀδὰμ παράβασιν ἀποφοιτῆσαν ἐν' ἀρχαῖς.

.ܡܢ ܗܘܐ ܦܪܩ ܦܪܐܕܐ ܚܛܝܗܘܣ ܒܪ ܡܛܠܕ ܗܘ

.ܪܪܝܫܒ ܫܢܝ ܦܪܐܕ ܐܬܐܪܘܬܐܬܗ ܡܛܠܕ ܗܘ

Note, for example, EDC2's grammatical revisions, such as ܗܘܐ (ὑπάρχων) and ܗܘ (ἐστίν) to ,ܡܕܝܐ; the correct tense equivalents of ܗܒܘ (not ܗܒܬ) for διδοὺς and ܩܒܠܢ (not ܢܣܒ ܩܒܠܢ) for ἐλάβομεν; the adverbial ܐܬܐܪܘܬܗ (not ܐܬܐܪܘܬܗ ܡܛܠ) for οἰκονομικῶς. Also the closer lexical representations, such as ܪܒܝܐܒ ܡܢ rather than ܪܒܝܐܒ for ἐκ μέτρου; ܐܬܐܪܘܬܐܬܗ rather than ܚܛܝܗܘܣ ܒܪ for παράβασιν; ܫܢܝ rather than ܦܪܩ for ἀποφοιτῆσαν.

And again the following sentence [25,2-6 / f.20va-b]:

τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ ζωοποιὸν καὶ ἀναίμακτον ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τελοῦμεν θυσίαν,

.ܡܫܠܡܝܢ ܪܒܥܕܬܐ ܡܬܒܪ ܪܒܢ ܕܠܐ ܪܒܝܕܡܐ ܪܚܝܐ ܪܚܝܒܐܕ

ܕܡ̈ܝܬܐ ܘܚ̈ܝܐ [1] ܕܡ̈ܝܐ ܘܕܝܢ ܘܩܕܝܫܐ ܒܝ̈ܬܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ

οὐκ ἑνὸς τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἀνθρώπου κοινοῦ σῶμα πιστεύοντες εἶναι τὸ προκείμενον,

(Syriac text, three lines)

ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸ τίμιον αἶμα, δεχόμενοι δὲ μᾶλλον ὡς ἴδιον σῶμα γενονὸς καὶ μέντοι καὶ αἶμα τοῦ τὰ πάντα ζωογονοῦντος λόγου.

(Syriac text, three lines)

κοινὴ γὰρ σάρξ ζωοποιεῖν οὐ δύναται, καὶ τούτου μάρτυς αὐτὸς ὁ σωτὴρ λέγων·

(Syriac text, two lines)

While EDC2 corrects small textual errors (omitting ܕܐܠܗܐ after ܒܪܗ) it can also retain some of EDC1's imprecisions (ܚܝܐ for ζωοποιὸν, and also its position in front of ܘܕܝܢ). Other important differences include changing ܓܘܫܡܐ to ܦܓܪܐ (σῶμα) and to ܒܣܪܐ (σάρξ); ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܗܟܢ for ὁμοίως (EDC has simply ܗܟܢܐ), ܗܘܐ rather than ܚܝ for ζωογονοῦντος; for ζωοποιεῖν οὐ δύναται improving ܚܝܘ ܠܡܚܝܘ ܠܐ ܡܨܝܐ to ܠܡܚܝܘ ܠܐ ܡܨܝܐ.

These examples suffice to show the general nature of the revision process, very much comparable to similar examples which we have already had cause to mention (such as the two versions of Proclus' *Tomus ad Armenios*, see above Part1).

Finally, we list here also a few important lexical differences which ought to be mentioned (folio numbers for EDC1 are given before those for EDC2):

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[1] ܕܠܐ ܕܡܐ Marsh 101; 'blameless' rather than 'bloodless'.

For σεσαρκωμένον καὶ ἐνανθρωπήσαντα, EDC1 has ܪܒܝܢ ܪܥܡܐ ܡܐܟܠܗ where in EDC2 the latter half becomes ܗܬܒܝܢ [23,5/f.19rb/f.1va]. This is a vital piece of evidence for corroborating the general thesis of De Halleux regarding the credal revisions brought about by Philoxenus (as already discussed variously above), a process which developed apparently over a number of stages, of which the formula in EDC2 represents the penultimate, predating the advance to ܗܬܒܝܢܐ ܝܡܒܗܬ. This piece of evidence would appear to make the revision of post-Philoxenian provenance, a conclusion at which we arrived independently in our earlier examination of EDC.

οὐσιωδῶς, EDC2 ܗܪܟܒܝ, EDC1 ܪܟܒ ܝܒ [23,22/f.19vb/f.1vb]. The unrevised version belongs to a period when even the ὁμοούσιος was not given exclusive equivalence, but would have to share the idiom ܪܟܒ ܝܒ with other terms. EDC2 represents the period of tighter control.

πνεῦμα ἅγιον, EDC2 ܪܟܝܠܐ ܪܘܐܝ, EDC1 ܪܟܝܐܩܝ ܪܘܐܝ [23,22/f.19vb/f.1vb]. This is a well-known alteration which seems to have begun in earnest with the Philoxenian NT, and which was not limited to this particular phrase but to adjectival phrases in general.

τῶν τῆς ἀνθρωπότητος μετρῶν EDC2 ܪܗܩܝܪܝ ܪܗܘܩܡܒ, EDC1 ܪܗܝܝܪ ܪܗܘܩܡܒ [24,12/f.20rb/f.2ra]. Again, a matter of formal accuracy – the converse of the previous example.

σῶμα EDC1 ܪܒܝܟܩܠ, EDC2 ܪܝܟܐ [25,3/f.2rb/f.20va],
σάρκα EDC1 ܪܒܝܟܩܠ, EDC2 ܪܝܡܒ [25,20/f.2vb/f.21ra]
σαρκὶ, EDC1 ܝܟܐܒ, EDC2 ܪܝܡܒܒ [25,25/f.2vb/f.21rb]

EDC1's inconsistency is just what we encountered in RF (and occasionally in Ep45/46 and Ep50). The revision of this language again falls under De Halleux's reconstruction of the Philoxenian credal revisions and dates our revision after it.

Further important findings can be made from the New Testament citations found in EDC1. These will be covered under the appropriate heading.

The Twelve Chapters – Some Different Versions

Cyril's 12 chapters/anathemas are to be found frequently in Syriac texts, both as a discrete unit, in florilegia etc., and also as part of the Syriac versions of his various works which include the text of the chapters (Ep17, if it existed in Syriac, EDC, CO, CT and occasionally in a few others). This section is a comparison of the Syriac translations of the chapters in all instances of them that could be found either in British Library florilegia or in the larger texts, as these throw up some interesting observations regarding their relationships and perhaps also on the reception and use of these 'chapters' in the Syriac literature more generally.

The following sigla will be used here only:

E1 = version of EDC from Add.14557, the version used as our main text elsewhere

E2 = another copy (in Add.17150) of the same version of EDC [anathemas 1-4 only]

E3 = the unrevised version of EDC found in Add.14663 [anathemas 7-12 only]

B1 = 12chs from Add.14613, s.ix/x [essentially same as in E1]

B2 = 12chs from Add.17201, s.vi/vii [essentially same as in E3]

CO = Contra Orientales (Add.12156)

CT = Contra Theodoretum (Add.12156)

N1 = from CamOr1319, no.VI.[1]

N2 = from CamOr 1319, no.I/XI (N2a and N2b respectively where different).

The order of the texts given below is:

E1

B2

CO

CT

N1

---

[1] Text edited in Abramowski and Goodman, *Nestorian Collection*, with collation of the 12 chapters given in the accompanying volume, p.xx-xxv.

[E2/B1's variants from EDC in first apparatus]

[E3's variants from B2 in second apparatus (anathemas 7-12 only)[1]]

1ˢᵗ Anathema

εἴ τις οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ θεὸν εἶναι κατὰ ἀλήθειαν τὸν Ἐμμανουὴλ

καὶ διὰ τοῦτο θεοτόκον τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον

(γεγέννηκεν γὰρ σαρκικῶς σάρκα γεγονότα τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ λόγον), ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

---

[1] B2 must have been excerpted from E3, which is thus the earlier form of this version; however, because the latter is extant only for anathemas 8-12, the text printed is that of B2 with the variants of E3 noted in the second apparatus.

[2] ܚܫܝܒ leg. ms.; ܝܬܝܪ Marsh 101.

[3] ܩܕܝܫܐ leg. ms; ܩܕܝܫܐ Marsh 101.

[4] om N2b.

ܢܘܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܘܗܕ ܐܗܠܐ ܐܬܠܬܠ ܐܝܪܝܓܦ ܪܝܓ ܬܝܠ .

ܢܘܗܐ ܐܝܘܬ ܐܡܚܠ ܐܘܗ ܕܟ ܐܗܠܐ ܢܡܕ ܐܬܠܬܠ ܐܝܪܝܡܒ ܪܝܓ ܬܝܠ .

ܢܘܗܐ ܐܝܘܬ ܐܡܚܠ ܐܘܗ ܕܟ ܪܡܐ ܐܗܠܐ ܢܡܕ ܐܬܠܬܠ ܐܝܪܝܡܒ ܪܝܓ ܬܝܠ .

ܐܘܗܕ] om E2 B1

2nd Anathema

Three further witnesses added to the apparatus: Philoxenus, EpS 42,26-9; Add12155, f.32v; Add12154,f.17v.

εἴ τις οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ σαρκὶ καθ᾽ὑπόστασιν ἡνῶσθαι τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς λόγον,

ܪܡܐ ܐܗܠܐ ܢܡܕ ܐܬܠܡ ܐܡܚܠ ܬܝܐܡܘܢܩ ܕܚܬܡܕ ܐܕܘܡ ܐܠܕ ܢܡ :

ܪܡܐ ܢܡܕ ܐܬܠܡ ܡܥ ,ܗܬܝܐ ܬܝܐܡܘܢܩ ܪܝܦ ܐܠܝܕ ܐܕܗ ܐܠܕ ܢܡ :

CO om.

ܪܡܐ ܐܗܠܐ ܢܡܕ ܐܬܠܡ ܬܝܐܡܘܢܩ ܐܝܪܝܦܠ ܕܚܬܡܕ ܐܕܗ ܐܠܕ ܢܡ .

ܪܡܐ ܐܗܠܐ ܢܡܕ ܐܬܠܡ ܐܡܚܠ ܕܚܬܡ ܬܝܐܡܘܢܩܕ ܐܕܗ ܐܠܕ ܢܡ :

ܪܡܐ ܐܗܠܐ ܢܡܕ ܐܬܠܡ ܐܡܚܠ ܕܚܬܡ ܬܝܐܡܘܢܩܕ ܐܕܗ ܐܠܕ ܢܡ :

ܬܝܐܡܘܢܩ ܕܚܬܡ] transp. Phx

ἕνα τε εἶναι Χριστὸν μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας σαρκός,

ܗܪܡܚܒ ܥܡ ܐܚܝܫܡ ,ܗܬܝܐ ܕܚܘ :

ܐܝܪܝܓܦ ܦܐ ,ܗܬܝܐ ܐܚܝܫܡ ܕܚܘ :

CO om.

ܗܠܝܕ ܐܪܓܦ ܥܡ ܐܚܝܫܡ ,ܗܬܝܐ ܕܚܘ .

ܗܪܡܚܒ ܥܡ ܐܚܝܫܡ ܢܘܢܗܘ :

ܗܪܡܚܒ ܥܡ ܐܚܝܫܡ ,ܗܬܝܐ ܢܘܢܗܘ :

τὸν αὐτὸν δηλονότι θεόν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἄνθρωπον, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

ܐܘܗܢ ܐܝܘܬ ܐܫܢܪܒܘ ܐܗܠܐ ܘܗ ܗܒ ܘܗ ܢܝܕ ܡܚܪ

ܢܘܗ ܐܘܗܢ ܐܫܢܪܒܘ ܐܗܠܐ ܘܗ ܗܒ ܘܗܘܗܘ .

CO om.

[Syriac text lines]

ℜ݂ܝ݂ℜ add. ante [Syriac] Phx E2 Add12514; [Syriac] [Syriac] Add 12155 [1]

3rd *Anathema*

The text of Add 12155, f.36v is added as the last line. In that florilegium it is introduced as being from the letter to Nestorius, so he may be quoting from a Syriac version of that letter. This text also appears in Add 12154, f.24r, with some minor variants ([Syriac] for [Syriac]; [Syriac] add post [Syriac]; [Syriac] [Syriac] for [Syriac]) but is clearly the same text and introduces itself in the same way.

εἴ τις ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς Χριστοῦ διαιρεῖ τὰς ὑποστάσεις μετὰ τὴν ἕνωσιν,

[Syriac text lines]

μόνῃ συνάπτων αὐτὰς συναφείᾳ τῇ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν, ἢ γοῦν αὐθεντίαν ἢ δυναστείαν,

[Syriac text lines]

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[1] The omission of any equivalent for ὁμοῦ in E1 is most likely a scribal error, perpetuated in Marsh 101.

καὶ οὐχὶ δὴ μᾶλλον συνόδῳ τῇ καθ' ἕνωσιν φυσικήν, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω

[Syriac text — six lines]

[Syriac text — two lines, separated]

[Syriac text — two lines]

[Syriac text — single line]

ܐܝܬܝܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܠܐ] ܐܝܬܝܗܝ ܕܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܠܐ Add 12155, f.32v

ܗܘܐ ܟܝܢܐ] ܟܝܢ ܗܘܐ Add 12155, f.32v

4th anathema

The bottom line added here is the citation from Ep40 [33,3-7]

εἴ τις προσώποις δυσὶν, ἢ γοῦν ὑποστάσεσιν,

[Syriac text — four lines]

[Syriac text — two lines]

[Syriac text — single line]

τάς τε ἐν τοῖς εὐαγγελικοῖς καὶ ἀποστολικοῖς συγγράμμασιν διανέμει φωνάς,

[Syriac text — two lines]

(Syriac text, four lines)

[Ep40 Gk om.]

ܐܘܠܗ̈ܘܬܐ] ܐܘܠܗ̈ܘܬܐ B1

ἢ ἐπὶ Χριστῷ παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων λεγομένας, ἢ παρ'αὐτοῦ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ·

(Syriac text, four lines)[1]

(Syriac text, two lines)

[Ep40 Gk om.]

ܐܘ add post ܡܢܗ B1

καὶ τὰς μὲν ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ παρὰ τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ λόγον ἰδικῶς νοουμένῳ προσάπτει,

(Syriac text, four lines)[2]

(Syriac text, two lines)

(Syriac text, one line)

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[1] ܐܝܠܝܢ Marsh 101.

[2] ܕܒܐܝܬܘܬܐ ܐܬܚܝܕ Marsh 101.

τὰς δὲ ὡς θεοπρεπεῖς μόνῳ τῷ ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς λόγῳ, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܕܝܗ̈ܒܐ [1] ܠܐܠܗܐ ܠܒܠܚܘܕܘܗܝ، ܠܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܒܐ ܢܗܘܐ܀

ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܠܝܢ ܕܝܗ̈ܒܐ: ܠܐܠܗܐ ܠܒܠܚܘܕܘܗܝ، ܠܗܘ ܠܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܟܘܡ ܢܗܘܐ ܚܪܡ.

ܘܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܕܚ̈ܠܬܐ ܘܡܢ̈ܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ. ܠܡܠܬܐ ܠܒܠܚܘܕܘܗܝ، ܠܗܘ ܕܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܒܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܚܪܡ.

ܘܡܢܗܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܫܒܝ̈ܚܬܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܠܗܘ ܕܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܚܪܡ.

ܘܡܢܗܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܠܗܐܝܬ ܠܟܠ ܕܗܒܐ܀ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܚܪܡ.

ܘܡܢܗܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܠܗܐܝܬ ܠܟܠ ܕܗܒܐ: ܠܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܒܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܚܪܡ.

ܘܡܢܗܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܠܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܠܗܐܝܬ ܠܟܠ: ܢܗܘܐ ܗܘܢ [ܚܪܡ..]

5th anathema

εἴ τις τολμᾷ λέγειν θεοφόρον ἄνθρωπον τὸν Χριστὸν

ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܡܡܪܚ ܕܢܐܡܪ ܒܪ ܢܫܐ ܫܩܝܠ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ:

ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܡܡܪܚ ܕܢܐܡܪ ܥܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܗܘ ܒܪ ܢܫܐ ܗܘ ܕܫܩܝܠ ܠܐܠܗܐ:

CO om.

ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܡܡܪܚ ܠܡܐܡܪ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܫܩܠ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ:

ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܡܡܪܚ ܕܢܐܡܪ ܥܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܕܗܘ ܒܪ ܢܫܐ ܗܘ ܕܫܩܝܠ ܠܐܠܗܐ.

ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܡܡܪܚ ܠܡܐܡܪ ܥܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܗܘ ܒܪ ܢܫܐ ܗܘ ܕܫܩܝܠ ܠܐܠܗܐ:

καὶ οὐχὶ δὴ μᾶλλον θεὸν εἶναι κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ὡς υἱὸν ἕνα καῖ φύσει,

ܘܠܐ ܕܫܪܝܪܐܝܬ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܒܪܝܪܐ: ܐܝܟ ܚܕ ܒܪܐ ܐܦ ܒܟܝܢܐ

ܘܠܐ ܕܫܪܝܪܐܝܬ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܒܪܝܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܚܕ ܒܪܐ ܐܦ ܒܟܝܢܐ:

CO om.

ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܝܬܝܪܐܝܬ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܒܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܫ ܝܚܝܕܐܝܬ ܐܦ ܒܟܝܢܐ:

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[1] om. Marsh 101.

ܘܠܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܠܟܘܢ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܒܪܝܐ. ܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܕܒܪ ܕܒܚܝܠܐ

ܘܠܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܬܐܝܟܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܒܪܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܕܒܪ ܕܒܚܝܠܐ

καθὸ γέγονε σὰρξ ὁ λόγος καὶ κεκοινώνηκε

ܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܕܗܘܐ ܒܣܪܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܒܣܪܐ ܘܐܬܚܠܛ

ܡܛܠ ܕܗܘܐ ܒܣܪ ܗܘ ܡܠܬܐ ܘܐܬܚܠܛ ܠ܂

CO om.

ܟܕ، ܗܘܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܒܣܪܐ: ܒܣܪܐ ܘܐܬܚܠܛ

ܒܪܗ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܒܣܪܐ ܘܐܬܚܠܛ

ܟܕ، ܗܘܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܒܣܪܐ ܘܐܬܚܠܛ

παραπλησίως ἡμῖν αἵματος καὶ σαρκός, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

ܟܕ ¹ ܒܕܡܘܬܢ܂ ܕܕܡܐ ܘܒܣܪܐ. ܚܪܡ ܗܘܐ

ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܒܒܣܪܐ ܘܒܕܡܐ. ܗܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܚܪܡ

CO om.

ܒܕܡܘܬܢ ܠܒܣܪܐ ܘܒܕܡܐ. ܗܘܐ ܚܪܡ

ܠܒܣܪܐ ܘܕܡܐ ܗܘܐ ܚܪܡ

ܠܒܣܪܐ ܘܕܡܐ ܗܘܐ ܚܪܡ

6ᵗʰ anathema

εἴ τις λέγει θεὸν ἢ δεσπότην εἶναι τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς λόγον

ܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܘ ܡܪܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗ:

ܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܗܘ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܘ ܡܪܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗ:

CO om.

ܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ، ܐܘ ܡܪܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܐܠܗ.

ܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܪܗ ܐܘ ܗܘ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗ.

ܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܪܗ ܐܘ ܗܘ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗ.

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¹ om.Marsh 101.

καὶ οὐχὶ δὴ μᾶλλον τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμολογεῖ θεόν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ ἄνθρωπον,

ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܝܬܝܪܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܠܗ ܡܘܕܐ܆ܐܠܗܐ ܐܟܚܕ ܘܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ:

ܘܠܐ ܝܬܝܪܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘܡܐ ܘܡܘܕܐ ܘܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ:

CO om.

ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܝܬܝܪܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܘܕܐ ܒܪܝܫܐ.

ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܝܬܝܪܐ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܘܕܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܒܪܝܫܐ

ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܝܬܝܪܐܝܬ ܗܘܡܐ ܡܘܕܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܒܪܝܫܐ

ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ] ܘܒܪܝܫܐ B1

ὡς γεγονότος σαρκὸς τοῦ λόγου κατὰ τὰς γραφάς, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

ܐܝܟ ܕܗܘܐ ܒܣܪܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܟܬܒܐ ܚܪܡ ܢܗܘܐ.

ܡܛܠ ܕܗܘܐ ܒܣܪܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܗܘ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܟܬܒܐ. ܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ ܢܗܝܪ.

CO om.

ܡܛܠ ܕܝ ܗܘܐ ܒܣܪܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܟܬܒܐ ܗܘܐ ܢܗܝܪ.

ܒܗܘܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܒܣܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܟܬܒܐ ܗܘܐ ܢܗܝܪ.

ܗܘܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܒܣܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܟܬܒܐ ܗܘܐ ܢܗܝܪ.

7th anathema

εἴ τίς φησιν ὡς ἄνθρωπον ἐνηργῆσθαι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγου τὸν Ἰησοῦν

ܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܐܬܚܫܚ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܒܝܫܘܥ

ܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܒܪܝܫܐ ܡܢ ܡܠܬܐ ܫܘܥ ܗܘ ܐܬܚܫܚ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܬܐ:ܕܒܪ ܐܠܗܐ

ܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܒܪܝܫܐ ܐܬܚܫܒ ܡܢ ܡܠܬܐ ܒܝܫܘܥ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܬܐ.

ܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܝܟ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܐܬܚܫܒ ܡܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܬܐ

ܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܐܬܚܫܒܘ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܬܐ.

ܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܐܬܚܫܒ ܡܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܬܐ.

ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ] ܘܒܪܝܫܐ B1

καὶ τὴν τοῦ μονογενοῦς εὐδοξίαν περιῆφθαι,

ܘܟܘܼܚܕܵܐ ܕܝܼܚܝܼܕܵܐ ܐܬܦ ܠܗ:

ܘܟܘܼܚܕܵܐ ܕܝܼܚܝܼܕܵܐ ܐܪܦ ܠܗ:

ܘܠܟܘܼܚܕܬܗ ܕܝܼܚܝܼܕܵܐ ܣܚܦ ܠܗ

ܘܠܟܘܼܚܕܬܗ ܕܝܼܚܝܼܕܵܐ ܣܚܦ ܠܗ:

ܘܣܒܪܟܐ ܕܝܼܚܝܼܕܵܐ ܐܬܓܠܙ

ܘܣܒܪܟܐ ܕܝܼܚܝܼܕܵܐ ܐܡܪ ܕܡܣܒܪ ܠܗ,

ὡς ἑτέρῳ παρ᾽ αὐτὸν ὑπάρχοντι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܗܘ ܕܐܚܪܝܢ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ, ܠܒܪ ܡܢܗ. ܢܗܘܐ ܚܪܡ

ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܗܘ ܕܐܚܪܝܢ ܗܘ ܠܒܪ ܡܢܗ. ܗܘܐ ܗ ܚܪܡ

ܐܝܟ ܕܐܚܪܝܢܐ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ, ܠܒܪ ܡܢܗ. ܢܗܘܐ ܚܪܡ

ܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܐܚܪܝܢ ܗܘ ܠܒܪ ܡܢܗ. ܢܗܘܐ ܚܪܡ

ܐܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܚܪܝܢ ܗܘ ܠܒܪ ܡܢܗ. ܢܗܘܐ ܚܪܡ

ܐܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܚܪܝܢ ܗܘ ܠܒܪ ܡܢܗ. ܢܗܘܐ ܚܪܡ

ܐܚܪܝܢ] ܐܚܪܝܢܐ E3

ܗܘ] ܐܝܬܘܗܝ, E3

8th anathema

εἴ τις τολμᾷ λέγειν τὸν ἀναληφθέντα ἄνθρωπον συμπροσκυνεῖσθαι δεῖν τῷ θεῷ
λόγῳ

ܐܢ ܡܢ ܕܡܪܚ ܘܐܡܪ ܕܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܐܬܢܣܒ. ܕܥܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܐܦ ܡܠܬܐ ܢܣܬܓܕ:

ܐܢ ܡܢ ܕܡܪܚ ܘܐܡܪ ܕܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܐܬܢܣܒ. ܥܡܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܐܦ ܡܠܬܐ ܢܣܬܓܕ.

ܐܢ ܡܢ ܕܡܪܚ ܘܐܡܪ ܕܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܐܬܢܣܒ. ܥܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܩܕܢ ܢܣܬܓܕ

ܐܢ ܡܢ ܕܡܪܚ ܘܐܡܪ ܕܐܬܢܣܒ ܕܢ ܩܒܠ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܥܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܬܐ

ܐܢ ܡܢ ܕܡܪܚ ܘܐܡܪ ܕܠܒܪܢܫܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܢܣܒ ܥܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܢ ܗ ܠܡܣܓܕ ܠܗ:

ܐܢ ܡܢ ܕܡܪܚ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܬܢܣܒ [1] ܥܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܢ ܗ ܠܡܣܓܕ ܠܗ:

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[1] ܗܘ add. N2a.

ܐܡܪ ܠܒܪ] ܠܒܪܝܐ B1

ܠܒܪܝܐ] ܐܡܪ ܠܒܪ E3

ܝܡܗ] ܝܡܗܝ E3

καὶ συνδοξάζεσθαι καὶ συνχρηματίζειν θεὸν ὡς ἕτερον ἑτέρῳ

ܘܝܡܗ ܘܝܡܗ̈ܝ ܘܝܡܗܬܝ: ܐܠܗܐ ܠܟܠ ܐܝܟ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܥܡ ܐܚܪܢܐ:

ܘܝܡܗ ܘܝܡܗ̈ܝ: ܐܠܗܐ ܠܟܠ ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܒܘܝܐ ܐܝܟܘ ܐܒܘܗܝ, ܒܘܝܐ.

ܘܗܬܝܣܐ ܘܝܡܗ̈ܝ. ܐܠܗܐ ܠܟܠ ܐܝܟ ܒܘܝ ܥܡ ܐܚܪܢܐ:

ܘܝܡܗܬܝ ܘܝܡܗ̈ܝ ܥܡ ܠܟܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܐܚܪܢܝܐ

ܘܝܡܗ ܠܐܬܚܫܒܘ. ܘܝܡܗ ܠܐܬܝܫܒܘ ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܐܚܪܢܝܐ

ܘܠܬܚܫܒܘ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܠܐܬܚܫܒܘ ܐܠܗܐ: ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܐܚܪܢܝܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܐܒܘܗܝ,

ܒܝܡܗܐ] ܒܝܡܗܬܐ E3

(τὸ γὰρ σύν ἀεὶ προστιθέμενον τοῦτο νοεῖν ἀναγκάσει)

ܗܘ, ܓܝܪ ܕܝܢ ܐܬܪܥܝܘܬܐ ܕܡܬܬܘܣܦܐ ܗܘܐ ܚܝ ܢܬܪܥܐ ܠܗܬܚܫܒܘ:

ܗܘܐ ܓܝܪ ܕܝܢ ܡܬܬܘܣܦ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܒܗ ܗܘܐ ܚܝ ܢܬܪܥܐ ܠܗܬܚܫܒܘ

[1]om.

om.

ܗܘܐ ܓܝܪ ܕܝܢ ܒܗ̇ ܐܬܝܐܘ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܣܒܠ ܠ

[2]ܠܗܬܚܫܒܘ ܕܝܢ ܒܗ̇ ܐܬܬܘܣܦ ܗܘܐ ܓܝܪ ܕܒܟ ܠ

καὶ οὐχὶ δὴ μᾶλλον μιᾷ προσκυνήσει τιμᾷ τὸν Ἐμμανουήλ

ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܝܬܪܐ. ܚܕܐ ܣܓܕܬܐ ܡܝܩܪ ܠܥܡܢܘܐܝܠ:

ܘܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܒܝܬܪ ܒܚܕ ܣܓܕܬܐ ܕܡ̇ܢ ܡܝܩܪ ܠܥܡܢܘܐܝܠ.

ܘܠܐܬ ܒܝܬܪܐ ܒܚܕ ܣܓܕܬܐ ܡܝܩܪ ܠܥܡܢܘܐܝܠ

ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܝܬܝܪ ܒܚܕܐ ܣܓܕܬܐ ܡܝܩܪ ܠܥܡܢܘܐܝܠ.

ܘܠܐ ܕܡܝܩܪ ܒܚܕܐ ܣܓܕܬܐ ܡܟܠ ܢܗܣܓܕܘ ܠܥܡܢܘܐܝܠ.

ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܝܬܝܪ ܒܚܕ ܣܓܕܬܐ ܡܝܩܪ ܠܥܡܢܘܐܝܠ.

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[1] Many of the Greek mss. also omit these words, not just in CO and CT, but in all citations of the anathemas.

[2] Erroneously as ܠܗܬܣܠ in the collation, Abramowski and Goodman, *Nestorian Collection*, xxii.

καὶ μίαν αὐτῷ τὴν δοξολογίαν ἀνάπτει καθὸ γέγονεν σὰρξ ὁ λόγος, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

ܘܐܢ ܐܢܫ ܠܡ ܥܠ ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܒܣܪܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܒܝܪ ܗܘܐ

ܘܚܕ ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܕܒܣܪ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ ܘܗܘܐ ܒܝܪ.

ܘܐܢ ܬܘܕܝܬܐ ܣܝܡ ܠܗ ܡܚܘ ܕܗܘܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܒܣܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܝܪ.

ܘܐܢ ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܬܘܒ ܠܗ ܡܚܘ ܕܗܘܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܒܣܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܝܪ.

ܘܐܢ ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܠܗ ܠܡܩܘܡ ܕܗܘܐ ܒܣܪܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܝܪ.

ܘܐܢ ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܣܝܡ ܠܗ ܡܛܠ ܕܗܘܐ ܒܣܪܐ ܗܘ ܡܠܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܝܪ.

ܗܘܐ om. E3

9th anathema

9th anathema

εἴ τίς φησιν τὸν ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν δεδοξάσθαι παρὰ τοῦ πνεύματος

ܐܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܥܠ ܚܕ ܡܪܝܐ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܐܫܬܒܚ:

ܐܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܥܠ ܗܘ ܚܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܪܝܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ: ܕܡܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܐܫܬܒܚ ܗܘܐ:

ܐܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗܘ ܚܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܪܝܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܫܬܒܚ ܡܢ ܪܘܚܐ:

ܐܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗܘ ܚܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܪܝܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܫܬܒܚ ܡܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ.

ܐܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܥܠ ܚܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܕܡܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܐܫܬܒܚ.

ܐܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܥܠ ܚܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܐܫܬܒܚ:

ܐܫܬܒܚ] ܐܫܬܒܚ B1

ὡς ἀλλοτρίᾳ δυνάμει τῇ δι'αὐτοῦ χρώμενον

ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܒܚܝܠܐ ܢܘܟܪܝܐ ܕܒܠܗ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܡܬܚܫܚ ܗܘܐ.

ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܒܚܝܠܐ ܢܘܟܪܝܐ ܕܒܠܗ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܡܬܚܫܚ ܗܘܐ:

ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܒܚܝܠܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܕܒܠܗ ܡܬܚܫܚ ܗܘܐ:

ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܒܚܝܠܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܡܬܚܫܚ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ.

ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܒܚܝܠܐ ܢܘܟܪܝܐ ܕܒܝܕܗ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܡܬܚܫܚ ܗܘܐ

ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܒܚܝܠܐ ܢܘܟܪܝܐ ܡܬܚܫܚ[1] ܒܕ ܚܝܠ ܕܪܘܚܐ:

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[1] ܡܬܚܫܚ N2a

καὶ παρ’ αὐτοῦ λαβόντα τὸ ἐνεργεῖν δύνασθαι κατὰ πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων

ܘܡܫܚ ܢܣܒ ܡܢܗ܆ ܕܢܬܚܝܠ ܠܡܥܒܕ ܪܘܚܐ ܠܛܢܦܐ:

ܘܐܝܟ ܕܡܫܚ ܢܣܒ ܗܘܐ ܡܢܗ ܚܝܠܐ ܠܡܥܒܕ ܪܘܚܐ ܠܛܢܦܐ:

ܘܡܫܚ ܢܣܒ ܗܘܐ ܡܢܗ܆ ܕܢܬܚܝܠ ܠܡܥܒܕ ܪܘܚܐ ܠܛܢܦܬܐ:

ܘܡܫܚ ܢܣܒ ܗܘܐ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܢܬܚܝܠ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܠܛܢܦܐ.

ܘܡܫܚܝܢ ܢܣܒ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܠܡܥܒܕ ܪܘܚܐ ܠܛܢܦܐ

ܘܡܫܚܝܢ ܢܣܒ ܚܝܠܐ ܠܡܥܒܕ ܪܘܚܐ ܠܛܢܦܐ

ܘܡܫܚ] ܡܫܚ B1

καὶ τὸ πληροῦν εἰς ἀνθρώπους τὰς θεοσημείας

ܘܡܫܡܠܐ ܒܒܢܝܢܫܐ ܐܬܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ:

ܘܡܫܡܠܐ ܒܗ ܐܝܟ ܐܬܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ:

ܘܡܫܡܠܐ ܗܘ ܒܗ ܐܝܟ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ.

ܘܡܫܡܠܐ ܒܗ ܐܝܟ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ.

ܘܡܫܡܠܝܢ ܐܬܘܬܐ ܒܒܢܝܢܫܐ:

ܘܡܫܡܠܝܢ ܐܬܘܬܐ ܒܒܢܝܢܫܐ:

καὶ οὐχὶ δὴ μᾶλλον ἴδιον αὐτοῦ τὸ πνεῦμά φησιν

ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܝܬܝܪܐܝܬ ܕܝܠܗ ܗܘ ܪܘܚܐ ܐܡܪ.

ܘܠܐ ܝܬܝܪܐܝܬ ܕܝܠܗ ܗܘ ܪܘܚܐ ܐܡܪ

ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܝܢ ܕܝܠܗ ܝܬܝܪܐܝܬ ܐܡܪ ܠܪܘܚܐ:

ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܝܢ ܝܬܝܪܐܝܬ ܕܝܠܗ ܐܡܪ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ:

ܘܠܐ ܝܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܡܪ ܕܝܠܗ ܗܘ ܪܘܚܐ ܚܣܝܐܝܬ.

ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܝܢ ܝܬܝܪܐܝܬ ܕܝܠܗ ܗܘ ܪܘܚܐ ܐܡܪ ܚܣܝܐܝܬ.

δι’ οὗ καὶ ἐνήργηκε τὰς θεοσημείας, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

ܕܒܐܝܕܗ ܐܦ ܣܥܪ ܐܬܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܟܝܢܐ ܢܗܘܐ.

ܗܘ ܕܒܐܝܕܗ ܣܥܪ ܗܘܐ ܐܬܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܗܘܐ ܟܝܢ

ܕܒܐܝܕܗ ܐܦ ܣܥܪ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܟܝܢ.

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[1] bis in E3, sed leg. semel.

ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪܗ ܡܢ ܪܒ ܟܗܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܚܝܪ.

ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪܗ ܡܢ ܐܝܢ ܠܓܒܪܬܐ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܚܝܪ܀

10th anathema

ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἀπόστολον τῆς ὁμολογίας ἡμῶν γεγενῆσθαι Χριστὸν ἡ θεία λέγει

γραφή·

ܗܘܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܝ ܒܪܕܐ ܕܬܘܕܝܬܢ ܕܐܬܓܒܪ ܘܪܒ ܟܗܢܐ ܐܡܪ.

ܥܠ ܗܕܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܝ ܒܪܕܐ ܕܬܘܕܝܬܢ ܐܡܪܝܢ ܪܒ ܟܗܢܐ.

ܕܝ ܒܪܕܐ ܕܬܘܕܝܬܢ ܐܡܪ ܒܪܕܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ.

ܪܝܒ ܒܪܕܐ ܕܬܘܕܝܬܢ ܗܘܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܡܪ ܪܒ ܒܪܕܐ ܐܠܗܐ.

ܕܝܪܒܪܕܐ ܕܬܘܕܝܬܢ ܣܒܪ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܡܪ ܒܪܕܐ ܐܠܗܐ.

ܕܝܪܒܪܕܐ ܕܬܘܕܝܬܢ ܣܒܪ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܡܪ ܒܪܕܐ ܐܠܗܐ.

ܪܗܘܐ] ܪܗܘ ܐܗܕ E3

προσκεκόμικε δὲ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἑαυτὸν εἰς ὀσμὴν εὐωδίας τῷ θεῷ καὶ πατρί.

ܘܩܪܒ ܢܦܫܗ ܚܠܦܝܢ ܪܝܚܐ ܒܣܝܡܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܘܐܒܐ.

ܘܩܪܒ ܢܦܫܗ ܚܠܦܝܢ ܪܝܚܐ ܒܣܝܡܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܐܒܐ.

ܘܩܪܒ ܕܢ ܚܠܦܝܢ ܠܐ ܪܝܚܐ ܒܣܝܡܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܐܒܐ.

ܘܩܪܒ ܢܦܫܗ ܚܠܦܝܢ ܠܐ ܪܝܚܐ ܒܣܝܡܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܘܐܒܐ.

ܘܩܪܒ ܢܦܫܗ ܚܠܦܝܢ ܪܝܚܐ ܒܣܝܡܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܐܒܐ.

ܘܩܪܒ ܢܦܫܗ ܚܠܦܝܢ ܪܝܚܐ ܒܣܝܡܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܐܒܐ.

ܘܩܪܒ] ܘܩܪܒ E3

εἴ τις τοίνυν ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἀπόστολον ἡμῶν γεγενῆσθαι φησιν οὐκ αὐτὸν τὸν ἐκ θεοῦ

λόγον,

ܐܢ ܗܟܝܠ ܡܢ ܐܡܪ ܕܝ ܒܪܕܐ ܕܬܘܕܝܬܢ ܠܐ ܗܘ ܒܠܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܬܘܗܝ.

ܐܢ ܗܟܝܠ ܡܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܐ ܗܘ ܗܕܐ ܒܠܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܪܕܐ ܕܬܘܕܝܬܢ.

ܐܢ ܗܟܝܠ ܡܢ ܐܡܪ ܕܗܘ ܕܝ ܒܪܕܐ ܕܬܘܕܝܬܢ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܠܬܐ.

ܐܢ ܗܟܝܠ ܡܢ ܐܡܪ ܕܗܘ ܕܝ ܒܪܕܐ ܕܬܘܕܝܬܢ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܗܘ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܠܬܐ.

[Syriac text — two lines]

ὅτε γέγνονεν σάρξ καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἄνθρωπος,

[Syriac text]

om.

[Syriac text — two lines]

[Syriac text — two lines]

[Syriac text] B1

ἀλλ' ὡς ἕτερον παρ' αὐτὸν ἰδικῶς ἄνθρωπον ἐκ γυναικός,

[Syriac text — four lines]

[Syriac text — two lines]

ἢ εἴ τις λέγει καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ προσενεγκεῖν αὐτὸν τὴν προφορὰν

[Syriac text — four lines]

[Syriac text — one line]

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[1] An unexpected reading, where B2 appears closer to Greek than E3; but the omission of the next clause in both E3 and B2 (and the notable omission in the 12th anathema) precludes any probability that B2 has been corrected to the Greek text.

אם דאמר̈ דאלהא הܘܐ ܦܫܐ ܘܐܠܘܗ ܡܢ ܐܘ

B1 דאלהא] אܦ ܘ ܦܠܘ דܐܠܘ

E3 אܡܪ] אܡܪ

καὶ οὐχὶ δὴ μᾶλλον ὑπὲρ μόνων ἡμῶν

ܘܐܠ ܐ ܕ ܡܢ[1] ܐܬܟ̈ܬܒ ܕܥܠ ܟܠ ܚܠܦܝܢ.

ܘܐܠ ܐܬܟ̈ܬܒ ܕܥܠ ܟܠ ܚܠܦܝܢ܀

ܘܐܠ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܕ ܐܬܟ̈ܬܒ ܓܠܠܟ ܕܥܠ ܟܠ ܚܠܦܝܢ.

ܘܐܠ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܐܬܟ̈ܬܒ ܕܥܠ ܟܠ ܚܠܦܝܢ܀

ܘܐܠ ܡܢ ܕ ܚܠܦ ܟܠ ܚܠܦܝܢ.

ܘܐܠ ܗܘܐ ܐܬܟ̈ܬܒ ܕܥܠ ܟܠ܀

(οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐδεήθη προσφορᾶς ὁ μὴ εἰδὼς ἁμαρτίαν), ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

ܠܐ ܓܝܪ ܡܣܢܝܩ ܗܘܐ ܥܠ ܩܘܪܒܐ[2] ܗܘ ܕܐܠ ܝܕܥ ܚܛܝܬܐ. ܢܗܘܐ ܚܪܡܐ.

ܠܐ ܓܝܪ ܡܣܢܝܩ ܗܘܐ ܥܠ ܩܘܪܒܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܠ ܝܕܥ ܚܛܝܬܐ. ܢܗܘܐ ܚܪܡ

ܠܐ ܓܝܪ ܡܬܒܥܐ ܗܘܐ ܥܠ ܩܘܪܒܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܠ ܝܕܥ ܚܛܝܬܐ. ܢܚܪܡ.

ܠܐ ܓܝܪ ܡܬܒܥܐ ܗܘܐ ܥܠ ܩܘܪܒܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܠ ܝܕܥ ܚܛܝܬܐ. ܢܚܪܡ.

ܠܐ ܓܝܪ ܡܬܒܥܐ ܥܠ ܩܘܪܒܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܠ ܝܕܥ ܚܛܝܬܐ. ܢܗܘܐ ܚܪܡ

ܠܐ ܓܝܪ ܡܬܒܥܐ[3] ܥܠ ܩܘܪܒܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܠ ܝܕܥ[4] ܚܛܝܬܐ. ܢܗܘܐ ܚܪܡ

11th anathema

εἴ τις οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ τὴν τοῦ κυρίου σάρκα ζωοποιὸν εἶναι

ܡܢ ܕܐܠ ܡܘܕܐ ܕܒܣܪܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܡܚܝܢܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ܀

ܡܢ ܕܐܠ ܡܘܕܐ ܕܒܣܪܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܡܚܝ ܥܠܡܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ܀

ܡܢ ܕܐܠ ܡܘܕܐ ܕܒܣܪܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܡܚܝܢܐ

ܡܢ ܕܐܠ ܡܘܕܐ ܕܒܣܪܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܕܡܚܝܢܐ ܗܘ.

ܡܢ ܕܐܠ ܡܘܕܐ ܕܒܣܪܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܡܚܝܢܐ ܗܘ

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[1] om. Marsh 101.

[2] ܩܘܪܒܐ leg mss.; ܩܘܪܒܐ B1.

[3] ? leg. ܡܣܬܢܝܩ.

[4] ܗܘܐ ܝܕܥ N2a

ܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܪܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܦܐܪܓܗ ¹ܕܒܪܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܚܝܢܐ ܗܘ

καὶ ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἐκ θεοῦ πατρὸς λογοῦ,

ܘܕܝܠܗ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܒܐ:

ܘܕܝܠܗ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ܆ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܒܐ

ܘܕܝܠܗ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܒܐ

ܘܕܝܠܗ ܗܘ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܒܐ.

ܘܕܝܠܗܘܢ ܫܟܝܪܐܝܬ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܒܐ.

ܘܕܝܠܗ ܗܘ ܫܟܝܪܐܝܬ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܒܐ.

E3 ܐܝܬܘܗܝ, ܗܕܗ ܒܪܐ [ܕܒܪܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ, ܗܘܐ ܕܒܪܐ

ἀλλ’ ὡς ἑτέρου τινὸς παρ’ αὐτὸν συνημμένου μὲν αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν

ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܡܕܡ ܕܠܘܬܗ ܡܫܘܬܦ ܠܗ ܒܐܝܩܪܐ:

ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܐܚܪܢܐ ܠܘܬ ܠܗ ܡܕܡ ܡܫܘܬܦ ܠܗ܆ ܐܝܟ ܒܘܣܡܐ:

ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܠܘܬ ܠܗ ܡܕܡ ܡܫܘܬܦ ܠܗ ܒܐܝܩܪܐ

ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܐܚܪܢܐ ܠܘܬ ܠܗ ܡܫܘܬܦ ܡܕܡ ܠܗ ܒܘܣܡܐ.

ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܗܘ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܫܘܬܦ ܠܗ ܒܐܝܩܪܐ.

ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܗܘ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܡܫܘܬܦ ܠܗ ܒܐܝܩܪܐ.

E3 pon. ܠܘܬ ܡܕܡ ante ܐܡܪ ܕܡܫܘܬܦ,

ἢ γοῦν ὡς μόνην θείαν ἐνοίκησιν ἐσχηκότος,

ܐܘ ܕܒܠܚܘܕ ܥܡܘܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܝܐ ܩܢܐ:

ܐܘ ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܒܠܚܘܕ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܝܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܩܢܐ:

ܐܘ ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܒܠܚܘܕ ܥܡܘܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ.

ܐܘ ܕܒܠܚܘܕ ܥܡܘܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܝܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ.

ܐܘ ܕܥܡܘܪܘܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܗܘܬ ܒܗ.

ܐܘ ܕܥܡܘܪܘܬܐ ²ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܗܘܬ ܒܗ.

καὶ οὐχὶ δὴ μᾶλλον ζωοποιόν, ὡς ἔφημεν,

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¹ ܝܫܘܥ add. N2a.
² ܕܐܠܗܐ N2a.

ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܕܐܝܬܝܗ ܚܒܝܫܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܢ:

ܘܠܐ ܐܝܬܝܗ ܕܐܒܐ ܚܝ ܕܒܪܐ ܗܘ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܐܒܐ:

ܘܠܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܬܝܗ ܕܚܝܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ, ܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܕܐܝܬܝܗ:

ܘܠܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܬܝܗ ܕܚܝܐ ܗܘ ܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܕܐܝܬܝܗ.

ܘܠܐ ܕܝܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܚܝܐ ܗܘ ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪܝܢ.

ܘܠܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܬܝܗ ܕܚܝܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ, ܐܝܟ ܐܡܪܝܢ.

E3 ܕܐܝܬܝܗ] ܕܐܝܬܝܗ ܕܚܒܐ

ὅτι γέγονεν ἰδία τοῦ λογοῦ τοῦ τὰ πάντα ζωογονεῖν ἰσχύοντος, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

ܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܗܘܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܟܠ ܡܚܐ ܠܗ. ܚܝܠܐ ܗܘܐ

ܕܠܠ ܗܘܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܒܟܠ ܚܝܠ ܕܠܡܚܐ. ܚܝܐ ܗܘܐ ܚܝܠ.

ܗܘ ܗܘܐ ܚܝܐܝܬ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܒܟܠ ܚܝܠ ܕܠܠ ܗܘܐ ܚܝܠ ܚܝܠ.

ܕܕܝܠܗ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܠܠ ܒܟܠ ܚܝܐ ܚܝܠ ܗܘܐ ܚܝܠ.

ܗܘ ܗܘܐ ܚܝܐܝܬ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܟܠ ܒܟܠ ܚܝܠ ܗܘܐ ܚܝܠ.

ܗܘ ܗܘܐ ܚܝܐܝܬ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ[1] ܕܡܠܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܟܠ ܒܟܠ ܚܝܠ ܗܘܐ ܚܝܠ.

12th anathema

εἴ τις οὐχ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ λογὸν παθόντα σαρκὶ

ܐܢ ܕܠܐ ܡܘܕܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܚܫ ܒܒܣܪ:

ܐܢ ܕܠܐ ܡܘܕܐ ܠܗ ܗܘ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܚܫ ܒܒܣܪ:

ܐܢ ܕܠܐ ܡܘܕܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܚܫ ܒܒܣܪ.

ܐܢ ܕܠܐ ܡܘܕܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܚܫ ܒܒܣܪ

ܐܢ ܕܠܐ ܡܘܕܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܚܫ ܒܒܣܪ

ܐܢ ܕܠܐ ܡܘܕܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܚܫ ܒܒܣܪ

καὶ ἐσταυρωμένον σαρκὶ καὶ θανάτου γευσάμενον σαρκὶ

ܘܐܙܕܩܦ ܒܒܣܪ[2] ܘܛܥܡ ܡܘܬܐ ܒܒܣܪ:

ܘܐܣܬܥܪ ܒܒܣܪ:

ܘܐܣܬܥܪ ܒܒܣܪ. ܘܛܥܡ ܡܘܬܐ ܒܒܣܪ.

ܘܐܣܬܥܪ ܒܒܣܪ. ܘܛܥܡ ܡܘܬܐ ܒܒܣܪ.

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[1] ܗܘ ܕܝܠܗ N2a.

[2] phrase om. Marsh 101.

ܟ݁ܝܡܐ ܟܐܗܐ ܦܠܟܐ. ܟܝܡܐ ܐܠܟܗܪܟܐ
ܟ݁ܝܡܐ ܟܐܗܐ ܦܠܟܐ. ܟܝܡܐ ܐܠܟܗܪܟܐ

γεγονότα τε πρωτότοκον ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν,

ܟܐܗܐ ܟܘܐ ܦܪ ܟܝܒܐ ܟܐܗܐ:
ܟܐܗܐ ܟܘܐ ܦܪ ܟܝܒܐ ܟܘܗܐ:
ܟܐܗܐ ܟܘܐ ܦܪ ܟܝܒܐ ܟܐܗܪܐ.
ܟܐܗܐ ܟܘܐ ܦܪ ܟܝܒܐ ܟܐܗܪܐ.

ܟܐܗܐ ܟܘܐ ܦܪ ܟܝܒܐ ܟܐܗܐ.
ܟܐܗܐ ܟܘܐ ܦܪ ܟܝܒܐ ܟܐܗܐ.

καθὸ ζωή τέ ἐστι καὶ ζωοποιὸς ὡς θεός, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

ܟܐܗܐ ܟܪܝܒ. ܟܐܠܟ ܐܝܟܪ ܟܡܪܗܐ ,ܡܐܟܝܟܪ [2]ܟܝܗܐ [1]ܦܪ ܐܝܟܪ
ܦܝܒ ܟܐܗܐ ܟܐܗ. ܟܐܠܟ ܐܝܟܪ ܟܝܒ ܐܡܝܐ ,ܡܐܟܝܟܪ ܟܝܗܐ ܐܠܟܪ
ܦܝܒ ܟܐܗܐ .ܟܡܝܐܟܪܐ ,ܡܐܟܝܟܪ ܟܝܗܐ ܐܠܟܪ
ܦܝܒ ܟܐܗܐ .ܟܐܠܟ ܐܝܟܪ ܟܡܝܐܟܪܐ ,ܡܐܟܝܟܪ ܟܝܗܐ ܐܠܟܪ

ܦܝܒ ܟܐܗܐ ܟܡܪܗܐ ܐܡ ܟܝܗܐ ,ܡܒ
ܦܝܒ ܟܐܗܐ ܟܡܪܗܐ ,ܡܐܟܝܟܪ ܟܝܗܐ ,ܡܒ

Discussion

The chapters from the unrevised version of the EDC (here E3) are found to be identical to those copied separately as B2. Those in B1 were allied with the revised version (E1/E2). CO and CT were also (unsurprisingly) allied to each other. Their earlier text form is easily discernible in these extracts, according to the criteria of syntactical and lexical equivalence that we have been using. N1 and N2 are also related, with the latter being a revised version of the former.[3] There are no obvious 'Nestorianising' variants here, though the version itself does not appear to be related to the others.

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[1] ܟܡܐܟܪ Marsh 101.
[2] ܟܝܘ leg mss; ܟܝܘ B1.
[3] As concluded by the editors, Abramowski and Goodman, *Nestorian Collection*, xxv.

Most interesting is the close relationship between E1/2 and B1 and between E3 and B2. This appears to suggest that collections of the anathemas were being lifted from copies of the EDC specifically and, furthermore, that a 6th/7th century florilegium such as Add 17201 (B2) can still contain the *unrevised* form of the chapters, lifted from E3. It may be that the florilegium actually predates the revision, but it is more likely that both the unrevised and the revised versions circulated during the sixth century when these florilegia were first compiled. However, when we then look at Philoxenus' citation of the second anathema (made in EpS towards the end of his life, c.521), we note that it is the same version as E1, the *revised* version of EDC. E1's 'revision' of ܢܗܘܐ ܡܚܪܡ to ܡܚܪܡܐ ܢܗܘܐ for ἀνάθεμα ἔστω is one of his most distinctive traits (since the former expression is found everywhere else) – thus we can posit a close relationship between E1 and Philoxenus in this case. Now Philoxenus was certainly using a florilegium for his many patristic citations in his letter to the monks of Senoun,[1] so we should assume that a florilegium containing the chapters (lifted from the *revised* form of EDC) was already circulating before 521, and that the revision itself must therefore be dated before 521. B2 can then be explained as *either* resulting from the continuing circulation of the unrevised EDC later in the century, *or* from the compilation of a florilegium *before* EDC had undergone revision, which then became the basis for B2. Neither of these options presents any real difficulty.

The circulation of the revised form of the EDC, however, if we can take it as proven, will necessitate a further comment. For when we analysed the style of that text on its own grounds, and in comparison with Paul of Callinicum, we concluded that it was of a relatively later date, probably post-Philoxenian. The fact that a translation style which looks post-Philoxenian can actually be shown to predate 521 confirms the suggestion that has been made a number of times already, viz. that the developments in translation technique which take us from the Peshitta to the Harklean should mostly be dated to the period *before and around* Philoxenus and not long after. The Philoxenian revision was almost certainly not the first work of its type. It should be seen either as the end result of a period of rapid change in method or at least symptomatic of a movement already well underway. Philoxenus was a catalyst and not a complete innovator.

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[1] As suggested by De Halleux, *Philoxène*, 234, n.24.

The Patristic Citations in Cyril's Works

The following is an overview and, where relevant, analysis, of those citations made by Cyril of earlier writers, especially where the same citations are found elsewhere. Citations either of Nestorius (of which there are many), or of Cyril's own works (within his own works) are not included here.

The *Contra Orientales* contains extracts taken by Cyril from one or more florilegia, excerpts usually from 'Nicene' Fathers designed to buttress his case that the anathemas are no more than the correct interpretation of the creed as was held by those Fathers themselves.

The following citations are made in the course of the text:

1. [36,33-37,2] Peter of Alexandria, an unknown citation: this is taken from the *Excerpta Ephesena* (the larger florilegium used by the Cyrilline party at the Council of Ephesus) [in Schwartz's edition of the Acta of the Council, this is found as no.II, ACO I,1,2,39,15-21]

2. [37,4-5] Athanasius, *c.Ar.*3,33: a short extract from a longer citation, no.IV in the *Exc.Eph.* [ACO I,1,2,40,5-7]

3. [37,7-15] Athanasius *ad.Epict.*2: this exactly parallels no.V in the *Exc.Eph.* [ACO I,1,2,40,15-23], where it is one of two citations made from this important letter.

4. [37,22-3] Amphilochius of Iconium: paralleled in *Exc.Eph.* (but only in the longer version which was produced at the second session of the Council; text to be found in the Collectio Athaniensis, ACO I,1,7,95,2-3).

5. [45,8-15] Atticus of Constantinople: paralleled in *Exc.Eph.* no.XVII (again in the longer version, ACO I,1,7,94,17-24). Cyril uses this citation again in his other florilegium (in the work *Oratio ad Dominas*, ACO I,1,5,62-118, see 66,23-30 for the parallel). Three extracts from Atticus are also to be found in

the florilegium used by Philoxenus in his *Decem Dissertationes contra Habbib*, but none of those is the same as this extract.

6. [45,21-5] Apollinarius (under the name of Julius of Rome): paralleled in *Exc.Eph.* no.VII [ACO I,1,2,41,2-6]. This citation is in reality (according to Lietzmann) part of the letter of the Apollinarian disciple Timothy of Berytus to Prosdocius (the text will be found in Lietzmann, *Apollinaris*, p.284, l.11-18). The origin of the Apollinarian extracts attributed to Roman bishops may go back to Eutyches and were frequently used thenceforth.[1] Timothy Ailuros also cites the same letter. The whole text was preserved in Syriac as part of the collection in Add 12156 [f.4v] (edition in Flemming and Lietzmann, *Apollinaristische Schriften syrisch*, 39-41, with the part corresponding to Cyril's citation being found at p.39,17-40,3).

If we compare the translation of this passage in the Syriac version of *Contra Orientales* with the translation of the letter to Prosdocius as printed in Flemming/Lietzmann's edition (taken from Add 12156), we see a considerable difference in approach and results. In CO ܝܨ is not used to express the subordination of the participles, an elliptical ܝܠܗܘܐ is added for ἐστι (where F/L has ܚܝܬܘܐ), ܝܠܐܒ is found rather than ܪܝܣܒܣ for ἐν σαρκί, the loan for μέν is not used, ܪܚܝܐ ܝܒ (ὁμοούσιος) is added after γνήσιος for clarity, ܒ rather than ܠܥ is used for ἐπί + gen. The F/L version has all these 'correctly' and overall has a far greater concern for verbal and formal precision than the version in CO.

7. [45,27-31] Apollinarius (under the name of Felix of Rome): paralleled in *Exc.Eph.* no.VIII [ACO I,1,2,41,9-13]. Printed as frag.186 in Lietzmann, *Apollinaris*, 318f. However, a longer version of the same extract is cited in Syriac in BL Add 14663, f.6v, and printed in Flemming and Lietzmann, *Apollinaristische Schriften syrisch*, 55 (Cyril's text is equivalent to l.10-23).

A comparison with the version in F/L shows much the same variation as in the previous example. Towards the end of the excerpt, where the language becomes especially formulaic, the wording is almost identical – for already in the days of the translator of CO a common language had been developed in Syriac to deal with the Christological formulae. As in the previous example, the root ܝܣܪܟ is used for incarnation – in CO, however, the noun σάρκωσις is ܪܚܣܪܟܘ whereas in F/L it is the more developed 'neologism' ܪܚܣܪܟ ܬܘ.

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[1] Grillmeier, *Christ 2:1*, 53.

8. [48,28-33] Apollinarius (under the name of Athanasius): this text (together with the following two) are *not* from the Ephesian excerpts, although a slightly lengthier version of the same extract is used by Cyril again in his other florilegium (*Oratio ad Dominas*, p.65-6). All three (nos.8-10) are taken from the ps-Athanasian *Ad Iovianum* (see Lietzmann, *Apollinaris*, 146f., with this text at 250-3) and were also used by Eutyches. Again, we find that Timothy Ailuros used the same citation in his work *Against Chalcedon* (Add 12156, f.48v – published in Ebied and Wickham, *Timothy Aelurus Against Chalcedon*, 157) and that other Syriac collections contain a much larger portion of the same letter (e.g. Add 12156, f.37r), including all these three parts quoted by Cyril. The full Syriac version is printed in Flemming and Lietzmann, *Apollinaristische Schriften syrisch*, 33-4 (with Cyril's extracts found at 33,3&5-9). In addition, the same citation is found again in Philoxenus' florilegium which was used in the writing of his letter to the Monks of Senoun in 521 [39,3-19]. Here, however, the citation extends a little further, confirming that Philoxenus did not take it from this Cyrilline text. In fact, he took it from a florilegium rather like that of Add 12156, as was shown briefly in Part 2.ii, and is discussed further below.

In 2.ii it was shown that Philoxenus had revised the wording when he incorporated this citation into his florilegium, since the term ܦܪܨܘܦ becomes ܩܢܘܡ in Philoxenus' text. The version found in Flemming/Lietzmann must therefore pre-date 521. When we compare the full text of CO with the version in Philoxenus and F/L, we get some results that are similar to the previous two examples, but in other ways the CO text is quite 'advanced', e.g. προσκυνητὴν...ἀπροσκύνητον is ܘܠܐ ܣܓܝܕ ܣܓܝܕ in CO (creating adjectival forms), but ܣܓܝܕ ܘܠܐ...ܕܣܓܝܕ in F/L and EpS (using verbal forms), and a similar inconsistency a little later where F/L and EpS have ܣܓܝܕ for the participial προσκυνουμένην, where CO has ܕܣܓܝܕ. We should contrast this with the fact that CO has its usual ܦܪܣ for σεσαρκωμένην, where F/L has ܦܪܣ ܒܣܪ and EpS the revised ܩܢܘܡ.

9. [48,34-6] Apollinarius (under the name of Athanasius): this is from the same work and is again paralleled in the same longer text found in Add 12156 (Flemming and Lietzmann, *Apollinaristische Schriften syrisch*, 33,13-5). Again, Philoxenus quotes this text in the letter to the monks of Senoun [29,7-11], again with the same text as is found in Add 12156.

A comparison of CO with the versions in F/L and EpS shows a few telling differences. The latter's ܐܗܘܝܘܬ for μετουσία is better than CO's ܐܗܘܝܢ (usually for συνάφεια) and similar is F/L's ܐܝܒܢ for CO's ܐܝܟܐ. F/L has ܗܘ for the resumptive article, which CO omits and has correctly understood the αὐτός as 'the same' (ܗܘ ܟܕ ܗܘ)

10. [49,1-9] Apollinarius (under the name of Athanasius): again, as above (edition at Flemming and Lietzmann, *Apollinaristische Schriften syrisch*, 34,10-8). As with no.8, this text is found also in the Armenian florilegium of Timothy Ailuros. However, this extract does not turn up in the Philoxenian text.

The differences are again much as we would expect from the previous examples, with CO sometimes paraphrasing a little, using ܐܝܟܐ for σάρξ, and a term such as καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία is rendered ܐܕܬܐ ܕܩܘܠܝܩܝ in CO, but ܩܬܘܠܝܩܐ ܐܕܬܐ in F/L.

11. [60,16-19] Athanasius *c.Ar.*3,32: this is a shorter version of the extract cited again further on (no.15 below).

12. [60,20-21] Athanasius *c.Ar.*3,35: not paralleled in *Exc.Eph.* or in any Syriac version.

13. [64,2-14] Gregory of Nyssa *Or.1: de beatitudinis*: from the *Exc.Eph.* no.XVI [ACO I,1,2,44,16-45,3].

14. [64,16-20] Basil of Caesarea *de spiritu sancto* 18: from the *Exc.Eph.* no.XV [ACO I,1,2,44,10-14].

15. [64,22-65,4] Athanasius *c.Ar.*3,32: not from *Exc.Eph.* but the same citation is found in Vat Gr 1431 (the anti-Chalcedonian *publizistische Sammlung* edited by Schwartz, *Cod Vat 1431*), within the florilegium designated by Schwartz as RI, and also within the closely related florilegium of Timothy Ailuros known only from the Armenian, of which the collections in Add 12156 are shorter versions (see Grillmeier, *Christ 2:1*, 63-4, and Schwartz, *Cod Vat 1431*, 98-117 for further details). It was thus evidently widely used after Cyril's time.

The fact that, in CO, those citations which are paralleled in the Excerpts of the Council of Ephesus are given in the same order that they appear in that document

confirms that which we would anyway expect, that Cyril is making use of the same collection while writing the CO. The close relationship between the citations used by Cyril (his two collections being those of the *Oratio ad Dominas* and the *Contra Orientales*), those in the *Excerpta Ephesena*, and those used by Timothy Ailuros, is clear and has been well established by Schwartz (see Schwartz, *Cod Vat 1431*, and the apparatus to ACO, as well as the discussion in ACO I,1,2, p.vi-vii).

We need further only to elucidate how and when these excerpts made their way into the Syriac florilegia. The relevant places are the works of Timothy Ailuros and the *Florilgeium Edessenum*, both found in Add 12156, and the florilegia used by Philoxenus respectively in his *Decem Dissertationes* and his *Ep Senoun*.

Philoxenus' Florilegia in *Decem Dissertationes* and in *Ep Senoun*

In this connection, there are two especially interesting citations in the earlier Philoxenian florilegium. One of these is taken from Theophilus of Alexandria's work '*against those who follow Origenism*', an extract which exactly parallels the one used by Cyril in the *Oratio ad Dominas* [ACO I,1,5, p.68,14-27]. As only a part of this extract is to be found in the Armenian version of Timothy Ailuros' florilegium (corresponding to 68,20-27), the compiler of Philoxenus' florilegium must have taken it from elsewhere than Timothy, i.e. probably from a collection connected with that used by Cyril in the *Oratio ad Dominas*. Whether this was already in Syriac as a whole or whether the compiler of Philoxenus' florilegium was working directly from a Greek collection we cannot say with any certainty.

Philoxenus also has a single citation from the rarely-cited Alexander of Alexandria, which this time coincides with an extract in the *Florilegium Edessenum* which, according to those who have worked on the manuscript, must have been translated into Syriac only as a whole along with all the Timothy Ailuros texts in that manuscript. In other words, the compiler of the Philoxenian florilegium either already

knew of the Florilgium Edessenum in its Syriac form or was working directly from a Greek predecessor of it.[1]

ܐܠܗܐ ܒܝܠܕ ܟܬܒܐܘܬܐ ܡܪܝܩ ܡܢ ܐܝܠܕ ܐܠܗܢܝ ܢܝܩܘܣܠܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܥܠܬܐܝ ܐܚܝܢܐ

ܟܬܒܐܘܬ] om. *Florilegium Edessenum* (in err?)

However, we already know that the Cyrilline and Athanasian citations in this florilegium (i.e. in the *Decem Dissertationes*) were taken from pre-existing Syriac texts, as was obviously also the case for the Ephrem citations which constitute the bulk of that collection. In contrast, as we have seen, the citation of Theophilus is hardly likely to have come from such a pre-existing text (no instances of works of Theophilus in Syriac are known[2]). The compiler was thus using a mixture of native Syriac works, already-translated Greek works, perhaps some already-translated extracts in earlier Syriac florilegia (possibly in the case of Alexander of Alexandria and the Florilgium Edessenum), and probably some not previously translated extracts from earlier Greek florilegia (as is probably the case with Theophilus and Atticus).

From the florilegium used in *Ep Senoun* there are some further important findings, mentioned briefly in our earlier chapter on this matter (ch 2.ii). The Apollinarian citations found in that text are almost identical in wording with the fuller versions of the texts from which they must have been extracted, as found in other Syriac manuscripts and edited in Flemming and Lietzmann. It is quite evident that Philoxenus is therefore taking these extracts out of a Syriac codex very much like Add 12156, at least for these Apollinarian citations, if not also for the others. We have already noted that where Philoxenus quotes Cyril himself in this letter, he was *not* doing so from the full Syriac versions of Cyril. Rather, he is probably taking them already packaged from a pre-existing Syriac florilegium, since we know that from the early years of the 6th century collections of Cyrilline excerpts existed (e.g. the *Florilegium Cyrillianum*), but it may also be that he had the Greek text with him.

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[1] Texts at Brière and Graffin, *Dissertationes Decem V*, 88,27-8; Pitra, *Analecta Sacra* vol.4, 200; and Rücker, *Florilegium Edessenum*, 18. For the history of the various parts of the manuscript see Abramowski, *Zur geplanten Ausgabe.*
[2] This is at least true of theological works, see Baumstark, *Geschichte*, 70.

Cyril's Athanasian and Apollinarian citations

In the *Contra Orientales*, Cyril quotes from Athanasius' *Letter to Epictetus* (no.3 in our list above). This can be compared to the version of the complete text, taken from Add 14557 and edited by Thomson. We have already noted that this latter version is to be dated before 484, since a largely identical text is used in the florilegium in *Decem Dissertationes*.

CO 37,11-12 [f.93rc] = DD Flor. 81,16-18 / Thomson 75,7-10

The versions are actually surprisingly similar, although with sufficient differences to disallow the in any case unlikely possibility of a relationship. There is an infinitive, the object of θέλουσιν, rendered by a ـ + impf. in CO but by a direct infinitive in Thomson, yet there is one point where the latter is less exact, καὶ μὴ αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον γεγονέναι λαβόντα ἐκ Μαρίας τὸ σῶμα (*and [they say] that he did not become man while assuming the body from Mary*), which is rendered loosely in Thomson as ܐܘ ܘܠܐ

.ܒܪܢܫ ܕܗܢ ܕܓܫܡܐ ܒܡܣܒܢܘܬܐ .ܒܪܢܫ ܗܘܐ (*and he did not become man by an assumption of the body that [is] from Mary*), but more closely in CO, ܘܕܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܘܠܐ

.ܓܫܡܐ ܡܢ ܢܣܒ ܟܕ ܒܪܢܫ ܗܘܐ (*and not that he became man while taking the body from Mary*), which captures both the syntax and the word order more carefully. We could hardly say, however, that the difference presumes a large gap in time between the versions, and we have already suggested that CO may be dated to not long after the introduction of the Philoxenian NT, if not even possibly before.

Again, Cyril's citations from the *contra Arianos* can be compared with the text of that work in Thomson's edition, although we have no secure date for the latter as we have for the *Ad Epictetum*. This relates to nos. 2,11,12,15 above .

We described above the translational differences between the Apollinarian citations found in the *Contra Orientales* and their equivalents in Flemming/Lietzmann's edition (nos.6-10 above). We noted overall that it was the latter text which was more aware grammatically and stylistically of how to go about producing an accurate, formally equivalent, translation, although *Contra Orientales* was sometimes not far behind and the differences often related to small grammatical or lexical matters. The

version used by Philoxenus was, however, certainly more aware of the revision of Christological and related language which we associate with Philoxenus. This version, given its awareness of the debate over Christological language, can hardly be much separated from the years of Philoxenus' involvement in that debate (i.e. the years just after 500) and, based on translation technique, *Contra Orientales* (and its companion the *Contra Theodoretum*) should be considered earlier.

To sum up, the *Contra Orientales* has been particularly amenable to comparisons of the patristic citations. We were able to compare an Athanasian extract which was present in both CO and in the pre-484 Syriac version of the same extract.[1] In this case, CO proved to be marginally the more 'advanced' in its technique. We were also able to compare CO with Philoxenus in the latter's direct citation of CO (in the letter written in 521) as well as in those places where both cite Apollinarian works. Using this method we have established a probable date for CO/CT as being between 484 and 521.[2]

3.iv.d

The Text of the Henoticon in Syriac

Zeno's Henoticon played a vital role in the debates concerning Chalcedon in the latter part of the 5th and the early part of the 6th century, the years when Philoxenus was consolidating the Syriac church upon a firmly anti-Chalcedonian base. He was especially pushing the Henoticon and used it to advantage in his battle with his patriarch, Flavian.[3] As part of our enquiry into the relationship between developing translation techniques and Christological polemics, it may prove useful to take a look at the Syriac versions of this document. Of these, there are three extant, taking their places in the respective chronicles of ps-Zechariah Rhetor (ZR), ps-Dionysius (D),

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[1] See Part 2.ii above for the evidence for this *terminus ante quem*.

[2] In fact, this latter date should probably be put somewhat earlier, given that the Syriac versions of Apollinarius must have been made some time prior to Philoxenus' use of them. Perhaps CO should be dated to before the revision of Christological language which Philoxenus seems to have first initiated c.500, according to De Halleux, this being the date of the well known manuscript which furnishes the primary evidence for the credal revision; cf. De Halleux, *La Philoxénienne du symbole*.

[3] See Watt, *Two Syriac Writers*, for its significance for Philoxenus generally.

otherwise known as the Chronicle of Zuqnin,[1] and finally that of Michael the Syrian. On closer inspection, it becomes evident that all three provide the same version, which can therefore be compared to the Greek, extant both in Evagrius' Church History (E), and in Vat Gr 1431 (R), the anti-Chalcedonian collection edited by Schwartz.[2]

Analysis

There are occasional differences between the texts. Some of them must be accidental in the transmission of the text, e.g. ZR's omission of τεχθέντος [53,5], corrected in D, who is unlikely to have revised the text to a Greek original – he simply preserves the older Syriac reading. Elsewhere, D sometimes simplifies the syntax, perhaps where ZR was a little cumbersome:

ἀεισέβαστος: ZR ܐܝܟܪܝܬܐ ܡܝܐ ܪܒܝ; D ܐܝܟܪܝܬܐ ܪܡܝܐܘ ܪܒܝ

καὶ Πεντάπολιν : ZR ܘܐܒ; D ܘ

μέν [52,25 and 53,6]: ZR ܡܢ ; D om. (note that D has no use for the loan)

ἀπανταχόσε [52,28]: ZR ܕܘܢ ܟܠܗ ; D ܐܝܟܐ ܟܠܗ

D is a little less concerned with some unnecessary epithets, thus ὁσιωτάτοις and ἁγίας [54,2&4] are both ܩܕܝܫ in ZR but untranslated in D.

γάρ [54,6] ZR ܓܝܪ; D ܕܝܢ

Differences in vocabulary are rare; again D is probably simplifying the language:

συνελθόντες [52,27]: ZR ܐܬܟܢܫܘ; D ܐܬܝܒܢ (the latter D has used also for συναθροισθέντες, 1.26).

Of greater interest is an analysis of the techniques used by this translator, given that the three examples of the text we have are more or less identical.
The following are a few comments of note on technique:

Adjectives used for adjectives, thus, ἄφθαρτόν τε καὶ ἀτελεύτητον [52,29] = ܠܐ ܡܬܚܒܠܢܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܣܬܝܟܢܐ.

ܗܘ ܕ for resumptive pronoun is reasonably common [54,1-3 repeatedly]

Loans such as ܩܠܝܪܝܩܐ for κληρικοῖς [53,3]

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[1] Chabot, *Incerti Auctoris Chronicon Pseudo-Dionysianum Vulgo Dictum I.*
[2] Schwartz, *Cod Vat 1431.*

σαρκωθέντος [53,4] [54,3] ܡܬܒܣܪ; σάρκωσις [54,7] ܡܬܒܣܪܢܘܬܐ

ἐνανθρωπήσαντα [54,1] ܐܬܒܪܢܫ

ὁμοούσιος [54,3] ܒܪ ܟܝܢܐ

πνεῦμα ἁγίον [54,3] ܪܘܚܐ ܩܘܕܫܐ

Omits ἀεί [54,4] as part of the phrase 'the ever-virgin', perhaps a theologically-
motivated omission.

σαρκί [54,6] ܒܒܣܪ

Conclusions

The text bears some of the typical marks of the 6th century stage of technique, such as
we find in texts such as Ep55. Yet the Christological language is of the older type,
unrevised from the days before Philoxenus. Given, then, that such can be the case
even as late as the 560s (when the translation was made by the compiler of ZR), we
should not be surprised that other texts, for example CO, show similar mixed
methods. The compiler is almost certainly making his own new version of the
Henoticon from Zechariah's Greek, and this is taken over verbatim (with textual
alterations over the tradition) into the texts of the Zuqnin Chronicle and thence into
Michael the Syrian's work.

We could add to our study here the text of Basiliscus' *Encyclical*, which is also given
in Z and D, although the former contains only portions of the whole. Again the style
seems to be much the same.

3.iv.e
The Influence of Cyril on Philoxenus

Philoxenus' role in the development of translation techniques has been raised again
and again in our investigation. Before we draw our final conclusions from all this
analysis, therefore, it will be worth considering the influence in general that Cyril
might be said to have had on Philoxenus' thought. How much Cyril had he read? If he
was reading Cyril's works in Syriac already in his early career (as the florilegium
attached to the DD suggests) then how deeply did these translations (and perhaps their

techniques and vocabulary) affect his own writing and eventually his thoughts about translation?

The importance of Cyril for Philoxenus appears to date from the latter's time at the school at Edessa. Both Simeon of Beth-Arsham and the *Chronicon ad 846* refer to the period leading up to and following the expulsion of Ibas (457) as a period of schism at the school between a Theodoran and a Cyrilline party, the latter, argues De Halleux, permeating into the Syrian church through the monastic networks.[1] Philoxenus' own 'conversion' to Cyrillianism, he says, must have been motivated by 'une persuasion intime' and 'une conviction profonde' – it is evident even in his very earliest writings. In the second letter to the monks of Beth-Gaugal he says that as a youth he tasted the bitterness of Nestorianism.[2] The aims of this 'party' appear to have stayed close to his heart, for during the battle with Flavian of Antioch Philoxenus pursued four specific aims, one of which was to force Flavian to accept Cyril's 'twelve anathemas' and another that he should accept the Cyrilline 'mia phusis' formula.[3] The fragmentary *Lettre à Flavien* (c.509-512) seems to quote Cyril from his second letter to Nestorius, and the similarly fragmentary *Lettre Liminaire au Synodicon d'Éphèse* (c.509) may even have been a defense of the twelve anathemas (he of course also produced a number of his own anathemas in imitation).[4] The letter written from his exile, '*To the all the monks of the Orient*' describes in some detail the events leading up to the healing of the post-Ephesine schism between Cyril and the Antiochian party, as it is told in Cyril's own letter, and there can be little doubt that Philoxenus had read the letters to Acacius and Eulogius (Ep 40 and Ep 44) at the very least before writing this letter.[5] Finally, as we have seen already, Cyril is often quoted in both the florilegia used by Philoxenus (one in the *Decem Dissertationes* and one in *Ep Senoun*).

When we take a look at his theology in general, we find that again those who have discussed the question stress the close relationship between the two bishops. De

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[1] De Halleux, *Philoxène*, 25-6.

[2] ibid., 30.

[3] ibid., 50-1; the letter to the monks of Palestine lays these out quite clearly, text in De Halleux, *Nouveaux textes I*.

[4] De Halleux, *Philoxène*, 210-1.

[5] Lebon, *Textes inédits de Philoxène de Mabboug*. Philoxenus summarises the letter to Eulogius as dealing with the question ܡܛܠ ܕܡܢ ܟܝܢܐ ܚܕ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ: ܗܘ ܕܐܠ ܚܒܫ ܣܘܢ ܩܢܘܡܐ ܕܡܢ ܬܪܝܢ (p.206/217,5-7). He had quite evidently read the letter for himself, and probably knew it very well.

Halleux marks this relationship most especially in areas of soteriology. Just as the Alexandrian tradition used soteriology as the main driving force in Christology, so too did Philoxenus base his Christological arguments on soteriological models of exchange, "[il] reproduit de traits indiscutablement alexandrins, dont il serait aisé de trouver le modèle chez Athanase et chez Cyrille."[1] De Halleux even suggests that Philoxenus had read and copied Cyril on the matter of theopaschitism.[2]

Similar as their theologies may appear, Philoxenus does not, however, ever mention Cyril by name in his exegetical work. The question of whether there is exegetical influence, however, has been answered strongly in the affirmative by Aland. She showed that Philoxenus' controlling principles for his exegesis of the gospels were much the same as Cyril's. The emphasis on the development of Jesus through all the normal stages of human existence (with special focus on Lk 2.52) stresses the notion that as God he is taking on the ἰδιώματα of humanity. Only thus by God experiencing the lowliest stages of weakness can all of humanity truly be renewed.[3]

In Philoxenus' exegesis of the baptism of Jesus, his reception of the Holy Spirit on behalf of humanity makes possible our reception of the Spirit also and thereby the renewal of mankind. This distinctive exegesis is made very clear in Fragment 2 of the Matthew/Luke commentary.[4] Although Aland saw the connection only in general terms, this rather distinctive exegesis is actually to be found explicitly in Cyril's commentaries.[5] Thus, for Cyril, 'the Spirit in Christ represents the decisive return of the Spirit to the human race.'[6] Keating sees this exegesis as differing from 'the more typical patristic approach'[7] and therefore its explicit presence in both Cyril and Philoxenus confirms the latter's reading of the former. To this exegesis, Philoxenus adds elements from Ephrem (most notably, the idea of the Jordan as a 'second womb') to create a new monophysite synthesis grounded in both Alexandrian

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[1] De Halleux, *Philoxène*, 419, cf. also 397, n.17; also Aland, *Monophysitismus*, 145.

[2] De Halleux, *Philoxène*, 459.

[3] Aland, *Monophysitismus*, 145-6.

[4] 2,27-30,4 [versio 2,24-7] (references from Watt, *Matthew and Luke*); also 57,29-58,26 [50,1-30].

[5] In Cyril's commentaries, see esp. *In Isa.* 11.1-3 and *In Joel.* 2.28-9 as well as the descriptions of the Baptism in the John and Luke commentaries. For the use of this exegesis in a Christological setting, see the interpretation of Jn 1.32 in *Scholia I* (ACO I,5,219-20). Cyril is in fact repeating an Athanasian perspective, cf. *C.Ar.* 1,46,7.

[6] Keating, *The Appropriation of Divine Life in Cyril of Alexandria*, 27.

[7] ibid., 33.

Christology and Syrian spirituality.[1] Other similarities pointed out by Aland further confirm this reading relationship between Cyril and Philoxenus.[2]

This raises the question of whether he read Cyril in Greek or in Syriac. We have showed already that the Cyrilline loci in the florilegium used for the *Decem Dissertationes* were taken from a Syriac version, whereas those in the much later *Letter to the monks of Senoun* do not correspond to the full Syriac version and were probably taken directly from a Greek florilegium, to which Philoxenus had access in exile. De Halleux doubted Philoxenus' ability to read Greek,[3] but the error he appears to make between γένεσις and γέννησις is slim evidence for this assertion (it may have been a scribal error), though we cannot be sure one way or the other. It would be odd if his increasing fondness for the Greek text of the scriptures, together with his desire to produce an exegetical corpus to rival that of Theodore, did not proceed hand-in-hand with an increasing understanding of Greek. Philoxenus' revision of the credal language was based upon his strong belief that the (Greek) wording of the creed supported his theological position, and the influence of his revised language is discernible already in his earliest exegetical work, where we find terms such as ܒ ܐܬܘܬܐ and ܒܗܐܘܬܐ܀ܒܗ, both half-way to the fully revised forms (respectively ܒ ܐܣܘܐ and ܐܬܗܐܝܡܢܘܬܐ) – the latter at least quite probably picked up from his reading of the Syriac versions of Cyril's letters, for these appear already as experimental forms in those translations, as we have already seen.[4] It may have been that by reading texts such as these, and beginning to understand the Greek that lay behind them (whether or not he was truly fluent in that language), he was led to the conviction that the Syriac theological language stood in need of updating in the monophysite cause. Philoxenus' use of the phrase 'the distinction of the natures after the union' he adopted explicitly from Cyril and used in his battle with Flavian as the furthest extent to which he was prepared to compromise.[5] He could easily have discovered the phrase in his reading of the Christological letters (which we know he did read before 484),

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[1] For Ephrem, see esp. Sebastian P. Brock, *The Luminous Eye: The spiritual world vision of Saint Ephrem.* Kalamazoo, 1992.
[2] For example, the allegorical interpretation of Christ's manger, see Aland, *Monophysitismus*, 159.
[3] De Halleux, *Philoxène*, 22. See also Lebon, *La Version Philoxénienne*, 417, and the fuller argument in Lebon's dissertation, *Le monophysisme sévérien*, Louvain, 1909, 145.
[4] They can be found in the Mt/Lk commentary, at 55,28 [48,13] and 56,30 [49,7] respectively.
[5] De Halleux, *Philoxène*, 210-1.

and he uses the same Syriac expression as was used by the translators of those letters.[1] In the same way, we have seen (3.iii) how the scriptural citations in these early translations seem to have anticipated Philoxenus' concerns about the text of scripture itself, and again this dynamic is really conceivable only if Philoxenus had at least a partial grasp of the Greek language, sufficient enough to read if not to compose.

Whether or not Philoxenus really knew much Greek, we can see quite clearly the strong influence not only of Cyrilline Christology in general, but of his exegetical methods and his vocabulary in particular. Some of this may well have been picked up through reading the Syriac translations of Cyril, perhaps while he was in Edessa, thus effecting a growing realisation on Philoxenus' part that the technical Syriac vocabulary that he found in these translation-texts needed to be incorporated better into the central religious vocabulary of his church, through its creed and its scriptures.

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[1] E.g. in Ep40, 26,26 [33,18], and frequently in this letter as well as occasionally in the letters to Succensus (Ep45/46): ܪܟܝܢܐ ܪܟܠܝܘܢܐ, just as found in Philoxenus.

Summary to Parts 2-3

In Part 2, we began by using some intertextual citations to show that at least some of our texts were necessarily to be dated before 484 (the same method was used to show that some Athanasian works also pre-dated 484 and that some Apollinarian ones pre-dated 521). This method of dating on external evidence has provided some secure points upon which we have proceeded. Moving on to the internal evidence (Part 3), we have therefore carried out a linguistic analysis of the texts themselves (3.i), a comparison against external fixed points in Severus etc. (3.ii) and followed this up by an enquiry into the scriptural citations, from both Testaments, to be found in the texts (3.iii); finally, we added to these a series of other short studies which aimed to contribute further to building up this picture of the relationships between our texts and other fixed points (3.iv). The detailed conclusions from 3.i-ii and to 3.iii were given at the appropriate moments. Before returning to these, let us briefly consider the contribution of 3.iv.

We first of all argued that the (previously unknown) version of the *Explanatio* found in another ms was, in fact, an earlier version of the known text we had been analysing, that the later text was a revision of the former along the lines of the sixth century school of translation technique. The earlier version was probably to be dated to the time before any 'Philoxenian' revisions had been made to the credal or Biblical language.

Second, we analysed a range of versions of Cyril's 12 chapters, both those extracted from his various defences of them, and also as they appeared individually in florilegia or elsewhere. We noted a number of interesting relationships, and showed that florilegia were being compiled from both editions of the *Explanatio* at an early stage. The relationship between the revised version of the *Explanatio* and Philoxenus appeared to give priority to the former, leaving us with a *terminus ante quem* of 521 for the revision of the *Explanatio*.

The third section looked at the patristic loci found within our set of texts. These showed, for instance, the relative positions, vis à vis translation technique, of *Contra*

Orientales and another translator who could be firmly dated to before 521. We observed also that Philoxenus himself was already drawing on florilegia such as those we find in the *Florilegium Edessenum*, which must have already existed in Syriac (with Cyrilline citations included) well before his day, although this does not necessarily shed any further light on the dating of our texts (such as *Contra Orientales*).

In addition to this analysis into the relationships between our texts and some given fixed points, we have attempted also to shed at least a little light on the interrelationships of the florilegia of the period, especially on the origins of the collection used by Philoxenus in his *Decem Dissertationes*. It appears that this was made from a mixture of pre-existing texts and other florilegia, some already translated, others perhaps here for the first time. The influence of the Syriac version of Timothy Ailuros seems to have been especially instrumental in introducing certain key anti-Chalcedonian patristic loci into the Syriac sphere, whence they turn up in Philoxenus' two florilegia (in *Decem Dissertationes* and *EpSenoun*). Many of these appear to have started life either in Eutyches' apologia or in the Acts of Ephesus, before finding their way into Timothy's work, often via Cyril himself, before ending up in collections both Greek (Vat.Gr.1431) and Syriac (*Florilegium Edessenum*). The interrelationship between this anti-Chalcedonian line of tradition and the pro-Chalcedonian florilegia which have their roots in Theodoret's *Eranistes* and the various editions of Leo's *Tome* add an extra dimension to this difficult question which, while shedding some light on the development of monophysitic thought between Chalcedon and Severus, does not have any further direct bearing on our investigation.[1]

Fourthly, we looked briefly at the Syriac version of the Henoticon. The versions of the text found in the Zuqnin Chronicle and in ps-Zacharias Rhetor represent one and the same translation, made most likely by the compiler of the latter text in the third quarter of the sixth century, using a 'mixed technique', i.e. a syntactically and grammatically advanced method of equivalence combined with a pre-Philoxenian attitude towards Christological lexical equivalences.

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[1] For the pro-Chalcedonian tradition in particular, see Sellers, *Chalcedon*; Richard, *Les Florilèges*; Grillmeier, *Christ 2:1*, 53-63; Ettlinger, *History of the Citations*.

We concluded 3.iv with a comparison of the theology and language of Philoxenus and (the translators of) Cyril, an exercise which could be carried out far more exhaustively than was possible here. However, we suggested that Philoxenus' dependence on Cyril was strong and that his reading of the fifth century translations of Cyril's letters and other works may itself have contributed, both from a theological and from a linguistic point of view, towards Philoxenus' own central concern with the translation issue in the latter part of his career.

Grouping the texts

Drawing together the threads thus far from all of Parts 2 and 3, we can now outline how our texts have come into being and at which points in the development of Syriac translation literature they should be placed.

By comparing our texts against stable and datable bases we have been able to gauge their relative techniques more precisely than was possible by merely comparing them to each other. It has become apparent that they fall into five categories, which can be discerned from each other with at least some clarity.

The first contains the *De Recta Fide* alone, with its distinctively early, paraphrastic style. It is clearly very early, and may still be attributable to Rabbula, which would give it a date of 432/3.

The second group includes those texts we know on external evidence to pre-date 484, and which show a style still very free from the bonds of the mirror-versions typical of Paul of Callinicum; this contains *Epp 40,45,46,50*, and should also include the *Quod Unus sit Christus* and *Explanatio A*, which, although they cannot be dated so precisely on external grounds, nevertheless belong to the same group on the basis of our internal analysis.[1] All these can therefore be added to the otherwise short list of translations attributable to the fifth century.[1]

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[1] This early date for the translation of the *Quod Unus sit Christus*, probably not very long after its time of writing, has an interesting parallel in the early Ethiopic version, which shows an even looser

Especially typical of this group is the occasional appearance of a 'late' neologism or mirror rendering which goes against the flow of the usual technique. We also found here a few instances of 'Philoxenian' readings before Philoxenus, both in terms of NT citations *and* credal terminology. Although generally these texts conform to the 'free' techniques of the fifth century, they show from time to time a much more forceful attempt at precision than we see in the first group and we have discussed already the possibility that they were revised at a later stage, but found it more likely that they represent rather an early attempt to improve the Syriac vocabulary.[2] We know that Philoxenus read these texts in compiling his early *magnum opus* (the *Decem Dissertationes contra Habbib*) and, in the light of the strong influence of Cyril upon Philoxenus, we may be tempted to conclude that here is the source of Philoxenus' belief that the scriptures and the creed stood in need of revision. In other words, the translators of this second group could see that the Peshitta and the traditional Syriac formulae were not adequate to the task of Christological debate, a point which they passed on to Philoxenus, who chose to do something about it. Circumstantially, we may suggest that these texts arose from the milieu of the pro-Cyrilline party at Edessa in the middle third of the fifth century, a party to which Philoxenus adhered from his days at the school there.

The third group consists of *Contra Orientales* and *Contra Theodoretum*, which have a very varied profile. In places their technique resembles that of the foregoing group, and yet sometimes the similarity to Paul of Callinicum is much closer. Given the evidence we found when studying the NT citations, which showed how aware this translator was of the Philoxenian/Harklean tradition, we should probably place these two texts in a third, separate group, rather than with the second group. Another important factor in this decision is the findings of 3.iv.c, where it was shown that the translator of *Contra Orientales* compared favourably in his technique with another translator, that of the Apollinarian treatises, but was still appreciably short of him both in terms of linguistic method and, more importantly, the lexical revision of

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translation style, as yet uninfluenced by the niceties of the later Christological language, cf. Lössl, *One and the Same*.
[1] As given in Brock, *Towards a History*, 2-3. Added also should be portions of the Athanasian corpus and the Syro-Roman Lawbook.
[2] See above, Conclusions to Part 3.i-ii.

Christological language. We tentatively suggested a date between 484 and c.500. This sounds rather more specific than the evidence warrants, but the most important point is not an absolute dating but placing the text in its relationship to the others. However, a problem is immediately raised when we recall the presence of a number of Philoxenian readings in the NT citations in these texts, to a significantly greater extent that was the case among the Group II texts. This would seem to suggest a date after 508. How do we reconcile this paradox which, put simply, consists in the fact that these texts show a revised Biblical text but not a revised Christological language? It would be foolhardy to demand that the text be dated after the Philoxenian NT since, after all, this is a translation and the translator could come up with revised Biblical readings on his own. We would therefore suggest that here we have a pre-Philoxenian text which has made significant advances along the road towards the revision of scriptural translation.

The fourth group contains those texts which seem particularly close to Paul of Callinicum in style and in the extent to which their Biblical citations conform to the Philoxenian/Harklean tradition; these include *Explanatio B, Scholia, Ep39, Ep55*, and possibly *Ep44*. This group should be dated as roughly contemporary with Paul of Callinicum's work (c.520s/30s), with which it shares a great similarity of style. On other grounds, we have also shown the great likelihood that the revised form of the *Explanatio* is contemporary with Philoxenus and may date from before 521. A general period of the first half of the sixth century should thus be assigned to this group, with the great likelihood being that they all post-date the Philoxenian Bible revision, of which they probably knew. This dating seems to overlap with that usually given to Moses of Aggel, whose use of the Peshitta in his private correspondence contrasts with his Philoxenian-like renderings in his translations and neatly sums up the attitude to Greek texts which was espoused by this group.

Finally we have a fifth group, containing only the *Ad Tiberium*, which, both in its citations, and in comparison with Paul, shows a slightly later stage of development, part-way between Philoxenian and Harklean. In fact, this is only a rather more consistently applied version of Group IV and could be dated to any time between c.530 and the early seventh century when the Harklean was written.

These groups can thus be tabulated as follows:

I

De Recta Fide

II

Epp 40,45,46,50

Explanatio XII capitulorum 'A'

Quod Unus sit Christus

III

Contra Orientales

Contra Theodoretum

IV

Ep55

Explanatio XII capitulorum 'B'

Scholia de Incarnatione

Ep39

Ep44

V

Ad Tiberium

We now list the texts in the order in which they appear in BL Add 14557 (excluding *Contra Orientales* and *Contra Theodoretum* which are not from this ms):

Ep55

Explanatio XII capitulorum

Scholia de Incarnatione

Quod Unus sit Christus

De Recta Fide

Ep40

Ep45

Ep46

Ep50

Ep39

Ep44

The notable observation follows that the groups match the order of the texts in the ms to a considerable degree, the first three belonging together in Group IV, together with the last two; the fourth and fifth being from the early groups; the group of letters (Epp 40,45,46,50) together belonging to Group II. It is hard to believe that this could be accidental. Although we would not want to suggest that the texts in, say, Group II, are all from the same hand, it would be reasonable now to assume that the texts have come into their current order in this ms as parts of pre-combined groups coming from similar times and places, later to be all amalgamated in a 'collected set of texts of Cyril of Alexandria on the Nestorian crisis'. The first three texts, in fact, might well be from the same hand, based on our analysis of their techniques. The close match between the groupings based on text analysis and that based on the ms at least provides a confirmation of the broad conclusions of the former.

The development of technique as witnessed by the groups

What is above all striking about these groupings and about the evidence that we have seen in all our texts is the significant leap forward made between the third and fourth groups. Although there are plenty of suggestions and hints of translators among groups II and III experimenting with new ideas and better methods of exegeting Cyril into Syriac, and although these earlier texts sometimes come up with some startling results that seem ahead of their time, nevertheless we are in a new world when we arrive at the fourth group, together with its honorary member, Paul of Callinicum.[1]

These latter groups represent an advanced stage of the development of translation technique, a development of which Philoxenus was an important, though not unique, part. It has been noted that the techniques of Athanasius of Nisibis in the mid 7th

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[1] Paul's significance in relation to his different contemporaries, Moses and Sergius of Resaina, has been pointed out – Brock, *Towards a History*, 12. However, the suggestion made here that there is "a definite shift" towards the mirror-technique "as time goes on" within the fifth century is a little odd given that there are no translations datable to the latter half of that century and given that Paul of Callinicum and Sergius are exact contemporaries.

century, and of our fifth group, which probably lies somewhere later in the 6th century, are not all that much of an advance upon the style of Group IV and of Paul of Callinicum; [1] just as the Harklean New Testament barely developed any new techniques beyond what is found in the Philoxenian, but rather used those same techniques with much greater consistency.

The vital period of development, therefore, appears to have been about a generation either side of 500, Philoxenus in the centre acting as the catalyst in this swift process of change.[2] The role of Philoxenus as catalyst only and not as a primary initiator, and the concomitant importance of his fifth-century predecessors, is perhaps one of the more intriguing results of this whole exercise. For it has been shown how the pre-Philoxenian Group II texts, and to an even greater extant the Group III texts, prefigure in their style, and even in a number of specifics, the methods that would be advocated and applied by Philoxenus in his revision firstly of the credal language and secondly of the New Testament.[3]

Those Group II texts were themselves probably initiated in response to the growing number of translations of the Antiochene exegetes produced in Edessa. As that latter work progressed contemporaneously with the growing discontent between Chalcedonians and anti-Chalcedonians in the latter half of the fifth century, and as Syriac church leaders and thinkers were exposed to the Biblical and theological language of Cyril, translators became increasingly aware of the shortcomings of their own language, its theological vocabulary and its syntactic competence to deal with Greek 'philosophy'. Philoxenus' readings of Cyril may have substantially contributed to his own earnest desire, as witnessed in a number of places in his writings,[4] to find new ways to translate.

Our rather exhaustive study of the Biblical citations has shown quite clearly how this development can be traced in the texts themselves, whether or not they can be used to reconstruct the lost Philoxenian. The tendency of the Group I text to imitate the

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[1] See especially the summary of this issue in the conclusions to 3.i-ii.
[2] This observation simply confirms current opinion, e.g. Brock, *Greek into Syriac*, 3, and *Towards a History*, 5.
[3] To this extent the suggestion that in the 5th century this type of approach was 'confined to Biblical texts' may need expanding – Brock, *Towards a History*, 11.
[4] See Part 1, Introductory Material.

Peshitta in all matters, sometimes even when its wording was not all that close a translation of their Vorlagen, gave way to a more experimental period in which new ways of translating the scriptures (especially the Old Testament) were tested out, probably both before and during the time when Philoxenus, acting under the same impulses, initiated his revision programme. In later texts (Group IV and V) we can see a much more developed, revisionistic, way of dealing with scriptural citations. Some of these may well be a result of using the Philoxenian (although this is very unlikely for the Old Testament), but more often it is probably the case that, like Moses of Aggel, these translators are going their own way and applying the techniques they had been developing for translating Greek theological philosophy to the translation of the scriptures.

These developments, which seem to be focused upon the era of Philoxenus, represent nothing less than revolutionary ways of reading and thinking about theological texts. It represents both a Hellenisation of Syriac theology and a new brand of 'ownership' of these texts within the Semitic world. It is also absolutely typical of its time and of the trends in theological theory and method which we first outlined in the Introduction (Part 1). Our final question, then, should be concerned above all with the motives and models which acted upon these translators in the development of their revolutionary techniques. And this will be the subject of our final chapter.

Part 4

Conclusions

On Motivations and Models

Methodological questions

The first question with which we must deal concerns the reason why the Greek-Syriac translation programme developed in the manner in which it did. As an historical phenomenon it requires an historical explanation in its specific context. The development itself has been outlined by Dr. Brock in a series of articles. [1] Significantly, he points to certain preconditions which will naturally incline translators to choose one method or another: a) the presence of those who still understand the source language (the *expositors*), whose task it is to elucidate the meaning of the translation and without whom a slavish mirror-translation ceases to have any value and goes out of circulation; b) the relative prestige of the two languages involved; and c) the nature of the texts themselves, i.e. sacred religious texts are more likely to receive a mirror version than less important texts.

Evidently all these criteria were present in the $6^{th}/7^{th}$ centuries in the Syriac language-zones where we witness that peculiar mirror-style of translation, the rise of which has been the main subject of this investigation thus far. Thus there were in the Syrian church at that time *expositores*, those who had a firm grasp of Greek and could expound the strange-sounding translation by recourse to the original – a criterion which does not hold for the Abbasid period; there was a marked growth in philhellenism over this time relative to the Syriac native tongue;[2] finally, the texts that received this treatment were important Biblical and patristic writings, whose origins were, to different extents, hallowed by tradition.

Is this all that can be said? Are these criteria sufficient to account for the phenomenon in question? These are the questions we now need to address at greater length. To

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[1] Especially *Aspects of Translation Technique* and *Towards a History* as well as, more recently, *Hunanyn's Translation Techniques* and *Changing Fashions*. See bibliography for a fuller listing.
[2] For which, see specifically Brock, *Antagonism to Assimilation*.

begin with, a fundamental distinction needs to be made between on the one hand the idea and the vision of a translation which reflects the original in such a special manner, and on the other the development of that manner itself. Thus it may be that the development of the mirror-style may not have occurred hand-in-glove with the development of the idea of it. In fact, the latter must logically precede the former. Thus we may expect a period of time when the vision and motivation is present but the ability and technical know-how has not yet arrived. We must ask two related but distinct questions. Firstly, what were the motivating factors, the inner dynamic, which gave the lettered men of this era the vision to create such texts? Secondly, what were the factors which gave them the opportunity to express that vision, which drove the actual development of the technique itself? The first concerns motivations *per se*, the second concerns models and techniques.

Motivations

Under this rubric, then, we need to examine the inner dynamic of a literary culture which seeks to establish by choice a slavish and literal translation method (whatever stage of development the actual techniques may have reached at such a time). Given that Biblical translation was a major element of the Syriac experience, the experience of earlier Biblical translation situations has sometimes been called upon to provide a parallel.

Brock has suggested that the dichotomy between literary and non-literary translation which was meaningful in the Hellenistic and Roman environments broke down when it came to the Holy Scriptures. Pointing to the revision processes enacted on the Greek Old Testament, he suggests that literalness won the day in some Jewish circles, and subsequently in the church, to be 'given its classic statement...in one of Jerome's letters.'[1] The treatment of the holy text as a legal text by the earliest Jewish translators was imitated in later times and a parallel can be drawn between these and the literalist translations of bureaucratic or legal texts, especially on the basis of the third of criterion 'c' (as given above). The background of the changing techniques amongst the Syrians through late antiquity can thereby be illuminated.

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[1] Brock, *Changing Fashions*, 5.

Does this other (Biblical) tradition indeed provide such a parallel which helps to explain the Syriac phenomena? We need to look more closely at the traditions of the Western church so as more carefully to unpack the nature of the parallel experiences.

Jerome's famous letter to Pammachius (*Ep 57*) on the subject of how translation ought to be carried out, with a particular interest in Bible translation, serves apparently as a sort of reaction against the classical expressions in favour of literary translation favoured by Cicero and Horace. In making such a reaction, Jerome makes explicit a distinction between Biblical practice, where even the word order is a *mysterium*, and non-Biblical texts, to which he would rather apply the Ciceronian principle of *aemulatio*, and act as *orator* rather than as *fidus interpres* (Horace's deprecatory term for the '*slavish imitator*'):

> ego enim non solum fateor, sed libera voce profiteer me in interpretatione
> Graecorum absque scriptures sanctis, ubi et verborum ordo mysterium est,
> non verbum de verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu. habeoque huius rei
> magistrum Tullium.[1]

> *For I myself not only admit but freely proclaim that in translating from*
> *the Greek (except in the case of the Holy Scriptures where even the order*
> *of the words is a mystery) I render sense for sense and not word for word.*
> *For this course I have the authority of Tullius.*

At first glance, this distinction that he makes in theory is borne out in practice in the contrast between Jerome's Vulgate and his versions of Origen. The freedom of exposition and interpretation which typifies the latter is not unique to him but can be found in many contemporary patristic translations from the Greek, e.g. in Rufinus' extensive work and in Eustathius' version of Basil, which is itself a good deal more freely rendered than Ambrose's earlier version of the same text. Again, the Latin translators of the *Shepherd of Hermas* owe their diction to the supple language of Roman spirituality and not the closer conventions of the *Vetus Latina* with which they

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[1] Ep57.2, ed. Hilberg, CSEL LIV, 508,9-13.

must have been familiar.[1] Such translators saw no reason, a priori, why Biblical translation method ought to spill over into their treatment of other texts, even important patristic ones.

However, the theoretical distinction here enunciated does not always seem to function as such. For even with regard to the Vulgate, Jerome can hardly be said to have applied the approach that he appears to espouse in the letter to Pammachius. The reason for this is not so much the lack of *expositors* (which would free Jerome from the third criterion), for while this might to some extent apply in the case of the Hebrew OT it would not apply to NT, and Jerome makes no distinction between them – and anyway he himself gives different reasons.[2] Jerome's concern above all appears to have been rather with the preservation of the *elegantia* of the Latin language, so long as this did not take anything away from the sense of the original, as he states explicitly in the letter to Sunnia and Fretela, and in another to Augustine.[3] In one place he discusses, for example, the Latin rendering 'in valle lacrimarum' (Ps 83) which he would rather alter to 'in valle plorationis' purely on the basis of the elegance of the target language.[4] In another, he positively commends, in Biblical translation, rendering 'vel verbum e verbo, vel sensum e sensu, vel ex utroque commixtum' in apparently direct contradiction to his words in the treatise to Pammachius.[5] In the light if this, it has been said that "it is without doubt the principle of sense-for-sense translation which was Jerome's main legacy to later translators."[6]

In fact, even within the letter to Pammachius, Jerome's theory hardly holds up. For he discusses extensively the great freedom which the NT writers took with their translations of OT citations – it is this very observation, extensively illustrated with examples, which Jerome makes the foundation of this argument that *sensus de sensu* translation is the best way to treat a patristic text, and these examples come from the

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[1] Kelly, *True Interpreter*, 81,99.

[2] cf. Brock, *Aspects of Translation Technique*, 79

[3] 'Eadem igitur interpretandi sequenda est regula, quam saepe diximus, ut ubi non sit damnum in sensu linguae, in quam transferimus, εὐφωνία et proprietas conservetur.' *Ep 106*, CSEL 55, 275,19-21; 'expressimus sensuum potius veritatem quam verborum interdum ordinem conservantes.' *Ep 112*, CSEL 55, 389,10-11.

[4] See Banniard, *Jérôme et l'elegantia d'après le De Optimo genere interpretandi*.

[5] From the preface to Job, *Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam Versionem*, ed. H.Quentin et al.: *IX.Hester-Iob* (Rome, 1951), 69. The preface to Judith contains a similar comment - 'magis sensum e sensu quam ex verbo verbum transferens,' *PL* XXVIII,1081.

[6] Marsden, *Ælfric as Translator: The Old English Prose Genesis*, 327.

Scriptures themselves. If apostles can translate like this, then why should he himself not be permitted to imitate their method? Indeed, when we turn to the Vulgate itself we find this technique readily espoused. It is especially evident wherever the Hebrew repeats a particular word frequently and Jerome always seeks a number of synonyms in the interest of *varietas*, often to the deficit of the rhetoric of the Hebrew, occasionally to the sense as well. Albert Condamin has shown extensively not just how *elegantia* thus impinges on Jerome's stated ideal, but how in many other cases Jerome alters the wording where he could have remained more faithful had he wished to do so. He identifies three types of such alterations – literary (the omission of superfluous repetitions, for example), critical (in cases where the text is problematic), and doctrinal (in cases where messianic typology impinges on OT translation).[1] Commenting, then, on Jerome's stated claim in the letter to Pammachius, Condamin concludes that 'en pratique, il s'affrachit généralement de cette étroite dépendence.'[2] Even where the Vulgate does adhere closely to the original text, the techniques Jerome uses are really nothing at all like the 'mirror-versions' that we see among the later Syriac writers, full of grammatical calques, loan words, and neologisms.

Furthermore, Winkelmann has shown how theoretical discussions such as those found in the letter owe far more to polemical context and necessity than objective scholarly accuracy.[3] The more we read both of Jerome's translations themselves and of his discussions of method the more that one well-known dictum appears to be a reflex-defence against potential accusations rather than his considered opinion.

It is anyway probably a mistake to think of Jerome's so-called comment on translation technique as being related to what we think of by that term at all. In these sorts of debates, Jerome is almost always either discussing the matter of *Vorlagen* (i.e. defending his choice of the *Hebraica veritas*)[4] or else discussing how much one can

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[1] Condamin, *Les Caractères pt 1*, 434-40; see p.437 for an example of where Jerome's concern for *elegantia* actually works against the sense of the Hebrew: מין is translated with a mixture of *species* and *genus*.

[2] ibid., 429.

[3] Winkelmann, *Zu den Aussagen des Rufinus von Aquileia und des Hieronymus*. See also discussions in Bartelink, *Liber De Optimo Genere Interpretandi* and, for a careful and thorough analysis of the theories of translation technique in late antiquity, Marti, *Übersetzer der Augustin-Zeit*.

[4] See especially the Job preface mentioned above, and also the prefaces to the Vulgate Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs, in which it is the fact that his version is "drawn straight from the

justifiably doctor an Origenist text in transmitting it into the Latin church. Thus when he speaks of being 'faithful' to the original, his observations and arguments are usually of what we would call a text-critical nature, rather than relating to detailed translation *technique* or the issue of mirroring such as we see it among the West Syrians.

Thus on investigation, it seems that Jerome never espoused the *verbum de verbo* ideal in practice, and certainly never came near making the sort of choices that we have seen in the Syriac situation. Perhaps the problem was the lack of the second criterion ('b' as mentioned above), the relative prestige of the languages. For although Greek was doubtless held in very high esteem, the Latin language also had its own rhetorical tradition that was too deeply-set to cause such a movement at that time. Perhaps not too great a burden should be placed upon the experience of Bible translation in the West as a paralle for the Syriac phenomena (although both fall within the official remit of 'late antiquity' they are comfortably separated both in time and space to posit any material influence).

Another possibly enlightening parallel presents itself, which might be able to shed light on some aspects of our problem, namely the programme of translating Latin texts into Old English initiated by King Alfred at the end of the ninth century. Not dissimilarly to Syriac, Old English 'as a literary language was born out of a program of translation, and defined itself largely in terms of differences between itself and the Latin language.'[1]

The famous judgments of Cicero and Horace, after being picked up by Jerome as we have seen, made their way down the line of tradition in the West. Thus Pope Gregory asked for the translation of his own letters to be treated in this manner: 'rogo, non verbum ex verbo sed sensum ex sensu transferte quia plerumque dum proprietas verborum tenditur, sunsuum virtus amittitur.'[2] From Gregory it passed into the practice of the early English translators.

[wine]press" that gives it the right to be called 'accurate', not its particular translational style or technique at the linguistic level.

[1] Robert Stanton, 'The (M)other Tongue: Translation Theory and Old English' in Jeanette Beer, ed., *Translation Theory and Practice in the Middle Ages*. Kalamazoo, 1997, 33-46, citation from p.34.

[2] Gregory the Great, *Registrum Epistolarum* I,xxix.

Jerome would thus have been proud of Werferth, the late ninth century bishop of Worcester, who translated Gregory's *Dialogues* into the vernacular "sometimes rendering sense for sense (*aliquando sensum ex sensu ponens*), translating intelligently and in a very polished style," as one of his contemporaries commented.[1] Alfred was Werferth's patron and made a number of similar translations himself, translating Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis* "sometimes word for word, sometimes sense for sense (*andgit of andgiete*)", as he says in the preface. The style has been described as "a close translation,...making small additions and omissions for what seems nearly always to be stylistic reasons;...he shows no interest in reproducing the subtle logic."[2] This latter option was followed even more solidly in Alfred's OE version of Boëthius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*. While of the *Cura*, it is said that his "purpose was to insure that his readers understood the meaning clearly, even at the expense of literal accuracy," the latter text is rather a "radical adaptation".[3] The Boëthius, along with Alfred's version of Orosius' *History*, is a full literary and contextual adaptation very much in the classical mould, while even the more 'literal' text (the *Cura*) is very far from being *verbum de verbo*.

The same can be said of any number of key patristic texts translated at this time, such as Æthelwold's version of the Benedictine Rule. "His aim was to write clear and fluent English prose and he keeps closely to the original as long as he can fulfil this purpose by means of a literal translation. On the other hand he does not hesitate to translate more freely if a too literal rendering would seem unidiomatic. This is why we find freely translated chapters and passages side by side with others which reproduce the original fairly literally."[4] This is just the sort of pattern that we have witnessed in our Group I and II texts, before the onset of a thoroughgoing attempt to provide a new paradigm.

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[1] Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, 77.
[2] William H. Brown, "Method and Style in the Old English *Pastoral Care*." *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 68 (1969), 666-84, citation from p.666. All things are relative and, in fact, Alfred makes alterations unthinkable to all save the earliest Syriac translators – for example his explanation, in ch.52, of Gregory's higher and lower orders and monks and laity.
[3] Stanley B. Greenfield and Daniel G. Calder, *A New Critical History of Old English Literature*. New York, 1986, 45-6.
[4] M. Gretsch, "Æthelwold's Translation of the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* and its Latin Exemplar." *Anglo-Saxon England* 3 (1974), 125-51, citation from p.148.

But this is precisely what never happened in Anglo-Saxon England. For when we turn to the Biblical Translations, even those made a century later, the situation is not changing. For in his *Genesis* "Ælfric did not hesitate to amplify or explain, by addition or rearrangement, or even alteration, where he thought it appropriate."[1] Thus, for instance, Jerome's rather odd sounding 'non enim pluerat Dominus Deus super terram' (Gen 2.5) becomes the idiomatic 'God soðlice ne sende nænne ren ofer eorðan ða gyt' (i.e. *send rain* rather than just *rain*). This style of Biblical translation showed no signs of going in the direction which we find in the Syriac church, neither in the slightly later West Saxon Gospels,[2] nor in any of the early Middle English attempts, least of all that of Wycliffe.[3] One scholar's description of this programme sounds as though it could have been referring as easily to Jerome – "the medieval notion of the sacred nature not only of the word of God, but of the syntax, the letter order, and even the punctuation of Biblical manuscripts seems to have been known in early medieval insular culture, but largely ignored in practice."[4]

What, then, are the differences between the English and the Syriac contexts which may account for the very different approaches taken towards the translation of both Biblical and Patristic material? The English approach cannot be explained by a lack of *expositors*, for there were surely no fewer Latinate literati in Alfred's realm than there were Greek ones in 7th century Syria. Similarly, it cannot have been a matter of prestige alone, for despite the very high status of Greek vis à vis Syriac in the later period, the literary status of the Old English language, which as yet had virtually no tradition of religious usage whatever, cannot have been any greater vis à vis Latin, and was probably very much lower. The same goes for the status of the texts, for it is

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[1] Richard Marsden, "Ælfric as Translator: The Old English Prose *Genesis*." *Anglia* 109 (1991): 319-58, citation from p.340. For more, especially on Ælfric's famous preface to his *Genesis* translation, see Robert Stanton, "Rhetoric and Translation in Ælfric's Prefaces." *Translation and Literature* 6 (1997), 135-48; and Frederick M. Biggs, "Biblical Glosses in Ælfric's Translation of Genesis." *Notes and Queries* 236 (1991), 286-92.
[2] The editor has commented that the translators of these cannot be credited with 'a keen appreciation of the grammatical precision and structural clarity of a Latin sentence', and she describes their work as 'literal but relatively idiomatic' – see R.M. Liuzza, *The Old English version of the Gospels Vol.2, Notes and Glossary.* Oxford, 2000, 99,50. See also Madelaine Grünberg, ed., *The West Saxon Gospels: A Study of the Gospel of St. Matthew with Text of the Four Gospels.* Amsterdam, 1967.
[3] At least not in the final edition of the Wycliffite Bible, produced by John Purvey. For our interest in the earlier edition, see further below.
[4] M.J. Toswell, "'Awended on Engliscum Gereorde': Translation and the Old English metrical Psalter." *Translation and Literature* 5 (1996), 167-82, citation from p.169.

texts of much the same sort that are being translated in each situation, namely key patristic works and supremely the Old and New Testaments.

Even when it comes to the respective purposes of the translation programmes, the similarities are more remarkable than the differences. Alfred's main aim was to encourage learning among his people, and by this he means primarily learning in Latin, not in the vernacular. He wanted to resurrect schools and monastic libraries where England could once again, as she had in the 7th century, lead Western Europe in the study of the texts of the Fathers and of antiquity. This 'aim' of the translation programme is quite evident, for instance, in Alfred's verse preface to the *Cura Pastoralis*, which ends with the words "Alfred translated every word of me [i.e. the book]... that he might send them to his bishops, for some of them needed it, who knew but little Latin."[1] The *need* of which he speaks refers a the new law requiring Latin literacy for those entering 'hieran hade' (which may mean either *holy orders* or *higher rank*). The point of reading the OE text, then, was to bring the reader slowly into contact with the Latin. The similarities and contrasts with the East are again striking. This 'renaissance' of Latin learning found a suitable high point in Ælfric's translation of Donatus' *Grammar*, designed specifically in order to encourage students to read original Latin texts.

So if Alfred's purpose was to bring the reader as close to the original as possible, why, we might ask, did he or his successors never develop a mirror-technique such as we see in Syria? Even more curiously, despite the fact that OE translation began life as a process of word by word glossing, and despite the fact that so many of the same issues and circumstances were present as in the Syriac context, its direction was quite the opposite, such that in Ælfric 'preservation of truth was ensured not by avoiding the problem of linguistic intervention, but by embracing it, both through the considerable power of customary usage and – paradoxically – through an invocation of the divine power of vernacular language."[2] We can hardly imagine a development more at odds with the Syriac experience.

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[1] Henry Sweet, ed., *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral care*. Early English Text Society 45. London, 1871, 9,12-16.

[2] Robert Stanton, *The Culture of Translation in Anglo-Saxon England*. Cambridge, 2002, 175.

One clue can be suggested here as to the reasons for the very different experiences. The focus upon *signifiant* in the one case, and upon *signifié* in the other, is indicative of a fundamental difference in outlook upon the meaning of language itself. While Ælfric's Donatus was meant to help students to learn Latin, the parallel Syriac version of Dionysius Thrax was meant rather to impose the scientific findings of the Greek grammarians on to the Syriac language, to reduce the latter to a set of principals which would enable it to be manipulated with the precision and syllogistic expressiveness of Greek. The close association between the Syriac version of Dionysius Thrax and the reading of Greek theology at the School of the Persians in the 6th century strengthens the importance of this factor.[1] This approach to language *per se* is perhaps a fundamental and important difference. In the West, the English scholars had only the Western traditions of rhetorical translation upon which to base themselves. They learnt Latin (whether via texts or Grammars) in order to read Latin. In Syria, long traditions of interaction with the Greek world had already bred a thorough consideration of the issues of language from a scientific point of view, and this contributed to a principled 'Hellenisation' of the language. Old English remained wholly free from any parallel process in its relationship to Latin.

Perhaps the Syrians were simply further down the line, and the English vernacular translations would have developed in the same manner given enough time had not the Norman conquest intervened. In fact, Chaucer's unreadably Latinate version of Boëthius perhaps points in just such a direction. This, therefore, brings us back to our fundamental distinction between vision and technique – the presence of the former does not guarantee the possibility of the latter, and 'choice' on the part of a translator is fully dependent on the literary models and options that are actually open to him 'on the ground'.

The presence of just such models to follow (namely, the sixth/seventh century Syriac ones) was probably of major significance in another parallel situation, that of the so-called 'Hellenising' school of Armenian translation. Odd, in this context, is the fact

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[1] The translation is West Syrian, but was well known to Joseph Huzaya, one of Narsai's successors, who both made use of it and designed an early vowel-system for Syriac, designed for reading the translations of Theodore already made at the School. The close link to Philoxenus and the succeeding literati of West Syria, who sprang from the same root, hardly needs stressing; Baumstark, *Geschichte*, 116-7.

that the third of our criteria hardly fits. For the sorts of texts which were subjected to the treatment of this extremist school were often very dry scientific or philosophical texts, and authors such as Philo who, while doubtless of significance to the Armenians, can hardly be rated a 'sacred text', actually kicked off the whole programme. In the Armenian school we can see, as in the Syriac, the relative importance of patristic texts vis à vis the Bible, and also we can see the vital importance of contact with a situation from which models for translation could be drawn.[1]

What, then, allowed and encouraged the development of such models in the Syriac context? Our textual analysis has yielded in this regard three important clues. Firstly, the mirror-style seems to have developed in a fairly closed and specific environment and had plenty of time to do so. It began in Edessa in the context of the post-Ephesine schism in the school of the Persians, in which both sides began to translate the exegetical and Christological works of their key authorities. This allowed time over the course of the fifth century for experimentation within a fairly narrow environment in the context of a very urgent polemical need. It is this point, rather than any of the more general criteria, which explains one of the oddities of the programme, namely its focus on patristic texts, treating them in just the same way as Biblical ones – and in fact, as we have suggested, it may have been the novel treatment of the former which drove the latter, rather than vice versa, as was most probably the case in the Western experience.

Secondly, the specific nature of that debate focused minds upon issues of language, upon the semantics of theological terms and the way in which language should be mobilized in philosophical logic, what we would call today call semiotics. There was, of course, no self-awareness of these debates – it is just that discussion about the nature of 'meaning' that is peculiarly lacking in the Christological debate; but the sudden appearance of a keen interest in Aristotle, in Greek science generally, in Greek theories of grammar in particular, all indicate a sea change in ways of thinking about language. This motivation is made quite explicit by Sergius of Resh'aina when he admitted that scripture could not be understood without access to systems of precise

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[1] On the Armenian school, see Terian, *The Hellenizing School: Its Time, Place, and Scope of Activities Reconsidered*, esp. 181-2, and Mercier, *L'école hellénistique dans la littérature arménienne.*

logic, i.e. theology must be treated like an exact science and not like poetry.[1] The late 5th/early 6th century was a good time for the scientific study of language and logic within the Empire – a time for the study of grammar (the school forming around Priscian in Constantinople, and the translation of Dionysius Thrax) and commentary on Aristotle's logic (the work of the Alexandrian school) and of the minutiae of law (Beirut, etc., for which see further below). This sort of 'scholarly' environment, which, as far as the imperial Greek world was concerned, fell away rapidly in the post-Justinianic era, was strongly influential in (and perhaps partly influenced by) the Syriac world. Its effects on thought and writing in the Syrian church were absolutely fundamental to the development of the mirror-style which was specifically, as we have seen it in our texts, grounded upon a distinctive and novel semiotics, and not just upon an ideologised *verbum de verbo* approach such as we see in many western texts of the Middle Ages.

A third point is simply that of historical particularity. This is needed to explain one of the great peculiarities of the mirror-style, namely why it occurred only among the West Syrians and not further East, especially given that the 'Antiochian' party in Edessa, which later formed the core of the school at Nisibis, was probably the first both to begin the translation of the Fathers and to begin the systematic study of Greek philosophy and science. The difference perhaps lies in something so simple as the difference in personality between Narsai and Philoxenus. The drive towards the mirror-style required, in other words, a powerful driving figure in order to give it sufficient momentum to overcome the tendency to fall back into 'easier' ways of dealing with Greek texts. Philoxenus' place as the fulcrum of the programme has already been frequently highlighted, and we can but imagine the powerful effect upon his mind induced by his youthful reading of those early (perhaps Edessene) experiments in putting Athanasius and Cyril into Syriac. In this regard, the driving force of men such as Narsai or King Alfred worked in quite a different sort of direction from those of Philoxenus or Mastoc (in Armenia), even though many of their aims are superficially similar.

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[1] From his introduction to the *Organon*, quoted in Hugonnard-Roche, *Aux origines*, 10.

In summary, we can suggest that the inner dynamic of the West Syrian translation programme was highly complex. It was not as similar to other superficially parallel situations in late antiquity as might at first appear, certainly not traditions in the West at any rate. The three criteria with which we started, while being very helpful in understanding some aspects of the question, are insufficient to explain the nature of our particular phenomenon, the motivations of which have required instead some more particularist explanations. It has been suggested as well that a vital distinction must be maintained between the vision in theory and the technique in reality, between motivation and model. While we have attempted to account for the former and to lay at least a groundwork which might explain the rise of the latter, we are still left searching for 'models' as such to explain developments in the West Syrian situation.

Models

In the previous section we briefly glanced at the traditions of Bible translation in late antiquity as a parallel to the West Syrian situation and asked whether the explanations for the former might help us to explain the latter. Here, we are more concerned with the specific question of whether the earlier traditions might actually have served as models and exemplars for the later ones. For it may seem at first sight almost self-evident that previous translation programmes, such as those of the 'Seventy' and of the later Theodotionic school of Old Testament translators, provided the model for the sort of Bible translation that we see in the seventh century Harklean and Syro-Hexaplaric versions.

On reflection, however, this seems unlikely. For the translators of the late fifth/early sixth centuries in Syria can hardly have been much aware of this 500 year old tradition. Knowledge of Hebrew was sparse, and there is no evidence of an awareness among the Syrians of the issues surrounding the accuracy of the Greek as relating to the Hebrew Bible. This latter question was an area for specialists only, for men such as Origen and Jerome. Paul of Tella was indeed interested in the textual issues surrounding the Hexapla (hence his incorporation into the Syro-Hexapla of the Aristarchan sigla), but it appears that his Vorlage was simply a copy of Origen's fifth

column and he had no direct access to the Hebrew.[1] In fact, the very existence of his whole project implies strongly that the Hebrew was being laid aside in favour of the Greek. It was a presupposition of Paul's work (as of Origen's) that the Seventy had produced an 'exact' version of an unchanging Hebrew text, and so all variants were analysed not as the functions of a 'translation technique' as such but as matters relating to what we would call textual criticism. It may well be, as has been suggested already, that much of the ancient discussion of translation technique should, in fact, be placed under the rubric of textual criticism. When the '*devanciers d'Aquila*' set about revising the Septuagint their task was primarily one of bringing the text into line with the Massoretic text of their day (from which they presumed that the original translators must have deviated) rather than of applying new theories of translation technique. Greek is, after all, the one language in which theoretical discussions of translation technique are noticeably lacking (save for some examples in Hellenistic Jewish texts to which the Syrians cannot have had access).

In sum, the fact that Jewish translators made a choice in favour of 'literal' translation (as they perceived it) based on a genre-decision (that Torah was a law text) does not in itself explain why the same texts should have been treated in exactly the same fashion in fifth-seventh century Syria (but not in third or fourth century Syria), let alone why patristic texts should also have been so treated. Although useful as a parallel, the older traditions of Bible translation do not seem to offer the models that we require for our explanation of an historical phenomenon.

In his summary survey of translation technique in Antiquity, Dr. Brock has already pointed the way in considering bureaucratic and administrative texts as a possible context in which to locate the work of literal translators who may have materially influenced the earlier Jewish translators.[2] When we consider the great importance attached to bilingualism in late antique Syria as a channel to influence and power, it stands to reason that translation in these semi-literary pursuits may prove of no little importance.

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[1] S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study*. Oxford, 1968, 125-6.
[2] Brock, *Aspects of Translation Technique*, 73ff..

This question has been discussed in various places by Fergus Millar.[1] He has played down any suggestion of cultural antagonism between 'Orient' and 'Empire' or of quasi-nationalist aspirations among *non-Greek speaking* parts of the East, as has sometimes been thought, for instance, in the case of Zenobia's kingdom in Palmyra. Rather, while seeing Syriac as indeed the language of the *chora* around the cities, he stresses that the two languages were firmly integrated and inter-locked. Brock too has stressed that this town/country divide is not absolute, and Syriac was the standard language for many even in the larger cities.[2] Similarly, the prestige of the Syriac language is something that must not be underrated – its use was by no means cast off as mere 'provincialism'. Some authors, even men of such different temperaments as John of Tella and Sergius of Resh'aina, while being perfectly capable of composition in Greek, chose to write always in Syriac. Theodoret, while writing in Greek, certainly has nothing denigrating to say about what must have been his mother tongue, and there is no lack of respect for those holy men he describes in the *Historia Religiosa* who speak no Greek at all.[3]

It is clear, however, that being able to communicate in both languages, either through a native bilingualism, or through an interpreter, was a vital route to power. This is true both from the bottom up and from the top down. Thus the stylite saint Zu'ra not only took with him to Constantinople a local aristocrat, Count Tribunus, who could interpret for him, but he even went so far as to prevent Tribunus from following his vocation as a monk because he was more useful in this 'secular' role of interpreter.[4] Many further examples of access to power requiring language-interpretation can be given from John of Ephesus' or Theodoret's stories. In the other direction, no doubt the use of Syriac was an important means of securing the approval of the masses for leaders such as Philoxenus. Severus of Antioch's Homilies 56 and 57, preached at Qennesrin (Chalcis) are said to have received 'tumultuous applause' – was his sermon translated for the people to have given him such an ovation? Certainly his power-base was rooted in the Syriac-speaking masses.[5] Similarly, Rabbula, raised in neo-platonist Qennesrin could, without an interpreter, give a sermon at Constantinople itself, as

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[1] Specifically in Millar, *Paul of Samosata, Zenobia and Aurelian*, and variously in his magnum opus, *The Roman Near East*.
[2] Brock, *Greek and Syriac in Late Antique Syria*, 150.
[3] For examples from Theodoret, see esp. Urbainczyk, *The Devil spoke Syriac to me*.
[4] John of Ephesus, *Lives of the Eastern Saints*, PO XVIII,4, 459-466.
[5] See Frend, *Monophysite Movement*, 225 and PO 4.1, 78-82 for the sermons.

well as communicate at the highest level with events in the Greek world.[1] Only one Syrian bishop is said to have even needed an interpreter at the council of Chalcedon.[2] It is quite clear that within this context, those with a foot in both camps are not only mediators, but themselves channels of power.

With this social background in mind, we can see the great importance that must have been attached to the *use* of the Greek (and Latin) language in the Syrian Orient, and the motivations which may have led to a development of ideas about translation in all sorts of spheres of life much earlier than the specific texts that we have been studying. Thus if we turn to a period when the empire was somewhat newer in the East, we can see the presence of the urgent question of interaction between the army, largely Latin-speaking, and the local Syriac or Greek speakers.[3] The evidence from such well-attested sites as Dura-Europus and Palmyra suggests that the Latin language became a part of civic life at an early stage.[4] From Edessa in the same period come attempts even at writing Roman names in Syriac, of adapting old forms to the new institutions that now mattered. Thus there are the Middle-Euphrates papyri (dated 240/241) which contain the name of the last king of Edessa, ܡܠܟܐ ܐܓܪ ܣܦܛܝܡܝܘܣ ܐܠܝܘܣ, (i.e. *King Aelius Septimius Abgar*) as well as the name of the Emperor Gordian III.[5] In another document from the same group we have the name of the new colonia, ܐܢܛܘܢܝܐ ܐܕܣܐ ܩܘܠܘܢܝܐ ܡܛܪܦܘܠܝܣ ܐܘܪܠܝܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ [ܣܡܝܬܐ?] ܐܕܣܐ, (i.e. *Antonina Edessa colonia metropolis Aurelia Alexandria*), ܩܘܠܘܢܝܐ here being perhaps the first ever Latin-Syriac loan word.[6] Within the relatively short period between these documents and the writing-up of the martyrdoms of Shmona and Guria in the early 4th century, the number of these loan words increases such that the latter text is 'shot through' with loans relating to the administrative structures of empire, many of these being Greek words themselves translated (dynamic modulation) from Roman technical terms (e.g. ἡγεμών, δικαστήριον) but some are Latin (*balineum*).[7]

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[1] His *vita*, p.vii, in Overbeck, *Opera Selecta*, and McEnerney, *Letters*, Ep74,75.
[2] ACO II,1,98-9.
[3] See, for instance, the evidence adduced by Pollard, *Soldiers, Cities, and Civilians*.
[4] For instance, see the inscriptions about Roman 'friends and benefactors' of Greek cities in Syria, *Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes*, III, 1121-2 et al.
[5] P2 in Drijvers and Healey, *Old Syriac Inscriptions*, 238.
[6] P3 in ibid., 246.
[7] See Millar, *Roman Near East*, 486-7.

These observations on the translation of Latin administrative terminology into Syriac (or Greek) reminds one strongly of the similar experience of Greek theological terms in Syriac in the 6th and 7th centuries, and indeed the two types of translation have been closely linked already.[1] A further instance of this type may therefore be helpful at this point, although not concerning Syriac directly, viz. the Greek translations of the *senatus consulta* that came out of Rome into the Eastern provinces.

About these translations one editor has commented that they 'slavishly reproduced each word of the Latin, so that at times the Greek becomes intelligible only when the Latin idiom is uppermost in the mind.'[2] He speaks of a 'remarkable consistency in phraseology and vocabulary' such that one might believe that all the translations, spanning 200 years, were made by one person. The reason for this homogeneity was a carefully-used system, established in the secretariat at Rome, under whose authority all the translations were made. All this work was done 'in an office where a continuity in translation style and vocabulary was achievable,' i.e. the workers 'must have been professionals whose lifetime duties kept them in close contact with official state papers and who were at the same time familiar with Roman constitutional forms.'[3] This difficult business of finding Greek equivalents for all the administrative jargon has been extensively discussed elsewhere.[4] Furthermore, the method is paradoxically highlighted by the very different Greek terms used for the same originals found in the literary sources, where literary historians self-consciously avoid the official equivalents and seek some more felicitous terms, a stylistic choice which improves aesthetic pleasure but decreases the possibilities of retro-translation and thus sometimes provides difficulties to the modern interpreter.[5] The official translations took it all more seriously. The word-lists for school texts found in Egyptian papyri arose from this same cross-fertilisation of language and the perceived need to find

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[1] Brock, *Aspects of Translation Technique*, 70ff.
[2] Sherk, *Roman Documents*, 7.
[3] ibid., 18.
[4] Comprehensively in P.Viereck, *Sermo graecus quo senatus populusque Romanus magistratusque populi Romani usque ad Tiberii Caesaris aetatem in scriptis publicis usi sunt examinatur. Commentatio philologica.* Göttingen, 1888. See also A. Cameron, "Latin Words in the Greek Inscriptions of Asia Minor." *AJPh* 52 (1931): 232-62 and Zilken, *Inscriptiones Latinae Graecae bilingues.* Leipzig, 1909.
[5] Mason, *Roman Government in Greek Sources.*

word-for-word equivalencies between languages that were anyway considered to be very close.[1]

The work of these translators of the *senatus consulta* gives us in tangible form that upon which Horace cast aspersions as being the method of the 'fidus interpres'. If we substitute here Syrian monks with a professional knowledge of the technical terms of the documents of Greek theology who are 'familiar with its forms' then we can see at once the similarity between these two translation programmes. The major difference, however, is that these earlier translators were more at home in the source than in the target language, while our monks were translating *into* their own tongue. The important conclusion to draw here is that this is not just a parallel which helps to illumine each phenomenon, but a solid situation in which the practical working out of an idea of translation into concrete texts over a long period of time may well have been able to provide *models* for the Syrian schools in the subsequent centuries.

A similar sort of 'secretarial translation' might, in fact, be just about visible amongst the meagre epigraphic evidence in Syriac itself, where on some occasions the usual Greek dedicatory inscriptions have Syriac equivalents placed next to them. The sixth-century trilingual (Greek, Syriac, Arabic) inscription from the church of St Sergius in Zebed is perhaps the best known and is contemporary with the period of our translations, although in this instance the Syriac and Arabic are rather independent of the Greek and are not really meant as translations at all.[2] But there are many others, including a mid-sixth century example from Bâqirha, in which the words ἐγένετο ὁ πυλών are translated by something of a calque, ܪ̈ܝܫ ܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ.[3] In another, near Barbalissus, the words τῶν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πάντων τῶν κοινωνησάντων τῷ ἔργῳ (*of those before God and all the partakers in the work*) are very accurately

[1] See Gaebel, *Greek Word-lists*.

[2] IGLS 310; extensively discussed in E. Sachau, "Zur Trilinguis Zebedaea." *ZDMG* 36 (1882), 345-532; cf. also Frank R. Trombley, 'Epigraphic Data on Village Culture and Social Institutions.' In W. Bowden, L. Lavan, C. Machado, eds., *Recent Research on the Late Antique Countryside*. Leiden, 2004, 73-101, esp. 92ff.

[3] IGLS 565. For other bilinguals of this type, see IGLS nos. 312,313,314,317,336,373,401,553. For an intriguing earlier example, see C.S. Lightfoot and J.F. Healey, 'A Roman Veteran on the Tigris.' *Epigraphica Anatolica* 17 (1991), 1-7. Others also discussed by A. Desreumaux and P.-L. Gatier, 'L'inscription grecque et syriaque d'une mosaique.' *Semitica* 41/2 (1993), 173-81.

rendered in Syriac as ܪܒܝܬܐ ܐܣܛܘܐܗ݀ܪܐ ܡܢ ܩܝܡܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܣܘܡ.[1] The general increase in Syriac inscriptions in churches from the middle of the fifth century attests more generally to that upsurge in the language's literary significance of which the interest in translation technique is an important symptom.[2] Unfortunately, the extent of the evidence in this area does not allow us to draw conclusions about what a long inscription, say an imperial decree couched in the language of bureaucracy and law, might have looked like in its neighbouring Syriac version in the 6th or 7th century. Perhaps the forthcoming corpus of Syriac inscriptions will provide a little more material for such a study.[3]

Bilingualism in the world of legal education

Another area of inter-cultural exchange may provide for us a potentially rewarding area for exploration. This is the realm of legal education in its Greek and Latin forms. Brock has already mentioned, as a motive for the literal translation of the Old Testament, its treatment as a 'law-book',[4] and indeed the genre of legislative writing in the 6th century might even more instructively be considered as a parallel to theological discourse as an equally technical and text-oriented world. We have already suggested that the developments in translation technique during this century have a great deal to do with the development of theological argument, the rise of the citation-rich methodology of the florilegium and exegesis of the Fathers. In fact, Justinian's *Digest* might well be thought of as a secular version of a 'compilation of the sayings of the Fathers' for use in the courts as the best authority for the interpretation of earlier laws, just as the anthologised works of the fourth and fifth century Fathers of the church were used in the court of theological debate in the sixth and seventh. The following discussion of translation techniques applied to these legislative texts may therefore prove beneficial to our inquiry.

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[1] P. Donceel-Voûte, *Les Pavements des églises Byzantines de Syrie et du Liban. Décor, archéologie et liturgie.* Publications d'histoire de l'art et d'archéologie de l'Université catholique de Louvain, vol. 69, 1988, 148-9. Also published as SEG XLV,1883.

[2] As the evidence shows, for instance, at Qala'at Sem'ân (see Donceel-Voûte, *op.cit.*, p.234ff.) and at Tell Bi'a (see M. Krebernik, 'Schriftfunde aus Tell Bi'a 1990.' *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin* 123 (1991), 41-57).

[3] A preliminary volume is available, Desreumaux, Briquel Chatonnet and Debié, *Les inscriptions syriaques*; see also Desreumaux and Palmer, *Un projet international : le recueil des inscriptions syriaques.*

[4] Brock, *Aspects of Translation Technique*, 71-2.

For the period following the official promulgation of the Justinianic Code and Digest (533), we have abundant evidence for the methods and techniques of legal education at the two 'official' law schools, at Beirut and Constantinople. This evidence is especially concerned with the question of language, of how the professors of the day (the famed *antecessores*) sought to teach these Latin law codes to their Greek-speaking students.[1] Although all students appear to have been required to take one year's Latin before beginning at law school proper, their knowledge was evidently only ever rudimentary. When the first year of law kicked off with the teaching of the *Institutes*, the professor used to go through the text, glossing all the difficult terms and making something approximating to a word list, known as an *Index*. To this index might be added some initial exegetical remarks, the προθεώριαι, made on the basis of these Greek terms. In the second year, the Latin text itself, the ῥητόν, would be the subject of fuller exegeses, known as παραγραφαί.

Now, although the Index did not in itself constitute a translation as such, there is in some instances clear evidence that an *antecessor* did make a full and proper translation for his students. This is the case, for instance, with Dorotheus's version of the Digest.[2] Dorotheus was one of the authors of the Digest and one of the foremost teachers at Beirut in the 530s/540s. In this period he appears to have made a full translation of the Digest into Greek. Seeing as this translation included the books of the Digest that were *not* taught in the school curriculum (the so-called βιβλία ἐξτραόρδινα), it would appear that its purpose extended also to legal practitioners, and not just to students. The scholia to the *Basilica*, a 9th century Byzantine legal compilation, preserves some extracts from this translation, which have been edited by Brandsma.[3] He categorises them as either being 'very literal', 'quite literal', 'not quite literal' or 'with clarifications'; the 'quite literal' group receives the most extracts. The following is an example of 'very literal':

si ex plostro lapis ceciderit et quid ruperit vel fregerit, Aquiliae actione plostrarium teneri placet, si male composuit lapides et ideo lapsi sunt.

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[1] The most comprehensive overview is that of Scheltema, *L'Enseignement*.
[2] In addition to Scheltema, see esp. Brandsma, *Dorotheus*.
[3] ibid., 47-70.

ἐὰν ἐξ ἁμάξης λίθος πεσὼν διαφθείρῃ τί ποτε ἢ κλάσῃ, ὁ ἁμαξελάτης κατέχεται τῷ Ἀκοϊλίῳ, εἰ κακῶς συνέθηκε τοὺς λίθους καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κατέπεσον.[1]

Only 'placet' does not receive an equivalent and the only other concession to the idioms of Greek is the re-structuring of 'ceciderit et fregerit' as πεσὼν διαφθείρῃ. In view of this sort of style, it is quite unsurprising that a scholion often contains the refrain: Δωρόθεος μέντοι τῷ ῥητῷ κατακολουθῶν, i.e. he was 'following [the Digest] literally'.[2] Frequently, Dorotheus' version required the 'paragraphai', comments on the translation which "served to make the translation clear, perhaps to make it possible to use it independently in legal practice without reading the Digest text."[3] Interesting for our purposes also is the papyrus PS 1350, containing a small fragment of Dorotheus' version, which gives us a glimpse at the visual layout of the original. It contains not only a high number of transliterated technical terms, but some even written in Latin characters. It testifies to a particular method of translation in vogue in that particular context in which it was recognised that, while translation was needed, the closer the reader could be brought to the original the better. Overall, however, Brandsma's judgment on the work is that 'Dorotheus aimed more at a correct translation as regards content than a translation as literal as possible.'[4]

Only when we turn to some other examples of this genre do we find something even more extreme. The Justinianic *Codex* was known for the difficulty and obscurity of its wording and expression. Thus when this text came to be treated in the fifth and final year of the law curriculum, the *antecessores* faced even greater barriers than with the Digest. One teacher, Isidore, solved the problem by creating a word-list to be appended to the end of the manuscripts. Thalalaeus, however, aimed at something more like an inter-linear version. Scheltema calls this a 'moyen curieux', although its form is presaged already in Justinian's edict, that no interpretation of the laws is permitted "nisi tantum si velit eas (leges) in Graecam vocem transformare sub eodem

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[1] This is no.8 in Brandsma's list.
[2] From Basilica scholion 2127-29 or 1086-27, cited Brandsma, *Dorotheus*, 86-7.
[3] ibid., 46.
[4] ibid., 278.

ordine eaque consequentia, sub qua et voces Romanae positae sunt (hoc quod Graeci κατὰ πόδα dicunt)."[1]

Holwerda has shown, by reference to a number of errors in the translation, that this version absolutely required the original in order to make sense and could not have been designed to have a separate existence, but rather must have been inserted above the Latin line as in a modern inter-linear, and as Justinian appears to command.[2] This κατὰ πόδας version of the *Codex* was an important addition to the insufficient help given by Thalalaeus' *Index* and *Paragraphai*. With it, students could see both the original Latin and the Greek 'crib' at the same time. A couple of examples of this κατὰ πόδας version will make its nature quite clear: for instance 'non mutant honores servi statum' becomes οὐκ ἐναλλάσσουσι αἱ τιμαὶ τὴν τοῦ δούλου κατάστασιν. And again: 'obtemperandi legi conventionis nullam habet necessitatem domina' becomes πείθεσθαι τῷ νόμῳ τοῦ συμφώνου οὐδεμίαν ἔχει ἀνάγκην ἡ δέσποινα.[3] Furthermore, the errors described by Holwerda indicate that the translator hardly even understood the original as a connected whole, but focused on each word independently of its context, grammatical or semantic.[4]

A similar exercise was again undertaken on the *Novellae*, Justinian's own edicts made after the compilation of the *Codex*, which were written originally in Greek. The Latin-speaking students, especially those coming into Constantinople after the re-incorporation of Italy into the Empire, required assistance in reading these texts in the same way that their non-Latinophone colleagues had done with the *Digest* and *Codex*. The Latin version thus created, the so-called *Authenticum*, became a standard legal text in the West thereafter, and it is quoted, for instance, by Pope Gregory.[5] It is written, says Scheltema, in 'un latin incompréhensible', that is, without the original

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[1] *Digest Const. Tanta* 21. See also Scheltema, *L'Enseignement*, 32, and Humfress, *Law and Legal Practice*, 168. The term κατὰ πόδας seems to mean 'in [one's] footsteps' (cf. the term used with πλέω in Xen.*Hell.* 2,1,20 and Thuc. 8,17,3; with πρόσκειμαι in Jos. *Bell.Iud.* 3,291; also cf. P.Gron.17,7 for an idiomatic usage) and, in our context, it is an equivalent to '*verbum de verbo*'. It is paralleled thus in Theodoret who describes as περὶ πόδα an excessively literal exegesis, in the preface to his Commentary on the Book of Kings (*Quaest in Reges et Paralipomena*, ed. Fernandez Marcos and Busto Saiz, 3), cited in Kannengiesser, *Handbook of Patristic Exegesis*, I,195.
[2] Holwerda, *Traduction grecque*; also Scheltema, *Subseciva IV-X*, 99.
[3] These taken from BS 2993-20 and BS 3003-6 respectively, cited in Scheltema, *L'Enseignement*, 38-9.
[4] Holwerda, *Traduction grecque*, 275-83.
[5] For a general description, Scheltema, *Subseciva XI-XIII*, 275-9.

alongside.[1] He concludes from all this activity that 'l'enseignment...ne visait pas moins la solution des problèmes linguistiques que celles des énigmes du droit.'[2] To give a clearer idea of the methods used in the κατὰ πόδας translations, the following is the opening of Justinian's *Novellae* with the Latin *Authenticum* translation of the original Greek on the lower line[3]:

Ἐνσχοληµένοις ἡµῖν περὶ τὰς ἁπάσης τῆς πολιτείας φροντίδας, καὶ
occupatis nobis circa totius reipublicae curas et

µικρὸν οὐδὲν αἱρουµένοις ἐννοεῖν, ἀλλ' ὅπως ἂν Πέρσαι µὲν
parvum nihil eligentibus cogitare, sed quatenus [x] Persae quidem

ἠρεµοῖεν, Βανδίλοι δὲ σὺν Μαυρουσίοις ὑπακούοιεν, Καρχηδόνιοι
quiescent, Vandali vero cum Mauris oboediant, Carchedonii

δὲ τὴν παλαιὰν ἀπολαβόντες ἔχοιεν ἐλευθέριαν Τζάνοι τε νῦν
autem antiquam recipientes habeant libertatem, et Tzani nunc

τὴν Ῥωµαίων πρῶτον ὑπὸ γενόµενοι πολιτείαν ἐν ὑπηκόοις
Romanorum primum sub facti republica inter subiectos

τελοῖεν, καὶ νῦν τοῦτο ὅπερ οὔπω πλὴν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡµετέρας
habeantur, hactenus quod nondum nisi sub nostro

βασιλείας δέδωκε Ῥωµαίοις ὁ θεός, ἐπιρρέουσι καὶ ἰδιωτικαὶ
imperio dedit Romanis deus, incurrunt etiam propriae

φροντίδες παρὰ τῶν ἡµετέρων ὑπηκόων ἀεὶ προσαγγελλόµεναι,
sollicitudines a nostris subiectis semper nuntiatae,

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[1] Scheltema, *L'Enseignement*, 54; an extended example is given in the appendix at the end of this chapter.
[2] ibid., 47.
[3] Texts in R. Schöll and G. Kroll, *Corpus iuris civilis. Vol.3, Novellae* (6th ed.). Berlin, 1954.

ὧν   ἑκάστῃ   μὲν   δίδομεν   τὸν προσήκοντα   τύπον.

quarum singulis quidem damus   competentem   formam.

For comparison, the following is the editor's own Latin version of the same text, *sensus de sensu*:

Occupatis nobis universae reipublicae curis, nec parvi quid animo agitantibus, sed quomodo Persae quiescant, Vandali cum Mauris oboediant, Carthaginienses pristinam libertatem recuperatam obtineant, Tzanique nunc primum Romanorum reipublicae subiecti inter subditios habeantur (id quod nondum hactenus nisi sub nostro imperio dedit Romanis deus), affluunt etiam privatae curae a subditis nostris semper delatae, quarum suam cuique convenientem formam damus.

At what date did this method of translation first develop? The work of the *antecessores* can be dated very specifically to the period after the promulgation of the new law codes, i.e. 533-c.560. Of the law course before 533 we know very little.[1] However, it is Scheltema's judgment that 'les méthodes d'enseignement non plus n'ont pas changé de façon radicale' and 'il est fort probable que la faculté juridique elle aussi fut bilingue depuis longtemps.'[2] He can say this largely because there is little evidence that the year 533 appeared to many as a particularly important date at the time. Only in retrospect does the Justinianic legal reform appear so ground-breaking. At the time it was seen as little more than a reorganisation of existing material, not necessarily accompanied by any change at all in the curriculum, and indeed he provides concrete evidence that this was the case.[3] Although we are not in possession of any school texts earlier than 533,[4] the experience of Severus and Zacharias at Beirut at the close of the fifth century cannot have been very dissimilar from that of the following generation.

Our investigations in Part 3 have suggested that the first half of the sixth century (and even the latter years of the fifth) was the most significant period in the development

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[1] Scheltema, *L'Enseignement*, 10.
[2] ibid., 9,48.
[3] ibid., 8.
[4] The Scholia Sinaitica provide a partial and qualified exception to this statement, see Scheltema, *Subseciva IV-X*, 100.

of Syriac translation techniques, when the key decisions were made and implemented, and when most of the steps towards the fully-fledged seventh century system were taken. This fact naturally raises the question as to whether there may have been any influence between what we have seen taking place simultaneously in the law schools and the translation programme at the School of the Persians in Edessa or in the other centres of Syriac learning. When Sergius of Resh'aina or Paul of Callinicum set about their work, coming as they did from the world of Greek scholarship and learning, were they aware of these existing techniques which might serve as models for their own work? Men such as these (and we might add even Severus, a law school student who, while not a Syriac speaker, had a decisive influence upon their world, and of course Philoxenus) could have acted as conduits for this sort of literary model.

Another not insignificant piece of the jigsaw in this 'legal' connection will be of some interest. For even if we cannot say for certain whether or not the Syriac translators were aware of techniques used in Beirut, we can be sure that some people at the time were concerned with translating legal documents into Syriac. For such is the so-called Syro-Roman lawbook. In its title (as found in the oldest manuscript), it claims to be a set of secular laws translated out of ܪܗܘܡܝܐ ܠܫܢܐ, a term which could mean either Latin or Greek, (though usually used with reference to the structures of imperialism).[1] Either way, it seems unlikely that it could have been translated directly from the Latin. While there is a plentiful bibliography on the text, little attention has been paid to linguistic style and translation technique, although this would be difficult due to the lack of any direct Vorlage and the complexities of the Syriac text-tradition itself. Baumstark gives the date of translation as before 468, but the reason is unclear.[2] There may be room for some investigation here. Above all, however, it attests to the interaction of the Syriac schools of canon and ecclesiastical law (i.e. in the monasteries, where all other translations must also be located) with the Greek secular schools at Beirut, Constantinople, and Alexandria. One scholar even argued that it was a school text book from Beirut for first year students.[3] A parallel and even more

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[1] Principal edition by Sachau and Bruns, *Syrisch-römisches Rechtsbuch* and more recently in another recension, Vööbus, *The Syro-Roman lawbook : the Syriac text of the recently discovered manuscripts accompanied by a facsimile edition.* For ܪܗܘܡܝܐ in its usual functions, see, e.g. Brooks, *Vitae Virorum*, 78,25.

[2] Baumstark, *Geschichte*, 83.

[3] Nallino, *Sul libro Siro Romano e sul presunto diritto siriaco*, and see the more recent summary of research by Eskhult, *The Syro-Roman Lawbook and Local Legal Custom*.

purely secular text is provided by the *Sententiae Syriacae* recently published by Selb, a translation which the editor describes as 'almost slavish', and made between 427 and 529.[1] It is thus just the sort of text whose influence upon the theological schools in the realm of translation technique may have been decisive.

In fact, and this may be of indirect relevance, there was a surprisingly close relationship between the student body in Beirut and the anti-Chalcedonian movement among the monasteries of Palestine and Syria. For it was not only Severus and Zacharias who had been law students in Beirut, but John Rufus and his brother Evagrius as well, and so too Theodore of Ascalon, all protégés of Peter the Iberian.[2] These lawyer-monks congregated around the monasteries of Maiuma/Gaza, initially under Peter's leadership and later under Theodore. In fact, so common was this particular career path that a monastic novel was made out of a fabulous story of law students becoming monks in Palestine.[3] While in the Gaza region, this group continued to maintain close contacts with secular learning through the person of Aeneas, the renowned sophist of Gaza.[4] The sudden appearance of the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite seems also to have some close connection with this group and type of background, a fact which links their particular brand of learned monasticism rather closely with that of the Syriac translator of the Dionysiac corpus, Sergius of Res'aina, a contemporary of Paul of Callinicum. What these stories indicate is the growing intellectualism and 'bookishness' of the monastic movement in the latter part of the fifth century and especially in the sixth, a development which linked centres of higher education and monasteries more closely than ever before. This seems to have produced a quasi-academic culture in the monasteries of which we see the results in the mirror-translations of the sixth and seventh centuries.

A final piece of evidence may make us even more certain of the close links between such schools in late antiquity. When Hunayn ibn Ishaq looked back to previous Syriac versions of Galen, he soon became disillusioned with them and discarded them in

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[1] Selb, *Sententiae Syriacae*.
[2] *Life of Peter the Iberian* (ed.Raabe), 78-9.
[3] See Derwas Chitty, *The Desert a City*. Crestwood, NY, 1995, 143.
[4] See the *Life of Severus* 87-90.

order to start over again.[1] Specifically, he accuses the work of Ayyub, a more recent predecessor, of being 'incomprehensible,' meaning probably that Ayyub's method was rather like that of the seventh century Syrian school and produced extreme calques which could only be understood alongside the Greek. Sergius of Res'aina, however, comes in for even worse criticism than Ayyub, although it is not quite clear what his sin was. Was it that Sergius simply did not understand Galen very well and so failed to give the right sense, or was it more a matter of translation technique per se? Hunayn points out that Sergius improved over time:

> Übersetzt hatte dieses Buch ins Syrische Sergios, und zwar fand die Übersetzung der ersten sechs Teile statt, als er noch schwach war und im Übersetzen nichts leistete. Die übrigen acht Teile hat er dann übersetzt, nachdem er Übung erlangt hatte, und so hat er sie besser übersetzt, als er die sechs ersten übersetzt hat.[2]

In what did this improvement consist? Better technical knowledge? Better exemplars? Or was it a better translation technique which became over time more similar to what we have seen approved by Philoxenus and found in the work of Paul of Callinicum – not so obsessively calque-esque as the versions of 150 years later which received only Hunayn's opprobrium, but rather a well-developed method of precise technical translation such that the exact meaning of the Greek can be seen *through* the Syriac wording and syntax? A recent study has, in fact, suggested that Sergius' method in dealing with texts of Galen did not at all deserve the opprobrium it often received in later centuries and in fact preserved with great care for posterity many of the technical terms of Greek medicine.[3] Whether or not this is, in fact, the reason (and only a close attention to the history of those texts may tell us the answer), nevertheless the fact that Hunayn distinguishes between Sergius' work before his time in Alexandria and after it suggests that he altered his methods a good deal while he was there. Might it have had anything to do with his witnessing there the Latin-Greek translation techniques used in the legal system that we have been describing? And did his knowledge of and

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[1] For the Risala, see Bergsträsser, *Hunain ibn Ishaq über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen.*

[2] ibid. p.14,15-18.

[3] Bhayro, *Syriac Medical Terminology.* The planned editions of the Syriac medical corpus announced in this article will no doubt throw a great deal of light on the question of where Sergius fits into the development of translation technique.

liking for the Dionysiac corpus arise from some close association with that group of monastic literati in Gaza who themselves hailed from the law-school of Beirut, the breeding ground for mirror-translation *par excellence* in the early sixth century?

We have already seen how the interaction between the Roman administrative and military machines and the Syriac-speaking communities produced a linguistic interchange which accustomed the latter to the reception of large numbers of loan-words of a technical nature. To this we have added the same phenomenon occurring also in the realm of legal jargon in the case of Latin/Greek. Even if we cannot assume the direct appropriation of such models, we can at least see here a number of branches, stemming from the same network of inter-cultural exchange, from the same multilingual world, and expressing the same concern to share ideas and cultures between linguistic communities in a variety of walks of life. What we have extant in Syriac, such as the Syro-Roman Lawbook, can only be the tip of the iceberg of what once existed; and the extent and complexity of the social, cultural, and literary links between the Syriac and Greek intellectual worlds must surely have been proportionately wider than those that we can dimly perceive through fragmentary remains.

When those translators, perhaps at Edessa, who were translating Cyril's works in the latter part of the fifth and early into the sixth centuries began slowly to appreciate that the way Graeco-Syriac translation had been carried out to date was not good enough for the now-dawning age of the 'exegesis of the Fathers', they had only to look to the world of official documents, military inscriptions, and law-school texts, with their distinctive treatment of specific and technical jargon, to find models for making their vision a reality. Theology simply needed to be added to administration and law as areas of thought which were 'untranslatable' by traditional, more literary, means, and which required something more specially suited to their subject-matter. Taking up these models more and more, the Syrian theological translators were able to develop their initial vision with its stilting experiments in the new style into the polished, deliberate, and highly accomplished techniques of what we have termed the 'mirror-style.'

Summary

The actual presence of such models in the right context was the key element in this development. As we suggested in the first part of this chapter, we needed to find (in addition to the three initial general criteria described) some very specific and historical explanations within the concrete situation of the Syrians in the 5th-7th centuries. These factors help to explain why such a technique developed here in a way quite different from what happened in the West, where different dynamics were at play, both in the Latin and Old English spheres.

Under the rubric of *motivations*, we identified the characteristics of the polemics of Christological debate, the growth of Aristotelian study amongst the Syrians and the resulting concern with language and semiotics, as well as the personal and powerful influence of Philoxenus (and perhaps others less visible in our sources). All these factors explained the vision without really providing the models for the development of the technique in those concrete terms which are also required for a full explanation of the phenomenon. By looking at the tradition of language use and textual translation in the eastern provinces throughout antiquity, and especially by focusing on the area of legal texts, we have made some suggestions towards finding such models, while always remembering that the extent of our knowledge is severely curtailed by the losses of time.

A modern parallel ?

We have noted on more than one occasion in the foregoing discussion the importance of semiotics in any particular theoretical approach towards translation technique, that is, the way one considers the relationship between a thing and its sign is always going to be crucial to how one goes about signifying things – it will affect both the reading of the Vorlage (as it affects the whole hermeneutical enterprise) and especially the conceptual transfer into the target language. Very different notions of language must have held, for example, between the Syrians of late antiquity and the English scholars of the late Anglo-Saxon period, however many other similarities of context there appear to be.

Similarly, and of greater import, Augustine's suggestions on the distinction between meaning and sign were not taken over and developed in the West before the Renaissance, and so an 'imitative' approach to translation was generally the norm in the Latin West in the middle ages, once Jerome's striving after *elegantia* had been left behind and Aristotle (significantly) held centre stage, with Boëthius' philologically-oriented translation of Aristotle as the model. Reaction only set in during the 16th century, especially in the matter of translations into the vernacular. The works of Dryden and Pope, among many others, are sufficient witness to the tenor of *their* age.

A new moment, however, and a more significant one in our connection, in the history of translation techniques was initiated among the German Idealists – it was hardly surprising that the reasoned discussions of literature in the eighteenth century should have thrust *them* towards an entirely different direction. The idealism of the *Sturm und Drang* movement sought *truth* rather than *fact* (a 'theological' aim if ever there was one) and in ancient literature this *truth* was to be found not in the disguising of an author under the garb of modern literary culture (as Enlightenment translation theorists claimed) but in reaching into that void between author and translator in the hope of touching just a piece of that *Geist* which had made the original so important in the first place.

Behind this reaching-out after inner truth lay von Humboldt's *Ursprache* theory and the concomitant belief that *Vorlage* and *Übersetzung* were cousins, representing in differing dialects only the same eternal human truth. This type of approach found its concretisation in Goethe's 'Interlinear Versions' in which above all it was the order and layout of the ideas in the Vorlage which was considered the most crucial aspect of a text and which needed to be reproduced. Ever since these novel methods were first tried, there have always been some who have advocated methods of literality as, if not more, extreme than anything the Syrians could have written,[1] and Goethe's ideas have retained their force under other guises, in the hermeneutics of Hegel and in some post-modern semiotics.

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[1] For instance, see C. & L. Zukofsky, *Catullus*. London, 1969; or the Rosenzweig-Buber German translation of the Hebrew Bible (Heidelberg, 1978-81).

Can we see in this any sort of parallel between the German idealist search after truth and the Syriac search for the right way of translating? From one viewpoint, our answer must be negative. We have already seen how Philoxenus and his contemporaries developed their ideas in a polemical context and with the aim of achieving scientific (or perhaps legalistic) precision. Seeing theology and dogma as an extension of (a scientifically-oriented) philosophy, and ultimately of the niceties of Greek logic, they advanced boldly down a road towards 'scientific translations'. The idealists of the late eighteenth century were motivated rather by poetical and 'spiritual' notions of the past.

From another viewpoint, however, we can see an important similarity. Both movements held to a semiotics based on a 'theological' *Geist*, a feeling that real meaning lay *within*, and not just *behind*, the forms of grammar, and hence that the *signifiant* precedes the *signifié* in overall import. It may not match well with modern notions of a good translation, but it reflects a theological insight of some import, a theological insight that *could* be effectively communicated (so its protagonists would claim, whether ancient or modern) by means of specific approaches to manipulating language.

In this way does the translator, in these contexts especially, become a 'power-broker' controlling and channeling the way in which his culture moves. He thereby gives to literature not just a new direction but a whole new *Geist*. In light of the powerful and not dissimilar impact on their respective worlds that was effected by both the Syrian translators and by the German idealists, might we not justly apply to Philoxenus (and to his colleagues) Goethe's epithet for the translator, '*ein Prophet in seinem Volk*'?

Appendix 1

A Statistical Experiment

"Greek sentences are sometimes rendered fairly literally, at others they are completely recast. There is little effort to attain consistency."[1]

Aim and Method

The motivation for this experiment derives from the observation contained in the above statement. All the accumulated data of Part 3 told a great deal about the texts in question, but was to some extent only very partial, for the data presented was chosen to illustrate and fortify an impression and could never attain a status of absolute authority while it remained anything short of exhaustive. Thus, for instance, while a novel lexical item such as ܪܚܩܘܬܡܟܐ might well turn up in both Ep40 and the Ad Tiberium, in the former it is the exception, in the latter the rule. The difference is a question of consistency; and it seems that it is upon the issue of consistency that we need ultimately to base any typology of translation styles. Doubtless new methods, both lexical and syntactic, were invented and used first at some specific stage in the process, but only experimentally and haphazardly, a situation that would yield over time to one in which the new method would be used with ever greater consistency. Thus we need a way of measuring the consistency of 'mirror' usages over significant portions of text.

In his discussion of translation techniques in the Septuagint, James Barr has already suggested that it must somehow be possible to quantify statistically levels of consistency,[2] although he makes no concrete suggestion as to how this might be done. Some attempts have, however, been made to apply statistical techniques to the Greek Old Testament, in order to distinguish with greater precision the styles of the translators of the several books.[3] These have tended to

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[1] Brock, *Greek into Syriac*, 3, in reference to the style of the earliest Greek-Syriac translations.

[2] Barr, *Typology*.

[3] E.g. Galen Marquis, "Consistency of lexical equivalents as a criterion for the evaluation of translation technique as exemplified in the LXX of Ezekiel." *Sixth Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Jerusalem, 1986.* Atlanta, 1987, 405-24; Benjamin G. Wright III, "The quantitative representation of elements : evaluating 'literalism' in the LXX." *Sixth Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Jerusalem, 1986.* Atlanta, 1987, 311-35. See also Pelio Fronzaroli, "Statistical methods in the study of ancient Near Eastern languages." *Orientalia ns* 42 (1973), 97-113.

focus on lexical equivalences. But they have to some extent inspired the following, highly experimental, effort.

The aim is to measure how close any given text approaches the level of consistency in 'mirror' renderings achieved by a nominally 'perfect' text, i.e. one that represents the highest development of the art of Hellenised mirroring. For this purpose we need a text that comes from towards the end of our period of Syriac translations and of which the Greek is extant such that we can measure its consistency levels. For this purpose, I have chosen Gregory Nazianzen's 40th Oration in its most revised version, which, according to its colophon, was carried out in 624, and is conveniently available in a recent edition.[1]

Ideally one would proceed to measure consistency across a very wide range of grammatical, syntactical, and lexical issues or criteria, but we have restricted ourselves in this experiment to a smaller number. These criteria reflect findings from our texts earlier in the study and were also chosen as being well represented in the chosen control text, the Gregory Oration. The seven criteria are as follows:

1) Indicative verbs: In this measure, the consistency of formal equivalents is being assessed according to the following standard

Present = Syriac participle

Imperfect = Syriac participle + auxiliary

Future = Syriac Imperfect

Aorist/Perfect = Syriac Perfect

This standard represents what we often found in our texts and a very high level of equivalency is found in the control.

2) Participles: This measure concerns specifically circumstantial participles, including Genitive absolutes

Circumstantial Present Ptc. = ܟ + ptc. (+ auxiliary when in past context)

Circumstantial Aorist Ptc. = ܟ + perfect

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[1] Haelewyck, *Oratio XL*. For the dating, see p.vii. The Greek edition used was that of Moreschini, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 38-41*

3) Copula: the formal equivalents in this regard have been fairly widely discussed already. This particular measure is restricted to the following equivalency:

Imperfect = ܗܘܐ ܐܝܬ (+ personal endings)

4) Infinitives: again a number of standard equivalencies are found, but here we are restricted to:

Article + Infinitive = ܕ ܗܘ + Imperfect

5) Prepositions: three have been chosen for the distinctive changes which can be seen over time. These three are all measured together:

διά + Genitive = ܒܝܕ

μετά + Genitive = ܥܡ

περί + Genitive = ܡܛܠ

6) Particle ἄρα

ἄρα = ܐܪܐ (this does not include the similar ἆρα)

7) Particle μέν

μέν = ܡܢ

Statistics are compiled as follows: If a given text were to translate, say, the article + infinitive with ܕ ܗܘ + the imperfect on three-quarters of all instances of the article + infinitive within the text, then it would be given a 75% 'success' rate for criterion no.4. This can then be measured against the 'success' rate achieved by the control text in order to get some idea of how close the said text comes to reaching the levels of consistency found in the control.

We have chosen one text from each of the groups which we were able to isolate as a result of the data in Part 3.[1] For each of our seven criteria, we thus have 6 texts to test (our five groups plus the control), each text yielding a percentage result under each criterion. The resulting bar charts are shown overleaf.

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[1] From Group I, *De Recta Fide*; Group II, *Ep50*; Group III, *Contra Theodoretum*; Group IV, *Ep55*; Group V, *Ad Tiberium*. Group x is Gregory of Nazianzus, *Oratio XL*, versio nova.
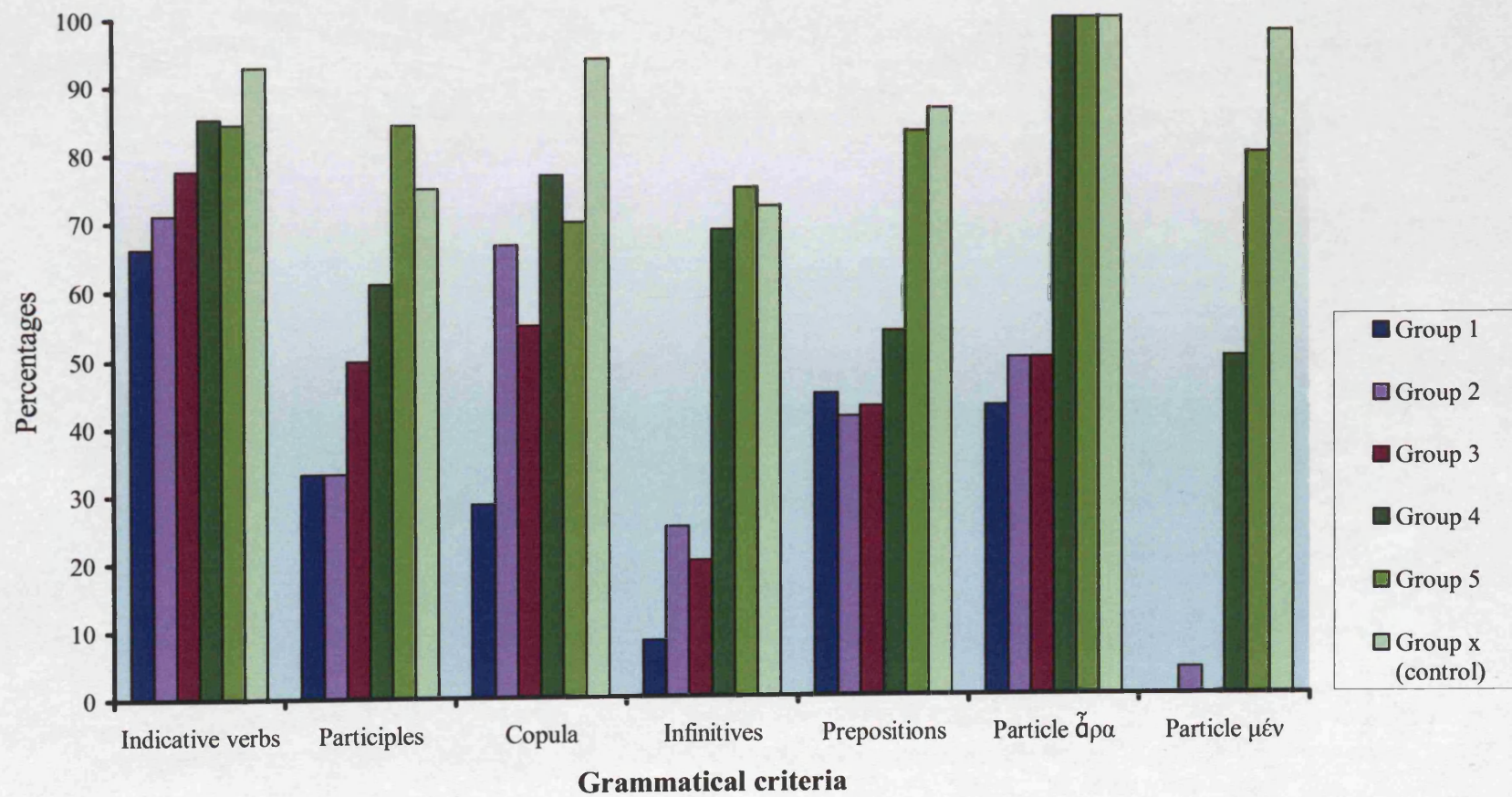
Observations

Based on this admittedly limited supply of evidence, it should be fairly clear at a glance that the results of this statistical experiment agree closely with the assumed order of the groups which we outlined in the earlier conclusions, namely that the groups were in chronological order. Only occasionally is this order violated. Thus under 'Copula' and 'Infinitives' group 2 has achieved a higher standard than group 3. Since the nature and date of group 3 was always the hardest to pin down, this is perhaps not surprising.

The control group does indeed surpass all the others under most headings, the exception being group 5's higher score under 'Participles'.

The shapes of the graphs also indicate another point already made earlier, namely that group 5 is quite set apart from the others in many areas, and it can be seen that in general it is much closer to the control group than to the earlier groups. Despite its many Peshitta readings, the *Ad Tiberium* ought perhaps to be given as high a date as possible, and may even be 7th century, to bring it into close conformity with Paul of Edessa's Gregory translations. Even group 4 (*Ep55*) shows some very advanced scores and is quite set apart from the first three. This group we found to be closest in style to that of Paul of Callinicum and represented many typical Philoxenian revisions in terms of its style.

The first criterion, 'indicative verbs' is of particular significance, partly because it was assessed over the greatest sample size (indicative verbs being extremely common in all texts), partly because of the relatively high score even for group 1 (which is unsurprising given that these basic equivalents are quite intuitive). It thus shows quite clearly that the changes in translation technique over time (especially as relating to formal equivalence) have more to do with consistency of accepted methods than with the discovery of new methods, and that is what this exercise sets out to demonstrate.

Appendix 2

The Evidence of the Scriptural Citations

"The Muse of translation is a bookish one"

D. Mark Possanza, *Translating the Heavens*

This appendix contains the basic data necessary for the observations and conclusions made in Part 3.iii.d. Full synopses are given in many cases, especially in the Gospels and Acts, as these have not yet been published in the *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung* edition. Where a full synopsis was not considered necessary, the agreement of the citation with a particular version is indicated, followed by all variants. Thus, for instance, where P = QUX is followed by one difference, it can be concluded that the citation in QUX follows the Peshitta exactly apart from that one difference.

The page and line references to the texts are given at the beginning of each chapter and verse heading. The references for other relevant citations (such as from Philoxenus, which are sometimes included for comparison) are given underneath each synopsis.

The Greek given is that of the text of NA^{27} for NT and Rahlfs' edition for OT quotes. The NT Syriac text is taken from: for the Gospels, Kiraz, *Comparative Edition of the Syriac Gospels*; for the Paulines and Major Catholics, the NTSU volumes; for Acts, the BFBS Peshitta and White's 1799 'Philoxeniana' edition of the Harklean. The OT Peshitta text is taken from the Leiden edition (with variants noted where relevant), save for Jeremiah and Baruch (not yet published) which are taken from the standard BFBS text.

In Greek text, any variants from the standard text that are found in Cyril are noted in square brackets. In Syriac text, square brackets are used wherever a particular word or omission owes its form to an otherwise known variant in Cyril's text, as such variants are clearly of no value in determining the translator's translation style.

The parallel lines from P, H and other sources are accommodated to the citation(s), i.e. where a phrase in the verse is omitted in Cyril, the equivalent words have also been omitted in all

parallel versions. Citations which are only allusions or paraphrases are noted by a reference with an asterisk but are usually not included in the parallel collations or discussed beneath, unless they contain something of particular relevence. Barbara Aland has pointed out that such paraphrases "auch...können einzelne wörtliche Textelemente enthalten, so daß es sich für Spezialstudien immer empfiehlt, den entsprechenden Teil des Paraphrasenapparates vollständig zur Kenntnis zu nehmen und in den Editionen nachzuschlagen."[1]

As the punctuation in the mss is erratic, the punctuation given in these transcriptions should not be taken as a precise guide to the content of the mss.

* the asterisk shows that the citation referenced is only an allusion. Some lexicographical observations may still be made in some cases, depending on the nature of the allusion.

pt shows that only a part of the verse referenced is cited – this is only used for citations proper and not for allusions.

< arrows refer to the fact that the relevant part of the verse is omitted in the relevant citation.

// refers to a parallel (usually Biblical) text

'noGk' refers to the portion of the *Ad Tiberium* for which the Syriac only in extant, and for which there is therefore no Greek reference to be given, the page no. of the English translation instead being provided.

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[1] Aland and Juckel, *Die Paulinischen Briefe 1*, 69.

1.Gospels

Mt 1.18b [CT = 133, 13-5 / f.117rc]

μνηστευθείσης τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίας τῷ Ἰωσήφ

ܐܘܣܠ	X	ܡܪܐ	ܡܝܪܐ	X	ܗܘܬ	ܪܝܟܪܐ	ܕ	P
ܐܘܣܠ	X	ܡܪܐ	ܡܝܪܐ	X	X	ܕܝܟܬܐ	ܕ	CT
ܐܘܣܠ	ܗܠܝ	ܪܐܪ	ܡܝܪܐ	ܠܝ	ܗܘܬ	ܪܝܟܪܐ	ܕ	H

εὑρέθη ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου

ܪܫܝܩܘܕ	ܪܘܚܝ	ܡܢ	ܪܠܒ	X	X	ܐܝܬܝܗ	P
ܪܫܝܩܘܕ	ܪܘܚܝ	ܡܢ	ܪܠܒ	X	X	ܐܝܬܝܗ	CT
[1] ܪܫܝܩܘܕ	ܪܘܚܝ	ܡܢ	ܪܥܝܒ	ܗܠ	ܐܝܪܝ	ܐܝܬܝܗ	H

CPJ 41,12-14 et al. = P except ܪܫܝܗ for ܪܫܝܩܘܕ

The use of the pf instead of P's participle + ܗܘܬ is a deviation from the versional tradition, but otherwise the influence of P is clear. The first half of this verse was singled out by Philoxenus for revision (see CPJ 53,13-4), but in v18b the only change was ܪܫܝܩܘܕ to ܪܫܝܗ, not a revision shared by CT.

Mt 1.20b pt [CT1 = PG 76.793B / f.108vb; CT2 = 133,11-13 / f.117rc]

μὴ φοβηθῇς παραλαβεῖν Μαρίαν τὴν γυναῖκά σου· τὸ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθὲν

ܒܗ	ܕܐܬܝܠܕ	X	ܠܝ	ܗܘ	X	ܐܢܬܬܟ	ܠܡܣܒ	ܡܪܝܡ	ܠܐ	P
ܒܗ	ܕܐܬܝܠܕ	X	X	ܗܘ	<	<	<	<	<	CT1
X	ܐܬܝܠܕ	ܕܒܗ	ܠܝ	ܗܘ	X	ܐܢܬܬܟ	ܠܡܣܒ	ܡܪܝܡ	ܠܐ	CT2
ܒܗ	ܕܐܬܝܠܕ	X	X	ܗܘܕ	X	ܐܢܬܬܟ	ܠܡܣܒ	ܒܪܬܐ	ܠܐ	CPJ1
ܒܗ	ܕܐܬܝܠܕ	X	X	ܗܘܕ	X	ܐܢܬܬܟ	ܠܡܣܒ	ܡܪܝܡ	ܠܐ	CPJ2
X	ܐܬܝܠܕ	ܕܒܗ	ܠܝ	ܗܘ	X	ܐܢܬܬܟ	ܠܡܣܒ	ܒܪܬܐ	ܠܐ	CPJ3
ܒܗ	ܐܝܪܝ	X	X	ܗܘܕ	<	<	<	<	<	CPJ4
X	ܐܬܝܠܕ	ܕܒܗ	ܠܝ	ܗܘ	ܘܠܗ	ܐܢܬܬܟ	ܡܪܝܡ	ܒܪܬܐ	ܠܐ	H

ἐκ πνεύματός ἐστιν ἁγίου

ܪܫܝܩܘܕ	ܗܘ	ܪܘܚܝ	ܡܢ	P
ܪܫܝܩܘܕ	ܗܘ	ܪܘܚܝ	ܡܢ	CT1
ܪܫܝܩܘܕ	ܗܘ	ܪܘܚܝ	ܡܢ	CT2
X	ܪܫܝܗ	ܗܘ	ܪܘܚܝ	ܡܢ	CPJ1
X	ܪܫܝܗ	ܗܘ	ܪܘܚܝ	ܡܢ	CPJ2
X	ܪܫܝܗ	ܗܘ	ܪܘܚܝ	ܡܢ	CPJ3
X	ܪܫܝܗ	ܗܘ	ܪܘܚܝ	ܡܢ	CPJ4
ܐܝܬܘܗܝ	ܪܫܝܗ	X	ܪܘܚܝ	ܡܢ	H

CPJ1 = 28,30 – 29,1 / 41,15-16; CPJ2 = 41,21-2; CPJ3 = 227,7-8; CPJ4 = 236,13-14

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[1] i.e. in Vat.Syr.268; ܪܫܝܗ all other mss. See Johnston, *The Harklean text of the Gospel of Matthew*, in loc..

The citations in CPJ illustrate the trends present in the revision process. What is most intriguing is the way in which different aspects of the revised version turn up differently in different citations of the same verse. The four citations of this verse in CPJ all contain different elements which would eventually find their way into the translation style of the Harklean; these include a) the use of ܝܒܛܡ for P's ܙܡܣܡ (CPJ1,3), b) the transposition of ܚܣ in line with its Gk position (CPJ2) and c) the use of ܪܝܒܛ rather then ܪܝܢܩܣܝ (CPJ). The adoption of revision b) by CT1 shows the revisionistic influence, although the influence of P on CT generally is still very strong.

Mt 1.21 [EDC = 22,6-7 / f.1r (EDC1) f.18vb (EDC2)] [Ep39 = 18,12-4 / f.151rb] [QUX = 743,13 / f.69va]

τέξεται δὲ υἱόν [τέξῃ υἱόν, Ep39 EDC //Lk 1.31] καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν· αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει

,ܡܩܐܡܡ	ܝܠ	ܐܩ	ܣܐܒܛ	x	ܡܫܚܐ	x	ܪܝܒܐܗ	ܪܝܒ	ܕܝ	ܐܠܪܐܗ	P
,ܡܩܐܒܝܐ	ܝܠ	ܐܩ	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	QUX
,ܡܩܐܡܡ	ܝܠ	ܐܩ	ܣܐܒܛ	x	ܡܫܚܐ	x	[ܪܝܒܐܗ]	ܪܝܒ	x	[ܕܝܐܠܪܐܗ]	Ep39
,ܡܩܐܒܝܐ	ܝܠ	ܐܩ	ܣܐܒܛ	x	ܡܫܚܐ	x	[ܪܝܒܐܗ]	ܪܝܒ	x	[ܕܝܐܠܪܐܗ]	EDC
,ܡܩܐܒܝܐ	ܝܠ	ܐܩ	ܣܐܒܛ	ܡܠܛܝ	ܪܝܒܐܡ	ܒܘܪܐ	ܪܝܒܐܩ	ܪܝܒ	ܕܝ	ܐܠܪܐܗ	H

τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν·

x	ܘܐܡܣܡܛܠܝܗ	ܩܡ	x	ܡܫܛܠܐ	P
x	ܘܐܡܣܡܛܠܝܗ	ܩܡ	x	ܡܫܛܠܐ	QUX
x	ܘܐܡܣܡܛܠܝܗ	ܩܡ	x	ܡܫܛܠܐ	Ep39
x	ܘܐܡܣܡܛܠܝܗ	ܩܡ	x	ܡܫܛܠܐ	EDC
ܘܡܠܐܝ	ܪܡܠܝܘ	ܩܡ	ܡܠܐܝ	ܪܡܫܠܐ	H

ML 43,1-2 = P [,ܡܩܐܣܘܪܚ for ,ܡܩܐܣܡ]

The forms of the first two verbs in Ep39/EDC are explained by the variant in Cyril's text (the variant is not known from mss and must be Cyril's own in order to harmonise the persons of the two verbs) which they both follow. Yet it is noteworthy that they both follow the same method through with καλέσεις as well. EDC is clearly already part way to H with its rendering of ,ܡܩܐܒܝܐ for σώσει, where P (incl.OS) and Ep39 still have ,ܡܩܐܡܡ, and this is true even in the earlier, unrevised form of EDC and in QUX, indicating just how early the change was made. The same revision is found in Philoxenus' *Tractatus Tres* and *Ep Senoun*.[1] This can be taken as further evidence for the Philoxenian revision, which attempts to be more consistent and 'modern' in its lexical equivalences, but which has not yet influenced ML to the same extent as the others. Other Harklean characteristics, however, such as the use of ܠܢ for all forms of the possessive pronoun are absent from this citation, showing that the revision is by no means complete.

Mt 1.23 [Ep39 = 18,9-11 / f.151rb] [CT* = PG 76.393C / f.108vc] [QUX* = 716,34-5 / f.52ra] [SDI = 225,37-8 / f.50va]

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[1] See collation in Watt, *Dissertation*, 49, and the conclusion given there.

Ep39 and CPJ cite the whole verse, but = P except in this last phrase:

$$\text{ὅ ἐστιν μεθερμηνευόμενον μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός}$$

ܟܠܗ	ܥܡ	ܢܩܝܕܗܘܢ	x		x	x	P
ܟܠܗ	ܥܡ	ܢܩܝܕܗܘܢ	x		x	x	SDI
ܟܠܗ	ܥܡ	ܕܡܬܦܫܩ	x		x	ܗܘ	Ep39
ܟܠܗ	ܥܡ	ܕܡܬܦܫܩ	ܗܘ	ܕܐܠܗܢ		ܗܘ	CPJ
ܟܠܗ	ܥܡ	ܕܡܬܦܫܩ	x	ܕܐܠܗܢ		ܗܘ	H

CPJ = 42,14 / 46,7 / 56,16-7

Again we can see the beginning of the revision, both lexical (ܕܡܬܦܫܩ for ܢܩܝܕܗܘܢ) as well as syntactical (ܗܘ for ܕ in response to the Greek relative pronoun). CPJ has already gone one step further than SDI,Ep39 in the calque on ὅ ἐστιν and has also eliminated the Syriac idiom of the suffix on ܟܠܗ. Neither Ep39 nor CPJ have yet revised the text in accord with the Greek as H does by adding ܒܟܪܣܐ for ἐν γαστρί.[1] In QUX the translator paraphrases, having nothing for μεθερμηνευόμενον.

Mt 3.15b *pt* [Ep50 = 98,30 / f.146ra] [CT = 137,4-5 / f.118vc]

$$\text{ἄφες ἄρτι, οὕτως γὰρ πρέπον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν [ἡμῖν ἐστὶν Ep50; ἐστὶν CT] πληρῶσαι πᾶσαν}$$
$$\text{δικαιοσύνην.}$$

ܙܕܝܩܘܬܐ	x	ܟܠܗ	ܕܢܡܠܐ	ܠܢ	x	ܐܪܐ	ܗܟܢ	ܗܘ	ܦܐܐ	P
ܙܕܝܩܘܬܐ	x	ܟܠܗ	ܕܢܡܠܐ	ܠܢ	[x]	ܐܠܘ	<	<	<	<	Ep50
ܙܕܝܩܘܬܐ	ܟܘܠܗ	ܟܠܗ	ܕܢܫܡܠܐ	x	x	ܐܪܐ	ܗܟܢ	ܗܘ	ܦܐܐ	CT
ܙܕܝܩܘܬܐ	x	ܟܠܗ	ܕܢܡܠܐ	<	<	<	<	<	ܦܐܐ	ML
ܙܕܝܩܘܬܐ	x	ܟܠܗ	ܕܢܡܠܐ	<	<	<	<	<	<	CL
ܙܕܝܩܘܬܐ	x	ܟܠܗ	ܕܢܡܠܐ	ܠܢ	x	ܐܪܐ	x	ܗܟܢ	ܦܐܐ	CPJ
ܙܕܝܩܘܬܐ	x	ܟܠܗ	ܠܡܫܠܡܘ	ܠܢ	ܠܡܫܠܡܘ	ܐܪܐ	ܗܟܢ	ܗܘ	ܦܐܐ	H

CPJ = 215,2-3; ML = 22, 10-11; CL = 24,29-30

Ep50's ܐܠܘ is an OS reading (found in C but not S, which has P's ܐܪܐ). Again, however, we see mixed elements of the revisional style entering into the quotations unsystematically. CT already has ܕܢܫܡܠܐ whereas CPJ, which has retained P's ܐܪܐ, has progressed to ܙܕܝܩܘܬܐ, which H will adopt. However, the other oddities of CT may suggest that this is his own translation and that the similarity with H is fortuitous. It is worth noting, in addition, that the Syriac text of Severus' *Ad Nephalium* (translated by Athanasius of Nisibis in the mid-7th century) has goes back to the old fashioned ܕܝܩܢܘܬܐ at the end.[2] Note that techniques such as the use of the Syriac infinitive ܠܡܫܠܡܘ by H are not paralleled at an earlier date.

Mt 4.2 [Ep45* = 155,21 / 44,19]

Mt 4.4 [QUX = 714,5-7 / f.50vb]

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[1] This example appears in Aland, *Philoxenianisch*, 366, as Beispiel 6.
[2] The text is laid out with the others in ibid., 366-7, as Beispiel 7.

P = QUX

ܝܘܠܕ ܪܚܘܠܒ] tr QUX

Where H has made revisions, ܪܚܘܪܚ for ܪܚܝܢ, ܝܒ for ܩ (διά), these have had no impact on QUX. Its transposition does not reflect a Gk text.

Mt 4.10b [QUX = 771,17-8 / f.89vb]

P = QUX,H

Mt 5.28a *pt* [CO = 46,16 / f.98ra]

P = CO,H

Mt 5.42 [MosEp = Brooks 20,14-15]

P = MosEp

Mt 6.22 [AT* = noGk,135 / 444,14-5]

Mt 7.4-5 [CO = 52,13-17 / f.101rb]

πῶς ἐρεῖς τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου· [ἀδελφέ add.CO] ἄφες ἐκβάλω τὸ κάρφος ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου

καὶ ἰδοὺ ἡ δοκὸς ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ σου; [σῷ ὀφθαλμῷ; CO] ὑποκριτά ἔκβαλε πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ
ὀφθαλμοῦ σου τὴν δοκόν [τὴν δοκόν ἐκ τοῦ σοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ CO]

καὶ τότε διαβλέψεις [περιβλέψεις CO] ἐκβαλεῖν τὸ κάρφος ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ
σου.

The influence of P is quite evident throughout the citation (especially in the close wording of v5a) although the translator is not bound by it. There is no evidence for any residual OS influence. The use of ܐܒܬ for περιβλέψεις [v.l. for διαβλέψεις] where P has ܐܝܚܒܬ and H has ܪܚܝ shows perhaps a willingness to experiment with lexical equivalences, but this belongs properly to the realm of the analysis of the translation style itself. ܝܢܝܒܢ for ἐκ τοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ σου (v5a) is a loose equivalent.

Mt 7.7 [MosEp = Brooks 21,2-3]

$$\text{αἰτεῖτε καὶ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν, ζητεῖτε καὶ εὑρήσετε,}$$

ܘܢܣܒܬܘܢ	ܘܒܥܘ	X	ܘܢܬܝܗܒ	ܐܠܟܘܢ	C
ܘܢܣܒܬܘܢ	ܒܥܘ	ܠܟܘܢ	ܫܐܠܘ	ܐܠܟܘܢ	P
X	X	X	ܘܢܬܝܗܒ	ܐܠܟܘܢ	MosEp
ܘܢܣܒܬܘܢ	ܒܥܘ	ܠܟܘܢ	ܫܐܠܘ	ܐܠܟܘܢ	H

$$\text{κρούετε καὶ ἀνοιγήσεται ὑμῖν·}$$

X	X	ܠܟܘܢ	ܘܢܬܦܬܚ	ܩܘܫܘ	C
X	X	ܠܟܘܢ	ܘܢܬܦܬܚ	ܩܘܫܘ	P
ܘܬܫܟܚܘܢ	ܐܝܕܘ	ܠܟܘܢ	ܘܢܬܦܬܚ	ܩܩܘܫܘ	MosEp
X	X	ܠܟܘܢ	ܘܢܬܦܬܚ	ܩܘܫܘ	H

This citation comes from Moses of Aggel's own letter. It has the reading ܘܢܬܝܗܒ for δοθήσεται), which is distinctively an OS reading (Curetonian), showing clearly the continuing influence of Old Syriac traditions even in Moses' day in the mid 6th century. The citation varies, however, from the ordinary text in also having the words ܘܬܫܟܚܘܢ ܐܝܕܘ (*call and you shall be answered*) added and ܘܢܣܒܬܘܢ ܒܥܘ (*seek and you shall find*) omitted. Is there any other witness to this strange form of the text? Or is the writer simply citing from a bad memory?

Mt 7.15 [Ep45* = 151,19-20 / 39,23] [AT* = noGk,135 / 444,6]

Both these citations are only allusions, but the term used for προβάτων (*sheep*) in both cases is H's ܥܪܒܐ rather than P's ܐܡܪܐ (also OS), which contrasts strongly with the presence of the P reading in both the Syriac version of Timothy Ailuros and in CL [54,9].[1]

Mt 8.24 [Ep45* = 155,21 / 44,20] [CT* = 139,23 / f.119vc]

Mt 8.26 [Ep45* = 155,24 / 44,23-4]

P = Ep45,H

Mt 9.29 [AT* = 162,24 / 471,12]

ܘܒ] ܥܝܢܝ AT,H

Mt 10.1b [CT = 130,18-9 / f.116rc-116va]

$$\text{(ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἐξουσίαν) πνευμάτων ἀκαθάρτων ὥστε ἐκβάλλειν αὐτὰ καὶ θεραπεύειν}$$

ܘܡܣܪܠܘ	X	X	ܕܢܦܩܘܢ	X	ܛܡܐܝܢ	ܪܘܚܐ	P
ܘܡܣܪܐ	X	X	ܕܢܦܩܘܢ	X	ܛܡܐܝܢ	ܪܘܚܐ	CT
ܘܡܣܪܐ	X	ܐܝܟ	ܕܢܦܩܘܢ	ܐܢܘܢ	ܛܡܐܬܐ	ܪܘܚܐ	CL1

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[1] For which, see ibid., 367, Beispiel 8.

ܐܘܡܪܬܠܐ   x   ܐܝܢ   ܢܩܘܕܝܢ   ܐܚܝܐ   ܐܬܐܝܠ   ܐܘܢܝ   H

πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πᾶσαν μαλακίαν [ἐν τῷ λαῷ add. CT]

x	x	x	x	ܢܡܝܐܐܐ	x	ܐܪܐ	ܠܒ	P
x	[ܐܚܐܒ]	x	x	ܢܡܝܐܐ	ܠܐܐ	ܐܪܐ	ܠܒ	CT
x	ܐܚܐܒ	x	x	ܢܡܝܐܐ	ܠܐܐ	ܐܪܐ	ܠܐܐ	CL1
x	x	ܐܬܐܠܝܫܐ	ܠܐܐ	ܐܢܡܝܐܐ	x	x	ܠܒ	H

CL1 = 200,14-6; CL2 = 253,7 (pt)
CL1 ܐܬܐܪܬܐ ; CL2 ܐܬܐܝ

The affinity of CT with P as against H is quite evident. However, the fact that both non-scriptural translations (CT, CL) have exactly the same readings in places is perhaps suggestive of a standardised text (RF is similar as well), but locating it with any precision would be to take the evidence too far.

The textual variant in Cyril is interesting given that it is present in both his citations of this verse – it is present in one major Alexandrian witness, L, and also in the old Latin b (5th cent.) but not in the Syriac tradition. As these mss are unlikely to be related on text-type, it seems that they have both added the words by erroneous harmonisation with Mt 4.23. The addition is included, in different ways, in both citations on the model of Mt 4.23 (as found in both P and H). Tischendorf noted Cyril's rare witness to this variant but does not mention any other patristic witness to it. Both our translators must have been unaware of it from their own versions, yet have kept to Cyril's text nonetheless.

Mt 10.8b [CO = 63,34-5 / f.107ra]

P = CO,H

Mt 10.20 [Ep55 = 58,3-4 / 17,12-13]

οὐ γὰρ [γὰρ om. Ep55] ὑμεῖς ἐστε οἱ λαλοῦντες ἀλλὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ πατρὸς ὑμῶν τὸ λαλοῦν
ἐν ὑμῖν.

x	ܡܠܠܝܢ	x	x	ܢܬܘܕܐ	ܝܝ	ܐܘܡ	ܐܠ	P
ܢܬܘܕܐ	ܡܠܠܝܢ	x	x	ܢܬܘܕܐ	[x]	x	ܐܠ	Ep55
x	ܡܠܠܝܢܝ	ܢܐܘܐ	ܢܐܬܘܕܐ	ܢܬܘܕܐ	ܝܝ	x	ܐܠ	H

ܢܒܐ	ܐܠܠܝܢ	x	ܢܐܐܐܪܝ	ܐܘܢܝ	ܐܠܐ	P
ܢܒܐ	ܠܠܝܢ	x	ܢܐܐܐܪܝ	ܐܘܢܝ	ܐܠܐ	Ep55
ܢܒܐ	ܠܠܝܢܝ	ܐܘܚ	ܢܐܐܐܪܝ	ܐܘܢܝ	ܐܠܐ	H

Ep55 shows affinity to the revised style in its use of ܐܠ for ܐܘܡ ܐܠ and more especially for the masculine interpretation of ܐܘܢܝ, which is a distinctive aspect of the revised style which may well have originated with Philoxenus. The stricter grammatical mirroring of the Harklean, seen here in its method for rendering the article + participle substantive combination is, as we have see in other texts already, not yet taken up by our Syriac translators.

Mt 10.28 [QUX = 755,13-7 / f.77vb]

καὶ μὴ φοβεῖσθε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποκτεννόντων τὸ σῶμα, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν μὴ δυναμένων ἀποκτεῖναι·

S	ܘܠܐ	ܬܕܚܠܘܢ	ܡܢ	ܐܝܠܝܢ	ܕܩܛܠܝܢ	ܦܓܪܐ	ܘܠܐ	x	ܡܫܟܚܝܢ	ܠܡܩܛܠ
P	ܘܠܐ	ܬܕܚܠܘܢ	ܡܢ	ܐܝܠܝܢ	ܕܩܛܠܝܢ	ܦܓܪܐ	ܠܢܦܫܐ	ܕܝܢ	ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܝܢ	ܠܡܩܛܠ
QUX	ܘܠܐ	ܬܕܚܠܘܢ	ܡܢ	ܐܝܠܝܢ	ܕܩܛܠܝܢ	ܦܓܪܐ	ܠܢܦܫܐ	ܕܝܢ	ܠܐ ܡܨܝܢ	ܠܡܩܛܠ
H	ܘܠܐ	ܬܕܚܠܘܢ	ܡܢ	ܗܢܘܢ	ܕܩܛܠܝܢ	ܠܦܓܪܐ	ܕܝܢ	ܠܐ	ܡܨܝܢ	ܠܡܩܛܠ

φοβεῖσθε δὲ μᾶλλον τὸν δυνάμενον

S	ܕܚܠܘ	ܕܝܢ	ܡܢ	ܗܘ	ܕܡܨܐ		ܕܡܫܟܚ
P	ܕܚܠܘ	ܕܝܢ	ܡܢ		ܕܡܨܐ		ܕܡܫܟܚ
QUX	ܕܚܠܘ	ܕܝܢ	x	ܡܢ	ܗܘ		ܕܡܨܐ
H	ܕܚܠܘ	ܕܝܢ	ܡܢ	ܗܘ	ܕܡܨܐ		ܕܡܨܐ

καὶ ψυχὴν καὶ σῶμα ἀπολέσαι ἐν γεέννῃ.

S	x	ܘܦܓܪܐ	ܘܢܦܫܐ	ܠܡܘܒܕܘ	ܒܓܗܢܐ
P	ܕܢܦܫܐ	ܘܦܓܪܐ	x	ܢܘܒܕ	ܒܓܗܢܐ
QUX	x	ܘܦܓܪܐ	ܐܦ ܠܐܦ	ܢܘܒܕ	ܒܓܗܢܐ
H	ܕܢܦܫܐ	ܘܦܓܪܐ	x	ܢܘܒܕ	ܒܓܗܢܐ

With H but against P, QUX has ܡܨܐ for δυναμένων and ܕܡܨܐ ܗܘ for τὸν δυνάμενον (where P has ܡܫܟܚܝܢ and ܕܡܫܟܚ respectively).

QUX follows OS, against P/H, however, in the word order of the phrase ܐܦ ܠܐܦ ܢܦܫܐ ܐܦ ܠܦܓܪܐ (OS ܢܦܫܐ ܘܦܓܪܐ), though the phrasing is closer to P (ܘܦܓܪܐ ܠܢܦܫܐ). It departs from all versions in using the impf ܢܘܒܕ, rather than inf. ܠܡܘܒܕܘ, for ἀποκτεῖναι, and in omitting ܠܡܩܛܠ.

Mt 11.27 [CO = 47,16-18 / f.98va-b]

πάντα μοι παρεδόθη ὑπὸ [παρὰ CO] τοῦ πατρός μου, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐπιγινώσκει τὸν υἱὸν [τίς ἐστιν ὁ υἱός CO]

P	ܟܠ	ܡܕܡ	ܐܫܬܠܡ	ܠܝ	ܡܢ	ܐܒܝ	x	ܘܠܐ	ܐܢܫ	x	ܝܕܥ
CO	ܟܠ	ܡܕܡ	ܐܫܬܠܡ	ܠܝ	ܡܢ	ܐܒܝ	x	ܘܠܐ	ܐܢܫ	[ܐܒܐ]	[ܒܪܐ]
H	ܟܠ	ܡܕܡ	ܐܫܬܠܡ	ܠܝ	ܡܢ	ܐܒܝ	ܕܡܢܘ	ܘܠܐ	ܐܢܫ	ܝܕܥ ܠܗ	x

εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ, οὐδὲ τὸν πατέρα τις ἐπιγινώσκει [τίς ἐστιν add CO] εἰ μὴ ὁ υἱός

P	ܐܠܐ	ܐܢ	ܐܒܐ	x	ܘܠܐ	ܠܐܒܐ	ܐܢܫ	ܝܕܥ	x	ܐܠܐ	ܐܢ	ܒܪܐ
CO	ܐܠܐ	ܐܢ	ܐܒܐ	x	ܘܠܐ	ܠܐܒܐ	ܐܢܫ	ܝܕܥ	[ܕܡܢܘ]	ܐܠܐ	ܐܢ	ܒܪܐ
H	ܐܠܐ	ܐܢ	ܐܒܐ	x	ܘܠܐ	ܠܐܒܐ	ܐܢܫ	ܝܕܥ	x	ܐܠܐ	ܐܢ	ܒܪܐ

καὶ ᾧ ἐὰν βούληται [βούληται om CO] ὁ υἱὸς ἀποκαλύψαι [ἀποκαλύψῃ CO].

P	x	ܕܢܓܠܐ	ܒܪܐ	ܨܒܐ	x	x	ܘܠܡܢ	x
CPJ	x	ܕܢܓܠܐ	ܒܪܐ	ܨܒܐ	x	x	ܘܠܡܢ	x
CO	ܠܗ	[ܕܢܓܠܐ]	ܒܪܐ	[x]	x	ܕܡܢܘ	ܘ	ܘܡܢ

The beginning of the Harklean system can be seen in CO's ܒ ܗܘ for the relative ᾧ ἐάν. The fact that CO uses P's ܐܝܟ once and H's ܐܝܟܘܬܐ once (the Greek being the same on both occasions) perhaps sums up its 'half-way' position. Other variants are explained by Cyril's text which differs in quite few places and which CO tries to reflect faithfully. The addition of ܠ at the end cannot be explained from any existing text, and may be a translator's whim. CPJ shows closer affinity for P here, unusually.

Mt 12.18 [CT = 133,24-6 / f.117va]

The quotation is partially conflated with Isa 42.1, of which it is a citation. The Syriac certainly owes far more to Peshitta NT than to OT, save for the careful alteration of the final ܒܪ for OT's ܥܒܕ. Essentially, however, the version in CT's own.

Mt 12.24 [CT* = 134,6-7 / f.117vb]

P = CT

ܪܝܐܥ] ܪܘܕܐ CT,H

Although CT agrees with H in this one word, yet P inexplicably changes to ܪܘܕܐ in v28, for which see next entry.

Mt 12.28 [CO1 = 51,18 / f.100vb] [CO2 = 52,33-4 / f.101va] [CT1 = 133,28-9 / 117va] [CT2* = 134,6-7 / f.117vb]

εἰ δὲ ἐν πνεύματι θεοῦ ἐγὼ [ἐγω πνεύματι θεοῦ CO1,2] ἐκβάλλω τὰ δαιμόνια,

ܪܘܕܐ	ܪܝܐ	ܐܦܐ	ܪܝܐ	ܪܥܠܐܪܐ	ܪܘܚܒ		X	X ܐܝܟ	P
ܪܘܕܐ	ܪܝܐ	ܐܦܐ	X (+OS)	ܪܥܠܐܪܐ	ܪܘܚܒ	ܪܝܐ (+OS)	X	ܐܝܟ	CO1
ܪܘܕܐ	ܪܝܐ	ܐܦܐ	X (+OS)	ܪܥܠܐܪܐ	ܪܘܚܒ	ܪܝܐ (+OS)	X	ܐܝܟ	CT1
ܪܘܕܐ	ܪܝܐ	ܐܦܐ	ܪܝܐ	ܪܥܠܐܪܐ	ܪܘܚܒ		X	ܕܝܢ ܐܝܟ	H

ἄρα ἔφθασεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ

ܪܥܠܐܪܐ	ܪܬܘܒܠܘ	ܥܠܝܟܘܢ	ܠܗ	ܩܕܡܬ	ܡܕܝܢ	P
ܪܥܠܐܪܐ	ܪܬܘܒܠܘ	ܥܠܝܟܘܢ	ܠܗ	ܕܡܛܝ	X	CT1
ܪܥܠܐܪܐ	¹ܘܬܘܒܠܘ	ܥܠܝܟܘܢ	X	ܕܡܛܝ	ܐܝܟ	H

CO1 = CO2 [both v28a only]
CT2* = CT1

It is impossible to say whether the position of the ܪܝܐ before 'by the spirit of God' in CO1,2 is due to its unaccustomed position in Cyril's text or to a remnant of OS. The fact that the same order is found in CT1 where Cyril's text has the more normal order would imply the

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¹ ܪܬܘܒܠܘ in mg. 333, Chester Beaty Syr.3.

latter is more likely. But if this is OS influence it is very meagre, especially as OS always has ܐܝܫܕ for δαιμόνια, whereas ܐܢܫ is found in both CO and CT. In v28b, CT1 shows affinity to H in using ܠܟܝ but to P in ܠܗ, which does not mirror any Greek term. CT makes no attempt on ἄρα.

Mt 12.33 [QUX = 772,6 / f.90rb]

P = QUX

ܐܪܝܢ,] ܐܪܝܢ QUX,H

Mt 12.34 *pt* [Ep50 = 98,1 / f.145va]

The citation is allusive and grammatically altered:

The UBS text is:
πῶς δύνασθε ἀγαθὰ λαλεῖν πονηροὶ ὄντες
Cyril's text is:
πονηροὶ ὄντες ἀγαθὰ λαλεῖν οὐκ ἂν δύναιντο [with ms variations δύνανται, δύνωνται, ἐδύναντο]

P

ܐܢܬܘܢ ܕܒܝܫܐ ܠܡܡܠܠܘ ܛܒܬܐ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܡܫܟܚܝܢ ܐܝܟܢܐ

Ep50

ܡܫܟܚܝܢ ܠܐ ܠܡܡܠܠܘ ܛܒܬܐܘ . ܐܢܬܘܢ ܒܝܫܐ

H

ܐܝܬܝܟܘܢ ܒܝܫܐ ܟܕ . ܠܡܡܠܠܘ ܛܒܬܐ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܡܨܝܢ ܐܝܟܢܐ

Ep50 clearly follows the quite different word order of Cyril's citation. The wording, however, is without doubt closer to P than to H (e.g. ܡܫܟܚܝܢ rather than ܡܨܝܢ).

Mt 12.47, 49, 50 [Ep55 = 57,5-10 / 15,21-5]

This is a conflation of Mt 12.47, 49, 50, Lk 8.20, 21, with parts of each intermingled. Cyril's text runs as follows:

ἰδοὺ ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου ἑστήκασιν ἔξω ἰδεῖν θέλοντες, ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ, εἶπεν· μήτηρ μου καὶ ἀδελφοί μου οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ ἀκούοντες τὸν λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ποιοῦντες. ὅς γὰρ ἂν ποιήσῃ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πατρός μου τοῦ ἐν οὐρανοῖς, οὗτος ἀδελφός μου καὶ ἀδελφὴ καὶ μήτηρ ἐστίν.

ܐܝܟܘ ܐܡܪ : ܐܝܬܝܗ ܒ ܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ ܥܠ ܐܝܕܗ ܦܫܛ : ܠܡܚܙܝܟ ܩܝܡܝܢ ܠܒܪ ܡܢܘ ܘܐܚܝܟܐ ܘܐܡܟ ܗܐ
ܗܢܘܢ . ܘܒܥܒܕܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܡܝܠ ܘܗ ܡܢ ܠܗ ܡܫܬܡܥܝܢ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܬܗ ܒܥܒܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܗܢܘܢ ܐܚܝ
. ܘܐܡܐ ܘܚܬܐ ܐܚܝ ,ܡܐܝܬܘܗܝ

Ep55 carefully follows Cyril's text and clearly seems to use P's wording and phrasing throughout. Only note Ep55's use of ,ܡܐܝܬܘܗܝ for ἐστίν (Mt 12.50), a grammatical feature not in P here but used, as always, by H.

Mt 13.25-6 [AT* = noGk,133 / 439,13-4]

Mt 13.41 [QUX = 748,41-2 / f.73va]

P = QUX

ܝܫܪ]ܝܫܒ QUX

Mt 13.55 [QUX = 761,31-2 / f.82rb]

P = QUX

Mt 14.33 [QUX = 748,31 / f.73rb] [SDI = 225,19 / f.47va]

<div align="right">ἀληθῶς θεοῦ υἱὸς εἶ</div>

x	ܐܠܗܐܕ	ܐܢܬ	ܒܪܗ	ܫܪܝܪܐܝܬ	P
x	ܐܠܗܐܕ	ܐܢܬ	ܒܪܗ	ܒܪܝܐ	QUX
x	ܐܠܗܐܕ	ܐܢܬ	ܒܪܗ	ܒܪܝܐ	SDI
ܐܝܬܝܟ	ܐܠܗܐܕ	x	ܒܪ	ܫܪܝܪܐܝܬ	H

Note that QUX and SDI do not use ,ܗܘܐ for εἶ, yet when the very same thought is expressed in Cyril's own text in QUX ,ܗܘܐ is used. SDI is a normal user of the ܐܢܬ = εἶναι parallel.

Mt 15.14b [EDC = 15,28-9 / f.14ab]

P = EDC

This against H's revision of ܬܒܢ to ܪܗܛܝ.

Mt 16.13,15,17 [Ep101 = 546][1]

P = Ep101

Mt 16.16-17 [CO (v16 only) = 58,12 / f.104rc-104va] [QUX = 748,20-1 / f.73ra]

<div align="right">*v16*
σὺ εἶ ὁ χριστὸς ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ</div>

ܚܝܐ	ܐܠܗܐܕ	ܒܪܗ		ܡܫܝܚܐ	ܗܘ	ܐܢܬ	P
ܚܝܐ	ܐܠܗܐܕ	ܒܪܗ		ܡܫܝܚܐ	ܐܢܬ	ܐܢܬ	QUX
[x]	ܐܠܗܐܕ	ܒܪܗ		ܡܫܝܚܐ	ܗܘ	ܐܢܬ	CO
ܚܝܐ	ܐܠܗܐܕ	ܒܪܗ	ܗܘ	ܡܫܝܚܐ	ܐܝܬܝܟ	ܐܢܬ	H

<div align="right">P = ML</div>

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[1] Not Mt 16.15 as noted by Guidi *in margine*.

ܪ̈ܘܗܝ ܡܪܒ] ܪ̈ܘܗ ܒ QUX

QUX transliterates where P translates the name and patronymic.

Mt 16.22-3 *pt* [CT1* = 122,15 / f.113rb] [CT2 = 141,23-4 / f.120vb] [QUX = 756,9-12 / f.78rb]

ἵλεώς σοι, κύριε· οὐ μὴ ἔσται σοι τοῦτο.

ܟܐܡ	ܠܝ	ܪ̈ܘܗܬܐ	x	ܒܝ	ܠܝ	ܚܣ	P
ܟܐܡ	ܠܝ	ܝܘܗܬܐ	ܠܐ	ܒܝ	ܠܝ	ܚܣ	QUX
ܟܐܡ	ܠܝ	ܪ̈ܘܗܬ	ܠܐ	ܒܝ	ܠܝ	ܚܣ	CT2
ܟܐܡ	ܠܝ	ܪ̈ܘܗܬ	ܠܐ	ܪܒܝ	ܠܝ	ܚܣ	H

ὕπαγε ὀπίσω μου, σατανᾶ· σκάνδαλον εἶ ἐμοῦ [μου εἶ CT2]

x	ܠܝ	ܬܝܪ	ܪܬܠܩܬ	ܪ̈ܠܦܘ	ܝܟܘܡܠ	ܠܝ	ܠܝ	P
x	ܠܝ	ܬܝܪ	ܪܠܐܣܡ	ܪ̈ܠܦܘ	ܝܟܘܡܠ	ܠܝ	ܠܝ	QUX
x	ܠܝ	ܬܝܪ	ܪܠܣ	ܪ̈ܠܦܘ	ܝܟܘܡܠ	ܠܝ	ܠܝ	CT2
ܝܘܬܝܪ	ܠܝܗ	x	ܪܠܣ	ܪ̈ܠܦܘ	ܝܟܘܡܠ	ܠܝ	ܠܝ	H

ML 27,21-3 = P

CT2 shows the usual mix of P and H elements. Among the former is the typical Aramaic form ܒܝ rather than ܪܒܝ and also the grammatically more idiomatic ܠܝ ܬܝܪ, against H's calque ܠܝܗ ܝܘܬܝܪ. On the other hand, the latter includes the term ܪ̈ܘܗܬ ܠܐ which is a revision to the Greek against P's idiomatic phrase, as well as, more notably, the lexical choice of ܪܠܣ (σκάνδαλον) over P/OS's ܪܬܠܩܬ, which we note also in QUX. This use of ܪܠܣ for σκάνδαλον is also found in the Phx revision (e.g. at 1 Cor 1.23, cited at CPJ 152,3)[1] – its use here implies again that CT has participated in some way in the tradition behind the Philoxenian version.

The CT1 allusion to this verse is interesting for its treatment of the name Πέτρος, translated as ܫܡܥܘܢ rather than with the ܘܦܝܠܐ which is usually used in CT for referring to the apostle. Given that P uses ܟܐܦܐ here and H uses ܘܦܝܠܪܐ, CT's variation is surprising. OS generally has the full title ܟܐܦܐ ܫܡܥܘܢ but quite often only ܫܡܥܘܢ (e.g. Mt 17.24, 26.37 etc.). Although ܟܐܦܐ alone is the normal name in P, it does very occasionally use the full name ܟܐܦܐ ܫܡܥܘܢ, even where the Greek has only Πέτρος (e.g. Mt 15.15, 26.58), or even just ܫܡܥܘܢ (Mt 8.14). H always has ܘܦܝܠܪܐ even in the Aramaic pun on his name (Mt 16.18). It seems clear, then, that the use of the Hebrew ܫܡܥܘܢ is a typical OS feature which, as names often do, persisted well beyond its time, as we see in the citation of this verse in CT1.

Mt 16.24 [QUX = 755,17-9 / f.77vb]

εἴ τις θέλει ὀπίσω μου ἐλθεῖν, ἀπαρνησάσθω ἑαυτὸν

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[1] Brock, *Resolution*, 340.

.ܡܨܠܒ	ܢܩܒܠ	,ܝܠܒ	ܪܐܬܪܕ	X	ܪܒܓܕ	ܗܒ P
.ܡܨܠܒ	ܢܩܒܠ	,ܝܠܒ	ܪܐܬܪܕ	X	ܪܒܕ	ܗܒ QUX
ܡܒ ܗܘ	ܢܩܒܠ	X	·ܪܬܪܬܠܐ ,ܝܠܒ	ܪܒܓ	ܐܝܟ ܐܟ H

καὶ ἀράτω τὸν σταυρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀκολουθείτω μοι

,ܝܠܒ	X	X	ܪܐܬܪܘ	.ܡܒܝܡܝ	ܠܩܒܝܘ P
,ܝܠܒ	X	X	ܪܐܬܪܘ	.ܡܒܝܡܝ	ܒܡܝܘ QUX
X	·ܝܠܒܝܝܘ ܡܠܝܕ	X	ܪܒܝܠܓ	·ܠܩܒܝܘ H

QUX is much more similar to P than to H, although it departs from P also quite freely. Why, for instance, QUX should prefer ܪܒܠ to ܪܒܓ is not at all clear.

Mt 16.27 [QUX = 748,39-42 / f.73rb]

P

.ܪܒܝܪܘ ,ܡܩܒܪܐܠܒ ܥܠ ,ܡܩܒܐܕ ܪܬܝܘܩܒܬܠܒ ܪܐܬܪܕ ܪܒܝܐܕ ܡܝܒ ܬܓܠ ܗܘ ܝܠܬܝ

QUX

,ܡܩܒܪܐܠܨܝܘ ,ܡܩܒܐܕ ܪܝܒܩܒ ·ܪܒܝܐܕ ܡܝܒ ܪܐܬܪܕ ܝܠܬܝ

QUX seems to be adopting his own wording, and omits P's 'holy' because it was not present in his Vorlage.

Mt 17.26 [QUX = 734,25 / f.63va]

P = QUX

Mt 18.16 [CO = 65,6-7 / f.107va]

ἐπὶ στόματος δύο μαρτύρων ἢ τριῶν σταθῇ πᾶν ῥῆμα

.ܪܠܡ	ܠܩܒ	ܬܩܩܬ	ܝܝܡܝܣ	ܪܬܠܬܐ	X	ܝܝܬܝ ܬܩܒ ܠܥ S/C
.ܪܠܡ	ܠܒ	ܬܩܩܬ	ܝܝܡܝܣ	ܪܬܠܬ ܐܘ	X	ܝܝܬܝ ܬܩܒ ܠܥ P
.ܪܠܡ	ܠܒ	ܬܩܩܬ	ܝܝܡܝܣ	ܪܬܠܬܐ	X	ܝܝܬܝ ܪܬܩܒ ܠܥ CO
.ܪܬܠܡ	ܠܒ	ܬܩܩܬ	X	·ܪܬܠܬ ܐܘ ܪܝܡܝܣ	ܝܝܬܝܝ ܪܬܩܒ ܠܥ H

CO's use of 'and' rather than 'or' is claimed by Vööbus as an OS reading.[1] It is true that S and C agree against P here, and that CO has the former reading. However, Vööbus has not taken the care to check whether the translator is really inserting his own text or simply following his Vorlage; for Cyril has the reading 'and' in his own text, and this because he is really quoting Deut 19.15 here and not Mt 18.16 (though the latter does influence his wording). This is sufficient to explain the reading in CO without recourse to an assumed underlying OS text, as Vööbus would have us believe. It is customary in our texts for the most part that when Cyril's text deviates significantly from the Syriac versions, the former is followed. This point was already made by Black regarding the text of the RF.[2]

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[1] Vööbus, *Gospel Text 1*, 186. The OS reading of S/C is found also in BL Add. 14530, the Syriac version of the acts of the Ephesine Synod of 449, as well as in Aphrahat, *Liber Graduum*, and in the Armenian, see Vööbus, *Circulation of the Peshitta*, 31-2.

[2] Black, *Rabbula*, 205.

Mt 18.20 [Ep55 = 50,13-4 / 3,6-7]

οὖ γάρ εἰσιν [ὧσι Ep55] δύο ἤ τρεῖς συνηγμένοι εἰς τὸ ἐμὸν ὄνομα,

x	ܒܫܡܝ	ܟܢܝܫܝܢ	x	ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܐܘ ܕܬܠܬܐ		x	ܬܪܝܢ P
x	ܒܫܡܝ	ܟܢܝܫܝܢ ܢܗܘܘܢ	ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܐܘ ܕܬܠܬܐ		x	ܬܪܝܢ Ep55
ܕܝܠܝ ܒܫܡܐ	ܟܢܝܫܝܢ	x	ܐܝܬ ܐܘ ܕܬܠܬܐ ܕܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ		ܬܪܝܢ H

ἐκεῖ εἰμι ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῶν

x	x	ܒܝܢܬܗܘܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܝܬ P		
x	x	ܒܝܢܬܗܘܢ ܐܢܐ ܐܝܬ Ep55		
ܕܒܗܘܢ ܒܡܨܥܬܐ		x	ܐܝܬܝ ܐܝܬ H		

Ep55's ܟܢܝܫܝܢ ܢܗܘܘܢ for ܟܢܝܫܝܢ is simply a matter of text, since Cyril has ὧσι...συνηγμένοι where P's Vorlage read just εἰσιν συνηγμένοι. H's grammatical revisions are not prefigued in our texts.

Mt 19.4 [QUX = 724,7-8 / f.56vb]

οὐκ ἀνέγνωτε ὅτι ὁ κτίσας [ποιήσας QUX] [τὸν ἄνθρωπον add.QUX] ἀπ' ἀρχῆς [ἐν ἀ. QUX] ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ ἐποίησεν αὐτούς;

ܐܢܘܢ	ܥܒܕ	ܘܢܩܒܬܐ	ܕܟܪܐ	ܡܢ ܒܪܫܝܬ	x	ܕܗܘ ܕܒܪܐ	ܕܠܐ ܩܪܝܬܘܢ P
ܐܢܘܢ	ܒܪܐ	ܘܢܩܒܬܐ	ܕܟܪܐ	ܡܢ ܒܪܫܝܬ ܠܒܪܢܫܐ	ܕܗܘ ܕܥܒܕ	ܕܠܐ ܩܪܝܬܘܢ QUX
ܐܢܘܢ	ܥܒܕ	ܘܢܩܒܬܐ	ܕܟܪܐ	ܡܢ ܩܕܝܡ	x	ܕܗܘ ܕܒܪܐ	ܕܠܐ ܩܪܝܬܘܢ H

H's use of ܥܒܕ twice most likely reflects his Vorlage, which must have read ποιήσας (as Byz.). QUX, however, even though its Vorlage uses ποιέω on both occasions, has different Syriac terms (against P) for each – is this just a desire for stylistic variation, or is he aware of a Syriac text which already read along these lines? He follows Cyril in the addition of 'man', however (// LXX Gen 1.27).

Mt 20.18-9 [CT = 122,12-5 / f.113rb]

ἰδοὺ ἀναβαίνομεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, καὶ ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδοθήσεται [εἰς χεῖρας ἐθνῶν][1].

[ܠܥܡܡܐ]	[ܒܐܝܕܝ]	ܘܡܫܬܠܡ	ܕܐܢܫܐ	ܘܒܪܗ	ܠܐܘܪܫܠܡ	ܣܠܩܝܢ ܚܢܢ	ܗܐ P
[ܕܥܡܡܐ]	[ܒܐܝܕܝܗܘܢ]	ܘܡܫܬܠܡ	ܕܐܢܫܐ	ܘܒܪܗ	ܠܐܘܪܫܠܡ	ܣܠܩܝܢ ܐܢܚܢ	ܗܐ CT
[ܕܥܡܡܐ]	[ܒܐܝܕܝ]	ܘܡܫܬܠܡ	ܕܐܢܫܐ	ܘܒܪܗ	ܠܐܘܪܫܠܡ	x	ܗܐ H

εἰς τὸ ἐμπαῖξαι αὐτὸν καὶ μαστιγῶσαι καὶ σταυρῶσαι, καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἀναστήσεται.

ܢܩܘܡ	ܕܬܠܬܐ	ܘܠܝܘܡܐ	ܘܢܙܩܦܘܢܝܗܝ	ܘܢܢܓܕܘܢܝܗܝ	ܒܗ	ܘܢܒܙܚܘܢ P
ܢܩܘܡ	ܕܬܠܬܐ	ܘܠܝܘܡܐ	ܘܢܙܩܦܘܢܝܗܝ	ܘܢܢܓܕܘܢܝܗܝ	ܒܗ	ܘܢܒܙܚܘܢ CT
ܢܩܘܡ	ܕܬܠܬܐ	ܘܠܝܘܡܐ	ܘܢܨܠܒܘܢ	ܘܢܓܕܘܢ	x	ܘܢܒܙܚܘܢ H

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[1] These last words taken from Acts 21.11, not from Mt 20.18

OS has ܐܢܫܝܢ for P ܐܢܫ

Despite the full reading of ܐܢܫܝܢ shared by OS and CT, the verse illustrates the strong affinity of CT to P quite against the many differences found in H, both in syntax and lexicon.[1] Cyril's text is divergent, omitting v18b and seemingly being partially conflated to Lk 18.32 and Acts 21.11. These divergences are carefully followed by the translator but at the same time without ever losing sight of the text of P, which is clearly his guide. This neatly illustrates his method with regard to citations in general.

Mt 21.38 [QUX = 738,45-6 / f.66va]

P = QUX

Mt 22.29 [Ep55 = 61,13 / 23,29-30] [CT = 137,30-1 / f.119rb] [QUX = 737,11-12 / f.65rb]

P = Ep55,CT,QUX,H.

Mt 22.42-5 [QUX = 739,23-9 / f.67ra]

τί ὑμῖν δοκεῖ περὶ τοῦ χριστοῦ; τίνος υἱός ἐστιν;...

x	x	x	ܩܒ	ܒ	ܪܡܫܚܐ	ܠܟ	ܟܘܕܐܝ	ܐܝܡܪ	ܪܒܐ	P
ܪܒ	ܐܡܘܕܐ	x	ܩܒܝ	x	ܪܡܫܚܐ	ܠܟ	ܟܘܕܐܝ	ܐܝܡܘ	ܪܒܐ	QUX
x	ܐܡܘܕܐ	ܪܒ	ܩܒܝ	x	ܪܡܫܚܐ	ܐܠܟܗ	ܐܠܐ	ܪܒܕܠܡܘ	ܪܒܐ	H

πῶς οὖν Δαυὶδ ἐν πνεύματι καλεῖ αὐτὸν κύριον [κύριον καλεῖ αὐτὸν QUX] λέγων·

ܝܠ	ܐܡܪ	x	ܪܒܝܐ	ܠܗ	ܪܗܘ	x	ܘܩܒ	ܕܩܪ	x	ܪܐܝܟܐ	P
x	ܐܡܪ	ܒ	x	ܠܗ	ܪܗܘ	ܪܒܝܐ	x	ܕܩܪ	x	ܪܐܝܟܐ	QUX
x	ܐܡܪ	ܒ	x	ܠܗ	ܪܗܘ	ܪܒܝܐ	ܪܘܩܒ	ܕܩܪܝ	ܠܝܣܡ	ܪܐܝܟܪ	H

εἶπεν [ὁ εἰ οὖν Δαυὶδ [ἐν πνεύματι add. QUX] καλεῖ αὐτὸν κύριον, πῶς υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐστιν;

ܝܡܝܢܝ	ܡܢ	ܠܝ	ܒܕ	x	ܠܝܬ	ܪܒܝܐ	ܐܡܪܝ	P
ܝܡܝܢܝ	ܡܢ	ܝܠܒܕܝ	x	ܠܝܬ	ܪܒܝܐ	ܐܡܪܝ	QUX
ܝܡܝܢܝ	ܡܢ	ܒܕ	ܝܠܝ	ܪܐܝܬܠ	ܪܒܝܐ	ܐܡܪܝ	H

ἕως ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποκάτω [ὑποπόδιον QUX] τῶν ποδῶν σου;

ܥܠܝܟ	ܬܚܘܬ	x	ܢܒܥܠܕܒܒܝܟ	ܕܐܣܝܡ	ܪܕܡܐ	P
ܥܠܝܟ	x	ܪܣܘܩ	ܢܒܥܠܕܒܒܝܟ	ܕܐܣܝܡ	ܪܕܡܐ	QUX
ܥܠܝܟ	ܬܚܘܬ	ܪܣܘܩ	ܢܒܥܠܕܒܒܝܟ	ܕܐܣܝܡ	ܪܕܡܐ	H

εἰ οὖν Δαυὶδ [ἐν πνεύματι add. QUX] καλεῖ αὐτὸν κύριον, πῶς υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐστιν;

ܗܘ	x	ܒܗ	ܪܒܝܐ	ܪܗܘ	ܠܗ	ܪܗܘ	x	x	ܕܩܪܝ	ܠܝܣܡ	ܐܢ	P

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[1] In passing, we may note that the ܒܗ of OS/P in v19 seems to testify to the presence of the αὐτόν which Cyril has in his text, a variant not noted even in Tischendorf.

While QUX correctly represents its Vorlage in the sequence difference (κύριον αὐτὸν καλεῖ) and the addition of ἐν πνεύματι in the final line, it is (probably erroneously) omitted in its earlier instance where it was certainly present in the Vorlage.

QUX having ـܝܒܡ for δοκεῖ is closer to S's ܝܒܚܡܢ than to P's ـܝܒܪ. However, his translation of τίνος υἱός ἐστιν as ܪܝܒ ،ܡܘܬܝܪ ܐܝܒܢ is closer to H's ،ܡܘܬܝܪ ܪܝܒ ܐܝܒܢ than to OS/P's simpler ܐܝܒ ܪܝܒ, and indicates QUX striking out on its own in search of better equivalents from time to time. Word order is overall more akin to H than to P. The use of ܪܐܒܐܢ for ὑποπόδιον provides a lexical parallel to H. Finally, the use of ،ܡܘܬܝܪ for the final ἐστιν rather than ܐܡ (as P) brings this text again closer to H than P.

Mt 23.8-9 [QUX = 724,36-7 / f.57rb [v9 only]]

P = QUX (with only minor alteration for context).

Mt 24.36 [//Mk 13.32] [AT = 150,4-6 / 461,6-8] [CT1*= 121,14-5 / f.112vb] [CT2 = 124,7-9 / 113vc] [see also Lash, *Scriptural Citations*]

There is a tricky synoptic issue here. Cyril's use of ἤ rather than καί, the gen. τῶν οὐρανῶν rather than ἐν οὐρανῷ, and his inclusion of μόνος at the end in the AT citation, together with his extensive use of Matthew's gospel over Mark's everywhere else, all suggest that Mt 24.36 is the intended verse here. We must note that his *inclusion* of οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός is no argument for the contrary, since those words were present in the old Alexandrian text of Mt 24.36 and may well have been in Cyril's copies of Matthew, even though they dropped out in the Byzantine text. The fact that these words were present in the Syriac versions *only* in the Markan text, however, meant that the translators assumed Mk 13.32 was being cited and have used their versions of that verse accordingly. The Syriac texts below from P and H are therefore taken from both Mk 13.32 (P1 and H1) and from Mt 24.36 (P2 and H2), for comparison

> Gk1: Mk 13.32 Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης ἢ τῆς ὥρας οὐδεὶς οἶδεν, οὐδὲ οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐν οὐρανῷ οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός, εἰ μὴ ὁ πατήρ

> Gk2: Mt 24.36 Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης καὶ ὥρας [ἡμέρας ἢ τῆς ὥρας ἐκείνης CT2 AT //Mk 13.32] οὐδεὶς οἶδεν,

ܒܝ	ܪܐ	ܝܪ	،ܡ	ܪܬܝܒ	x	ܠܝܐ	ـܢ	ܐܡ	ܪܒܐܢ	x	ܠܝ	OS1
ܒܝ	ܪܐ	ܝܪ	،ܡ	ܪܬܝܒ	x	ܠܝܐ	x	x	ܪܒܐܢ	x	ܠܝ	OS2
ܒܝ	ܪܐ	ܝܪ	،ܡܘ	ܪܬܝܒ	x	ܠܝܐ	x	ܐܡ	ܪܒܐܢ	ـܢ	ܠܝ	P1
ܒܝ	ܪܐ	ܝܪ	،ܡܘ	ܪܬܝܒ	x	ܠܝܐ	x	ܐܡ	ܪܒܐܢ	x	ܠܝ	P2
ܒܝ	ܪܐ	ܝܪ	،ܡ	ܪܬܝܒܐ	x	x	x	ܐܡ	ܪܒܐܢ	ـܢ	ܠܝܒ	CT
ܒܝ	ܝܪ	ܪܐ	ܐܡ	ܪܒܐܢܐ	x	x	x	،ܡ	ܪܬܝܒ	ـܢ	ܠܝܒ	AT
ܒܝ	ܝܪ	ܪܐ	x	ܪܬܝܒ	،ܡ	ܐܪ	x	ܐܡ	ܪܒܐܢ	ـܢ	ܠܝܒ	H1
ܒܝܬ	ܝܪ	ܪܐܐ	x	ܪܬܝܒ	x	ܐܪ	x	ܐܡ	ܪܒܐܢ	ـܢ	ܠܝܒ	H2

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¹ Correctly representing the translator's Vorlage, the addition also being found in the Harklean, and in many other witnesses.

ܟܡܝܢܐ	x	ܒܫܡܝܐ	ܐܠ ܘܐܦ	OS1
ܟܡܐ	x	ܐܒܫܡ	ܡܠܐܟܐ	OS2
ܟܡܝܐ	x	ܒܫܡܝܐ	ܡܠܐܟ	P1
ܟܡܝܐ	x	ܒܫܡܝܐ	ܡܠܐܟ	P2
ܟܡܝܐ	x	ܒܫܡܝܐ	ܡܠܐܟ	CT
ܟܡܝܐ	x	ܒܫܡܝܐ	ܡܠܐ	AT
ܟܡܝܢܐ	ܗܢܘܢ	ܕܒܫܡܝܐ	ܡܠܐܟ	H1
ܟܡܝܐ	x	ܕܒܫܡܝܐ	ܡܠܐܟ	H2

οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός, εἰ μὴ ὁ πατὴρ μόνος [μόνος om.CT2 //Mk13.32]

x	ܒܪܐ	ܐܦ	ܐܠܐ	ܒܝ	ܐܠ ܘܐܦ	OS1
ܒܠܚܘܕ	ܒܪܐ	ܐܦ	ܐܠܐ	x	x	OS2
x	ܒܪܐ	ܐܦ	ܐܠܐ	ܒܝ	ܐܠܐ	P1
ܒܠܚܘܕ	ܒܪܐ	x	ܐܠܐ	x	x	P2
x	ܒܪܐ	ܐܦ	ܐܠܐ	ܒܝ	ܐܠ ܐܦ	CT
ܒܠܚܘܕ	ܒܪܐ	x	ܐܠܐ	ܒܝ	ܐܠܐ	AT
x	ܒܪܐ	ܐܦ	ܐܠܐ	ܒܝ	ܡܠܐܟ	H1
ܒܠܚܘܕܗܘ	ܒܪܐ	ܐܦ	ܐܠܐ	x	x	H2

The versions are clearly quite mixed up. A few comments can be made, however. Firstly, the OS line has been added because of the connection between OS and CT suggested by Vööbus. The alignment here laid out sheds some doubt on the notion, given the use of ܡܠܐܟ in H also in the earlier part of the verse, whence it may have influenced the second part. In addition, the other distinctive OS readings in the verse have clearly had no effect on CT.

Secondly, AT uses elements typical of the H revision style, such as ܐܢܫ ܐܠ to represent οὐδεὶς more closely than P/CT's idiomatic phrase, and ܡܛܠ for περί, a term shared by CT.[1] In the second half of the verse, AT is conflating the versions but seems to be closer to P in some ways. Its switching of the order of 'day' and 'hour' is inexplicable except as an inner scribal error (perhaps the original translator's own).

Mt 25.40 [QUX = 732,19-20 / f.62ra]

ἐφ' ὅσον ἐποιήσατε ἑνὶ τούτων τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου [τῶν...μου om. QUX] τῶν ἐλαχίστων, ἐμοὶ ἐποιήσατε.

ܠܐܚܝ	ܗܘ	ܠܝ	x	ܕܥܒܕܬܘܢ	x	ܐܝܢܐ	ܗܠܝܢ	ܡܢ	ܚܕ ܠܐܚܝܢܝ ܕܐܡܪ P
ܠܐܚܝ	x	ܠܝ	ܠܐܚܝܢ	ܕܥܒܕܬ	x	[x]	ܗܠܝܢ	ܡܢ	ܕܚܕ x ܕܐܡܪ QUX
ܠܐܚܝ	x	ܠܝ	x	ܕܥܒܕܝ	ܗܠܝܢ	ܐܝܢܐ	ܠܗܘܢ	ܡܢ	ܚܕ ܠܐܚܝܢܝ ܕܐܡܪ H

QUX's omission of 'brothers' is in line with Cyril's citation. His wording is closer to P than to H, and his placing of the first ܠܐܚܝ is idiosyncratic.

Mt 26.37 [CT* = 139,19 / f.119vc]

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[1] ܡܛܠ for περί is a standard feature of both H and other 7th century translators: see Brock, *Resolution*, 332-3 and Brock, *Pseudo-Nonnos*, 54-5).

Mt 26.38 [Ep45* = 155,23 / 44,20] [QUX = 755,34-5 / f.78ra]

P = QUX

In Ep45*, περίλυπος is translated with ܡܥܝܩܐ, which had become the standard equivalence in H (here ܟܪܝܐ), but was not yet used consistently in P (e.g. cf. Mt 26.38 with 26.37).

Mt 26.39 [CT1 = 121,13-4 / f.112vb] [CT2 = 122,4-5 / f.113ra] [CT3 = 124,31-125,1 / f.114rb] [CT4* = 139,20 / f.119vc] [QUX = 755,35-6 / f.78ra] [QUX2 = 772,30-1 / f.90vb]

πάτερ μου [μου om. CT1,2,3], εἰ δυνατόν ἐστιν [ἐστιν om. CT1,2,3], παρελθάτω ἀπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ
ποτήριον τοῦτο· [ἀπ' ἐμοῦ post τοῦτο CT1,2]

.ܗܢܐ	ܟܣܐ	x	ܢܥܒܪ	x	ܡܢܝ	ܐܝܟ	x	ܐܒܝ.	P
.ܗܢܐ	ܟܣܐ	x	ܢܥܒܪ	x	ܡܢܝ	ܐܝܟ	x	ܐܒܝ	ML
.ܗܢܐ	ܟܣܐ	ܡܢ	ܢܥܒܪ	x	ܡܢܝ	ܐܝܟ	x	ܐܒܝ	CT3
.ܗܢܐ	ܟܣܐ	ܡܢ	ܢܥܒܪ	x	ܢܫܘܕ	ܐܝܟ	x	ܐܒܝ	CT1,2
.ܗܢܐ	ܟܣܐ	x	ܢܥܒܪ	x	ܡܢܝ	ܐܝܟ	x	ܐܒܝ	QUX1,2
❖ܗܢܐ	ܟܣܐ	ܡܢ	ܢܥܒܪ	ܢܫܘܕܥܢܝ	ܕܡܬܡܨܝܐ	ܐܝܟ	ܐܢ.ܗܘ	ܐܒܪ	H

πλὴν οὐχ ὡς ἐγὼ θέλω ἀλλ' ὡς σύ [cited only in CT2]

.ܐܢܬ	ܐܝܟ	ܐܠܐ	ܐܢܐ	ܨܒܐ	ܐܝܟܐ	x	ܐܝܟ	x	ܠܐ	ܒܪܡ	P
.ܐܢܬ	ܐܝܟ	ܐܠܐ	ܐܢܐ	ܨܒܐ	ܐܝܟܐ	ܡܐ	ܐܝܟ	ܗܘ	ܠܐ	ܥܠ	ܐܘܡ	CT2
.ܐܢܬ	ܐܝܟ	ܐܠܐ	x	ܨܒܐ	ܐܝܟܐ	x	ܐܝܟ	x	ܠܐ	ܐܠܐ	QUX1
.ܐܢܬ	ܐܝܟ	ܐܠܐ	ܐܢܐ	ܨܒܐ	ܐܝܟܐ	x	ܐܝܟ	x	ܠܐ	ܒܪܡ	QUX2
.ܐܢܬ	ܐܝܟ	ܐܠܐ	ܐܢܐ	ܨܒܐ	ܐܝܟܐ	x	ܐܝܟ	x	ܠܐ	ܒܪܡ	H

ML = 70, 20-1

CT3 has been placed above CT2 to demonstrate the continuing influence of P's reading on CT despite the fact that both the earlier citations in the same text use ܡܨܐ, the verb eventually adopted by H. We know that ܡܨܐ was generally preferred for forms of δύναμαι by Philoxenus from his revised version of Heb 5.7, which he himself discusses specifically (cf. CPJ 53,21-3, although this was not the case at Jn 16.12, for which see CPJ 159,2 *et al.*). H's grammatical calques are, however, not found in CT. In the second part of the verse, CT is widely divergent, having his own quite distinctive and idiomatic renderings. ML clearly follows P rather than any revised version [cf. also Lk 22.42 below]. Again Vööbus has seen OS influence in CT's choice of ܡܢ ܢܥܒܪ over P's ܢܥܒܪܢܝ; against this proposition, however, we can see that CT's text is also that of H (and therefore cannot be dubbed 'necessarily' an old reading), and that OS's syntax, with ܢ following ܢܥܒܪ, is not used by CT. QUX essentially follows P but with QUX1 showing its freedom by a couple of abbreviations in the second half.

Mt 26.40b-41a [CT = 139,25-6 / f.119vc–120ra]

οὕτως οὐκ ἰσχύσατε μίαν ὥραν γρηγορῆσαι μετ' ἐμοῦ;

ܥܡܝ	ܠܡܬܬܥܝܪܘ	ܚܕܐ ܫܥܐ	ܫܟܚܬܘܢ	ܚܕܐ	ܐܠܐ	x	ܗܟܢܐ	S

ܝܡܐ	ܢܘܗܬܐܒ	X	ܠܐ	ܪܝܫ	X	ܐܬ ܪܒ	ܪܐ	ܪܫܡ	P
ܝܡܐ	ܢܘܗܬܐܒ	X	ܠܐ	ܪܝܫ	ܠܐ ܐܪ	ܐܬ ܪܒ	ܪܐ	ܪܫܡ	CT
ܝܡܐ	ܢܘܗܬܐ	X	ܪܝܫ	ܪܝܫ	X	[1] ܐܬܪܒ	ܪܐ	ܪܫܡ	H

γρηγορεῖτε καὶ προσεύχεσθε, ἵνα μὴ εἰσέλθητε εἰς πειρασμόν·

ܢܘܠܦܢܝ	ܐܠܦ	ܐܠܐ	X	ܐܝܟ	ܢܘܗܬܐ	S
ܢܘܠܦܢܝ	ܐܠܦ	ܐܠܐ	X	ܐܝܟ	ܢܘܗܬܐ	P
ܢܘܠܦܢܝ	ܐܠܦ	ܐܠܐ	X	ܐܝܟ	ܢܘܗܬܐ	CT
ܢܘܠܦܢܝ	ܐܠܦ	ܐܠܐ	ܐܬܪܐ	ܐܝܟ	ܢܘܗܬܐ	H

CT's ܠܐ ܐܪ seems to be an OS hang over, but otherwise CT is one with P, against H's various revisions.

Mt 27.40,42 [QUX = 775,20-1 / f.93ra]

P = QUX

Mt 27.46b [CT = 121,12-13 / f.112vb] [QUX1 = 754,9-10 / f.77ra] [QUX2 = 755,26-7 / f.78ra]

θεέ μου θεέ μου ἵνα τί με ἐγκατέλιπες

X	X	X	X	X	X	ܢܘܬܩܒܫ	ܐܠܗܝ	ܐܠܝ	ܐܠܝ	P
ܢܘܬܩܒܫ	ܐܠܗܝ	ܐܠܗܝ	ܐܠܗܝ	[x]	[x]	[x]	[x]	[x]	[x]	QUX
ܢܘܬܩܒܫ	ܐܠܗܝ	ܐܠܗܝ	ܐܠܗܝ	[x]	[x]	[x]	[x]	[x]	[x]	CT
ܢܘܬܩܒܫ	ܐܠܗܝ	ܐܠܗܝ	ܐܠܗܝ	ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬ	ܘܗܝ	ܢܘܬܩܒܫ	ܐܠܗܝ	ܐܠܝ	ܐܠܝ	H

CT and QUX's use of ܐܠܗܝ, the proper Syriac translation for θεέ μου, just as in H, consitutes a proper revision to the Greek text, and is just the sort of thing we would have expected of the Philoxenian tradition. P (and OS) omit the second half of the verse (it being a Greek translation of the transliterated Aramaic, and thus hardly necessary in Syriac), although both 'original' and 'translation' are included in Peshitta of Mk 15.34 (where the Gk ἐλωι still becomes only ܐܠܝ, but ܐܠܗܝ in H).

Mt 28.19 [Ep55 = 59,23-4 / 20,14-16] [Ep101 = 546] [QUX = 773,16-9 / f.92ra]

πορευθέντες οὖν μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς

X	ܐܢܘܢ	ܘܐܥܡܕܘ	X	ܥܡܡܐ	ܠܟܠܗܘܢ	ܬܠܡܕܘ	X	ܗܟܝܠ	ܙܠܘ	P
X	ܐܢܘܢ	ܘܐܥܡܕܘ	X	ܥܡܡܐ	ܠܟܠܗܘܢ	ܬܠܡܕܘ	X	X	ܩܘܡܘ	ML
X	ܐܢܘܢ	ܘܐܥܡܕܘ	X	ܥܡܡܐ	ܠܟܠܗܘܢ	ܬܠܡܕܘ	X	X	ܩܘܡܘ	Ep55
X	ܐܢܘܢ	ܘܐܥܡܕܘ	ܥܡܡܐ	ܠܟܠܗܘܢ	ܬܠܡܕܘܗܝ	ܘܐܙܠܘ	X	ܗܟܝܠ	QUX
ܠܗܘܢ	ܘܐܥܡܕܘ	ܡܕܝܢ	ܒ	ܥܡܡܐ	ܠܟܠܗܘܢ	ܬܠܡܕܘ	X	ܗܟܝܠ	[2]ܗܟܝܠ	H

εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος

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[1] mg. ܬܠܡܕܘܗܝ.

[2] Sic Jückel (Vat.Syr.268); perhaps ܐܠܝ, as Johnston, but without app.

ܪܚܩܘܝ	ܪܘܘܝܐ	ܪܒܐ	ܪܒܐ	ܝܒ	P
ܪܚܩܘܝ	ܪܘܘܝܐ	ܪܒܐ	ܪܒܐ	ܝܒ	Ep101
ܪܫܝ	ܪܘܘܝܐ	ܪܒܐ	ܪܒܐ	ܝܒ	ML
ܪܚܩܘܝ	ܪܘܘܝܐ	ܪܒܐ	ܪܒܐ	ܪܫܒ	Ep55
ܪܚܩܘܝ	ܪܘܘܝܐ	ܪܒܐ	ܪܒܐ	ܝܒ	QUX
ܪܫܝ	ܪܘܘܝܐ	ܪܒܐ	ܪܒܐ	ܪܫܒ	H

ML = 7,28-9

Ep55's 'half-way' revision style is again quite evident; thus ܠ is used as the definite direct object marker before ܥܡܠ and ܝ is used before each of the three persons. P's idiomatic use of a second imperative for 'baptising', however, is retained, quite against the Greek participle. ML is clearly linked with the Ep55 version in some way – note their identical wording in v19a, e.g the term ܐܘܐ which is in neither P nor H. In v19b ML shows the sporadic nature of the revision process, for here 'Holy Spirit' is found in its later, adjectival, form, but the grammar is distinctively that of P and *not* of H/Ep55, even though Ep55 keeps the older ܪܚܩܘܝ. Ep101 shows a P text. QUX is typically free with his text, although P is clearly his base version

Mt 28.20 [AT = 142,28-9 / 455,18-456,1]

P = AT,H

ܪܫܝܟ] ܪܫܝܟܘ AT

ܪܒܐ] ܝܐܝܪ H

AT follows P against H in having just the enclitic ܪܒܐ rather than ܝܐܝܪ for εἰμι. It is also faithful to Cyril by adding the extra ܘ that he has before ἕως.

Mk 8.38 [Ep55 = 58,12-3 / 17,25-6]

ὅταν ἔλθῃ ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀγγέλων τῶν ἁγίων [τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων Ep55[1]]

ܪܫܝܐ	ܡܐܒܪܠܐ	ܝܐ	ܡܐܒܪܝ	ܪܘܘܐܒ	ܪܐܪܝ	ܪܒ P
ܪܫܝܐ	ܡܐܒܪܠܐ	ܝܐ	ܡܐܒܪܝ	ܪܬܘܐܙܠܐ	ܪܐܪܝ	ܪܒ Ep55
ܪܫܝܐ	ܪܐܪܠܐ	ܝܐ	ܡܐܒܪܝ	ܪܘܘܐܒ	ܪܐܪܝ	ܝܐܪ H

The influence of the style of P on Ep55 is evident, in such small factors as the proleptic suffix on 'angels' and the use of ܪܒ for ὅταν, practices discontinued in the H tradition. It is typical of many of our translators, however, to use ܪܬܘܐܙܠܐ instead of ܪܘܘܐܒ.

Mk 14.21 [GL = 410,14-5]

καλὸν [ἦν GL *et mult.mss.*] αὐτῷ εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος

x	x	ܝܠܐܝܪ	ܪܠ	ܐܠܐܪ	ܐܗ	ܪܝܒܝܠ	ܠܐ	ܪܐܗ	x	ܣܘܩ P
x	x	ܝܠܐܝܪ	ܪܠ	ܐܠܐܪ	ܐܗ	ܪܝܒܝܠ	ܠܐ	ܪܐܗ	x	ܣܘܩ GL

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[1] A rare variant, acc. to Tischendorf found in minuscules 90* 218 only.

Here we have a Peshitta citation from Moses of Aggel (date, perhaps c.550), clearly unrevised to the Greek syntax, as the word order as H so clearly has been. GL also agrees with P against the Sinaitic OS which omits ܗܘ ܪܐܢܠ.

Lk 1.2 [Ep55 = 50,10 / 3,1-2] [Ep50 = 100,12-3 / f.147rb] [CO* = 35,36 / f.92vb]

καθὼς παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου

ܪܬܐܠܝܢ	ܗܠܢ	ܪ̈ܝܫܡܫܢܐܘ	ܪ̈ܝܠܘ	ܗܘܘ	ܝܘܕܐ	ܕܝܢ	ܐܝܠܝܢ	ܠ	ܐܟܙܠܐܝܢ P
ܪܬܐܠܝܢ	ܗܠܢ	ܪ̈ܝܫܡܢܐܘ	ܪ̈ܝܠܘ	ܗܘܘ	ܪܬܝܬܝ	ܕܝܢ	ܐܝܠܘܗܝ	<	< Ep50
ܪܬܐܠܝܢ	ܗܠܢ	ܪ̈ܝܫܡܫܢܐܘ	ܪ̈ܝܠܘ	ܗܘܘ	ܪ̈ܝܐܥ	ܕܝܢ	ܐܝܠܗܘܢ	ܠ	ܐܟܙܠܐܪ Ep55
ܪܬܐܠܝܢ	x	ܪ̈ܝܫܡܫܢܐܘ	ܪ̈ܝܠܘ	ܗܘܘ	ܪ̈ܝܐܥ	ܕܝܢ	ܐܝܠܗܘܢ	ܠ	ܐܟܙܠܐܝܢ H

CO* = P

The different terms for ἀπ' ἀρχῆς are noteworthy, with Ep55 foreshadowing the standard equivalent of H (always as here in the Gospels, though with some variation in 1 John). H's exclusive use of ܠܗ for the possessive pronoun has led to its omission from here, where our versions have retained such an unusual usage from P (not present in OS).

Lk 1.15 [QUX = 751,20-1 / f.75ra]

πνεύματος ἁγίου πλησθήσεται ἔτι ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς αὐτοῦ

ܕܐܡܗ	ܪ̈ܟܪܣܐ	ܗܘ	ܡܢ	ܪܬܡܠܐ	ܪ̈ܝܩܘܕܫܐ	ܪ̈ܘܚܐ P
ܕܐܡܗ	ܪ̈ܟܪܣ	x	ܡܢ	ܪܬܡܠܐ	ܪ̈ܝܩܘܕܫܐ	ܪ̈ܘܚܐ QUX
ܕܐܡܗ	ܪ̈ܟܪܣܐ	ܗܘ	ܡܢ	ܪܬܡܠܐ	ܪ̈ܝܩܕ	ܪ̈ܘܚܐ H

QUX effectively omits ἔτι, having just ܪ̈ܟܪܣ ܡܢ for ἔτι ἐκ κοιλίας, again therefore showing its independence from P.

Lk 1.28b [CO = 36,35 / f.93rb]

P = CO

ܐܢܟܝ] ,ܟܝ CO

H makes many further revisions.

Lk 1.30 [Ep39 = 18,11-2 / f.151rb]

P = Ep39,CPJ [45,8-9]
(see also following verse)

Lk 1.31 [Ep39 = 18,12-3 / f.151rb] [QUX = 743,11-12 / f.69va]

καὶ ἰδοὺ συλλήμψῃ ἐν γαστρὶ καὶ τέξῃ υἱὸν καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν

ܝܫܘܥ   x ܫܡܗ ܘܬܩܪܝܢ .ܪ̈ܝܒ ܘܬܐܠܕܝܢ .ܐܠܦ ܘܬܒܛܢܝܢ   ܗܐ ܠܟܝ   P

CPJ = 45,9-10

Ep39 is again clearly P-based but showing some sign of revision. On the former count, it retains the ܝܟ without a Greek γάρ parallel and, unsurprisingly, does not use ܠܢ for the possessive. It has however changed P's periphrastic ܡܗܝܡܢ ܕܗܘܐ into a pure verbal form, which naturally H continues, although the result in Ep39 was the omission of a parallel for ἐν γαστρί, unusual for this text. QUX has its own more distinctive wording, avoiding even an equivalent verbal form for συλλήμψη. CPJ shows the clearer signs, especially the inclusion of ܒܟܪܣܐ and the exclusion of ܝܟ, although, as noted before, the Philoxenian (which this probably represents) does not use ܠܢ as H does. Note however that CPJ 47,16 uses the phrase ܡܗܝܡܢ ܕܗܘܐ as P of this verse, although this is no more than an allusion.

Lk 1.34 [CT = 133,9 / f.117rc]

P = CT

CT adds ܠ for Cyril's μοι.

Lk 1.35 [Ep50* = 98,4 / f.145va] [CO1 = 34, 16-7 / f.91vc] [CO2 = 36,37-37,2 / f.93rb-c] [CT = 133,9-11 / f.117rc]

πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ σὲ καὶ δύναμις ὑψίστου ἐπισκιάσει σοι

ܥܠܝܟܝ	ܬܐܬܐ	ܕܩܘܕܫܐ	ܘܪܘܚܐ	X	ܐܠܗܐ	ܕܚܝܠܗ	ܘܒܝܕ	P
								CO1
								CO2
				X				CT
				X				ML
								CPJ1
								CPJ5
								H

διὸ καὶ τὸ γεννώμενον ἅγιον κληθήσεται υἱὸς θεοῦ

✥ܕܐܠܗܐ	ܒܪܗ	ܘܢܬܩܪܐ		X	ܩܕܝܫܐ	ܡܢܟܝ	ܕܡܬܝܠܕ	ܗܘ	X	ܡܛܠ	P
										CO2
✥ܕܐܠܗܐ				X						CT
										CPJ1
										CPJ5
										H

ML = 54,13-4
CPJ1 = 41,2-4; CPJ2* = 41,23-4
CPJ3* = 47,16 = CPJ4* = 196,19 have ܠܩܘܕܫܐ for ܕܩܘܕܫܐ

The closeness of these versions to P is striking when we consider, for example, places where Peshitta textual variants have been retained against Cyril's text, which we see here in a) CT's omission of a parallel for ἐπὶ σέ, b) CT's addition of ܝܗ following ܐܠܗܐ – this is a gloss in P which is found as a common Greek variant, but not in Cyril's text here. These and other calques of H, such as the treatment of the Holy Spirit as grammatically masculine, are entirely absent from CT and CO. On the other hand, CPJ (with which the *Tractatus* is also in agreement[1]) and H (prob.=X) show some very distinctive revisions: in v35a we see the adjectival ܩܕܝܫܐ, as well as ܐܝܢܐ for ܐܝܢܐ (i.e. ܗܘܝܐ is masculine), the reappearance of ܝܠܝܕ, and ܡܬܩܪܐ for ܢܐܠܐ (of these the Syriac version of the Apollinarian corpus has all four, the version of Severus' Philalethes has all but the last, and the version of the Anti-Julianist Polemic has the second and third only, i.e. keeping ܩܕܝܫܐ but treating ܗܘܝܐ as masculine,[2] while ML shows just ܐܝܢܐ). CO also shares the reappearance of ܝܠܝܕ but this could simply be down to Cyril's Vorlage.

In v35b, CO2 has the repositioning of ܕܝܠܗ in accordance with the Greek, with H (CO1 does not have v35b), and also in agreement all the other extant 6th century translations, the Severan and the Apollinarian works. The change of P's ܗܘ to feminine ܗܝ is also found universally in all these versions (save for one archaic form found in CPJ). CO2's treatment of ἅγιον as predicate is unique, paralleled in modern translations but not in any other Syriac witness. CO1's ܝܗ in v35a is also an oddity and may be an error.

It is interesting that when Philoxenus merely alludes to the verse (as CPJ2,3) he tends to use the P wording instead (as we saw also in v31 above), a fact which throws light of Philoxenus' 'method-of-citing' and his mode of 'using' his new NT.

Lk 1.76 [QUX = 759,24-5 / f.80va]

$$\text{καὶ σὺ δέ, παιδίον, προφήτης ὑψίστου κληθήσῃ·}$$

ܐܬܩܪܝܬ	ܕܡܪܝܐ	ܢܒܝܐ	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܢܬ	x	P
ܐܬܩܪܝܬ	ܕܡܪܝܡܐ	ܢܒܝܐ	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܢܬ	ܐܦ	QUX
ܐܬܩܪܝܬ	ܕܡܪܝܡܐ	ܢܒܝܐ	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܢܬ	x	H

$$\text{προπορεύσῃ γὰρ ἐνώπιον κυρίου ἑτοιμάσαι ὁδοὺς αὐτοῦ,}$$

ܐܘܪܚܗ	ܕܬܛܝܒ	ܕܡܪܝܐ	ܩܘܕܡܘܗܝ	ܡܢ	ܓܝܪ	ܐܙܠܬ	x	P
[ܡܢܗ ܠܗ]	ܠܡܛܝܒܘ	ܕܡܪܝܐ	ܩܘܕܡܘܗܝ	ܡܢ	ܓܝܪ	ܐܙܠܬ	x	QUX
ܐܘܪܚܘܗܝ	ܠܡܛܝܒܘ	ܕܡܪܝܐ	ܩܘܕܡܘܗܝ	ܡܢ	ܓܝܪ	ܐܙܠܬ	ܬܐܙܠ	H

QUX follows Cyril's variant of λαὸν for ὁδούς. The reading ܠܡܛܝܒܘ is also found in S, but as an infinitive is obviously superior to ܕܬܛܝܒ. H and QUX's agreement in ܕܡܪܝܐ is worth noting also.

Lk 2.14 [CO = 34,22-3 / f.91vc-92ra]

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[1] Watt, *Dissertation*, 50.
[2] Again, those texts discussed but not printed out in full are present in Aland, *Philoxenianisch*, 368-9, as Beispiel 11.

All our texts have the Byzantine reading ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐδοκία

P = CO

ܪܚܘܢܬܟܗ] ܪܘܣܢܬ CO,OS

OS and CO share a reading which CPJ [57,11] also returns to, and so too even Jacob of Edessa[1]. CPJ [57,10-11], however, shows closer affinity to H generally throughout the verse.

Lk 2.40 [SDI = 229,22-3 / f.46rb]

P = SDI

H makes various revisions not present in SDI.

Lk 2.52 [CO1 = 41,3 / f.95rb] [CO2 = 44,26 / f.97rb] [CT = 140,9-10 / f.120rb] [SDI = 223,22 / f.31vb] [QUX* = 759,36-7 / f.80vb]

προέκοπτεν ἐν τῇ [ἐν τῇ om. CO1,SDI] σοφίᾳ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ [ἡλ καὶ σοφ CO1, CO2, CT, SDI]
καὶ χάριτι

ܪܚܢܟܠܗܘ		X	.ܡܬܚܣܘܣܘ	X	.ܡܬܚܣܢܣ	ܪܐܗ	ܪܚܝ	P
ܪܚܢܟܠܗܘ		X	ܪܚܣܣܘܣܘ	X	ܪܚܣܢܣ	ܪܐܗ	ܪܚܝ	CO1
ܪܚܢܟܠܗܘ		X	ܪܚܣܣܘܣ	ܝܗܚܣܘ	ܪܚܣܢܣ	ܪܐܗ	ܪܚܝ	CO2
ܪܚܢܟܠܗܘ		X	ܪܚܣܣܘܣܘ	X	ܪܚܣܢܣ	ܪܐܗ	ܝܗܚܣ	CT
ܪܚܢܟܠܗܘ		X	ܪܚܣܣܘܣܘ	X	ܪܚܣܢܣ	ܪܐܗ	ܪܚܝ	SDI
ܪܚܢܟܠܗܘ		X	ܪܚܣܣܘܣܘ	X	ܪܚܣܢܣ	ܪܐܗ	ܪܚܝ	ML2
ܪܚܢܟܠܗܘ		X	ܪܚܣܣܘܣܘ	X	ܪܚܣܢܣ	ܪܐܗ	ܪܚܝ	CPJ
ܪܚܢܟܠܗܘ		X	ܪܚܣܣܘܣܘ	X	ܪܚܣܢܣ	ܪܐܗ	ܠܟܘܚܣ	CL
ܪܚܢܟܠܗܘ	ܪܚܣܢܐܣܘ	ܪܚܣܣܘܣ	X	X	ܪܐܗ	ܠܟܘܚܣ	H

ML1* = 48, 22 [ܡܬܚܣܢܣ for ܪܚܣܢܣ]
ML2 = 53,2-3; 54, 9
ML3* = 54, 5-6
CPJ = 71,25-6; 184,29 – 185,1

The appearance of ܝܗܚܣ in CO2 is strange (certainly not paralleled in the Greek), as if re-enforcing the notion of ܪܐܗ ܪܚܝ ; this is something we see almost exactly again in one of Philoxenus' allusions, ML3* (though it is found nowhere else in his very numerous allusions to the verse in this work); its appearance in place of ܪܚܝ in CT is therefore not unprecedented, and its varied attestation may imply that it was present in some part of the tradition as CT has it. P's unexpected use of the suffixes is not repeated (save in one allusion in ML1). It is the Syriac of Cyril's Luke Commentary, and not CPJ, which contains the principle anticipation of H with ܠܟܘܚܣ. Cyril shares the word order variation with OS and P, and none of our versions show the awareness of the accepted Greek reading, found in H.

Lk 3.6 [EDC = 20,25-6 / f.18ra] [SDI = 231,19-20 / f.38rb]

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[1] In his version of the Severan Homilies, in which he largely uses H as a base text, see ibid., 369, Beispiel 12.

$$\text{ὄψεται πᾶσα σὰρξ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ}$$

ܐܠܗܐ	ܚܝܐ	ܒܝܕ	ܠܟ	ܚܝܐ	P
ܐܠܗܐ	ܦܘܪܩܢܐ	ܒܝܕ	ܠܗ	ܚܝܐ	SDI
ܐܠܗܐ	ܦܘܪܩܢܐ	ܒܝܕ	ܠܟ	ܚܝܐ	EDC
ܐܠܗܐ	ܦܘܪܩܢܐ	ܒܝܕ	ܠܟ	ܚܝܐ	H

Here again in this text we see a revised version. This is the same pattern as seen in Mt 1.21 (cf. above *in loc.*), where Ep39 had the unrevised form and QUX,EDC,H the newer use of ܦܪܩ for σώζω. H uses almost universally either ܦܪܩ or ܚܝܐ for forms of σώζω, usually the latter for passive forms or where the meaning is closer to 'preserve, heal' rather than 'save eternally'. It never uses the Aphel form ܐܚܝ which is so common in P. CPJ also shows the use of ܚܝܐ for P's ܐܚܝ (Jn 5.34; 1 Cor 1.21). Here SDI has revised the vocabulary already but keeps the absolute form of the noun, which is brought up-to-date as well by EDC.

Lk 4.18 [CO1 = 58,27-9 / f.104vb] [CO2* = 59,33 / f.105rb] [CT1 = 133,16-17 / f.117rc] [CT2 = 134,4-5 / f.117va]

$$\text{πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ' ἐμὲ οὗ εἵνεκεν ἔχρισέν με}$$

ܡܛܠ	ܗܢܐ	ܡܫܚܢܝ	ܥܠ	ܕܡܪܝܐ	ܪܘܚܐ	P
ܕܡܛܠ	ܐܝܟ	ܐܝܟܐ ܥܠ	ܥܠ	ܕܡܪܝܐ	ܪܘܚܐ	CO
ܡܛܠ	ܗܢܐ	ܡܫܚܢܝ	ܥܠ	ܕܡܪܝܐ	ܪܘܚܐ	CT
ܕܡܛܠ	ܗܘ	ܡܫܚ	ܥܠ	ܕܡܪܝܐ	ܪܘܚܐ	H

$$\text{εὐαγγελίσασθαι πτωχοῖς, ἀπέσταλκέν με [ἰάσασθαι}$$

ܕܐܣܐ	ܘܫܕܪܢܝ	ܠܡܣܟܢܐ	ܘܐܣܒܪ	P
[x]	ܘܫܕܪ	ܠܡܣܟܢܐ	ܐܝܬܝ	CO
<	<	<	<	CT
ܕܐܣܐ	ܘܫܕܪ	ܠܡܣܟܢܐ	ܘܐܣܒܪ	H

$$\text{τοὺς συντετριμμένους [τὴν καρδίαν add. Byz] κηρύξαι αἰχμαλώτοις ἄφεσιν καὶ τυφλοῖς}$$
$$\text{ἀνάβλεψιν}$$

ܒܚܙܝܐ	ܠܥܘܪܐ	ܘܡܚܙܝܘ	ܠܗܘܢ	ܘܫܘܒܩܢܐ	ܠܫܒܝܐ	ܘܐܟܪܙ	ܠܒܐ	ܠܬܒܝܪܝ	P
<	<	<	ܠܗܘܢ	ܘܡܚܙܝܘ	ܠܫܒܝܐ	ܘܐܟܪܙ	[x]	[x]	CO
ܒܚܙܝܐ	ܠܥܘܪܐ	ܘܡܚܙܝܘ	ܠܗܘܢ	ܘܡܚܙܝܘ	ܠܫܒܝܐ	ܘܐܟܪܙ	ܠܒܐ	ܠܬܒܝܪܝ	H

The CO citation is introduced as being διὰ φωνῆς Ἡσαΐου, but the omission of the phrase ἰάσασθαι τοὺς συντετριμμένους τῇ καρδίᾳ shows Cyril to be thinking actually of Lk 4.18 rather than Isa 61.1. As Peshitta Luke has the additional phrase anyway due to harmonisation, the translator evidently was not aware of the distinction and actually follows Peshitta Isaiah in the phrase ܠܬܒܝܪܝ ܠܒܐ (P and H having ܠܒܐ ܠܬܒܝܪܝ in Lk 4.18). CO's omission of the middle phrase is simply a reflection of Cyril's text.

Lk 4.21 [CT = 133,17-8 / f.117rc] [CT2 = 134,5 / f.117va]

P = CT1,2

ⲝⲗⲑⲉ𝓇] ⲗⲍⲟ𝔥𝓇 CT1,2; ⲗⲍⲟⲑⲉ𝓇 H

CT's one singular reading is clearly closer to H than to P (Cyril reads ἐπληρώθη rather than πεπλήρωται but this difference is unlikely to be perceptible in Syriac).

Lk 7.14 [AT = 162,25 / 471,13]

P = AT

ⲕⲟⲓⲗ ⲍⲓⲟ] ⲕⲟⲓⲭⲟ ⲁⲉⲭ AT; ⲕⲍⲟⲁⲱⲁⲗⲭⲟ ⲁⲉⲭ H (ἥψατο τῆς σοροῦ)

It is typical that AT uses the more accurate word for 'touch' which H also follows, but although he chooses a different word for σορός (*bier*), it is not H's term.

Lk 8.21

see above Mt 12.47-50

Lk 10.17 [CT = 130,23-4 / f.116va]

P = CT

ⲕⲓ𝔯ⲉ] ⲕⲁ̈ⲩⲁ CT,H [CL 200,19; 253,9 as P]

Compare Mt 12.24,28, where P uses both ⲕⲓ𝔯ⲉ and ⲕⲁ̈ⲩⲁ in close proximity for δαιμόνια. On that occasion CO/CT used ⲕⲁ̈ⲩⲁ consistently, as also here. This is the sort of consistency of technique that we have come to expect of post-Peshitta versions, whether or not there is a 'Philoxenian' which our translators are using; note that CL keeps the old Peshitta term.

Lk 22.67b-69 [Ep55 = 57,37-9 / 17,5-8]

ἐὰν ὑμῖν [ὑμῖν om. Ep55] εἴπω, οὐ μὴ πιστεύσητε· ἐὰν δέ [καὶ ἐὰν Ep55] ἐρωτήσω
[ἐπερωτήσω Ep55],

x	ⲟ̣ⲁⲗ𝔯ⲉ𝓇	ⲭ𝔯ⲟ	x	ⲙⲟⲁⲍⲟⲁⲑ ⲕⲗ	ⲟ̣ⲁ̣ⲗ	x	ⲓⲟ𝔯 ⲭ𝓇	P
x	ⲗ𝔯ⲉ̣𝔯	ⲭ𝔯ⲟ	ⲟⲑⲩ𝔯ⲉ	ⲉⲙⲍⲟⲁⲍⲟ ⲕⲗ	[om.]	x	ⲓⲟ𝔯 ⲭ𝓇	Ep55
ⲕⲑ𝓇	ⲗ𝔯ⲍⲟⲟ	ⲉⲩ𝔯	ⲟ̣ⲟⲑⲩ𝔯ⲉ	ⲉⲙⲍⲟⲁⲍⲟ ⲕⲗ	ⲟ̣ⲁ̣ⲗ	ⲕⲑ𝓇	ⲓⲟ𝔯 ⲭ𝓇	H

οὐ μὴ ἀποκριθῆτε [ἢ ἀπολύσητε add. Maj, OS, P].

ⲗ	ⲟ̣ⲟⲑⲩ𝔯	ⲉⲩ̣ⲉ	ⲟ𝓇	ⲕ̣ⲍⲁⲗⲑⲁ	ⲗ	ⲟ̣ⲟⲑⲩ𝔯	ⲉⲙⲍⲍⲟ ⲕⲗ	P
x	x	x	x	ⲕ̣ⲍⲁⲗⲑⲁ	x	ⲟ̣ⲟⲑⲩ𝔯	ⲉⲙⲍⲁⲍ ⲕⲗ	Ep55
x	x	x	x		x	ⲟ̣ⲟⲑⲩ𝔯	ⲉⲙⲍⲍⲟ ⲕⲗ	H

P = Ep55,H in v69

Ep55 knows of P's explicatory ⲕ̣ⲍⲁⲗⲑⲁ, which is not paralleled in the Greek, yet also uses a ptc. for the aorist subjunctive, which is a practice made standard in H. However, H's

grammatical niceties (addition of ܐܝܬ after the participles) are not found in Ep55. H's omission of the addition to v68 ('you will not let me go') is exceptional given that H is usually revised in line with the Byzantine – the mss used by Thomas must have omitted the words, as also does Cyril's text in line with most of the Alexandrian tradition. Ep55 omits it in line with Cyril's text.

Tischendorf allied OS/P with those witnesses that read καὶ ἐάν rather than ἐάν δέ at the start of v68, on the basis of their ܘܐܢ, a retroversion which cannot be said to be very certain given the nature of these versions and which is yet somewhat supported by Ep55's ܘܐܢ which clearly *does* represent καὶ ἐάν, as in Cyril.

Jn 1.1 [Ep55-1* = 52,24 / 7,9-10] [Ep55-2 = 53,18-9 / 725-6] [SDI* = 224,3 / f.40va] [QUX = 771,4-5 / f.89va]

P = all citations

ܒܪܝܫܝܬ] ܒܪܝܫܝܬܐ CPJ; ܒܪܝܫ CL[243,9],H

Jn 1.3 [Ep55 = 53,19-20 / 8,28] [CO1 = 41, 34 / f.95vb] [CO2 = 51,26-7 / f.100vc] [GL = 407,12-3]

πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἕν

C	ܟܠܡܕܡ	ܒܗ	ܗܘܐ	x	ܘܕܠܒܠܥܕܘܗܝ	x	ܐܦ	ܠܐ	ܚܕ	ܗܘܐ.
P	ܟܠ	ܐܝܬܘܗܝ	ܗܘܐ	x	ܘܕܠܒܠܥܕܘܗܝ	x	ܐܦ	ܠܐ	ܚܕ	ܗܘܐ
Ep55	ܟܠܡܕܡ	ܐܝܬܘܗܝ	ܗܘܐ	x	ܘܕܠܒܠܥܕܘܗܝ	x	ܐܦ	ܠܐ	ܚܕ	ܗܘܐ
CO1	ܗܘܐ ܟܠ	ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ	ܐ	x	<	<	<	<	<	<
CO2	ܟܠܗܘܢ	ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ	ܐ	x	<	<	<	<	<	<
GL	x	ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ	ܐ	ܟܠ	ܠ	ܡܕܡ.	x	ܘܕܠܒܠܥܕܘܗܝ	x	ܘܠܐ	ܟܠܡܕܡ	ܗܘܐ
H	ܟܠ	ܗܘܐ	x	ܐܝܬܘܗܝ	ܗܝ.	x	ܘܕܠܒܠܥܕܘܗܝ	ܗܘܐ	ܠܐ	ܐܝ	x

The perseverance of ܒܪܝܫܝܬ in Ep55/CO/GL may go back to OS, but it is also found in every allusion to this verse in CPJ (of which there are four, but each is simply Philoxenus' paraphrase and so is not fully given here), and so not too much should be built on the agreement of the citation with OS, especially in so well-quoted a verse. None of our citations show any affinity yet with H's revisions. The plural form in attested both in CO and GL. GL has stuck closely to Cyril's text regardless of its unusual word order. This is just the sort of thing that Moses of Aggel was warning against in his preface to the GL translation – his readers would find discrepancies between his translation and the Peshitta.

Jn 1.11-12 [QUX1 = 725,2-4 / f.57rb-va (v12 only)] [QUX2 = 738,22-4 / f.66rb (v11-12a only)]

P = QUX

ܐܝܠܝܢ] ܐܝܠܝܢ QUX1,2

QUX's omission of the ܠ is quite possibly erroneous.

Jn 1.13 [QUX = 724,29-30 / f.57ra]

$$\text{οὐκ ἐξ αἱμάτων οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος σαρκὸς}$$

ܕܦܝܣܐ	ܓܘܒܐ	ܡܢ	ܘܠܐ	ܒܕܡܐ	ܠܐ	C
ܕܡܒܣ	ܓܘܒܐ	ܡܢ	ܘܠܐ	ܕܡܐ ܡܢ	ܠܐ	P
ܕܦܝܣܐ	ܓܘܒܐ	ܡܢ	ܠܐ	x	x	QUX
ܕܡܒܣ	ܓܘܒܐ	ܡܢ	ܘܠܐ	ܕܡܐ ܡܢ	ܠܐ	H

$$\text{οὐδὲ ἐκ θελήματος ἀνδρὸς ἀλλ' ἐκ θεοῦ}$$

ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ	ܐܠܐ	x	x	ܐܢܫ ܒܪ ܓܘܒܐ ܡܢ ܘܠܐ	C
ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ	ܐܠܐ	x	x	ܕܓܒܪܐ ܓܘܒܐ ܡܢ ܘܠܐ	P
ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ	ܐܠܐ	ܕܡܐ ܡܢ ܘܠܐ	ܕܓܒܪܐ ܓܘܒܐ ܡܢ ܘܠܐ	QUX
ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ	ܐܠܐ		ܕܓܒܪܐ ܓܘܒܐ ܡܢ ܘܠܐ	H

QUX's sequence difference (against both his Vorlage and the versions) may be no more than making up for the error of omitting it at the start. However, ܕܦܝܣܐ is a characteristic OS hang-over.

Jn 1.14a

The allusions to this verse are too many to enumerate. The principal divergences found in the versions are: where P has just ܡܠܬܐ, H reflects the article with ܡܠܬܐ ܗܘ; OS has ܦܝܣܐ for the ܒܣܪ in P/H, and also keeps ܡܠܬܐ feminine in the verbal form ܗܘܬ rather than ܗܘܐ.

The divergences from P text found in our citations are:
Ep55 [92,32 / f.142ra] has ܦܝܣܐ
CO* [36, 12 / f.92vc] has ܒܣܪ for ܗܘܐ, although in the complete citation shortly afterwards P is followed

CPJ shows some signs of wanting to represent the article (see e.g. CPJ 6,1) but most of his allusions do not allow for it. In v14b (not cited in our texts), he has an interesting mixture of OS and H readings, which may well represent X (see 244,8-9).

Jn 1.14b [QUX 728,11-12 / f.59va]

P = QUX

ܫܪܪܐ] ܛܝܒܘ OS,H (ἀληθεία)

Jn 1.16 [EDC = 22, 2 / f.19a.1.4-6] [QUX = 746,5-6 / f.71va]

P = QUX/EDC[1]

CL [25,30; 279,5-6] = P
CPJ [245,5] has H's ܡܠܐ for P's ܐܚܝܕܐ, which may witness to X.

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[1] Save for the plene spelling ܐܝܣܪ in EDC, following C.

Jn 1.18 [CO* = 55,15 / f.102vc] [QUX = 768,39-40 / f.87vb]

P = CO*,QUX

Jn 1.29,31 (for v30 see below) [QUX1 = 748,2-8 / f.72vb] [QUX2* = 759,27-30 / f.80vb]

P = QUX

OS's different readings (such as ܪܒܝܢܐ for ܡܝܐ) are not retained in QUX.

Jn 1.30 [Ep55 = 58,4-5 / 17,14-15] [QUX = 748,5-6 / f.72vb] [QUX2* = 759,27-30 / f.80vb] [SDI = 224,18-9 / f.40vb]

ὀπίσω μου ἔρχεται ἀνὴρ ὃς ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν,

X	ܩܕܡ	ܠܗ	ܗܘܐܕ	X	X	ܓܒܪܐ	ܐܬܐ	ܕܒܬܪܝ	P
X	ܩܕܡ	ܠܗ	ܗܘܐܕ	X	X	ܓܒܪܐ	ܐܬܐ	ܕܒܬܪܝ	QUX
X	ܩܕܡ	ܠܗ	ܗܘܐܕ	X	X	ܓܒܪܐ	ܐܬܐ	ܕܒܬܪܝ	SDI
X	ܩܕܡ	ܠܗ	ܗܘܐ	ܕ	ܗܘ	ܓܒܪܐ	ܐܬܐ	ܕܒܬܪܝ	CL1/2/3
ܗܘܐ	ܩܕܡ	X	X	ܕ	ܗܘ	ܓܒܪܐ	ܐܬܐ	ܕܒܬܪܝ	Ep55
ܗܘܐ	ܩܕܡ	X	X	ܕܝܢ	ܗܘ	ܓܒܪܐ	ܐܬܐ	ܕܒܬܪܝ	H

ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν

ܡܢܝ	ܗܘ	ܕܩܕܡܝ	ܡܛܠ	P
ܡܢܝ	ܗܘ	ܕܩܕܡܝ	ܡܛܠ	QUX
ܡܢܝ	ܗܘ	ܕܩܕܡܝ	ܡܛܠ	SDI
ܡܢܝ	ܗܘ	ܕܩܕܡܝ	ܡܛܠ	CL1/2/3
ܡܢܝ	ܗܘ	ܕܩܕܡܝ	ܡܛܠ	Ep55
ܡܢܝ	X	ܕܩܕܡܝܢ	ܡܛܠ	H

CL1 = 22,1-3
CL2 = 26,23-4
CL3 = 74,23-4

While QUX and SDI are clearly following P (against OS, which is quite divergent at the beginning), CL and Ep55 are both partially revised, the latter even more than the former, towards H. They both have ܗܘ for the relative pronoun, while Ep55 goes further, dispensing with P's ܠܗ ܗܘܐ and instead placing ܗܘܐ in its Greek position, after ܩܕܡ; the last clause, however, is unrevised in all versions. If Ep55 were to be dated after X, we would certainly, on Aland's principles, be seeing X here; if it is to be dated earlier, then its method of translating must be said to have had an influence on X.

Jn 1.32-4 [CT (v33 only) = 133,29-134,1 / f.117va] [QUX = 752,10-16 / f.75va]

This verse is given in the forms found in CPJ and CL (as well as Jacob of Edessa's version of Severus' Homilies) in Aland, *Philoxenianisch*, 369-70.

καὶ ἐμαρτύρησεν Ἰωάννης λέγων ὅτι τεθέαμαι τὸ πνεῦμα καταβαῖνον

ܐܚܪܝܐ ܪܥܘܝܠ ܕܚܝܪ .ܐܡܪܘ ܥܡܐ ܐܣܡܘܐܘ P

ܐܚܪܝܐ ܪܥܘܝܠ ܘܕܚܝܪ .ܐܡܪܘ ܥܡܐ ܐܣܡܘ QUX

| < | < | < | < | < | | < | CL |

| < | < | < | < | < | | < | CPJ |

ܚܝ ܒ ܪܥܘܝܠ ܕܚܝܪ .ܐܡܪ ܒ ܥܡܐ ܐܣܡܘܐܘ H

[ὡς περιστερὰν om. QUX] ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἔμεινεν ἐπ' αὐτόν.

						x	x	P
		[x]	[x]			x	x	QUX
<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	CL
<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	CPJ
		x	x					H

33 κἀγὼ οὐκ ᾔδειν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ὁ πέμψας [ἀποστείλας CT] με βαπτίζειν ἐν ὕδατι ἐκεῖνός
[αὐτός CT] μοι εἶπεν·

...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	P
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	QUX
...	...	...	...	...	...	<	<	<		<	<	CT
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	CL
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	CPJ
...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	H

ἐφ' ὃν ἂν ἴδῃς τὸ πνεῦμα καταβαῖνον καὶ μένον ἐπ' αὐτόν,

...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	P
...	...	...	...	x	x	...	...	QUX
...	...	x	...	...	x	...	...	CT
...	...	...	...	x	...	...	...	CL
...	...		...	...	...	...	...	CPJ
...	...	x	...	...	...	...	...	H

οὗτός [αὐτός CT] ἐστιν ὁ βαπτίζων ἐν πνεύματι [τῷ add.QUX] ἁγίῳ.

...	...	...	x		x	...	P
...	...	...	x		x	...	QUX
...	...	...	x		x	...	CT
...	...	...	...	...	...	CL
...	...	...	...	...	...	CPJ
...	...	...	...	...	...	H

34 κἀγὼ ἑώρακα καὶ μεμαρτύρηκα ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ.

...	...	x	x	...	...	...	...	P
...	...	x	x	...	...	...	...	QUX
<	<	<	<	<		<	<	<	CT
...	...		...	...	...	...	...	CL

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1 CL adds ܒܝܫܐ here.

ܩܘܠܐܢ ܪܒ ,ܡܘܬܪ ܪܗܡܢ :ܒܢܡܘܪܘ ܗܘܝ ܪܝܪܘ CPJ

ܩܘܠܐܢ ܪܒ ܐܗ ,ܡܘܬܪ ܪܗܡܢ :ܒܢܡܘܪܘ ܗܘܝ ܪܝܪܘ H

Aland has already made the closeness of CL and CPJ to H quite clear.

QUX and CT are only a little divergent from P. This is partly due to the Greek syntactic variants in Cyril, but more is due to the translators not using their versions closely. Especially note the reading ܗܘܝ (P/H ܪܘ) for the subjunctive ἴδης in both CT and QUX.

QUX has readings of an H-type in a few places, such as in the substitution of ܐܗ for ܡ and ܪܘܪ respectively in v33 (CT uses ܐܗ and ܡ).

Jn 2.19 [CO = 47,33 / f.98vc] [CT1 = 114,19 / f.110rb] [CT2 = 114,22-3 / f.110rb] [CT3* = 130,6 / f.116rc] [CT4 = 144,27-8 / f.121vc] [QUX = 767,41-2 / f.87ra]

λύσατε τὸν ναὸν τοῦτον καὶ ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἐγερῶ αὐτόν.

ܠܗ	ܪܝܪ	ܒܡܣ	ܪܝܪ	ܗܣܕ	ܪܠܝܠܐ	ܗܡ	ܪܝܒܣ	ܐܝܗܟ	P
ܠܗ	ܪܝܪ	ܒܡܣ		ܗܣܕ	ܪܠܝܠܐ	ܗܡ	ܪܝܒܠܗ	,ܡܗܪܒ	QUX
ܠܗ	ܪܝܪ	ܒܡܣ	X	ܗܣܕ	ܪܠܝܗܣܐ	ܗܡ	ܪܝܒܣ	ܐܝܗܟ	CO
ܠܗ	ܪܝܪ	ܒܡܣ	X	ܗܣܕ	ܪܠܝܗܣܐ	ܗܡ	ܪܝܒܣ	ܐܒ	CT1
ܠܗ	ܪܝܪ	ܒܡܣ	X	ܗܣܕ	ܪܠܝܗܣܐ	ܗܡ	ܪܝܒܣ	ܐܝܗܟ	CT2
ܠܗ	ܪܝܪ	ܒܡܣ	X	ܗܣܕ	ܪܠܝܗܣܐ	ܗܡ	ܪܝܒܠܗ	ܐܒ	CT4
ܠܗ	ܪܝܪ	ܒܡܣ	X	ܪܗܣܕ	ܪܠܝܗܣܐ	ܗܡ	ܪܝܒܠܗ	ܐܒ	H

ܐܝܗܟ] ,ܐܒܪܢ CT3* (representing λυθέντα)

As Barbara Aland has pointed out, the translators do not 'quote' the Philoxenian; they 'use' it, sometimes more and sometimes less. In CT, in particular, we see this well demonstrated. CT1 and 4 both use ܐܒ in anticipation of H, but only CT4 prefixes the definite direct object ܪܝܒܣ with ܠ, as H does regularly. QUX does both, however, although also adding the proleptic object, which H would never have done. CO and CT both prefer ܒ to ܠ for ἐν (as does H against P) but neither ever anticipates H's emphatic form ܪܗܣܕ. The 'in between' nature of the citations in CT is quite evident.

Jn 3.6 [Ep50 = 91,16 / f.141ra] [CO = 35,23 / f.92va]

τὸ γεγεννημένον ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς σάρξ ἐστιν

ܐܗ	ܪܣܪܐ	ܪܣܪܐ	ܡ	ܐܝܠܕ	ܡܕܡ	P
ܐܗ	ܪܣܪܐ	ܪܣܪܐ	ܡ	ܐܝܠܕ	ܡܕܡ	Ep50
,ܡܘܬܪ	ܪܝܓܐ	ܪܝܓܐ	ܡ	ܐܝܠܕܬ	ܐܗ	CO
,ܡܘܬܪ	ܪܣܪܐ	ܪܣܪܐ	ܡ	ܐܝܠܕ	ܐܗ	H

An example of just how 'mixed' these versions can be. The use of ܪܝܓܐ for σάρξ (CO) is unusual in the Biblical versions, though it does come up in differing degrees in our texts. Its relative absence from both OS and P is evidence enough that it need not be considered an 'early' usage. On the other hand, CO shows syntactical revision in the direction of H, with both the demonstrative for the article, and ,ܡܘܬܪ for ἐστιν. Unfortunately, there is no parallel in CPJ, ML or CL for comparison.

Jn 3.12 [QUX = 747,25-6 / f.72va]

εἰ τὰ ἐπίγεια εἶπον ὑμῖν καὶ οὐ πιστεύετε,

ܘܐܢܬܘܢ	ܡܗܝܡܢܝܢ	ܘܠܐ	ܠܟܘܢ	ܐܡܪܬ	ܐܝܟ	ܕܐܪܥܐ	ܐܠܝܢ	ܐܢ	C/S
ܘܐܢܬܘܢ	ܡܗܝܡܢܝܢ	ܘܠܐ	ܠܟܘܢ	ܐܡܪܬ	x	ܕܐܪܥܐ	x	x	ܐܢ	P
ܘܐܢܬܘܢ	ܡܗܝܡܢܝܢ	ܘܠܐ	ܠܟܘܢ	ܐܡܪܬ	x	ܕܐܪܥܐ	ܐܠܝܢ	x	ܐܢ	QUX
ܘܐܢܬܘܢ	ܡܗܝܡܢܝܢ	ܘܠܐ	ܠܟܘܢ	ܐܡܪܬ	x	ܕܐܪܥܢܝܬܐ	ܐܠܝܢ	x	ܐܢ	H

πῶς ἐὰν εἴπω ὑμῖν τὰ ἐπουράνια πιστεύσετε;

ܬܗܝܡܢܘܢ	x	x	ܠܟܘܢ	ܐܡܪ	ܐܝܟ	ܕܒܫܡܝܐ	ܐܠܝܢ	ܐܢ	ܐܝܟܢܐ	C/S
ܬܗܝܡܢܘܢ	ܕܒܫܡܝܐ	x	ܠܟܘܢ	ܐܡܪ	x	x	x	x	ܐܢ	ܐܝܟܢܐ	P
ܡܗܝܡܢܘܢ	ܕܒܫܡܝܐ	ܐܠܝܢ	ܠܟܘܢ	ܐܡܪ	x	x	x	x	ܐܢ	ܐܝܟܢܐ	QUX
ܬܗܝܡܢܘܢ	ܕܒܫܡܝܐ	ܐܠܝܢ	ܠܟܘܢ	ܐܡܪ	x	x	x	x	ܐܢ	ܐܝܟܢܐ	H

QUX's omission of the suffix on the final verb is in line with Cyril's citation. But we can see here clearly the stages of revision in translating the indefinite pronoun, from ܐܠܝܢ (OS), through ܐܠܝܢ (QUX), to ܐܢܝܢ (H). QUX lies in the middle of this development.

Jn 3.13 [Ep39 = 18,19-20 / f.151rb] [CO1 = 42, 3-4 / f.95vc] [CO2 = 60,25-6 / f.105va] [Ep101 = 545] [QUX = 747,27-8 / f.72va] [SDI = 229,8-9 / f.45vb]

v13a
P = Ep39,CO,Ep101,QUX,SDI

ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܡܢ ܕܢܚܬ] ܕܢܚܬ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܡܢ CO2,H
ܐܠܐ] ܐܢ ܐܠܐ QUX,Ep101,H [= εἰ μὴ]

CO2's sequence difference is based on the Vorlage. QUX's ܐܢ ܐܠܐ prefigures H's lexical revision.

v13b [CO1,Ep101 only]

P = CO1,Ep101

ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ] ܗܘܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ OS,RF,CO,CPJ237,25-6 [but H ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ]

This reading was pointed out by Vööbus as an OS remnant in the RF, which is found in the Curetonian and also in Aphrahat and the Syriac version of the Apollinarian *De Fide*. He traced it to the Diatessaron[1]. To add to Vööbus' point, we may now add CO and Ep101 to this testimony. However, the fact that CO also revises word order (as in v13a) prevents us from concluding that there is necessarily any deliberate rejection of gospels other than that of the OS type. In addition, where Philoxenus alludes to the verse in CPJ, he uses the past tense ܗܘܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ as well – it was evidently a natural expression for him, which may indeed be explained by the persistence of OS readings in the common mind, but not necessarily by the presence of such readings in the copies on Philoxenus' desk.

Jn 3.16 [QUX = 768,30 / f.87va]

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[1] Vööbus, *Rabbula*, 24-5, Vööbus, *Gospel Text 1*, 182,5. See also Jn 14.9 below.

οὕτως γὰρ ἠγάπησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν κόσμον, ὥστε τὸν υἱὸν τὸν μονογενῆ ἔδωκεν,

ܝ̈ܚܝ	ܚܝܘܗܝ	x	x	ܕܒܪܗ	ܐܝܟ	ܠܥܠܡܐ	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܚܒ	ܗܟܢܐ	S
ܗܘ	ܝܚܝܕ	x	x	ܕܒܪܗ	ܐܝܟ.	ܠܥܠܡܐ.	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܚܒ	ܗܟܢܐ	C
ܬܠ	ܝܚܝܕܐ	x	x	ܕܒܪܗ	ܐܝܟ	ܠܥܠܡܐ.	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܚܒ	ܗܟܢܐ	P
ܗܘ	ܝܚܝܕܐ	x	x	ܕܒܪܗ	ܐܝܟ	ܠܥܠܡܐ.	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܚܒ	ܗܟܢܐ	QUX
ܗܘ	ܚܝܘܗܝ	ܐܘܗ	ܠܗ.ܕ	ܕܒܪܗ	ܐܝܟ	ܠܥܠܡܐ.	ܐܠܗܐ	ܐܚܒ	ܗܟܢܐ	H

ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων εἰς αὐτὸν μὴ ἀπόληται

ܐܒܕ	ܠܐ	ܒܗ	ܕܡܗܝܡܢ	ܡܢ	ܕܟܠ	S
x	x	ܒܗ	ܕܡܗܝܡܢ	ܐܝܢ	ܕܟܠ	C
ܐܒܕ	ܠܐ	ܒܗ.	ܕܡܗܝܡܢ	ܡܢ	ܕܟܠ	P
ܐܒܕܘ	ܠܐ	ܒܗ.	ܕܡܗܝܡܢ	ܐܢܫ	ܕܟܠ	QUX
ܐܒܕ	ܠܐ	ܒܗ	ܕܡܗܝܡܢ	ܟܠ	ܕܟܠ	H

ἀλλ’ ἔχη ζωὴν αἰώνιον.

ܠܗ	ܐܝܬ	ܕܠܥܠܡ	ܚܝܐ	x	x	x	S
x	x	ܕܠܥܠܡ	ܚܝܐ	ܠܗ	x	ܢܗܘܘܢ	C
x	x	ܕܠܥܠܡ	ܚܝܐ	ܠܗ	x	ܢܗܘܘܢ	P
x	x	ܕܠܥܠܡ	ܚܝܐ	ܠܗ	x	ܢܗܘܘܢ	QUX
x	x	ܕܠܥܠܡ	ܚܝܐ	ܠܗ	ܐܝܬ	ܢܗܘܘܢ	H

There is a simplification involved in QUX's omission of ܐܝܟ for ὥστε, and of the ܠ preceding ܒܪܗ, which identifies it as the object of the giving. C and H's reading ܢܗܘܘ is preferred to P's impf ܢܗܘܐ. The relationship between the two parts of the sentence is expressed with ܘ rather than ܕ, which is again a very significant simplification, as all the versions agree on the use of ܕ. QUX is thus being quite free with his citing technique.

Jn 3.31 [Ep55 = 54,2-3 / 9,27] [QUX1 = 723,23-4 / f.56rb-va] [QUX2 = 751,24-6 / f.75rb] [QUX3 = 771,37-8 / f.90ra]

P = Ep55,QUX1,2,3 [also CL 76,12-3]

ܡܢ ܠܥܠ] ܡܢ ܕܠܥܠ QUX1
ܗܘ] ܐܝܬܘܗܝ H (bis), et CPJ 216,19

Ep55 (and CL) does not follow the usual line of ܐܝܬܘܗܝ for ἐστίν as H and CPJ do. QUX1 is only a little independent of P and the translator knows the correct P wording (which is found in QUX 2,3).

Jn 3.34 [EDC* = 22, 11 / f.19ra]

P = EDC*

ܒܟܝܠܐ] ܒܡܘܬܐ EDC; ܒܟܝܠ OS [H has P's ܒܟܝܠܐ] (for μέτρον)

Jn 4.6 [Ep45 = 155,21 / 44,19] [CT = 124,23-4 / f.114rb] [AT* = 154,7-8 / 464,7] [QUX* = 758,12 / f.79vb]

The quote in Cyril is only an allusion, καμεῖν ἐξ ὁδοιπορίας (Jn 4.6 κεκοπιακὼς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας), but the translations are closer to the Biblical version, and are revealing nevertheless.

ܪܕܝܘܪ.ܐ	ܪܠܡܐ	ܡܢ	ܪܐܘܣ	ܐܪܐܠ	P
ܪܕܝܘܪ.ܐ	ܪܠܡܐ	ܡܢ	x	ܐܪܠ	Ep45
ܪܕܝܘܪ.ܐ	ܪܚܘܐܝܒܢ	ܡܢ	x	ܐܪܠ	CT
ܪܕܝܘܪܒ		x	x	x	ܐܪܠ	AT
ܪܕܝܘܪ.ܐ	ܪܚܘܐܝܒܢ	ܡܢ	x	ܐܪܠ	H

CT is clearly quoting an identical version to H, and this is most likely to have been the reading of X also. AT probably knows this as well, but the allusion is quite vague. Ep45 is half way there, with the perfect rather than the ptc form of the verb.

Jn 4.22 [SDI = 230,6 / f.46vb] [QUX = 765,28-30 / f.85rb]

ὑμεῖς προσκυνεῖτε ὃ οὐκ οἴδατε· ἡμεῖς προσκυνοῦμεν

ܦܠܟܣ ܦܝܘܪ	x	ܦܝܝܪܐ	ܘܐܘܪ	ܦܚ.ܢ	ܪܠܐ	[1]ܪܙܐܠ	ܘܐܘܪ	ܦܝܠܟܣ	ܘܐܘܪ	C/S
ܦܘ ܦܝܠܟܣ ܦܐ	ܦܘ	.ܘܐܘܪ	ܦܚ.ܢ	ܪܠܐ	ܝܒܙܐܠ	.ܘܐܘܪ	ܦܝܠܟܣ	ܘܐܘܪ	P
ܦܘ ܦܝܠܟܣ ܦܐ	ܦܘ	.ܘܐܘܪ	ܦܚ.ܢ	ܪܠܐ	ܝܒܙܐܠ	ܘܐܘܪ	ܦܝܠܟܣ	ܘܐܘܪ	QUX
ܦܒܠܟܣ ܦܐ	ܦܘ	.ܘܐܘܪ	ܦܚ.ܢ	ܪܠܐ	ܪܙܐܠ	ܘܐܘܪ	ܦܝܠܟܣ	ܘܐܘܪ	SDI
ܦܒܠܟܣ	ܦܘ	.ܘܐܘܪ	ܦܚ.ܢ	ܪܠܐ	ܐܘܐܠ	ܘܐܘܪ	ܦܝܠܟܣ	ܘܐܘܪ	H

ὃ οἴδαμεν, ὅτι ἡ σωτηρία ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐστίν.

ܘܐܘܪ	ܪܝܐܘܣܢ	ܡܢ	ܪܠܘܢܐ	x	ܦܝܝܪ ܦܚ.ܝ.ܢ	[2]ܪܙܐܠ	C/S
ܘܐܘܪ	ܪܒܐܘܣܢ	ܡܢ	ܪܠܘܝ	x	ܦܘ ܦܚ.ܝ.ܢ	ܪܙܐܠ	P
.ܘܐܘܪ	ܪܒܐܘܣܢ	ܡܢ	ܪܠܘܢܐ	x	ܦܚ.ܝ.ܢ	ܝܒܙܐܠ	QUX
<	<	<	<	<	ܦܘ ܦܚ.ܝ.ܢ	ܪܙܐܠ	SDI
ܝܣܘܐܘܪ	ܪܒܐܘܣܢ	ܡܢ	ܪܠܘܝܐܦܐ	ܐܠܡܢ	.ܦܚ.ܝ.ܢ	ܐܘܐܠ	H

The two instances of ὃ are rendered differently in P, once as ܝܒܙ once as ܪܠܐ, in the former instance agreeing with C, in the latter with S. SDI uses ܪܠܐ for the former, thus apparently showing an OS reading, though the influence of P's ܪܠܐ for the second instance is just as likely a cause. QUX has ܝܒܙ for both and again no OS influence need be posited.

Jn 4.24 [Ep50* = 91,20 / f.141ra] [AT1* = 14021 / 454,3] [AT2* = 164,16 / 472,9]

P = Ep50*,AT1*,AT2*

Jn 5.21 [CO = 41,28-30 / f.95vb] [QUX* = 767,38-9 / f.87ra]

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[1] sic S; ܝܒܙܐܠ C.
[2] sic S; ܝܒܙܐܠ C.

P = CO

QUX (Gk) cites the verse in the following manner (somewhat differently from the normal text):

ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ οὓς θέλει ζῳοποιεῖ οὕτω καὶ ὁ υἱὸς οὓς θέλει ζῳοποιεῖ
which is rendered in Syriac as:

ܐܚܝܐ ܐܢܘܢܐ ܕܐܒܐ ܕܓܝܪ ܐܝܟܢܐ

Thus QUX takes extensive liberties with Cyril's text by omitting the latter part of the verse entirely, instead making up a composite citation from the words of the Peshitta version.

Jn 5.22-3 [Ep50 = 99,11-12 / f.146va]

οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ κρίνει [κρινεῖ Ep55, Schwartz's accentuation] οὐδένα,

ܠܐܢܫ	ܠܐ	ܕܐܝܢ	x	x	ܠܗ	ܐܒܐ	x	C
ܠܐܢܫ	ܠܐ	ܕܐܝܢ	x	x	[x]	ܐܒܐ	x	Ep50
x	x	ܕܐܝܢ	x	ܓܝܪ	x	ܐܒܐ	ܠܗ	P
x	x	ܕܐܝܢ	ܠܐܘ	ܓܝܪ	x	ܐܒܐ	ܠܗ	H

ἀλλὰ τὴν κρίσιν πᾶσαν [πᾶσαν κρίσιν Ep50] δέδωκεν τῷ υἱῷ,

ܝܗܒܗ	ܠܒܪܗ		ܕܝܢܐ	ܟܠܗ	ܐܠܐ
x	ܠܒܪܐ	ܝܗܒܗ	ܕܝܢܐ	ܟܠܗ	ܐܠܐ	Ep50
x	ܠܒܪܐ	ܝܗܒܗ	ܕܝܢܐ	ܟܠܗ	ܐܠܐ	P
x	ܠܒܪܐ	ܝܗܒܗ	ܕܝܢܐ		ܐܠܐ	H

ἵνα πάντες τιμῶσι τὸν υἱὸν καθὼς τιμῶσι τὸν πατέρα.

ܠܐܒܐ	ܕܡܝܩܪܝܢ	x	ܐܝܟ	ܠܒܪܐ	ܢܝܩܪ	ܐܝܟ	ܕܟܠ	x	C
ܠܐܒܐ	ܕܡܝܩܪܝܢ	x	ܐܝܟ	ܠܒܪܐ	ܢܝܩܪ	ܐܝܟ	ܕܟܠ	x	Ep50
ܠܐܒܐ	ܕܡܝܩܪܝܢ	x	ܐܝܟ	ܠܒܪܐ	ܢܝܩܪ	ܟܠܗ	x	P
ܠܐܒܐ	ܕܡܝܩܪܝܢ	ܐܝܟ	ܐܝܟ	ܠܒܪܐ	ܢܝܩܪ	ܟܠܗܘܢ	H

The close agreement between OS and Ep50 is quite apparent here (this is not a passage examined in Vööbus' enquiries), but P is followed for the rendering of δέδωκεν. OS and Ep50, like Schwartz, but not most NT editors, have interpreted κρινει as future rather than present. Ep50 is far from the revised version in H.

Jn 5.37b [AT1 = no Gk / 450,2] [AT2 = 166,20-1 / 474,3-4]

οὔτε φωνὴν αὐτοῦ πώποτε ἀκηκόατε [ἀκηκόατε πώποτε AT] οὔτε εἶδος αὐτοῦ ἑωράκατε

ܚܙܝܬܘܢ	x	ܕܝܠܗ	ܘܠܐ	ܫܡܥܬܘܢ	ܡܬܘܡ	ܩܠܗ	ܠܐ	P
ܚܙܝܬܘܢ	x	ܕܝܠܗ	ܘܠܐ	ܫܡܥܬܘܢ	ܡܬܘܡ	ܩܠܗ	ܠܐ	AT1
ܚܙܝܬܘܢ	x	ܕܝܠܗ	ܘܠܐ	ܫܡܥܬܘܢ	x	ܩܠܗ	ܠܐ	AT2
ܚܙܝܬܘܢ	ܕܡܢ	ܚܙܘܐ	ܘܠܐ	ܫܡܥܬܘܢ	ܡܬܘܡ	ܩܠܗ	ܠܐ	H

Where P and H differ, AT follows P. AT2's omission of ܝܘܚܢܢ appears to have resulted from Cyril's sequence change – with ἀκηκόατε being placed immediately after αὐτοῦ, the translator, knowing his Peshitta text, has skipped straight on to ܘܠܐ and omitted ܝܘܚܢܢ.

Jn 5.39 [GL* = 404]

Jn 6.33 [CO = 59,6 / f.104vc] [CT = 124,25 / f.114vb]

P = CO,CT,H

Jn 6.38-9 [CO* = 41,21 / f.95va] [QUX = 771,27-31 / f.90ra]

ὅτι καταβέβηκα ἀπὸ [ἐξ QUX] τοῦ οὐρανοῦ οὐχ ἵνα ποιῶ τὸ θέλημα τὸ ἐμὸν ἀλλὰ τὸ θέλημα
τοῦ πέμψαντός με.

X	ܕܒܣ̈ܡ	ܕܐܒܐ	ܗܘܐ ܠܐ	ܨܒܝܢ	ܡܢ	ܕܢܚܬܬ	P
X	ܕܒܣ̈ܡ	ܕܐܒܐ	ܗܘܐ ܠܐ	ܨܒܝܢ	ܡܢ	ܕܢܚܬܬ	QUX
<	ܕܒܣ̈ܡ	ܕܒܣ̈	<	<	<		CO*
ܕܠܝ	ܨܒܝܢ	ܕܐܒܐ		ܠܐ	ܨܒܝܢ	ܡܢ ܕܢܚܬܬ	H

τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με, ἵνα πᾶν ὃ δέδωκέν μοι μὴ ἀπολέσω ἐξ αὐτοῦ,

ܕܫܠܚܢܝ	X	ܡܢܗ	ܨܒܝܢܗ	X	ܡܕܡ	ܗܘ	ܕܫܠܚ	ܡܢܗ	ܨܒܝܢܗ ܕܐܒܐ	ܐܠܐ P
ܕܫܠܚܢܝ	X	ܗܘ ܕ	ܨܒܝܢܗ	ܡܘܗܒܬܐ	ܡܕܡ	ܗܘܐ	ܕܫܠܚ	ܗܘ ܕ	ܨܒܝܢܗ	X ܐܠܐ QUX
ܕܫܠܚܢܝ	ܗܘ ܕ	ܕܐܒܐ	ܨܒܝܢܗ	ܡܘܗܒܬܐ	ܡܕܡ	ܗܘܐ	ܕܫܠܚ	ܗܘ ܕ	ܨܒܝܢܗ	X ܐܠܐ H

ἀλλὰ ἀναστήσω αὐτὸ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

ܐܚܪܝܐ	ܒܝܘܡܐ	ܐܩܝܡܝܘܗܝ	ܐܠܐ	ܡܕܡ	ܐܘܒܕ	ܠܐ	ܕ	ܕܗܘ		ܒܝܘܡ P
ܐܚܪܝܐ	ܒܝܘܡܐ	ܐܩܝܡܝܘܗܝ	ܐܠܐ	ܡܕܡ	ܐܘܒܕ	ܠܐ	ܕ	ܕܗܘ	ܒܝܘܡ	ܒܝܘܡ QUX
ܐܚܪܝܐ	ܒܝܘܡܐ	ܐܩܝܡܝܘܗܝ	ܐܠܐ	ܡܕܡ	ܐܘܒܕ	ܠܐ	ܕ	ܕܗܘ	ܒܝܘܡ	H

Note especially ܕ ܗܘ for ܕ ܡܢܗ, and ܡܘܗܒܬܐ ܕ ܗܘܐ for ܕ ܗܘ, indications of revision towards H in QUX.

Jn 6.42 [QUX = 761,32 / f.82rb]

οὐχ οὗτός ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς ὁ υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ [ὁ τοῦ τέκτονος υἱὸς Cyr //Mt 13.55]; πῶς νῦν λέγει ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβέβηκα;

ܕܢܚܬ	ܨܒܝܢ	ܕܗܢ	ܗܘ	ܐܡܪ	ܐܝܟܢܐ	ܕܝܘܣܦ	ܗܒܪ	ܗܘ	ܗܘܐ ܠܐ	P
ܕܢܚܬ	ܨܒܝܢ	ܕܗܢ		ܐܡܪ	ܐܝܟܢܐ	ܕܢܓܪܐ	ܗܒܪ	ܗܘ ܗܘ	ܗܘܐ ܠܐ	QUX

ܕܢܓܪܐ is from Peshitta Mt 13.55. The Curetonian also confuses the two verses in a similar fashion, but QUX's text is simply the result of adapting P to Cyril's way of citing.

Jn 6.44 [Ep50 = 98,20-1 / f.145vb]

P = Ep50

~r̈ ܐܠܐ] ܐܠܐ Ep50

Jn 6.51a,c [CO59,5-7 / f.104vc] [CT1 = 124,24-5 / f.114rb] [CT2 = 144,1-2 / f.121va] [QUX = 776,25-9 / f.94ra]

ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἄρτος ὁ ζῶν ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καταβάς...

·ܚܝܬܐ	ܡܚܡܐ	ܕܡܢ	x	x	·ܗܘ	ܠܚܡܐ	x	ܐܢܐ	ܐܢܐ		P
x	·ܡܚܡܐ	ܡܢ	ܕܚܝܬܐ	x	ܗܘ	ܠܚܡܐ	x	ܐܢܐ	ܐܢܐ		QUX
·ܚܝ	ܡܚܡܐ	ܕܡܢ	x	ܗܘ	·ܗܘܢ	ܠܚܡܐ	x	ܐܢܐ	ܐܢܐ		CO
x	ܡܚܡܐ	ܡܢ	ܕܚܝ	x	·ܗܘ	ܠܚܡܐ	<	<	<		CT1
·ܚܝ	ܡܚܡܐ	ܕܡܢ	x	ܗܘ	·ܗܘ	ܠܚܡܐ	ܗܘ	·ܐܝܪ	ܐܢܐ		H

...καὶ ὁ ἄρτος δὲ ὃν ἐγὼ δώσω ἡ σάρξ μού ἐστιν

·ܗܘ	x	·ܦܓܪܝ	·ܐܝܬܘ	ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ	ܗܝ	x	ܕܡܬܠ P
·ܡܘܗܒܬܐ	x	·ܦܓܪܝ	:ܐܝܬܘ	ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ	x	ܕܝ	ܠܚܡܐ QUX
·ܗܘ	x	·ܦܓܪܝ	·ܐܝܬܘ	ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ	ܗܘ	ܕܝ	ܕܡܬܠ CO
·ܗܘ	x	·ܦܓܪܝ	·ܐܝܬܘ	ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ	ܗܘ	x	ܠܚܡܐ CT2
·ܡܘܗܒܬܐ	ܕܠܗ	ܟܝܒܐ	·ܐܝܬܘ	ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ	ܗܘ	ܕܝ	ܕܡܬܠ H

[ἣν ἐγώ δώσω add. Maj] ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου ζωῆς

x	x	x	x	ܐܢܐ	ܕܣܒ	x	x	ܕܥܠܡܐ	·ܚܝܘܗܝ	ܝܗܒ ܕܒܣܪܐ	P
ܕܥܠܡܐ	·ܚܝܘܗܝ	ܚܠܦ	x	x	·ܕܣܒܬܡܢ	x	x	x	x	x x	QUX
ܕܥܠܡܐ	·ܚܝܘܗܝ	ܚܠܦܘܗܝ	x	[x]	[x]	[x]	[x]	x	x	x x	CO
x	x	x	ܐܠܗ	ܐܢܐ	·ܣܒ	x	x	ܕܥܠܡܐ	·ܚܝܘܗܝ	·ܦܪ ܝܗܒ	CT2
ܕܥܠܡܐ	·ܚܝ	ܚܠܦ	x	ܐܢܐ	·ܣܒ	ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ	ܗܘ	x	x	x x	H

CO and QUX show the tendencies of revision, e.g. the demonstrative for the resumptive article, the masculine treatment of the verb καταβάς because the referent is Jesus, rather than ܠܚܡܐ, and most especially in the last clause where CO and H agree in structure quite dramatically against P (CO's omission of the extra relative clause ἣν ἐγὼ δώσω is due to its absence from Cyril's text). Note also QUX's use of ·ܡܘܗܒܬܐ for ἐστιν. CT, on the other hand, while having the same characteristics of syntax as CO, follows P for this last clause, even to the extent of including the extra word (ܕܣܒܬܡܢ) against his Vorlage – further clear evidence that these translators are 'using' their existing versions quite loosely. Thus although they keep P's ܝܗܒ, CO, if not also CT, can be said again to be firmly within the X/H tradition in terms of its citations.

Jn 6.53 [Ep55 = 60,7-9 / 21,17-20] [CT = 143,24-6 / f.121va] [QUX = 776,40-2 / f.94rb]

P = CT,QUX,Ep55

ܐܠܐ] ~r̈ ܐܠܐ H
ܐܟܠܝܢܟܘܢ] ܐܟܠ H
ܝܗܒ] ܝܗܒܬ Ep55,H

Ep55's revision of ܪ‍ܝܢܐ to ܪ‍ܝܡܢ is typical of his method generally – otherwise his text is as P, distinctively so in the case of ܩܘܡܢܘܡܢ, which is found in P against OS as well as H.

Jn 6.54 [Ep101* = 546]

Jn 6.56 [CO = 59,16-7 / f.105ra] [CT = 143,26-144,1 / f.121va]

P = CO,CT

ܕ ܡܢ] ܕ ܗܘ CO,CT,H
ܪܝܢܐ] ܪܝܡܢ H

CT/CO's use of ܪܝܢܐ is typical for this translator, and H's ܪܝܡܢ predictable. ܕ ܗܘ for ܕ ܡܢ is a revision generally typical of all our versions.

Jn 6.57 [CO = 59,17-8 / f.105ra] [EDC = 25, 8-9 / f.2va (EDC1) / f.20vb (EDC2)]

καθὼς ἀπέστειλέν με ὁ ζῶν πατὴρ κἀγὼ ζῶ διὰ τὸν πατέρα,

.ܐܒܐ	ܡܛܠ	ܐܢܐ	ܚܝ	ܘܐܦ‍ܐ	x	.ܚܝܐ	x	ܐܒܐ	ܕܫܕܪܢܝ	ܐܝܟܢܐ	P
.ܐܒܐ	ܡܛܠ	ܐܢܐ	ܚܝ	ܐܦ‍ܐ	ܐܦ	ܚܝܐ	x	ܐܒܐ	ܕܫܕܪܢܝ	ܐܝܟ	EDC1
<	<	<	<		<	<	.ܚܝܐ	x	ܐܒܐ	ܕܫܠܚܢܝ	ܐܝܟ	CO
.ܐܒܐ	ܡܛܠ	ܐܢܐ	ܚܝ	ܐܦ‍ܐ	ܐܦ	.ܚܝܐ	x	ܐܒܐ	ܕܫܕܪܢܝ	ܐܝܟܢܐ	EDC2
.ܐܒܐ	ܡܛܠ	ܐܢܐ	ܚܝ	ܘܐܦ‍ܐ	x	.ܚܝܐ	ܗܘ	ܐܒܐ	ܕܫܕܪܢܝ	ܐܝܟܢܐ	H

καὶ ὁ τρώγων με κἀκεῖνος ζήσει δι' ἐμέ

,ܡܛܠܬܝ	ܚܝܐ	ܗܘ	ܐܦ	x	ܕܐܟܠܠܝ	ܘܡܢ	P
,ܡܛܠܬܝ	ܚܝܐ	x	x	ܠܝ	ܕܐܟܠ	ܘܗܘ	EDC1
,ܡܛܠܬܝ	ܚܝܐ	ܗܘ	ܐܦ	ܠܝ	ܕܐܟܠ	ܘܐܝܢܐ	EDC2
,ܡܛܠܬܝ	ܐܝܢܐ	ܗܘ	ܐܦ	.ܠܝ	ܕܐܟܠ	ܗܘ	H

CO's choice of ܫܠܚ for ἀποστέλλω is typical of his version – it prefers the term to ܫܕܪ in most cases. EDC1/2 has revised P's text a little, such as in the use of ܠ for the definite object με, but the revision is not very significant, and ܐܝܢܐ is not much of an advance from ܡܢ towards ܗܘ for the indefinite pronoun.

Jn 6.62 [CO = 42,5-6 / f.95vc]

ἐὰν οὖν θεωρῆτε [ἴδητε CO] τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀναβαίνοντα ὅπου ἦν τὸ πρότερον

ܩܕܝܡ	ܡܢ	ܗܘܐ	,ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ	ܠܐܝܟܐ	ܕܣܠܩ	ܕܐܢܫܐ	ܠܒܪܗ	ܗܟܝܠ	ܬܚܙܘܢ	x	ܐܢ P
ܩܕܝܡ	ܡܢ	ܗܘܐ	,ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ	ܠܐܝܟܐ	ܕܣܠܩ	ܕܐܢܫܐ	ܠܒܪܗ	x	,ܬܚܙܘܢ	[x]	ܐܢ CPJ
ܩܕܝܡ	ܡܢ	ܗܘܐ	,ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ	ܠܐܝܢܐ	ܕܣܠܩ	ܕܐܢܫܐ	ܠܒܪܗ	x	,ܬܚܙܘܢ	ܗܟܝܠ	ܐܢ CO
ܩܕܝܡ	ܡܢ	ܗܘܐ	,ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ	ܠܐܝܢܐ	ܕܣܠܩ	ܕܐܢܫܐ	ܠܒܪܗ	x	ܬܚܙܘܢ	ܗܟܝܠ	ܐܢ H

CPJ = 238,9-10

CPJ's omission of ‎ܠܗܘ‎ may be due to contextualising the citation. According to Aland's criterion of the agreement between CPJ and another translated text, ‎ܬܚܘܝܬܐ‎ should be considered an X reading. The question remains whether ‎ܬܘܪܐ‎ or ‎ܐܝܬܝ‎ was present in X – if the former, then CO has gone beyond it in anticipating H.

Jn 6.63 [EDC = 25, 6f. / f.20vb] [CO = 60,11 / f.105rc]

$$\text{τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν τὸ ζωοποιοῦν, ἡ σὰρξ οὐκ ὠφελεῖ οὐδέν}$$

‎ܡܕܡ‎	x	‎ܚܝܐ‎	‎ܠܐ‎	x	‎ܒܣܪܐ‎	.‎ܕܡܚܐ‎	x	‎ܗܘ‎	‎ܪܘܚܐ‎ P
<	<	<	<	<	<	.‎ܕܡܚܐ‎	,‎ܗܘ‎	‎ܐܝܬܘܗܝ‎	‎ܪܘܚܐ‎ CO
x	x	‎ܚܝܐ‎	‎ܠܐ‎	‎ܡܕܡ‎	‎ܒܣܪܐ‎	‎ܕܡܚܐ‎	x	‎ܗܘ‎	‎ܪܘܚܐ‎ EDC1
x	x	‎ܚܝܐ‎	‎ܠܐ‎	‎ܡܕܡ‎	‎ܒܣܡ‎	.‎ܕܡܚܐ‎	x	‎ܗܘ‎	‎ܪܘܚܐ‎ EDC2
‎ܡܕܡ‎	‎ܘܠܐ‎	‎ܝܘܬܪܢ‎	‎ܠܐ‎	x	‎ܒܣܡ‎	.‎ܕܡܐܚܐ‎	‎ܗܘ‎	,‎ܡܥܒܕܢ‎	‎ܪܘܚܐ‎ H

Note that EDC has the two clauses in the reverse order, in the Syriac as well as the Greek.

Again we can see some a mixed level of revision. EDC and CO can be seen to have revised P in different ways. CO has used ‎ܐܝܬܘ‎ for ἐστιν and the demonstrative for the article before the participle, both techniques used normally in H, but ‎ܪܘܚܐ‎ is still treated as feminine, while in EDC the syntax is still that of P but ‎ܪܘܚܐ‎ is being treated as masculine, both in the pronoun and the form of the ptc. (‎ܕܡܚܐ‎ and ‎ܕܡܐܚܐ‎ being orthographic variants only), a style associated with Philoxenus and also later with H. EDC2 has altered EDC1's Peshitta-term ‎ܒܣܪܐ‎ to ‎ܒܣܡ‎ (as it does throughout its text), yet has not arrived at H's ‎ܝܘܬܪܢ‎ for ὠφελεῖ.

Jn 7.15 [SDI = 223,26 / f.31vb]

$$\text{πῶς οὗτος γράμματα οἶδεν μὴ μεμαθηκώς;}$$

‎ܝܠܦ‎	‎ܠܐ‎	‎ܟܕ‎	‎ܣܦܪܐ‎	‎ܗܢܐ‎	‎ܝܕܥ‎		x	xx ‎ܐܝܟܢܐ‎ P
‎ܝܠܦ‎	‎ܘܠܐ‎	‎ܣܦܪܐ‎	x	‎ܝܕܥ‎		x	‎ܗܢܐ‎	‎ܐܝܟܢܐ‎ SDI
‎ܝܠܦ‎	‎ܠܐ‎	‎ܟܕ‎	x	x	‎ܝܕܥ‎	‎ܟܬܝܒܬܐ‎	‎ܗܢܐ‎	‎ܐܝܟܢܐ‎ H

SDI's has P's vocabulary while playing slightly closer attention to word order. The use of ‎ܘ‎ before the participle is exceptional.

Jn 8.23b [Ep55 = 54,1 / 9,24-5]

$$\text{ὑμεῖς ἐκ τῶν κάτω ἐστέ, ἐγὼ ἐκ τῶν ἄνω εἰμί}$$

‎ܐܢܐ‎	‎ܠܬܚܬ‎	x	‎ܡܢ‎	x	‎ܐܢܬܘܢ‎	.‎ܐܢܬܘܢ‎	‎ܠܥܠ‎	x ‎ܡܢ‎	‎ܐܝܬܝܟܘܢ‎ P
‎ܐܝܬܝ‎	‎ܠܬܚܬ‎	x	‎ܡܢ‎	x	‎ܐܢܐ‎	.‎ܐܝܬܝܟܘܢ‎	‎ܠܥܠ‎	x ‎ܡܢ‎	‎ܐܝܬܝܟܘܢ‎ Ep55
‎ܐܝܬܝ‎	‎ܠܬܚܬ‎	‎ܡܢ‎	‎ܡܢ‎	‎ܡܢ‎	‎ܐܢܐ‎	.‎ܐܝܬܝܟܘܢ‎	‎ܠܥܠ‎	‎ܡܢ‎	‎ܐܝܬܝܟܘܢ‎ H

Ep55 has already adopted some revised methods here, most notably ‎ܐܝܬܝ‎ for εἰμί, although strangely leaving the idiomatic ‎ܐܝܬܝܟܘܢ‎ rather than the parallel (and with H) ‎ܐܝܬܝܟܘܢ‎ for ἐστέ.

Jn 8.28 [CO = 41,22-3 / f.95va]

$$\kappa\alpha\grave{\iota}\ \dot{\alpha}\pi'\ \dot{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\upsilon\tauο\tilde{\upsilon}\ \piο\iota\tilde{\omega}\ ο\dot{\upsilon}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$$

x	x	ܐܝܟ	ܒܪ	ܠܐ	ܡܢ	x	ܘܩܕ܇ ܡܢ	ܡܕܡ	P
ܡܕܡ	x	ܐܝܟ	ܒܪ	ܠܐ	ܡܢ	x	x ܡܢ	x	CO
ܡܕܡ ܘܠܐ	ܐܝܟ	ܒܪ	x	ܡܢ	ܐܝܟ	x	x	ܐܦܐ	H

Whether or not such a small and simple citation is quoted from memory, or translated anew straight from the Vorlage, the tendency to precision is again in evidence; e.g. the translator of CO has put ܡܕܡ at the end in line with Gk word order and has omitted P's ܘܩܕ܇, yet has left ܡܢ for the reflexive, which would always be unlikely in H.

Jn 8.39b-40 [Ep40 = 27,28-28,1 / 35,2-5] [CO = 44,3-4 / f.96vc (v40a only)] [CT = 144,25-6 / f.121vc (v40a only)] [QUX = 758,34-5 / f.80ra (v40a only)]

$$\epsilon\dot{\iota}\ \tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\nu\alpha\ \tauο\tilde{\upsilon}\ \text{'}A\beta\rho\alpha\acute{\alpha}\mu\ \dot{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon\ [\mathring{\eta}\tau\epsilon\ Ep40]\ \tau\grave{\alpha}\ \mathring{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\alpha$$

ܥܒܕܘܗܝ	x	x	ܕܐܒܪܗܡ	ܗܘܝܬܘܢ	ܒܢܘܗܝ	ܐܠܐ	P
ܥܒܕܘܗܝ	x	x	ܕܐܒܪܗܡ	ܗܘܝܬܘܢ	ܒܢܘܗܝ	ܐܠܐ	Ep40
ܥܒܕ	ܗܘܝܬܘܢ	ܐܝܟܘܢ	ܕܐܒܪܗܡ	x	ܒܢܝ	ܐܠܐ	H

$$\tauο\tilde{\upsilon}\ \text{'}A\beta\rho\alpha\grave{\alpha}\mu\ \dot{\epsilon}\piο\iota\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\tau\epsilon\ [\mathring{\alpha}\nu\ add.\ Ep40]\cdot\ ^{40}\nu\tilde{\upsilon}\nu\ \delta\grave{\epsilon}\ \zeta\eta\tau\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\ \mu\epsilon\ [\mu\epsilon\ \zeta\eta\tau\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\tau\acute{\epsilon}\ CO,CT,QUX]$$
$$\dot{\alpha}\piο\kappa\tau\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota\ \mathring{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\piο\nu$$

ܠܓܒܪܐ	ܕܡܠܠܬ	ܠܟܘܢ	ܒܥܝܢ	ܗܘ	ܕܝܢ	ܗܫܐ	ܕܐܒܪܗܡ ܗܘ	ܗܘܝܬܘܢ	ܕܐܒܪܗܡ	P
ܠܓܒܪܐ܇	ܕܡܠܠܬ	ܠܟܘܢ	ܒܥܝܢ܇	x	x	[ܠܝ]	ܕܐܒܪܗܡ ܗܘ	ܗܘܝܬܘܢ	ܕܐܒܪܗܡ	QUX
ܠܐܢܫ ܕܝܢ	ܕܡܠܠܬ	ܠܟܘܢ	ܒܥܝܢ	x	ܕܝܢ	ܗܫܐ	ܕܐܒܪܗܡ ܗܘ	ܗܘܝܬܘܢ	ܕܐܒܪܗܡ	Ep40
ܠܓܒܪܐ	ܕܡܠܠܬ	ܠܟܘܢ	ܒܥܝܢ	x	x	ܗܫܐ	<	<	<	CO
ܠܓܒܪܐ	ܕܡܠܠܬ	ܠܟܘܢ	ܒܥܝܢ	x	x	[ܠܝ]	<	<	<	CT
ܠܐܢܫܐ	ܕܡܠܠܬ	ܠܟܘܢ	ܒܥܝܢ	x	ܕܝܢ	ܗܫܐ	<	<	<	H

$$\mathring{ο}\varsigma\ \tau\grave{\eta}\nu\ \dot{\alpha}\lambda\acute{\eta}\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu\ \dot{\upsilon}\mu\tilde{\iota}\nu\ \lambda\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\kappa\alpha\ \mathring{\eta}\nu\ \mathring{\eta}\kappaο\upsilon\sigma\alpha\ \pi\alpha\rho\grave{\alpha}\ \tauο\tilde{\upsilon}\ \theta\epsilonο\tilde{\upsilon}\cdot$$

ܐܠܗܐ	ܡܢ	ܕܫܡܥܬ	ܐܝܕܐ	ܠܟܘܢ	ܡܠܠܬ	x	ܕܫܪܪܐ	x	P
ܐܒܐ܇	ܡܢ	ܕܫܡܥܬ	ܗܘ	ܠܟܘܢ	ܡܠܠܬ	x	ܫܪܪܐ	x	QUX
<	<	<	<	ܠܟܘܢ	ܡܠܠܬ	x	ܕܫܪܪܐ	x	Ep40
ܐܠܗܐ	ܡܢ	ܕܫܡܥܬ	ܗܘ	ܠܗ	ܡܠܠܬ	x	ܕܫܪܪܐ	x	H
<	<	<	<	ܠܟܘܢ	ܡܠܠܬ	x	ܕܫܪܪܐ	x	
<	<	<	<	x	ܡܠܠܬ	ܠܗ	ܫܪܪܐ	ܗܘ	

$$\tauο\tilde{\upsilon}\tauο\ \text{'}A\beta\rho\alpha\grave{\alpha}\mu\ ο\dot{\upsilon}\kappa\ \dot{\epsilon}\piο\acute{\iota}\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu.$$

ܥܒܕ	ܠܐ	ܕܐܒܪܗܡ	ܗܕܐ	P
<	<	<	<	QUX
ܥܒܕ	ܠܐ	ܕܐܒܪܗܡ	ܘܗܕܐ	Ep40
ܥܒܕ	ܠܐ	ܕܐܒܪܗܡ	ܗܕܐ	H

Note that P's ܗܘܝܬܘܢ for $\dot{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\epsilon/\mathring{\eta}\tau\epsilon$ is clearly part of Ep40's Syriac text, against its absence in S, thus testifying to the use of the Peshitta in the mid 5th century. Similarly, where S has

ܠܡܐ ܐܡܪܝܬ, Ep40 follows P's ܐܠܠܐ ܐܚܝܕ which shows P's much closer conformity to the Greek τὴν ἀλήθειαν λελάληκα.[1]

In terms of revision, one wonders whether ܟܒܝ rather than ܟܒ may not have been the text of X here (given CO,CT,QUX). Other revisions are sporadic – for example, Ep40 having ܐܘܪܒ (with H, against other citations), QUX and CO using the imperfect ܝܩܛܠܘܢ rather than the infinitive (against P and H), and QUX having ܐܝܕ (with H) rather than ܐܚܝܕ, and ܐ ܗܘ (again with H) rather than ܐ ܐܝܢ for the relative. QUX's ܐܝܢ is a sign of loose citation style – it is unlikely to have been present in his Vorlage.

Jn 8.42 [Ep55 = 54,1-2 / 9,25-6]

P = Ep55,H

ܐܠܗ] ܐܒ Ep55 (following Cyril πατρὸς for θεοῦ).

Jn 8.46 [AT = 172,17-9 / 478,8-10]

$$\text{τίς ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐλέγχει με περὶ ἁμαρτίας; εἰ ἀλήθειαν λέγω}$$

ܐܝܢ	ܠܡܐ	ܐܝܬ	ܐܢ	ܫܪܪܐ	ܥܠ	ܠܝ	ܡܟܣ	ܡܢܟܘܢ	ܡܢܘ	P
ܐܝܢ	ܡܢ	ܐܝܬ	ܐܢ	ܫܪܪܐ	ܡܛܠ	ܠܝ	ܡܟܣ	ܡܢܟܘܢ	ܡܢܘ	AT
<	<	<	<	ܫܪܪܐ	ܡܛܠ	ܠܝ	ܡܟܣ	ܡܢܟܘܢ	ܡܢܘ	CL
ܐܝܢ	ܡܢ	ܐܝܬ	ܐܢ	ܫܪܪܐ	ܡܛܠ	ܠܝ	ܡܟܣ	ܡܢܟܘܢ	ܡܢܘ	H

$$\text{διὰ τί ὑμεῖς οὐ πιστεύετέ μοι}$$

ܐܢܬܘܢ	ܡܗܝܡܢܝܢ	ܠܐ	x	ܠܡܢܐ	ܐܢܬܘܢ	P
ܐܢܬܘܢ	ܡܗܝܡܢܝܢ	ܠܐ	x	ܡܢܐ	ܡܛܠ	x	AT
ܐܢܬܡܗܝܡܢܝܢ	ܠܐ	ܐܢܬܘܢ	ܡܢܐ	ܡܛܠ	x	H

CL = 92,13-4

AT (and CL where extant) clearly show the X revision, e.g. ܡܛܠ for περί + gen., rather than P's ܥܠ (which it usually has), ܡܢ not ܠܡܐ, and ܡܢܐ ܡܛܠ for ܠܡܢܐ; that P/AT have a separate object rather than H's suffixed object at the end is of less consequence, being virtually a matter of orthography.

Jn 8.56 [CT* = 122,17 / f.113rb]

The CT allusion is too small for comparison, but note that ML[75,26-7] follows P completely for this same verse.

Jn 8.58 [Ep55 = 58,8-9 / 17,19-20] [CO = 41, 33-4 / f.95vb] [QUX = 747,24 / f.72va] [SDI = 224,16 / f.40vb]

$$\text{πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι}$$

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[1] These observations should be viewed in the context of Vööbus, *Circulation of the Peshitta*, which argues that the texts emanting from Edessa at this time used OS rather than P.

ܐܒܪܗܡ	ܗܘܐ		ܕܚܝܐ P
	ܗܘܐ	ܕܐܒܪܗܡ	ܩܕܡ ܡܢ QUX
ܐܒܪܗܡ	ܕܗܘܐ		ܩܕܡ ܡܢ SDI
	ܗܘܐ	ܕܐܒܪܗܡ	ܩܕܡ ܡܢ CO
ܐܒܪܗܡ	ܕܗܘܐ		ܩܕܡ Ep55
ܐܒܪܗܡ	ܕܗܘܐ		ܩܕܡ ܡܢ CL
	ܗܘܐ	ܕܐܒܪܗܡ	ܩܕܡ H

CL = 22,11-2

Ep55 thus anticipates H's use of ܩܕܡ ܕ + impf. for πρίν + inf. QUX,SDI,CO have a slightly different rendering for the conjunction, but QUX and CO, like H, take care to keep the Greek word order, against P. CL has the conjunction of QUX,CO but the order of Ep55. One can only guess that X must have read something along the lines of one of these in its search for an accurate way of representing the construction, and all three of our citations fall within its 'tradition' of revision.

Jn 9.6 [AT* = 16225-6 / 471,13-4]

Jn 9.35-7 [SDI = 225,12-15 / f.47rb] [Ep55 = 55,31-4 / 13,9-12]

P = SDI,Ep55

ܠܡܢ] ,ܐܡܝܬܗ ܠܡܢ H
ܗܘܝܘ] ,ܐܡܝܬܗ ܗܘ SDI,Ep55,H

SDI and Ep55 have anticipated H's revision for for ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν at the end of v37 but not for the τίς ἐστιν in v36.

Jn 10.9 [Ep50* = 99,31 / f.146vb]

Jn 10.10 [AT = 160,24-5 / 469,18-19]

ἐγὼ ἦλθον ἵνα ζωὴν ἔχωσιν

ܕܠܗܘܢ	x	ܕܢܗܘܘܢ	x	ܚܝܐ	x	ܐܬܝܬ	ܐܢܐ P
ܕܠܗܘܢ	x	ܕܢܗܘܘܢ	ܕܚܠܦ	ܚܝܐ	x	ܐܬܝܬ	ܐܢܐ AT
ܕܠܗܘܢ	ܐܝܬ	ܗܘܐ	x	ܚܝܐ	ܐܝܟܢܐ	ܐܬܝܬ	ܐܢܐ H

καὶ περισσὸν ἔχωσιν

ܠܗܘܢ	x	ܗܘܐ	ܝܬܝܪ	ܡܕܡ P
ܠܗܘܢ	x	ܕܢܗܘܐ	ܝܬܝܪܐ	x AT
ܠܗܘܢ	ܐܝܬ	ܗܘܐ	ܝܬܝܪܐ	x H

AT's addition of ܕܚܠܦ is odd, and not due to the Vorlage (in any extant witness to it); otherwise, it is closer to P is some places, to H in others; for the latter, especially ܝܬܝܪ for

περισσόν, but AT has not adopted H's calque-system for expressing the subjunctive of ἔχω, which is found also in other 7th century translations.[1]

Jn 10.11 [QUX = 773,39-41 / f.91vb]

ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλός. ὁ ποιμὴν ὁ καλὸς τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ τίθησιν

x	x	ܣܥܐ	ܗܘ	ܟܠ	x	ܪܥܝܐ	ܟܠ	x	ܪܥܝ	ܐܝܪ	ܐܝܪ	S
ܒܪ	x	ܣܥܐ	x	ܟܠ	x	ܪܥܝ	ܟܠ	x	ܪܥܝ	ܐܝܪ	ܐܝܪ	P
ܒܪ	x	ܣܥܐ	x	ܟܠ	x	ܪܥܝܐ	ܟܠ	x	ܪܥܝ	ܐܝܪ	ܐܝܪ	QUX
ܒܪ	ܕܠܗ	ܣܥܐ	x	ܟܠ	ܗܘ	ܪܥܝ	ܟܠ	ܗܘ	ܪܥܝ	ܐܝܪ	ܐܝܪ	H

ὑπὲρ τῶν προβάτων·

ܥܢܗ	ܐܝܪ	ܥܠ	S
ܥܢܗ.	x	ܚܠܦ	P
ܥܪܒܘܗܝ,	x	ܚܠܦ	QUX
ܥܪܒܐ.	x	ܚܠܦ	H

QUX's ܪܥܝܐ is a reminiscence of OS; his word for sheep, however, is H's ܥܪܒܐ, not P's ܥܢܐ.

Jn 10.18 [QUX = 773,41-4 / f.91vb]

οὐδεὶς αἴρει αὐτὴν [τὴν ψυχήν μου QUX] ἀπ' ἐμοῦ,

ܡܢܝ.	x	ܠܗ	ܫܩܠ	x	ܗܘܐ	ܠܐ	P
ܡܢܝ.	ܢܦܫܝ	ܠܗ	ܢܣܒ	ܐܝܪ	ܠܐ	QUX
ܡܢܝ.	x	ܠܗ	ܫܩܠ	ܐܝܪ	ܠܐ	H

ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τίθημι αὐτὴν ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ.

x	ܠܗ	ܐܝܪ	ܒܪ	ܐܝܪ	ܐܠܐ	P
ܡܢܝܕܝܠ,	ܡܢ	ܠܗ	ܐܝܪ	ܒܪ	ܐܝܪܐ	ܐܠܐ	QUX
x	ܠܗ	ܐܝܪ	ܒܪ	ܐܝܪ	ܐܠܐ	H

ἐξουσίαν ἔχω θεῖναι αὐτήν, καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχω πάλιν [om. QUX] λαβεῖν αὐτήν

ܐܝܣܗ.	ܕܐܗܘܐ	ܐܝܪ	x	ܘܠܡܣܒ	ܐܝܣܘܡܗ.	ܝܟ	ܐܝܪ	x	ܫܠܝܛ	P
ܐܝܣܘܡܗ.	x	ܐܝܪ	x	ܘܠܡܣܒ	ܐܝܣܘܡܗ.	x	ܐܝܪ	x	ܫܠܝܛ	QUX
ܐܝܣܘܡܗ.	ܕܐܗ	ܠܝ	ܐܝܬ	ܫܘܠܛܢܐ	ܐܝܣܘܡܗ.	x	ܠܝ	ܐܝܬ	ܫܘܠܛܢܐ	H

Note that QUX follows his Vorlage carefully where this differs from P; otherwise he follows P but for preferring ܢܣܒ for ܫܩܠ. The addition of ܡܢܕܝܠ, ܡܢ is explanatory/exegetical.

Jn 10.30 [Ep40 = 27,27 / 34,29] [Ep50 = 98,34-5 / f.146ra] [Ep55 = 52,35-6 / 7,26] [CO1 = 41,27 / f.95vb] [CO2 = 43,37 / f.96vc] [QUX = 758,33 / f.80ra]

P = All citations

[1] See, e.g., Brock, *Pseudo-Nonnos*, 38-9.

H's ܚܒܝܟ ܝܘ ܪܒܪܐܘ ܪܝܪ is not reflected in any of these citations.

Jn 10.32 [CO = 52,32 / f.101va] [CO2 = 58,17-8 / f.104va]

πολλὰ ἔργα καλὰ [καλὰ ἔργα CO1,CO2, Maj] ἔδειξα ὑμῖν ἐκ [παρά CO1] τοῦ πατρός [μου add CO1, CO2, Maj]

ܟܘܒܬܘܢ	x	ܒܪ	ܗܐܠ	ܡܢ	x	x	x	ܪܝܒܐ	ܪܡܝ	ܪܪܟܝ	P
x	x	ܒܪ	ܗܐܠ	ܡܢ	ܡܐܠ	ܟܘܒ	ܪܪܟܝ	x	ܪܡܐ	x	CO1
x	x	ܒܪ	ܗܐܠ	ܡܢ	x	ܟܘܒܬܘܢ	ܪܪܟܝ	ܪܐܠ	ܪܡܐ	x	CO2
x	ܕܝܢ	ܒܪ	x	ܡܢ	ܡܐܠ	ܟܘܒ	x	ܪܐܠ	ܪܡܝ	ܪܪܟܝ	H

διὰ ποῖον αὐτῶν ἔργον ἐμὲ λιθάζετε

ܠ	ܟܐܘܟܝ	ܡܢܠܝ	ܪܡܐ	ܡܢ	ܟܐܢܝܢ	x	ܪܟܝ	ܐܠܡ	C
ܠ	ܟܐܘܟܝ	ܡܢܠܝ	x	x	ܟܐܢܝܢ	ܪܡܐ	ܪܟܝ	ܐܠܡ	P
<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	<	CO1
ܠ	ܟܐܘܟܝ	ܡܢܠܝ	ܪܡܐ	ܡܢ	x	x	ܪܟܝ	ܐܠܡ	CO2
ܠ	ܟܐܘܟܝ	ܡܢܠܝ	x	x	ܟܐܢܝܢ	ܪܡܐ	ܪܟܝ	ܐܠܡ	H

CO1's omission of καλά is perhaps only an error. CO has moved on from P's ܪܝܒܐ and already anticipates H's ܪܐܠ; it has also made an attempt at representing ὑμῖν as an indirect object, along the lines used by H also. For ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μου they both follow P. C has been added for comparison for v32b since in ܪܡܐ ܡܢ (pl.) we seem to have a preserved OS reading in CO2. Other than the attempts at revision, what is most noticeable is simply that two citations from the same document are so different – the text is somewhat living in this translator's hands, as though he is experimenting with different techniques as he proceeds through the text.

Jn 10.33 [EDC = 16,6-7 / f.14rb] [CO = 58,20-1 / f.104va] [QUX = 746,25-7 / f.71vb] [SDI = 224,23-5 / f.41ra]

περὶ καλοῦ ἔργου οὐ λιθάζομέν σε ἀλλὰ περὶ βλασφημίας

ܐܘܪ	ܒܝܬܝܢ	ܐܠܡ	ܪܐܪ	ܢܐ	ܟܘ	ܡܢܠܝ	x	ܪܝܒܐ	ܪܡܐ	ܐܠܡ	ܪܐܡ	ܪܐ	P
ܐܘܪ	ܪܐܝܐܟ	ܝܒ	ܪܐܪ	ܢܐ	ܡܢܠܝ	ܪܐ	ܪܐܠ	ܪܡܐ	ܝܒ	x	x	QUX
x	ܪܐܝܐܟ	ܐܠܡ	ܪܐܪ	ܢܐ	ܡܢܠܝ	ܪܐ	ܪܐܠ	ܪܡܐ	ܐܠܡ	x	x	SDI
x	ܪܐܝܐܟ	ܐܠܡ	ܪܐܪ	ܢܐ	ܟܘ	ܡܢܠܝ	ܪܐ	ܪܐܠ	ܪܡܐ	ܐܠܡ	x	x	CO
x	ܪܐܝܐܟ	ܐܠܡ	ܪܐܪ	ܢܐ	ܡܢܠܝ	ܪܐ	ܪܐܠ	ܪܡܐ	ܐܠܡ	x	x	H

καὶ [om. CO,EDC,QUX] ὅτι [om. EDC] σὺ ἄνθρωπος ὢν ποιεῖς σεαυτὸν θεόν

ܪܐܠܪ	ܟܥܒܝ	ܐܘܪ	ܡܐ	x	ܪܙܝܪ	ܒ	ܟܝܒܘܪ	ܡܐܘ	x	P
ܪܐܠܪ	ܟܥܒܝ	ܐܘܪ	ܪܐܡ	ܐܘܪ	ܪܙܝܪ	ܒ	x	ܡܐܝ	x	QUX
ܪܐܠܪ	ܟܥܒܝ	ܐܘܪ	ܡܐ	x	ܪܙܝܪ	ܒ	ܟܝܒܘܪ	ܡܐܝ	x	SDI
ܪܐܠܪ	ܟܥܒܝ	ܐܘܪ	ܪܐܡ	ܟܝܒܘܪ	ܪܙܝܒ	x	ܡܐܝ	x	CO
ܪܐܠܪ	ܟܥܒܝ	ܐܘܪ	ܪܐܡ	x	ܪܙܝܪ	ܒ	ܟܝܒܘܪ	ܡܐ	x	EDC
ܪܐܠܪ	ܟܥܒܝ	ܐܘܪ	ܪܐܡ	ܟܝܒܘܪ	ܪܙܝܒ	x	ܡܐ	ܐܘܪ	CL1

CL1 = 80,22-3; CL2 = 131,19-20; CL3 = 249,15-6

In v33a QUX, SDI and CO all witness to readings adopted by H: a) ܪܟ for ܪܟܐ, b) the negative preceding the verb directly rather than the whole clause as in P, and c) also the noun ܪܟܐ instead of the verbal form of P.

For v33b we have the witness also of EDC and CL. CO and CL have placed ܟ according to the Gk word order (with H), where SDI/EDC are still with P (the use of ܟ for εἶναι being a consistent feature of those texts); but none of our witnesses has gone to the extent of H's ܟ calque on the last clause, all keeping the Syriac idiom of ܪܟ for the reflexive. In contrast to v33a however, in v33b QUX has gone backwards from P by using a simple ܟ for ὤν.

Jn 10.34-6 [EDC = 21,9-12 / f.18ab] [CO58,21-5 / f.104va]

^{34}οὐκ ἔστιν γεγραμμένον ἐν τῷ νόμῳ ὑμῶν ὅτι [om. CO] ἐγὼ εἶπα·

θεοί ἐστε ^{35}εἰ ἐκείνους εἶπεν θεοὺς πρὸς οὓς

ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγένετο καὶ οὐ δύναται λυθῆναι ἡ γραφη,

^{36}ὃν ὁ πατὴρ ἡγίασεν καὶ ἀπέστειλεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον ὑμεῖς λέγετε ὅτι βλασφημεῖς,

ὅτι εἶπον· υἱὸς τοῦ [om. CO] θεοῦ εἰμι

CO is with P for v34, but shows some variants closer to H later, such as ⟨syriac⟩ for δύναται (v35), and the position of ⟨syriac⟩ (with the Gk) in the same clause, as well as ⟨syriac⟩ for the second ὅτι of v36. EDC, although having ⟨syriac⟩ in that latter place (with P) has other H-type equivalents, such as ⟨syriac⟩ for εἰμι at the end of v36, and omitting the objective suffixes from ⟨syriac⟩ ⟨syriac⟩. CO and EDC agree with H in using the demonstrative for the relative ὅν (v36) and this can fairly safely be attributed to X.

Jn 10.37-8 [QUX = 748,45-749,4 / f.73va]

P=QUX

⟨syriac⟩] ⟨syriac⟩ ⟨syriac⟩ QUX; ⟨syriac⟩ ⟨syriac⟩ H.
⟨syriac⟩] om.QUX H[some mss]

In Cyril's text, v38 is given first, followed by v37 which is then followed by a repeat of v38. The repetition is omitted in the Syriac version of QUX.

Jn 11.35 [CT* = 139,18 / f.119vc]

Jn 12.27 [CT = 121,14 / f.112vb]

P = QUX,ML [70,10-12]

⟨syriac⟩] ⟨syriac⟩ H
⟨syriac⟩ ⟨syriac⟩] ⟨syriac⟩ ⟨syriac⟩ CT,H

Jn 12.49 [CO* = 41,22 / f.95va]

P = CO

⟨syriac⟩] ⟨syriac⟩ H

Jn 13.31-2 [QUX = 767,11-14 / f.86va-b]

v31 P = QUX,H

[32]εἰ ὁ θεὸς ἐδοξάσθη ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ θεὸς δοξάσει αὐτὸν ἐν ἑαυτῷ,

⟨syriac⟩ ⟨syriac⟩	⟨syriac⟩	⟨syriac⟩	⟨syriac⟩	⟨syriac⟩	⟨syriac⟩	⟨syriac⟩	P
⟨syriac⟩	⟨syriac⟩	⟨syriac⟩	X	⟨syriac⟩	⟨syriac⟩	⟨syriac⟩	X QUX
⟨syriac⟩ ⟨syriac⟩ ⟨syriac⟩	⟨syriac⟩	⟨syriac⟩	⟨syriac⟩	?	?	?	? H

καὶ εὐθὺς δοξάσει αὐτόν

⟨syriac⟩	⟨syriac⟩	⟨syriac⟩ P
X	⟨syriac⟩	⟨syriac⟩ QUX
⟨syriac⟩	⟨syriac⟩	⟨syriac⟩ H

QUX departs from P's wording substantially in v32. QUX uses the impf rather than ptc. forms for the Greek future tenses, and ܪܚܡ rather than ܪܝܫܐ for εὐθύς.

Jn 14.2 [SDI = 230,22-3 / f.27vb]

ὅτι πορεύομαι ἑτοιμάσαι τόπον ὑμῖν;

.ܪܐܬܐ	ܟܘܢ	ܕܐܝܬܒ	ܪܐܪ	ܕܐܝܪܐ	P
.ܪܐܗܘܐ	ܟܘܢ	ܕܐܝܒܪܐ	ܪܐܪ	ܕܐܝܪܐ	SDI
.ܪܐܗܘܐ	ܟܘܢ	ܕܐܝܒܪ	ܪܐܪ	ܕܐܝܪܐ	H

SDI allies with P in one variant, with H in another (the significant lexical matter of τόπον).

Jn 14.6 [Ep55 = 53,3-4 / 8,4-5] [Ep50* = 99,31 / f.146vb] [QUX = 745,35-6 / f.71rb]

P = QUX,Ep55,CL

ܪܐܪ ܪܐܪ] ܐܝܪ ܪܐܪ Ep55,CL,H

CL = 244,7

Jn 14.9-10a [Ep40 = 27,25-7 / 34,26-9] [Ep55-1 = 52,34-6 / 7,24-5] [Ep55-2 = 55,30 / 13,7] [Ep50 = 98,33-99,1 / f.146ra-b] [CO = 43, 36-7 / f.96vc] [AT = 144,6-7 / 456,11] [QUX = 758,32-3 / f.80ra]

The texts mix up these three clauses in different orders, but for our purposes each clause can be considered separately.

τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ [τοσοῦτον χρόνον Ep40, Ep50] μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι καὶ οὐκ ἔγνωκάς με, Φίλιππε;

ܪܐܘܠܦ	ܘܕܝܬ	ܪܐܘ	:ܪܐܪ	ܟܘܬܐ	X	ܪܐܒܐ	X	ܥܠܝ	ܪܐܗܘ	P
ܪܐܘܠܦ	ܘܕܝܬ	ܪܐܘ	:ܪܐܪ	ܟܘܬܐ	X	ܪܐܒܐ	X	ܥܠܝ	ܪܐܗܘ	Ep40
ܪܐܘܠܦ	ܘܕܝܬ	ܪܐܘ	X	ܟܘܬܐ	ܕܘܗܝ	ܪܐܒܐ	X	ܥܠܝ	ܪܐܗܘ	Ep50
ܪܐܘܠܦ	ܘܕܝܬ	ܪܐܘ	.ܐܝܪ	ܟܘܬܐ	X	ܪܐܒܐ	ܪܐܗܘ	ܥܠܝ	X	H

ὁ ἑωρακὼς ἐμὲ ἑώρακεν τὸν πατέρα

ܪܐܒܐ	ܪܐܚ	X	ܪܐܚ	ܕܝ	ܦܘ	P
ܪܐܒܐ	ܪܐܚ	X	ܪܐܚ	ܕܝ	ܦܘ	Ep40
ܪܐܒܐ	ܪܐܚ	X	ܪܐܚ	ܕܝ	ܦܘ	Ep50
ܪܐܒܐ	ܪܐܚ	X	ܕܝܚܝ	X	ܗܘ	Ep55-1
ܪܐܒܐ	ܪܐܚ	X	ܪܐܚ	ܕܝ	ܗܘ	Ep55-2
ܒܪܐ	ܪܐܚ	X	ܕܝܚܝ	X	ܗܘ	QUX
ܪܐܒܐ	ܪܐܚ	ܕ	ܕܝܚܝ	X	ܗܘ	CO
ܪܐܒܐ	ܪܐܚ	X	ܕܝܚܝ	X	ܗܘ	H

οὐ πιστεύεις ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐν ἐμοί ἐστιν;

X	ܒܝ	ܘܐܒܐ	ܒܐܒܐ	ܕܐܪ	ܐܝܬ	ܡܗܝܡܢ	ܪܐ	P
X	ܒܝ	ܘܐܒܐ	ܒܐܒܐ	ܕܐܪ	ܐܝܬ	ܡܗܝܡܢ	ܪܐ	Ep40

							Ep50
							Ep55-1
		X				<	<	<	CPJ
							AT
							H

CPJ = 56,1

While Ep40 never deviates from P (and avoids S's different renderings as well), while Ep 50 has an odd reading ܗܘܐܬ, as though the meaning were 'was with you'. This finds a parallel in the OS reading at Jn 3.31 (see above). Ep50 has also advanced to having ܡܛܠܗ for ἐστιν at the end of the final clause. Ep55, QUX and CO go further still, using the demonstrative for the article + ptc, and appending ἐμέ as a suffix rather than with P's prepositioned ܠ, a rendering which H takes up also (although both the second Ep55 citation and CO show the influence of the old style as well, such that CO even translates ἐμέ twice!); where it continues, Ep55 can also be seen, unsurprisingly, to use ܡܛܠܗ for ἐστιν. Of all the citations, however, including CPJ, only AT has dispensed with the very idiomatic possessive suffixes on ܐܒܐ in the last part, as H finally does, thus leaving AT identical with H for these verses.

Jn 14.10b [CO = 52,32-3 / f.101va] [AT = 142,7 / 454,17-8]

$$\text{ἀπ' ἐμαυτοῦ οὐ λαλῶ, ὁ δὲ πατὴρ ἐν ἐμοὶ μένων}$$

			X							P
	X									CO
			X		<	<	<	<	<	AT
									X	H

$$\text{ποιεῖ τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ [αὐτός CO,AT]}$$

	X			X			P
[ܗܘ]	X			X		X	CO
	X	X			X		X	AT
	X	X					H

CO's ܒ ,ܡܛܠܗ for ἐν ἐμοὶ μένων seems to be another case of the translator's independent ways. The ܗܘ at the end belongs by punctuation to the following sentence, but it is not required there and may originally have been an attempt to render carefully the order of Cyril's words, with the αὐτός at the end of the sentence.

AT is also unusual in using ܝܬܒ for μένω rather than either P's ܝܬܒ (perhaps rejected for adoptionistic overtones) or H's ܩܐ.

Jn 14.23 [QUX = 750,14-7 / f.74rb]

$$\text{ἐάν τις ἀγαπᾷ με τὸν λόγον μου τηρήσει, καὶ ὁ πατήρ μου ἀγαπήσει αὐτόν}$$

	X			X				X	P
	X			X				X	QUX
									H

$$\text{καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλευσόμεθα καὶ μονὴν παρ' αὐτῷ ποιησόμεθα.}$$

ܚܠ ܝܬܒܐ	ܡܘܬܐ	ܢܗܘܐ	ܚܠ ܐܬܐ	ܡܘܬܘ		P
ܢܒܐ	ܡܘܬܐ	ܢܗܘܐ	ܐܬܪ	ܡܘܬܘ		QUX
ܝܬܒܐ	ܡܘܬܐ	ܢܗܘܪܐ	ܐܬܐ	ܡܘܬܘ		H

Note QUX's alignment with H in using ܐܚܒ for ἀγαπᾷ; he is generally independent, however, as shown by e.g. ܢܬܪ rather than ܒ or ܐܪ ܐܪ, and the imperfects ܐܬܪ and ܝܬܒ instead of ptcs.

Jn 14.27 [Ep39 = 16,18-9 / f.150ra-b]

P = Ep39

ܒܥ] ܪܒܐ Ep30 (H as P)

Jn 14.28 [QUX = 770,22 / f.89ra]

P = QUX

Jn 14.30 [AT = 172,13-4 / 478,5]

$$\text{ἔρχεται γὰρ ὁ τοῦ κόσμου ἄρχων· καὶ ἐν ἐμοὶ οὐκ ἔχε [εὑρήσει AT] οὐδέν}$$

ܡܕܡ	x	ܠܗ	ܐܝܬ	ܡܢ	x	ܒܥܠܡܐ	ܡܘܫܝܐ	ܠܝܟ	ܐܬܐ	P
ܡܕܡ	x	x	ܐܠܐ	ܡܢ	ܐܡܢ	ܒܥܠܡܐ	ܡܘܫܝܐ	[x]	ܐܬܐ	AT
ܡܕܡ	ܐܠܐ	ܠܗ	ܐܝܬ	ܐܠܐ	ܡܢ	x	ܒܥܠܡܐ	ܡܘܫܝܐ	ܠܝܟ	ܐܬܐ	H

AT follows Cyril's reading εὑρήσει οὐδέν (οὐκ ἔχει οὐδέν in most witnesses[1]), but puts the negative on the verb rather than on the pronoun.

Jn 15.15 [CT* = 128,10-11 / f.115vb]

P = CT

ܪܒ] ܐܡܪ H

The distinctive OS,P reading, ܪܒ, may suggest an underlying καλέσω or καλῶ, an unusual reading found only once in Origen and once, at this very place, in Cyril's CT; this therefore, rather than close adherence to P, accounts for the translator's retention of ܪܒ here.

CPJ [22,20-1] and CL [263,1-2] both show exactly the same set of old readings in their allusions to the verse, again indicating the persistence of P readings where well-known verses are being alluded to rather than carefully quoted.

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[1] This is an unusual reading which is found sporadically in such diverse places as some early Alexandrian fathers (Origen, Athanasius, and Cyril here), in the K/Π group of early Byzantine mss, a few early Itala mss., in the Harklean margin, and in P.Bodmer III, the 5th century Egyptian proto-Bohairic translation!

Jn 15.26 [CT = 134,12-3 / f.117vb]

ὃ παρὰ [ἐκ CT] τοῦ πατρὸς

P = CT

ܐܒܐ ܠܘܬ ܕܡ̈ܢ] ܐܒܐ ܡ̈ܢ CT,H

CT is showing one of the revisions typical of H, avoiding the idiom of the possessive pronoun and keeping a single Syriac word for a single Greek one (ܡ̈ܢ for παρά/ἐκ).

Jn 16.7 [AT = 142 ,18-20 / 455,10-12]

P = AT,CL

ܐܢܐ ܐܙܠ ܐܠܐ] ܐܙܠ ܐܠܐ H

ܦܪܩܠܛܐ] ܦܪܩܠܝܛܐ AT; ܦܪܩܠܝܛܐ H

CL [87,20-1]

Jn 16.14 [CT = 134,25 / f.117vc]

P = CT,ML

ܗܘ] ܗܘ H

ܢܚܘܝܟܘܢ] ܢܒܥܟ ܠ H

ML [3,21]

Jn 16.15 [CT = 135,5-6 / f.118ra]

πάντα ὅσα ἔχει ὁ πατὴρ ἐμά ἐστιν·

ܗܘ	ܕܝܠܝ	ܠܐܒܝ	ܐܝܬ	ܡܕܡ	ܟܠ	P
ܗܘ	ܕܝܠܝ	ܠܐܒܝ	ܐܝܬ	ܡܕܡ	ܟܠ	CT
ܐܢܘܢ	ܕܝܠܝ	ܠܐܒܐ	ܐܝܬ	ܕܗܠܝܢ	ܟܠܗܘܢ	CL1
ܐܢܘܢ	ܕܝܠܝ	ܠܐܒܐ	ܐܝܬ	ܕܗܠܝܢ	ܟܠܗܘܢ	CL2
ܐܢܘܢܐܝܬ	ܕܝܠܝ	ܠܐܒܐ	ܐܝܬ	x	ܟܠܗܘܢ	H

CL1 = 26,14; CL2 = 279,2

CT is identical to P throughout a full citation of the verse, while CL shows a partial move towards a more accurate version, a process that we can see coming to completion in H's ܐܝܬܢܐܝܬ for ἐστιν.

Jn 16.28 [Ep55 = 53,37-8 / 9,22-4]

ἐξῆλθον παρὰ [ἐκ Ep55] τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐλήλυθα εἰς τὸν κόσμον·

.ܪܟܠܐ ܕܝܕܐܘ   x .ܪܟܪ ܕܐܠ ܕ ܕܐܐ P
:ܪܟܠܐ ܕܝܕܐܘ ܕܐܐ ܪܟܪ   x ܕ   x Ep55
.ܪܟܠܐ ܕܝܕܐܘ   x .ܪܟܪ   x ܕ ܕܐܐ H

πάλιν ἀφίημι τὸν κόσμον καὶ πορεύομαι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα [πέμψαντά με Ep55[one ms]].

.ܪܟܪ ܕܐܠ ܠ ܪܘܪ ܠܝܪܘ .ܪܟܠܐ ܪܘܪ ܐܢܬ ܣܐܕܘ P
.ܝܝܬܐ ܐܚ ܕܐܠ x ܪܟܪ ܠܝܪܘ .ܪܟܠܐ ܪܘܪ ܪܐܒܘ ܣܐܕܘ Ep55
.ܪܟܪ ܕܐܠ x ܪܘܪ ܠܝܪܘ .ܪܟܠܐ ܪܘܪ ܐܢܬ ܣܐܕܘ H

Ep55 follows the variant πέμψαντά με which must have been the reading of his Vorlage (one Syriac ms of the letter has this reading)

In all the translator is independent of P and H but his revisions are improvements on P: thus omitting ܕܐܠ and ܠ. ܪܐܒܘ for ἀφίημι was found also in Ep39 for Jn 14.27, again against ܐܢܬ in both P and H. Could this have been X's word? Since CPJ [238,6-8] has the verse in its H form (i.e. with ܐܢܬ rather than ܪܐܒܘ), this is not so likely, but it does show a commonalty of style, perhaps even an identity of person or school.

Jn 16.32 [Ep50 = 99,1-3 / f.146rb]

P = Ep50

ܐܚ ܝܠ] ,ܣܐܕܘܪ ܝܠ Ep50,H (μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐστιν)

Jn 17.3 [Ep55 = 49,11-12 / 1,17-8]

αὕτη δέ ἐστιν ἡ αἰώνιος ζωὴ ἵνα γινώσκωσιν σὲ

x .ܘܝܐܢܝܐ   x .ܪܟܠܐܝ ܪܝܘ ܝܐ ܥܐܪ x ܝܠܚ P
ܝܠ ܥܐܝܐ   x :ܪܟܠܐܝ ܪܝܘ ܝܐ ܥܐܪ x ܝܠܚ Ep55
ܝܠ ܘܝܐܢܝܐ   x :ܪܟܠܐܝ ܪܝܘ x ܥܣܝܕܘܪ [x] ܝܠܚ CL
ܝܠ ܘܝܐܢܝܐ ܪܝܐܘܪ :ܪܟܠܐܝ ܪܝܘ x ܥܣܝܕܘܪ ܝܐ ܝܠܚ H

τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν θεὸν καὶ ὃν ἀπέστειλας Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν

ܪܝܝܫܘ ܥܐܢ ܕܝܝܬܐ ܝܘܘ .ܘܝܐܢܝܠܒ ܪܠܝܬ ܪܐܠܪ ܕܝܪ ܕܝܪܐ   x P
ܪܝܝܫܘ ܥܐܢ ܕܝܝܬܐ ܐܚܠܘ   x :ܪܠܝܬ ܪܐܠܪ x   x ܘܝܐܢܝܠܒ Ep55
ܪܝܝܫܘ ܥܐܢ ܕܝܝܬܐ ܐܚܠܘ .ܘܝܐܢܝܠܒ ܪܠܝܬ [x] x   x   x CL
ܪܝܝܫܘ ܥܐܢ ܕܝܝܬܐ ܐܚܠܘ   x :ܪܠܝܬ ܪܐܠܪ x   x ܘܝܐܢܝܠܒ H

CL = 24,7-9

While Ep55 is closer to P in v3a, it has already got most of the revisions of H in v3b, such as in the positioning of ܘܝܐܢܝܠܒ, and the demonstrative for relative pronoun equivalency. CL has only the second of these, but has also changed ܥܐܪ for ܥܣܝܕܘܪ (ἐστιν) in v3a, which we might ordinarily expect of Ep55 as well. Although both have dispensed with P's divergent reading 'you are the one true God', neither has adopted the special equivalence of ἵνα = ܪܝܐܘܪ ܝ, which is common in H. They show that they are interested in textual matters, word order

etc., rather than in such calques when they are unnecessary for the communication of meaning.

Jn 17.5 [Ep55 = 57,31-2 / 16,25-6] [CT = 131,11 / f.116vb] [QUX1 = 742,18-9 / f.69ra] [QUX2 = 770,35-6 / f.89rb]

δόξασόν με παρὰ σεαυτῷ τῇ δόξῃ ᾗ εἶχον πρὸ τοῦ τὸν κόσμον εἶναι παρὰ σοί.

ܪܒܠ	ܕܐܠܗ	ܒܝܕ	ܥܡ	ܘܗܝ	X	ܕܝ	ܗܘ	ܕܐܝܬ	X	ܕܫܘܒܚ	X	ܫܒܚܝܢܝ	P
ܪܒܠ	ܕܐܠܗ	ܒܝܕ	ܥܡ	ܘܗܝ	X	ܕܝ	ܗܘ	ܕܐܝܬ	X	ܕܫܘܒܚ	X	ܫܒܚܝܢܝ	QUX1,2
ܪܒܠ	ܕܐܠܗ	ܒܝܕ	X	ܘܗܝ	X	ܕܝ	ܗܘ	ܕܐܝܬ	ܗܘ	ܕܫܘܒܚ	X	ܫܒܚܝܢܝ	Ep55
ܪܒܠܝ	ܡܬܚܝܕ	ܒܝܕ	ܥܡ	ܘܗܝ	X	ܕܝ	ܗܘ	ܕܐܝܬ	ܗܘ	ܕܫܘܒܚ	X	ܫܒܚܝܢܝ	CT
<	<	<	<	ܘܗܝ	X	ܕܝ	ܗܘ	ܕܐܝܬ	X	ܕܫܘܒܚ	ܒܗ	ܫܒܚܝܢܝ	ML
ܪܒܠ	ܕܐܠܗ	ܒܝܕ	ܥܡ	ܘܗܝ	ܥܡ	ܕܝ	ܗܘ	ܕܐܝܬ	ܗܘ	ܕܫܘܒܚ	X	ܫܒܚܝܢܝ	H

ML = 3,18-19

CT's use of the the phrase ܪܒܠܝ ܡܬܚܝܕ shows again how these translators are quoting from their existing versions and not always keeping a close eye on the Vorlage – he has here assimilated his text to the expression of Jn 17.24 (*et al.*). In addition, he uses P,H's ܕܫܘܒܚ, even though ܕܬܫܒܘܚܬ is his usual word for δόξα in the main text, as a glance as the next sentence will show. CT and Ep55, however, both prefer the demonstrative + ܗ for the relative pronoun, instead of P's ܕ, although QUX still uses P's syntax.

Jn 20.17 [CO = 41,23-4 / f.95va] [QUX = 724,39-41 / f.57rb]

P = CO,QUX

ܣܠܩ] ܐܙܠ CO QUX (following Cyril's variant reading πορεύομαι)

Jn 20.22 [QUX = 752,26 / f.75vb] [Ep55 = 60,25 / 22,15]

P = QUX,Ep55

ܣܠܩ] ܩܒܠ Ep55,CL,H
ܕܩܘܕܫ ܪܘܚ] ܕܩܘܕ ܪܘܚ CL,H

CL = 86, 30

CL and H probably represent X, allowing that Ep55 shows some conservative tendencies in its citations.

Jn 20.23 [QUX = 752,26-8 / f.75vb]

ἄν τινων ἀφῆτε τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἀφέωνται αὐτοῖς,

ܠܗܘܢ	ܢܫܬܒܩܘܢ	X	ܚܛܗܝܗܘܢ	ܠܗܘܢ	ܬܫܒܩܘܢ	ܕܐܝܢܝ	X	ܐܢ	S
ܠܗܘܢ	ܢܫܬܒܩܘܢ	ܐܢܬ	ܚܛܗܐ	X	ܬܫܒܩܘܢ	X	X	ܐܢ	P
ܠܗܘܢ	ܢܫܬܒܩܘܢ	X	ܚܛܗܐ	ܐܢܬ	ܬܫܒܩܘܢ	X	X	ܐܢ	QUX

ܠܗܘܢ ܡܬܚܕ X ܪܒܐ X ܡܚܝܕ X ܕܐܢܫ ܘ H

ἄν τινων κρατῆτε κεκράτηνται.

ܗܘ ܐܝܬ X ܠܡܠ ܠܐܝܕܝܗ ܕܐܝܕܝ X ܡܢ S

X ܐܢܝܢ ܕܐܝ X ܠܐܝܕܝܗ X X ܘܐ P

X ܐܢܝܢ X X ܗܘܡ ܠܐܝܕܝܗܕ X X ܠܐ QUX

X ܐܢܝܢ X X ܠܐܝܕܝܗ X ܕܐܢܫ ܘܐ H

The reading ܠ in QUX is an OS reading, although in all other respects this citation is closer to P than S.

Index to Gospel Citations

QUX
[Mt 1.21; 1.23; 4.4; 4.10b; 10.28; 12.33; 13.41; 13.55; 14.33; 16.16-7; 16.22-3; 16.24; 16.27; 17.26; 19.4; 21.38; 22.29; 22.42-5; 23.8-9; 25.40; 26.38; 26.39; 27.40-2; 27.46b; 28.19; Lk 1.15; 1.31; 1.76; Jn 1.1; 1.11-12; 1.13; 1.16; 1.18; 1.29; 1.30; 1.32-4; 2.19; 3.12; 3.13; 3.16; 3.31; 4.22; 6.38-9; 6.42; 6.51; 6.53; 8.39b-40; 8.58; 10.11; 10.18; 10.30; 10.33; 10.37-8; 13.31-2; 14.6; 14.9-10a; 14.28; 17.5; 20.17; 20.22; 20.23]

EDC
[Mt 1.21; 15.14b; Lk 3.6; Jn 1.16; Jn 3.34*; 6.57; 6.63; 10.33; 10.34-6]

SDI
[Mt 1.23; 14.33; Lk 2.40; 2.52; 3.6; Jn 1.1*; 1.30; 3.13; 4.22; 7.15; 8.58; 9.35-7; 10.33; 14.2]

Ep39
[Mt 1.21; 1.23; Lk 1.30; Lk 1.31; Jn 3.13a; 14.27]

Ep40
[Jn 8.39b-40; 10.30; 14.9]

Ep44
[no Gospel citations]

Ep45
[Mt 4.2*; 7.15*; 8.24*; 8.26*; 26.38*; Jn 4.6]

Ep46
[no Gospel citations]

Ep50
[Mt 3.15b; 24.34; Lk 1.2; 1.35*; Jn 3.6; 4.24*; 5.22f.; 6.44; 10.9*; 10.30; 14.6*; 14.9f.; 16.32]

Ep55
[Mt 10.20; 12.50; 18.20; 22.29b; 28.19; Mk 8.38; Lk 1.2; 22.67-9; Jn 1.1 ^{x2}; 1.3; 1.30; 3.31; 6.53; 8.23b; 8.42; 8.58; 9.37; 10.30; 14.6; 14.9-10a ^{x2}; 16.28; 17.3; 17.5; 20.22]

Ep101
[Mt 16.13,15,17; 28.19; Jn 3.13; 6.54]

CO
[Mt 5.28a; 7.4-5; 10.8b; 11.27; 12.28 ^{x2}; 16.16; 18.16; Lk 1.2*; 1.28b; 1.35 ^{x2}; 2.14; 2.52 ^{x2};
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8.39-40; 8.58; 10.30 ^{x2}; 10.32 ^{x2}; 10.33; 10.34-6; 12.49*; 14.9-10a; 14.10b; 20.17]

CT
[Mt 1.18b; 1.20b; 3.15b; 8.24*; 10.1b; 12.24*; 12.28 ^{x2}; 16.22-3 ^{x2}; 17.24; 20.18-19; 22.29b;
Mt 24.36; 26.37*; 26.39 ^{x4}; 26.40-1; 27.46b; Lk 1.34; 1.35; 2.52; 4.18,21 ^{x2}; 10.17; Jn 1.33;
2.19 ^{x4}; 4.6; 6.33; 6.51 ^{x2}; 6.53; 6.56; 8.40; 8.56*; 11.35*; 12.27; 15.15*; 15.26; 16.14; 16.15;
17.5]

AT
[Mt 6.22*; 7.15*; 9.29*; 13.25-6*; 24.36; 28.20; Lk 7.14; Jn 4.6; 4.24 ^{x2}; 5.37 ^{x2}; 8.46; 9.6;
10.10; 14.10a; 14.10b; 14.30; 16.7]

GL
[Mk 14.21; Jn 1.3; 5.39*]

MosEp
[Mt 5.42; Mt 7.7]

2. Acts/ Catholic Epistles/ Revelation

Full synopses are given below of the citations from the Book of Acts, the Catholic Epistles, and from Revelation. The Münster edition of the Major Catholics[1] did not include most of our texts and even those that were covered were not exhaustively so (e.g. Jc 2.20 in Ep55). Many full synopses are thus given here even in the Major Catholics.

Acts 1.11 [AT = 156,13-15 / 466,5-7]

οὗτος ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἀναλημφθεὶς ἀφ' ὑμῶν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν [εἰς.τ.ο. om. AT]

ܐܬܪܐ	x	ܡܩܝܡ	ܐܠܗܐ	x	ܣܘܐ	ܗܢܐ			P
[x]	ܐܚܪ̈ܝ	ܡܩܝܡ̈ܝ		x	x	ܡܘܣܐ	ܗܢܐ		AT
ܐܬܪܐ.	x	ܡܩܝܡ	ܐܠܗܐ	ܗܘ	ܣܘܐ	ܗܢܐ			H

οὕτως ἐλεύσεται ὃν τρόπον ἐθεάσασθε αὐτὸν πορευόμενον [πορ. αὐτ. AT] εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν.

ܐܬܪܐ	ܡܝܐ	ܡܘܥܒܕܝܢ	x	ܟܐ	ܐܝܟ	x	ܐܝܟ	ܐܢܚܢܐ	P
ܐܬܪܐ	ܐܝܟ̈ܕ	ܡܘܥܒܕܝܢ	ܗܘ		ܟܐܒ	x	ܐܝܟ	ܐܢܚܢܐ	AT
ܐܬܪܐ	ܐܝܟ̈ܕ	ܡܘܥܒܕܝܢ	x		ܟܐܝ	ܗܘܗ	ܐܝܟ	ܐܢܚܢܐ	H

AT's ܡܘܣܐ is inexplicable except as a loose piece of citing. Generally, AT shows its independence, e.g. ܐܚܪ̈ܝ and impf ܐܝܟ̈ܕ; but also there are close parallels to H, e.g. ܟܐܝ and ܐܝܟ̈ܕ, which are improvements on P.

Acts 2.1,3-4 [MosEp = Guidi, 403]

P = MosEp

Acts 2.24 [CO = 46,10 / f.97vc]

P = CO
ܐܝܟ̈ܝ ܒܝܕ ܡܢ add. CO post ܡܣܟܘܐ.

Cyril's added ἐκ νεκρῶν / ܐܝܟ̈ܝ ܒܝܕ ܡܢ is due to assimilation to Acts 3.15, 4.10, 13.30 etc. and is faithfully followed by the translator.

Acts 2.33 [CO = 46,10-11 / f.97vc-f.98ra]

P = CO
ܐܝܡܝܢܐ] ܒܚܝܠ CO

Again CO follows Cyril's variant δυνάμει for δεξιᾷ.

Acts 3.12 [CO = 52,39-40 / f.101va-b]

P = CO
ܐܝܢܐ] ܗܘ H

---

[1] NTSU 1.

ܪܚܡ om. CO

CO's omission merely reflects Cyril's text.

Acts 3.22 [QUX = 750,30-1 / f.74va]

P = QUX

ܩܘܒܠܐ add. QUX post ܪܥܝܬܐ.

QUX's addition reflects Cyril's text. It is P which is at variance with the tradition.

Acts 10.38a [CO = 133,19-20 / f.117rc] [CT = 133,19-20 / f.117rc]

P = CO,CT

ܣܘܚܬܐ ܪܐܠܗܐ] ܐܠܗܐ ܡܥܡܕ ܗܘ

The different syntax reflects Cyril's wording. The Harklean is as Peshitta save for having ܪܥܝܬܐ in place of ܪܥܝܣܘܬ.

Acts 10.38b [QUX = 749,12-5 / f.73va-b]

$$\ddot{\delta}\varsigma\ \delta\iota\tilde{\eta}\lambda\theta\varepsilon\nu\ \varepsilon\dot{\upsilon}\varepsilon\rho\gamma\varepsilon\tau\tilde{\omega}\nu\ \kappa\alpha\grave{\iota}\ \dot{\iota}\dot{\omega}\mu\varepsilon\nu\circ\varsigma\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma$$

ܐܘܗܠ x ܪܘܐܪܬܐܐ ܪܐܗܐ ܘܬܒܬܗܢ ܐܘܗܣܐ P

ܐܠܗܐ ܘܡܠܗ ܪܘܐܪܬܐ ܪܐܗܐ ܘܬܒܬܗܐ x QUX

$$\tau\circ\grave{\upsilon}\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\sigma\tau\varepsilon\upsilon\circ\mu\acute{\varepsilon}\nu\circ\upsilon\varsigma\ \dot{\upsilon}\pi\grave{\circ}\ \tau\circ\tilde{\upsilon}\ \delta\iota\alpha\beta\acute{\circ}\lambda\circ\upsilon$$

.ܪܚܝܒ ܡܢ x ܚܣܝܕܐܪܐ P

.ܪܣܝܪ ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܪܝܠܒܣ ܗܘܘ ܘܒܝܪܒܗܢ QUX

QUX's independence from P is quite marked, sometimes taking more care over the original (e.g. ܩܘܡܠܒ), and at other times less so than P (using two words for καταδυναστευομένους).

Acts 10.44-6 [MosEp = Guidi, 403]

P = MosEp

Acts 13.41 [QUX = 723,28-30 / f.56va]

$$\ddot{\iota}\delta\varepsilon\tau\varepsilon,\ \circ\dot{\iota}\ \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\phi\rho\circ\nu\eta\tau\alpha\acute{\iota},\ \kappa\alpha\grave{\iota}\ \theta\alpha\upsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\tau\varepsilon\ \kappa\alpha\grave{\iota}\ \dot{\alpha}\phi\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\sigma\theta\eta\tau\varepsilon,\ \ddot{\circ}\tau\iota\ \ddot{\varepsilon}\rho\gamma\circ\nu$$

x ܪܒܝܠܐ x ܩܠܒܘܬܗܘ ܩܗܡܣܬܗܘ x ܪܕܝܡܒܣ ܐܘܚܢ P

ܪܣܝܪ ܒܝܠܐ x x .ܐܝܗܬܗܘ ܩܒܪܪܐ ܪܕܝܡܒܣ ܐܝܩܘܐ QUX

ܪܣܝܪ ܪܝܒܠܐ ܠܠܝܣ .ܩܘܝܬܝܡܪܐ ܩܗܡܣܬܗܘ .ܐܝܩܘܐ ܪܝܡܒܣ ܐܘܚ H

$$\dot{\varepsilon}\rho\gamma\acute{\alpha}\zeta\circ\mu\alpha\iota\ \dot{\varepsilon}\gamma\grave{\omega}\ \dot{\varepsilon}\nu\ \tau\alpha\tilde{\iota}\varsigma\ \dot{\eta}\mu\acute{\varepsilon}\rho\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \dot{\upsilon}\mu\tilde{\omega}\nu,\ \ddot{\varepsilon}\rho\gamma\circ\nu\ \ddot{\circ}\ \circ\dot{\upsilon}\ \mu\grave{\eta}\ \pi\iota\sigma\tau\varepsilon\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\eta\tau\varepsilon\ \dot{\varepsilon}\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \tau\iota\varsigma\ \dot{\varepsilon}\kappa\delta\iota\eta\gamma\tilde{\eta}\tau\alpha\iota\ \dot{\upsilon}\mu\tilde{\iota}\nu.$$

.ܩܘܒܠ ܪܥܝܕܡܒ ܒܝܪ ܐܪ ܩܘܒܪܡܘܬ ܪܠܝ ܪܣܝܪ .ܩܒܬܖܖܣܒ ܪܣܝܪ ܝܒܥ P

.ܩܘܒܠ ܪܥܝܕܝ ܒܝܪ ܐܪ ܩܘܒܪܡܘܬ ܪܠܝ ܪܣܝܪ .ܩܒܬܖܖܣܒ x ܪܝܒܥ QUX

.ܩܠ ܪܚܡܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܐܝܟ ܢܩܒܪܘܢܗ ܐܠܗ ܐܘܢ ܢܥܠܒܘܕܘ ܐܝܟ ܒܥܐ   H

In the first clause, QUX is quite independent of P, in the second following more closely. Where Cyril uses the aorist subj. ἐκδιηγήσηται for the present subj. ἐκδιηγῆται, QUX changes P's ptc. to an impf in line with normal equivalencies.

Acts 16.7 [Ep39 = 19,28-9 / f.152rb]

ἐλθόντες δὲ κατὰ τὴν Μυσίαν ἐπείραζον εἰς τὴν Βιθυνίαν πορευθῆναι,

ܡܘܛܝܐܠ	ܕܝ	ܕ	ܠܘܣܝܐܢ	x	ܗܘܘ	ܡܢܣܝܢ	ܐܝܟ	ܠܡܘܣܝܐ	ܥܕܡܐ	x	ܒ	P
ܡܘܛܝܐܠ	x	x	ܠܡܐܙܠ	x	ܗܘܘ	ܢܣܒܘ	x	ܠܡܘܣܝܐ	ܥܕܡܐ	ܗܢ	ܒ	Ep39
x	x	x	ܠܡܐܙܠ	ܡܘܛܝܐܠ	ܗܘܘ	ܡܛܝܘ	x	ܠܡܘܣܝܐ	ܐܠܐ	ܗܢ	ܒ	H

καὶ οὐκ εἴασεν αὐτοὺς τὸ πνεῦμα Ἰησοῦ

ܕܝܫܘܥ	ܪܘܚܐ	ܠܗܘܢ	ܫܒܩܐ	ܘܠܐ	P
ܕܝܫܘܥ	ܪܘܚܐ	ܐܢܘܢ	ܐܦܝܣ	ܘܠܐ	Ep39
ܕܝܫܘܥ	ܪܘܚܐ	ܐܢܘܢ	ܫܒܩ	ܘܠܐ	H

Ep39 clearly has the same basic concern as H, namely to avoid P's additions and periphrases and stay much closer to the original. H has achieved this a little better (note the position of ܡܘܛܝܐܠ) but Ep39 represents a movement in the same direction, and note the preference for the Syriac infinitive, ܠܡܐܙܠ, where the Gk also has an infinitive, rather than using ܢ with the imperfect.

Acts 17.29 [AT = no Greek / 450,11-12],

οὐκ ὀφείλομεν νομίζειν χρυσῷ ἢ ἀργύρῳ ἢ λίθῳ, χαράγματι τέχνης

ܕܐܘܡܢܘܬܐ	ܪܫܝܡܐ	ܠܟܐܦܐ	ܐܘ	ܠܣܐܡܐ	ܐܘ	ܠܕܗܒܐ	ܚܫܝܒܝܢ	ܠܐ	P
ܕܐܘܡܢܘܬܐ	ܠܨܘܪܬܐ	x	ܐܘ	ܠܣܐܡܐ	ܐܘ	ܠܕܗܒܐ	ܕܢܣܒܪ	ܠܢ	ܘܠܐ	AT
ܕܐܘܡܢܘܬܐ	ܕܒܚܟܝܠܘܬܐ	ܠܨܘܪܬܐ	ܐܘ	ܠܣܐܡܐ	ܐܘ	ܠܕܗܒܐ	ܪܫܝܡܐ	ܚܫܝܒܝܢ	ܠܐ	H

καὶ ἐνθυμήσεως ἀνθρώπου, τὸ θεῖον εἶναι ὅμοιον

x	x	ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ	x	ܕܐܝܬܝܗ	ܕܕܡܝܐ	ܘܒܡܚܫܒܬܐ	P
ܕܐܠܗܐ	ܐܝܬܘܗܝ	ܠܗܕܐ	ܗܘ	x	ܕܐܝܬܝܗ	ܘܒܬܪܥܝܬܐ	AT
x	x	ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ	ܐܝܬܘܗܝ	ܕܐܝܬܝܗ	ܕܕܡܝܐ	ܘܒܬܪܥܝܬܐ	H

AT makes an independent, careful translation which is an improvement on P, although P/H's ܕܐܝܬܝܗ is more correct than ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ, since the original is a noun not an adjective. However, AT and H share the use of ܘܒܬܪܥܝܬܐ (P ܘܒܡܚܫܒܬܐ) for ἐνθυμήσεως. The omission of an equivalent for λίθῳ in AT may be down to the Vorlage, but this is not extant here. In the final phrase, both AT and H have added ܐܝܬܘܗܝ, but the word order is actually more accurate in AT than in H.

Acts 17.31 [CT = 121,27 / f.112vc]

ἐν ᾗ μέλλει κρίνειν τὴν οἰκουμένην

X	ܡܠܐ	ܐܝܬ	ܕܢܘܢ	ܐܚܝܕ	ܕܗ	P
ܬܒܠ	ܠܡܠܐ	X	ܕܢܘܢ	ܐܚܝܕ	ܕܗ	CT
ܠܬܚܘܬܝܗܝܬ	X	X	ܠܬܒܠ	ܐܚܝܕ	ܕܗ	H

The citation shows H's advances both in syntactical equivalents (infinitive for infinitive) and lexically (the etymologically precise term for οἰκουμένην). CT is loosely based on P.

Jc 1.5-6 [MosEp* = ZechRh 21,3-5]

Jc 1.8,7 [CO = 54,34-5 / f.102vb]

ܒܡܬܐ ܡܢ ܡܝܢ ܚܙܘ ܘܠܐ. ܐܪܝܬܘܐ ܒܠܒܗ ܕܐܪ ܩܠܐ܂ ܘܗܡܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܡܒܠܐ

P has ܡܢܝܢܒ ܩܠܐ and H ܪܐܐ ܕܝܘܝܗ. The 7th century version of Severus' *Ad Nephalium* has ܡܪܐܒ ܩܠܐ. Our text is evidently trying to be closer to the Gk than P. On the other hand, its ܡܒܠܐ is unknown in other versions and citations (ܒܠܝ P; ܪܡܢܠܝܢ ܠܐ H).

Jc 1.17 [EDC = 17,13 / f.15rb] [Ep39 = 19,5 / f.151vb] [CT* = 112,10 / f.109rb]

EDC,Ep39
ܕܒܠܘܐܝܕ ܕܬܘܠܝ

τροπῆς is ܪܒܠܝܥ in both P and H, but ܕܒܠܘܐ is found instead in PC (consistently many times), CL and Ath. Its presence here again in EDC and Ep39 (the same word is used in CT's allusion as well) makes this a likely X reading, which H has rejected to go back to P (Philoxenus unfortunately does not quote the phrase). EDC also has this probable X-reading, which is also the normal rendering for τροπή throughout the text of EDC.

Jc 2.1 [QUX = 753,37-9 / f.76vb]

ܪܬܝܘܩܒܬܝ܂ ܡܬܝܐܪܝ ܪܝܘܢܒܐ ܒܠܚ ܠܒܪܝ ܡܬܩܝܒܘܡܠ. ܪܐܪܒ ܙܡܚܒ ܡܝܘܐܝܘܪܝ ܠܐ܂ ܟܘܪ

QUX's version is quite independent of P,H.

Jc 2.20 [Ep55 = 49,16-7 / 1,25]

܂ܡ ܪܗܕܟܒ ܪܝܫܚ ܡܢ ܐܠܟ ܪܗܩܒܘܡ

This is especially close to H's ܡܝܟܪ ܪܗܕܟܒ ܪܝܫܚ ܡܢ ܐܠܟ ܪܗܩܒܘܡ, which begs the question of why this citation is omitted from the NTSU edition. It must undoubtedly reflect the X/H tradition.

1 Pet 1.18-19 [CT = 145,19 / f.122rc]

ܪܚܠܩܠ ܪܠܝܘ ܝܩܒ ܪܠܝ ܪܝܬܘܟܪ .ܪܝܚܝܡܬܝ ܪܝܘܠ ܪܒܝܒ ܪܠܟܪ ܠܒܘܬܝܒܝ ܪܒܪܩܒܒ ܐܟܪ ܪܒܡܒ ܠܐ.

P and H prefer ܪܒܩܒ to ܪܒܘܪܒܒ, which hints to us already that this citation is independent of the versions and warns us from building too much on other factors. However, the use of ܠܒܘܬܒܒ is with H against P (ܪܠܒ). On the other hand, ܪܚܠܩܠ is P's term, where H uses ܪܒܒܚܒܒ.

P's odd periphrasis ܪܚܝܘܬ ,ܡܘܟܪ܊ ܘܒ ܟܠ ܪܟܠܠܝܐܘ ܪܚܘܒ܊ ܪܒܘܪ܊ is certainly avoided in favour of something much more clearly mirroring the Vorlage.

1 Pet 1.21 [CO* = 47,13 / f.98va]

ܪܟܘܩܒܩܬܐ ܡܠ ܒܩܣܘ ܪܟܣܒ ܟܘܒ ܡܢ ܘܚܘܝܘܪ܊ ܘܡܘ

While ܪܟܘܩܒܩܬܐ is H's special term (ܪܚܝܒܩܩ P), the word order of P is retained against Gk, and the difference is too small to draw conclusions.

1 Pet 2.20-1 [QUX = 754,35-40 / f.77va]

ܩܘܟܘܪ ܩܝܒܚ ܒܒ܊ ܪܠܪ .ܪܟܝܩܩܡ ܩܘܟܘܪ ܩܝܒܘܡܒ ܩܘܟܘܪ ܝܠܝܘ ܒܒ܊ .ܩܩܘܣܘܩܚ ܘܡ ܪܒܝܪ
.ܩܠܠܒܒ ܟܘܒ ܝܚܠ ܪܟܝܝܒܒ ܐܪ .ܪܘܠܪ ܠܚ ܪܟܒܩܒ܊ ܝܚܠ ,ܡ ܪܒܡ .ܪܟܝܝ ܩܘܝܒܘܩܒܬ ܪܟܟܝܚܩܩ
.ܡܒܩܒܩܒ ܪܒܝܘܒ܊ ܪܟܘܩܒܘܬܚ ܠ ܪܟܘܡܒ܊

Independently translated, sometimes with some freedom, as τοῦτο χάρις παρὰ θεῷ being rendered as ܪܟܘܠܪ ܠܚ ܪܟܒܩܒ܊ ܝܚܠ ,ܡ ܪܒܡ. Some terms recall P, and surely the translator knew the text of P, but this citation can hardly be said to be in any way attached to it. Some of its renderings are naturally a little more advanced, such as ܟܒ rather than ܪܚܒ to introduce a time-based participle.

1 Pet 2.22a [CT = 141,15 / f.120va]

ܒܒܚ ܪܠ ܪܟܝܘܠܝܘ

X had probably already got the order as in Gk (PC,Ath,CL,CH,DM) as CT does here, but this merely shows a greater concern for word order than is found in P.

1 Pet 2.22b [QUX = 745,38-9/ f.71rb]

ܡܒܩܩܒ ܪܟܠܝ ܝܝܘܒܚܝܘܪ ܪܠ

The word order is accurate to the Gk and the same is found in H (P ܝܝܘܒܚܝܘܪ ܪܟܠܝ) and in some instances in PC. See Aland, *Philoxenianisch*, 380.

1 Pet 2.24 [Ep50 = 95,9-10 / f.143vb]

ܪܟܩܘܡ ܠܚ ܡܒܝܚܩܩܒ ܝܝܡܠܝܘ ܐܩܩܪ

Here Ep50 shows further signs of being in accord with X. P's double rendering of ἀνήνεγκεν with ܐܩܩܪ...ܠܩܚ was reduced to the latter form alone in PC and H (but not yet in Phx[ML/TT]); similarly P's ܪܟܝܘܠܝܓ for ξυλῷ became the more accurate ܪܟܩܘܡ in PC (consistently) and H. Both these revisions are prefigured already in Ep50. Ep50's ܡܒܝܚܩܩܒ, however, is very unusual, paralleled only in the Eastern *Liber Heraclides*, though there is unlikely to be any connection. Ep50 uses ܪܚܝܚܩܩܠ often for both σάρξ and σῶμα in his main text and this is probably why this reading appears here.[1] We see a similar effect again in the following reference.

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[1] For the issue generally, cf. Part 3.i under *σάρξ, σῶμα and their derivatives*.

1 Pet 3.15 [Ep40 = 24,8-9 / 30,1-2] [Ep55 = 51,17-8 / 5,7-8]

Ep40

‏ܘܗܘܕܬܘ ܫܒܚ̈ܘܢ ܠܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܠܒ̈ܘܬܟܘܢ ܥܠ ܟܠܗ ܣܒܪܐ ܕܡܢܟܘܢ‎

Ep55

‏ܘܗܘܬܡܬܟܘܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܠܟܠ ܠܒܠ ܕܢܫܐܠ ܠܟܘܢ ܥܠ ܣܒܪܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܟܘܢ‎

Ep40's ‏ܩܕܝܫ‎ is singular among Syriac witnesses, which otherwise always use ‏ܡܠܟܐ‎. X must have had ‏ܒܗ‎ ‏ܕ‎ for the resumptive τῷ (Phx[EpS],DM,H), but Ep40 is the only known citation that follows P. This is true also for P's unusual ‏ܕܡܢܟܘܢܬܗ‎ (a variant found in a few early Latin mss), where the translator is even ignoring his Vorlage for the sake of copying P.

Ep55 is careful to include ‏ܐܡܝܢܐܝܬ‎ for ἀεί, which P does not (perhaps due to Vorlage). Ep55 also dispenses with P's singular reading 'of faith' at the end of the verse.

1 Pet 3.18 [QUX = 766,5-7 / f.85vb] [CO* = 51,6 / f.100va]

QUX

‏ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܦ ܚܕ ܡܛܠ ܚܛܗ̈ܝܢ ܡܝܬ. ܗܘ ܕܙܕܝܩ ܥܠ ܐܦ̈ܝ ܚܛܝ̈ܐ ܕܠܐܠܗܐ ܡܩܪܒ. ܘܡܝܬ ܒܦܓܪ.‎
‏ܒܪܡ ܕܝܢ ܚܝܐ ܒܪܘܚ.‎

QUX has made an advance on P, for instance in ‏ܒܦܓܪ‎ rather than ‏ܒܒܣܪ‎ for σάρξ, and in using ‏ܕܝܢ‎ for the contrast θανατωθεὶς μέν...ζῳοποιηθεὶς δὲ rather than joining the two as equals with ‏ܘ‎. RF followed P in both these idioms, but QUX anticipates H in both places, along with PC (AJP,PHL). See also Aland, *Philoxenianisch*, 382. In CO, we note only the ‏ܒܣܪܢܐܝܬ‎ for σαρκικῶς, which is typical of this text and reflects a closeness to P.

1 Pet 4.1 [QUX* = 765,22 / f.85rb] [QUX* = 775,4 / f.92vb] [EDC* = 25,25[1] / f.21rb] [Ep39 = 19,10 / f.151vb] [Ep46 = 161,23 / 52,1] [Ep50 = 95,7 / f.143vb] [CO = 63,28 / f.106vc] [CT1 = 145,11 / f.122ra] [CT2* = 145,19 / f.122rb]

QUX ‏ܡܝܬ ܒܦܓܪ‎

EDC ‏ܡܝܬ ܒܦܓܪܐ‎ [but in unrevised version EDC1, ‏ܒܒܣܪ‎]

Ep39 ‏ܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܠܦܢ ܡܝܬ ܒܦܓܪ‎

Ep46[2] ‏ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܝܬ ܒܠܦܢ ܒܦܓܪ‎

Ep50 ‏ܒܦܓܪܗ ܡܝܬ‎

CO ‏ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܝܬ ܒܠܦܢ ܒܦܓܪ.‎

CT1 ‏ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܝܬ ܒܠܦܢ‎

CT2 ‏ܡܝܬ ܒܒܣܪ‎

P's ‏ܒܦܓܪ‎ is found in QUX,Ep46,CO, where we might expect to find it, and also in Ep39, which is more often aligned with EDC. In EDC, the emphatic ‏ܒܦܓܪܐ‎ is used, although this is not otherwise found much among pre-H texts (PC occasionally, Apl). See EDC's citation of 1 Tim 3.16 for this as symptomatic of the X-revision. In the unrevised form of EDC we simply

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[1] Erroneously referenced in ACO as 1 Pet 1.4.

[2] This citation is obscured in NTSU by their citing of the second, more paraphrased, instance of this verse in Ep46 (52,19) rather than the first, fuller one (52,1), probably due to a similar error in the index to the edition.

find ܝܟܒ (see Part 3.iv.a). Ep50 and CT both show the rather unexpected ܪܝܟܒ. These texts are shown to be early and somewhat independent of P, although ܪܝܟܐ for σάρξ is by no means an OS reading either, Aphrahat and Liber Graduum always using ܝܣܒ.

1 Pet 4.14 [QUX = 753,39-41 / f.76vb]

ܕܘܘܝܬܝܪ ܠܩܙܠܟ ܪܡܠܪܢ ܪܟܘܐܝܐ ܪܚܘܐܙܟܬܢ ܪܟܘܐܝܢ ܠܩܘܙܩܠ ܠܩܕܘܝܪ ܦܝܪܡܘܝܚܡ ܪܟܘܝܚܙܐ ܠܪ

Independent of both P and H, QUX repeats ܪܟܘܐܝ unnecessarily and has quite a different word order.

2 Pet 2.1 [QUX = 735,3-4 / f.63vb]

> QUX
>
> ܠܩܘܪ ܦܝܢܙ ܪܝܬܙܐ ܐܩܚܒ ܦܝܐܒ

> Pococke
>
> ܦܝܐܒ ܠܩܘܪ ܦܝܢܙ ܪܝܬܙܐ

The vocabulary is as in the text of Pococke's Epistles (Gwynn, *Later Syriac Versions*), but the syntax differs and we cannot assert any connection between them.

2 Pet 2.10 [CT* = 137,26 / f.119ra]

> CT
>
> ܪܟܝܬܘܐܠ ܘ ܪܟܘܝܬܙܐ

> Pococke
>
> ܪܟܠܐܚܙܐ ܪܟܘܝܬܙܐ

H = CT, which therefore long anticipates the lexical change from ܪܟܠܐܚܙܐ to ܪܟܝܬܘܐܠ.

2 Pet 2.21-2 [QUX = 715,9-13 / f.51rb]

> QUX
>
> ܦܙ ܠܩܘܚܙܒܐܠ ܠܩܐܒܝ ܐܚܐܟܝܒ ܝܒܝ ܐܪܟ ܪܝܝܬܙܐܝ ܪܟܘܝܐܪܠ ܐܚܐܒܝܝܝ ܪܟܠܝ ܝܟܠ ܠܩܐܠ ܕܝܐܐ ܪܟܘܐܒ
> ܐܠܟܝܙ ܪܟܐܠܒ ܘܝܩܪܝ ܪܟܝܒܝܙ ܪܟܠܐܚܙܒ ܪܟܝܙܙܐܪܝ ܝܐ ܠܩܐܠ ܐܚܙܝܠܝ ܘ ܠܩܐܠ ܒܩܝܐܪܟܝ ܪܟܙܝܚ ܪܟܐܝܐܚܒ
> ܪܟܝܚܐܒ ܪܟܝܝܙܙܝ ܪܟܐܝܒܝܘܘ ܐܚܒܐܘܝ

> Pococke
>
> ܠܩܐܒܐܚܝ ܪܟܝܬܚܐܠ ܐܚܝܝܐܚܙܪܟ ܐܒܝ ܐܪܟ ܪܟܚܐܩܒܝܝܝ ܪܟܘܝܐܪܠ ܠܩܐܝܝܐܚܒܝ ܪܟܠܝ ܝܒܝ ܠܩܐܠ ܪܟܐܚ ܐܚܩܒ
> ܠܟ ܘܝܐܚܙܝ ܪܟܐܠܒܝ ܪܟܝܒܝܙ ܪܟܠܐܚܙܝ ܦܠܚ ܦܝ ܠܩܐܠ ܐܚܝܠ ܠܩܐܠ ܒܠܐܚܐܪܟܝ ܪܟܙܝܚܐ ܪܟܝܙܙܐܚܒ ܦܙ
> ܪܟܝܚܐܙܝ ܪܟܠܝ ܝܐܚܒ ܐܚܐܒܘܙܝ ܪܟܐܝܒܝܘܘ ܐܚܒܐܘܝ

The citation in QUX is certainly his own (independent of P) and bears no resemblance to the Pococke version, which itself shows a slightly greater concern for accuracy and precision:

2 Pet 3.16 [AT* = 168,20-1 / 475,10-11]

> AT
>
> ܐܠܒܐܚܐܒܐܠ ܦܡܚܝܝܝ ܐܚܝܒ ܐܪܟ ܝܒܝܪ ܦܝܙ ܪܟܐܚܐܩܘܝ

ܐܠܗܐ [1] ܕܫܡܥ ܡܕܡ ܡܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܐܝܠܝܢ

ܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܥ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܐܝܬ ܡܢ

It would be difficult to conclude that the translator of AT knew of a text identical to the Pococke version.

1 Jn 1.1 [CO = 35,38-36,2 / f.92vb]

ὃ ἦν ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς, ὃ ἀκηκόαμεν, ὃ ἑωράκαμεν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν, ὃ ἐθεασάμεθα [ὃ ἐθ. ante τοῖς ponit CO] καὶ αἱ χεῖρες ἡμῶν ἐψηλάφησαν περὶ τοῦ λόγου τῆς ζωῆς

ܕܐܝܬ ܡܛܠ ܐܝܕܝܢ ܕܐܝܕܝܢ ܗܘ ܘܐܝܠܝܢ ܚܙܝܢ ܗܘ ܕܫܡܥܢ ܗܘ ܒܪܝܫܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘ
ܕܚܝܐ.

This is a fascinating mix between an attempt to quote P and an attempt to translate Cyril. Cyril has confused the issue by transposing ὃ ἐθεασάμεθα before, rather than following, τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν. CO appears to have translated the first ‘looking’ verb, then added ‘with our eyes’ as he knew from his own version, then turned back to the Gk and continued from that point, onto ‘and our hands’, thereby omitting the second ‘looking’ verb.

Besides this error, however, the whole citation sides with P against H, e.g. the forms of the verbs ܚܙܝܢ...ܫܡܥܢ...ܐܝܕܝܢ where H has ܚܙܝܢ...ܫܡܥܢ...ܐܝܕܝܢ - not only using different forms but recognising that the last verb has ‘hands’ as its subject, whereas P has it as a 1st pl. (with hands as the agent), conforming to the grammar of the earlier verbs. Again, only P has the periphrasis ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘ as a way of getting round the odd ellipsis of the verse before περί. Finally P and CO have ܒܪܝܫܝܬ against H’s ܪܝܫܝܬ. All these facts point incontestably to a P text being quoted, even where this varies significantly from the Gk (as with the grammar of the last verb). However, there is one odd variant, viz. the omission of ܡܢ before ܒܪܝܫܝܬ which may just be an error as this is not paralleled anywhere.

We can add to this some observations on other citations. This verse comes twice in RF where ‘from the beginning’ is, oddly, on one occasion ܡܢ ܩܕܝܡ, a rendering paralleled in CL only. The RF citations are generally close to P but have their own odd renderings, e.g. adding ‘with our ears’ to the first verb and putting object suffixes on the verbs. The citation in CPJ is, as we would expect, halfway to H in some respects, but is not at all parallel to our version here, and again CPJ’s renderings are different from those elsewhere in Phx^{pre-x}, where P is still being quoted.

On the basis that ܡܢ ܪܝܫܝܬ is used for ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς at 1 Jn 1.1 in CPJ, Aland argued that this was also X’s reading in imitation of Gen 1.1, a ‘half-way house’ between P’s ܡܢ ܒܪܝܫܝܬ and H’s ܡܢ ܪܝܫܝܬ.[2]

1 Jn 1.7 [QUX* = 722,41 / f.56ra]

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[1] But ܕܫܡܥ in some mss, including that used for Lee’s edition of the Syriac NT.
[2] Aland, *Philoxenianisch*, 364-5.

P/H = QUX*

1 Jn 2.19 [QUX = 715,19-20 / f.51rb]

P = QUX

ܐܠܐ] ܡܢ QUX (Gk ἀλλά).

1 Jn 3.24 [GL* = 415]

1 Jn 4.2-3 [QUX = 743,27-30 / f.69vb]

(Syriac text, 2 lines)

The appearance of ܐܝܬܘܗܝ for ἐστί is otherwise found in RF, a citation in Timothy Ailuros, and then in H (which has ܡܘܬܒܗ due to treating ܪܘܚܐ as masculine), and is a standard advance on P already common in RF's time. The use of ܒ for the object of the second ܡܘܕܐ is similarly limited to this citation, RF and Timothy Ailuros. QUX's omission of the repeated ܪܘܚܐ must be put down to the translator's sometimes periphrastic style.

1 Jn 4.14-5 [QUX = 743,23-7 / f.69vb]

(Syriac text, 2 lines)

QUX is again intriguingly independent. Note especially his reversal of the two phrases at the end from the normal order. Some of the wording, e.g. ܗܘܐ for ܩܘܐ (μένει) and ܕ ܡܢ are shared with the RF and are not found in the versions. The use of ,ܡܚܐ instead of the noun ܦܪܘܩܐ (σωτῆρα) is peculiar to this text.

1 Jn 5.20 [QUX = 776,35-8 / f.94rb]

(Syriac text, 2 lines)

Cyril has paraphrased the citation slightly and the translator follows his Vorlage accurately, but is obviously accustomed to the wording of the versions. ܬܪܥܝܬܐ, however, is H's term for διάνοια (P has ܠܒܐ and RF ܡܕܥܐ). For ἐσμέν, ܐܝܬܝܢ is found also in RF and H against P,Ath.

Jude 4 [Ep55 = 60,37-40 / 23,2-5]

Ep55

(Syriac text, 2 lines)

Pococke

(Syriac text, 3 lines)

The addition of ܪܥܠܐ in the latter text is a Byzantine reading. Although they are generally quite independent, note that both versions use the Syriac play on words ܪܚܩܐܠ...ܪܚܩܠ. This may indicate some common tradition – perhaps a version of Jude existing already before the 'Pococke' version, or perhaps the translator had already seen this version, which may have originated as part of the Philoxenian revisions (cf. the various arguments on this point in Part 3.iii.c above).

Jude 19 [Ep50* = 97,23-4 / f.145rb] [CO = 44,15-6 / f.97ra = PHL 77,7-8]

οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀποδιορίζοντες, ψυχικοί, πνεῦμα μὴ ἔχοντες

Ep50
[1] ܢܘܡ ܚܝܠ ܪܘܝܢ ܢܘܡܝܬܐ ܠܝ ܪܚܫܐ...ܝܪܝܫܘ

CO
ܢܘܡ ܚܝܠ ܪܘܝܢ ܪܚܫܐ

Pococke
ܢܘܠ ܚܝܠ ܪܘܝܢ ܪܚܫܐ ܝܪܝܫܘܢ ܠܪ ܢܘܡܝܬܐ ܠܡ

H
ܢܘܠ ܚܝܠ ܪܘܝܢ ܪܚܫܐ ܝܪܝܫܘܢ ܢܝܡ ܢܘܡܝܬܐ ܠܡ

Is there a possibility here that the translators of Ep50 or CO already know of a text looking largely like what we have in the Pococke text? There are certainly close similarities, but we cannot be sure. CO's use of the adjectival form ܪܚܫܐ is more typical of the X/H-tradition than the periphrastic approach of Ep50 which is more typical of earlier versions.

Rev 2.17, 3.12 [GL* = Guidi 407]

Rev 19.16 [CO* = 64,6-7 / f.107rb]

P = CO
ܪܝܢ] ܪܝܢ CO

CO's text ܪܚܐܝܢ ܪܝܢܐ ܪܚܠܝܢ ܪܚܠܢ is also identical to that in Gwynn's text of the Crawford Apocalypse (commonly printed in Peshitta texts), but the citation is too colourless to reveal any dependence.

Index to Acts/Revelation/Catholic Epistles Citations

QUX
[Acts 3.22; 10.38; 13.41; Jc 2.1; 1 Pet 2.20-1; 2.22; 3.18; 4.1; 4.14; 2 Pet 2.1; 1 Jn 2.19; 4.2-3; 4.14-5; 5.20]

EDC
[Jc 1.17*; 1 Pet 4.1*]

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[1] But most of Gwynn's witnesses actually ܢܘܡ, as Ep50 here.

Ep39
[Acts 16.7; Jc 1.17; 1 Pet 4.1]

Ep40
[1 Pet 3.15]

Ep46
[1 Pet 4.1]

Ep50
[1 Pet 2.24; 4.1; Jd 19*]

Ep55
[Jc 2.20; 1 Pet 3.15; Jd 4]

CO
[Acts 2.24; 2.33; 3.12; 10.38; Jc 1.7-8; 1 Pet 1.21*; 3.18*; 4.1; 1 Jn 1.1; Jd 19; Rev 19.16*]

CT
[Acts 10.38; 17.31; Jc 1.17*; 1 Pet 1.18-9; 2.22; 4.1; 2 Pet 2.10*]

AT
[Acts 1.11; 17.29; 2 Pet 3.16*]

GL
[1 Jn 3.24; Rev 2.17*; 3.12*]

MosEp
[Acts 2.1,3-4; 10.44-6; Jc 1.5-6*]

3. Pauline Epistles

The NTSU edition of the Pauline epistles was more exhaustive in its inclusion of the citations than was the case in the earlier volume of the Major Catholics. For full tabulation of the versions and citations, those volumes can be referred to. Here we shall restrict ourselves to giving in full (i.e. with Greek / Syriac reference and full text) only those citations not otherwise found in NTSU. This includes all citations from QUX,SDI,CO,CT (as these four have never appeared in edited publications) as well as a few others overlooked by the NTSU editors. Thus all references given here can be assumed to be over and above anything printed in that edition.

The discussion of the various citations will of course be based both on those additional ones given in full and on the citations that *are* included in NTSU. Furthermore, we shall distinguish the different texts contained in Ebied amd Wickham's selection (Epp40,44,45,46,55), which NTSU unhelpfully treats as if it were a single unified text.

Rom 1.4 [EDC* = 18,13-4 / f.16ra]

EDC has ܝܘܐܬܐ not P's ܐܘܐܬ (for ὁρισθέντος, becoming ὡρίσθαι in Cyril's context). H and PC also have ܝܘܐܬܐ, good evidence again for us having an example of X here (along with PC). Cf. also RF's more accurate ܝܘܐܬܐ.

Rom 1.16 [QUX = 767,5-6 / f.86va]

P = QUX

ܗܘ] om. QUX

Rom 1.21-3 [QUX1 = 714,20-4 / f.51ra] [QUX2 = 745,16-7 / f.71ra (v22 only)]

QUX1

ܢܘܗܠ ܐܠܦ̈ ܪܟܬܝܢ ܢܘܗܡܢ ܢܡ ܝ ܕܗܝ ܐܗܠܐ ܢܘܬܐܠܐ ܐܒܝܗܘ ܢܘܗܒܣܚ ܐܬܝܒܪ̈
ܐܬܝܪܝܐܘ ܐܝܒܝܗܘ ܐܬܒܪܝܒܘ .ܠܘܒܬܡܕ ܐܪܝܒܘ ܐܬܐܢܒ .ܠܘܒܬܡ ܐܠܕ ܐܗܠܐܕ ܐܫܘܢܟ ܐܒܠܒܘ
.ܗܒܠܒ ܝ

QUX's rendering ignores P's wording in many places (e.g. ܢܘܗܒܣܚ for ܢܘܗܬܒܫܚܬܒ and ܐܫܘܢܟ for ܐܬܘܐܢܣܐܠ), changing the syntax of ἐσκοτίσθη ἡ ἀσύνετος αὐτῶν καρδία (*the understanding of their heart[s] was darkened*) to ܐܗܠܐ ܢܘܗܒܣܚ ܐܒܫ. He is evidently aware of the Syriac tradition of 'thinking' (ܒܫܚ) for 'saying' (φάσκοντες, ܢܝܪܡܐ), but uses ܝܕ ܝ instead in both citations. This synonym strengthens Kerschensteiner's conclusion that the appearance of ܒܫܚ in both RF and the Palestinian Syriac does not, against Vööbus, point to an OS reading. Kerschensteiner suggested that both were independent versions/exegeses of φάσκοντες, and QUX's ܝܕ ܝ confirms this suggestion.[1] QUX further alters the order of the beasts listed in v23, but again the terms used are basically P's, whose tradition he evidently knows, but to which he feels no great attachment.

Ep55 and AT do use ܝܪܡܐ for φάσκοντες, and this may well reflect X. We may see X also in ܐܠܘܒܬܡ ܐܠ (P ܠܘܒܬܡ ܐܠܕ), found twice in Ep50,AT,H (who revises the word order as

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[1] Kerschensteiner, *Paulustext*, 186.

well), but not in RF,Ath,Phx[EpAdda]. H's ܐܠܠܗܪ for ἐμωράνθησαν on the other hand is not witnessed earlier.

Rom 1.25 [SDI = 227,19-20 / f.28va] [Ep50* = 93,29-30 / f.142vb]

SDI

ܪܘܐܝܒ ܡܢ ܒܪ ܐܬܝܒܪ ܦܠܚ

P's terms were ܦܚܐ and ܡ ܠܒ; CPJ has consistently ܦܠܚ and usually ܡ ܒܪ, both terms also adopted in H. The agreement of SDI and CPJ may point to X. While early writings such as the Syriac version of Macarius and of Eusebius' *Theophania* (pre-411) follow P, Ep50 has ܦܠܚ, despite pre-dating X.

Rom 3.27 [CO* = 57,16 / f.104ra]

Rom 5.14-5 [QUX = 757,21-30 / f.79rb]

P = QUX

ܪܒܘܝܐ] ܪܒܘܝ QUX
ܦܪܐ] ܦܪ QUX
ܣܡܘܩܝ] ܣܝܩܡܦ QUX
ܣܒܝܝܐ ܬܠܡܘ] ܣܝܡܩܦ ܒܪ ܡܒ QUX

The use of ܪܝܩܡܦ here probably reflects an OS text (see Aphrahat, apud Kirschensteiner) but it was used consistently also in PC. H revised it to the neologism ܪܗܘܒܝܒܗܡ in order to mimic παράβασις.

Rom 5.18-19

GL shows some individualistic traits here. For example, the nominal concepts, εἰς κατάκριμα...εἰς δικαίωσιν, translated as nouns both in P and H, are verbalised in GL; on the other hand, word order is closer to Gk than in P, and certain terms such as ܪܒܝܩܐ (for παράπτωμα) and ܪܗܩܩܐܝ (for δικαίωμα) are shared with H against P (ܪܗܩܠܡܣ and ܪܗܩܘܪܒ respectively). In v19, the influence of P is evident in GL and even in other quite accurate versions (such as PC), which translate κατεστάθησαν...κατασταθήσονται as simple ܘܣܡ...ܣܡ (with P) instead of finding a stronger equivalent, as H does (ܐܣܡܘܒܝ...ܣܡܘܒܝܪ).

Rom 6.3-4 [CO* = 36,21 / f.93ra] [CT* = 145,22 / f.122rb] [QUX = 773,28-30 / f.91va]

QUX

ܐܝܣܐ ܣܒܩܣܒ ܪܡܝܩܒܡ ܐܝܣܐܝ ܦܠܝܪ ܐܣܡܠܣ

The allusions follow P. QUX is independent, reading 'all who' rather than 'those who', but the change is contextual.

EDC follows its Vorlage in omitting Ἰησοῦν (both v3 and v4) against P and most Gk mss. EDC follows P where there are small syntactical precisions made by H, as Ep55 also did here. EDC1 had a distinctive reading ܐܣܗܝܣܒ (for ἐβαπτίσθητε, //Gal 3.27) which was derived

from some of the Greek mss of EDC (Schwartz's QB) and which EDC2 has corrected to ܝܡܢ, either by having a different Greek ms than the one used for EDC1 or through the influence of P. The same should probably be said of ܟܠ for διά + gen (P ܒ) in both v4a and v4b, though ML has neither of these small corrections. Should the reading ܪܟܢܒܚ found in EDC,PC be taken as a witness to X against P and H's ܪܟܝܢܩܙܟܒ? We had a similar issue with Ep55, which sometimes suggested an X reading different from both P and H, and not attested in Philoxenus. It can remain only a general conjecture. The conjecture is a little strengthened, however, by the next reading, where P has ܡܢܒܪ to H's ܪܒܪ (no possessive in Greek), the latter reading witnessed in EDC,PC and nowhere else (including Phx^ML&DD), and the unrevised EDC1 having the older ܡܢܒܪ. ἐν καινότητι ζωῆς (v4c) is rendered ܪܝܢ ܪܟܚܟܝܟܒ in PC and H, but the older ܪܟܝܝ ܪܝܟܒ in P,EDC,Phx^pre-x. It may now be reasonable to ascribe even this PC,H reading to X, thereby explaining the commanlty of PC and H, a reading that EDC has simply ignored. The fact that PC's two citations of this verse have different mixes of these revised readings would further imply that these writers are 'using' their versions in the way Barbara Aland has suggested.[1]

Rom 6.5 [QUX1 = 722,5-6 / f.55va] [QUX2 = 764,31-2 / f.84va]

<div align="right">QUX1</div>

ܝܠ ܪܟܚܟܝܟܒ ܡܟܙܝܩܒ ܒܪ. ܡܟܝܩܙܐ ܪܟܝܩܙܟܒ .ܡܙܚ ܡܫܝܒܪ ܠܝܠ ܝܪ

<div align="right">QUX2 ܒܟܝܟܒܠ [ܝܠ ܪܟܚܟܝܟܒ</div>

The use of ܒܟܝܟܒܪ goes against all other versions and citations (P/H ܪܝܡܢ) and thus marks out the translator's treatment of clear citations as very loose indeed. That he has the slightly different ܒܟܝܟܒܠ ܡܟܙܝܩܒ ܒܪ at QUX2 indicates that he is translating independently on each occasion but with the same general idea in mind, quite apart from P or any other version he may have known.

Rom 7.22-5 [CT = 117,24 / f.111rb (v22 only)] [Ep45 = 155,12 / 44,6 (v23,5 only)]

P = CT,Ep45

In H,AT we find ܝܢ for the dative νόμῳ instead of ܒ, as is typical of the mirror versions (see Appendix 1). The rendering of ἀντιστρατευόμενον as ܡܠܒ in AT is paralleled by a note in the Harklean margin (of New College 333 and St Mark's, Jerusalem 37) which, even though CL has the ܒܝܡ which is the main reading for both P and H, could well reflect the X text which Thomas rejected and then consigned to the margin. CL does agree with AT in preferring, with H, ܪܝܡܢ over P's ܪܟܚܝ. However, AT has a number of quite singular readings in this passage, e.g. ܪܟܝܪ ܒܙ ܪܟܝܪ ܪܠܝܝܡ (P/H ܪܟܝܪ ܒܙ ܪܒܪ ܪܟܡܝ), ܡܝܒ (P/H ܝܩܒ). He follows Cyril's text where it reads χάρις (against the Byzantine reading εὐχάριστω) against the testimony of P,H. Thus we see a certain degree of independence in this text.

Rom 8.3-4 [QUX1 = 723,4 / f.56ra (v3 only)] [QUX2 = 744,23 / f.70rb-va]

<div align="right">QUX1</div>

ܡܙܝܩܒ ܪܟܝܠܝܠ ܡܙܒܚܚ.

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[1] Aland, *Philoxenianisch*, 327.

‎ܐܠܗܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ . ܕܚܝܠܐ ܡܬܦܠܓ . ܕܚܝܠܐ ܕܒܣܪܐ ܒܓܘܗ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܝܕܥ
‎ܒܒܣܪ . ܕܒܣܘܬܐ ܡ ܕܥܘܕܪܢ ܡܗܘܢܬܝܗ . ܡܒܣܪ

QUX1 has ‎ܪܚܝܩ for the ‎ܒܣܪ found in all versions and citations, a sign of his disregard for P, perhaps for fear of linking the Logos too closely with the suffering flesh itself. QUX2 wholly omits any equivalent for the words τὸ γὰρ ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου ἐν ᾧ ἠσθένει διὰ τῆς σαρκός. Otherwise, however, this citations follows P. In v4, ‎ܕܚܘܒܗ is preferred to the ‎ܕܚܝܪܐ of the versions, and the word order is slightly amended, but it is clear that QUX knows and follows P in the main.

For τοῖς μὴ κατὰ σάρκα, P is content with ‎ܒܒܣܪ ‎ܗܘܐ ‎ܕܠܐ, whereas Ep45 has ‎ܗܘܐ ‎ܕܠܐ ‎ܡܗܠܟܝܢ ‎ܒܒܣܪ (cf. ‎ܒܗܘܢ CL; ‎ܗܠܝܢ AT,PC; ‎ܒܗܘܢ H; only RF attests P's reading), an attempt at rendering the original more closely. Otherwise, P is rigorously followed in Ep45. Thus, for example, ἠσθένει was probably rendered ‎ܕܚܝܠ‎ܡܗܘܢ already in X, as it is found in CL and AT, but is still P's ‎ܡܚܝܠ in Ep45 (cf. AT's even more revised version of the verse, below). The use of ‎ܒܣܪ for σάρξ is taken over as standard from P, whereas ‎ܪܚܝܩ is used in the majority of cases in the main text of Ep45. Such small pieces of evidence show that the translator is inserting his Biblical texts (and that from the Peshitta) and not making his own independent renderings.

AT has various further syntactical revisions (such as representing ἐν τῷ more closely) as well as some clear X-leanings; for example, ‎ܕܚܝܠ‎ܡܗܘܢ for ἀδύνατον (P ‎ܡܚܝܠ), found also in Ath,CL,H. We have noted before how we have to be wary of certain small 'revisions' since we sporadically come across such readings in very early texts, and such is the case here – where we might suspect that the word-order-correct position of ‎ܝܕܥ (v3b) is a typical X,H revision, it is fact found already in Titus of Bostra (pre-411) and may have been a commonly known reading long before X. A series of small revisions in v4 are not taken up in AT – such as the exact rendering and position of πληρωθῇ, ‎ܐܝܟ for κατά, ‎ܕܚܝܠܐ for ἵνα (also with CL here; it is a common H rendering).

Rom 8.8-9 [CT = 134,30-135,1 / f.118ra]

<div align="right">CT</div>

‎ܐܠܡܪ ‎ܝܕܥܝܢ ‎ܐܝܟܢܐ ‎ܐܝܬܝܟܘܢ ‎ܕܠܐ ‎ܡܢ ‎ܐܝܬܘܢ . ‎ܡܗܝܡܢ ‎ܕܠܐ ‎ܕܐܠܗܐ ‎ܠܡܚܕܐ ‎ܐܘܢ ‎ܕܝܠܟܘܢ ‎ܐܡܪ
‎ܕܠܗ ‎ܗܘܐ ‎ܕܠܐ ‎ܗܘ ‎ܒܗ ‎ܕܝܠ ‎ܕܪܘܚܐ ‎ܕܚܘܝ ‎ܐܝܟ ‎ܕܝ ‎ܐܝܟ . ‎ܗܢܘܢ ‎ܐܚܪܢܐ ‎ܕܐܠܗܐ ‎ܕܪܘܚܗ ‎ܐܡܪ

Ep39 shows a series of revisional readings, involving the translation of the relative pronoun and the word order, the translation of εἶναι, and even the attempt to render εἴπερ differently from εἰ, by using ‎ܐܝܟ (P and Aphr, ‎ܐܢ). In addition, ‎ܕܪܘܚܐ is treated as masculine (with Ath and H). Within the same citation, however, there are also non-revisions, such as ‎ܡܫܟܚ for δύνασθαι (always ‎ܡܨܐ in H) and an instance of εἶναι being treated as P treats it. The close agreement in Rom 8.9 with CL and PC (against P and RF) would probably suggest that Ep39 is following X for this verse also.

CT shares in only some of these revisions; e.g. in v9a P's unexpected past tense ‎ܥܡܪܬ for ἐστε is replaced by ‎ܐܬܬܢܝܚ in CT (as probably also in X, by agreement of CL,PC,Ep39), and the same can be said of ‎ܐܝܟ for ‎ܐܢ. Whether οὐκ ἔχει should be ‎ܒܗ ‎ܠܝܬ or ‎ܠܗ ‎ܠܝܬ is a

trickier question. CL and PC (once) both foreshadow H in preferring the latter, but Ep39 and PC (twice) stick with P's use of the former, which is what CT also has. However, we should note that all these citations have moved the words ⲣⲉⲩⲙⲉⲟⲛ ⲣⲉⲩⲟⲓ before ⲏⲩⲗ in accordance with the Greek word order, whereas in P they are placed after it. This same concern which is apparent in all the fifth-century translations before H was no doubt also a significant aim in X.

The most notable point in the CT text is it use of ⲓⲩⲥ for σάρξ (v8) where all other versions and citations use ⲓⲙⲟ. This is one of the idiosyncrasies of this translator and marks his independence from the other traditions – it need not be interpreted as a sign of an early date, though there may be a connection with Apollinarian tendencies in the translator.

Rom 8.28-30 [EDC* = 23,10 / f.19va] [Ep50-1* = 91,25-66 / f.141rb] [Ep50-2* = 93,33-94,1 / f.142vb]

AT provides some important readings here. Other than the usual syntactical precisions (note, e.g. CPJ,AT,H ⲡⲗⲟⲗ for P's ⲟⲟⲗ in v30), H has some significant lexical differences to P, thus ⲝⲩⲏ (P ⲝⲉⲓ , twice) and ⲣⲉⲥⲗⲥ (P ⲣⲏⲓⲟⲥ) are both consistently found in CPJ and also in AT – here we probably have X. H's ⲣⲏⲁⲝⲟⲓ ⲝⲟⲥ (for P's ⲣⲏⲁⲝⲟⲓⲟ, Gk συμμόρφους), however, is prefigured *only* in AT, whereas CPJ has what could very well have been X, namely ⲣⲏⲁⲝⲟⲓ ⲝⲟ, which could be described as halfway between the other two possibilities. In readings such as this (there were some in Ep55 as well) are we already seeing revisions to X being made during the 6th century, as part of the building-up of a tradition which Thomas would then bring to bear in his more comprehensive revision. Indeed, the fact that Thomas felt such a revision was needed, which seems to reflect a concern with accuracy of translation as well as textual basis, suggests that X, even before his day, was considered insufficiently accurate as the translation schools of the 6th century marched on towards their 'goal' of the mirror accuracy of the 7th century scholars.

In GL, we see a typical mixture of the old and the new. For τοῖς κατὰ πρόθεσιν κλητοῖς οὖσιν GL has ⲁⲩⲓⲟⲏⲣ ⲟⲝⲟⲓⲟⲓ ⲡⲗⲣⲗ, which is a closer attempt than P's ⲟⲟⲙⲟⲓ ⲝⲟ ⲝⲟⲓⲟⲓ ⲡⲗⲣⲗ ⲣⲗⲓⲟ, but not so translationese as H's ⲟⲟⲝⲏⲩⲣ ⲣⲗⲓⲟ ⲣⲏⲝⲟ ⲝⲟⲓ ⲩⲣⲣⲓ ⲟⲩⲟⲗ; the same stage can be seen in the rendering of the oblique relative in v29. On the other hand, typical revisionistic attitudes such as using ⲙⲟⲏⲩⲣ ⲣⲟⲟⲙⲟⲓ ⲟ for τὸ εἶναι are *not* followed by GL, which has just ⲣⲟⲟⲙⲟⲓ.

Rom 8.32 [QUX1 = 729,34-6 / f.60va] [QUX2 = 764,10-2 / f.84rb]

QUX 1

ⲡⲗ ⲗⲏⲩ ⲟⲝⲟⲉ ⲝⲟⲝⲟ ⲗⲟ ⲣⲗ ⲣⲟⲏⲩⲣ .ⲟⲝⲟⲗⲉⲣ ⲡⲗ ⲁⲗⲩ ⲣⲗⲣ :ⲟⲩ ⲣⲗ ⲟⲝⲟ ⲗⲏⲓ ⲟⲟⲟ

ⲣⲟⲟⲟ add. pr. ⲝⲟⲝⲟ ⲗⲟ QUX2

The difference between ⲟⲩ ⲣⲗ ⲟⲝⲟ ⲗⲟ ⲥⲣ and ⲟⲩ ⲣⲗ ⲟⲝⲟ ⲗⲏⲓ ⲟⲟⲟ neatly parallels P followers (or predecessors, e.g. Aphrahat, apud Kerschensteiner, p.26) from those texts which we expect to follow the X tradition. Following the former are not only all Nestorian texts but Phx's earlier works; in the latter are his later works (CPJ,TT) and PC, as well as H. QUX has this latter reading, placing him within this tradition of more exact NT citation, although throughout the whole verse his awareness of the P wording is apparent. X had

evidently not changed ܐܠܘ for χαρίσεται, as this is found in all citations (incl QUX) but was changed only in H to ܢܫܒܩ.

Rom 8.35

Ep74 has ܐܘܠܨܢ for στενοχωρία (P ܡܥܩܬܐ, H ܐܠܝܨܘܬܐ).

Rom 9.3-5 [CT = 145,21-2 / f.122rb (v5 only)] [QUX = 765,23-4 / f.85rb (v5 only)]]

CT

ܐܡܪ ܗܘܝܬ ܐܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܚܝ ܘܡܢ ܒܢܝ ܓܢܣܝ .ܗܢܘܢ ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ

QUX

ܗܘ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ, ܐܠܗܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܕܟܠ ܕܒܪܝܟ ܠܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ

Ep40 shows the characteristics of P generally but revises P's version of the list in v4, bringing it into closer conformity to the Greek and using the loan word ܢܡܘܣܐ for P's ܢܡܘܣܐ. There is a strange reading in P, viz. the addition of an explanatory ܐܝܢܐ before ܩܝܡܐ, but this is surely omitted already in X, as the only texts to witness it are ours, i.e. Ep40, Ep101, and the earlier version of Proc[S1]. PC[Hom,Phl] has updated ܐܚܝܢ to [ܓܢܣܐ]ܩܪܝܒܐ for συγγενῶν, which anticipates H's ܩܪܝܒܐ ܒܣܪܢܝ. Other distinctive P renderings, such as ܩܢܘܡ for αὐτὸς ἐγώ, and the calque on εἰσιν (v4) were not up-dated until H itself.

In v5, ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα is simply ܒܣܪ ܡܫܝܚܐ in P, but ܗܘ ܕܒܒܣܪ ܡܫܝܚܐ in H. In between we get ܒܒܣܪ ܡܫܝܚܐ (CPJ and PC, once each) and ܗܘ ܕܒܒܣܪ ܡܫܝܚܐ (Ep55). The use of the demonstrative for the τό is found only once before H (PC), yet the same device is found for the next ὅ (TA,Proc[S1],CPJ,PC, but not in Phx[DD] or among Eastern writers) and this is most likely an X reading. It is this latter which is Ep40's only truly revisionistic reading in this Romans citation. We can see here the struggles of the translation school of the 6th century to find a way of representing Greek resumptive articles in Syriac.

At the end of the verse, the position of ܥܠ ܟܠ (before ܐܠܗܐ), the ptc form ܡܒܪܟ (for εὐλογητός), and the simple and accurate ܠܥܠܡܝܢ (against P's idiomatic ܠܥܠܡ ܠܥܠܡܝܢ for εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας) are all revisions found in Ep55, who is thus much closer to H than to P throughout this citation. The first two of these, at least, are found in CPJ (twice) and TT, and most likely reflect X, as does Ep55. In this regard, we can see that QUX too has some affinity with the X,H traditions, CT somewhat less (after all, Aphrahat has almost the same wording as CT, see Kerschensteiner, *Paulustext*, 26). It is perhaps of quite some significance that Ep46 has a reference to the verse which seems identical to H (ܡܒܪܟ ܠܥܠܡܝܢ). It thus shows its affinity to X, despite certainly pre-dating it.

Worth noting also is Ep40's adhesion to the P-tradition even against his own Vorlage – thus P's odd reading at the end of v5 ܡܒܪܟ ܘܩܝܡ (the only precise parallel of which is found in Ep101) actually becomes just ܡܒܪܟ in Ep40, although the Greek in all cases is only εὐλογητός.[1]

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[1] Here it is clear how necessary it is that NTSU be read alongside Kerschensteiner; were the former alone relied upon, it would appear that ܡܒܪܟ were a Philoxenian revision. In fact, it is already witnessed in the *Life of Eusebius of Samosata*, written before 380. The only ms of this work is late, and thus the reading may be a later alteration, but its testimony needs to be weighed (see Kerschensteiner, *Paulustext*, 26).

Rom 10.4

τέλος as ܪܘܠܥ in GL, rather than P's ܪܣ (H ܪܘܠܥ), is most likely to be the translator's own closer rendering.

Rom 10.6-9 [CO = 36,22-3 / f.93ra] [QUX = 730,35-731,2 / f.61rb] [QUX2 = 720,34-5 / f.54vb]

QUX1

ܐܠܐ ܪܫܘܫܐܠ ܢܘܗܝ ܪܣܘܡܝܠ ܚܘܣ ܐܚܫܐ ܪܫܘܫܐܠ ܚܘܝܢ ܐܚܙܐ ܢܘܗܝ ܐܝܡܗ ܐܢܕ ܒܠܗ ܐܬܪ ܐܠ

ܦܝܢܝܡܗܝ ܐܗܘܪܡܘܗܝ ܐܠܗ ܢܕ ܚܘܗ ܚܠܒܘ ܝܕܥܐܒ ܐܠܗ ܠܝ ܗܘ ܪܚܘܝܘ ܪܣܕܗ ܬܒܪ ܐܚܕ

ܪܘܗܕ ܐܚܘܕ ܚܘܒ ܝܘ ܚܫܘܒܪ ܪܐܠܗܕ ܚܠܒ ܦܘܚܕܗ ܙܥܘ ܪܝܘ ܚܠܒ ܬܒܪܗ ܙܕܘ

CO,QUX2

ܪܚܘܝ ܚܘܒ ܝܘ ܚܫܘܒܪ ܪܐܠܗܕ ܦܝܢ ܦܝܢܝܡܗܝ ܐܗܘܪܡܘܗܝ ܐܠܗ ܚܘ

QUX follows a series of readings remarkably close to those found in Ep55, some of which follow through to H as clear revisions of P's wording (thus are ܢܣܝ for ܐܠܣ, ܚܘܝ for ܚܘܪ, ܚܘܣ for ܚܘܝ etc.). QUX and Ep55 follow Cyril in reading εἴπης for ὁμολογήσῃς. The citation in Phx[DD] shows no awareness of these readings.

We can see here the close affinity of H and Ep55 against P in a series of readings: the impf ܢܣܝ (P ܐܠܣ, for ἀναβήσεται, with JS, Phx[pre-x]), addition twice of ܦܝ ܩܘܝܚ (om P, for τοῦτ' ἔστιν, with JS, Phx[pre-x]), ܐܪ (P ܐ), ܚܘܣ (P ܚܘܝ, with JS, Phx[pre-x]), impf ܢܣܝ (P ܢܣܪ, for ἀναγαγεῖν, with JS, Phx[pre-x]), ܪܘܝܣ with CPJ (P ܩܝܣ, with Phx[EpGaug1]). Ep55 does *not* anticipate H, however, in altering the word order in certain places, in the use of ܠܗܝ for the possessives, in H's ܪܚܘܝ ܙܘ (P ܪܚܘܝ ܚܘܒ ܙܘ with Ep55, CPJ), and, most notably, in H's ܦܝܣܗܝ (P ܪܘܗ for σωθήσῃ, with Ep55,CPJ[1]).

H's ܦܝܢܝܡܗܝ ܚܘ is typical of its grammar, and is not anticipated here, where P is followed in both CO and QUX.

Rom 10.14 [SDI = 227,26 / f.28vb]

P = SDI,H

SDI's ܪܐܠܐ is for Cyril's variant εἰ μή for οὗ, and this is most likely the explanation for PC's similar reading.

Rom 11.34

GL has ܪܘܗܘ for νοῦν (with Ath,H, against P,PC), probably another example of individual choice.

Rom 13.10 [CT* = 110,11-12 / f.107vb]

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[1] Unusual because elsewhere we do see ܦܝܣ replacing ܪܚܘ in X quite clearly, see e.g. Mt 1.21, and Brock, *Resolution*, 330.

Rom 15.15-6 [QUX = 759,19-22 / f.80va]

ܡܢ ܠܕ ܐܬܩܘܝܬܝܕ ܐܗܒܘܬ̣ܐ ܠܓܠܝܘ ܐܬܡܣܝܪܝܕ ܐܝܟ ̣ܦܠܚ ܡܢ ܠܠܝ ܠܐܘܐ ܐܘܕܗ ܝܕ ܒܝܪܟܘܬܝ

.ܐܠܗܝܕ ܠܐܡܘܠܐܠ ,ܡܘܝܕܪܝܕ .ܐܬܫܕܝܠ ܐܘܫܟܐ ܫܐܡܝܕ ܐܘܚܡܝ ܐܗܡܐܕ .ܐܠܗܐ

P is the basis, but QUX can be quite independent in word order and syntax, and some of the vocabulary is his own (e.g. ܝܒܪ for ܡܠܗ).

Rom 15.18-9 [CT = 130,20-2 / f.116va]

ܠܐ ܝܠ ܡܠܛܘܝ ܐܘܟ ܐܘܟܐܕ ܝܒܘܟܐܕ ܐܝܡܕ ܐܠܝ ܡܚ ܣܦܐ ܡܬܟܪܝܕ, ܡܚܫܝܐ. ܐܘܒܠܗܐ ܐܬܒܕܝܒ ܐܘܫܘܟܝ ܐܬܘܟܐܕ

ܣܦܣܐܘܕ ܐܘܘܕܝ ܡܝܫܠܒ ܐܬܝܕܒܕܝܘ.

Some of these readings are due to variants in the Vorlage:
τολμήσω] τολμῶ CT
λαλεῖν] λέγειν CT
Χριστὸς δι' ἐμοῦ] δι' ἐμ. Χρ. CT
θεοῦ] ἁγίου CT, most Byz mss.

The influence of P is strong, with CT probably differing from X (as represented by the agreement of Apl and H), which renders λαλεῖν/λέγειν by ܐܠܠܡܡ and the relative ὧν by ܡܢ ܝܠܝܐ (ܝܠܡ ܡܢ H). The word order ܐܘܚܡܝ ,ܬܟܪܝܕ may represent the Vorlage, but it is also P's order (whether by translation style or by underlying variant is impossible to say).

Rom 16.25-7

Here is a good example of GL not inserting P, but rather translating his own Vorlage in a manner reminiscent of how H will also later do it. This is not just so in small matters such as having the noun ܐܘܝܘܝܒ for the noun τὸ κήρυγμα, or putting ܐܗܘܥܪܡܕ ܐܫܘܪܠ in its correct place, but in larger matters such as attempting to reflect the syntactical relations at the end of v27 instead of splitting the clause up into mini-clauses, as P does.

1 Cor 1.18 [QUX = 767,7-8 / f.86va]

P = QUX

1 Cor 1.22-5 [CO* = 44,28 / f.97rb] [QUX1 =767,8-10 / f.86va] [QUX2 = 774,8-15 / f.92vb-93ra]

ܐܘܫ̈ܢ ܡܢܘ ܐܘܪܝܘܣܝ ܡܢ ܝܕ ܐܘܝܠܐ

ܐܘܫ̈ܢ ܡܢܘ ܐܘܪܝܘܣܝ ܡܢ ܝܕ ܐܘܝܠܐ

The agreement of CPJ and QUX half-way between P and H points towards another possible X-reading. In QUX2 ܐܘܫ̈ܢ is used rather than ܐܘܪܝܐ (P) both for the Ἕλληνες of v22,24 and

for the ἔθνη of v23, as is also the case in H where no distinction between the terms is made. In other areas of wording, QUX follows P almost entirely.

1 Cor 1.23 [SDI = 224,8-9 / f.41ra]

SDI

ܪ‍ܐ‍ܗ‍ܐ‍ܠ‍ܓ ܪ‍ܐ‍ܝ‍ܢ‍ܠ‍ܐ ܪ‍ܠ‍ܟ‍ܢ ܣ‍ܢ‍ܒ‍ܘ‍ܪ ܪ‍ܝ‍ܐ‍ܣ‍ܢ‍ܠ

There is a distinct move from P to H in this verse. CPJ and PC had already altered ܪ‍ܟ‍ܠ‍ܣ‍ܗ‍ܐ (for σκάνδαλον) to ܪ‍ܠ‍ܟ‍ܢ. CPJ also added an ,ܣ‍ܢ‍ܒ‍ܘ‍ܪ (as SDI has ܣ‍ܢ‍ܒ‍ܘ‍ܪ), and both CPJ and PC changed ܪ‍ܟ‍ܝ‍ܢ‍ܪ to ܪ‍ܟ‍ܣ‍ܢ‍ܟ, H changing again for ܪ‍ܐ‍ܝ‍ܢ, which is now seen to be prefigured in SDI. Jacob of Edessa was well aware of the different terms and follows P in some aspects of the verse, while following PC's version (which was his basis for the revision of Severus) in others. SDI can be seen to have advanced beyond P and in the readings ܪ‍ܠ‍ܟ‍ܢ and ܪ‍ܐ‍ܝ‍ܢ probably represents X. Note that QUX only adopted the second of these.

1 Cor 1.30

AT's agreement with PC probably points us to the text of X.

1 Cor 2.8 [CT1* = 131,12 / f.116vb] [CT2* = 145,12 / f.122ra] [QUX = 765,21-2 / f.85rb]

QUX

.ܐ‍ܐ‍ܣ ܝ‍ܐ‍ܣ‍ܢ ܪ‍ܐ‍ܟ‍ܘ‍ܐ‍ܒ‍ܚ‍ܝ‍ܓ ܣ‍ܝ‍ܒ‍ܢ‍ܠ ܐ‍ܠ ܐ‍ܝ‍ܒ ܝ‍ܟ‍ܠ ܐ‍ܠ‍ܪ

In CT2 and QUX, the translators use the traditional ܐ‍ܣ‍ܢ (P,Ep101,Ephr,Phx[ML]) and not ܐ‍ܠ‍ܓ as we find more commonly in Phx[post-x] and then in H. QUX is generally close to P.

1 Cor 2.10

The masculine treatment of the spirit in (ܪ‍ܓ‍ܐ rather than P's ܪ‍ܟ‍ܓ‍ܐ) is evident in those texts where we now expect to see it, namely Apl,Ath,PC,AT. We know that it is a technique of CPJ as well, although Phx does not quote this verse. However, AT shows its conservativeness in keeping P's noun ܪ‍ܐ‍ܣ‍ܢ‍ܐ where the other versions anticipate H's adjectival ܪ‍ܟ‍ܐ‍ܢ‍ܒ‍ܢ. It is typical of H to do away with proleptic suffixes, something which it seems to be the first to do systematically, and we see an example here: P ܪ‍ܐ‍ܠ‍ܪ‍ܓ ,ܣ‍ܐ‍ܐ‍ܣ‍ܐ‍ܢ, H ܪ‍ܐ‍ܠ‍ܪ‍ܓ ܪ‍ܟ‍ܐ‍ܢ‍ܒ‍ܢ, where all the versions have P's suffix.

1 Cor 2.12 [CT = 134,14-5 / f.117vc]

CT

.ܪ‍ܐ‍ܪ ܝ‍ܒ‍ܓ ܪ‍ܣ‍ܘ‍ܐ‍ܝ ܪ‍ܟ‍ܐ‍ܪ ܝ‍ܣ‍ܐ‍ܠ ܪ‍ܐ‍ܒ‍ܟ‍ܢ‍ܓ ܪ‍ܣ‍ܘ‍ܐ‍ܝ ܪ‍ܐ‍ܗ‍ܢ ܪ‍ܠ ܝ‍ܒ ܝ‍ܣ

CT is following its Vorlage carefully and follows its variant πατρός for θεοῦ.

1 Cor 2.16

Ep50 has the unique reading ܪ‍ܐ‍ܣ‍ܣ‍ܝ‍ܒ (P ܪ‍ܟ‍ܣ‍ܝ; H ܪ‍ܐ‍ܣ‍ܗ)

1 Cor 3.11 [QUX = 778,6-8 / f.95rb]

‏ܪܚܡܘܩܝ ,ܘܗ ܩܘ ܬܠ ܝܘܩܘܝܝ ܨܝܪ ܐܘܪ ܪܠ .ܪܐܝܘܪ ܝܠ ܪܐܘܘܪܐܬ

QUX's ܪܚܡܘܩܝ ,ܘܗ ܩܘ ܬܠ is paralleled in a number of other citations and is a syntactical advance on P. His independence is again signaled by having no direct equivalent for δύναται – he simply says ܝܘܩܝ ܨܝܪ ܐܘܪ ܪܠ.

Where P and H diverge in wording and clause arrangement, Ep55 follows P (e.g. ܝܝܩܘ, not H's ܪܓܘ; and ܪܚܡܘܩܝ ܪܝܗ, not H's ܪܚܡܘܩܝ ,ܘܗ)

1 Cor 3.16-17 [CT = 113,14-7 / f.109vb] [QUX = 750,12-3 / f.74rb (v16 only)]

ܗܠܘܗ ܠܝܝܩܝ ܐܩܘ .ܩܗܩ ܪܝܘܐ ܪܘܠܪܝ ܘܝܘܘܗ .ܪܘܠܪܝ ܩܘܬܘܪ ܪܠܝܩܡܝ ܩܘܬܘܪ ܝܝܨ ܪܠ
.ܩܘܝܪ ܩܘܬܘܪܝ ܘܗ ܨܘܗ ܪܘܠܪܝ ܝܠ ܪܠܝܗ .ܪܘܠܪ ܘܠ ܠܝܝܩ ܪܘܠܪܝ

Save for P's ܝ ܗܘ (CT ܝ ܩܘܗ), CT and QUX follow P exactly (itself significantly revised from Aphrahat's OS citation[1]), where some developments might be expected in X, such as using ,ܩܗܬܘܪ for ἐστιν and ܝܗܩ (against P's feminine ܪܝܗܩ). These revisions *are* found, however, in EDC. Otherwise, only Apl and PC have ܩܗܬܘܪ for ἐστε.[2] The feminine treatment of ܪܘܘܝ is retained from P from time to time, especially in Philoxenus' earlier works, but most texts, including EDC, have the masculine ptc ܝܗܩ. This type of revision may well precede X and was probably adopted without difficulty by Philoxenus at that time.

1 Cor 4.1 [CO* = 38, 15 / f.93vc]

P/H	ܪܐܝܩ ,ܝܝ
CO	ܪܐܝܩ ܝܝ [sic, without syame]
PC	ܪܐܝܝܝ

1 Cor 4.7 [QUX1 = 745,24 / f.70ra] [QUX2 = 746,11 / f.71va]

P = QUX

ܪܝܩ] ܩܘ QUX1

1 Cor 5.7 [QUX = 774,7 / f.92ra]

.ܪܘܩܝܩ ܩܗܝܐܝܪ ܝܩܠܘܝ ܝܠ ܪܘܓܘܩ

The wording is P's but the word order has been brought closer to Gk.

1 Cor 6.17 [CO = 49,16 / f.99vb] [CT1 = 120,4-5 / f.112rb] [CT2* = 138,11-2 / f.119rc] [QUX = 732,40 / f.62rb]

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[1] Kerschensteiner, *Paulustext*, 39.
[2] However, for the dangers of building too much on this way of rendering the copula, see under Col 1.15-17.

CO

ܥܢܝܐ ,ܡܐܬܗܪ ܝܘܝ ܝܘ ܪܠܝܬܠ ܘܘܬܒܢܝ ܘܚ

CT1

ܝܘܝ ܪܝܘ ܥܢܝܐ ܪܐܚ ܪܠܝܬܠ ܘܚܝ ܝܚ

QUX

,ܡܐܬܗܪ ܪܘܘܝ ܪܝܘ ܪܠܝܬܠ ܘܒܝܝ ܪܗܪ

CO shows a distinctively 6th century (possibly X) text, while CT follows P exactly. Save for the ܥܢܝ at the end of the verse, CO is identical with the citation in PC (twice) and in the Book of Hierotheus (from c.500), itself being very similar to H, the difference in the latter being that H returns to P's active ܐܘܝ. This difference itself speaks much for seeing X here, as the reading is found only in citations and never in the versions. The word order accuracy is also very distinctive.

A more half-hearted effort is found in QUX where again word order is close to the Greek, but the use of ܪܗܪ and ܘܒܝ are unparalleled and indicate his independence of the traditions here.

1 Cor 6.19 [QUX* = 774,10 / f.92ra]

QUX

ܝܒܝܝ ܝܬܗܪ

QUX's text uses ܬܗܪ for the coupla (as H does here) but retains ܝܘ for the reflexive pronoun (as P).

1 Cor 6.20 [CT* = 145,27 / f.122rc] [QUX1* = 761,4 / f.81vb-82ra] [QUX2* = 774,9-10 / f.92ra]

P = CT,QUX1,2 [against H]

1 Cor 8.5-6 [QUX1 = 742,33-7 / f.69rb] [QUX2 = 749,25 / f.73vb]

QUX

.ܪܒܪ ܪܘܠܪ ܘܚ ܝܘ ܠ ܪܠܪ .ܪܠܝܪܒܘ ܪܒܢܒ ܪܪܠܝܚ ܪܗܘܝܒܘ ܪܪܠܚܚ ܪܘܠܝ ܬܗܪ ܐܪ
,ܡܐܝܪܒ ܝܘܘ ܠܚ ,ܡܐܝܪܒܝ .ܪܝܝܒ ܐܘܙ ܝܒ ܝܘܘ .ܘܝܒ ܝܘܘ ܠܚܝ ܥܝܒܝ

ܝܒ] ܪܠܝܒ QUX2

,ܡܐܝܪܒܝ] ܥܝܪܒܝ QUX2

Ep40 prefigures H in ܥܘܝܬܗܪ for εἰσιν, but has it in an unexpected position (otherwise mixed attestation, twice in PC but not in CL). The second ܥܝܒ of Ep40 is an odd reading, paralleled consistently in PC but not found in P or H. It may conceivably have been X's reading, or may otherwise reflect some older tradition. Otherwise, Ep40 again follows P against H. The shifting of ܠܚ behind ܥܝܪܒ in accordance with the Gk is found here in Ep50, as also extensively in most post-P writings (CL, PC etc.), but not in Ep40. QUX, on the other hand, is translating independently from the versions and follows Cyril's variants, e.g. having ܘܝܒ for ܘܚ (Cyril ἐξ for εἰς).

1 Cor 8.6 [CT* = 127,15-6 / f.115rc] [CO1 = 42,9-10 / f.95vc] [CO2* = 44,12-3 / f.97ra]

The citation in CO1 is missing from our only Syriac ms, almost certainly due to homoioteleuton of the phrase καὶ πάλιν· Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. The other allusions show no significant readings.

1 Cor 9.26 [CO* = 62,24-5 / f.106va]

The use of ܪܚܡ for δέρω (instead of ܫܠܚ as in P) is found in PC and H as well as here in CO. It turns up again where Peter of Callinicum cites this passage of the CO (and he does not appear to know our version of CO).[1] This wide attestation may well relate to the reading of X.

1 Cor 10.4

The adjectival form ܪܘܚܢܝ had replaced ܪܘܚܐ probably already in X, as witnessed by Apl and Ep55 as well as H, against P,RF,Ath. ܗܘ (for ἀκολουθούσης), however, is partially anticipated in Apl, but all others, including Ep55, have P's ܐܬܐ. Again, the same pattern can be seen in the use of ܗܘܐ ܡܐܬܝܬ for ἦν in Ep55 and H (and Apl ܗܘܐ ܕܐܬܐ, with which cf. ܕܐܬܐ from the Cave of Treasures[2]), but not in P,RF,Ath.

1 Cor 13.5 [MosEp = Brooks 21,4-5]

MosEp follows P with ܠܐ ܒܥܐ ܕܝܠܗ for οὐ ζητεῖ τὰ ἑαυτῆς, which is even less precise syntactically than Aphrahat's ܕܝܠܗ ܡܕܡ ܒܥܐ ܠܐ.

1 Cor 13.12,9 [Ep55 = 49,29 / 2,15-6]

The citation is somewhat adapted, as
βλέπομεν γὰρ ἐν ἐσόπτρῳ καὶ αἰνίγματι καὶ γινώσκομεν ἐκ μέρους. (adapted)

Ep55

ܚܙܝܢ ܓܝܪ ܒܡܚܙܝܬܐ ܘܒܐܘܚܕܬܐ ܘܝܕܥܝܢ ܡܢ ܡܢܬܐ.

In the versions, H made a change from P's ܒܡܚܙܝܬܐ...ܒܐܘܚܕܬܐ to ܒܪܒܐ...ܒܐܘܚܕܬܐ, but this is not forreshadowed anywhere else, including in Ep55. ܕܚܙܝܢ ܒܡܚܙܝܬܐ (also Ath) more accurately reflects H's ܒܡܢ ܚܙܐ (also PC) than P's idiomatic ܒܡܠܐ (also Phx^pre-x). P similarly uses ܒ for both διά + gen. and ἐν. As Cyril has used ἐν for both in his allusion, it is no surprise that Ep55 does the same. The phrase ܒܡܚܙܝܬܐ is not from P.

1 Cor 15.10 [CO* = 52,27-8 / f.101rc] [QUX = 745,32 / f.71rb]

QUX

ܒܛܝܒܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܬܝ, ܡܕܡ ܕܐܝܬܝ.

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[1] *Contra Damianum* III, XXX, 244-51.
[2] Kerschensteiner, *Paulustext*, 48.

CO has ܟ̈ܠ ܗܘ for the relative ὅ with H, against P's simpler ܡܢ, which QUX follows. We would probably expect ܟ̈ܠ ܗܘ as the X reading, the preference for the more precise pronoun equivalencies being a major characteristic of the more advanced versions.

1 Cor 15.20 [EDC* = 25,22 / f.21ra] [Ep50* = 95,13-4 / f.143vb] [Ep55* = 58,41 / 19,10-11]

1 Cor 15.22 [QUX1 = 757,29-30 / f.79rb] [QUX2 = 764,36-7 / f.84vb]

P = QUX

ܐܝܟܢܐ] ܐܝܟܢܐ
ܟܠܗܘܢ] ܟܠ QUX1; ܟܠ QUX2

ܐܝܟܢܐ is found in a few citations, favoured by Jacob of Edessa, but it is not the regular equivalent for ὥσπερ in H. Two of the translators who use ܐܝܟܢܐ, however, also use ܟܠ for the ܟܠܗܘܢ of the versions. QUX2 is a little looser than QUX1, which is noticeably close to P.

The translation of ἀνάστασις as ܩܝܡܬ ܚܝܐ in P and ܩܝܡܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ in H marks an obvious advance. The latter is witnessed also in PC (but mixed with the older reading), but GL has P's older reading and in general GL reflects a P text.

1 Cor 15.45 [QUX = 772,41 / f.91ra]

QUX

ܗܘܐ ܒܪ ܐܢܫ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܠܢܦܫ ܚܝܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܕܝܢ ܐܕܡ ܐܚܪܝܐ ܠܪܘܚܐ ܡܚܝܢܝܬܐ.

QUX is quite independent of the versions, e.g. in its omission of the first Ἀδάμ. GL stays close to P.

1 Cor 15.47 [CO = 60,24-5 / f.105va] [SDI = 226,30-31 / f.23vb] [QUX = 771,26-7 / f.89vb-90ra]

CO

ܒܪܢܫܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܥܦܪܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ. ܗܘ ܕܬܪܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ

SDI

ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܥܦܪܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ. ܕܬܪܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܡܪܝܐ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ

QUX

ܒܪܢܫܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܥܦܪܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ. ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܕܬܪܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܢܐ

All three citations are evidently based loosely on the P text, nevertheless following Cyril's text closely. They certainly avoid P's distinctive but common variant, 'the second man was the Lord from heaven.' QUX's ܫܡܝܢܐ ܡܢ does not correspond to the Greek, and looks like a scibal alteration from an original ܫܡܝܐ ܡܢ, an attempt to bring it into line with that use of adjectival forms which typifies mirror-language, and would have been found in the Harclean (and perhaps Philoxenian) of Mt 5.48 etc.

1 Cor 15.48-9 [QUX1 = 723,14-5 / f.56rb (v49only)] [QUX2 = 725,21-5 / f.57vb]

P = QUX1

[Syriac] QUX1

<div style="text-align:right">

QUX2 (v49 placed before v48)

[Syriac text]

</div>

QUX2's use of the adjectival formations [Syriac] and [Syriac] is paralleled in CPJ, TT, PC and H, and represents just the sort of syntactical exactitude we should expect of X. QUX is often, as here, loose in his citations, but he certainly knows how to make them more accurate than the text in P.

2 Cor 1.19 [QUX = 745,26-8 / f.71ra]

<div style="text-align:right">QUX</div>

[Syriac text]

QUX is close to P, but the syntax is his own.

2 Cor 2.11 [Ep50 = 91,11 / f.141ra] [GL = 416]

Although Ep50 has H's [Syriac] (P [Syriac]) for νοήματα, it also has the unique [Syriac] ([Syriac] P,H) for ἀγνοοῦμεν – no clear picture emerges of its background. GL shows again Moses' own rendering against P and H ([Syriac] against [Syriac]).

2 Cor 4.4

H's syntactical revisions ([Syriac] for [Syriac] and [Syriac] ,[Syriac] for εἰς τό + inf.) and lexical revisions ([Syriac] [Syriac] for P's [Syriac] [Syriac]) are not noted earlier, and we can presume that X may not have differed from P here. EDC shows one lexical agreement with H not shown even in Ep55, viz. [Syriac] (rather than [Syriac] in P,Ep55) for αὐγάσαι – however, there are no other witnesses to the text and the agreement may be fortuitous, coming about as a result of a similarity of technique, perhaps based on an analogy with the ἀπαύγασμα/[Syriac] equivalence of Heb 1.3. Ep55 has the unique [Syriac] for ἐτύφλωσεν

2 Cor 4.6 [QUX = 759,2-4 / f.80rb]

<div style="text-align:right">QUX</div>

[Syriac text]

A loose translation in which, like P, QUX renders φωτισμόν with a verb ([Syriac], P [Syriac]). Also, [Syriac] becomes a direct object without an instrumental [Syriac], and [Syriac] is omitted from [Syriac].

2 Cor 4.16 [CT = 117,22 / f.111rb] [SDI = 223,14-5 / f.31va] [QUX = 736,23-5 / f.64vb]

<div style="text-align:right">CT</div>

[◁] ܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܢ ܒܪܝܐ ܕܬܚܬܝܐ. ܗܘ ܕܡܢ ܠܘܬ ܕܬܝܘܬܗ

SDI

ܐܘ ܒܢܝ ܕܝܐ. ܘܐܠܗ ܕܒܪܝܬܐ ܕܬܚܬܝܐ ܐܠܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܢ ܠܘܬ ܕܬܝܘܬܗ ܩܡ ܩܘ

QUX

ܐܘ ܒܢܝܐ ܕܒܪܝܐ. ܗܘ ܐܠܐ ܕܬܝܘܬܗ ܠܟܘ ܗܘ ܕܬܚܬܝܐ ܕܬܝܘܬܗ ܩܡ ܩܘ

εἰ] ὅσον CT
ἀλλ᾽] τοσοῦτον CT
ὁ ἔσω ἡμῶν] ἔσωθεν CT

ܠܘ and ܒܪܝܐ for ἔξω seem to be equally used in the citations, with neither clearly representing what was in X.[1] However, ܗܘ ܝ (rather than P's ܝ) for the relative ὅ is universally found in the citations (PC, Ath, H) but also in Phx^pre-x (Dsc) and so simply represents the sort of more careful technique already well advanced before the time of X.

2 Cor 5.15 [QUX = 774,10-3 / f.92ra]

QUX

ܕܚܢܢ ܠܗܠܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܬܘܒ ܠܢܦܫܗܘܢ. ܐܠܐ ܠܗܢܐ ܕܡܝܬ ܚܠܦܝܗܘܢ ܘܩܡ

QUX shows some significant differences from P, some of which (e.g. ܠܗܠܝܢ, ܬܘܒ, ܠܢܦܫܗܘܢ) are found in PC as well as H.

2 Cor 5.16

P = Ep45

2 Cor 5.17

P never translated the final words ἰδοὺ γέγονεν καινά, which H rendered as ܚܕܬܬܐ ,ܗܐ ܗܘܘ [ܟܠܗܝܢ], a translation found also here in GL and in Ath,PC. Clearly the Philoxenian would have included the words, and GL's rendering reflects at least the same strand of tradition, against P's freer text.[2]

2 Cor 5.19

P's distinctive ܢܦܫܗ ܥܡ for ἑαυτῷ is retained in Ep50; H's revision to ܠܗ ܗܘ not attested before H itself.

2 Cor 5.21 [CO1* = 34,25 / f.92ra] [CO2* = 36,10 / f.92vc] [QUX1 = 719,16 / f.53vb] [QUX2 = 729,32-3 / f.60va] [QUX3 = 764,17-9 / f.84rb]

P = QUX

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[1] ܒܪܝܐ is in P, but ܠܘ found in both Ephrem (Kerschensteiner, 60) and H, so neither is clearly earlier.

[2] The Münster edition makes an error here in stopping GL's citation short at the equivalent to παρῆλθεν. This makes it seem as though the translator is inserting a P text. Guidi's edition of the text clearly has the extra words.

ـمعلكلهـ] ـململهـ QUX (Cyril has ἡμᾶς)

ܟ̈ܘܡ ـܬܝ] ـܬܝ QUX1,2

This use of the ptc + ܟ̈ܘܡ as a way of indicating the aorist ptc., as seen here, is used in Phx[post-x] and PC, as well as in H.

2 Cor 6.16 [CT* = 127,12-13 / f.115rb] [EDC = 21,6-7 / f.18rb]

EDC

ܟܠܝܐ ܠ ـܘܗܡܝ ـܘܝܡܘ .ܟܥܠܐ ـܘܗܠ ܟܘܗܪܟܐ ـܘܗܐ ܝܗܥܠܐܟܐ ـܘܗܐ ܝܬܝܐܪ̈

EDC follows P against the Vorlage by adding another ـܘܗܐ after the second verb (on the analogy of ـܝܒܝܟܐ, Lev 26.12?), a variant that goes back to Aphrahat and is followed consistently among Syriac writers despite the lack of a Greek text with any direct parallel for it. Further on, EDC also has, for ἔσομαι αὐτῶν θεός, the variant ܟܥܠܐܟܐ ـܘܗܐ ܟܘܗܪܟܐ over against the ـܘܗܥܠܐܟܐ ܟܘܗܪܟܐ of P (ـܘܗܠܝܐ ܟܥܠܐܟܐ in H). This shows again the influence of Lev 26.12 (P) which has ܟܥܠܐܟܐ ـܘܗܐ ܟܘܗܪܟܐ. These variations show the continuing influence of traditional texts even over a writer who is trying to render his Vorlage carefully.

2 Cor 8.9a [CT* = 138,16-7 / f.119rc] [QUX = 722,11-12 / f.55va] [SDI = 224,8-9 / f.40va]

CT

ܝܥܗܫܐܟܐ ـܗܠܠܗܡ ܘܗܡ ܟܝܒܟܐ ܒܐ

QUX

.ܝܟܒܝ ܗܟܘܝܥܗܫܡܗ ܝܘܝ ܟܝܒܟܐ ,ܡܗܐܘܝܐ ܒܐ ܝܥܗܫܐܟܐ ـܗܠܠܗܡ

SDI

ܝܟܒܝ ܗܟܘܝܥܗܫܡܗ ܝܘܝ ܝܥܗܫܐܟܐ ܟܝܒܟܐ ,ܡܗܐܘܝܐ ܒܐ.

Both P and H have ,ܡܗܐܘܝܐ for the copula, whereas PC tends to use ܘܗܡ (as here) in Severus' numerous citations of this verse. QUX has the ,ܡܗܐܘܝܐ but follows Cyril's variant use of the first person for this verse. In all three the translators have followed Cyril's contextualising change of the second to the first person.

2 Cor 10.4-5 [CO* = 57,4-5 / f.103vc] [QUX = 752,2-4 / f.75va] [Ep50* = 99,25-6 / f.146vb]

QUX

ܡܗܐܘܝܥܗܫܐܟܐܠ ܟܠܒܘܗ ـܠܗܒ ـܝܘܥܘ .ܟܥܠܐܟܝ ܡܗܟܝ ـܠ ܝܝܝܗܘܝ ܟܝܘܐܝ ـܠܗܡ .ܝܥ܆ܘܝ ـܠ ـܝܝܗܡ
.ܟܘܘܥܗܝ

[καθαιρεῖν...αἰχμαλωτίζειν is written by Cyril for καθαιροῦντες...αἰχμαλωτίζοντες]

Three revisions point towards X/H in QUX: ـܝ܆ܘܝ for λογισμός (P ܟܒ܆ܥܝܒܗ, along with PC and various other citations before H); ܟܠܒܘܗ for νόημα, anticipating H (but not otherwise attested); and ܟܒܘܥܗܫܒܝ for ὑπακοή, anticipating PC,DM,H. In addition, QUX has ـܠ for P,H's ـܠܒܘܐ (κατά + gen.), a rendering followed by PC only among all other attestations.

2 Cor 13.3-4a [CO* = 38, 16 / f.93vc] [QUX = 767,16-9 / f.86vb]

ܝ܂ ܦܐ ܂ܒܠܘ ܐܠܐ ܂ܐܝܘ ܐܠ ܢܩܬܠܕܐ ܗܘ ܂ܒ ܠܠܘܡܕ ܪܚܘܘܕܐ ܢܘܬܐܪ ܦܝܒ ܪܝܘܡܒ ܐ
ܪܡܠܐ ܪܠܝ ܦ ܢܘ ܐܠܐ ܂ܪܬܗܘܡܝܒ ܦ ܐܝܝܐ

QUX is largely independent, with some agreement with PC, e.g. the use of ܪܟܗܘܡܝܒ for ἀσθενείας. P is still evidently the base text, but conformity is not especially close.

2 Cor 13.5 [CO = 48,16-7 / f.99rb]

ܪܟܗܘܒܝܘܡܒ ܢܘܝܟܘܪ ܝܪ ܐܗ ܢܝܟܒܝ

The use of the calque ܝܗܠ ܝܘܟܘܪ can be traced to X in general and probably to here in particular as well (as in PC, DM), but CO follows P. The use of ܝܗܟܘܪ, however (om. P), shows some advance towards the X style, but this special example has been discussed already.

Gal 1.1 [QUX = 760,29-34 / f.81va]

P = QUX,H

Gal 1.9b,8 [CO = 33,25-8 / f.91va]

ܪܟܝܨ ܦ ܪܟܪܠܗ ܘܪ ܦܝ ܦܐ ܪܠܐ ܂ܦܝ ܪܗܘܝ ܝܘܟܠܒܘܕ ܪܟܗ ܦ ܝܟܗ ܝܟܒܝܘܡܝ ܝܝܐ ܝܪ
ܦܝ ܪܗܘܝ ܝܘܟܠܒܘܕ ܪܟܗ ܦ ܝܠ ܝܟܒܝܘܡܝ

Generally, we find ܝܟܠ for παρά in both verses – CO's ܝܟܗ is paralleled three times in ZR but nowhere else, and may point to a common source in X, or a common tradition. Also found once in ZR is the impf ܝܟܒܝܘܡܝ (P,Ep101,also in the 7th cent. Athanasius of Nisibis' translation of Severus' letters), which may be due to a subjunctive form in the Vorlage (εὐαγγελίζηται) but such a form is not attested in Cyril's text, although the influence of the form in v8 may have had a part, so we need not necessarily attribute the impf to a common source for ZR and CO. Rather, Phx[EpS] cites the words as ܝܟܠ ܝܟܒܘܡܝ (as H later), and this is undoubtedly X's reading. It is a good example of how the claim that X was 'theological' and not 'philological' makes little sense – there is no theological motivation in this simple piece of obeisance to Greek syntax. Ep101 follows P.

In v8, Cyril's variant παρελάβετε (due to parallel with v9) is followed by the CO translator. The same thing has happened in various other citations in Syriac translated texts (John Rufus' *Plerophories*, Theodore's *Genesis Commentary*, *Book of Heraclides*) but these need have no organic interrelation.

Gal 1.11-12 [QUX = 760,31-4 / f.81vb]

ܦ ܪܝܐ ܝܟܠ ܪܟܠܘܪ ܂ܪܫܝܝܒ ܦ ,ܘܡܘܟܘܪ ܪܠܐ ܂ܦܝ ܝܒܝܐܪܝ ܗܘ ܝܒܠܩܝܘܪ ܝܝܠ ܪܟܝܒܘܡܕ
ܪܟܝܝܒܕ ܝܝܫܝܕ ܪܟܝܠܒ ܪܠܐ ܂ܘܡܗܘܠܝ ܘܪ ܘܡܗܠܒ ܪܫܝܒ

Largely as P, but QUX uses the loan for τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, in line with PC,Ath,H, but against P's ܐܒܝܣܘ; again for ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν he will use the grammatically correct ,ܡܘܠܝܪ ܐܠܝ as PC,H does, but not P. ܢܒܠܝܪ for ܒܠܘܪ is independent of all parallels.

Gal 1.16 [SDI = 231,19-20 / f.38rb]

SDI

ܐܠ ܐܟܝܐܪ ܐܝܡܒܠ ܐܣܪܐ ܐܣܪܝܘ

ܐܣܪܐ is found also in Jacob of Edessa, but ܐܠܟ in P,Phx,PC,H.

Gal 2.19-20 [QUX = 774,13-7 f.92rb]

QUX

ܐܠ ܐܟܝܐ ܡܘ ܐܟܝܐ ܐܝܡܝ ܐܟܣܣ ܝܟܘ ܐܟܘܪ ܐܡܠܐܪܝ ܐܟܒܣ ܐܣܩܣܠܝ ܐܣܩܣܝ ܒܝ ܝܟ ܐܟܝܐ
ܐܟܝܐ ܡ ܐܡܠܐܪܝ ܐܝܒܝ ܐܒܩܣܡܣܒ ܝܒܣܒ ܐܟܣ ܡܝ ܐܟܝܐ ܡܝ ܐܣܣܣ ܡܝ ܒܝ ܝܘ ܐܟܝܐ ܐܩܣ
ܡܐܠܘ ܡܣܒ ܡܠܟܝܐ ܡܘܐܪܝ

QUX occasionally has a reading which H will follow, such as ܐܣܩܣܝ ܝܒ (P ܐܣܩܣܝܒ), but otherwise is largely as P (e.g. ܝ not ܝ ܐܟܣܪ for ἵνα; ܐܝܡܝ not ܐܠܝ). The development can be seen from P's ܡܣܒ ܒܡܝܘ, through QUX's ܡܣܒ ܡܠܟܝܐ, to H's ܡܠ ܐܡ ܡܠܟܝܐ, which includes the calque on the reflexive pronoun which QUX had not yet adopted.

Gal 3.13 [CO1* = 34,25 / f.92ra] [CO2* = 36,15 / f.93ra] [QUX = 719,17-8 / f.53vb]

QUX

ܐܠܝܐܠ ܡܐܠܘ ܐܩܣܡܣ ܐܣܩܣܝܝ ܐܠܝܐܠ ܝܐܝ ܝܒܝ ܐܣܩܣܣ

CO reduces ἐπικατάρατος from the adjectival ܐܠܠ (P,H) to the noun ܐܠܝܐܠ (κατάρα). QUX largely as P, with minor alterations only.

Gal 4.4 [CT* = 129,7-8 / f.116ra] [QUX1 =723,2-3 / f.56ra] [QUX2 = 728,30-1 / f.59vb]

P = QUX

P's ܐܩܡܐ...ܐܩܡܐ for γενόμενον...γενόμενον was succeeded by the more accurate ܐܩܡܝ...ܐܩܡܝ in some citations in CPJ, Ath, and eventually in H. This probably represents the movement to X. PC often retained the older P form, which we also find here in QUX1/2.

Gal 4.7 [CT = 128,10 / f.115vb]

CT

ܐܒܘ ܝܐܪ ܐܠܐܪ ܐܝܒܝ ܡܝܒܝܪ ܐܡܒܘ ܐܠ

The words are found exactly as in a citation in Phx[EpS], whereas P had ܡܒܠܘܡ for εἶ (the plural probably in its Vorlage), and H prefers ܝܒܘ for ὥστε (P with the other two as ܐܡܒܘ). The text in Phx and CT is therefore half-way to H and may well represent the X-tradition. The influence of P on earlier texts is apparent in Phx[Dsc]'s use of P's plural forms.

Gal 4.19

An example where all the variations of the X/H tradition can be seen to differing degrees in different texts without any reasonable possibility of suggesting which were present in X and which have crept into the tradition between X and H. Thus P's ⟨Syriac⟩ (⟨Syriac⟩ Ath) becomes the more common ⟨Syriac⟩ in AT (both times), PC, H, while P's combination ⟨Syriac⟩ (with the Pael) is repeated once in AT but becomes ⟨Syriac⟩ in the second citation of it. This is ⟨Syriac⟩ in PC and ⟨Syriac⟩ in H. For in translating the the relative pronoun, ⟨Syriac⟩ is most commonly found in P, ⟨Syriac⟩ in H, and often, it seems, ⟨Syriac⟩ in X. This second AT citation has changed P's ⟨Syriac⟩ to ⟨Syriac⟩, again anticipating H (but not in PC, where we might expect it). Furthermore, the first AT citation has the unusual reading ⟨Syriac⟩ instead of either ⟨Syriac⟩ or ⟨Syriac⟩ which, even more unexpectedly, is used once in Jacob of Edessa's version of Severus, which does occasionally reject H to use one of the prior versions. However, it seems unlikely that this would be X's reading, changing a Greek verb into a Syriac noun against P.

Gal 5.1 [CT* = 129,6 / f.116ra]

Gal 5.24

GL is with H and OS in using ⟨Syriac⟩ rather than P's ⟨Syriac⟩ (but the question of which synonym to use is generally an trait of individiual translators rather than a matter for strict chronological development); and again against P with ⟨Syriac⟩ for παθήμασιν, though otherwise the wording is not dissimilar to P.

Gal 6.14 [QUX = 762,13-5 / f.82vb]

QUX

⟨Syriac text line⟩

Quite independent of P, QUX uses, e.g., ⟨Syriac⟩ for ⟨Syriac⟩ ⟨Syriac⟩ (μὴ γένοιτο) and anticipates H with ⟨Syriac⟩ ⟨Syriac⟩ instead of repeating ⟨Syriac⟩ as in P. All the differences show only a translator doing his job carefully and ignoring the pull of the P text.

Eph 1.7-9

GL shows his independence with ⟨Syriac⟩ for χάρις, where all others have ⟨Syriac⟩; he does not mind using the normal ⟨Syriac⟩ for παραπτωμάτων, although CPJ and H have both chosen more etymological equivalents, keeping ⟨Syriac⟩ only for ἁμαρτία.

Eph 1.10

There are a couple of signs in GL of a closer rendering of the Greek than that in P: the use of the active ⟨Syriac⟩ against P's passive ⟨Syriac⟩ for ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι is shared by a CPJ citation, and only GL puts ⟨Syriac⟩ in its place according to the Greek word-order.

Eph 1.19-21 [CO = 46,8-9 / f.97vc (v19-20a only)] [CT = 130,10-11 / f.116rc (v19-20a only)] [QUX1 = 767,30-4 / f.87ra] [QUX2 = 728,36-9 / f.60ra (v21 only)]

CO

.ܪ‍‍‍‍‍[Syriac text]‍ ‍‍‍ ‍‍‍‍‍‍‍[Syriac]

CT

.[Syriac text]

QUX1

.[Syriac text]
.[Syriac text]

QUX2

[Syriac text]
.[Syriac text]

ἐνήργησεν] ἐνήργηκεν CT, the difference not represented in Syriac.

The CO,CT phrase [Syriac] [Syriac] is unique – both P and H (and various known citations) having quite different phrases. This must be attributed either to an identity of translators in the two texts, or else to X being a common source. The former is the more likely in this case, until further instances are found. [Syriac] is otherwise more expected that [Syriac], although the latter is also attested in a Nestorian text. P's free rendering [Syriac] is superceded by [Syriac] in both CO and CT.

On this last count, QUX follows P, but elsewhere is also independent, for instance abbreviating the starting phrase. Although [Syriac] is a more common root to use for ἀρχή in the later versions, QUX here reduces the group of five to four members. The revision of [Syriac] (for ἀρχῆς) to [Syriac] must have been due to X, since the new word appears everywhere we would expect (AT,PC) and not where we would not (Babai,Ishodad of Merv). H regularly has [Syriac] for this term where it means 'power', and often this is a revision of P's use of the loan (cf e.g. Eph 3.10, 6.12, Col 1.16, where Ep50 half-revised to [Syriac]; although at Lk 12.11 the opposite has happened[1]), although PC does not always follow (Eph 3.10, 6.12).

Eph 2.3 [CO = 40,22 / f.95ra] [EDC = 19,3 / f.16va]

CO

[Syriac text]

The method used by CO for the past copula is typical of our texts, as has been noted, but was not so in P (including here) – it is the sign of a desire to make the Greek forms transparent. P had [Syriac] for φύσει, CO is more attached to the standardised Christological vocabulary and used a form from [Syriac] - again the Greek is being made transparent.

EDC shows very clear signs of alignment with a reconstructed X. P's [Syriac] has become [Syriac] in PC,EDC,H, and this seems likely to have been X's word as well (especially so when we consider Philoxenus' interest in the accuracy of Christological terms!). Again, ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποί is revised from [Syriac] [Syriac] (P) to [Syriac] [Syriac] [Syriac] (PC, EDC, H). This again was probably X. However, we can note again that the appearance of [Syriac] [Syriac] for ἤμεθα/ἤμεν cannot be taken as a sign of X's revision alone, since, although it is not used in P, it appears already in the Syriac of BL Add. 12150 (Titus of Bostra).

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[1] An odd P reading which is backed up by the citation in ML 76,3.

Eph 2.6 [CO = 57,16-7 /f.104ra]

P = CO

Eph 2.10 [AT* = 160,10 / 469,5]

Eph 2.14 [Ep50* = 99,30 / f.146vb]

‎ܡܘܗܝ‎ ‎ܗܘ‎ for P's ‎ܐܘܗܘ‎ (αὐτὸς ἐστιν) must have been present in X (PC consistently, CL, Proc1[pt], then H) and is prefigured in this early text, Ep50, as well.

Eph 3.14-7 [QUX = 738,1-6 / f.66ra]

<div align="right">QUX</div>

ܘܟܪ ܩܢܘܡܗ ܟܪ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܠܗ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܡܢܗ ܟܪ ܝܗܒ ܡܝܢܐ ܐܠܗ ܕܟܪ
ܟܢܝܫܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܡܘܩܝ ܒܗ ܩܕܝܫܬܗ ܡܠܘܢܗ ܡܣܒܪܢܐ ܐܝܕܥܐ ܐܝܟ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܩܕܝܫܬܐ
ܢܗܕܐܠܒ

QUX shows its looseness, for example, by having ܩܕܝܫܐ ܘܟܪ ܟܢܝܫܐ ܟܪ where the versions have only ܩܕܝܫܐܐ ܟܢܝܫܐ; also ܟܢܘܩܐ for their ܬܘܩܩܐܝ, and ܐܝܕܥܐܗܝ for their ܢܘܗܝܐܝ (Dadisho uses QUX's term). Furthermore, the translator has omitted any equivalent for τούτου χάριν.

Eph 3.16-17 [CT1 = 117,25 / f.111rb] [CT2* = 127,12-3 / f.115rb]

<div align="right">CT1</div>

ܟܢܝܫܐ ܝܗܒܘ ܟܘܚ ܩܕܝܫ

ܟܘܚ is unusual – the versions always have ܐܟܠܗ, but there are too few citations to give further controls.

Eph 4.5 [CO = 40, 4-5 / f.94vb] [CT1* = 123,14-5 / f.113va] [CT2* = 138,3-4 / f.119rb] [QUX1 = 759,35 / f.80vb] [QUX2 = 773,30 / f.91va] [EDC = 17,22 / f.150vb]

<div align="right">CO</div>

ܟܬܘܩܪܡܐ ܟܝܘ ܟܕܝܩܘܪܡ ܟܝܘ ܟܪܝܬ ܝܗܟ ܗܘ ܚ

There is an evident X-revision which is shared by Phx[EpSen],CL,PC, namely the dropping of P's conjunctions between the three phrases, εἷς κύριος, μία πίστις, ἕν βάπτισμα (as also Aphr). Ep39,Ep55,CO also follow this proposed X-reading but not QUX1 which uses the conjunction between the elements as P (and probably OS, cited in Aphrahat), without warrant from the original. QUX2 takes the middle ground by omitting one conjunction and retaining the other.

Eph 5.1-2 [CO* = 53,12 / f.101vb-c] [CT1* = 135,25 / f.118rc] [CT2* = 141,5 / f.120rc] [QUX = 761,10-3 / f.82ra] [QUX* = 761,7-8 / f.82ra] [Ep50* = 94, 15 / f.143ra]

P = CO,CT,QUX

ܦܣܝܟܠܣ ܢܘܒܬܘܡ] ܐܒܝܟܝܪ QUX

ܝܠܐܪܘ] ܒܘܘܩܘ QUX (also *Acta Thomae*)

ܐܘܪ ܠܟ] ܦܝܠܣ QUX (with PC, H, but also *Acta Thomae*))

Eph 6.19*

P = Ep40

Phil 2.5-7 [CO1* = 36,25-6 / f.93ra] [CO2 = 39,1-2/ f.94rb] [CO3 (v7) = 45,11 / f.97va]
[CO4* = 55,35 / f.103rb] [CO5 = 56,6-7 / f.103rb] [CO6 = 64,2-4 / f.107ra] [CT1 =
PG76,385C-386A / f.108va] [CT2* = 117,7-8 / f.111ra] [CT3 = 128,6 / f.115vb] [QUX1 =
718,15-20 / f.53rb (to v8)] [QUX2 = 741,29-36 / f.68va (to v9)] [QUX3 = 768,5 / f.87rb (v7
only)] [QUX4 = 769,20-5 / f.88rb] [EDC = 18,22 / f.151va] [Ep46* = 159,3 / 48,25] [Ep55* =
53,27 / 9,9-10]

CO2

ܦܝܘ ܡܝܐܝ ܪܥܠܐܪܝ ,ܡܘܬܘܪ ܪܚܐܘܒܝܒ ܒܗܝ ܐܘܗ ܝܘܥܝ ܪܡܝܝܟܒ ܐܪܝ ,ܝܗ ܢܩܙܐܝܒ ܐܝܝܚܪ ܪܝܗܢ

ܒܘܝ ܪܒܒܝ ܪܚܐܘܒܝܐ.

CO3

ܪܒܒܝ ܪܚܐܘܝ ܒܘܝܝܒ ܦܝܘ ܡܝܐܝ

CO5

ܒܘܝ ܪܒܒܝ ܪܚܐܘܒܝܐ ܦܝܘ ܡܝܐܝ ܪܠܪ .ܪܥܠܐܪܝ ܪܒܝܘܐ ܒܘ ܪܐܡܝܝ ܡܒܥܝ ܪܝܐܘܠܝ ܪܐܡ ܪܠ

CO6

ܪܐܡ ܪܠ .ܪܥܠܐܪܝ ,ܡܘܬܘܪ ܪܚܐܘܒܝܒ ܒܗܝ ܐܘܗ ܝܘܥܝ ܪܡܝܝܟܒ ܐܪܝ ,ܝܗ ܢܩܙܐܝܒ ܐܝܝܚܪ ܪܝܗܢ
ܒܘܝ ܪܒܒܝ ܪܚܐܘܒܝܐ ܦܝܘ ܡܝܐܝ ܪܠܪ .ܪܥܠܐܪܝ ܪܒܝܘܐ ܪܐܡܝܝ ܡܒܥܝ ܪܝܐܘܠܝ

CT1

ܪܐܡ ܪܠ .ܪܥܠܐܪܝ ܪܚܐܘܒܝܒ ,ܡܘܬܘܪ ܒܗܝ ܐܘܗ .ܪܡܝܝܟ ܝܘܥܝܒ ܐܪܝ ,ܝܗ ܢܩܙܐܝܒ ܐܝܝܚܪ ܪܝܗܢ
.ܒܘܝ ܪܒܒܝ ܪܚܐܘܒܝܐ ܦܝܘ ܡܝܐܝ ܪܠܪ .ܪܥܠܐܪܠ ܪܒܝܘܐ ܒܘ ܪܐܡܝܝ ܡܒܥܝ ܪܝܐܘܠܝ

QUX1

ܠ .ܪܥܠܐܪܝ ܪܝܘܒܝ ,ܡܘܬܘܪ ܒܗܝ ܐܘܗ .ܪܡܝܝܟ ܝܘܥܝܘܝ ,ܝܗ ܢܩܙܐܝܒ ܐܝܝܚܪ ܪܝܗܢ
ܡܚܐܘܒܝܒܘ .ܠܘܥ ܪܒܒܝ ܪܚܐܘܒܝܐ ܦܝܘ ܡܝܐܝ ܪܠܪ .ܪܥܠܐܪܝ ܪܒܝܘܐ ܪܐܡܝܝ ܡܒܥܝ ܪܝܐܘܠܝܘ
.ܪܚܐܘܠ ܪܝܘܝܥ ܐܒܘܬܪܘ ܡܒܐܝ ܘܝܒܝ .ܪܥܘܪ ܒܘ ܘܝܪ ܐܘܒܥܪ ܪܒܒܘܡܪܒܘ ܪܐܡ ܪܝܘܒܝ
.ܪܝܘܡܢܝ ܝܝ ܪܚܐܘܒ

ܢܩܙܐܝܒ ܐܝܝܚܪ] ܢܩܒܝܘ ܝܠܒ ܐܝܝܚܝ QUX2; ܢܩܒܝܘ ܝܘ ܝܘ ܠܒ ܐܝܝܚܪ QUX4

ܠܘܥ] ܒܘܝ QUX2,4

ܪܐܡ ܪܝܘܒܝ ܡܚܐܘܒܝܒ] om. QUX4

There are four distinctive X-readings in this passage, namely:
1) ܠ ܐܡ for the reflexive (P ܡܝܐܝ) twice. This is well attested in Phx's later writings and
in the 6th century translations (PC,CL etc), as well as in the East, but not in Phx's
earlier writings or in earlier translations (AkEph,Ath,PC[AJP]). The same
equivalency appears in v8, where ἑαυτόν in CPJ is ܠ ܐܡ, but the verse is less well
cited. PC only cites it once and the ms evidence is dubious, though ܠ ܐܡ is here
attested (AkEph,Ath,CL all have ܡܝܐܝ again).

2) ܟܐܘܗܝ ܠܗܘܐ for τὸ εἶναι (P ,ܡܘܬܗܐ).

3) ܡܫܬܡܥܢܐ ܗܘܐ [ܓ] (P ܐܫܬܡܥܘ) for ὑπήκοος. This also goes back to earlier texts, including Phx[TT] and CL

4) ܫܘܐ ܐܟ for ἴσα (with CPJ,PC,CL,Fl Ed etc.).[1]

It is worth adding a slight word of caution, that although these are probably X-readings, later writers sometimes still go back to P, even Jacob of Edessa's translation of Severus sometimes having ܙܩܝܦܐ (or ܨܠܝܒܐ for σταυροῦ) in these verses.

Of the possible X-readings, Ep55 shares in three, follows P in one (the reflexive in v8) and cuts off before ὑπήκοος. These are sufficient to show the community of tradition between Ep55 and X. EDC and Ep39 also follow these revisions, where extant, i.e. the impf ܗܘܐ and having ܫܘܐ ܐܟ for ἴσα. AT has most of them, as well as other typical revisions such as ܒ to represent the syntax of γενόμενος.

CO, CT and QUX use the revised form ܗܘܐ rather than ,ܡܘܬܗ for the τὸ εἶναι of v6, but the P readings for ἑαυτὸν (v7) and adding the conjunction after μορφὴν (v7). It is notable that CO and CT have the phrase ܕܡܘܬܐ ܒ for ἴσα (v6), where P (and QUX) has just ܕܡܘܬܐ (X/H ܫܘܐ ܐܟ). This reading is quite singular and not found anywhere else – it can be taken as confirmation that our texts are the products of a single translator. QUX4's omission of a phrase is probably translator error; the same citation's ܡܣܒ ܗܘ ܗܘ ܟܠ is another instance of his independence, although AT comes close with its ܡܣܒ ܐܝܟ ܟܠ.

Ep40 and Ep50 stay the closest to P amongst our citations. In one place Ep40 has corrected the word-order by re-positioning ܗܘܐ (γενόμενος), as X probably did, but otherwise P is rigorously followed. The only possible X-reading Ep50 is the addition of ܗܘܐ after ܡܫܬܡܥ (v7).

Phil 2.9-11 [CO = 39,8-10 / f.94rb (v10-11)] [QUX1 = 769,26-30 / f.88rb] [QUX2 = 778,20-1 / f.95vb]

CO

ܗܢܘ ܠܝ ܝܗܒ ܘܐܪܝܡ ܡܢ ܘܝܬܝܪܐ ܘܐܝܪܐ ܒܪܟܬܗ ܣܓܕ ܟܠ ܒܪܟܝܐ ܫܡܐ

ܕܡܪܝܐ ܝܫܘܥ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ.

QUX1

ܫܘܥܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ .ܘܗܦܟ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܠܬܚܬ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܩܘܡ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܣܓܕܘ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܟܠܗܘ

ܫܘܥ ܗܘ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܗܢܘ ܠܝ ܝܗܒ .ܐܪܝܡ ܒܪܟܬܗ ܘܐܝܪܗ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܣܓܕ ܟܠ ܒܪܟܝܐ

.ܐܒܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܒܪܟܝܐ

ܕܗܘ] ܗܘܐ QUX2

CO omits the enclitic ܗܘ at the end of v11, but this may very well be just an error; otherwise P is followed. QUX's ܟܠ is used in preference to P's ܓܡܝܪ also by PC and Phx before H. The use of the adjectival forms ܒܪܟܬܗ and ܐܝܪܐ (found in Phx[TT],EDC,Ath,H), showing the witness of both Philoxenus and translation texts, are likely to have been in X, and are found in both EDC and QUX, but not in CO or Ep50. However, its use in Theodore's *John*

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[1] Brock, *Resolution*, 334.

Commentary, the translation of which may be early, warns us against considering such forms exclusively post-X. Similarly, ܪ‍ܬ‍ܘܢ‍ܒ‍ܫ‍ܗ (for P's ܪ‍ܬ‍ܝ‍ܒ‍ܐ‍ܬ) and ܪ‍ܒ‍ܪ (for P's ‍ܡ‍ܐ‍ܒ‍ܪ) are renderings shared together only by Ath and EDC (though Titus of Bostra also has ܪ‍ܬ‍ܘܢ‍ܒ‍ܫ‍ܗ) before H adopted both of them. EDC has the ptc ܪ‍ܝ‍ܐ‍ܣ (others: ܪ‍ܝ‍ܐ‍ܝ) due to the variant in Cyril, ἐξομολογεῖται (pres.ind.) whereas all known Gk witnesses have either the aorist subjunctive ἐξομολογήσηται or the future ἐξομολογήσεται, both of which would naturally be translated with the Syriac imperfect. It is one of the weaknesses of the Münster edition that it leaves such readings unexplained. Ep50 generally follows P throughout. In v9, ܝ‍ܒ‍ܝ‍ܣ was the old reading (Aphr, P, Ath, Phx^{pre-X}), ܝ‍ܒ‍ܝ the new (PC, Apl, H). Ep50 has the old, while QUX has its own ܝ‍ܒ‍ܝ‍ܣ.

Phil 2.15b-16a [CO* = 48,25-6 / f.99rc]

CO

ܪ‍ܝ‍ܘܢ‍ܪ ܪ‍ܕ‍ܐ‍ܠ‍ܗ ܝ‍ܒ‍ܣ ܝ‍ܒ .ܪ‍ܠ‍ܣ‍ܒ‍ܣ ܐ‍ܐ‍ܣ ܝ‍ܐ‍ܣ‍ܒ‍ܝ‍ܐ‍ܪ ܪ‍ܝ‍ܣ‍ܘܢ

ܪ‍ܠ‍ܣ‍ܒ] sic, leg. ܪ‍ܠ‍ܣ‍ܒ‍ܟ

ܪ‍ܒ‍ܣ is a natural rendering for ἐπέχω but is not found in other versions (ܝ‍ܐ‍ܣ‍ܒ ܝ‍ܐ‍ܣ‍ܒ‍ܝ‍ܪ P; ܝ‍ܝ‍ܣ‍ܘܪ H), while P's odd ܪ‍ܬ‍ܒ‍ܐ‍ܝ for λόγος is replaced by the more obvious ܪ‍ܕ‍ܐ‍ܠ‍ܗ, in line with H.

Phil 3.5 [CO* = 47,10-11 / f.98va]

The paraphrase uses P's ܪ‍ܐ‍ܝ‍ܣ‍ܒ rather than H's ܪ‍ܬ‍ܒ‍ܐ‍ܒ, but prefers H's ܪ‍ܒ‍ܝ‍ܒ‍ܐ ܝ‍ܣ ܪ‍ܒ‍ܝ‍ܒ‍ܐ to P's ܪ‍ܒ‍ܝ‍ܒ‍ܐ ܝ‍ܒ ܪ‍ܒ‍ܝ‍ܒ‍ܐ.

Phil 3.14 [CO = 65,10 / f.107va] [SDI = 226,9-10 / f.50vb]

CO

.ܪ‍ܝ‍ܘܢ‍ܣ‍ܒ‍ܣ ܝ‍ܒ‍ܠ ܝ‍ܒ‍ܝ ܪ‍ܕ‍ܝ‍ܒ‍ܝ‍ܐ‍ܝ ܪ‍ܠ‍ܒ‍ܠ‍ܝ

SDI

.ܪ‍ܝ‍ܘܢ‍ܣ‍ܒ‍ܣ...ܝ‍ܒ‍ܠ‍ܝ ܪ‍ܕ‍ܝ‍ܒ‍ܝ‍ܐ‍ܝ ܪ‍ܠ‍ܒ‍ܠ‍ܝ

CO and SDI both use ܪ‍ܠ‍ܒ‍ܠ‍ܝ for βραβεῖον, a term used in PC and H (P ܪ‍ܬ‍ܒ‍ܐ‍ܝ). This again shows the development of these versions, probably being translated sometimes without reference to existing versions. H's ܪ‍ܕ‍ܝ‍ܒ‍ܝ‍ܐ rather than ܪ‍ܒ‍ܝ‍ܐ‍ܒ (P) was probably also in X (PC, Cyril's *Hebrews Commentary*, Clement of Rome's *de virginitate*), and is found in CO but not in SDI.

Phil 3.19 [MosEp = Brooks 19,12-14]

In MosEp the participial οἱ φρονοῦντες is altered to the nominal ܝ‍ܐ‍ܣ‍ܒ‍ܝ‍ܐ‍ܒ‍ܗ in P and here (but in other places more accurately, even before H). More significant is his addition of an unexpected ܐ‍ܒ‍ܠ‍ܒ (*all* their mind), a variant unknown from the Greek, but found also in Elijah's *Life of John of Tella* and Phx^{BeitGaugl}. This may be some older Syriac reading.

Col 1.12-20 [CO = 63,8-20 / f.106vb-c] [CT* = 145,13-5 / f.122ra-b (v17-18 only)] [QUX1* = 758,40 / f.80ra] [QUX2 = 765,5-12 / f.85ra-b (v15-18 only)]

The frequent use and many variants of this passage require a fuller presentation of the material:

εὐχαριστοῦντες τῷ πατρὶ τῷ ἱκανώσαντι ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν μερίδα τοῦ κλήρου τῶν ἁγίων ἐν τῷ φωτί·

P

RF - QUX

CO

H

13 ὃς ἐρρύσατο ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ σκότους καὶ μετέστησεν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ,

14 ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν, τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν·

15 ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως,

16 ὅτι ἐν [ἐκ CO] αὐτῷ ἐκτίσθη τὰ πάντα [τά add CO] ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ [τά add CO] ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, τὰ ὁρατὰ καὶ τὰ ἀόρατα,

εἴτε θρόνοι εἴτε κυριότητες εἴτε ἀρχαὶ εἴτε ἐξουσίαι·

τὰ πάντα δι᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἔκτισται·

(Syriac text, three lines)

^{17} καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν πρὸ πάντων καὶ τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκεν,

(Syriac text, five lines)

^{18} καὶ αὐτός ἐστιν ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ σώματος τῆς ἐκκλησίας·

(Syriac text, five lines)

ὅς ἐστιν ἀρχή, πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, ἵνα γένηται ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτὸς πρωτεύων,

(Syriac text, five lines)

^{19} ὅτι ἐν αὐτῷ εὐδόκησεν [ηὐδόκησεν CO] πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα κατοικῆσαι

(Syriac text, four lines)

^{20} καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ ἀποκαταλλάξαι τὰ πάντα εἰς αὐτόν,

(Syriac text, two lines)

(Syriac text, two lines)

εἰρηνοποιήσας διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ σταυροῦ αὐτοῦ, [δι' αὐτοῦ] [om CO] εἴτε τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς εἴτε τὰ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς.

(Syriac text, two lines)

(Syriac text, two lines)

What possible X-readings can be isolated from this oft-quoted passage? The following may at least give some idea by way of selection.

1. ܡܩܕܡ [v12] (CO,RF, Phx^{DD},H) seems to go back well before X (ܩܕܡܘܗܝ P).
2. ܕܐܝܢ ܗܘ [v13] (CO,RF; ܕܝ ,ܠ ܗܘ H) (ܘܐܝܢ P).

3. ܡܘܬܪ̈ܐ ܗܘ [v15] (CO,CPJ,RF,Ep55,PC,H) (ܐܘܗܝ ܗܘ P). However, even Ephrem reads ܡܘܬܪ here which should in general warn us from seeing X-revisions wherever we see ܡܘܬܪ representing εἶναι where P did not do so. However, X must surely have made such a revisio, even if it were not the first so to do.

4. ܪܒܘܝܬܗ ܠܐ [v15] (CPJ,Ep55,PC,H) against ܪܘܝܬ ܠܐ (P,RF,CO).

5. The singular ܪܒܘܬܐ ܗܠܗ [v15] (Ep55,PC,JP,H) for P's plural ܪܒܘܬܐ ܦܗܠ (with RF,Phx^pre-x,Ep50).

6. The omission of ܘ before ܪܒܢܐܗ [v15] (CO,Ep55,Ep50,PC) (against P,RF,Phx^pre-x)

7. ܪܟܠܣ [v15] (CO,CPJ,Ep55,PC,H) against ܪܗܢܐܗܝ (P,RF, Eusebius' *Theophania*, Ephrem, Phx^pre-x) – the distribution here is exactly what we expect from X-readings,

8. ܝ for ὅτι [v16] (CO,RF,Ep50,Ep55,Phx^DD(once),Phx^EpAdda,H) (ܘ in P,John of Apamea, Phx^DD(once)).

9. ܪܫܝ [v16] may have been X-reading for ἀρχαί, which was ܡܫܝܪ in P,Ep50.

10. ܡܘܬܪ ܐܦ [v17,18] (CO,CPJ,Ep55,PC,H) (ܐܘܗܡ P,Phx^DD,EastSyrians).

11. ܪܫܝ [v18b] (CO,CPJ^1,H) against ܪܫܝ (P,ML,CPJ^3,Phx^DD,RF,PC) as well as the allusion in CT; Ep50 also has some advance here, having ܪܫܝ (H ܪܗܐܘܝܫܝ) for ἀρχαί in v16, rather than copying P's loan ܡܫܝܪ.

12. X may have read ܦܠܨܪ for εὐδόκησεν [v19] (CPJ,RF,H) rather than the older ܪܒܨ (P,CO,Phx^DD).

13. ܪܟܠܨ [v20] (CPJ,PC^2,H); ܐܘܢ (P,Ephr,LG,RF,PC^1).

There are three unexpected readings in CO which may possibly go back to a pre-Peshitta reading: 1) ܡܒܝ for ἐν ᾧ ἔχομεν (v14) agrees with RF, where P has ܡܒܝ ܗܘ and H has ܝ ܗܘܒ; 2) ܪܒ ܠܗܐ for τὰ πάντα (v16) (ܟܠܗܠ in P & most others; ܐܘܗ ܦܗܠ H) which is close to what we see in Ephrem's citation ܝ ܪܒ; 3) ܪܒܢܐܩ for σῶμα (v18) is in agreement with RF again, where all the other numerous citations and versions have ܪܒܣܐ, which is more commonly used for σάρξ in this text. QUX shares this last reading also. Furthermore, CO's reading 'to the Father' (v12) instead of the versions' 'to God the Father' follows the Vorlage, as also does the addition of ܦܠܗ twice in v16. The only translational oddity which cannot be ascribed to any versional tradition is the reduction of τοῦ σκότους (v13) to a possessive suffix.

We should add that RF may well reflect as OS reading in v20, where its ...ܝ ܪܒ...ܝ ܪܒ is used in all three citations of the verse in the *Liber Graduum*, and its order of the words 'heaven...earth' is found also in Ephrem and Aithalla (see Kerschensteiner, *Paulustext*, 76,88,147,89).

We can thus see how mixed is the CO text vis à vis the Philoxenian, while RF,QUX, and Ep50 are more firmly in the P camp, and Ep55 equally firmly in X's.

Col 1.19/2.9 [CT1 = PG76,393C / f.108vb] [CT2 = 127,13-4 / f.115rb]

CT shows the older reading ܪܒܨ (as CO in Col 1.19, see previous lemma). Ep50 follows P.

Col 1.21-2 [QUX = 774,22-6 / f.92rb]

QUX

ܪܚܡ ܐܢܝܫܝ .ܪܥܝܪ ܪܗܒܚ ܐܢܒܘܝܝܠܗ ܪܒܝܠܗܐ :ܪܝܗܘ ܐܘܗܘܡ ܐܢܝܒܘܪܝ ܐܘܗܪ ܐܪ ܐܝܚ ܦܗܘ .ܪܚܝܪ ܪܒܢܝܝ ܡܗܗ ܘܒ ܡܝܒܨܝ ܪܝܢܝܒ

QUX is using its own techniques independently of P. Thus ܩܘܝܡܘܡ ܩܘܝܬܪ for ποτε ὄντας. But he will still follow old idioms such as adding the possessive to ܩܘܝܚܝܬ as P does (scrupulously avoided in H, of course). He is careful to follow Cyril's alterations and omissions within the citation and not to follow a known version word-for-word. The juxtaposition of σῶμα and σάρξ forces QUX to use ܪܝܓܐ and ܪܝܡܐ carefully for once.

Col 2.3

The addition of ܩܘܡܝܬܪ in AT and elsewhere cannot necessarily be taken as testimony to X. However, the use of the adjective ܪܝܚܝܠܡ in H and previously only in PC and AT is a testimony to their joint use of X, especially when we consider the extreme closeness of PC and AT not only in all citations but in general style and technique as well.

Col 2.8-9 [CT = 126,19-22 / f.114vc-115ra] [SDI (v9 only) = 222,34-5 / f.30vb]

CT

ܪܐܝܪ ܝܒܐ ܪܝܚܘܝܐܠܝ ܝܓܝܪ ܪܝܚܐܝܡ ܪܝܚܐܝܠܝܡܐ ܪܝܚܐܣܘܠܝܐܝ ܪܝܝܚܝܒ ܩܘܓܝܠܘ ܒܝܪ ܪܝܚܠܐ ܐܝܘ
ܝܝܪܝܚܝܬܐܠ ܪܝܚܘܡܠܐܝ ܪܝܠܐܡ ܡܠܐܝ ܝܬܐ ܡܒܝ ܪܝܚܝܡ ܝܓܝܪ ܪܝܠܐ ܪܝܚܠܐܝ ,ܡܩܘܡܘܐܠܒܘܪ ܝܓܝܪܐ.

ὑμᾶς post ὁ συλαγωγῶν add. CT

P is generally followed in CT, but in the two places where X can probably be discerned CT agrees with the revision, namely reading ܐܝܘ (with Proc[S1,1b],H) against ܐܝܡܐܝܪ (P,Phx[DD]); and ܪܝܚܘܝܐܠܡ for P's ܪܝܐܠܐܝ, though this s not yet the ܪܝܚܩܘܡܠܡ of Proc[B,Z] and H. The addition of ܪܝܝܚܝܒ before ܪܝܚܩܘܡܠܐܝ (*the mind of philosophy*) is unparalleled and constitutes a distinct and unusual expansion of a Biblical text.

SDI has ܝܝܪܝܓܐ for σωματικῶς, which fits its own usage (also found once, unusually, in PC[Homs]), but is against the versions which have ܝܝܪܝܚܝܬܐܠ.

1 Tim 1.7

If ܝܝܒܪ (Ep55) is the X-reading, EDC is being conservative here with P's ܝܠܚܡ. As with Ep50 and Ep55, the text of EDC largely follows P, although H's revisions are minor anyway.[1] Ep50's ܝܡܠܐ for διαβεβαιοῦνται where all other witnesses have forms of ܪܝܘ suggests that this is being translated as part of the flow of the text and not from a pre-existing version. We thus ought to not place too much on the reading ܝܝܒܪ (Ep50, with PC,Ath,H; P ܝܠܚܡ) – despite the attestation, we cannot be sure of X.

1 Tim 2.4

AT does not here prefigure H's revisions of P.

1 Tim 3.15

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[1] Schwartz claims that the Syriac follows V here in reading τίνος for ἅ but the ܝܠܪ does not necessarily support such a reading – in fact EDC is identical to the Timothy Ailuros citation and seems a perfectly good translation for ἅ λέγουσιν.

Ep74 follows P against H [Syriac].

1 Tim 3.16 [QUX1 = 731,3 / f.61rb] [QUX2 = 777,5 / f.94va]

<div align="right">

QUX1

[Syriac] [Syriac] [Syriac]

</div>

<div align="right">

QUX2

[Syriac] [Syriac]

</div>

QUX1's rendering of εὐσεβείας μυστήριον is a piece of editing not unusual for this translator but far away from any of the versions of the verse being quoted. QUX2 is even more of a rewriting. Pre-X versions know nothing of H's extravagant neologism, [Syriac], but for εὐσεβείας X must have read [Syriac] [Syriac] (not P's [Syriac]), not only because it is attested in CPJ, PC, and in our EDC, but because it is also present in New College 333 (White's original Harklean ms), indicating that the reading was known to Thomas, presumably because it lay in the version that he revised to [Syriac] [Syriac]. Further on, EDC has P's [Syriac] [Syriac] against H's more straightforward [Syriac], and also P's [Syriac] to H's [Syriac] (inconsistently, see Phil 2.11 above). Another typical sign of revision is the making emphatic of those nouns that P leaves in the absolute, [Syriac] and [Syriac]; it seems that this was done already in X, given the joint witness of CPJ and EDC. Note, however, that the words for EDC are incorrectly collated in NTSU as absolutes, perpetuating an error in Bedjan's edition – the ms (f.15vb) clearly reads [Syriac] and [Syriac].

1 Tim 6.12 [AT* = noGk / 440,2]

AT shows already H's lexical revision of P's [Syriac] [Syriac] to [Syriac] [Syriac].

1 Tim 6.20

P = Ep46

2 Tim 1.8-10a

GL shows adherence to P where the latter diverges from H (but there are too few other witnesses to guess further at intermediate stages); this is especially noticeable in renderings such as [Syriac] for σώσαντος (H [Syriac]) and [Syriac] for τοῦ σωτῆρος (H [Syriac]).

2 Tim 4.8 [AT = noGk / 442,2]

Among a host of citations, only AT anticipates H's revision of [Syriac] to [Syriac] for ἀπόκειται, another indication of how far along the line of the X/H tradition AT ought to be placed.

2 Tim 3.16 [MosEp = Brooks 18,6]

P = MosEp [even against later revisions]

Titus 1.12 [MosEp = Brooks 19,16-17]

P = MosEp

Titus 2.11-13 [QUX = 745,6-12 / f.70vb]

QUX shares some features with Ep55, which compare tellingly with P and H. We should therefore see this laid out fully:

[Syriac text]   P

[Syriac text] Ep55

[Syriac text] QUX

[Syriac text] H

[Syriac text]

[Syriac text]

[Syriac text]

[Syriac text]

[Syriac text]

[Syriac text]

[Syriac text]

[Syriac text]

[Syriac text]

[Syriac text]

[Syriac text]

[Syriac text]

Note the following with regard to Ep55: P is followed here where H has revised [Syriac] to [Syriac]. For σωτήριος, however, Ep55 has [Syriac], using an adjective for an adjective which may reflect X, but as there are no other citations there can be no certainty. The same pattern continues in v12, where Ep55 shows 'in-between' readings which may be related to X or may simply be a reflection of his own style. Given his record so far, we may presume that some of them at least, where they differ markedly from P, are indeed from X, such as [Syriac] for [Syriac] (H [Syriac]) and the Greek-accurate position of [Syriac] [Syriac] [Syriac]. In v13, the equivalent [Syriac] is found in Phx[EpS],PC,Ep55, similar terms also in CPJ,AkEph, and is then adopted in H, all of which points fairly clearly to X (P has [Syriac] which repears in followers of P such as the scholia to Gregory Nazianzen and Bar Hebraeus). The change from [Syriac] to [Syriac] comes up again in this verse. Various sources show the latter before its adoption in H (PC, Phx[EpS],Ath,AkEph,JS) but plenty do not (Ep101,CPJ,Ep55,Proc[S1],ZR). Given that CPJ has the 'old' form and Ath, which follows P most of the time, has the 'new' form, we may justly be suspicious as to whether X really had the 'new' reading or whether, much more generally, the use of [Syriac] was becoming more widely accepted as the best word for Greek terms related to σώζω, in which case these texts come up with the reading largely at random.

Although in some places ([Syriac], [Syriac] and [Syriac], which is a characteristic word for QUX) QUX is independent, it shows some similarities with Ep55 which further support the suggestion that Ep55 is a witness to X-readings here. QUX shows again that it can be both independent of P while at the same time signaling some of the revisions of the X/H tradition.

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[1] Cyril reads σωφρόνως καὶ ἐπιεικῶς ζήσωμεν for σωφρόνως καὶ δικαίως καὶ εὐσεβῶς ζήσωμεν.

Heb 1.3 [CO = 44, 2 / f.96vc] [QUX1 = 718,22-3 / f.53rb] [QUX2 = 742,9/ f.68vb] [EDC* = 17,18 / f.15va]

CO,QUX

ܐܠܗܘܬܐ܆ ܘܥܠܝ ܐܟܣܢܐ܂ ܗܘ ܟܝܢܐ

The issue here revolves around ܐܠܗܘܬܐ / ܩܢܘܡܐ for ὑποστάσεως – the latter is clearly the common Christological term for hypostasis and so naturally makes its appearance in H, the former in P. It was probably already in X, since it turns up in the usual places, i.e.CPJ, PC, Ath, Ep55,EDC and not in Phx[EpGaug2],JS,RF, where we would normally expect P anyway. It is a sign of the mixed degrees of revision that Ep55 can choose ܩܢܘܡܐ over ܐܠܗܘܬܐ here and reject the latter for the term ὁμοούσιος in the same line, in favour of the supposedly pre-Philoxenian ܟܝܢ ܒ. EDC and Ep55 thus follow the revision while the standardisation ὑπόστασις = ܩܢܘܡܐ had not yet become absolute for CO or QUX.

Heb 1.6 [Ep50 = 93,32 / f.142vb]

The united testimony of CPJ,Phx[TT],EDC for ܬܒܝܠ for οἰκουμένην (from P's ܥܠܡܐ) is very likely to witness X, especially as the unrevised EDC1 has ܥܠܡܐ, depite H's further alteration to ܐܚܘܝܬܒܬܐ. Ep50 follows P.

Heb 2.9a [QUX = 763,19-21 / f.83va]

QUX

ܐܝܩܪܐ ܘܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܐܝܟܐ ܕܡܘܬܐ܆ ܗܘ ܛܥܡ ܡܛܠ ܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܥܠ ܕܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܥܕܢ ܗܘ ܕܐ܂

QUX anticipates H with ܐܟܠܝܠ for ἐστεφανωμένον rather than P's ܡܣܝܒ ܫܡܝܢ, but is generally independent in structure while largely imitating P's vocabulary.

Heb 2.9b [CT1* = 131,14 / f.116vb] [CT2 = 145,10 / f.122ra]

CT2

ܕܡܘܬܐ ܛܥܡ ܡܘܬܐ ܚܠܦ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܒܥܕܘܬܐ

P is close to H here, and X must have been the same, despite the wayward reading in some recensions of P which influenced Antiochene exegesis and became a textual sticking-point. This does not affect our texts directly, but Shahdost of Tarihan's attack on the 'western' version of the text may well be an explicit attack on the Philoxenian, since Philoxenus appears to have restored in his revision what must have been the original Peshitta (and Greek) reading 'by grace' in place of the Syriac variant 'apart from' which Shahdost assumes to have been always the correct reading.[1]

Despite all this, the more straightforward interpretation of the Greek is here followed, as was doubtless found also in X (Ep55,CPJ,PC,CL,H).

Heb 2.10 [QUX1 = 761,17 / f.82vb] [QUX2 = 763,21-3 / f.83va]

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[1] For a full discussion, see Brock, *Hebrews 2:9*; for Shahdost, Abramowski and Goodman, *Nestorian Collection*, II,7.

ܐܚܪܝܬܐ. ܐܬܟܢܫܠܝ ܐܪܟܠܝܢ ܟܣܐ ܪܒܢܝ ,ܡܐܝܪܟ ܠܗܐ ܡܬܠܠܝܢ ܠܗܝ ܐܒܠ ܝܟ ܥܠ ܪܐܡ ܐܪܐ
,ܡܐܢܝܬܢܝ ܪܐܘ ܝܒ ܐܘܡܝܘܝ

ܡܬܠܠܝܢ ܠܗܝ] ܠܒ ܬܠܠܝܢܝ QUX1
,ܡܐܝܪܟ ܠܗܐ] ܠܒ ܡܝܪܟܐ QUX1
ܪܒܢܝ] tr. post ܪܐܪܟܠܝܢ QUX1

While P forms the basis for this citation, certain aspects anticipate H clearly. Such is the careful use ܠܠܝܢ for διά + accusative and ܝܪܟ for διά + genitive, where P uses the opposite order; the use of ܐܘܗܠ ܡܠ rather than simply ܐܘܗܠ for αὐτῷ; and ܪܐܘ ܝܒ rather than ܡܝܘܒ for διά παθημάτων. Firmly remaining with P, however, is the use of ܪܐܪܘ (H, ܪܐܪܐ) for ἔπρεπεν; ܘܐܘܡܝܘ (H ܘܐܘܡܘܝܐܗ) for τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτῶν; and ,ܡܐܘܝܬܢܝ (H ܪܐܬܠܝ) for τελειῶσαι. Using ܝܒ rather than ܠܚ for ἄγω is independent of both P and H.

Heb 2.11-12 [QUX1 = 727,38-41 / f.59rb] [QUX2 = 752,17 / f.75vb (v11a only)] [QUX3 = 763,23-6 / f.83va-b]

ܝܒܪ ,ܡܐܝܘܪ ܘܐܝܪ ܪܐܝܒܝ ܚܡܒ ܪܐ ܪܐܡ ܠܠܝܢ .ܝܘ ܟܐ ܘܐܘܗܠܒ .ܝܟܝܒܘܟܝܝ ܘܠܝܪܐܘ ܟܝܒܡܝܝ ܐܘܗ
,ܝܘܪܐܠ ܘܝܒܚ ܝܒܘܒܪ

ܘܠܝܪܐ] ܘܐܘܗܒ QUX2
ܪܐܡ] ܪܐܡ QUX1

QUX anticipates the later versions with the Aphel ܝܟܝܒܝ (P ܝܟܝܘ) for ἁγιάζων, in line with all West Syrian witnesses after P (incl. Ep50). However, QUX uses the older form ܘܠܝܪ where all other versions and citations (incl. Ep50) have ܘܐܘܗ. Another possible X-reading is the inclusion of an equivalent for αἰτίαν (om. P), but this is witnessed before H only in CL.

Heb 2.13b [QUX* = 763,26-7 / f.83vb]

Heb 2.14 [CO* = 55,19 / f.102vc] [CT1* = 123,23 / f.113vb] [CT2 = 126,3-4 / f.114vb] [CT3* = 138,1 / f.119rb] [SDI* = 226,26-7 / f.23va-b] [QUX1 = 721,7-11 / f.54vb] [QUX2 = 744,19-22 / f.70rb] [QUX3 = 763,27-30 / f.83vb] [EDC1 = 17,9 / f.15ra] [EDC2 = 20,18-9 / f.17vb] [EDC3 = 20,22-3 / f.17vb] [Ep50-1* = 92,13 / f.141vb] [Ep50-2* = 98,10-11 / f.145vb]

ܘܐܘܟܝܒܝ ܪܐܡܝܐ ܪܐܝܡܢܠ ܐܟܐܘܟܝܪܝ ܟܐ

ܝܒܝ ,ܝܚܡܠ ܝܒ ,ܝܚܡܠ ܐܟܐܘܟܝܪ ܘܐܡܝܐܟܝܒ ܐܡ ܐܪ .ܪܐܡܝܐ ܪܐܝܡܒ ܐܐܟܐܘܟܝܪ ܪܐܝܒ ܠܠܝܢ
.ܪܐܠܝܐܠ ܝܝ ܐܝܡ .ܪܐܟܐܡܝܝ ܪܐܠܝܐܥ ܝܝܘܪܝ ܐܘܡܠ ,ܡܐܠܠܝܒܝ ܪܐܟܐܡܝ

ܪܐܝܡܒ] ܪܐܝܡܢܠ QUX2
ܝܚܡܠ ܝܒ] om.QUX2
,ܡܐܘܠܠܝܢ] ܠܠܝܢ QUX2

ܢܩܕܝ ܐܬܘܬܐ ܠܚܘܢܬܐ ܡܢ ܗܐ ܡܢ ܐܡܘ ܡܢܕܝܐ ܟܝܣܐ ܐܬܘܬܐ ܐܠܗܝ ܠܥܠ
ܐܠܘ ܡܐܬܐ ܐܬܘܬܐ ܐܠܘܢ ܬܘܪܝ ܐܡܝ ܡܥܠܝܕ ܐܬܘ

Ep50,SDI,CO,CT,QUX all follow the Byzantine/Syriac versional order 'flesh and blood' in violation of Cyril's Alexandrian order 'blood and flesh' which most of his citations maintain. The translator of EDC, however, has evidently taken pains over this to render the order exactly as found in his Vorlage, at least in two of the three instances of the verse in this text.

In QUX3 παραπλησίως is translated by ܒܐܘܪ rather than the usual ܒܐܘܬܐ (which is found at QUX1,2). This is paralleled in RF, where even the unusual positioning of the verb ܐܬܘܬܐ is the same, and also in CT3* and Ep50. This may reflect an OS hangover, but it also reminds us of other places where QUX and RF shared a peculiar reading in citations (e.g. 1 John 4.14-5). The two also share smaller revisions to P's wording, ܢܒ for P's ܒ (cf.Ep45), ܐܘܡ for P's ܐܘܡ, and ܐܘܡ for P's ܒ (cf.Ep45). These sort of small advances reveal to us these forward-thinking translators who have already broken out of P's mould in the general direction of H.

Ep45 also shares some of these minor revisions, such as ܢܒ, and also ܐܘܡ for τόν (P ܠܝܗ), apparently an X-reading (PC, Ath, TA, Proc[SI], and Fl Ed). Other obvious revisions are not, however, found here, e.g. ܠܡܒ ܡܒ against revised ܐܘܡ ܢܒ ܐܘܡ for τῶν αὐτῶν; ܐܝܘܐܪ, which is shared by many other texts (but not Ep45); similarly ܐܘܬܐ ܐܠ ܐܝܪ is a typical H calque, but is prefigured in CPJ (and nowhere else); ܐܝܒ ܐܝܪ instead of ܐܠܝܘ; and ܐܘܡ instead of ܐܬܘܬ for τοῦτ' ἔστιν (CPJ with PC, ZR etc).

Heb 2.15 [QUX = 721,11-12 / f.55ra]

ܐܬܘܒܠ ܗܘܘ ܡܬܒܥܕ ܐܘܡܝܘ ܐܘܡܠܐ ܐܝܐܘܕ ܐܬܠܘܒܕ ܐܝܡ ܐܝܘܘ
ܐܝܡܠ] ܐܘܡܠ QUX2 (as P and H).

X is impossible to pin down: for ἀπαλλάξῃ P has ܐܝܐ, H ܡܢܝ, while other texts yield a series of alternatives, ܐܝܘܐ (PC,TA,QUX), ܝܝܘ (PC's preferred), ܐܝܒ (RF,Ep45,Ath). Ep45 and QUX also stick with P for ܐܘܡܠܝ against ܡܝܠܒ.

Heb 2.16-7 [CO1 = 38,16-8 / f.93vc] [CO2* = 40,12-3 / f.94vc] [CT* = 119,6 / f.111vc] [QUX1 = 721,12-5 / f.55ra (up to v17a)] [QUX2 = 763,32-4 / f.83vb (up to v17a)] [EDC = 17,7 / f.15ra] [Ep46* = 159,2-3 / 48,24-5] [Ep50-1* = 92,5-6 / f.141va] [Ep50-2* = 94,2 / f.142vb]

ܐܠܒܕ ܐܘܡ ܐܕ ܐܝܡ ܐܠܝܘܐ ܡܩܬܒܐܪ ܡܫܝܝ ܡܢ ܐܠܐ ܐܒܝ ܐܝܪܐܠܝ ܡܢ ܝܝ ܐܘܡ ܐܠ
ܐܝܡܠܐܝܒ ܐܝܘܡܝܒ ܐܬܘܐܒ ܒܝܐ ܐܝܝܘܝܒ ܐܘܡܝ ܡܩܘܣܪܐ ܐܬܘܒܕ ܝܒ

ܐܝ ܐܝܡ ܐܠܝܘ ܡܩܬܒܐܪ ܐܘܒܕ ܐܝܡ ܐܝ ܡܢ ܐܪ ܐܠܐ ܐܒܝ ܐܝܪܐܠܝ ܡܢ ܝܝ ܐܘܡ ܐܠ
ܡܩܘܣܪܐ ܐܬܘܒܕ ܝܒ ܐܠܒܕ ܐܠ ܐܘܡ

ܐܝ ܐܠܝ] ܐܠܝ QUX2
ܐܘܒ] om. QUX2

P's peculiar reading, ܪ݂ܟܐܿ ܪܐܿ ܝ݈ܠܼܒ ܪܒܪܟܠܼ ܚ ܪܐܿ ܪܐ (*it was not over angels that death had power*) in which ܪ݂ܟܐ must be a gloss to provide a subject for ἐπιλαμβάνεται, understood as 'to subdue, have power over', was pointed out some time ago as a possible OS reading, appearing as it does in most old, but not all, mss of P.[1] Otherwise, however, it is not found in our texts; its *non-use* here in a 5th century text, Ep45 (its earliest citation in extant Syriac literature) confirms that it was not X which first revised it. Its appearance in Ep45 should be taken probably as a witness to this standard reading before the time of X. At any rate, although P is not here followed in Ep45, the OS cannot be taken as a basis for the reading. The second ܐܡܘ is also omitted, probably simply as extraneous. In v17 Ep45 follows P's ܝܪܬܠܒ rather than H's ܝܡܠܒ.

CO and QUX also show a similar text. Again as in Ep45, we have the omission of the ܐܡܘ in v16b. QUX's unusual ܝܡܪܒܐ ܚܒ is paralleled only in ZR. Having the fem ܪܐܿ for the abstract pronouns, as here, is typical of the X-tradition texts (here Ath,Ep45,DM,PC,TA,ZR) against the P-aligned ones having ܪܐܿ (East Syrian witnesses). The rest of v17 is firmly P, though X's revisions were probably minimal and perhaps non-existant.

Heb 3.1b-2 [CO1* = 53,11 / f.101vb] [CO2* = 54,21 / f.102rc] [CO3* = 56,18-9 / f.103va] [CT1* = 135,24 / f.118rc] [CT2 = 137,11-4 / f.118vc] [QUX = 750,32 / f.74va (v1b only)] [EDC1 =24,2 / f.20ra] [EDC2 = 18,13 / f.16ra]

QUX

ܣܘܥ ,ܡܐܬܪܐ̇ ܝܚܬܐܕܢ ܪܒܡܐܒܒܝܐ ܪܝܚܠܒܣ ܘܝܐܘ .ܪܚܒܪ ܪܚܒܝܐܠ ܝܐܬܐܬܐܪܐ̇ ܪܬܝܠܐ ܝܚܪ

CT2

ܥܠܒܣ ܪܫܐܿ ܝܝܪ ܡܝܒܚܐ ܐܘܠ ܪܐܿ ܝܝܚܡܪܐ ܚܣܥ ܝܚܬܐܕܢ ܪܒܡܐܿ ܒܝܐ ܪܝܚܠܒܣ ܐܡܒܚܐܪ
.ܡܐܚܒ

CO's ܒ ܐܡܒܚܐܪ exactly agrees with what is in Ep55, H. This most likely represents X, since it is so distinct from P (,ܡܐܬܪܚ), while QUX's ܘܝܐܘ is unparalleled; CO and QUX both retain P's ܪܒܡܐܒ ܒܝ, where Ep55 has adopted ܪܒܡܐܒ ܪܝ, perhaps X's reading in advance of H's ܪܬܝܚܒܐܝ. CO's addition of ܪܐܿ for ὄντα is peculiar, others having either nothing (P) or ,ܡܐܬܪܐ̇ (Ep55,PC,H). Ep55 is revised again in v2, where P has the periphrastic ܝܒܚܡܝ̇ܢ, Ep55 having ܪܒܝܚܡܒ ,ܡܐܬܪܐ̇ܝ, which H adopts, only altering the word-order to fit the Greek (πιστὸν ὄντα)

QUX's ܒܬܚܐܬܐܪ, however, is an advance on P's ܪܝܚܐܬܐܪ and continues into H. The same goes for its use of the adjectival ܪܚܒܪ for ἐπουρανίου where P uses the analytic ܪܚܒܪ ܝܡܝ.

Heb 4.15 [CO1 = 53,2-5 /f.101vc] [CO2* = 54,25 / f.102va] [CT1 = 137,7-8 / f.118vc] [Ep46* = 159,7 / 48,30]

CO1

.ܪܬܚܝܝܘ ܝܒ ܝܝܠܡ ܝܡܠܒܣ ܝܝ ,ܡܘܝܝܝ ܝܚܐܡܝܒ ܝܒ ܪܘܝܝ ܪܚܝ ܪܐ̇ܝ ܪܒܡܐܿ ܒܝ ܝ ܒܝܪ ܪܐ

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[1] The 8th century diophysite writer, Shahdost of Tarihan, knows the correct reading from his own scriptures and attributes this variant reading to the deliberate falsification of the scriptures by the Monophysites (following, he says, in the footsteps of Paul of Samosata!) – see Abramowski and Goodman, *Nestorian Collection*, II, 8; see also Bonus, *Hebrews 2:16 in the Peshitta Syriac version*.

‎ܗܘܐܪ ܡܝܢ ܠܒܢ ܡܘܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܢܗܘܘܝܢ ܡܢ ܫܘܝܢ ܡܘܚ ܕܠܐ ܡܘܬܗܢ ܒܝ ܠ ܐܝܪ ܢܓ ܠܐ
‎ܢܗܘܠܝ ܣܡ ܝܚܩ.

P is followed closely, but few revisions to its text were ever made. CO's ‎ܒܠܣܝ for ‎ܡܝܢ ܠܒܢ in unusual; its omission of ‎ܗܘܪܐ due to closely attending to the Vorlage.

Heb 5.1-3 [CT1 = 136,9-13 / f.118va] [CT2* = 139,21 / f.119vc] [CT3 = 140,17-21 / f.120rb (om.v1b)]

‎ܠܟ ܓܝ ܕܝ ܡܘܬܐ ܕܗܢ ܡܒܫܝ ܫܘܝܡܘ ܘܠܐ ܦܫܝܬ ܡܪܩ. ܡܟܪ ܠ ܐܠܝܪ ܕܐܠܡܗܬܐ ܪܝܐ܂ ܢܒܘܝܝ
‎ܡܩܝܬܢܝ ܣܘܝܬܚܘ ܒ ܠܘܐܝܪ ܣܝ [ܝܫܢ] ܝܚܕܠ ܡܘܚܝܐ܂ ܗܘ. ܝܒܘܝܠ ܣܘܝ ‎ܘ.ܝܠܝ ܝܟܕ ܢܚܪ.
‎ܡܥܒܝ ܣܘܝ ܐܝܪ ܢܓܗܢ ܡܫܥ ܣܘܝ܂ ܡܘܝܪܝ [ܗܩ ܒܝܚ] ܦܝ ܒܗܠܝܥܘ. [ܝܚܠ] ܝܚܠ ܡܗܩܘܝܒ ܗܘ
‎ܒܘܝܠ ܣܘܝ ܘܝܒܘܝܠ܂

There is just one significant sign of revision: ‎ܡܟܘܝܚ for λαμβανόμενος (with PC,HG,H) where P reduced simply to ‎ܗܘ. Other places are still distinctively P: 1) ‎ܕܐܠܝܪ ܠ ܓܝ ‎ܐܝܪ for τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν, where X probably revised to ‎ܡܠܐ ܒܘܠ ܒܠܚܡ (PC,HG,H); 2)‎ܗܘܡܘܝܒ for the later ‎ܪܗܘܠܚܡ (PC,HG,H).

However, as so often, these two texts also show some distinctive features: 1)the reading ‎ܪܗܚܢܝ instead of ‎ܪܚܒܝ (P,H) for θυσίας is unique; 2) where both P and H try to get the nuance of μετριοπαθεῖν by using both ‎ܚ and ‎ܘܝܡ, CT simply uses the former alone; 3) ‎ܚܘܝ ‎ܝ ܗܘ is the normal rendering for ὀφείλει, CT1's ‎ܣܝܝ being unique; 4)‎ܣܘܝ for the final περί (‎ܠ P, ‎ܕܠܝܡ H) is paralleled only in the Syriac of Theodore's *Catechetical Homilies*, but given the profusion of ‎ܣܘܝ for all the previous instances, this is hardly surprising.

Heb 5.4-5 [CO = 53,22-4 / f.101vc] [CT* = 136,14 / f.118va]

‎ܗܘܝܣܝܪ ܓܝܝ ܪܚܣܝܪ ܪܡܘܝܪ ܡܝ ܪܝܗܠܡܝ ܪܚܝܪ ܪܠܝܪ ܪܝܒܝܪ ܡܗܩ ܓܝܪ ܡܥܒܝܠ ܪܗܩ ܪܠ
‎ܪܝܒܝܩ ܣܝ ܪܗܩܝ ܝܚܝ ܡܥܒܝ ܪܗܩ ܪܠ ܪܚܚܝܡ ܓܝܪ ܪܒܝܡ.

While CO follows P in rendering the reflexives with ‎ܪܚܥܝ rather than H's (and possibly X's) ‎ܗܠ ܗܩ calque, CO is concerned to render καί with ‎ܓܝܪ against P. Otherwise, P is followed, but was not significantly revised before H.

Heb 5.6 [CO = 54,3-4 / f.102rb]

‎ܣܝܝܚܠܡܝ ܣܡܥܠܝ ܟܝܪ ܡܠܠ ܪܝܡܗܩ ܗܩ ܝܗܝܪܝ ܂ܒܝܪ ܪܝܝܘ ܪܗܩܝܣܝ ܟܝܪ

Although grammatically, CO sticks with P in having e.g. ‎ܗܩ ܝܗܝܪ rather than ‎ܟܝܝܗܝܪ ܝܗܝܪ (H) and lexically preferring ‎ܪܝܡܗܩ to H's ‎ܪܝܗܩ, the phrase ‎ܪܣܡܠ ܟܝܪ is H's (‎ܪܗܩܒܝܡ P) and was probably part of the X-tradition as well.

Heb 5.7-10 [CO1 = 54,7-9,11,13 / f.102rb-c (v.7-8 only)] [CO2* = 54,26 / f.102va] [CO3 = 56,13-4 / f.103rc] [CT1 = 136,15-21 / f.118va] [CT2* = 139,21-2 / f.119vc] [QUX1 = 754,3-9 / f.76vb-77ra (up to v9 only)] [QUX2 = 440,38-40 / f.78ra-b (v7 only)]

Being such a commonly used and important verse, we shall set out the data in full:

ὃς ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ δεήσεις τε καὶ ἱκετηρίας πρὸς τὸν δυνάμενον

‎ܪܐܘܗ ܒܝܘ ܪܟܪܝܒܗ ܪܕܘܕܠܘܢ ܪܗܢܓ ܪܗܨܪܕܗܐ ܪܗܢܒ ܪܐܘܗ ܢܚܠ ܪܟܝܡܐ ܒܒ ܐܪP

‎ܪܐܘܗ ܒܝܘ ܪܟܪܝܒܗ ܪܕܘܕܠܘܢ ܪܗܢܓ ܪܗܨܪܕܗܐ ܪܗܢܒ ܡܝܡܒܗ ܪܗܬܪܟ RF

‎ܒܝܘ ܪܕܘܘܕܗ ܪܗܨܪܕ ܡܝܡܒܗ ܪܗܬܪܟ QUX1

‎ܪܗܨܪܕܗܐ ܪܗܢܒ ܡܝܡܒܗ ܪܗܬܪܘܒܗ ܥܚ CT1

‎ܪܐܘܗ ܒܝܡܒ ܪܗܨܪܕܗܐ ܪܗܢܒ ܡܝܢܓܒܗ ܪܗܬܪܟܒܗ ܥܚ CO1

‎ܪܐܘܗ ܪܓܒܗ ܗܠܘ ܪܗܨܪܕܗܐ ܪܗܬܟܒܗ ܥܠܒܗ ܪܟܝܡܒܗ ܪܗܬܪܟܝܒܗ ܥܚ H

σῴζειν αὐτὸν ἐκ θανάτου μετὰ κραυγῆς ἰσχυρᾶς καὶ δακρύων προσενέγκας

‎ܡܥܚܚܢܒܗ ܪܗܢܒ ܡܘ ܪܐܘܗ ܝܚܨܪܡܒܗ ܝܠܘ

‎ܡܥܚܚܢܒܗ ܪܗܢܒ ܡܘ ܪܐܘܗ ܝܚܨܪܡܒܗ ܝܠܘ

‎ܪܟܪܝܒܗ ܪܕܘܚܘܘ ܪܗܒܗ ܪܗܢܒ ܡܘ ܡܥܚ‍ܢܒܗ ܪܓܒܗ ܥܚ ܗܠܘ

‎ܪܐܘܗ ܒܝܡܒ ܪܟܪܝܒܗ ܪܕܘܕܠܘܢ ܪܗܢܓ ܪܗܢܒ ܡܘ ܡܚܘܝܒ‍ܗ ܪܐܘܗ ܪܓܒܗ ܥܚ ܗܠܘ

‎ܪܐܘܗ ܒܝܡܒ ܪܟܪܝܒܗ ܪܕܘܕܠܘܢ ܪܗܢܓ ܒܒ ܪܗܢܒ ܡܘ ܡܚܘܝܒ‍ܗ ܪܐܘܗ ܪܓܒܗ ܥܚܠ

‎ܒܝܘ ܪܟܪܝܒܗ ܪܕܘܕܠܘܢ ܪܗܢܒܘ ܥܢ ܪܗܢܒ ܡܘ ܡܥܚܒܝܘܢܒܗ

καὶ εἰσακουσθεὶς ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας,¹

‎ܐܬܗܠܝܪܟܘ

‎ܪܗܢܒܗܠ ܪܒܝܗ ܪܒܢܘܒܗ ܐܬܗܠܝܪܟܘ

‎ܪܗܪܟܢܓܡ ܪܗܢܐܒܝ ܡܘ ܐܬܗܠܝܪܟܘ

‎ܪܗܢܘܝܒܢ ܡܘ ܐܬܗܠܝܪܟ ܒܝܘ

‎ܡܗܢܘܝܒܢ ܡܘ ܐܬܗܠܝܪܟܘ

‎ܪܗܢܐܒܝ ܡܘ ܐܬܗܠܝܪܟ ܒܝܘ

⁸ καίπερ ὢν υἱός, ἔμαθεν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθεν τὴν ὑπακοήν,

‎ܪܗܘܢܚܒܘܕܗܪܠ ܚܥܠܘ ܠܒܣܒܗ ܪܟܐܒܘ ܪܗܠܘܢܒ ܡܘ ܡܗܘܕܘܪܟ ܪܟܝܒ ܒܠ ܒܝܘ

‎ܪܗܘܢܚܒܘܕܗܪܠ ܚܥܠܘ ܠܒܣܒܗ ܪܟܐܒܘ ܪܗܠܘܢܒ ܡܘ ܡܗܘܕܘܪܟ ܪܟܝܒ ܒܠ ܒܝܘ

‎ܪܗܘܢܚܒܘܕܗܪܠ ܚܥܚܒܗ ܥܠܝܒܪܟ ܡܘ ܪܟܝܒ ܡܗܘܕܘܪܟ ܒܠ ܒܝܘ

‎ܪܗܘܢܚܒܘܕܗܪܠ ܚܥܚܒܗ ܥܠܝܒܪܟ₂ ܡܘ ܚܥܠܘ ܡܗܘܕܘܪܟ ܪܟܝܒ ܒܠ ܒܒ ܐܪ

‎ܪܗܘܢܚܒܘܕܗܪܠ ܚܥܚܒܗ ܥܠܝܒܪܟ ܡܘ ܚܥܠܘܒ²[ܪܐܘܗ ܡܗܘܕܘܪܟ ܪܟܝܒ ܐܪ ܒܠ ܒܒ…]

‎ܪܗܘܢܚܒܘܕܗܪܠ ܚܥܚܒܗ ܥܠܝܡ ܡܘ ܥܠ ܪܟܝܒ ܡܗܘܕܘܪܟ ܒܠ ܒܒ ܐܪ

⁹ καὶ τελειωθεὶς ἐγένετο πᾶσιν τοῖς ὑπακούουσιν αὐτῷ αἴτιος σωτηρίας αἰωνίου
[ἀκαταλύτου QUX],

‎ܡܠܥܠܒܗ ܪܟܝܘܒܗ ܪܗܠܟ ܥܠ ܥܚܚܢܗܟܡܒܗ ܥܠܝܒܪܟ ܬܘܢܠܥܠ ܪܐܘܡܘ ܝܒܓ ܐܬܪ ܪܟܒܥܘܘ

‎ܥܠ ܥܚܚܢܗܒܠ ܥܠܝܒܪܟܠ ܥܝܒܚ ܪܗܠܝ ܪܟܘ ܐܬܠܓ ܪܐܘܡܘ ܝܒܓ ܐܬܪܘ

‎ܡܠܥܠܒܗ ܪܟܝܘܘܒܗ ܪܗܠܟ ܥܠ ܥܚܚܢܗܟܡܒܗ ܥܠܝܒܪܟ ܬܘܢܠܥܠ ܪܐܘܗ ܝܒܓ ܐܬܪ ܒܝܘ

‎ܡܠܥܠܒܗ ܪܟܝܒܝܘܒܗ ܪܗܠܟ ܥܠ ܥܚܚܢܗܟܡܒܗ ܢܥܚ ܬܘܢܠܥܠ ܪܐܘܗ ܥܠܒܗܟܝܪܟ ܒܝܘ

¹⁰ προσαγορευθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀρχιερεὺς κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισέδεκ.

‎ܥܠܚܒܢܠܒܘܒܗ ܡܗܘܢܒܝܒ ܪܟܝܒܘܒ ܒܝ ܪܟܠܐܪ ܡܘ ܡܒܗܠܝܪܟܘ

‎ܥܠܚܒܢܠܒܘܒܗ ܡܗܘܢܒܝܒ ܪܟܝܒܘܒ ܒܝ ܪܟܠܐܪ ܡܘ ܡܒܗܠܝܪܟܘ

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¹¹ ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας translated in P by ‎ܪܗܠܘܢܐ ܡܘ in the next line (also RF).
² These two clauses are transposed in CO.

ܩܪܒ] post ܩܕܝܫܐ QUX2

ܗܘ ܠܘܬ] ܠܗܘ QUX2

The 'nestorianising' P-reading ܠܐܠܗܐ ܒܣܪܐ ܒ is carefully avoided in favour of a closer rendering of the Greek in all these other versions. This is, of course, a matter discussed by Philoxenus in relation to his version, although the condemned reading was present only in some copies even in his day, and the more accurate one is found already in Ephrem and then in RF, so we need not ascribe the reading in QUX,CT, and CO here necessarily to X-influence. Kerschensteiner has thus argued that it is not especially an OS reading, merely a P variant.[1]

CO, perhaps typically, has ܒܣܪܐ for σάρξ (although CT does not) against all parallel citations. The rest of v7 affords a clear view of X. P has idiomatically transposed the prepositional clause πρὸς τὸν δυνάμενον σῴζειν αὐτὸν ἐκ θανάτου to a position after προσενέγκας, and also treats ἀπὸ τῆς εὐλαβείας as dependent on ἔμαθεν. RF follows P precisely in these interpretations, but they are spurned by QUX,CT,CO, which have readings much closer to the virtually identical text, shared by both CPJ and H, which most likely represents X, including, e.g., using ܡܨܐ rather than ܡܫܟܚ for δυνάμενος, and ܠܘܬ for πρός (as CT, not CO).

QUX is slightly more conservative than CT in leaving ܩܪܒ ܗܘܐ in its P position, while the latter texts move it in accordance with Gk word order (as H), although CO's ܩܪܒ...ܩܕܡ ܗܘܐ are added to a Greek text wholly without προσενέγκας, in accord with its usual expansionism.

The ܬܚܢܢܬܐ found in CO and CT is paralleled once in the 6th century HG, but a whole range of terms are found in other texts (which were also probably unhappy with P's interpretation), and H's ܒܥܘܬܐ is anticipated also in QUX (with the addition of ܘܬܟܫܦܬܐ). The ܒ before ܡܬܚܙܐ (CT) is a typical X-touch found otherwise only in H to make the participle transparent, and happens again at the start of v9.

Again in v8, P paraphrases strongly, with ܡܢ...ܗܠܝܢ ܕܚܫ ܝܠܦ for ἔμαθεν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθεν, for which H has a revision very close to what CT already did, namely ܠܘܬ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܚܫ. QUX,CT and CO have ܝܠܦ but QUX has even more regard for word order than H by putting ܗܠܝܢ last. Although the term for σῴζειν in v7 is altered from ܚܝܐ to ܩܪܒ in CT,CO, the noun form in v9 is retained in those texts as ܚܝܐ (as P). Then, where we might expect another ܒ in CT at the start of v10, we in fact have just ܘ, exactly as in P. The phrase ܒܛܟܣܐ is used by CT for κατὰ τὴν τάξιν (v10) in contrast to H's revised form ܐܝܟ ܛܟܣܐ which was used by CO in v6 (see previous entry).

The mixed and stilted nature of the revision-process is thus quite clear in CT and CO, and to some extent in QUX as well.

Heb 7.26

[1] Kerschensteiner, *Paulustext*, 186-7; see also Vööbus, *Rabbula*, 29.

In Ep55, for ἔπρεπεν we have another 'in-between' reading, ܐܪܐ, unattested elsewhere, which could be X or could simply be Ep55's own choice. However, P has ܐܪܐ for this word at every other NT occurance (Mt 3.15, 1 Cor 11.13, Eph 5.3, 1 Tim 2.10, Tit 2.1, Heb 2.10), regularly altered to ܐܪܐ in H, and so we need not see any X-revision in this reading at Heb 7.26. However the alteration of ܐܝܐ to ܝܐ in H (for κεχωρισμένος), being prefigured in Ep55 and PC, has a greater chance of being the X-reading.

Heb 8.1 [CO = 57,1-2 / f.103vb]

CO

ܪܣܘܐܬܐ ܪܬܐܩܒܝܐ ܪܐܘܝܩܐ܂ ܪܐܝܝܐ ܡܢ ܐܬܝܠ ܐܘ ܂ܪܐܒܡܩܐ ܐܝ ܠ ܐܝܐ ܐܘܡ ܝ̈ܐܪܐ

τοῖς οὐρανοῖς] ὑψηλοῖς CO

ܐܘܡ ܝ̈ܐ for τοιοῦτον matches up with Ep55,H (as noted above) and certainly represents a revision of P, which omits it as such. ܐܘܡ instead of ܐܝܪ for the relative falls into the same category, although ܡܢ for ἐν is P's word (ܒ Ep55, ܒ H). The term ἀρχιερεύς is seen to be ܪܝ ܪܒܡܩܐ in P, ܪܒܡܩܐ ܝܝ in Ep55, and ܪܘܫܐ ܝܝ in H (as also Heb 7.26), with again the possibility of Ep55 being the only available witness to X. ܪܣܘܐܬ follows the Vorlage against the ܪܝܐܬܒ of the versions.[1]

Heb 9.14 [Ep50* = 94,16 / f.143ra]

Heb 9.23-6 [QUX = 762,33-763,2 / f.83ra-b] [Ep50* = 96,4-5 / f.144rb]

QUX

ܪܬܝܝܒܝܐ ܝܝ ܝܠܡ ܂ܡܝܐܝܒܘ ܝܠܡܒ ܪܬܝܝܒܝܐ ܝܠܡܝ ܪܡܘܣܩܠ ܂ܐܘܡ ܡܝܘܫܐܪܝ ܝܠܡܝ ܐܘܡ ܐܝܠܪ
܂ܪܝܫܡܝܒ ܠܟ ܪܝܘܪܟܒ ܝܝܒܝ ܪܙܝܐܩ ܣܘܝܘ ܫܝܠ ܝܟ ܟ ܐܘܡ ܐܠ ܂ܝܠܡ ܡܢ ܝ̈ܐܬܘܝܝ ܪܝܘܝ̈ܒܝ
܂ܝܠܝܘ ܪܬܠܪܝ ܪܒܘܓ̈ܝܒ ܝܝܒ ܪܝܘܐܝܪ ܂ܪܒܙܐܠ ܚܘܣܝ ܐܠܪ ܂ܪܝܒܝܙ ܚܘܣܝ ܪܡܘܣܩܠ ܂ܡܘܫܐܪܝ
ܠܒ ܪܙܝܐܩ ܣܘܝܘ ܫܝܠ ܐܘܡ ܠܪܟܝ ܂ܪܝܫܡܝܒ ܝܟ ܡܝܒܝ ܒܝܒܝ ܪܫܝ̈ܪܟ̈ܠ ܪܬܒܝܝܝ ܣܘܐܝ ܪܠܘ
܂ܪܬܠܟܝ ܡܬܝܝܘܝܐ ܡܢ ܙܝܝ ܪܫܝ̈ܪܟ̈ܠ ܪܬܒܝܝܝ ܩܠ ܐܘܡ ܐܝܝ ܐܠ ܝܝ ܪܩܘ ܂ܡܠܝ ܐܠܝ ܪܙܝܒ ܪܝܫ
܂ܝܘܐܪ ܡܬܝܡܒܝܒ ܪܬܠܝ̈ܝܝ ܪܠܠܩܒܠ ܂ܪܬܠܟܝ ܪܬܠܐܩܒ ܝܝ ܪܝܘ ܝܝ ܪܚܡ

In a number of ways, QUX's version is quite independent and unique, e.g. the periphrasis ܝܠܡ ܪܡܘܣܩܠ ,ܐܘܡ ,ܡܘܫܐܪܝ where P uses ܪܝܐܘܒܝ and H ܪܝܘܐܝܫ; for ἅγια all versions have ܝܒܝ ܪܝܝܘܝ or ܪܝܘܐܝܘ ܝܝܒ, but QUX has ܪܝܝܐܘ ܣܘܝܘ ܝܝܒ, a good example of representing the *signifié* of the original with a cultural equivalent regardless of the precise wording of the sacred text (cf. the same at Heb 10.19).

Sometimes P is distinctively retained, as in the periphrastic ܡܝܠܝ ܪܐܝ ܪܒܝܝܒ for ἐν αἵματι ἀλλοτρίῳ (H ܪܝܒܝܐܝ) is kept by QUX. At the other times H is more clearly anticipated, such as in using (with H) ܝ + impf for the infinitive, rather than P's ptc; and ܪܡܘܣܩܠ being used for ἀντίτυπα as in PC and H (P ܪܝܐܘܒܝ). v26 shows a series of close parallels with H and that QUX has advanced in its technique some way beyond P, as the following table shows:

܂ܪܬܠܟܝ	ܡܝܐܩ ܝܝ ܝܝܝ ܪܫܝ̈ܪܟ̈ܠ	ܪܝܘܐܒܝ	X	ܐܘܡ ܝܝ	X	X	ܪܠܪܩ	P
܂ܪܬܠܟܝ	ܡܬܝܡܒܝܒ ܝܝ ܝܝܝ ܪܫܝ̈ܪܟ̈ܠ	ܪܝܘܐܒܝ	܂ܩܠ	ܐܘܡ ܐܝܝ	ܐܠ ܝܝ	ܝ̈ܪܩܘ	QUX

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[1] The reading is known only from minuscule 33, Eusebius and some vulgate mss., Tischendorf not noting Cyril's use of it here and in Ep55.

❖ܪܚܡܬܐ.ܝ	ܡܛܝܡܝܐܟ	ܡܢ	ܚܝܘ	ܠܩܝܫܡ	ܝܗܒܕܝ	ܝܐܠ	ܪܐܡ	ܝܒܝܝ	ܪܠ	X	ܘܪܐܘ		H

ܡܛܩܘܝܒܝܟ ܡܐܒܝ ܝܣܝܣ ܝܢ ܘܡ ܪܚܘ .ܪܚܡܠܝ.ܝ X ܡܛܒܝܝܐ ܝܢ ܪܐܚ P

X X X .ܪܚܡܠܝ.ܝ ܪܚܡܠܐܒ ܝܢ ܪܚܘ ܝܢ ܪܚܘ QUX

X X X .ܪܚܡܠܝ.ܝ ܪܚܡܠܐܒ ܪܚܘ ܝܢ ܝܢ ܪܚܘ H

X X X ܪܬܘܠܝܣܠ ܡܠܠܝܝ.ܝ P

.ܝܠܘܐܪ X ܡܛܘܝܡܒܝ ܪܬܘܠܝܝ.ܝ ܪܠܠܩܒܠ QUX

.ܠܚܐܪ ܡܠܝ.ܝ ܪܚܝܣܝ ܝܒ .ܪܬܘܠܝܝ.ܝ ܪܠܠܩܒܠ H

Heb 10.5-7 (see *NTSU* evidence)

In v7 the text in Phx[TT],Ep50,H is revised from the impf ܝܒܝܪܝ.ܝ (P,PC) to the inf. ܝܒܝܡܠ for τοῦ ποιῆσαι. However, in v5 we have one of the key passages discussed by Philoxenus in CPJ in relation to his new version of the NT. The Peshitta read ܝܒܝܡܠܐܪ ܪܚܝܢܣ (*you have clothed me [with] a body*), whereas Philoxenus wanted to translate more accurately as ܠ ܒܝܘܒܝ ܪܚܝܢܣ (*you have established a body for me*). Thus it is this latter reading that we find also in Philoxenus' *Tres Tractatus* and *Ep Senoun*, and in Paul of Callinicum (on both occasions where it is cited in his work). In contrast, the 'clothing metaphor' *is* found in citations in Philoxenus' earlier writings.[1] This is to be expected. However, the fact that the later reading appears here in Ep50 (as given in *NTSU*) constitutes potentially important evidence, given that we have already shown the text to date from before 484, that Philoxenus' notions of NT revision are not *de novo* from him but originate with the very texts that he was reading perhaps most assiduously, the Syriac versions of Cyril.[2]

Ep50's rendering is surprising for a couple of reasons: firstly, he elsewhere uses the Peshitta for most of his citations rather than making his own versions.[3] Were that the case here also, we would have to conclude that he knew of a Syriac version with this 'Philoxenian' reading; however, it is much more reasonable to suppose that the translator, realising that the Greek simply did not match the Peshitta text in this instance, departed from the latter with his own rendering. The second point of note is that ܪܚܝܢܣ is used for 'body' here; now, not only does this violate the translator's usual practice of ܪܚܝܢܣ = σάρξ and ܪܚܝܣܐܢ = σῶμα, but in the very next sentence, Cyril continues discussing the wording of this verse (Heb 5.7), using exactly the same vocabulary, and in *this* context, our translator uses ܪܚܝܣܐܢ for σῶμα twice; this naturally stregthens the case that he *is* actually inserting a citation here and it comes from a form of the NT text which has *already* been revised to the Greek before 484.

Even if, however, we do prefer simply to ascribe the rendering to this translator's own genius, then we still have solid evidence of the sorts of practices that were developing in the latter 5th century which would so influence Philoxenus later; for this translator, content to insert P citations as normal practice, is becoming keenly aware of the need for revision in this sphere a whole generation before Philoxenus would do the same more systematically.

Heb 10.14 [QUX = 764,5-6 / f.84ra]

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[1] E.g. Heb 5.7 in Phx[DD], see De Halleux, *Philoxène*, 237.

[2] On Philoxenus' discussion of the reading in CPJ, see ibid., 123-5; Brock, *Resolution*, 329. For the date of Ep50, see Part 2.ii above.

[3] On this point, see our conclusions from the Gospel citations, above, and such Pauline examples as Heb 1.6 and Phil 2.6-8, where EDC has the Philoxenian readings while Ep50 does not.

.ܩܡܣ ܝܫܝܐܘܬܡܐ ܝܠܪܐܠ ܐܠܠ ܘܐܘܪ ܝܒܝ ܪܒܘܐܩܡ ܝܘ ܝܡ

QUX is largely as P with word order variation to follow Gk more closely (as also another in-between text, the Syriac version of Theodosius of Mopsuestia's *Catechetical Homilies*). The explanatory addition of ܩܡܢ parallels the ܩܢ in P, but is not found in any other citations and does not reflect a Greek word there. While H makes various revisions, lexical (ܠܫܐ for P's ܝܒܝ and ܐܘܪܐܘܪ for ܐܠܠ), word-order (ܐܘܪܐܘܪ in the correct position) and syntactical (ܘܐܘܩ for ܐܠܪ), EDC follows P throughout. There is a difference between the unrevised version of EDC which has the simpler ܪܐܫܝܐܠ and the revised version which, with P, has ܐܠܪ ܝܫܝܐܘܬܡܐ. There being no other witnesses, it is impossible to say how this relates to X.

Heb 10.19-20 [QUX = 761,17-21 / 82ra-b]

P = QUX

ܪܐܘܪ ܒܐܘܠܝܐ] ܪܐܘܪ ܐܠܝܫ
ܪܐܫܝܐܩ ܒܫܐ] ܪܐܫܝܐܩ ܐܘܘܫ (for τῶν ἁγίων, cf.Heb 9.24)
ܪܐܫܡ ܠܐ ܒܝܫܐ ܪܐܘܘܫ ܪܐܫܝܐܪܐ] ܪܐܒܝܐ ܪܐܒܝܫ ܪܐܫܝܐܪ ܠܐ ܒܝܫܐ ܐܩܫ

The latter clause matches H exactly and is a much better mirror of the Vorlage.

Heb 10.28-9 [QUX = 765,34-9 / f.85va]

ܪܐܩܝ ܪܐܫܐ ܝܘ ܒܝܪܐܫ ܪܐܫܠܫܐ ܝܐܩܡܣ ܝܝܫ ܝܐܩ ܠܐ ܘܩܐܘ ܪܐܠܐ ܪܐܘܐܩܡܐ ܪܐܡܐܩܝ ܠܐ ܝܒܝܐ ܪܐܘܪܐܪ
ܪܐܘܐܝܐ ܙܝܐܝܐ ܘܝܪܐ ܩܡܐܐܘ ܩܠܝܐ ܪܐܐܫܝܐ ܪܐܫܩܘ ܪܐܩܠܪܐ ܩܝܒܝ ܐܝܐ ܐܩܡ ܪܐܐܩ ܪܐܐܝܐ ܝܩܡܫܠ
.ܩܡ ܐܫܝܐܘܪܐ ܝܩܡ ܝܒܘ ܪܐܘܐܩܒܝܐ

The use of ܪܐܠܪ rather than ܐܝܪ, the idioms ܝܐܩ ܠܐ (ἐπί) and ܪܝܠܐ ܘܝܪ (κοινόν) mark out P's strong influence on this otherwise fairly independent citation. Cyril's word order is scrupulously followed as he transposes ἐν ᾧ ἡγιάσθη to the end.

Heb 11.9-10 [MosEp = Guidi 399]

Where P and H vary it can be seen that P is clearly the underlying text for Moses. The reference in the Münster edition gives the impression that these are Moses' words, whereas they actually belong to Paphnutius' petition. P's phrase ܩܠܐ ܒܝܪ ܪܐܫܩܘܪܐܫܝܐ ܪܐܫܝܐܘܒܐ (Gk τὴν τοὺς θεμελίους ἔχουσαν πόλιν) becomes ܩܠܝܐ ܪܐܘܪܐܫܝܐ ܪܐܫܝܐܘܒܐ in Paphnutius' version. This is merely a function of writing from memory. H kept P's text.

Heb 12.2 [CO* = 55,31 / f.103ra] [QUX1 = 718,26 / f.53rb] [QUX2 = 765,17-8 / f.85rb]

.ܪܐܝܠܓ ܒܝܘܩܐ ܪܐܫܝܫܩܫ ܠܐ ܒܝܩܫ ܝܢ

.ܪܐܫܝܫܩܫ ܠܐ ܒܩܫܐܪ ܩܠ ܒܐܩܡ ܪܐܝܘܩܫܐ ܪܐܫܩܝܫ ܐܠܝ

܏ܟܬ̈ܒܐ ܠܥ ܝܘܣܦܐܘ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܝܪܒ

Although only a paraphrase, CO shows an intriguing parallel, the use of ܒܣܝ ܒܗ for καταφρονήσας, which is also found in H, all other versions using ܝܘܣܒ (usually in Aphel, as P and QUX). It is hard not see the influence of the X/H tradition.

Heb 13.4 [QUX = 724,9-10 / f.56vb]

P = QUX

Heb 13.7 [AT = noGk / 447,7-8]

NTSU unfortunately omits this citation in which AT agrees closely with H against P in three lexical revisions: ܐܬܟܠܣܐ (ὑπείκετε) for ܐܬܐܢܡܠ, ܐܘܦ ܐܪܟ (ܐܪܟܗ H) for ܐܢܪܝܕ ܐܪܟ, and ܝܕܗܠܬܐ ܐܢܘܡܗ for ܘܚܬܦܢܚܐ ܢܡܘܚ. None of these revisions are paralleled in any other citation and AT's witness to them is an important one that should not be missed.

Heb 13.8 [CO = 42,10-11 / f.95v, 3.41-3] [QUX = 746,38-9 / f.72ra] [Ep40 = 28,5-6 / 35,12-13]

<div align="right">CO,QUX</div>

ܥܘܣܝ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܪܝܐܬ ܐܘܟܥܘܣܐ ܘܗ ܗܒ ܘܗ ܘܠܥܠܡ

P's ܗܘܣܘ for ὁ αὐτός is continued in texts where we might expect to find it (Ep40,JS, Phx[EpAdda],East Syrian writers,TA,Ath), the revised ܘܗ ܗܒ ܘܗ being found extensively before H, viz. in PC,CO,QUX but also, surpsrisingly, in RF – this standard revision obviously well preceding the production of X.

Heb 13.12 [QUX = 774,20-2 / f.92rb]

<div align="right">QUX</div>

ܗܕܪܝ ܥܘܣܘ ܒܕ ܝܘܡܝܩܕ ܢܝܗ̇ ܠܬܪܥ ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܗܘ

Again we see QUX's instrumental ܒܕ for διά + gen., which H will follow, but P's ܐܬܝܟܬ is retained for πύλη (H revised to ܐܬܥܪܬ).

Index to Pauline citations

QUX
[Rom 1.16; 1.21-3; 5.14-5; 6.3; 6.5; 8.3-4; 8.32; 9.5; 10.6-9; 10.8-9; 15.15-6; 1 Cor 1.18; 1.22-5; 2.8; 3.11; 3.16-7; 4.7; 5.7; 6.17; 6.19*; 6.20*; 8.5-6; 15.10; 15.22; 15.45; 15.47; 15.48-9; 2 Cor 1.19; 4.6; 4.16; 5.14-5; 5.21; 8.9a; 10.4-5; 13.3-4a; Gal 1.1; 1.11-2; 2.19-20; 3.13; 4.4; 6.14; Eph 1.19b-21a; 1.21; 3.14-7; 4.5; 5.1-2; Phil 2.5-7; 2.9-11; Col 1.12-20; 1.21-2; 1 Tim 3.16; Tit 2.11-3; Heb 1.3; 2.9a; 2.10; 2.11-2; 2.13*; 2.14; 2.15; 2.16-7; 3.1b-2; 5.7-10; 9.23-6; 10.14; 10.19-20; 10.28-9; 12.2; 13.4; 13.8; 13.12]

EDC
[Rom 1.4*; 6.3-4; 8.29*; 1 Cor 3.16; 1 Cor 15.20*; 2 Cor 4.4; 6.16; Eph 2.3; Phil 2.10-11; 1 Tim 1.7; 3.16; Heb 1.3*; 1.6; 2.14; 2.16; 3.1; 10.14]

SDI
[Rom 1.25; 10.14; Cor 1.23; 15.47; 2 Cor 4.16; 8.9b; Gal 1.16; Phil 3.14; Col 2.8-9; Heb 2.14]

Ep39
[Rom 8.8-9; 1 Cor 15.47; Eph 4.5; Phil 2.7]
Ep40
[Rom 9.3-5; 1 Cor 8.5-6; Eph 6.19*; Phil 2.7; Heb 13.8]

Ep44
[Rom 7.23,5*; 8.3-4; 2 Cor 5.16; Col 1.18*; Heb 2.14-7]

Ep45
[Rom 7.23,5*; 8.3-4; 2 Cor 5.16; Col 1.18*; Heb 2.14-7]

Ep46
[Rom 9.5*; 1 Cor 2.8*; Phil 2.7*; 1 Tim 6.20*; Heb 2.16-7*; 4.15*]

Ep50
[Rom 1.25*; 8.29 ^{x2}*; 1 Cor 2.16; 8.6; 15.20*; 2 Cor 2.11*; 5.19 ^{x2}*; 10.5*; Eph 2.14*; 5.2*; Phil 2.6-10 x3; Col 1.15,18; 2.9 ^{x21}; 1 Tim 1.7; Heb 1.6*; 2.11-2; 2.14 ^{x2}*; 2.16-7 ^{x2}*; 9.14*; 9.24*; 10.5-7]

Ep55
[Rom 1.22-3; 6.3; 9.4-5; 10.6-9; 1 Cor 3.11; 10.4; 13.12,9*; 15.20*; 2 Cor 4.4; Eph 4.5; Phil 2.6-8; 2.7*; 2.8; Col 1.15-7; 1 Tim 1.7; Titus 2.11-13; Heb 1.3*; 2.9; 3.1-2; 7.26; 8.1]

Ep74
[Rom 8.35; 1 Tim 3.15; 2 Tim 7.7-8*]

Ep101
[Rom 9.5; 1 Cor 2.8; Gal 1.18; Tit 2.13]

CO
[Rom 3.27*; 6.3*; 10.8-9; 1 Cor 2.22-5*; 4.1*; 6.17; 8.6; 9.26*; 15.10*; 15.47; 2 Cor 5.21*; 10.4-5*; 13.3-4*; 13.5; Gal 1.8,9; 3.13*; Eph 1.19-21; 2.3; 2.6; 4.5; 5.1-2; Phil 2.5-7; 2.9-11; 2.15-6*; 3.5*; 3.14; Col 1.12-20; Heb 1.3; 2.14*; 2.16-7; 3.1-2*; 4.15; 5.4-5; 5.6; 5.7-10; 8.1; 12.2*; 13.8]

CT
[Rom 6.3*; 7.22; 8.8-9; 9.5; 13.10*; 15.8-9; 1 Cor 2.8*; 2.12; 3.16-7; 6.17; 6.20*; 8.6*; 2 Cor 4.16; 6.16*; 8.9a*; Gal 4.4*; 4.7; 5.1*; Eph 1.19-21; 3.16-7; 4.5*; 5.1-2*; Phil 2.5-7; Col 1.17-8; 1.19; 1.21-2; 2.8-9; Heb 2.9; 2.14; 2.16-7*; 3.1-2; 4.15; 5.1-3; 5.4-5*; 5.7-10]

AT
[Rom 1.22-3; 7.22-5; 8.3-4; 8.29-30; 1 Cor 1.30; 2.10; 15.27; Gal 4.19 ^{x2}; Eph 1.21; Eph 2.10*; Phil 2.5-7; Col 2.3; 1 Tim 2.4; 1 Tim 6.12*; 2 Tim 4.8; Heb 8.1; Heb 13.7]

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[1] One instance, at 97,7, erroneously listed by Schwartz as Col 2.19.

GL
[Rom 5.18-19; 8.28-30; 10.4*; 11.34; 16.25-7; 1 Cor 15.21-2; 15.45; 2 Cor 2.11; 5.17; Gal 3.13; 5.24; Eph 1.7-9; 1.10; Phl 2.8*; 2 Tim 1.8-10a]

MosEp
[1 Cor 13.5; Phil 3.19; 2 Tim 3.16; Tit 1.12; Heb 11.9-10]

4. Old Testament

The following constitutes the full data relating to all OT citations in all our texts. The discussion primarily concerns the question of whether, for any given text, the Peshitta or the Greek of Cyril's LXX citations is being generally followed, or whether any Peshitta influence on the citations can be detected. For this reason, the Hebrew, Greek and Syriac (Peshitta) are often given in full before the evidence of the citations is provided and discussed. Books are laid out in their LXX order

Gen 1.9 [GL = 407]

GL = P

ܝܘ ܪ̈ܐܬܪܠ] ܪܝܘ ܪܬܒܘܠܠ GL

Gen 1.14 [GL = 408]

P = GL

Gen 2.7 [GL = 409]

P = GL

ܪܬܒܫܢ] ܪܝܘܐܝ GL
ܝܐܪ] ܪܒܝܒ GL

The preference in GL for ܪܝܘܐܝ and ܪܒܝܒ are clear signs of the translator following his understanding of the Greek text rather than merely inserting P citations.

Gen 2.16-17 [GL = 409]

מִכֹּל עֵץ־הַגָּן אָכֹל תֹּאכֵל וּמֵעֵץ הַדַּעַת טוֹב וָרָע לֹא תֹאכַל מִמֶּנּוּ כִּי בְּיוֹם אֲכָלְךָ מִמֶּנּוּ
מוֹת תָּמוּת

ἀπὸ παντὸς ξύλου τοῦ ἐν τῷ παραδείσῳ βρώσει φάγῃ ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ξύλου τοῦ γινώσκειν καλὸν
καὶ πονηρόν οὐ φάγεσθε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ᾗ δ' ἂν ἡμέρᾳ [ἤν…ἡμέραν GL] φάγητε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
θανάτῳ [θάνατον GL] ἀποθανεῖσθε.

ܠܐܬܟܘ ܪܠ ܪܬܟܒܘ̇ܝܘ ܪܬܒܠܓܝ ܪܬܒܝܝ ܪܠܝܐ ܝܘܘ .ܠܐܬܟܘ ܠܒܪܟܘ ܪܬܒܘܝܒܘܝ ܪܠܝ̈ܐ ܝܘܠܒ ܝܐ
.ܝܐܬܟܘ ܪܬܐܚ ܘܝܘ ܠܐܬܟܘܝ ܪܬܒܩܒܘܝ ܠܠܓܝ .ܘܝܘ

GL

ܝܘܠܐܬܟܘ ܪܠ ܪܬܟܒܘ̇ܝܘ ܪܬܒܠܓܝ ܪܬܒܝܝ ܪܠܝܐ ܝܘܘ .ܠܐܬܟܘ ܠܒܪܟܘ ܪܬܒܘܝܒܘܝ ܪܠܝ̈ܐ ܠܒ ܝܐ
.ܝܘܬܐܚܘ ܒܬܒܘ ܘܝܘ ܝܘܠܒܪܟܘܝ ܪܬܒܩܒܘ .ܘܝܘ

The translator is strongly influenced by P over LXX. Where contemporary translators would undoubtedly have mirrored τοῦ γινώσκειν, perhaps with ܝܘܘܝ ,ܝܘ, here P's noun is used instead. Again, the use of the infinitive ܠܒܪܟܘ follows MT and P rather than LXX's noun, although P oddly uses the noun form ܪܬܒܘܝ in v17 where GL still has an infinitive ܒܘܒܘ. On

the other hand, GL does respect the Greek with respect to number (i.e. the verbs become plural in v17 LXX), and in omitting a conjunction to reflect כִּי.[1]

Gen 3.16 [GL = 409]

בְּעֶצֶב תֵּלְדִי בָנִים

ἐν λύπαις τέξῃ τέκνα

ܟܒܐ̈ܒ ܐܬܠܕܝܢ ܒܢܝܐ

GL

ܟܐ̈ܒܬ ܐܬܠܕܝܢ ܒܢܝܐ

Gen 4.26 [AT = 176,13-4 / 481,1-2]

אָז הוּחַל לִקְרֹא בְּשֵׁם יְהֹוָה

ἤλπισεν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι τὸ ὄνομα κυρίου τοῦ θεοῦ [αὐτοῦ AT]

ܗܝܕܝܢ ܫܪܝ, ܐܘ ܠܡܩܪܐ ܒܫܡܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ.

AT

ܗܘ ܣܒܪ ܘܫܪܝ ܠܡܩܪܐ ܒܫܡܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܐܠܗܗ.

P clearly has no influence on AT who follows his Vorlage in this distinctly different reading.

Gen 19.26 [QUX = 717,33-4 / f.52vb]

P = QUX

The phrase is too short for meaningful analysis.

Gen 32.25,31,32 [Ep55 = 55,16-20 / 12,18-23]

The very careful translation of Ep55 is quite evident in this citation. Where P transliterates the place name פְּנִיאֵל (ܦܢܝܐܝܠ), Ep55 has ܚܙܘܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ (for εἶδος θεοῦ), and where P followed the old Targums in altering 'I saw God face to face' to 'I saw an angel [of God] face to face,' Ep55 ignores the theological factors and simply translates what he reads. There are otherwise no real verbal echoes of P in Ep55, even for such prosaic terms as יָרֵךְ / μηρός (thigh) which is ܚܘܪܬܐ in P but ܥܛܡܐ in Ep55, and עֲלוֹת הַשָּׁחַר / πρωί (dawn) which is ܨܦܪܐ ܣܠܩ in P but ܓܘܐܪ in Ep55.[2]

Ex 3.14 [RF = 52,8-9 / 48,7]

RF has ܐܝܬܝܐ ܗܘ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ, a correct rendering, ignoring P's transliteration solution of P, ܐܗܝܐ ܐܫܪ ܐܗܝܐ, which is found in all mss of P.

Ex 4.3 [QUX = 717,34-5 / f.52vb]

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[1] Cf. Aquila's ὅτι ἐν ἡμέρᾳ βρώσεώς σου.
[2] Which may be a recollection of ܓܘܐܪ as the reading of the oldest Peshitta ms of Genesis, 5b1.

QUX is independent of P despite LXX and MT concurring exactly.

Ex 12.46 [AT = 168,5-6 / 474,14]

בְּבַיִת אֶחָד יֵאָכֵל לֹא־תוֹצִיא מִן־הַבַּיִת מִן־הַבָּשָׂר חוּצָה

ἐν οἰκίᾳ μιᾷ βρωθήσεται καὶ οὐκ ἐξοίσετε ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας [ἐκ τ. οἰ. om. AT] τῶν κρεῶν [αὐτοῦ add. AT] ἔξω

ܚܒܬܐ ܝܘ ܘܐܝܟܠ. ܘܠܐ ܬܦܩܘܢ ܗܝܘ ܡܢ ܒܣܪܐ ܠܒܪ ܗܕܐ ܡ ܒܝܬܐ.

AT

ܚܒܬܐ ܝܘ ܘܐܝܟܠ. ܘܠܐ ܬܦܩܘܢ ܡ ܒܣܪܐ ܗܝ ܠܒܪ.

While AT follows Cyril's variants (the omission of ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας and addition of αὐτοῦ), it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that his awareness of P is the main moving factor behind his choice of equivalents here.

Ex 16.8 [QUX= 732,4-5 / f.61vb]

P = QUX

ܡܪܝܐ] ܐܠܗܐ QUX (following Gk θεός for יְהוָה)

Ex 20.3 [Ep55 = 52,5 / 6,9]

P = Ep55

ܐܚܪܢܝܢ ܐܠܗܝܢ] ܐܚܪܢܐ ܐܠܗܐ Ep55

The change of absolute to emphatic is typical of this translator.

Ex 25.10-11 [SDI = 227,2-5 / f.27va]

אֲרוֹן עֲצֵי שִׁטִּים אַמָּתַיִם וָחֵצִי אָרְכּוֹ וְאַמָּה וָחֵצִי רָחְבּוֹ וְאַמָּה וָחֵצִי קֹמָתוֹ וְצִפִּיתָ אֹתוֹ זָהָב טָהוֹר מִבַּיִת וּמִחוּץ תְּצַפֶּנּוּ

καὶ ποιήσεις κιβωτὸν μαρτυρίου ἐκ ξύλων ἀσήπτων δύο πήχεων καὶ ἡμίσους τὸ μῆκος καὶ πήχεος (πήχεως SDI) καὶ ἡμίσους τὸ πλάτος καὶ πήχεος καὶ ἡμίσους τὸ ὕψος καὶ καταχρυσώσεις αὐτὴν χρυσίῳ καθαρῷ ἔξωθεν καὶ ἔσωθεν χρυσώσεις αὐτήν

ܘܬܥܒܕ ܩܒܘܬܐ ܕܣܗܕܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܩܝܣܐ. ܬܪܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܘܦܠܓܐ ܐܘܪܟܗ ܘܐܡܐ ܘܦܠܓܐ ܦܬܝܗ ܘܐܡܐ ܘܦܠܓܐ ܪܘܡܗ. ܘܬܩܪܡܝܗ ܕܗܒܐ ܕܟܝܐ ܡܢ ܠܓܘ ܘܡܢ ܠܒܪ ܬܩܪܡܝܗ.

SDI

ܫܒ ܩܒܘܬܐ ܕܣܗܕܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܩܝܣܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܚܒܠ. ܬܪܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܘܦܠܓܐ ܐܘܪܟܗ ܘܐܡܐ ܘܦܠܓܐ. ܦܬܝܗ ܘܐܡܐ ܘܦܠܓܐ ܪܘܡܗ. ܘܬܩܪܡܝܗ ܕܗܒܐ ܕܟܝܐ ܡܢ ܠܒܪ.

SDI follows its Vorlage in general, but the wording of P has probably shaped the rendering in a general way. Where Cyril uses the dual form πήχεως for the second measurement, SDI uses the correct (according to his Biblical text) singular instead. He may have simply not noticed Cyril's odd reading, or his Vorlage already contained the corrected reading.

Ex 28.30* [Ep55 = 56,7 / 13,26-7]

Ep55's renderings for τὴν δήλωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν (itself the difficult translation for אֶת־הָאוּרִים וְאֶת־הַתֻּמִּים) is ܪܝܙܐ ܘܫܪܪܐ and owes nothing to P's quite independent ܢܘܗܪܐ ܘܫܠܡܐ.

Lev 17.3-4 [AT = 168,10-12 / 475,1-3]

AT owing nothing to P (=MT against LXX) here.

Num 16.11 [QUX = 732,3-4 / f.61vb]

P = QUX (adapted for the context).

Dt 6.4 [Ep55 = 52,4 / 6,7-8]

Ep55 follows Cyril in using 'your' for 'our'. However, he shares with P the expression ܡܪܝܐ ܚܕ ܗܘ for κύριος εἷς ἐστιν, where he would more usually use ܐܝܬܘܗܝ for the last word. He is most likely influenced strongly by the normal (liturgical) form of such a basic statement of Biblical faith.

Dt 10.22 [SDI = 231,21-2 / f.38rb] [QUX = 736,33-4 / f.65ra]

Cyril has the unusual variant 'seventy five' for 'seventy', which SDI and QUX both follow. SDI (but not QUX) has also made the suffix plural, ܐܒܗܬܟܘܢ, against his Vorlage, P and MT and all witnesses (though it is a natural scribal 'correction').

Dt 17.2-6 [GL = 546,2-547,3]

There seems to be a close affinity between this citation and the version in P. Where the Greek differs sufficiently, it is of course followed, hence ܕܡܝܬܐ rather than ܩܪܝܒܐ and the loan ܢܡܘܣܗ rather than ܣܗܕܘ; however, elsewhere the correspondence is appreciably close, such that we can even conclude, for example, that the translator knew the reading for הוֹצֵאתָ (ἐξάξεις) as ܐܦܩܬܝܗܝ (with some early Peshitta mss) rather than ܐܦܩܘܗܝ.

Dt 18.13 [Ep55 = 49,19-20 / 2,3-4]

Prefers ܓܡܝܪ to P's ܫܠܡ for τέλειος.

Dt 19.15 [CO = 65]

The citation is short with no obvious P influence.

Dt 32.11 [AT = no Gk / 451,17]

AT is similar to P, but the citation is short and simple.

Dt 33.8-9 [Ep55 = 55,37-56,4 / 13,18-21]

Ep55 owes little to P. Both P and Ep55 translate, rather than transliterate, the names 'Massah' and 'Meribah' but they share terms only for the first (ܡܣܝܘܬܐ), not the second (P ܡܚܘܬܐ, Ep55 ܚܪܝܢܐ).

Jos 1.5 [QUX = 717,4-5 / f.52va]

Even over a few simple words as here, QUX differs from P and shows no dependence.

1Sa 2.30 [Ep39 = 16,6 / f.149vb]

P = Ep39
ܥܒܕ Ep39 (δόξειν for כָּבֵד) [ܠܡܝ

1Sa 8.5 [QUX = 732,12-3 / f.62ra]

P = QUX (v. brief citation).

1Sa 8.7 [QUX = 732,15-6 / f.62ra]

Independent of P, and also quote a loose rendering of the Gk.

2Sa 5.8 [AT = noGk / 445,15]

פִּסֵּחַ לֹא יָבוֹא אֶל־הַבָּיִת
χωλοὶ οὐκ εἰσελεύσονται εἰς οἶκον [κυρίου]
ܚܓܝܣܐ ܠܐ ܢܥܘܠ ܠܒܝܬܐ

AT
ܚܣܝܪ ܠܐ ܥܐܠ ܠܒܝܬܐ

1Ki 18.21 [CO = 54,31-2 / f.102va] [CT = 135,20 / f.118rc]

עַד־מָתַי אַתֶּם פֹּסְחִים עַל־שְׁתֵּי הַסְּעִפִּים
ἕως πότε ὑμεῖς χωλανεῖτε ἐπ᾽ ἀμφοτέραις ταῖς ἰγνύαις
ܥܕܡܐ ܠܐܡܬܝ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܚܓܝܣܝܢ ܥܠ ܬܪܬܝܢ ܦܠܓܘܬܐ

P = CO,CT
CO,CT ܦܠܓܘܬܐ [ܦܠܓܘܬܐ

It can be seen that the translator of CO,CT has preferred to copy P and to disregard LXX which has rendered MT's 'opinions/divisions' as 'legs', as a way of maintaining the figure. A clear instance of P's strong influence on these texts.

1Ki 19.10 (//19.14) [CO = 33,18019 / f.91rc] [QUX = 716,8 / f.51vb]

קַנֹּא קִנֵּאתִי לַיהוָה
ζηλῶν ἐζήλωκα τῷ κυρίῳ
ܛܢܢ ܛܢܬ ܠܡܪܝܐ

CO [for ζηλοῦντες ἐζηλώσαμεν]

ܡܓܠ ܠܒ ܠܕܡ؟
QUX [for ζηλῶν ἐζήλωσα]
ܠܓܠ ܟܠܒ؟ ܐܪܠܡܓ

CO has not made the verb plural as in Cyril, but followed P. QUX ignores precision and even substitutes ܐܪܠܡܓ for ܡ؟ܒ.

N.B. Verse numbering in the Psalms – where different, references are given according to LXX first, MT/P second; where MT and P refs differ, MT is the second ref, P the third.

Ps 2.7 [RF = 58,22 / 80,3]

יְהוָה אָמַר אֵלַי בְּנִי אַתָּה אֲנִי הַיּוֹם יְלִדְתִּיךָ
κύριος εἶπεν πρός με υἱός μου εἶ σύ ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε
ܡ؟ܒ ܐ؟ܒ ܠ ,ܒܘ؟ ܐ؟ܚ. ܐ؟ܟܐ ܡܟܒܐ ܐܪܠܝܒܐ

P = RF

RF ܡܠܝܒܐ [ܠܝܒܐ

Ps 10.2/11.2 [Ep50 = 96,13-14 /f.144va]

לִירוֹת בְּמוֹ-אֹפֶל לְיִשְׁרֵי-לֵב
τοῦ κατατοξεῦσαι [κατατοξεύειν Ep50] ἐν σκοτομήνῃ τοὺς εὐθεῖς τῇ καρδίᾳ
ܠܚܒܐ؟ ܡܚܒܚܠܐܪ ܟܠܝܒܐ؟ ܠܟܐ

P = Ep50

Ps 12.4/13.3/13.4 [Ep55 = 96,2-3 / 2,20]

הָאִירָה עֵינַי פֶּן-אִישַׁן הַמָּוֶת
φώτισον τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς μου μήποτε ὑπνώσω εἰς θάνατον
ܐ؟ܡܝ ܐ؟ܚ ,ܠܒܐ؟ ܐܪܠܐ ܐܪܓ؟ܡ؟ ܠܒܐܘ؟ܐ

P=Ep55

Ep55 perhaps ignoring the μήποτε under the influence of P.

Ps 17.45-6/18.44-5/18.45-6 [Ep55 = 55,23 / 12,26-8]

בְּנֵי-נֵכָר יְכַחֲשׁוּ-לִי ❖ בְּנֵי-נֵכָר יִבֹּלוּ וְיַחְרְגוּ מִמִּסְגְּרוֹתֵיהֶם
υἱοὶ ἀλλότριοι ἐψεύσαντό μοι, υἱοὶ ἀλλότριοι ἐπαλαιώθησαν καὶ ἐχώλαναν ἀπὸ [ἐκ Ep55] τῶν τρίβων αὐτῶν
ܐܪܒܝ ܐܪܚܒܝ ܠ .ܐ؟ܒܢ ܟܝܒ؟ ܐܪܢ ܡܠܒܠܝ؟ ܡ؟ ܐܪ؟ܟ؟ܠܝ ܐ؟ܒܠܚܡ؟

Ep55
ܐܪܒܝ ܐܪܒܝ؟ ܓܠܐ؟ ܚܒ. ܒܚܢ ܐܪܒܝ ܐܪܠܝ ܐܪܟܝܟ؟ ܡ؟ ܐܪ؟ܟܠܝ؟ ܡ؟ ܐܪ؟ܟܝܠܝ؟

In all known mss, P has followed the Greek reading here,[1] but this has still barely influenced the translator of Ep55.

Ps 18.10/19.9/19.10 [AT = 170,28 / 477,7-8]

יִרְאַת יְהוָה טְהוֹרָה

ὁ φόβος κυρίου ἁγνός

ܘܕܚܠܬܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܕܟܝܐ

AT

ܘܕܚܠܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܢܩܕܐ ܗܝ

Not only does AT owe nothing to P, he has even, perhaps in error, produced ܐܠܗܐ for κυρίος.[2]

Ps 20.6 [QUX = 737,6-7 / f.65rb]

חָשְׁבוּ מְזִמָּה בַּל־יוּכָלוּ

διελογίσαντο βουλήν ἣν οὐ μὴ δύνωνται στῆσαι

ܐܬܚܫܒܘ ܬܪܥܝܬܐ ܘܠܐ ܐܬܡܨܝܘ ܕܢܩܝܡܘܢ ܐܢܝܢ.

QUX

ܐܬܪܥܝܘ ܬܪܥܝܬܐ ܗܝ, ܕܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܝܢ ܠܡܩܡܘܬܗ.

Independently of P, QUX deals with the Gk text quite precisely using his usual techniques for the representation of the syntax, and ignoring the grammatical simplicity of P.

Ps 21.8/22.8 [QUX = 758,30-1 / f.80ra]

P = QUX

Even against LXX where κεφαλὴν receives a 3rd pl. suffix. This closeness is unusual in QUX for a sustained length but is always all the more likely in a psalm, and in a messianic one at that, which would be so well known from the liturgy.

Ps 21.17-8/22.17-8 [SDI = 226,1-2 / f.50vb]

SDI has ܒܙܥ for ἐξηρίθμησαν (P ܐܫܠܡ for אֲסַפֵּר)

Ps 21.19 [QUX = 758,28-9 / f.80ra]

P = QUX (as in v8 above).

Ps 23.10/24.10 [& al.] [CT = 124,25-6 / f.114rb]

The phrase ὁ κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων is rendered in P as ܡܪܐ ܚܝܠܘܬܐ,[1] but appears quite differently in CT as ܡܪܐ ܕܚܝܠܘܬܐ ܥܫܝܢ.

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[1] Although Cyril knew Symmachus' closer rendering, he uses LXX here, cf. Field sub loc.

[2] As has also one of the oldest ms of the Old Latin

Ps 32.6/33.6 [CO = 51,22-4 / f.100vc] [Ep55 = 53,16 / 8,23-5]

בִּדְבַר יְהוָה שָׁמַיִם נַעֲשׂוּ וּבְרוּחַ פִּיו כָּל־צְבָאָם

τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ κυρίου [τοῦ κ. om CO] οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἐστερεώθησαν καὶ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ
στόματος αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις αὐτῶν

ܒܡܠܬܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܐܬܬܩܢܘ ܫܡܝܐ. ܘܒܪܘܚܐ ܕܦܘܡܗ ܠܗܘܢ ܣܝܡܠܬܗ

P = CO

Ep55

ܒܡܠܬܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܐܬܐܝܕ² ܫܡܥ ܘܒܪܘܚܐ ܕܦܘܡܗ ܠܗ ܣܝܠܗܘܢ

The closer adhesion of CO to P is quite evident, especially in the rendering ܠܗܘܢ ܣܝܡܠܬܗ,
for which Ep55's ܠܗ ܣܝܠܗܘܢ is a much closer attempt at the Greek wording.

Ps 44.7-8/45.6-7/45.7-8 [EDC = 22,9-10 / f.1r (EDC1) / f.18vb (EDC2) (v8 only)] [SDI =
120,3-5 / f.22ra (v8 only)] [QUX = 728,1-5 / f.59rb-59va]

For v7 P = QUX, save for following the Gk where P, against MT, has ܒܟܘܪܣܝܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ (later P
mss brought this into line with MT/LXX as ܟܘܪܣܝܟ ܐܠܗܐ)

In v8, P = EDC,SDI,QUX [SDI omitting the final three words in both Gk and Syr]

This citation provides another instance of how a translator (EDC in this case) will use
precisely the P wording where he perceives that it is an acceptable translation also of his own
Vorlage. The rendering is even left alone by the reviser (EDC2).

Ps 49.2-3 [Ep55 = 53,34-5 / 9,17-18] [QUX = 761,36-7 / f.82va]

אֱלֹהִים הוֹפִיעַ יָבֹא אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְאַל־יֶחֱרַשׁ

ὁ θεὸς ἐμφανῶς ἥξει, ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν καὶ οὐ παρασιωπήσεται

ܐܠܗܐ ܓܠܝܐܝܬ ܢܐܬܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܫܬܘܩ

Ep55

ܐܠܗܐ ܠܓܠܝܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܫܬܘܩ

QUX

ܕܐܬܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܫܬܘܩ

We can see again that in Ep55 P is dropped as soon as a more Greek-oriented version
becomes possible. QUX abbreviates his Vorlage substantially, as in the passage immediately
preceding this citation.

Ps 51.3-4/52.3-4 [CT = 120,21-2 / f.112rc]

מַה־תִּתְהַלֵּל בְּרָעָה הַגִּבּוֹר חֶסֶד אֵל כָּל־הַיּוֹם הַוּוֹת תַּחְשֹׁב לְשׁוֹנֶךָ

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[1] As often in the Peshitta, e.g. Ps 46.8(P), Isa 5.9 etc.
[2] Or ܐܬܐܝܕܘ in the other ms of Ep55.

τί ἐγκαυχᾷ ἐν κακίᾳ ὁ δυνατός ἀνομίαν.[1] ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἀδικίαν ἐλογίσατο ἡ γλῶσσά σου

ܗܢܐ ܡܬܟܬܪ ܐܢܬ ܒܒܝܫܘܬܐ ܓܒܝܪܐ . ܥܘܠܐ ܟܠܗ ܝܘܡܐ ܚܫܒܬ ܠܫܢܟ ܐܝܟ

CT

ܠܗܢܐ ܡܬܟܬܪ ܐܢܬ ܓܒܝܪܐ . ܥܘܠܐ ܘܒܒܝܫܘܬܐ ܟܠܗ ܚܫܒ ܐܢܬ ܠܫܢܟ ܐܝܟ

CT seems to use P when P is anyway close enough to LXX to suffice and to depart therefore where necessary. CT's second use of ܒܒܝܫܘܬܐ may be a scribal or a translation error.

Ps 62.9/63.9 [QUX = 732,38-9 / f.62rb]

QUX is independent of P.

Ps 68.22/69.21/69.22 [SDI = 226,3 / f.50va]

P = SDI
SDI ܚܡܘܨ [ܚܠܐ

Ps 72.24/73.24/74.23 [AT = 150,23 / 462,11-12]

בַּעֲצָתְךָ תַנְחֵנִי
ἐν τῇ βουλῇ σου ὡδήγησάς με
ܒܬܪܥܝܬܟ ܕܒܪܬܢܝ

AT
ܒܬܪܥܝܬܟ ܬܕܒܪܢܝ

Ps 74.6/75.6* [RF = 50,25 / 40,2-3]

Cyril is not quoting precisely but there is a significant divergence between LXX and MT in v6b (LXX *'do not speak injustice at God'*; MT *'do not speak with outstretched neck'*), at which RF follows Cyril rather than P.

Ps 76.4/77.4/77.3 [CT = 136,28 / f.118vb]

אֶזְכְּרָה אֱלֹהִים וְאֶהֱמָיָה
ἐμνήσθην τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ εὐφράνθην
ܐܬܕܟܪܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܐܬܒܣܡܬ

CT
ܐܬܕܟܪܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܒܣܡܬ ܢܦܫܝ

CT's addition of the reflexive is very idiomatic, but he has clearly chosen to follow the Greek while apparently knowing P's wording.

Ps 77.15-16,18-20/78.15-16,18-20 [Ep55 = 56,25-31 / 14,22-8]

יְבַקַּע צֻרִים בַּמִּדְבָּר וַיַּשְׁקְ כִּתְהֹמוֹת רַבָּה [16] וַיּוֹצִא

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[1] The LXX reading seems to have come about through reading חָמָס for חֶסֶד.

נוֹזְלִים מִסֶּלַע וַיּוֹרֶד כַּנְּהָרוֹת מָיִם ¹⁷ וַיּוֹסִיפוּ עוֹד לַחֲטֹא־לוֹ
לַמְרוֹת עֶלְיוֹן בַּצִּיָּה ¹⁸ וַיְנַסּוּ־אֵל בִּלְבָבָם לִשְׁאָל־אֹכֶל
לְנַפְשָׁם ¹⁹ וַיְדַבְּרוּ בֵּאלֹהִים אָמְרוּ הֲיוּכַל אֵל לַעֲרֹךְ שֻׁלְחָן
בַּמִּדְבָּר ²⁰ הֵן הִכָּה־צוּר וַיָּזוּבוּ מַיִם וּנְחָלִים יִשְׁטֹפוּ
הֲגַם־לֶחֶם יוּכַל תֵּת אִם־יָכִין שְׁאֵר לְעַמּוֹ

¹⁵ διέρρηξεν πέτραν ἐν ἐρήμῳ καὶ ἐπότισεν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐν ἀβύσσῳ πολλῇ ¹⁶ καὶ ἐξήγαγεν ὕδωρ ἐκ πέτρας καὶ κατήγαγεν ὡς ποταμοὺς ὕδατα ¹⁸ καὶ ἐξεπείρασαν τὸν θεὸν [τὸν θεὸν om. Ep55] ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις αὐτῶν... ¹⁹ καὶ κατελάλησαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ εἶπαν [εἶπον Ep55]· μὴ δυνήσεται ὁ θεὸς ἑτοιμάσαι τράπεζαν ἐν ἐρήμῳ ²⁰ ἐπεὶ [ὅτι Ep55] ἐπάταξεν πέτραν καὶ ἐρρύησαν ὕδατα καὶ χείμαρροι κατεκλύσθησαν μὴ καὶ ἄρτον δύναται [δυνήσεται Ep55] δοῦναι ἢ ἑτοιμάσαι τράπεζαν τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ

[Syriac text, four lines]

Ep55

[Syriac text, three lines]

Ep55 evidently uses P as its basis, changing it only where that is felt to be required. Thus the change of ܓ to ܓ (v15,20) must be to bring it into line with the rendering in the next verse; ܡܐ for נוֹזְלִים becomes ܡܐ for ὕδωρ (v16); again we can see why ܐܝܢ is changed to ܐܠܟ (v20) for יִשְׁטֹפוּ / κατεκλύσθησαν since the former term has been used already for the simpler יוֹרֶד / κατήγαγεν; also where there is a truly different reading, i.e. ܦܘܗܐ rather than ܡܐܠܒܐܟ (v20); and one noticeable grammatical alteration, the infinitive (in both Heb and Gk) following to verb 'to be able' is actually altered from P's infinitive to ܢ + impf in Ep55.

However, there are also occasions where Ep55 leaves a P wording where we might expect a change; thus ἐν ἀβύσσῳ remains ܡ ܬܗܘܡܐ and not ܒܬܗܘܡܐ; ܢܗܪܘܬܐ remains an equivalent for two words, ποταμοὺς ὕδατα; הֵן remains ܐܢ, as in P, and does not reflect either Cyril's ὅτι or LXX's ἐπεί.

Ps 80.10/81.10 [QUX1 = 732,27 / f.62rb] [QUX2 = 742,27-8 / f.69rb]

LXX differs from P, warning about a 'new god' (πρόσφατος) rather than a 'strange god' (זָר). QUX1 is as LXX (ܚܕܬܐ for πρόσφατος), but QUX2 has ܢܘܟܪܝ (as P, for זָר), an obvious instance of slippage (especially given QUX1) where the well-known P text has superceded the meaning of the Vorlage.

Ps 83.5/84.5 [GL = 411]

אַשְׁרֵי יוֹשְׁבֵי בֵיתֶךָ עוֹד יְהַלְלוּךָ

μακάριοι οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ σου εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων αἰνέσουσίν σε

[Syriac text]

GL

ܠܥܠܡ̈ܝܗܘܢ. ܐܠܗܐ ܕܚܕܡܝܢ ܘܪܚܝܡܝܢ ܠܟ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܥܠܡ ܕܚܕܝܢ ܥܡܗܘܢ

GL has improved on P by using ܐ̇ܠܝ for the article with the ptc, but has not mirrored εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων any more closely than P.

Ps 87.5/88.6 [RF = 71,34 / 147,5-6]

בַּמֵּתִים חָפְשִׁי
ἐν νεκροῖς ἐλεύθερος
ܒܝܬ ܡܝ̈ܬܐ ܒܪ ܚܐ̈ܪܐ

P = RF

Ps 88.7/89.7 [RF = 70,25-6 / 141,3-5]

כִּי מִי בַשַּׁחַק יַעֲרֹךְ לַיהוָה יִדְמֶה לַיהוָה בִּבְנֵי אֵלִים
ὅτι τίς ἐν νεφέλαις ἰσωθήσεται τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ τίς ὁμοιωθήσεται τῷ κυρίῳ ἐν υἱοῖς θεοῦ
ܡܢܘ ܓܝܪ ܒܥܢܢܐ ܕܢܬܬܩܢ ܠܡܪܝܐ. ܘܡܢܘ ܕܢܬܕܡܐ ܠܡܪܝܐ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܠܗ̈ܐ

P=RF

A clear instance of the translator inserting a P text ahead of the Vorlage – note the idiomatic ܒܥܢܢܐ ܓܝܪ as well as the theologically careful ܒܢ̈ܝܐܠܗ̈ܐ.

Ps 89.1/90.1 [QUX = 717,38-9 / f.53ra]

P = QUX (even in detail, ܡܪܝܐ ܒܝܬ ܡܥܡܪܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܠܢ ܠܕܪ̈ܝܢ).

Ps 93.22/94.22 [QUX = 717,37-8 / f.52vb-53ra]

QUX (ܒܝܬ ܓܘܣܐ for καταφυγήν) is independent of P (ܡܣܬܪܐ or ܦܪܘܩܐ).

Ps 95.11/96.11 [Ep39 = 15,24 / f.149va]

P's ܢܚܕܘܢ ܫܡ̈ܝܐ ܘܬܕܘܨ ܐܪܥܐ becomes in Ep39 ܢܚܕܘܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܪ̈ܥܐ ܬܕܘܨ, thus following the Greek word order at the expense of P's chiasm.

Ps 100.4/101.4 [Ep46 = 158,2 / 47,11]

לֵבָב עִקֵּשׁ
καρδία σκαμβή
ܠܒܐ ܥܣܩܐ

Ep46
ܠܒܐ ܦܬܝܠܐ

Ps 101.26-8/102.26-8 [RF = 49,6-8 / 33,3-7] [CT (v28b only) PG76:391 / f.108rc]

וּמַעֲשֵׂה יָדֶיךָ שָׁמָיִם

הֵמָּה יֹאבֵדוּ וְאַתָּה תַעֲמֹד וְכֻלָּם כַּבֶּגֶד יִבְלוּ כַּלְּבוּשׁ תַּחֲלִיפֵם וְיַחֲלֹפוּ
וְאַתָּה־הוּא וּשְׁנוֹתֶיךָ לֹא יִתָּמּוּ

ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σού εἰσιν οἱ οὐρανοί [ἔρ.... οὐρ. om RF]· αὐτοὶ [οἱ οὐρανοὶ RF] ἀπολοῦνται,
σὺ δὲ διαμενεῖς, καὶ πάντες ὡς ἱμάτιον παλαιωθήσονται, καὶ ὡσεὶ περιβόλαιον ἀλλάξεις
[ἑλίξεις RF] αὐτούς, καὶ ἀλλαγήσονται· σὺ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς εἶ, καὶ τὰ ἔτη σου οὐκ ἐκλείψουσιν.

ܘܚܠܦ ܐܝܟܢܐ. ܘܗܢܘܢ ܢܣܘܦܘܢ ܐܢܬ ܕܝܢ ܡܩܘܐ ܐܢܬ. ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܢܒܠܘܢ. ܘܐܝܟ ܬܟܣܝܬܐ
ܡܚܠܦ ܐܢܬ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܘܫܢܝܟ ܠܐ ܢܓܡܪܢ.

RF

ܫܡܝܐ ܕܐܝܕܝܟܘܢ, ܗܢܘܢ ܐܝܟ. ܗܢܘܢ ܢܣܒܘܢ ܘܐܢܬ ܢܦܩ ܐܢܘܢ ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܢܒܠܘܢ. ܐܝܟܢܐ
ܡܚܠܦ ܐܢܘܢ ܘܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܘܕܝܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܢܫܬܚܠܦܘܢ. ܘܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܘܫܢܝܟ ܠܐ ܢܓܡܪܢ.

CT

ܐܢܬ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬܝܟ ܐܝܟ. ܘܫܢܝܟ ܠܐ ܢܓܡܪܢ.

The Syriac of RF has actually extended the quotation back into v26 here, where Cyril begins at v27 (simply expanding αὐτοί to οἱ οὐρανοί), though even here he does not quite follow P. Other differences from P include using the Syriac impf (Heb impf / Gk fut) where P uses the ptc (ܢܒܠܘܢ), and supplying the missing verb, ܢܓܡܪܢ for תַּחֲלִיפֵם / ἑλίξεις; note also the use of ܕܝܢ for δὲ in RF, a particle barely used in P. CT has the same wording as RF for the final phrase and displays a similarity of technique but applied more consistently.

Ps 104.15/105.15 [SDI = 219,14-45 / f.21va] [QUX = 726,31-2 / f.58va]

SDI,QUX's ܠܡܫܝܚܝ is probably P's original reading (rather than the ܠܡܫܝܚܝ of 9a1). SDI also has ܒܬܢܝ for P's ܠܢܒܝ, but otherwise the two show the same text. The Syriac QUX totally omits the second half of the verse, which undermines Cyril's point (viz. that the terms χριστός and προφήτης, used here in parallel, are synonymous). Given the frequency of editing carried out by the translator in this text, this is probably deliberate, but we cannot rule out homoioteleuton of the letters ܘ at some point in the textual transmission.

Ps 109.1/110.1 [CO = 48,9-10 / f.99ra]

שֵׁב לִימִינִי עַד־אָשִׁית אֹיְבֶיךָ הֲדֹם לְרַגְלֶיךָ

κάθου ἐκ δεξιῶν μου ἕως ἂν θῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ὑποπόδιον τῶν ποδῶν σου

ܬܒ ܡܢ ܝܡܝܢܝ ܥܕܡܐ ܕܐܣܝܡ ܒܥܠܕܒܒܝܟ ܟܘܒܫܐ ܠܪܓܠܝܟ

CO

ܬܒ ܡܢ ܝܡܝܢܝ ܥܕܡܐ ܕܐܣܝܡ ܒܥܠܕܒܒܝܟ ܟܘܒܫܐ ܬܚܝܬ ܪܓܠܝܟ

CO's ܬܚܝܬ maybe an attempt to achieve the prepositional force of the ὑπο.

Ps 109.4/110.4 [CO = 53,32-3 / f.102ra]

נִשְׁבַּע יְהוָה וְלֹא יִנָּחֵם אַתָּה־כֹהֵן לְעוֹלָם עַל־דִּבְרָתִי מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק

ὤμοσεν κύριος καὶ οὐ μεταμεληθήσεται· σὺ εἶ [εἶ om CO] ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδεκ

ܝܡܐ ܡܪܝܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܕܓܠ. ܕܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܟܘܡܪܐ ܠܥܠܡ. ܒܕܡܘܬܗ ܕܡܠܟܝܙܕܩ.

CO

ܐܝܘܬܐ ܪܣܬ ܘܐܠܐ ܝܘ ܠܠܟ. ܕܐܝܬܘ ܗܡ ܘܕܣܬܐ ܠܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܠܝܘܝܬ ܘܠܬܒܠܝܘܣܘ

CO has improved ܪܚܩܣܒܒ to ܐܒܠܝ ܐܝܟ, from an early stage a common loan (though not in New Testament Peshitta). Unfortunately, we cannot see whether, had Cyril included LXX's εἴ, he would have used ܐܝܟܬܘ rather than ܗܡ.

Ps 117.27/118.27* [CO = 58,34 / f.104vb] [RF = 57,5 / 72,8]

For ἐπέφανεν, both CO and RF replace P's ܐܝܘܬ with ܕܣܚ

Ps 118.105/119.105 [GL = 405]

P = GL, save for minor changes for fitting the context.

Ps 119.2/120.2 [CT = 110,23-4 / f.107vc]

<div dir="rtl">

יְהוָה הַצִּילָה נַפְשִׁי מִשְּׂפַת־שֶׁקֶר מִלָּשׁוֹן רְמִיָּה

</div>

κύριε, ῥῦσαι τὴν ψυχήν μου ἀπὸ χειλέων ἀδίκων καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης δολίας

ܩܘܝܐ ܘܦܩ ܗܝ[1] ܠܢܦܫ, ܥܡ ܗܘ ܕܣܚܐ. ܘܦܘܫܐ ܡܢ ܠܬܦ ܥܡ ܗܘ ܘܕܢܠܠܬܐ

CT

ܦܘܝ ܘܝ ܗܝ, ܡܢ ܗܦܦܐ ܘܕܣܚܐ. ܘܦܘܫܐ ܡܢ ܠܬܦ ܥܡ ܗܘ ܘܕܢܠܠܬܐ

CT has reduced τὴν ψυχήν μου to a simple object suffix; but he has also kept the adjectival ܘܕܢܠܠܬܐ where the Gk has a genitive noun.

Ps 135.12/136.12 [QUX = 717,2 / f.52rb]

P and QUX are identical over a short space where LXX allows it.

Ps 138.7-10a/139.7-10a [AT1 (v7 only) = 142,13-4 / 455,4-5] [AT2 = 148,1-6]

<div dir="rtl">

7 אָנָה אֵלֵךְ מֵרוּחֶךָ וְאָנָה מִפָּנֶיךָ אֶבְרָח

8 אִם־אֶסַּק שָׁמַיִם שָׁם אָתָּה וְאַצִּיעָה שְּׁאוֹל הִנֶּךָ

9 אֶשָּׂא כַנְפֵי־שָׁחַר אֶשְׁכְּנָה בְּאַחֲרִית יָם

10 גַּם־שָׁם יָדְךָ תַנְחֵנִי

</div>

7 ποῦ πορευθῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός σου, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου σου ποῦ φύγω

8 ἐὰν ἀναβῶ εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν σὺ εἶ ἐκεῖ [ἐκεῖ εἶ AT2] · ἐὰν καταβῶ εἰς τὸν ἄδην, πάρει·

9 ἐὰν ἀναλάβοιμι τὰς πτέρυγάς μου κατ' ὄρθρον καὶ κατασκηνώσω εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα τῆς θαλάσσης,

10 καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ ἡ χείρ σου ὁδηγήσει με.

ܠܐܝܟܐ ܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܘܝܗܝ. ܘܐܝܪܣܐ ܐܝܟܐ ܡܢ ܪܘܚܟ. ܘܐܝܟܐ ܐܦ ܐܡܪ ܠܠܝܘܬܐ ܐܝܬ ܘܐܦ ܐܝܟܘ
ܠܠܥܠ ܐܪ ܦܪܬ ܐܝܬܒ. ܗܦܩ ܐܝܘ ܠܢܦ ܐܝܬ ܘܣܐ. ܘܢܘܢܝ ܐܪܥܐ. ܦܪܬ ܐܪ[2] ܕܣܚܐ.
ܝܘܝܬܐܬ ܐܝܟܘ.

AT1,2

ܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܐܝܠ ܒܗ ܢܘܿܦܝ ܡܿܘ ܗܘ ܡܢܕ ܦܘܿܦܥܢ ܠܐܬܪܐ ܐܝܿܪܘܿܡ ܐܢ ܐܘܿܡ ܠܥܒܕܐ ܐܢܬ ܗܒܠܗ.
ܐܠܐ ܗܿܒܬܗ ܘܐܠܝܢ ܝܿܐܝܪܐ ܒܝܘܿܡ ܐܝܿܪ ܐܢ ܐܠܐ ܠܥܒܕܐ ܐܘܿܡ ܘܗܘ ܐܝܿܠܝ. ܐܝܿܪܐ.
ܗܠܒ ܠܝ ܐܝܿܪ ܝܘ ܐܬܗܒܝܘ.

AT follows P where it is easy to do so, but departs where necessary. Thus in v7b, AT follows the Gk word order more carefully. Naturally, for its time, it uses ܦܘܿܦܐ for πρόσωπον; the addition of ܐܝܿܠܝ (v8) explicable on the basis of AT's usual treatment of the copula; again, while ܐܘܿܡ ܗܠ ܐܝܿܠܝ is acceptable in P for הִנֶּךְ, AT uses something more appropriate for πάρει; note also the ܠܝ in v10 in this connection. Finally, AT ignores P's unique reading in v9, ܐܝܿܠܝ ܗܢܫܪܐ ܣܿܒ (*my wings as an eagle*) which itself probably derives from a misreading of כְּנֶשֶׁר as שַׁחַר.[1]

Ps 146.6 [CT = 138,9-10 / f.119rc]

מְעוֹדֵד עֲנָוִים יְהוָה
ἀναλαμβάνων πραεῖς ὁ κύριος
ܗܘ ܡܪܐ ܐܝܿܬ ܠܡܣܟܢܐ

CT
ܣܒ ܐܠܗ ܠܡܣܟܢܐ ܡܪܐ ܗܝܐ

There clearly no relationship between the versions at all here.

Pr 1.31 [GL = 412]

P = GL

ܐܠܐܬܐ] ܡܐܠܐܬܐ GL

Pr 2.4-5 [GL = 405]

אִם־תְּבַקְשֶׁנָּה כַכָּסֶף וְכַמַּטְמוֹנִים תַּחְפְּשֶׂנָּה
אָז תָּבִין יִרְאַת יְהוָה וְדַעַת אֱלֹהִים תִּמְצָא
καὶ ἐὰν ζητήσῃς αὐτὴν ὡς ἀργύριον καὶ ὡς θησαυροὺς ἐξερευνήσῃς [ἀνερευνήσῃς GL]
αὐτὴν τότε συνήσεις φόβον κυρίου καὶ ἐπίγνωσιν θεοῦ εὑρήσεις.
ܘܐܒܥܝܗ ܐܝܟ ܣܐܡܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܓܙܐ ܣܝܿܡܐ ܗܿܝܕܝܢ ܡܣܬܟܠ ܐܢܬ ܕܚܠܬܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ. ܘܝܕܥܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܬܫܟܚ.
ܕܐܠܗܐ.

GL
ܐܢ ܬܒܥܝܘܗܝ ܐܝܟ ܣܐܡܐ ܘܐܝܟ ܓܙܐ ܣܝܿܡܐ ܗܝܕܝܢ ܡܣܬܟܠ ܐܢܬ ܕܚܠܬܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܘܝܕܥܬܐ
ܣܝܡܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ

GL is using some of P's vocabulary but translating the Greek – P is anyway out of line with MT in having no conditional particle at the beginning.

Pr 4.25 [Ep55 = 49,26-7 / 2,13]

עֵינֶיךָ לְנֹכַח יַבִּיטוּ

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[1] See BHS apparatus sub loc.

οἱ ὀφθαλμοί σου ὀρθὰ βλεπέτωσαν

ܚܙܝܢ ܒܬܪܝܨܘܬܐ ܢܚܘܪ̈ܢ

Ep55

ܠܚܙܝܢ ܬܪܝܨܘܬܐ ܢܫܘܝ

Ep55 clearly uses a different and plainer term for 'seeing' more in line with βλέπω than with the Hebrew נָבַט (*to regard*).

Pr 8.9 [CO = 55,21-2 / f.103ra] [EDC = 15,19 / f.14ra]

כֻּלָּם נְכֹחִים לַמֵּבִין וִישָׁרִים לְמֹצְאֵי דָעַת

πάντα ἐνώπια τοῖς συνιοῦσιν καὶ ὀρθὰ τοῖς εὑρίσκουσι γνῶσιν

ܟܠܗܘܢ ܓܠܝܐ ܐܢܘܢ ܠܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܣܬܟܠܝܢ. ܘܗܝ ܬܪܝ̈ܨܐ ܐܢܝܢ ܠܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܓ̈ܒܐ¹ ܠܚܕ̈ܐ ܐܢܝܢ

CO

ܟܠܗܘܢ ܓܠܝܐ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܪ ܩܕܡ ܠܚܝܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܘܬܪܝ̈ܨܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܠܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܫܟܚܝܢ ܐܝܕܥܬܐ

EDC

ܠܗ ܗܝܡ ܓܠܝܠ ܠܐܝܠܝܢ ܠܐܝܠܝܢ ܘܬܪܝ̈ܨܐ ܕܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܠܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܫܟܚܝܢ ܝܕܥܬܐ

The independence of CO and EDC is evident, with EDC the more careful in following the Vorlage. CO's ܡܪ ܠܚܝܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܓܠܝ is very expansive for ἐνώπια, but note that both versions avoid the idiomatic ܐܝܢ (x3) which has no verbal parallel.

Pr 8.11 [RF = 44,24-5 / 9,12-13]

כִּי־טוֹבָה חָכְמָה מִפְּנִינִים וְכָל־חֲפָצִים לֹא יִשְׁווּ־בָהּ

κρείσσων σοφία λίθων πολυτελῶν· πᾶν δὲ τίμιον οὐκ ἄξιον αὐτῆς ἐστιν

ܠܗ ܓܝܪ ܛܒܐ ܡܢ ܕܗܒܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܗܒܐ ܗܝ ܡܢ ܟܐ̈ܦܐ ܛ̈ܒܬܐ. ܘܟܠܡܕܡ ܠܐ ܫܘܐ ܠܗ

RF

ܐܠܟܐ, ܗܝ ܛܒܬܐ ܡܢ ܟ̈ܐܦܐ ܘܐܝܟ ܕܗܒܐ ܗܝ ܡܢ ܡܕܡ. ܘܟܠܡܕܡ ܠܐ ܫܘܐ ܠܗ

P is quite divergent from MT and LXX here (perhaps under influence from other texts such as PS 19.10). What is most important is that RF has reproduced an abbreviated version of P (distinctively mentioning gold and having the neutral ܡܕܡ only as subject of ܫܘܐ). A good example, therefore, of the strong influence of P on RF.

Pr 8.15 [RF = 43,2 / 3,10-11]

בִּי מְלָכִים יִמְלֹכוּ וְרוֹזְנִים יְחֹקְקוּ צֶדֶק

δι' ἐμοῦ βασιλεῖς βασιλεύουσιν καὶ οἱ δυνάσται γράφουσιν δικαιοσύνην

ܒܝ ܡ̈ܠܟܐ, ܐܠܟܐ ܡܡܠܟܝܢ. ܘܫ̈ܠܝܛܢܐ ܟܬܒܝܢ ܟܐܢܘܬܐ.

RF

ܐܝܟܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ, ܡ̈ܠܟܐ ܡܡܠܟܝܢ ܘܝܪ̈ܫܐ ܟܬܒܝܢ ܟܐܢܘܬܐ.

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¹ Or ܠܚܕ̈ܐ ܕܓܒܝܢ in many mss.

Here, by contrast, RF has tried to reflect what he believes to be the most accurate rendering for δι' ἐμοῦ, although later techniques would not have used the anthropomorphism.

Pr 9.9 [CT = 146,1-3 / f.122rc]

תֵּן לְחָכָם וְיֶחְכַּם־עוֹד הוֹדַע לְצַדִּיק וְיוֹסֶף לֶקַח
δίδου σοφῷ ἀφορμήν καὶ σοφώτερος ἔσται γνώριζε δικαίῳ καὶ προσθήσει τοῦ δέχεσθαι
ܡܗ ܐܗܒܪ ܠܣܒܬܐ ܗܘܒܐ ܒܫܥܐ. ܘܩܐܘܝ ܠܙܝܘܐ ܕܢܘܣܦ ܥܠ ܝܘܠܦܢܐ

CT
ܡܗ ܒܣ ܠܣܒܬܐ ܕܗܘܒܐ ܒܫܥܐ ܢܝ ܘܩܐܘܝ. ܠܙܝܘܐ ܕܢܘܣܦ ܥܠ ܝܘܠܦܢܐ

There is a strong P influence on CT here, especially to be noted in the syntax, using ܘ to express the meaning of the conjunction where the Gk has only καί; the use of ܐܗܒܪ in P shows the LXX influence on it; however, P has correctly interpreted לֶקַח as a noun not (as LXX,CT) as an infinitive.

Pr 9.18 [RF = 45,1 / 10,11-12] [Ep50 = 94,10 / f.143ra] [QUX = 715,19 / f.51va]

בְּעִמְקֵי שְׁאוֹל
ἐπὶ [πρός Ep50; εἰς RF] πέταυρον[1] ᾅδου
ܒܥܘܡܩܐ ܕܫܝܘܠ

RF
ܒܐܫܬܗ ܕܫܝܘܠ

Ep50
ܒܐܫܬܗ ܕܫܝܘܠ

QUX
ܒܐܫܬܐ ܕܫܝܘܠ

Pr 14.12/16.25 [Ep50 = 94,10 /f.143ra]

דַּרְכֵי־מָוֶת
εἰς πυθμένα ᾅδου
ܐܘܪܚܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܘܬܐ

Ep50
ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܕ ܠܓܘܡܨܐ

The Syriac of Ep50 somewhat conflates the Proverbs citations from 9.18/14.12/16.25.

Pr 18.19 [CT = 110,9-10 / f.107vb]

אָח נִפְשָׁע מִקִּרְיַת־עֹז
ἀδελφὸς ὑπὸ ἀδελφοῦ βοηθούμενος ὡς πόλις ὀχυρὰ

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[1] Some LXX mss πέτευρον.

ܐܝܢܐ ܕܗܠܟܐ ܒܬܡܝܡܘܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܢܐ܂ ܐܝܟ ܗܟܢܐ ܡܢ ܚܒܪܗ ܡܩܠܣ

ܐܝܢܐ ܕܗܠܟ ܒܬܡܝܡܘܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܢܐ܂ ܐܝܟ ܗܟܢܐ ܕܒܙܒܢ ܗܘ ܡܫܒܚ

P is already close to LXX and CT only needs to make a small adjustment at the end accurately to reflect the adjective.

Pr 19.5/19.9 [CT = 143,12-13 / f.121rb]

עֵד שְׁקָרִים לֹא יִנָּקֶה

μάρτυς ψευδὴς οὐκ ἀτιμώρητος ἔσται

ܣܗܕܐ ܕܓܠܐ ܠܐ ܢܬܚܫܒ

ܣܗܕܐ ܕܓܠܐ ܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܚܛܗܐ ܕܟܝ

Pr 22.28 [Ep39 = 19,24 / f.152rb]

אַל־תַּסֵּג גְּבוּל עוֹלָם אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ אֲבוֹתֶיךָ

μὴ μέταιρε ὅρια αἰώνια ἃ ἔθεντο οἱ πατέρες σου

ܠܐ ܬܫܢܐ ܬܚܘܡܐ ܕܡܢ ܥܠܡ ܕܥܒܕܘ ܐܒܗܝܟ

ܠܐ ܬܫܢܐ ܬܚܘܡܐ ܕܡܢ ܥܠܡ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܥܒܕܘ ܐܒܗܝܟ

The phrase ܡܢ ܥܠܡ may well be influenced by P's wording, but Ep39 has its own version which is sufficiently close to the Greek.

Eccl 7.11[1] [MosEp = Guidi p.400]

טוֹבָה חָכְמָה עִם־נַחֲלָה וְיֹתֵר לְרֹאֵי הַשָּׁמֶשׁ

ἀγαθὴ σοφία μετὰ κληροδοσίας καὶ περισσεία τοῖς θεωροῦσιν τὸν ἥλιον

ܛܒܐ ܗܝ܂ ܚܟܡܬܐ ܡܢ ܙܝܢܐ. ܘܐܦ ܝܬܝܪܐ ܠܚܙܝ ܫܡܫܐ

ܛܒܐ ܗܝ܂ ܚܟܡܬܐ ܡܢ ܙܝܢܐ. ܘܐܦ ܝܬܝܪܐܝܬ ܠܚܙܝ ܫܡܫܐ

Eccl 8.1 [MosEp = Guidi p.400]

חָכְמַת אָדָם תָּאִיר פָּנָיו

τίς οἶδεν σοφούς καὶ τίς οἶδεν λύσιν ῥήματος σοφία ἀνθρώπου φωτιεῖ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀναιδὴς προσώπῳ αὐτοῦ μισηθήσεται

ܚܟܡܬܐ ܕܓܒܪܐ ܬܢܗܪ ܠܦܪܨܘܦܗ,

ܚܟܡܬܗ ܕܓܒܪܐ ܬܢܗܪ ܠܦܪܨܘܦܗ,

Eccl 10.1b-2 [MosEp = Guidi p.400]

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[1] Incorrectly cited by Guidi as Eccl 7.12.

יְקַר מֵחָכְמָה מִכָּבוֹד סִכְלוּת מְעָט
לֵב חָכָם לִימִינוֹ וְלֵב כְּסִיל לִשְׂמֹאלוֹ

τίμιον ὀλίγον σοφίας ὑπὲρ δόξαν ἀφροσύνης μεγάλης
καρδία σοφοῦ εἰς δεξιὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ καρδία ἄφρονος εἰς ἀριστερὸν αὐτοῦ

ܡܢܝ ܂ܘܠܒܗ ܕܣܟܠܐ܂ ܠܒܐ ܕܚܟܝܡܐ ܠܝܡܝܢܗ...ܪܒܬܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܪܒܬܐ

MosEp

ܠܒ܂ ܗܘ, ܪܒܬܐ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܟ ܪܒܬܐ...ܠܒܗ܂ ܕܣܟܠܐ ܘܠܒܗ ܕܚܟܝܡܐ ܡܢܗ

Paphnutius (apud MosEp) here probably witnesses to an early form of the text. The ,ܗ is found also in 9c1, ܡܢ for ܡܢܗ in 8a1, and ܕܚܟܝܡܐ/ܣܟܠܐ in 8a1ᶜ, 9c1, 10c1, 11c1, 12a1 etc. It is therefore likely that ܠܒ was the original Peshitta reading (based on Heb יְקַר) and is preserved for us here.

All these three last citations confirm Paphnutius' use of P for his citations, especially where P is quite different from MT as at Eccl 7.11.

Cant 2.1 [SDI = 222,2 / f.27ra]

אֲנִי חֲבַצֶּלֶת הַשָּׁרוֹן שׁוֹשַׁנַּת הָעֲמָקִים

ἐγὼ ἄνθος τοῦ πεδίου κρίνον τῶν κοιλάδων

ܐܢܐ ܥܘܦܪܐ ܕܚܩܠܐ ܫܘܫܢܬܐ ܕܥܘܡܩܐ

SDI

ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܥܒܪܐ ܘܫܘܫܢܬܐ ܕܥܘܡܩܐ܂

SDI appears to know and use P, but only when appropriate, i.e. for v1b in this case, but not v1a.

Job 4.19 [CT = 127,17-8 / f.115rc] [SDI = 223,1-2 / f.31ra]

אַף שֹׁכְנֵי בָתֵּי־חֹמֶר אֲשֶׁר־בֶּעָפָר יְסוֹדָם

τοὺς δὲ κατοικοῦντας οἰκίας πηλίνας ἐξ ὧν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ πηλοῦ ἐσμεν

ܐܠܦ ܘܐܦ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܛܝܢܐ ܘܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܝܬܒܝ ܒܬܐ ܕܛܝܢܐ

CT

ܠܐܠܦ ܕܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܝܬܒܝ ܂ܘܡܢܗܘܢ܂ ܕܛܝܢܐ܂ ܐܦ ܗܢܘܢ ܗܘܘ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܠܐܠܦ ܐܝܟܘܗܝܢ

SDI

ܗܢܘ [] ܝܬܒܝ܂ ܕܛܝܢܐ ܘܡܢܗܘܢ ܟܕ ܗܢܘܢ ܒܛ ܗܘ ܘܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܝܟܘܗܝܢ

Both are clearly with LXX against P; however, CT appears to have ignored the first person referent, and ܡܢܗ ܒܪ ܡܢܗ is a more usual way of rendering ὁ αὐτός, although CT's ܘܡܢܗܘܢ is an attempt to render ἐξ ὧν more exactly.

Job 12.22 [Ep55 = 50,1 / 2,16-7]

מְגַלֶּה עֲמֻקוֹת מִנִּי־חֹשֶׁךְ

ἀνακαλύπτων βαθέα ἐκ σκότους [εκ σκ. αν. βα. Ep55]

ܡܠܟܐ ܣܪܝܩܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܚܣܘܢܐ

Ep55

ܒܢܝܬܐ ܡܢ ܩܥܨܐ ܠܟܐ

It is evident that the translator has no desire *per se* to alter P and does so only insofar as this is necessary to make it accurate to the Greek, here principally a matter of word order (according to Cyril not LXX) and making ܠܟܐ simply P'al.

Ws 1.1 [Ep40 = 23,9-10 / 28,21-2] [Ep46* = 158,1 / 47,9-10]

φρονήσατε περὶ τοῦ κυρίου ἐν ἀγαθότητι [ἐν ἀγ.: ἀληθῆ Ep40] καὶ ἐν ἁπλότητι καρδίας ζητήσατε αὐτόν

ܢܘܗܝ ܥܠ ܒܥܝ ܪܝܬܐ ܩܠܒܐ ܘܒܠܒܐ ܦܫܝܛܐ ܒܗܘܢ,

Ep40

ܢܘܗܝ ܥܠ ܒܥܝ ܪܝܬܐ ܒܩܘܫܬܐ ܘܒܠܒܐ ܦܫܝܛܐ ܒܗܘܢ,

Ep46

ܒܦܫܝܛܘܬܐ ܕܠܒܗܘܢ

Ep40 does alter the text of P in line with Cyril's main variant, but keeps P's '*with a simple heart*', whereas Ep46's allusion is concerned enough with precision to use the abstract noun.

Ws 1.1-3a [MosEp = Guidi p.399]

As P save for ܠܗ ܕܚܠܝܢ for P's ܠܗ ܕܡܢܣܝܢ ܠܐ (v2), which is probably a simplifying reading, avoiding the idea of tempting God (τοῖς μὴ πειράζουσιν αὐτόν).

Ws 1.5 [MosEp = Guidi p.399-400]

P = MosEp

Ws 1.7 [AT = 142,26-7 / 455,17]

πνεῦμα κυρίου πεπλήρωκεν τὴν οἰκουμένην

ܪܘܚ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܡܠܬ ܬܒܝܠ

AT

ܪܘܚܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܡܠܬ ܬܒܝܠ

Note that AT is content here to follow P and not to use a neologism such as ܡܬܒܝܢܘܬܐ which we find in the seventh century texts.[1]

Ws 1.12 [MosEp = Guidi p.399]

P = MosEp

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[1] For instance, see Brock, *Hunanyn's Translation Techniques*, 151, and also more generally Brock, *Diachronic Aspects* and *Diachronic Features*.

Ws 1.13-4 [QUX = 771,13-4 / f.90va]

οὐδὲ τέρπεται ἐπ' ἀπωλείᾳ ζώντων καὶ σωτήριοι αἱ γενέσεις τοῦ κόσμου

ܠܐ ܓܝܪ ܐܟܒܪܘܣܘܢ܁ ܘܡܒܥܕܝܐ...ܕܘܢܐ ܘܡܒܥܕܝܐ ܡܒܠܬܐ ܝܝܗܘ ܐܬܐ.

QUX

ܠܐ ܓܝܪ ܐܬܐ ܐܟܒܪܘܣܝܐ ܕܘܢܐ. ܘܡܒܥܕܝܐ ܕܡܒܠܬܐ ܝܝܗܘ ܐܬܐ.

The singular ܡܒܠܬܐ suggests that the P text is in mind here, but QUX is essentially independent.

Ws 2.24 [QUX = 771,15-6 / f.90va]

φθόνῳ δὲ διαβόλου θάνατος εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν κόσμον

ܒܚܣܡܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܟܒܠܩܪܐ ܡܘܬܐ ܥܠ ܡܒܕܗ ܠܥܠܡܐ.

P = QUX

Ws 7.30 [MosEp = Guidi p.403]

P = MosEp

Ws 8.1 [MosEp = Guidi p.403]

P = MosEp

post ܐܒܥܕ add. ܗܝ MosEp
ܘܡܒܥܕ om. MosEp

Ws 8.21c [MosEp = Guidi p.402]

P = MosEp

ܘܡܗ om. MosEp

Ws 9.1,2 [MosEp = Guidi p.402]

P = MosEp
ܒܒܪܝܬܟ] ܒܒܪܝܬܟ MosEp
ܥܒܕܬ] ܒܪܝܬ MosEp

Amos 3.12,13 [EDC = 16,9-10 / f.14va]

שִׁמְעוּ וְהָעִידוּ בְּבֵית יַעֲקֹב נְאֻם־אֲדֹנָי יְהוִה אֱלֹהֵי הַצְּבָאוֹת
ἱερεῖς ἀκούσατε καὶ ἐπιμαρτύρασθε τῷ οἴκῳ Ιακωβ λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ [om. EDC]
παντοκράτωρ
ܫܡܥܘ ܘܐܣܗܕܘ ܒܒܬܐ ܕܝܥܩܘܒ. ܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ ܡܪܐ ܡܪܘܬܐ ܚܝܠܬܢܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܟܕܝܟܗܪ.

EDC

ܒܗܡܐ ܥܣܘܪ ܡܪܘܬܐ ܕܡܒܠܗܘܬ. ܐܡܪ ܡܪܐ [] ܚܝܠܐ ܘܒܗ ܐܠܝܫ.

Amos 7.14-5 [CT = 138,7-9 / f.119rb-c (up to προβάτων)] [QUX = 733,42-734,2 / f.62vb]

נָבִיא אָנֹכִי וְלֹא בֶן־נָבִיא אָנֹכִי כִּי־בוֹקֵר אָנֹכִי וּבוֹלֵס שִׁקְמִים [15] וַיִּקָּחֵנִי יְהוָה מֵאַחֲרֵי הַצֹּאן
לֹא

οὐκ ἤμην προφήτης ἐγὼ [om. CT,QUX] οὐδὲ υἱὸς προφήτου ἀλλ' ἢ [om. CT,QUX] αἰπόλος
ἤμην καὶ [om. CT] κνίζων συκάμινα καὶ ἀνέλαβέν με κύριος ἐκ τῶν προβάτων καὶ εἶπεν
κύριος πρός με· βάδιζε, προφήτευσον ἐπὶ τὸν λαόν μου [τὸν add.QUX] Ἰσραήλ.

[Syriac text]

CT

[Syriac text]

QUX

[Syriac text]

CT and QUX both know and use the P text, but they render their own Vorlage where different. Note especially the developed method for the past tense ἤμην, [Syriac] in P, [Syriac] in CT,QUX.

Micah 5.2/5.1 [RF = 70,31-4 / 141,11-142,3]

וְאַתָּה בֵּית־לֶחֶם אֶפְרָתָה צָעִיר לִהְיוֹת בְּאַלְפֵי יְהוּדָה מִמְּךָ לִי יֵצֵא לִהְיוֹת מוֹשֵׁל בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל
וּמוֹצָאֹתָיו מִקֶּדֶם מִימֵי עוֹלָם

καὶ σύ Βηθλεεμ οἶκος τοῦ Ἐφραθα [Εὐφρανθᾶ RF] μὴ ὀλιγοστὸς εἶ τοῦ εἶναι ἐν χιλιάσιν
Ἰουδα· ἐκ σοῦ [γὰρ add RF] μοι ἐξελεύσεται τοῦ εἶναι εἰς ἄρχοντα ἐν τῷ Ισραηλ· καὶ αἱ
ἔξοδοι αὐτοῦ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐξ ἡμερῶν αἰῶνος.

Mt 2.6 (citing Micah 5.2/5.1)

καὶ σὺ Βηθλέεμ, γῆ Ἰουδα, οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχίστη εἶ ἐν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν Ἰουδα· ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ
ἐξελεύσεται ἡγούμενος, ὅστις ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαόν μου τὸν Ἰσραήλ.

P (Micah 5.1)

[Syriac text]

P (Mt 2.6)

[Syriac text]

RF

[Syriac text]

Cyril's text of the RF clearly follows LXX Micah, probably with the μὴ variant adopted.[1] However, the Syriac RF quotes the New Testament version exactly, save for having Micah's

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[1] Although Schwartz includes the word, the mss of RF are split over presence of μή, a reading well-known from the Lucianic recension and numerous patristic citations (and via the influence of the negative in Mt 2.6). Perhaps

Ἐφραθα for Mt's ܐܦܪܬܐ after the name 'Bethlehem'. However, the last part of the verse as quoted by Cyril, καὶ αἱ ἔξοδοι αὐτοῦ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐξ ἡμερῶν αἰῶνος, is not found in the NT version and so RF quotes exactly if from Peshitta Micah. This latter point indicates that the translator knew where the verse came from and yet still used the NT version – perhaps he only realised this point when he arrived at the last part of the citation, or perhaps he never realised at all and simply conflated the versions in his memory. Whatever the cause, it is quite clear that the translator is much more concerned with the overall meaning, the *signifié*, and not with the precise wording of the original, and he inserts Peshitta before even looking closely at the Greek text.

Joel 1.5 [QUX = 749,43-4 / f.74ra]

LXX differs from P after the first two words. QUX follows P for these but renders the whole independently.

Joel 3.1/2.28 [QUX = 736,21-2 / f.65ra] [Ep55 = 54,31-2 / 11,10-11] [AT* = 158,13-4 / 468,2]

$$\text{אֶשְׁפּוֹךְ אֶת־רוּחִי עַל־כָּל־בָּשָׂר}$$

ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα

ܐܫܘܕ ܪܘܚܝ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܒܣܪ

QUX

ܐܫܘܕ ܪܘܚܝ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܒܣܪ

Ep55

ܐܫܘܕ ܡܢ ¹ ܪܘܚܝ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܡܢ ܒܣܪ

AT

ܐܫܘܕ ܪܘܚܝ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܒܣܪ

Ep55 attempts to mirror the genitive of πνεύματος; AT's allusion has πνεῦμα in the accusative.

Hab 2.15 [Ep50 = 96,19-20 / f.144va]

$$\text{הוֹי מַשְׁקֵה רֵעֵהוּ מְסַפֵּחַ חֲמָתְךָ}$$

ὦ [οὐαὶ Ep50] ὁ ποτίζων τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ ἀνατροπῇ θολερᾷ [ἀνατροπὴν θολεράν Ep50]

ܐܘ ܕܡܫܩܐ ܠܚܒܪܗ ܠܗܦܟܬܐ ܕܠܘܚܐ

Ep50

ܘܐ ܠܗ ܕܡܫܩܐ ܠܚܒܪܗ ܠܗܦܟܬܐ ܕܠܘܚ

BHS assumes an original Heb reading of מִסַּף חֲמָתְךָ (*from the bowl of your anger*) but without noting the support of P (which is also how the Targum takes it, בְּחֶמָא), though this does not explain ܕܠܘܚܐ which seems a good rendering for LXX's θολερός. Ep50 has translated

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this induced the translator to use the NT version of the verse rather than the Peshitta text of Micah, which clearly had no negative.
¹ ms leg ܠܗ.

ἀνατροπῇ separately and literally as ܪܒܘܬܐ, while using P for the rest of the verse; note also the attempt at a rendering of the article + ptc with ܕ ܡܢ, which would later have been ܕ ܗܘ.

Hab 3.13 [SDI = 219,16-7 / f.21va] [QUX = 726,33-4 / f.58va]

SDI and QUX both follow P in general, altering it where necessary for the Gk, i.e. σωτηρίαν as noun ܦܘܪܩܢܐ rather than as ܠܡܦܪܩ, and the plural ܡܫܝܚܝܟ rather than P's singular.

Zeph 2.1,2 [Ep40 = 23,5-7 / 28,17-19] [QUX = 733,19-21 / f.63rb]

הִתְקוֹשְׁשׁוּ וָקוֹשּׁוּ הַגּוֹי לֹא נִכְסָף בְּטֶרֶם לֶדֶת חֹק כְּמֹץ עָבַר יוֹם
συνάχθητε καὶ συνδέθητε τὸ ἔθνος τὸ ἀπαίδευτον πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι ὑμᾶς ὡς [ὡσεὶ Ep40]
ἄνθος παραπορευόμενον

ܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܘܐܬܩܪܒܘ ܥܡܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܕܝ. ܥܕܠܐ ܬܗܘܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܥܠܐ ܕܥܒܪ

Ep40

ܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܘܐܬܩܪܒܘ ܥܡܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܕܝ. ܥܕܠܐ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܬܗܘܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܥܒܪܐ ܕܥܒܪ

QUX

ܐܬܟܢܫܘ ܘܐܬܩܪܒܘ ܥܡܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܕܝ. ܥܠ ܕܠܐ ܬܗܘܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܥܡܝܪܐ ܕܢܬܪ ܘܝܒܫ.

P does not match MT very closely in v2, and yet retains a word for 'chaff', ܥܠܐ. Ep40, apart from using ܡܢ ܩܕܡ as a (slightly primitive) way of trying to represent the preposition+article+infinitive construction, has followed P carefully; but ܥܠܐ has been altered to ܥܒܪܐ (grass), perhaps by association from the well-known passage 1 Pet 1.24/Isa 40.6-8, since the word ἄνθος is used there also, functioning as a synonym for χόρτος. QUX uses rather less of P's vocabulary and is more distinctively independent, but in its choice of ܥܡܝܪܐ ܕܝܒܫ is again strongly influenced by the same parallel verses, even though the meaning is closer to ξηραίνω (wither) than to παραπορεύομαι (ephemeral).

Zech 4.10 [AT = no Greek / 451,16]

שִׁבְעָה־אֵלֶּה עֵינֵי יְהוָה הֵמָּה מְשׁוֹטְטִים בְּכָל־הָאָרֶץ
ἑπτὰ οὗτοι ὀφθαλμοὶ κυρίου εἰσὶν οἱ ἐπιβλέποντες ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν

ܗܠܝܢ ܫܒܥ ܥܝܢܘܗܝ ܕܡܪܝܐ, ܘܗܢܘܢ ܕܚܝܪܝܢ ܒܟܠܗ ܐܪܥܐ

AT

ܗܠܝܢ ܫܒܥ ܥܝܢܘܗܝ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܕܚܝܪܝܢ ܒܟܠܗ ܐܪܥܐ

The Greek for the AT is not extant here – thus the absence of an equivalent for εἰσὶν may be explained by Cyril's adaptation of the text; but there does appear do be some knowledge and use of P in evidence.

Zech 7.9 [CO = 44,35 / f.97rc] [CT = 143,12 / f.121rb]

מִשְׁפַּט אֱמֶת שְׁפֹטוּ
κρίμα δίκαιον κρίνατε
ܕܝܢܐ ܕܩܘܫܬܐ ܕܘܢܘ

Mal 3.6 [CT = PG76:391 / f.108rc] [Ep39 = 19,6 / f.151vb]

P = CT,Ep39 (short allusion)

Is 1.2 [Ep55 = 52,38-53,1 / 7,29-30]

בָּנִים גִּדַּלְתִּי וְרוֹמַמְתִּי
υἱοὺς ἐγέννησα καὶ ὕψωσα
ܒܢܝܐ ܪܒܝܬ ܘܪܡܪܡܬ

Ep55
ܒܢܝܐ ܝܠܕ, ܘܪܡܪܡܬ

Ep55's method seems again to be to use P until something needs to be changed.

Is 6.6-7 [SDI = 221,17-20 / f.26va]

SDI makes good use of the wording of P, which is obviously the text with which he is familiar, but he makes no concessions to it over and above his Vorlage. He follows the latter even in word order. Thus ܒܐܝܕܗ ܢܣܒ ܡܢ ܓܘܡܪܐ ܕܒܡܠܩܛܐ (for לָקַח מֵעַל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ בְּרֶצֶף רִצְפָּה בְּמֶלְקָחַיִם (בְּיָדוֹ רִצְפָּה בְּמֶלְקָחַיִם) becomes ܒܐܝܕܗ ܗܘܐ ܐܚܝܕ ܓܘܡܪܐ, ܗܘ ܕܒܡܠܩܛܐ ܢܣܒ ܡܢ ܡܕܒܚܐ (for ἐν τῇ χειρὶ εἶχεν ἄνθρακα ὃν τῇ λαβίδι ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου).

Is 7.14 [RF = 49,19-20 / 34,4-5] [Ep39 = 18,9-10 / f.151rb] [SDI = 228,32-3 / f.41vb] [Ep101 = Guidi 546]

הִנֵּה הָעַלְמָה הָרָה וְיֹלֶדֶת בֵּן וְקָרָאת שְׁמוֹ עִמָּנוּ אֵל
ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Εμμανουηλ
ܗܐ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܒܛܢܐ ܘܝܠܕܐ ܒܪܐ. ܘܬܩܪܝܢ ܫܡܗ ܥܡܢܘܐܝܠ

Ep39,SDI
ܗܐ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܬܒܛܢ ܘܬܠܕ ܒܪܐ. ܘܢܩܪܘܢ ܫܡܗ ܥܡܢܘܐܝܠ

P = RF,CT,Ep101

A good example of the difference between those texts which are content to reproduce P where the meaning is acceptably close to the Greek, and those (Ep39,SDI) which feel the need to mirror the grammatical forms – in this case the tenses of all three verbs being corrected into the impf as well as the last one being made active.

Is 8.8-10 [Ep74 = Overbeck 227,13-18]

Ep74 follows the Greek against the quite different MT,P, with no obvious influence of the latter upon the translator of Ep74.

Is 8.18 [AT = noGk / 442,6-7]

P=AT ܪܒܬܐ ܠܝ ܕܚܩܡܬܐ ܘܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܘ

ܪܒܬܐ] ܒܬ AT

Is 9.6 [CT = 128,15-6 / f.115vb] [Ep101 = Guidi 546[1]]

פֶּלֶא יוֹעֵץ אֵל גִּבּוֹר אֲבִיעַד שַׂר־שָׁלוֹם

In the Alexandrian/Lucianic recension of the Greek, the following is found:
μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος θαυμαστὸς σύμβουλος θεὸς ἰσχυρὸς ἐξουσιαστὴς ἄρχων εἰρήνης πατὴρ τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος.[2]

In CT, Theodoret (whom Cyril quotes here) knows the text according to this longer recension but quotes the titles in the accusative, thus:
μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελον καί θαυμαστὸν σύμβουλον καὶ θεὸν ἰσχυρὸν καὶ ἐξουσιαστὴν καὶ ἄρχοντα εἰρήνης καὶ πατέρα τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος.

Peshitta
[ܕܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܘܐܒܐ] ܕܥܠܡܐ ܘܟܠܗ ܕܥܠܡܐ܂ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܪܒܘܬܐ

CT
ܕܥܠܡܐ ܘܐܒܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܘܟܠܗ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܡܠܐܟܐ ܪܒܘܬܐ ܘܕܚܩ ܕܬܡܝܗ ܐܠܗ
ܕܫܘܠܛܢܐ

P = Ep101

The picture is confused by the fact that the text of P in the mss has itself already undergone emendation towards LXX. The words ܕܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܘܐܒܐ have been added in the margins of even the earliest extant Peshitta mss (though not in all). The fact that CT translates πατέρα τοῦ μέλλοντος αἰῶνος with the same expression may suggest that the translator already knew these words in his OT text. He has certainly been influenced by P earlier in the verse, firstly in his use of the ܘ between θαυμαστὸς and σύμβουλος and between σύμβουλος and θεὸς; secondly, in omitting any direct equivalent for ἐξουσιαστής; thirdly, in the choice of his wording in general.

Is 11.1-3a [CT = 133,20-4 / f.117va]

Although the majority of the wording in CT is quite distinct from P (despite the meaning being identical), there is some influence: where the Greek says πνεῦμα εὐσεβείας, CT has ܕܡܪܝܐ ܕܚܠܬܗ...ܘܪܘܚ, a rendering found in P for רוּחַ יִרְאַת יְהוָה.

Isa 24.13-4 [QUX = 753,29-32 / f.76va]

LXX is very divergent from MT. QUX unsurprisingly simply translates his Vorlage anew, although he oddly translates ἐὰν ἄνθρωπος as ܗ ܢܣܚܘ.

Is 25.8 [CT = 136,27-8 / f.118vb]

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[1] Incorrectly cited by Guidi as Isa 9.16.
[2] See ms list in Göttingen edition for fuller details.

P and CT are close but the citation is short.

Is 26.9 [SDI = 223,17-8 / f.31va]

SDI quite independent of P where LXX is not as MT verbatim.

Is 26.12 [Ep39 = 16,19-20 / f.150rb]

Ep39 carefully translates this short citation according to Cyril's text and ignores the different readings of MT,P

Is 28.15 [CT = 143,10-11 / f.121rb]

CT has its own separate version, though he shows his own tendency to abbreviate by reducing τῷ ψεύδει to ܟܒ.

Is 32.6 [Ep40 = 23,20 / 29,5-6]

כִּי נָבָל נְבָלָה יְדַבֵּר וְלִבּוֹ יַעֲשֶׂה־אָוֶן
ὁ γὰρ μωρὸς μωρὰ λαλήσει καὶ ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ μάταια νοήσει
ܓܠܝܐ ܥܘܠܬܐ ܡܬܚܫܠ. ܘܠܒܗ ܫܦܠ ܥܘܠܐ.

Ep40
ܓܠܝܐ ܥܘܠܬܐ ܡܬܚܫܠ. ܘܠܒܗ ܡܬܪܥܐ ܒܣܪܝܩܘܬܐ ܡܫܬܒܠ.

SDI
ܣܟܠܐ ܣܟܠܐܝܬ ܡܬܚܫܠ ܘܠܒܗ ܣܪܝܩܘܬܐ ܡܬܪܥܐ.

Ep40 seems to be a translator in two minds: he clearly wants to translate the Greek text, but he hardly does so with great accuracy, using the adverbial ܒܣܪܝܩܘܬܐ for the neuter plural object μάταια, and a ptc ܡܬܪܥܐ for the future νοήσει – in both these traits he is following the style of the first half of the clause in which he follows P, which uses close equivalents to the Hebrew wording (abstract noun for נָבָל and impf for נְבָלָה). SDI is more independent, but the use of the adverb for the noun is unexpected.

Is 36.6 [Ep46 = 160,23-4 / 50,21]

Ep46 clearly has P is mind when he translates Cyril's καλαμίνην ῥάβδον ὑποστήσαντες as ܐܣܬܡܟܬܘܢ ܥܠ ܚܘܛܪܐ ܐܪܝܢܐ (P having ܣܡܟܐ ܘܚܛܪܐ ܪܥܝܐ for the noun phrase הַקָּנֶה הָרָצוּץ מִשְׁעֶנֶת) even though LXX's τεθλασμένην (*broken*) is not present in Cyril's allusion.

Is 37.36 [RF = 44,8-10 / 7,15-8,3]

וַיֵּצֵא מַלְאַךְ יְהוָה וַיַּכֶּה בְּמַחֲנֵה אַשּׁוּר מֵאָה וּשְׁמֹנִים וַחֲמִשָּׁה אָלֶף וַיַּשְׁכִּימוּ בַבֹּקֶר וְהִנֵּה כֻלָּם פְּגָרִים מֵתִים
ἐξῆλθεν ἄγγελος κυρίου καὶ ἀνεῖλεν ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα πέντε χιλιάδας καὶ ἐξαναστάντες [ἀναστάντες RF] τὸ πρωὶ εὗρον πάντα τὰ σώματα νεκρά
ܢܦܩ ܡܠܐܟܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܘܩܛܠ ܡܢ ܡܫܪܝܬܗ ܕܐܬܘܪ̈ܝܐ. ܡܐܐ ܘܬܡܢܐܝܢ ܘܚܡܫܐ ܐܠܦ̈ܝܢ. ܘܩܕܡܘ ܒܨܦܪܐ ܘܐܫܟܚܘ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܓܫ̈ܐ ܡܝ̈ܬܐ.

RF ܡܠܐܟܐ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ] ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ

RF ܩܦܠܐ] ܘܡܪܒ

RF ܣܝܦܐ] ܒܥܦܪܐ

RF ܟܣ add. Post ܘܐܟܣܘ

RF ܠܚܡܝ] ܠܚܡܗܘܢ

It can be seen that RF varies from the standard text of P only a little, once where the Greek requires it, e.g. ܘܐܟܣܘ for ܟܣ, twice because his Peshitta text was probably different (ܡܪܒ and ܒܥܦܪܐ)[1] and once, peculiarly, with no other authority (ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܡܠܐܟܐ).

Is 40.5 [CT = 144,6-7 / f.121va] [AT = 158,14-5 / 468,3]

CT and AT both follow Cyril/LXX in adding 'salvation' as the object to 'shall see' and making the latter verb singular.

Is 42.1 [CT = 133,24-6 / f.117va]
This is given as Is 42.1 in Schwartz but is, in fact, cited from Mt 12.18's citation of Is 42.1 and is fairly close to Peshitta NT there (see sub loc. in Gospel Citations).

Is 42.8 [Ep55 = 58,11 / 17,23] [QUX= 735,8 / f.63vb]

Ep55 and QUX owe nothing directly to P here; for instance, Ep55 prefers ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ for δόξα rather than P's ܐܝܩܪܐ for כָּבוֹד, and QUX ܫܘܒܚܐ.

Is 42.18 [Ep40 = 23,8-9 / 28,21]

In line, with his usual freedom of expression, this translator abbreviates Cyril/LXX's οἱ κωφοί ἀκούσατε καί οἱ τυφλοί ἀναβλέψατε ἰδεῖν (for שִׁמְעוּ וְהַעִוְרִים הַבִּיטוּ לִרְאוֹת הַחֵרְשִׁים) to ܘܗܢ ܚܙܘ ܘܣܡܝܐ ܫܡܥܘ (compare P's ܫܡܥܘ ܘܣܡܝܐ ܐܣܬܟܠܘ ܚܙܘ which at least renders all the elements).

Is 43.18a [GL = 406]

P = GL

Is 44.6 [Ep55 = 52,6-7 / 6,10-11]

Despite Cyril's odd variant οὐκ ἔστιν πάρεξ ἐμοῦ, Ep55 renders simply into his own version whereas P follows a slightly different text.

Is 44.20 [QUX = 715,1-2 / f.51ra]

QUX follows Cyril against P. The LXX reading γνῶτε for Heb רֹעֶה (to pasture, feed) perhaps came about through reading ד for ר, and the same difference is apparent in the Syriac versions (P ܪܥܝ, QUX ܕܥܝ).

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[1] These are both very widely attested readings in early mss.

Is 45.1 [SDI = 219,22-3 / f.21vb]

כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה לִמְשִׁיחוֹ לְכוֹרֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר־הֶחֱזַקְתִּי בִימִינוֹ

οὕτως λέγει κύριος ὁ θεὸς τῷ χριστῷ μου Κύρῳ οὗ ἐκράτησα τῆς δεξιᾶς

ܡܗܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܟܘܪܫ ܕܐܚܕܬ ܒܝܡܝܢܗ.

SDI

ܡܗܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܟܘܪܫ. ܗܘ ܕܐܚܕܬ ܒܝܡܝܢܗ.

The change of pronoun shows SDI following the Gk rather than P.

Is 45.18 [GL = 408]

A short allusion in which the translation uses ܥܒܕ for ἐποίησεν, where P has ܒܪܐ (cognate with Heb.)

Is 49.3,5,6 [CT = 128,18-21 / f.115vc]

³ עַבְדִּי־אָתָּה יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר־בְּךָ אֶתְפָּאָר
⁵ אָמַר יְהוָה יֹצְרִי מִבֶּטֶן לְעֶבֶד לוֹ
⁶ וּנְתַתִּיךָ לְאוֹר גּוֹיִם לִהְיוֹת יְשׁוּעָתִי עַד־קְצֵה הָאָרֶץ

³ δοῦλός μου εἶ σὺ Ἰσραηλ καὶ ἐν σοὶ δοξασθήσομαι
⁵ οὕτως λέγει κύριος ὁ πλάσας με ἐκ κοιλίας δοῦλον ἑαυτῷ
⁶ ἰδοὺ τέθεικά [δέδωκά CT] σε [εἰς διαθήκην γένους add CT[1]] εἰς φῶς ἐθνῶν τοῦ εἶναί σε εἰς σωτηρίαν ἕως ἐσχάτου τῆς γῆς

ܥܒܕܝ ܐܢܬ ܐܝܣܪܐܝܠ ܘܒܟ ܐܫܬܒܚ ܗܟܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܓܒܠܢܝ ܡܢ ܟܪܣܐ ܕܐܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܥܒܕܐ
ܗܐ ܝܗܒܬܟ ܠܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܥܡܡܐ ܕܬܗܘܐ ܦܘܪܩܢܝ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܣܘܦܝܗ ܕܐܪܥܐ

CT

ܥܒܕܝ ܐܢܬ ܘܒܟ ܐܫܬܒܚܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܓܒܠܢܝ ܡܢ ܟܪܣܐ ܕܐܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܥܒܕܐ ܗܘ
ܗܐ ܝܗܒܬܟ ܠܩܝܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܘܠܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܥܡܡܐ ܕܬܗܘܐ ܦܘܪܩܢܝ ܥܕܡܐ ܠܣܘܦܝܗ ܕܐܪܥܐ

It may be that CT has come up with its translation independently, as seems to have occurred elsewhere; however, it is hard not to conclude that the translator had the Peshitta passage clearly and well-known in his mind. The only new renderings he thus has to make are to be found where LXX and Peshitta disagree, e.g. in the addition of ἰδού and of εἰς διαθήκην γένους.

Is 49.9 [RF = 56,9-10 / 68,7-69,1]

P = RF
RF is not against LXX, however, being thus assisted by Cyril's having the variant ἀνακαλύφθητε (imperative, corresponding easily to MT הִגָּלוּ) rather than ἀνακαλυφθῆναι (infinitive with an antecedent verb needing to be supplied).

Is 50.6 [Ep39 = 19,13-15 / f.151vb-152ra] [SDI = 225,38-226,1 / f.50va]

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[1] An addition found in the Lucianic recension and many other mss.

גֵּוִי נָתַתִּי לְמַכִּים וּלְחָיַי לְמֹרְטִים פָּנַי לֹא הִסְתַּרְתִּי מִכְּלִמּוֹת וָרֹק

τὸν νῶτόν μου δέδωκα εἰς μάστιγας τὰς δὲ σιαγόνας μου εἰς ῥαπίσματα τὸ δὲ πρόσωπόν μου
οὐκ ἀπέστρεψα ἀπὸ αἰσχύνης ἐμπτυσμάτων

ܓܘܝ ܝܗܒܬ ܠܡܚܘܬܐ ܘܦܟܝ ܠܡ̈ܛܦܚܢܐ ܘܐܦܝ ܠܐ ܐܗܦܟܬ ܡܢ ܒܗܬܬܐ ܘܡܢ ܪܘܩܐ

Ep39

ܚܝ̈ܝ ܚܨܝ ܠܠܚܝܘܬܐ ܝܗܒܬ. ܘܦܟܝ ܠܡ̈ܛܦܚܢܐ ܠܐ ܐܦܝ ܝܗ̇ܒ ܘܪܘܩܐ

SDI

ܚܝ̈ܝ ܚܨܝ ܠܠܚܝܘܬܐ ܝܗ̇ܒܬ: ܘܐܦܝ ܠܐ ܐܗܦܟܬ ܡܢ ܒܗܬܬܐ ܘܪܘܩܐ

Ep39 has made the necessary adjustments for the Greek, specifically ܦܪܨܘܦ for πρόσωπον; 'back' for 'body'; and the subordinate rather than the coordinate relationship between the last two nouns. SDI shares the last two of these only. However, the wording of both citations overall is clearly P's wherever this is possible, and this is most noticeable in the phrase ܘܡܢ ܪܘܩܐ, where they do not make the noun plural (for ῥαπίσματα) as some later Peshitta mss did – it was convenient however that this LXX reading was already present in P (it does not correspond especially closely to MT, although no other reading is found in the mss, even the famously early 5ph1) for them to make use of.

Is 50.11 [Ep50 = 100,15-6 / f.147rb]

לְכוּ בְּאוּר אֶשְׁכֶם וּבְזִיקוֹת בִּעַרְתֶּם
πορεύεσθε τῷ φωτὶ τοῦ πυρὸς ὑμῶν καὶ τῇ φλογί ᾗ ἐξεκαύσατε
ܙܠܘ ܒܢܘܗܪܐ ܕܢܘܪܟܘܢ ܘܒܫܠܗ̈ܒܝܬܐ ܕܐܫܚܢܬܘܢ

Ep50 ܕܫܚܢܝ] ܕܐܫܚܢܬܘܢ

It is difficult to see why Ep50 has discarded ܕܐܫܚܢܬܘܢ, but again it seems clear that, with the texts having identical meanings, Ep50 simply used P.

Is 53.3 [CT = 144,23-4 / f.121vc]

אִישׁ מַכְאֹבוֹת וִידוּעַ חֹלִי
ἄνθρωπος ἐν πληγῇ ὢν καὶ εἰδὼς φέρειν μαλακίαν
ܓܒܪܐ ܕܟܐܒ̈ܐ ܘܝܕܥ ܟܘܪܗܢܐ

CT ܒ ܐܢܫ] ܓܒܪܐ
CT ܝܕܥ] ܘܝܕܥ

Again, we note the closeness of P and CT; here even against a close rendering of the Greek, the φέρειν of which is ignored.

Is 53.5 [Ep50* = 94,28 / f.143rb] [SDI = 226,5-6 / f.50va]

Ep50 shows the same term as P for μώλωψ, namely ܒܫܘܡܬܐ.

SDI has [Syriac] for [Syriac] (as if present tense) and the wholly non-P [Syriac] [Syriac] [Syriac] (P [Syriac] [Syriac] [Syriac]).

Is 53.7-8 [Ep55 = 59,7-10 / 19,22-5]

כַּשֶּׂה לַטֶּבַח יוּבָל וּכְרָחֵל לִפְנֵי גֹזְזֶיהָ נֶאֱלָמָה וְלֹא יִפְתַּח פִּיו
מֵעֹצֶר וּמִמִּשְׁפָּט לֻקָּח וְאֶת־דּוֹרוֹ מִי יְשׂוֹחֵחַ כִּי נִגְזַר מֵאֶרֶץ חַיִּים

ὡς πρόβατον ἐπὶ σφαγὴν ἤχθη καὶ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἐναντίον τοῦ κείροντος αὐτὸν ἄφωνος οὕτως
οὐκ ἀνοίγει τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ. ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῦ ἤρθη· τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ τίς
διηγήσεται· ὅτι αἴρεται ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἡ ζωὴ αὐτοῦ.

[Syriac text, 2 lines]

Ep55

[Syriac text, 2 lines]

Here we see the influence of P on Ep55. The latter text has altered the terms for 'sheep' and 'lamb' and some other minor adjustments for the Greek (e.g. adding [Syriac]) with the major change coming at the end of v8 where the meaning is quite different; but where MT and LXX are close enough, P is followed.

Is 55.8,9 [RF = 53,17-20 / 55,2-5] [GL = 407]

כִּי לֹא מַחְשְׁבוֹתַי מַחְשְׁבוֹתֵיכֶם וְלֹא דַרְכֵיכֶם דְּרָכָי נְאֻם יְהוָה
כִּי־גָבְהוּ שָׁמַיִם מֵאָרֶץ כֵּן גָּבְהוּ דְרָכַי מִדַּרְכֵיכֶם וּמַחְשְׁבֹתַי מִמַּחְשְׁבֹתֵיכֶם

οὐ γάρ εἰσιν αἱ βουλαί μου ὥσπερ [ὡς GL] αἱ βουλαὶ ὑμῶν οὐδὲ ὥσπερ αἱ ὁδοὶ ὑμῶν αἱ ὁδοί
μου...· ἀλλ' ὡς ἀπέχει ὁ οὐρανὸς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς οὕτως ἀπέχει ἡ ὁδός μου ἀπὸ τῶν ὁδῶν ὑμῶν
καὶ τὰ διανοήματα ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς διανοίας μου.

[Syriac text, 2 lines]

RF

[Syriac text, 2 lines]

GL

[Syriac text, 2 lines]

RF again seems to follow P where possible (especially v9), but is careful, for example, to use different terms for βουλαί (v8) on the one hand, and διανοήματα/διανοίας (v9) on the other, where MT, of course, had used the same term in both parts of the verse. GL uses the same term (cognate with the Hebrew) for βουλαί, but abbreviates somewhat by using a pronoun for the second βουλαί.

RF is closest to P in its failure to adopt the chiasm of the original. In MT the first part is patterned 'mine...your...your...mine' and then 'mine...your...mine...your' for the second part. LXX uses the chiasm for both halves. P and RF, however, flatten this rhetorical feature by using the 'mine...your' pattern throughout. GL follows its Greek Vorlage carefully in this matter, despite the abbreviation we saw regarding the second βουλαί.

Isa 60.1-2 [QUX = 753,33-6 / f.76vb]

There is little connection between P and QUX here where LXX differs so much from P. Where they do agree, however, it would appear that QUX's choice of wording is strongly influenced by P. We have seen elsewhere (Isa 42.8) how P's ܐܝܩܪܐ for כָּבוֹד does not result in a similar equivalency for δόξα in our texts (here ܫܘܒܚܐ, sometimes ܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ).

Is 61.1 [CO1 = 58,27-9 / f.104vb] [CO2* = 59,33 / f.105rb]

Although Cyril introduces his citation as being from Isaiah, his omission of the words ἰάσασθαι τοὺς συντετριμμένους τῇ καρδίᾳ imply that he is thinking of Lk 4.18, and this citation is dealt with sub loc. in the relevant place.

Is 61.10 [RF = 66,28-9 / 121,3-4]

תָּגֵל נַפְשִׁי בֵּאלֹהַי כִּי הִלְבִּישַׁנִי בִּגְדֵי־יֶשַׁע מְעִיל צְדָקָה

ἀγαλλιάσθω ἡ ψυχή μου ἐπὶ τῷ κυρίῳ ἐνέδυσεν γάρ με ἱμάτιον σωτηρίου καὶ χιτῶνα εὐφροσύνης

ܬܘܕܐ ܢܦܫܝ ܒܐܠܗܝ ܓܝܪ. ܩܕܡ ܠܒܫܢܝ ܕܐܠܒܫܢܝ ܘܦܐܪ ܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܕܚܕܘܬܐ

RF

ܬܘܕܐ ܢܦܫܝ ܒܐܠܗܝ. ܐܚ̈ܕܝ ܠܒܫܢܝ ܕܬܫܒܘܚܬܐ ܘܚܠܘ ܕܒܘܣܡܐ

On this occasion, RF owes very little to P.

Is 62.2 [RF = 61,23-4 / 95,3-4]

וְקֹרָא לָךְ שֵׁם חָדָשׁ אֲשֶׁר פִּי יְהוָה יִקֳבֶנּוּ

καλέσει σε [καλέσουσι RF[1]] τὸ ὄνομά σου, τὸ καινόν ὃ ὁ κύριος ὀνομάσει αὐτό

ܘܢܩܪܐ ܠܟ ܫܡܐ ܚܕܬܐ. ܘܗܘ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܢܫܡܗܝܘܗܝ

RF

ܘܢܩܪܐ ܠܟ ܫܡܐ ܚܕܬܐ. ܗܘ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܢܫܡܗܝܘܗܝ

While the Greek predominates in the translator's mind still, it is notable that he avoids the difficulty of the impersonal καλέσουσι (or καελέσει) by keeping MT,P's passive.

Is 62.10 [EDC = 16,10-11 / f.14va]

עִבְרוּ בַשְּׁעָרִים סַקְּלוּ מֵאָבֶן

πορεύεσθε διὰ τῶν πυλῶν μου καὶ τοὺς λίθους τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ διαρρίψατε

ܥܒܪܘ ܒܬܪ̈ܥܐ...ܘܩܠܘ ܟܐܦ̈ܐ

EDC

ܥܒܪܘ ܒܬܪ̈ܥܐ ܡܢ. ܐܘܪܚܐ ܩܠܘ ܟܐܦ̈ܐ

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[1] An unexpected reading, known otherwise only from the Latin of Tyconius' *Liber Regularum*.

EDC carefully follows its Vorlage, with the plural 'gates' as well as its suffix, and the addition of 'from the path'.

Isa 63.9 [QUX = 765,30-1 / f.85va]

LXX has a quite a different meaning to MT. QUX naturally follows its Vorlage.

Jer 4.3 [Ep40 = 23,12 / 28,25-6]

Ep40 follows P for the second clause, not for the first, perhaps so that he can use words from the same root to translate the cognate pair νεώσατε and νεώματα.

Jer 8.23/8.23/9.1 [CT = 137,22-4 / f.119ra] [QUX = 734,41-735,2 / f.63vb]

מִי־יִתֵּן רֹאשִׁי מַיִם וְעֵינִי מְקוֹר דִּמְעָה וְאֶבְכֶּה יוֹמָם וָלַיְלָה

τίς δώσει κεφαλῇ μου ὕδωρ καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖς μου πηγὴν δακρύων καὶ κλαύσομαι τὸν λαόν μου

ܡܢ ܢܬܠ ܪܝܫܝ ܡܝܐ. ܘܥܝܢܝ ܡܒܘܥܐ ܕܕܡܥܐ. ܘܐܒܟܐ ܒܐܝܡܡܐ ܘܒܠܠܝܐ.

CT

ܡܢ ܢܬܠ ܠܪܝܫܝ ܡܝܐ. ܘܥܝܢܝ ܡܒܘܥܐ ܕܕܡܥܐ. ܘܐܒܟܐ ܒܠܠܝܐ.

QUX

ܡܢ ܢܬܠ ܠܪܝܫܝ ܡܝܐ. ܘܠܥܝܢܝ ܡܒܘܥܐ ܕܕܡܥܐ. ܥܠ ܗܢܐ ܐܒܟܐ ܒܐܝܡܡܐ ܘܒܠܠܝܐ.

Although CT will not deviate from translating his text (LXX), the influence of P upon his choice of expression is quite clear – such a rendering constitutes a revision of P towards LXX rather than a completely new translation.

QUX follows almost all of P's words but with tenses of the verbs altered from perfects to imperfects, thus ܢܬܠ for ܝܗܒ and ܐܒܟܐ for ܒܟܝܬ. As MT has imperfects and Gk futures for these verbs, the change is to be expected and provides a good example of QUX's approach to the P text.

Jer 22.13,14 [MosEp = Guidi, 400]

P = MosEp

ܐܘܐ ܪܒܬܐ] ܠ ܒܝܬ ܐܘܐ

Jer 22.17 [Ep55 = 49,24-5 / 2,10]

Ep55 has his own version (P follows MT), yet he adds the words 'not straight', completing the thought of the Greek wording. This is the sort of alteration that a translator might make to Cyril, but rarely to a Biblical text as he does here.

Jer 23.16 [AT = 146,7-8 & 15-6 / 458,7-8 & 14-5] [QUX = 762,11-2 / f.82vb]

חֲזוֹן לִבָּם יְדַבֵּרוּ לֹא מִפִּי יְהוָה

[ὅρασιν] ἀπὸ καρδίας αὐτῶν λαλοῦσιν καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ στόματος κυρίου

ܚܙܘܐ ܗܘ ܕܠܒܗܘܢ ܡܡܠܠܝܢ. ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܦܘܡ ܡܪܝܐ

ܪܚܝܕܗܐ ܘܡܬܦ ܡ ܪܠܐ. ܥܘܡܠ ܡ ܡܚܠܠܗ

ܪܚܝܕܗܐ ܡܬܦܦ ܡ ܐܠܐ. ܡܚܠܠܗ ܥܘܡܠ ܡ ܒܠ

AT follows word order more carefully than QUX and uses ܒ in the developed manner as the indicator of a ptc. As Cyril has altered λαλοῦσιν to λαλοῦντες for the grammatical context.

Jer 23.23,24 [AT = 142,7-10 / 454,18-455,2]

AT has very much his own version, using his own technique to translate the Greek, and owing nothing to P.

Jer 35.8-10 [MosEp = Guidi, 399]

P = MosEp

Bar 3.3 [RF = 48,28-9 / 31,5-6]

ὅτι σὺ καθήμενος τὸν αἰῶνα καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀπολλύμενοι τὸν αἰῶνα

ܡܛܠ ܕܐܢܬ ܝܬܒ ܡܢ ܥܠܡ ܠܥܠܡ. ܘܚܢܢ ܐܒܝܕܝܢ ܠܥܠܡ

ܕܐܢܬ ܘ ܐܢܬ ܘܐܦ ܐܢܬ ܠܥܠܡ. ܘܚܢܢ ܐܒܝܕܝܢ ܠܥܠܡ.

RF appears both to add an extra clause to the front and yet also to translate καθήμενος with greater precision than P.

Bar 3.38/3.37* [RF = 54,1 / 57,6-7] [AT = 140,9 / 453,8] [QUX = 715,39-40 / f.51va-b]

μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὤφθη καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις συνανεστράφη

ܘܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܗܕܐ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܐܬܚܙܝ ܘܐܬܗܦܟ، ܘܒܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܐܬܗܦܟܗܘܢ

ܬܬܚܙܝ ܠܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ: ܘܐܬܗܦܟܘ ܥܡ ܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ.

ܐܬܚܙܝ. ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ. ܘܐܬܗܦܟܘ ܥܡ ܒܢܝܢܫܐ.

ܒܠ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܡܢ ܗܘܐ. ܘܒܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܐܬܗܦܟܘ ܗܘܐ.

The wording in these three versions appears to owe nothing to P.

Ezek 34.14 [AT = no Greek / 447,10-11]

בְּמִרְעֶה־טּוֹב וּמִרְעֶה שָׁמֵן

ἐν νομῇ ἀγαθῇ βοσκήσω...καὶ ἐν νομῇ πίονι

ܒܡܪܥܝܐ ܛܒܐ...ܘܒܡܪܥܝܐ ܫܡܝܢܐ

AT

ܪܚܡܝܢ ܪܐܒܘܠܐ ܘ ܪܐܠ ܪܐܢܒ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܡܪܝ

Despite the repetition of מְעֹרָה/ܪܐܥܝ√voμή, AT still varies his text (ܪܐܥܝ√ܪܐܒܝܢ). Although we do not have Cyril's original for this, there are no known variants for either voμή in the LXX text, and so the variation is most likely to be the translator's.

Sus 42 [AT = no Greek / 439,18-9] [CT = 136,29 / f.118vb]

ὁ εἰδὼς τὰ πάντα πρὶν γενέσεως αὐτῶν

ܗܘ ܕܝܕܥ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܢܗܘܘܢ

AT

ܗܘ ܕܠܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܝܕܥ ܩܕܡ ܕܢܗܘܐ

CT

ܗܘ ܠܟܠ ܝܕܥ ܡܕܡ ܕܢܗܘܐ
(representing ὁ πάντα γινώσκων πρὶν γενέσεως)

Dn 7.10 [CO* = 56,29 / f.103va] [GL = 411]

P = GL

Even CO's allusion has P's ܡܫܡܫܝܢ even though Cyril uses λειτουροῦσιν (for LXX ἐθεράπευον).

Dn 7.13,14 [Ep55 = 57,15-18 / 16,2-6]

From Theodotion:
ἐθεώρουν ἐν ὁράματι τῆς νυκτός, καὶ ἰδοὺ μετὰ τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενος ἦν καὶ ἕως τοῦ παλαιοῦ τῶν ἡμερῶν ἔφθασεν καὶ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ προσηνέχθη καὶ αὐτῷ ἐδόθη ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ [ἡ ἀ. κ. om. Ep55] ἡ τιμὴ καὶ ἡ βασιλεία καὶ πάντες οἱ λαοί φυλαί γλῶσσαι [πάν...γλ. : πᾶσαι αἱ φ. καὶ γ. Ep55] αὐτῷ δουλεύσουσιν

Ep 55:
ܗܘܐ ܠܝ ... ܘܚܙܐ ܕܠܠܝܐ ܚܙܘܐ ܗܘܐ
ܠܗ ܘܝܗܒ ... ܐܬܩܪܒ ܘܠܗ ... ܡܛܐ
ܢܦܠܚܘܢ

The translator makes a close rendering of his Vorlage with little interest in the text of P, which is following MT.

Index to Old Testament Citations

RF
[Ex 3.14; Ps 2.7; 74.6; 87.5; 88.7; 101.26-8; 117.27; Prov 8.11; 8.15; 9.18; Mic 5.2; Isa 7.14; 37.36; 49.9; 55.8-9; 61.10; 62.2; Bar 3.3; 3.38]

QUX
[Gen 19.26; Ex4.3; 16.8; Num 16.11; Dt 10.22; Josh 1.5; 1Sam 8.5; 8.7; 1Ki 19.10; Ps 20.6; 21.8; 21.19; 44.7-8; 49.2-3; 62.9; 80.10; 89.1; 93.22; 104.15; 135.12; Prov 9.18; Wis 1.13-4; 2.24; Am 7.14-5; Joel 3.1; Hab 3.13; Zeph 2.1-2; Isa 24.13-4; 42.8; 44.20; 60.1-2; 63.9; Jer 8.23; 23.16; Bar 3.38]

EDC
[Ps 44.7-8; Prov 8.9; Am 3.12-3; Isa 62.10]

SDI
[Ex 25.10-11; Dt 10.22; Ps 21.17; 44.7-8; 68.22; 104.15; Cant 2.1; Job 4.19; Hab 3.13; Isa 6.6-7; 7.14; 26.9; 45.1; 50.6; 53.5]

Ep39
[1Sam 2.30; Ps 95.11; Prov 22.28; Mal 3.6; Isa 7.14; 26.12; 50.6]

Ep40
[Wis 1.1; Zeph 2.1-2; Isa 32.6; 42.18; Jer 4.3]

Ep46
[Ps 100.4; Wis 1.1*; Isa 36.6]

Ep50
[Ps 10.2; Prov 9.18; 14.12; Hab 2.15; Isa 50.11; 53.5*]

Ep55
[Gen 35.25,31-2; Ex 20.3; 28.30; Dt 6.4; 18.13; 33.8-9; Ps 12.4; 17.45-6; 32.6; 49.2-3; 77.15-20; Prov 4.25; Job 12.22; Isa 1.2; 42.8; 44.6; 53.7-8; Jer 22.17; Dn 7.13-4]

Ep74
[Isa 8.8-10]

Ep101
[Isa 7.14; 9.6]

CO
[Dt 19.15; 1Ki 18.21; 19.10; Ps 32.6; 109.1; 109.4; 117.27; Prov 8.9; Zech 7.9; Isa 61.1; Dn 7.10]

CT
[1 Ki 18.21; Ps 23.10; 51.3-4; 76.4; 101.26-8; 119.2; 146.6; Prov 9.9; 18.19; 19.5; Job 4.19; Am 7.14-5; Zech 7.9; Mal 3.6; Isa 9.6; 11.1-3; 25.8; 28.15; 40.5; 42.1; 49.3-6; 53.3; Jer 9.1; Sus 42]

AT
[Gen 4.26; Ex 12.46; Lev 17.3-4; Dt 32.11; 2Sam 5.8; Ps 18.10; 72.24; 138.7-10; Wis 1.7; Zech 4.10; Isa 8.18; 40.5; Jer 23.16; 23.23-4; Bar 3.38; Ezek 34.14; Sus42]

GL

[Gen 1.9; 1.14; 2.7; 2.16-7; 3.16; Dt 17.2-6; Ps 83.5; 118.105; Prov 1.3; 2.4; Isa 43.18; 45.18; 55.8-9; Dn 7.10]

MosEp
[Eccl 7.11; 8.1; 10.1-2; Wis 1.1-3; 1.5; 1.12. 7.30; 8.1; 8.21; 9.1-2; Jer 22.13-4; 35.8-10]

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