



BRILL

INTELLECTUAL HISTORY  
OF THE ISLAMICATE WORLD 3 (2015) 15–65

**Intellectual  
History  
of the  
Islamicate  
World**  
brill.com/ihw

# Greek Literature in the Christian East: Translations into Syriac, Georgian, and Armenian

*Adam Carter McCollum\**

Hill Museum & Manuscript Library

*acmccollum101@gmail.com*

## Abstract

This article offers a non-exhaustive survey of translation activities for texts, secular and religious, from Greek into Syriac and, to a lesser extent, Georgian, Armenian, and other languages. Some remarks on theoretical and historical considerations surrounding these activities precede the survey itself. Comments on agenda and desiderata conclude the article.

## Keywords

Armenian – Bible – Eastern Christianity – Georgian – Greek – Patristics – Philosophy – Syriac – Theology – Translations from Greek

## 1 Introduction

Under the topic of “translations from Greek” the Comprehensive Bibliography on Syriac Christianity, a project based at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, lists over 1000 items.<sup>1</sup> It is a subject that has received a great deal of attention both from recent and earlier scholars. Thanks especially to the hoard of

---

\* Hill Museum & Manuscript Library, *acmccollum101@gmail.com*. I would like to thank the conference conveners for the invitation to speak on this topic. Following my presentation, I benefited from some questions and comments by other participants, especially Peter Pormann and Kevin van Bladel. Alexander Treiger offered many helpful remarks on a draft of this article.

1 <http://goo.gl/nswKHd>.

manuscripts brought to England from the Nitrian desert,<sup>2</sup> in the nineteenth century William Cureton, Paul Anton de Lagarde, J.P.N. Land, and William Wright published a number of Syriac translations from Greek out of these manuscripts.

My purpose here is to offer a selective survey of literature translated from Greek into Syriac, not only considered in isolation, but in the context of translation activity in other languages of the Christian east, including both translations that survive and those we only know about through secondary evidence. Through a comparison of what was translated into these languages, when it was translated, how, and why, we will see that the scholarly and literary traditions for these languages are hardly all of the same stripe, even with some similarities among them. At the end of the article will come a few suggestions for future work based on this survey and some of the accompanying observations.

As I have just said, this is a survey, but I do not pretend it is anywhere near comprehensive. Syriac literature, by far the richest of Aramaic dialects in terms of surviving texts, is almost impossible to conceive apart from the presence of translated Greek literature, whether we mean straightforward translations or Hellenistically influenced commentaries, treatises, etc. My aim is to give some representation across the existing genres in Syriac. For the other languages discussed, the coverage is narrower, yet a reasonably indicative, if not comprehensive, picture of how broad translation activity was in Late Antiquity and beyond, and of how similar are the results of those labors across certain language traditions, will, I hope, emerge by the end.

A few terms call for comment. In the title and elsewhere, I refer to the Christian East. It is not the immediately clearest denominator. What does “East” mean? I have in mind lands of the eastern Mediterranean, reaching far inland: south to Ethiopia and Nubia in Africa, north and east through the Caucasus to include Armenia and Georgia, and west well into Iraq and even beyond. These regions have never been exclusively Christian; needless to say, my use of the aforementioned term is not meant to imply that. The languages concerned are Arabic, Armenian, Christian Palestinian Aramaic (CPA), Coptic, Gəʿəz, Georgian, and Syriac.<sup>3</sup> Old Nubian has a very small surviving corpus, but there are translations from Greek, and at least some of the manuscript fragments include Greek text and Old Nubian translation together.<sup>4</sup> CPA, a western

2 Leroy, “Moïse de Nisibe”; Blanchard, “Moses of Nisibis”; Brock, “Without Mushê of Nisibis”.

3 CPA and Syriac are both Aramaic dialects, but the language-communities and the literature for each are distinct.

4 Browne, *Saint George*, p. 1, n. 4.

Aramaic dialect, was the language spoken by Christians of Palestine from the third or fourth century<sup>5</sup> to the ninth century, when Arabic mostly took over. It was a written language at least from the fifth to the thirteenth. The surviving documents, mainly Chalcedonian/Melkite in provenance, are generally divided into two periods. First, from the fifth to the eighth centuries there are palimpsests on parchment and inscriptions. Secondly, from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, there are paper manuscripts, with texts such as lectionaries and a Horologion, and a few inscriptions. Other than the inscriptions, which were themselves written in a Byzantine context,<sup>6</sup> the only extant text not translated from Greek is the magical text published by Baillet.<sup>7</sup> Aside from biblical texts, other genres represented by this dialect include hagiographic material,<sup>8</sup> homilies, and apocryphal texts (Acts of Andrew and Matthew, Acts of Pilate, Dormition of Mary).<sup>9</sup> There is in CPA literature itself at least one clear reference to translation, although not from Greek to CPA, but rather from Coptic to Greek. At the end of *The Forty Martyrs of the Sinai Desert*, that original translator reports that he, a certain Joannes, had found the text “written in the language of the Egyptians” (*ktībīn b-liššānā d-mešrāyyē*) and then “translated them into the Greek language” (*pašretyāthōn l-liššānā yōnāyā*), and he concludes, “I knew the two languages, Egyptian and Greek” (*d-hwēt makkar trēn liššānē, mešrāyā w-yōnāyā*).

Time does not allow a look at cases of Greek translation across all of these languages. Aside from what has already been said, I leave aside Old Nubian and CPA. I also mostly ignore Gəʿəz and Coptic; although there are translations in these languages from Greek, especially in Coptic, the translations are heavily religious in genre, rather than also including a notable amount of secular

5 This is based on the testimony of Egeria, a pilgrim to Palestine in the fourth century. See *Peregrinatio* § 47.3–4; text available in Maraval, *Égérie*.

6 Müller-Kessler, *Grammatik*, p. 7.

7 Baillet, “Un livret magique”. It is worth pointing out that due to the brief and formulaic nature of the inscriptions and to the plain strangeness of the magical text it is not likely that either can contribute much to our forming a general picture of originally composed CPA linguistic structure.

8 In addition to the texts just mentioned, fragments survive of the *Apophthegmata Patrum* and lives of Anthony, Sabas, Hadrian, Alexis the Man of God, Abraham of Qidun, and Philemon. Some of these were published in Duensing, *Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäische Texte*. See more recently Capon, “Fragment”. For new fragments of the *Apophthegmata Patrum*, see Alain Desreumaux in Mère Philothée, *Nouveaux manuscrits*, pp. 635–643.

9 The earlier texts have not long ago been re-edited in a fine set of books by Michael Sokoloff and Christa Müller-Kessler.

material, as Syriac does.<sup>10</sup> I will say little about Arabic, because other contributors in this volume are doing so. Syriac is my focus here, with some attention also given to Armenian and Georgian, because of similarities in these three languages in what was translated, how it was translated, and what we know about the translators.

Comparison with the course of translations from Indian languages into Chinese and Tibetan accompanying the spread of Buddhism would, no doubt, be fruitful, but it would take us too far afield from the present focus. We might also mention Manichaeism, texts and versions of which exist in Syriac, Middle Persian (Pahlavi), Parthian, Coptic, Sogdian, Chinese, and Old Uyghur.<sup>11</sup> Compared with the situation for Buddhist texts translated into Chinese or Tibetan, we have far less testimony for the individual translators involved in the widespread translation activity of Manichaean scholars, but the surviving manuscripts nevertheless bear witness to an intense, sweeping, and linguistically cosmopolitan endeavor. On the other side of eastern Christianity, moving into Europe, we may note the role that translations of Chrysostom into Latin by Annianus, work undertaken especially to attack Manichaeism, played in the Pelagian controversy.<sup>12</sup>

Turning back to central Asia, along the Silk Road, we see multiple places of linguistic contact, part of which is mirrored in some of the translation activity we have just mentioned. Thanks to the administrative, social, and economic presence of Sogdians among the Turks in this region, the latter found it suitable to use Sogdian in diplomacy, administration, and inscriptions.<sup>13</sup> As is well known, the members of the Church of the East in central Asia used Sogdian

---

10 As examples contrary to this paucity, we may mention for Coptic, a version of part of Plato's *Republic* that appears among the Nag Hammadi texts; see Orlandi, "La traduzione copta". Incidentally, some other Coptic texts that are not of a notably Christian character will be found among the *Lesestücke* of Wolfgang Kosack's *Lehrbuch des Koptischen*. For *Gə'əz*, we have the *The Book of the Wise Philosophers*, መጽሐፈ:ፈ:ላሽፋ:ጠቢባን: *Mäṣḥafä fäläśfa ṭäbiban*, translated from Arabic; see, Simon, "Notes bibliographiques", pp. 297–298; Pietruschka, "Relationship"; eadem, "Fäläśfa ṭäbiban". With this genre of the Ethiopic text, we may also mention some fragments of sayings of the Greek philosophers in Coptic: see Till, "Griechische Philosophen".

11 Tardieu, *Manichaeism*, pp. 31–56 (ch. 2) and 103–105 (bibliography). Note also several scattered remarks on both Buddhist and Manichaean texts in Old Turkic (Uyghur) in ch. 1 of Marcel Erdal, *A Grammar of Old Turkic*, Handbook of Oriental Studies, sect. 8, 3 (Leiden and Boston, 2004), pp. 1–36.

12 Lamberigts, "Pelagius", p. 259.

13 De la Vaissière, "Central Asia", pp. 149–150.

as a liturgical language until the fourteenth century.<sup>14</sup> All of this may serve to underscore the potential for multilingual environments, whether in the context of the cult or the city and village. This contact may have been unwritten in many cases, but where it is written, translation becomes a necessity for widest understanding and for textual verification.

In a religious context, translation may invite the spread of unorthodoxy. Al-Mas'ūdī, referring to the time of al-Mahdī (r. 775–785), gives the following example, the corrective to this unorthodoxy being philosophical responses to the translations:<sup>15</sup>

He was eager in killing the heretics and those who departed from the [true] religion, who appeared in his days and declared their beliefs while he was caliph, because books of Mani, Bardaiṣan, and Marcion, translated by 'Abdullāh ibn al-Muqaffa' and others, had spread (they were translated from Persian and Pahlavi into Arabic) and due to the compositions of Ibn Abī al-'Arğā', Ḥammād 'Ağrad, Yaḥyá ibn Ziyād, and Muṭ'ī' ibn Iyās at that time in support of the Manichaeen, Daiṣanite, and Marcionite sects. In this, dualist heresy increased and their opinions appeared among the populace. Al-Mahdī was the first to command controversialist scholars from the *mutakallimūn* to compose books against the heretics from the deviant [groups] that we have mentioned and some others. They set up proofs against the obstinate, eliminated these kind of heretics, and clarified the truth shine to the skeptics.<sup>16</sup>

Translations, then, may give rise to opposing responses, but also to commentaries and prefaces, which may themselves bolster the importance of philosophy in more than one area of life and scholarship. The Greek-Syriac translator Sergius of Reshaina was also active as a commentator and adapter, not only a translator. At the end of his still unedited Preface or Introduction to the *Cate-*

14 De la Vaissière, p. 151.

15 *Murūğ al-dahab*, ch. 126. Arabic text (given in the next note) and French translation in Barbier de Meynard, *Maçoudi*, pp. 292–293. This quote is partially cited by Hoyland, "Early Islam", pp. 1068–1069, for philosophy's role in retaining religious orthodoxy. The translation here is my own.

16 وامعن في قتل الملحدين والذاهبين عن الدين لظهورهم في ايامه واعلانهم باعتقادهم في خلافته لما انتشر من كتب ماني وابن ديسان ومريقيون مما نقله عبد الله بن المتفّع وغيره وترجمت من الفارسية والفهلوية الى العربية وما صتفه في ذلك الوقت ابن ابي العرجاء وحماد مجرد ويحيى بن زياد ومطيع بن اياس تأييداً لمذاهب المانية والديصانية والمرقبونية فكثُر بذلك الزنادقة وظهرت آراؤهم في الناس وكان المهدي أوّل من امر الجدلّيين من اهل البحث من المتكلمين بتصنيف الكتب على الملحدين ممن ذكرنا من الجاحدين وغيرهم فاقاموا البراهين على المعاندين وازالوا شبه الملحدين فاوضحوا الحق للشاكين

gories, he tells his primary reader, Theodore of Karḥ Ğuddān, that apart from Aristotle's logical writings,

... neither can the meaning of writings on medicine be grasped, nor can the opinions of the philosophers be known, nor indeed the true sense of the divine Scriptures in which the hope of our salvation is revealed—unless a person receive divine power as a result of the exalted nature of his way of life, with the result that he has no need of human training. As far as human power is concerned, however, there can be no other course or path to all the areas of knowledge except by way of training in logic.<sup>17</sup>

Based on the usage of and reference to logic in a number of Syriac (and Greek) authors, Daniel King argues for a “non-polemical, pedagogical context for Greek logic.”<sup>18</sup> Logic has its use in the philosophical-theological spectrum, however close or distant the two might be deemed, but it is not a weapon in the battles over Christ's nature.<sup>19</sup>

Just as today we may consider all the translations available to us when we study a text, so in the period under discussion scholars might do, if they had facility in those languages. Even though it is not about translation, but simply about source-reading, it is worth pointing to Barhebraeus' remark in the preface of his *Chronography* that he studied and used sources in Syriac, Arabic, and Persian available at the library of Maraḡa in Azerbaijan.<sup>20</sup> We know from Ḥunayn's *Risāla*<sup>21</sup> how Greek, Syriac, and Arabic might come together before a translator, and similarly from the Letters of Timothy I. (Note, too, the juncture of Aramaic, Hebrew, and Latin in Jerome's translation of Tobit, mentioned again below.) From the colophons of translators we sometimes find direct reference to the translator at work. Some of the most numerous and illustrative come from Georgian.

17 Brock, *Brief Outline*, p. 204.

18 “Why were the Syrians”, p. 65.

19 As King says elsewhere, “To Sergius, as to almost all those who studied Aristotle in the late antique Alexandrian tradition (whether Greek or Syriac), the study of logic was an instrument (an *Organon*) for the study of philosophy proper, *not* an instrument for use in Christological wars.” (*Earliest Translation*, pp. 6–7). From a more general perspective, this may be stating the case too strongly: for John of Damascus, for example, logic and the definitions of terms may serve Christological argumentation.

20 For the Syriac, see Bedjan, *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon*, p. 2; English translation in Budge, *Chronography*, p. 2.

21 Bergsträsser, *Hunain ibn Ishaq*.

From Tbilisi, s-384 (11th/12th cent.):

Through his intercession, and the prayers of our monks, Saba and Anton, this too is now translated anew from the Greek metaphor by the strong desire and fervent wish of priest Gabriel Step'ane Čuleveli, who urged beyond measure the animal-like mind of the most insignificant and worst of all translators, me, Ep'rem, and made me audacious enough to dare and translate among other things this.<sup>22</sup>

And in the same manuscript:

Be it known that this Life of Theoktistos was translated from Greek into Georgian by Step'ane Sananoisdze. May his name be eternally commemorated and blessed.<sup>23</sup>

Tbilisi, I-84 (dated 1042–1044):

Pray, you Christ-loving people, for humble David, who translated this (book) from Greek into Georgian. Forgive (me) for my ignorant writing, but what I found in the original, I collated carefully and wrote it down.<sup>24</sup>

Sin. N.12:

Saintly fathers, who will be deemed worthy to use this holy Evangelion after us, pray, for the love of God, and forgive me the faults. I have copied

22 Djobadze, *Materials*, p. 23. რომლისა მეოხებითა და ლოცვითა ბერთი ჩუენთაითა საბადს და ანტონისითა. აწცა ითარგმნა ესე ახლად ბერძულისაგან მეტაფორასისა. ყოვლად წადიერებითა და მჭურვალეზ სურვილითა გაბრიელ სტეფანეს ხუცისა ჭულეველისაითა: რომელმან უმებეს ზომისა აიძულა პირუტყუთ სახე ესე გონებად ჩემი ყოვლად მცირისა და რეცა უნარჩვევისა რადსმე თარგმანთადასა ეგრემისი: და კადნიერ მყო სხუათავე თანა ამისდაცე თარგმნად და კადრებად:

23 Ibid., p. 24. საცნაურ იყავნ. რომელ ცხორებად ესე ამის წმიდისა თეოქტისტესი სტეფანეს სანანოს ძესა უთარგმნია ბერძულისაგან ქართულად. საუკუნომცა არს საჯსენებელი და კურთხევაი მისი.

24 Ibid., p. 31. ლოცვა ყავთ: ქრისტეს მოყუარენო ერნო: გლახაკისა დავიდის თვს: რომელმან: ესე თარგმანა ქართულსა: ენასა ბერძულისაგან: უცბად წერილათუს შენდობა ყავთ: მაგრა რად დედასა მიპოვნია: იგი დამიწერია და შეგუწამებია კარგად

it from the new translation and being very true, it can be used for an original.<sup>25</sup>

Sin. N.19:

I, the great sinner Iovane, have been granted the grace to write this holy book, *Iadgari*, the new Oktoechos, which has recently been translated into our language on Cyprus and has come from there, on this inferior and badly sewn parchment, to serve as an original. I, the great sinner, have done this with my own hand in the days of my vile old age at holy Sinai (*Sina çmida*).<sup>26</sup>

These translation remarks appear in the colophons of other languages, too. In Garšūnī manuscripts, considering the target language, we find both the expressions “into Arabic” and, more specifically, “into Garšūnī.”<sup>27</sup> From Gəʿəz, for example,

- BL Orient. 692, f. 96<sup>r</sup>, “... ‘Abd Al-Masīḥ translated it from Arabic to Gəʿəz ...”<sup>28</sup>
- BL Orient. 686, f. 27<sup>r</sup>, “This book was translated from Coptic to Gəʿəz.”<sup>29</sup>

We are fortunate to have, in his own words, some statements by the famous translator Sergius of Reshaina (d. 536) about translation and the praxis of it. The first, unfortunately not yet published in Syriac, comes from his Introduction to Aristotle’s *Categories* (BL Add. 14658). The passage gives a picture of Sergius at work translating Galen. Brock has translated the text and his version of

25 Aleksidze, et al. *Catalogue*, pp. 254–256, 383–384. წმიდანო მამანო, ვინ ღირს იკმნეთ შემდგომად ჩუენსა კმარებად წმიდასა ამას სახარებასა, ლოცვა ყავთ ღმრთისა სიყუარულისათუს და რომელი დამეკლოს, შემინდევით. ახალ თარგმნილისაგან დაგვწერია და დედად დიად მართალ არს.

26 Ibid., pp. 265, 392. მე, ფრიად ცოდვილსა იოვანეს და დავნხრიკე წმიდაი ესე წიგნი იადგარი—მსგებსი ახალი, რომელი ახლად გამოვიდა ჩუენდა ენად კჳპრიით, ამას უნდოსა და შებღარჯულსა ეტრატსა ზედა სადედედ ჳელითა ფრიად ცოდვილისაითა დღეთა ოდენ ბოროტად მოხუცებულ[ობისა] ჩემისათა სინაწმიდას.

27 McCollum, “Garšūnī As It Is”, pp. 224–227

28 **ዘተርገው፡አም ዐረብ፡ለግዕዝ፡ዕብደል፡መሲኦ፡**. See William Wright, *Ethiopic Manuscripts*, p. 165.

29 **ተተርገው፡ዝግብ፡መጽሐፍ፡አም ልሳነ፡ቅብሎ፡ዝግዕዝ፡** Ibid., p. 166.



the pertinent sentence runs as follows: “When we were translating certain works of the doctor Galen from Greek into Syriac, I used to translate, while you would write it down for me, correcting the Syriac wording, in accordance with the requirements of the idiom of this language.”<sup>30</sup> An obvious question: Why was correction necessary for Sergius’ Syriac?<sup>31</sup> Hugonnard-Roche answers the question with the suggestion that two parts of the translation process are in view here, an oral part closely aligned with the Greek, and an improved written part.<sup>32</sup> If this reconstructed picture of Sergius translating is on the mark, then we might expect to see in his translated products some elements that are akin to the freer earlier Syriac translations, as well as some elements that will match later seventh century translation activity, that is, a mixture of the two well-known methods of Greek-Syriac translation.

The other passage where Sergius speaks about translation comes from his work *On the Spiritual Life* (§§ 121–122),<sup>33</sup> a preface to the Ps.-Dionysian Corpus, in a place where he refers to his translation of that work.

ܣܠܡ ܕܢܡ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ  
 ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ  
 ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ  
 ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ  
 ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ  
 ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ ܘܢܝܢܐ

We ask for help through your prayers, that some small inspiration of knowledge might rest on us too, in order for us, as much as possible, to be functionaries for the translation of the book, and for the things said by

30 Brock, *Brief Outline*, p. 202. This description in some ways brings to mind Jerome’s quick work of bringing Tobit into Latin, which he describes in a letter to Bishops Chromatius and Heliodorus: “quia vicina est Chaldaeorum lingua sermoni hebraico, utriusque linguae peritissimum loquacem repperiens, unius diei laborem arripui et quicquid ille mihi hebraicis verbis expressit, haec ego accito notario sermonibus latinis exposui.” (The letter may be conveniently found in the *Biblia Sacra iuxta Latinam Vulgatam Versionem* as the preface to Tobit.)

31 More pointedly, “Est-ce à dire que le style de Sergius était defectueux, ou que sa langue était incorrecte?” (Hugonnard-Roche, “Note”, p. 131.)

32 “Il semble plus probable que l’allusion de Sergius se rapporte à un procédé de traduction à deux, l’un traduisant au fil du grec, l’autre améliorant le style de la version orale en la mettant par écrit.” (Ibid., p. 132.)

33 Text and French translation in P. Sherwood, “Mimro de Serge de Rešayna sur la vie spirituelle,” *L’Orient Syrien* 5 (1960): 433–457; 6 (1961): 95–115, 121–156.

us to be well led toward the straight path of the value of the meanings, lest a single thought of this godly man [i.e. Dionysius] lie concealed because of our ignorance from those who come across the book.

ܘܘܝܘܪܝܢ ܕܢܘܢܝܫܝܘܨ ܕܐܘܪܝܢܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܠܥܘܡܢܐ ܕܢܘܢܝܫܝܘܨ  
 ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ  
 ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ  
 ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ  
 ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ  
 ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ  
 ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ  
 ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ ܕܘܫܘܒܝܢ

For this reason we also ask that we be esteemed worthy to offer an apology concerning the things said, that we not be grudgingly accused, if there is anything deficient in the meanings or different in the words of the language, but rather, that we be mercifully corrected. As anyone who comes across the book thinking this is not the way, our weakness will have fallen short of the task, as it is the supremacy of the man's doctrines, and the marvelous character of his language, which is higher than regular disputation, surpassing the knowledge of many.

We see here literary topoi common to such prefaces and epilogues, but we may, nevertheless, pick out a few observations on Sergius' opinions about translation. First is his concern for the readers, "those who come across the book."<sup>34</sup> His translation is not a private project or rhetorical exercise, but is meant to offer something otherwise inaccessible to Syriac readers. The task of the translator is to uncover "the value of the meanings" for his prospective readers and the translator's success in this endeavor is dependent upon his inspired ability, his weakness and ignorance being overcome by divine aid. In his apologia, "if there is anything deficient in the meanings or different in the words of the language," he acknowledges that someone who might compare the Greek and Syriac will perhaps notice differences disturbing enough to warrant criticism and correction, which Sergius claims he is willing to receive. The deficiency and difference here referred to are probably other than those assumed and expected in cross-linguistic transfer; they are rather the deficiency and difference that

34 This Syriac expression may be inspired by the Greek expression ἐντυγχάνειν βιβλίῳ (LSJ s.v. 111, to which may be added Philo, *De vita Mos.* 2.11.1, *De virt.* 17.2; and Galen, *De dignoscendis pulsibus*, Kühn, *Galen's Opera*, vol. 8, p. 869.5).

might lead the reader astray from what the original text means. Finally, Sergius is sensitive to the acknowledged difficulty of the text. The Dionysian Corpus is more abstruse than some other texts he translated, such as the Ps.-Aristotelian *De Mundo*. The greater difficulty of the Dionysian Corpus, in fact, together with the possibility of heretical interpretation, is probably the cause of Sergius' translation method for this text, which differs from that of the *De Mundo* in being closer to the literalist ideal.<sup>35</sup>

Timothy I (Letter 43, § 8) asks his correspondent to look for a copy of Phokas' translation of Dionysius the Areopagite.<sup>36</sup> In the preface to his version of the Corpus, Phokas also makes some remarks about Greek to Syriac translation and his relationship to Sergius' prior activity. Wright<sup>37</sup> and Wiessner<sup>38</sup> each partially give the text; they both make some omissions, although it is not exactly clear how much. Due to its relevance for translation and re-translation from Greek and also for the transmission, influence, and adaptation of Greek writings more generally, here is the text as fully as I can give it. As far as I know, no one has yet translated it into English, and the translation given here is merely provisional:<sup>39</sup>

... These things I said in brief, when I looked at this writing before me, that of the holy Dionysius of Areos Pagos, which was translated a long time ago from Greek into the language of the Syrians by the venerable and skilled Sergius, priest and *archiatros*, in that all of us Syrians who have been reading it have well marveled and praised [it] due to the exaltation of its meanings as well as its divine quality, something truly worthy of marveling!

It being the case now, as I have said, that through investigation and meditations in the holy books new light springs daily from the providence of God for those who contemplate them, this holy book mentioned above came into my poor hands, written in Greek letters, and including scholia,

35 István Perczel thus describes Sergius' version of Dionysius: "In fact, sometimes Sergius' text closely follows the Greek, or even mirror-translates it in structures which are impossible in Syriac; quite frequently it translates one term or clause with two synonymous words or clauses; in other cases it slightly differs from the Greek text, so that it permits a correction of some slight corruptions in the Greek" ("Sergius", p. 83). Sergius' translations of the Dionysian Corpus and of the *De Mundo* both have a number of doublet translations.

36 Brock, "Two Letters", pp. 237, 244, with reference to other letters of Timothy.

37 Wright, *Syriac Manuscripts*, 494, for BL Add. 12151.

38 Wiessner, "Handschriftenüberlieferung", pp. 198–199, n. 12.

39 For a French translation, see Van Esbroeck, "La triple préface".

that is, wondrous explanations of the words whose meaning was difficult, as I have said; to say [further], [it was] made<sup>40</sup> by an orthodox man worthy of good remembrance, a scholiast by trade, John by name, from the city of Bayšān [Scythopolis]. It not being sufficient that one [merely] long ardently to participate according to his ability in a common benefit like this, I gave great attention to translating the scholia from Greek into Syriac together with the things [i.e. the text] I found in the prior translation [*puššāqā*] of Sergius, because they were not translated with accuracy [*hattūtūtā*], having put my trust in the God who says, “The one who seeks finds; the one who asks receives; and for the one who knocks, it is opened.”<sup>41</sup>

This is not as if to boast, seeing that like these [translators] I take pains, or to accuse the learning of that man—certainly not!<sup>42</sup>—but rather that I might clearly show

1. that either, as he [the translator] settles into the Syriac language, and in everything he tries to indicate the things that are said, he makes common its speech in every place, so that as from the beginning of hearing the book and, so to speak, from the first meeting, the mind of the reader is not dimmed by the difficulty and intricacies of the language, with the result that the reading of them would not be found a benefit;
2. or perhaps, as it seems to me, that, because [it has] not [been done] fully up to now, many things have also been debated about this art of translation from Greek in this time, to the point that, as time was advancing, and in its successions bringing [i.e. providing] other industrious men—for example the holy and famous Athanasios, Patriarch of Antioch, and Jacob, Bishop of Edessa—men who by their ability have cleared this path as much as possible and have become in a way uniters of the two languages and produced out of their [the languages’] contact profitable fruits, together with others not mentioned, who [were] before them, the art is then purified and explained, and they furnish by their effort, from the accuracy of the Greek, renderings the Syrians are not used to.

40 Reading *‘bīdīn* for *‘ābdīn*.

41 See Mt 7:8, but this is not an exact quote, as the parts are out of order.

42 Cf. Lk 20:16, with similar wording for μὴ γένοιτο (rendered otherwise in the Pauline epistles).

So Phokas, having noted the sublimity of the text and the praise it had received from its readers, as well as the apparent deficiencies in Sergius' earlier translation, turns to his own intention to translate. Sergius' work, he says, was indeed deficient, but Phokas' criticism is not mean-spirited: possible excuses for that deficiency, Phokas says, might be Sergius' over-eagerness in simplifying the language of the Ps.-Dionysian text, or that the art of translation had not yet fully advanced by Sergius' time.

The letters of Church of the East Catholicos Timothy I (727/8–823), who was just mentioned above, supply us with many everyday references in the life of a scholar enquiring about Greek books, translation, languages, and libraries, among other things:<sup>43</sup>

- 49/78 books of Gregory of Nyssa, Eusebius
- 80/120 consulting books
- 82/123–124, 84/126 Gregory Nazianzen
- 84–85/127 Syriac, studying languages, etc.
- 93/138–139 books sent
- 104/153–154 scribes, copying, books
- 183–184/265 copies, versions

In two letters in particular (43 and 48), studied and translated into English by Brock, Timothy bears witness to some work related to translation. In letter 43 (§2), he reports a corporate translation between himself and a teacher named Abū Nūḥ.<sup>44</sup> Later (§5), he mentions a Syriac version of something of Gregory Nazianzen translated by Pawla (on Cyprus) and revised by Athanasius.<sup>45</sup> He tells his correspondent (§7) that he wishes to see Nemesius' work "on the structure of man," (CPG II 3550) which has the incipit "Man is excellently constructed as a rational soul and body ..." <sup>46</sup> In the other letter (48), in a kind

43 Syriac text and Latin translation in Braun, *Timothei patriarchae I epistulae*. In the references that follow, the numbers refer to pages of Braun's Latin translation/Syriac.

44 Brock, "Two Letters", pp. 235–236; on the latter individual, see p. 241.

45 *Ibid.*, p. 237.

46 *Ibid.*, p. 237. On Nemesius in Syriac, particularly thanks to John of Dara's *On the Soul*, see Zonta, "Nemesiana Syriaca", for the passage in Timothy's letter, esp. pp. 225–226. This work by Nemesius was translated into Georgian, Armenian, and Arabic. For the Georgian version, see Gorgadze, *Nemesios*. text available online at <http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etca/cauc/ageo/gelati/nememes/nemem.htm>, a product of the Gelati school (Iovane Petric'i). For Armenian, see Thomson, *Bibliography*, p. 40.

of corporate, or at least consulting, translation activity, Timothy (§ 8) reports having checked with some Greeks, among them the Patriarch of the Melkites, Job the Chalcedonian, the meaning of a difficult Greek word in Aristotle's *Topics*, which he was translating from Syriac into Arabic.<sup>47</sup>

I will say more about Georgian later, but for now, from the following century, some remarks from a particular Georgian translator will not be out of place in this discussion of translator's testimonies. From the early tenth century, we have these words from a translator named Dač'i (დაჭი), who knew Armenian, but not Greek:

For a long time I have been seeking the *Commentary on the Psalms* by Epiphanius of Cyprus,<sup>48</sup> but it does not appear to exist in Georgian. True, I found it in Greek, but this turned out to be an unattainable source for me, because I never managed to learn Greek. Afterward the work fell into my hands in Armenian, completely like the Greek in purpose and scope, and I felt envy of the Armenians. I knew Armenian and was able to translate it, but I was afraid: the fact is that if a book has already been translated once, to translate it again is a great sin, for a second translation is an offensive act against the first translation.<sup>49</sup>

Here, then, the motive for translation is need of a particular text by a single individual who then turns it into his own language, presumably for the potential benefit of others. This expands the text's exposure in a language known in a particular area. Dač'i acknowledges the priority of the Greek, but not knowing Greek, he settles for the Armenian translation. His attitude toward new translations is curious, since he was not making another Armenian translation, but rather a Georgian translation, his being the first in that language. It may be that he is simply objecting to the procedure of translation from an intermediary rather than from the original. Later, other Georgian scholars would have fewer objections to making new translations or revising old ones, even in the

47 Brock, "Two Letters", p. 239, and on the Melkites as authorities for Greek, p. 246; for the patriarch mentioned by name in Letter 43, see p. 242.

48 Dač'i actually means Theodoret of Cyrus. The work is preserved in the tenth-century manuscript S-1141. The text is published by Abuladze, *Kartuli da somxuri*; text available at TITUS at <http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/cauc/ageo/satberd/satbe.htm>.

49 Quoted (only in English, no Georgian) in Rayfield, *Literature of Georgia*, p. 24. The Georgian text of the quote will be found at the beginning of Abuladze's edition (see previous note).

same language. Indeed, the very text that Dač'i refers to here would be translated again into Georgian, this time from Greek, by Ep'rem Mcire (ms. Tbilisi Q-37, eleventh century), and yet another translation (anonymous) is found in Tbilisi K-29, thirteenth century.<sup>50</sup>

According to Sebastian Brock, who has discussed the issue of Greek-Syriac translation extensively, "... our best evidence for plotting the history of Syriac translation technique comes from biblical and patristic translations, but enough survives of various books of Aristotle's *Organon* to show that the same techniques that happened to be in fashion at a particular time were applied to secular writings as well as to biblical and patristic ones."<sup>51</sup> Brock arrays Syriac translation work along four main periods,<sup>52</sup> but as in all such chronologies, the periods segue into one another, rather than simply stopping and starting.

1. 4th/5th century: often very free translations, good Syriac style all around
2. 6th century: a transitional period from freer to mirroring the Greek
3. 7th century: "the peak of the literal ideal"
4. late 8th/9th century: less literal, in response to period 3

It must be stressed that this scheme highlights the main trends, and that there are translations that diverge from the pattern presented here. The Syriac version of Titus of Bostra's *Contra Manichaeos*, for example, was made very early, but tends toward the literal.<sup>53</sup> Commenting on the Syriac version of Basil's *On the Beginning of Proverbs* (CPG 2856), Brock points out several features that indicate a sixth/seventh-century date of translation:<sup>54</sup>

- 
- 50 All of these translations are incomplete. See further Victoria Jugeli, *The Blessed Theodoret of Cyrus: the life, activities, creed, writings and their Georgian translations* (in Georgian), vol. 1 (Tbilisi, 2008). A summary of the work is available in English at <http://farig.org/images/stories/pdfs/research-theodoret.pdf>.
- 51 "Syriac Background", pp. 142–143. Further on the history of Syriac translation from Greek, see Baumstark, *Geschichte*, pp. 75–95, 102–104, 106–107, 159–173, 251–252, 256–257, 261–268; Brock, "Greek into Syriac"; Brock, "Towards a History"; King, *Syriac Versions*, pp. 11–25.
- 52 "Syriac Background," 145.
- 53 In general one finds in this translation "un souci évident de littéralisme chez le traducteur" (Poirier and Sensal, "Du grec au syriaque", pp. 315). In conclusion: "Si nous voulions caractériser brièvement son entreprise, nous dirions qu'elle se situe quelque part entre les traductions sensus de sensu et celles verbum de verbo, plus proche, toutefois, des dernières que des premières" (*Ibid.*, pp. 317–318).
- 54 Brock, *Catalogue*, pp. 118–119. See also Brock, "Aspects", for a more general discussion of the techniques used by the literalist translators, and more succinctly Brock, "Syriac Background," p. 150.

1. close correspondence between Greek and Syriac grammatical categories
2. representation of the particle μέν as a loanword in Syriac
3. Syriac calques of alpha-privative nouns in Greek
4. adjectival forms absent from fifth-century Syriac
5. frequent use of Syriac adverbs in -āʾit to correspond to Greek adverbs in -ōs
6. neologisms very sensitive to the Greek words being translated

From the late sixth century on, literalist translation of some kind became exceedingly the norm not only in Syriac, but also in Latin and Armenian,<sup>55</sup> and then later in Georgian (see below). In Brock's words, "To borrow an analogy from another field of academic activity, the aim of the literalist translators was to produce as it were a diplomatic edition of his text and not a critical one."<sup>56</sup>

This dichotomy of free vs. literal, even with allowances for a mixture of characteristics from each in a single translation or in the work of a single translator, requires some comment. A rigidly literal translation can only exist when the source and target languages share many of the same kinds of parts of speech. It is difficult to imagine what a "literal" translation from, say, Greek to Chinese, or Sumerian to Syriac would look like. While the languages of the Christian east in view here belong to different families—Afroasiatic, Indo-European, and Kartvelian—they are not very far removed from Greek in terms of this criterion of parts of speech: they share verb systems with at least some similar characteristics, prepositional or postpositional phrases, nominal and pronominal systems, adverbs, etc. This is not to disregard the definite differences between various linguistic categories in these languages, but in comparison with what the languages could have, such as Chinese or some of the indigenous languages of the Americas, they are relatively alike.

In addition, contrary to the appeal of this typology for its simplicity, the real situation as evidenced by surviving translations is, as already hinted at, more complex: it is varying and complex enough that we would do well to consider avoiding the repetition of so simple a presentation as early free translations vs. later literal translations. These descriptors, free and literal, in every case require specification and exemplification; that is, what do we mean by free and literal, and what does it look like in surviving translations? In the case of

---

55 For the literature see Brock, "Aspects," p. 80, n. 25. Heinrich Marti states the following with reference to the Itala versions of the Latin Bible, but the judgement applies equally well to Syriac translations: "Denn sklavische Wörtlichkeit ist durchaus nicht immer ein Zeichen hohen Alters" (*Übersetzer*, p. 19).

56 Brock, "Aspects," p. 79.



Graeco-Arabic translations, an excerpt from al-Şafadī's (1297–1363)<sup>57</sup> *al-Ġayt al-musaġġam*,<sup>58</sup> where he is discussing translations from Greek into Arabic, has garnered attention since Rosenthal translated it into German.<sup>59</sup> The basic typology given here is that of an early word-for-word (*kalima*) focus by Greek-to-Arabic translators followed by a later sentence-for-sentence (*ġumla*) focus, with Yuḥannā ibn al-Biṭrīq and Ibn Nā'ima al-Ĥimṣī being the named practitioners of the first approach, Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq and al-Ġauharī those of the second.<sup>60</sup> This simplistic analysis has rightly been rejected in recent years in favor of one that more realistically reflects the complicated linguistic, textual, genre-specific, and historical factors that count as evidence for each translated text.<sup>61</sup> The simplicity of a typology like al-Şafadī's, whether for Graeco-Arabic translations or others, whether with a different implied progression of technique or not, may be appealing for that very simplicity, but individual careful and thorough analysis of surviving translations alongside originals and, where appropriate, intermediaries and, in the case of revisions, prior translations, will reveal a less simplistic actuality. Translations into Syriac and into Arabic have been most carefully studied, but such text-by-text analysis remains largely to be done for translations in the languages we have mentioned. Until that work is much further advanced, the promulgation of any kind of description of translation technique in the form of a temporally progressing dichotomy has little value.

Among the factors that contributed to the change between the fifth and seventh centuries in the approach to translating into Syriac are the rise of Greek as a prestige language among Syriac writers and readers, specialists becoming the intended readership, and “the general hellenization of culture in the Syriac area.”<sup>62</sup> The shift in Greek-Syriac translation technique in the late sixth century, a shift also known for Armenian and Georgian translations at different times, serves as an indicator for the degree of Syriac culture's assimilation of Greek learning.<sup>63</sup> So we find an acceleration in Greek influence that culminates in the

57 See Rosenthal, “al-Şafadī”.

58 Vol. 1, p. 46.12–25. The work is a commentary on the *Lāmiyyat al-aġam* of al-Ṭuġrā'ī (1061–1120/1).

59 It appears in English in Rosenthal, *Classical Heritage*, pp. 17–18.

60 Word-for-word and thought-for-thought approaches to translation are, of course, also named much earlier by Jerome in his famous *Ep.* 57 to Pammachius.

61 See especially, Gutas, *Greek Thought*, pp. 142–150, and more recently, Pormann, “Development”, esp. pp. 145–146, 155–157.

62 Brock “Syriac Background”, p. 143; cf. Brock, “Aspects”, p. 75.

63 Brock, “From Antagonism to Assimilation”, p. 18. Note also the increased rate of influx of

seventh century, when Sahdona can use *ō tmīhā*, an alien expression in Syriac and an obvious calque of *ō thaumásie* and George, bishop of the Arabs, can employ the epistolary greeting *l-meḥdā* (instead of *šlām*) for *khairein*,<sup>64</sup> as in the astronomical letters published by Ryssel.<sup>65</sup>

Traditionally, the so-called School of the Persians in Edessa of the fifth century has held a place of prominence for early Syriac Aristotelian studies and translation activity.<sup>66</sup> This traditional connection of Syriac Aristotelian studies to bishop Hiba and the fifth-century, however, has been found inaccurate. Works of Theodore of Mopsuestia were translated there under his leadership in the fifth century, but activity with Aristotle did not come until the sixth century, as known, for example, from the fact that the scholar Proba follows the method of commenting that comes from the sixth-century Alexandrian scholar Olympiodorus, who was perhaps even Proba's teacher. With more certainty we can point to the Monastery of Qennešrē, located on the shore of the Euphrates, as a center of Greek philosophical study and translation activity in Syriac.<sup>67</sup> With this monastery, founded by the bilingual John bar Aphthonia, are associated Severos Sebokht, Athanasios of Balad, Jacob of Edessa, George, bishop of the Arabs, Pawlā of Edessa, Thomas of Harkel, and Paul of Tellā.<sup>68</sup> Michael the Syrian (*Chron.* 12.6) reports that the monastery was destroyed in 815, and presumably all or most of the library went with it. Two other monasteries that seem to have had a notable Greek collection is that of Tell 'Ada, where Jacob of Edessa came to teach but then left due to some monastic opposition to Hellenic literature, and the monastery of Mar Mattai, about whose library Timotheos I made enquiries in the early ninth century.<sup>69</sup>

On the question of the availability of Greek texts to Syriac scholars, evidence is piecemeal, but significant.<sup>70</sup> At a relatively late period at the Qartmin Monastery (later called the Mor Gabriel Monastery), the *Iliad* and Euclid's *Elements*, "neither of them texts widely read or used by Syriac writers,"<sup>71</sup> were

---

Greek words into the Syriac lexicon. Brock delineates three periods in this assimilatory process: early (Ephrem and Aphrahat), transition (Philoxenus of Mabbug, Sergius), and full assimilation (seventh and eighth centuries). See now Butts, "Greek Loanwords".

64 Brock, "From Antagonism to Assimilation", p. 29.

65 "Die astronomischen Briefe", p. 3.

66 King, *Earliest Syriac Translation*, p. 3; less reliably, see Vööbus, *School of Nisibis*, p. 21.

67 King, *Earliest Syriac Translation*, p. 10.

68 See further Brock, "Syriac Intermediary", p. 299.

69 Brock, "Syriac Intermediary," pp. 299–300.

70 See further Watt, "Al-Fārābī", pp. 758–762; King, *Earliest Syriac Translation*, p. 12.

71 King, *Earliest Syriac Translation*, p. 13.

available.<sup>72</sup> The manuscripts referred to are each palimpsests, both copied over at the Qartmin monastery in the ninth century:

- BL Add. 17210: undertext is the *Iliad*, fifth-century hand
- BL Add. 17211 undertext is the *Elements*, seventh/eighth-century hand

So, even though the originals were copied over, we know that these two Greek manuscripts were available in the ninth century at this monastery.

## 2 Syriac Translations from Greek

With an apology for the list-like quality of much of what follows, I would now like to set forth what is known about a few particular texts in Syriac that were translated from Greek. Here we have texts

1. Where the Greek text (or a recension thereof) is lost,
2. Where there is more than one Syriac version, or
3. Where, in addition to Syriac, there are versions in other languages of the Christian east.

Reasons for inclusion here include the fact that there may be recently published scholarship on these, or that the texts may be of interest for some other reason, especially one of the three just mentioned.

Before continuing, it is worth pointing out that we know about some translations only from a secondary mention of them, rather than having the text itself surviving. Timothy I's references to some translation work were mentioned above, and writing in Arabic, Ḥunayn (*Risāla*), Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*),<sup>73</sup> Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (*Uyūn al-anbā'*),<sup>74</sup> and others refer to Syriac translators and translations, Ḥunayn being the most directly knowledgeable about this literature and activity; he is himself mentioned numerous times and seen as a kind of hero of translation from Greek and Syriac by other writers working in Arabic. A few examples on Syriac from the *Fihrist* will suffice. Early on in the work, Ibn al-Nadīm discusses several scripts for different languages, including Syriac, with reference to the three different kinds and a comparison to Arabic script-types.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>72</sup> Further, see Brock, "Syriac Intermediary," p. 301.

<sup>73</sup> Flügel, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*.

<sup>74</sup> Müller, *Uyūn al-anbā'*. See esp. ch. 9.

<sup>75</sup> Flügel, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, vol. 1, p. 12.4–14.

Much later,<sup>76</sup> he mentions the books (along with commentaries to them by various authors) that Ḥunayn and others translated into Syriac or Arabic, Syriac in some cases being an intermediary for Arabic versions. Some books are specifically said to have been translated into Arabic, but not into Syriac, such as Alexander of Aphrodisias' commentary on the *Meteorologica*.<sup>77</sup> Of the *De anima*, Ibn al-Nadīm says, "Olympiodorus has a commentary in Syriac; I read it in the writing of Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī. An excellent commentary in Syriac exists that is ascribed to Simplicius, which he made for Athāwālīs [or Theoboulus?], and it also exists in Arabic."<sup>78</sup> Of Aristotle's three works on animals, which Ibn al-Nadīm treats together, he notes that, in addition to a translation by Ibn al-Biṭrīq, "there is in Syriac an old translation that is better than the Arabic version."<sup>79</sup> From Yaḥyā ibn 'Adī, Ibn al-Nadīm cites the existence of Syriac translations of some treatises by Proclus.<sup>80</sup> Among other works that have survived in translation (whether Arabic or Syriac is not always clear), he names Plutarch's *De ira cohibenda*, Nicolaus of Damascus' *Compendium of Aristotelian Philosophy*, and Gregory of Nyssa's *On the Creation of Man* (CPG 3154).<sup>81</sup>

### 2.1 Ecclesiastical Literature

For ecclesiastical literature, we can begin with versions of the Bible. It may have been considered a special case in the eyes of the translators,<sup>82</sup> but that has to be proven rather than assumed along the lines of a Protestant *sola scriptura* view. In any case, from our perspective as researchers on the phenomenon of translation from Greek taken broadly, there is reason neither to favor nor to exclude the versions of parts of the Bible.

Neither is it sensible to pretend the Bible is like other books, secular or non-secular. Across these languages, parts of the Bible are typically represented in surviving manuscripts far more than other translated texts, indeed than other texts of any kind. This representation is not proportionate across the whole of the parts of the Bible, of course: in the Old Testament, the Torah and the Psalms, and in the New Testament, the Gospels have the most copies. Manuscript copies of the Bible are found as individual books, together with or

76 Ibid., pp. 248–251.

77 Ibid., p. 251.9–10.

78 Ibid., p. 251.8–10, with the note in vol. 2, p. 115.

79 Flügel, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, vol. 1, p. 251.21–22.

80 Ibid., p. 252.13–23.

81 Ibid., pp. 254, 255.15.

82 "It is in a sacred text, however, that the need to bring the reader to the original was felt more than anywhere else" (Brock, "Aspects", p. 75, with further discussion).

separate from other biblical books, and in lectionaries, that is to say, the texts of the Bible arranged for reading according to the church calendar. In some cases, the translated versions in these two kinds of copies are different from each other, as for example, in the Georgian Old Testament, with the text of the Oški and Jerusalem manuscripts and the text of the Jerusalem Lectionary.

While Greek is a major source for much of the biblical witness, Old Testament and New Testament, in these languages, it is not the only source. In Syriac, the translations and revisions of the New Testament are based on Greek exemplars, but the Old Testament was mostly translated from Hebrew, not Greek. In the other languages, the situation may be more complex, and in some cases scholars have yet to sort out all the details of these versions, their revisions, and their textual basis. For Armenian, there is the question of Syriac alongside a Greek basis, and for Georgian, there is the question of both Syriac and Armenian beside Greek. The case of the Bible in Arabic is especially complex, with possible sources for the various versions including Hebrew, Greek, Coptic, Syriac, and Latin. While the Bible does have some uniqueness in its transmission, there is no reason *a priori* to give biblical translations a special place in the study of translated Greek literature.

Given the Bible's prominent place in Christianity, modern scholars who approached the study of the biblical text in the languages of the Christian East mimicked and augmented the importance that it already had by its first translators, scribes, readers, and hearers. That is to say, to judge from surviving manuscripts, the Bible had a clear importance to its initial users, and to judge from modern scholarship on the Bible in these languages, it has been a magnet for the activity and attention of later scholars. The result of this latter fact is that we are in some cases well off in terms of editions, studies, and *instrumenta* for the biblical text in these languages, better off than in the case of most other translated texts.<sup>83</sup>

As for some other texts, in parts of the Syriac Bible, we have cases of multiple versions that we can read side-by-side and thus have special opportunities for making observations on the process of translation and on the purposes of additional versions. It is true that we also have multiple translations, or translations followed by revisions, for non-biblical translated texts, but because of the fact just mentioned, that scholars have focused heavily on biblical texts, the editions of biblical texts are often more accessible and potentially more thoroughly studied than other translated texts. For the Syriac Gospels, for example, we have an aligned text of the two Old Syriac texts (Curetonianus and

---

83 The situation in Arabic, however, is still conspicuously unsatisfactory.

Sinaiticus), the Peshitta, and the Ḥarqlean. For other parts of the Bible, and for other languages, we may have the texts readily available, even if they are not aligned in a single presentation, which would make for a more immediate comparison.

In the question of editions, the Old Syriac Gospels (two recensions) and the Peshitta have good texts available. For the seventh-century translations of the Syro-Hexapla and the Ḥarqlean far more work is needed. These two versions show many similarities in translation technique and were made at the same time and the same place and they are thus suitably studied alongside each other. The important work by Rørdam on the translation method in the Syro-Hexapla of the books of Judges and Ruth was published in 1861; a dissertation written in Latin, it deserves an English translation for wider readership.<sup>84</sup> For the Ḥarqlean, we have a readable, but not a critical, edition by Andreas Juckel in George Kiraz's *Comparative Edition of the Syriac Gospels*. Parts of the Philoxenian version, of which the Ḥarqlean is a revision, survive only in quotations by Philoxenos himself and, probably, in a sixth-century translation of the Minor Catholic Epistles and the Apocalypse.

Moving beyond the Bible, the next work I would like to mention is Epiphanius' *On Weights and Measures*. The Syriac translation has been available for several decades.<sup>85</sup> It survives complete in two manuscripts (BL Add 17148 [between 648 and 659], BL Add 14620 [prob. 9th cent.]), the published text presenting the seventh-century copy in facsimile. Parts of the work surviving in Georgian<sup>86</sup> and Armenian<sup>87</sup> have been published more recently.

Of this same Epiphanius there is a *Life* written in Greek, and from there translated twice into Syriac (two ninth-century manuscripts partly in distinct versions),<sup>88</sup> with other versions in Arabic,<sup>89</sup> Coptic,<sup>90</sup> and Georgian.<sup>91</sup> The freer Syriac translation, perhaps made in the sixth century, is in BL Add. 17192. In the other manuscript, BL Add. 14657, the first and last folios have a version that is very close to the Greek text, but the main body of the text in this copy is like the more periphrastic translation in the other manuscript.

84 Rørdam, *Libri Judicum et Ruth*.

85 Dean, *Epiphanius' Treatise*.

86 Van Esbroeck, *Les versions géorgiennes*.

87 Stone, "Concerning the Seventy-Two Translators"; Stone and Ervine, *Armenian Texts of Epiphanius*.

88 Brock, "Two Syriac Translations".

89 Vat. ar. 71; further Graf, *Geschichte*, vol. 1, pp. 358.

90 Orlandi, "Les papyrus coptes", p. 126.

91 Sinai Geo. 6; see Garitte, *Catalogue*, pp. 16–17.

Lagarde edited the Syriac text of Titus of Bostra's *Contra Manichaeos* long ago, but a new edition, with the Greek and Syriac, together with excerpts from the *Sacra Parallela* of John of Damascus, has recently appeared.<sup>92</sup>

The *Historia Religiosa* of Theodoret of Cyrus (CPG 6221) exists in Greek, and also in Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, and Georgian versions.<sup>93</sup>

The short work by Basil, *On Greek Literature*, straddles the secular and non-secular divide. There are two Syriac versions, the first made in the fifth cent. (BL Add. 14543 and 17144), the second probably in the seventh cent. (Camb. Add. 3175).<sup>94</sup> Neither Syriac version has been published yet.

For conciliar literature, one text is the *Letter of the Synod of Antioch (325) to Alexander, Bishop of New Rome (Constantinople)*. The Greek is now lost, but a Syriac version in three manuscripts has been known hitherto: Cod. Par. Syr. 62; Vat. Syr. 148; Mingana Syr. 8.<sup>95</sup> Another copy from the 9th/10th century has recently been identified (in the manuscript Mardin, Church of the Forty Martyrs, 310, pp. 60–69).

## 2.2 *Secular Literature*

So much for a few examples of non-secular literature. For secular literature, we are well-informed about the situation in Syriac, Armenian, and Arabic. For Georgian, easily available research is richer for ecclesiastical literature, but the information on secular literature has mostly been published in Georgian or Russian, and even if one can thus read it, the books and articles are often obtainable only with difficulty. For translations from Greek into Armenian, there is a large body of scholarship written in Armenian or Russian, so difficulties similar to that for Georgian may arise, but at least in that case we have the benefit of Robert Thomson's *Bibliography of Classical Armenian Literature to 1500 AD*. For Coptic and Gəʿəz, there is simply much less translated literature of a secular nature than of biblical, patristic, and hagiographic literature, and in any case, much of the translations come from Arabic rather than Greek;<sup>96</sup> in the culture

92 Roman, et al., *Titi Bostrensis Contra Manichaeos libri IV*. On this work, see further Pedersen, *Demonstrative Proof in Defence of God*.

93 Outtier, "Notule".

94 Notes by Sebastian Brock on the bearing of these translations on the Greek tradition will be found in the edition of Wilson, *Saint Basil on Greek Literature*.

95 See Schwartz, "Zur Geschichte des Athanasius"; Schulthess, "Die syrischen Kanones".

96 For Gəʿəz, to point to two such works, I mention the *Sayings of the Philosophers*, and a version of Ptolemy's *Geography*, for which see Hoffmann, *Die Handschrift Éth. d'Abbadie* 20.

of these languages, too, Greek literature and scholarship never achieved the privileged status that it did in Syriac, Armenian, and Georgian.

What has been called “popular philosophy” was a field frequented by Syriac translators early on in their activity. The following were all translated in the fifth to the seventh centuries:<sup>97</sup>

- Ps.-Aristotle, *De virtutibus et vitiis*, in Sin. syr. 14 (possibly translated into Syriac in the sixth or seventh century)<sup>98</sup>
- Plutarch, *Perí aorgēsías* (On Not Being Easily Angered)
- Plutarch, *Pōs an tis hup' ekhthrón ōpheloíto* (How to Benefit from Enemies)
- Ps.-Plutarch, *Perí askéseōs* (On the Practice of Life)
- Lucian, *Perí tou mē rhadiōs pisteúein diabolē* (On Not Easily Believing Slander)
- Themistius, *Perí philías* (On Friendship) and *Perí aretēs* (On Virtue)
- *The Life of the Philosopher Secundus*<sup>99</sup>

Gnomological works, such as the *Sentences of Menander* (preserved in the famous manuscript BL Add. 14658),<sup>100</sup> are well-known in Syriac literature and some have long been available. While a Greek original is fairly sure for these texts, exactly matching Greek *Vorlagen* are not always extant. In the maxims attributed to Menander, for example, some, but not all of the Syriac sayings can be matched to those known in Greek.

We now come to Aristotle. Multiple Syriac versions of the *Categories* were made:<sup>101</sup>

1. Anonymous, in the past attributed to Sergius, but the attribution has been disproven by Hugonnard-Roche<sup>102</sup>

97 See generally, Hugonnard-Roche, “Le corpus philosophique”, pp. 281–282 and Brock, “Syriac Translations of Greek Popular Philosophy”.

98 Hugonnard-Roche, “Le corpus philosophique”, p. 289.

99 Sachau, *Inedita Syriaca*, pp. 84–88; Brock, “Secundus”. Also available are Armenian (Thomson, *Bibliography*, p. 82), Arabic, and Gəʿəz versions (Bachmann, *Das Leben und die Sentenzen*).

100 See Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, vol. 1, pp. 156–164 (Latin tr.), 64–73 (Syriac text). See also Geiger, Review of Land; Wright, “Anecdota Syriaca”. There is a shorter version also in BL Add. 14614, ed. Sachau, *Inedita Syriaca*, pp. 80–82.

101 King, *Earliest Syriac Translation*, pp. 21–29.

102 “Sur les versions syriaques”.



2. Jacob of Edessa<sup>103</sup>
3. George, Bishop of the Arabs<sup>104</sup>

Paris, BnF ar. 2346, a manuscript of the *Organon* in Arabic,<sup>105</sup> has a marginal note that mentions three other Syriac versions:<sup>106</sup>

1. Hunayn b. Ishāq (probably the basis for Ishāq b. Hunayn's translation into Arabic)
2. Jacob the Hermit
3. Jonah the Monk

Daniel King has carefully studied the evidence for these translations and come to the conclusion that the two Jacobs *may* be the same; we cannot be certain that the Anon. Syr. = Jonah. That is, with our available evidence, the identifications are on shaky ground.

Also in connection to the *Categories*, I would like to point out that in thirteenth-century manuscript Vat. Syr. 586, there are seven folios with questions and answers on the *Categories*. It remains unedited,<sup>107</sup> and any relationship to a known Greek source, while possible, remains to be proven.

Some quotations from the *Metaphysics*, book Δ, survive in the *Encheiridion* of Jacob of Edessa.<sup>108</sup>

For the *Poetics*, the Syriac version survives only in a brief adaptation of Aristotle's description of tragedy (1449b24–1450a10) in Severos bar Šakko's (d. 1241) *Book of Dialogues*.<sup>109</sup> The Syriac translator's name is not known, but it was not an early translation: probably the middle of the ninth century at the earliest. This otherwise unknown Syriac version seems, however, to have been the basis of the Arabic translation of Abū Bišr Mattā (d. 940), which survives only in Paris BnF arab. 2346.

---

103 Georr, *Les Catégories d'Aristote*.

104 Furlani, *Le Catégorie*.

105 See Georr, *Les Catégories d'Aristote*, pp. 174 (French) and 380 (Arabic).

106 Cf. Walzer, "New Light".

107 Cf. Peters, *Aristoteles Arabus*, pp. 7–8.

108 For the work as a whole, see Furlani, "Di alcuni passi"; idem, "L'ΕΓΧΕΙΡΙΔΙΟΝ".

109 Text in Margoliouth, *Analecta orientalia*, (Arabic section), pp. 77–79. See also Tarán and Gutas, *Aristotle, Poetics*, pp. 98–101, 108–109; Berti, "Libri e biblioteche cristiane", pp. 312–315.

The evidence for Greek mathematical works translated into Syriac, recently surveyed by Hidemi Takahashi,<sup>110</sup> is fragmentary and indicative rather than expansive and direct.

1. Nicomachus of Gerasa's (c. 60–120 AD) *Arithmētiké eisagōgē*. The evidence for a Syriac version comes from two places. First, the preface to a Hebrew translation of this work points to an Arabic version—the work of East Syriac bishop, then metropolitan of Mosul, Ḥabīb/ʿAbdišō<sup>111</sup> bar Bahriz<sup>112</sup>—based on a Syriac translation. Second, Jacob bar Šakko's *Book of Dialogues* reflects Nicomachus's work in such a way, with its Greek loanwords, that a Syriac version, not Arabic, seems to have been used.
2. Euclid's *Elements*, a Greek copy of which was mentioned above with the palimpsest from the Qartmin monastery, has survived fragmentarily in a Syriac version in a manuscript now in Cambridge (Gg. 2.14)<sup>113</sup> and published by Furlani,<sup>114</sup> but scholars disagree as to whether this version derives from Greek or from Arabic.
3. Archimedes (287–212 BC): *On the Sphere and the Cylinder* (Syriac version mentioned in a note in ms Istanbul, Fatih 3414 [dated 1277/8]),<sup>115</sup> and a *Book of Triangles*.<sup>116</sup>
4. Menelaus of Alexandria (ca. 70–ca. 130 CE), *Sphaerica*<sup>117</sup>
5. Ptolemy (90–168 CE):
  - Evidence of the *Almagest* in Syriac in the twelfth century.<sup>118</sup>
  - Ibn al-Nadīm<sup>119</sup> and al-Qiftī<sup>120</sup> say that the *Geography* existed in Syriac. Jacob of Edessa used this work in some iteration in his *Hexaameron*.<sup>121</sup>

110 “Mathematical Sciences”, pp. 482–484.

111 As Roggema suggests (“Abdisho”, p. 2), the former was probably his given name, the latter his ecclesiastical name.

112 Ibn al-Nadīm mentions other translations by him.

113 W. Wright, *Catalogue Cambridge*, vol. 2, p. 1021.

114 “Bruchstücke”.

115 As reported by Takahashi.

116 See Lippert, *Ibn al-Qiftī's Ta'riḥ al-Ḥukamā'*, p. 195.18–19: من السرياني الى العربي من كتاب أرسيميدس: في المثلثات. The work may not be genuine.

117 Ibid., p. 321.16–17.

118 See especially Kunitzsch, “Über einige Spuren”; and Saliba, “Role of the *Almagest* Commentaries”, p. 10.

119 Flügel, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, vol. 1, p. 267.12–13.

120 Lippert, *Ibn al-Qiftī's Ta'riḥ al-Ḥukamā'*, p. 98.15.

121 Cf. Hugonnard-Roche, “Le corpus philosophique”, p. 290.

An *Epitome* (*Skariphos*) appears at the end of the Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor.<sup>122</sup>

- Finally, it is not really mathematical, but astrological, but the *Tetrábiblos*, with the beginning missing (extant from 2.10), is in Paris BnF syr. 346, ff. 1<sup>r</sup>–36<sup>v</sup>. It has not been edited or studied thoroughly.

For Plotinus, we have some of the *Enneads* in the *Scholia* to the Ps.-Dionysian Corpus by John of Scythopolis, translated into Syriac by Phokas bar Edessa.<sup>123</sup>

Sergius' rendering of Alexander of Aphrodisias' *On the Principles of the Universe*, of which an Arabic version made from Greek also exists, was published not long ago.<sup>124</sup> Sergius does mention Alexander explicitly elsewhere, as in the *Introduction* at the beginning of BL Add. 14658, but this text is not explicitly attributed to Alexander; it has, nevertheless, been found to be a translation, not an original work of Sergius, albeit a translation not strictly sticking to the Greek, at least as assumed from the surviving Arabic version, the Greek text being lost.

In Syriac medical literature, we have long had an edition of the *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates.<sup>125</sup> Grigory Kessel has recently identified in a manuscript from around the year 700 (Damascus, Syriac Orthodox Patriarchate 12/25) a Syriac version of the commentary by Gesius on the *Epidemics* of Hippocrates that may well be the work of Sergius, an interpolated translation not unlike Sergius' version of Alexander of Aphrodisias' *On the Principles of the Universe*.<sup>126</sup>

From catalogues and other notices, C. Frick listed several hints to possible evidence of Homeric remnants in Syriac, Armenian, and Georgian.<sup>127</sup> Before him, Nöldeke<sup>128</sup> had considered the situation in Syriac literature and others have done so more recently.<sup>129</sup> There is apparent indication of an Armenian lexicon to Homer,<sup>130</sup> but Frick's only reference to Georgian is based on a remark

122 See especially Greatrex, Phenix, and Horn, *Chronicle*, p. 431, n. 27.

123 See Frank, "The Use of the *Enneads*"; and Brock, "Syriac Intermediary," p. 296.

124 Syriac text and French translation in Emiliano Fiori, "L'épitomé syriaque". See also King, "Alexander", and, for Arabic, Genequand, *Alexander*.

125 Pognon, *Une version syriaque*. See also Degen, "Zur syrischen Übersetzung".

126 Kessel, "The Syriac Epidemics".

127 "Übersetzung".

128 "Bar Chōnī".

129 Köbert, "Bemerkungen"; Raguse, "Syrische Homerzitate"; Hilken, "Syriac *Iliouperides*". On this last article, see below.

130 Frick, "Übersetzung", cols. 446–447.



The reference is almost certainly to *Od.* 9.27–28:

... οὐ τοι ἐγὼ γε  
ἦς γαίης δύναμαι γλυκερώτερον ἄλλο ἰδέσθαι.

This does not imply, of course, that Timothy had access to a Syriac translation of the *Odyssey*: he may have known the line from the Greek poem itself, or from some Greek writer that quotes it.

Places such as this where Greek authors seem to be quoted verbatim might be called micro-translations. These micro-translations still have value as translations, whatever their source may first have been, in much the same way that we treat an author whose works survive only fragmentarily. The difficulty, of course, is determining the quotations' authenticity and locating the source.

A very interesting Greek work that lies at the intersection of secular and non-secular literature is the collection of scholia attributed to Nonnos on the mythological and related references in Gregory Nazianzen's *Orations*. These scholia of Ps.-Nonnos provide what was thought to be the necessary background information for someone reading Gregory's work who is unacquainted with non-Christian Greek literature. Like the *Orations* themselves, the scholia exist in more than one language—Armenian, Georgian, and Syriac—and for Syriac and Georgian, in more than one version for each. We are fortunate to have good editions, not only of the scholia, but also of the *Corpus Nazianzenum* in these languages. The Syriac version of the Ps.-Nonnos scholia was published in 1971,<sup>136</sup> the Georgian in 2002,<sup>137</sup> and Armenian in 1903.<sup>138</sup> The Greek text of the scholia, edited by Jennifer Nimmo Smith, appeared in 1992.<sup>139</sup>

Porphyry's *Eisagoge* was twice translated into Syriac: first in the sixth century, when it was also translated into Latin by Boethius, with an earlier adaptation by Marius Victorinus, and then a second Syriac revision appeared in the next century at the hands of Athanasius of Balad.<sup>140</sup> The initial translation, which survives intact in a seventh century manuscript (BL Add. 14658) and partially in another copy of the same time or a little after (BL Add. 14618), has been attributed to Sergius of Reshaina, in spite of a lack of much evidence for this assumption, and in the face of the fact that, as Brock has noted, when

136 Brock, *Syriac Version*. See also his earlier "Armenian and Syriac Versions".

137 Otkhmezouri, *Pseudo-Nonniani*. See also Accorinti, Review.

138 Manandian, "Scholien". Generally see also Coulie, "Les versions orientales".

139 With the assistance of S. Brock and B. Coulie, *Pseudo-Nonniani*.

140 Brock, "Some Notes". See also idem, "Earliest Syriac Translation".

Sergius quotes from the *Eisagoge* in his own *Introduction to Aristotelian Logic*, written for Theodore of Karḥ Ġuddān, his wording is distinct from the aforementioned Syriac version. The revision by Athanasius of Balad survives in more manuscripts, the oldest of which (Vat. Syr. 158) dates to the ninth or tenth century, with a colophon (f. 16<sup>r</sup>),<sup>141</sup> naming Athanasius as the translator, who did so, it says, in the year 645 (January, 956 AG) “as precisely as possible” (*ḥattitāʾit ayk d-maṣyā*). Similarly, the colophon of Vat. Syr. 141 (f. 215<sup>r</sup>),<sup>142</sup> which contains homilies of Severos the Patriarch, says that they were “translated precisely from Greek into Syriac by the zeal and effort of Mar Jacob of Edessa” (*da-npīqīn ḥattitāʾit men yawṇāyā l-sūryāyā ba-ḥpīūtā w-ba-šqālta nā d-mār(y) yaʾqōb epīsqōpā d-ūrḥāy*), later giving the date 700/1AD (1012 AG). This colophon also places Athanasius at the Monastery of Bēt Malkā, a place where other mirror-translators in the seventh-century style also labored.<sup>143</sup> Brock’s sample comparison of the versions of the *Eisagoge* has shown, not surprisingly, that the second translation, or rather revision, sticks more closely and consistently to the form of the Greek text than the sixth-century translation. To cite just one example,<sup>144</sup> for *kyriōs* the first translation has *ḥattitāʾit*, but the second the more etymologically exact *mārānāʾit*.

We now turn to some cosmological works. Theophrastus, the pupil of Aristotle, composed a work *On Meteorology*, but it is no longer extant in Greek. It was, however translated into Syriac and Arabic. The Syriac portion was first described and partially published with English translation by H.J. Drossaart Lulofs in 1955<sup>145</sup> and then Ewald Wagner and Peter Steinmetz in 1964 gave the entire fragment with German translation and some commentary.<sup>146</sup> Hans Daiber has superseded these earlier editions more recently (1992) by presenting the text in both Syriac and Arabic, the latter in two versions, an abridged one by Bar Bahlūl (cf. Bergsträsser 1918) and one by his contemporary Ibn al-Ḥammār, this latter version agreeing more closely with the extant Syriac fragment.<sup>147</sup>

The Augustan age writer Nicolaus of Damascus drew up a *Compendium of Aristotle’s Philosophy*, which does not survive in Greek but which was trans-

141 Given in Assemani and Assemani, *Vaticanae catalogus*, vol. 1.3, p. 306.

142 Given in *ibid.*, pp. 240–241.

143 Brock, *Syriac Version*, pp. 10, n. 1; 32–33.

144 Brock, “Some Notes,” 49.

145 “Syriac Translation”.

146 *Der syrische Auszug*.

147 “Meteorology”. Note also the earlier work by Gotthelf Bergsträsser, *Neue meteorologische Fragmente*.

lated into Syriac.<sup>148</sup> As Drossaart Lulofs remarks, “In Syria for several centuries the *Organon* alone was often translated and much studied, but the rest of the *Corpus Aristotelicum* was almost unknown. Since Nicolaus’ *Compendium* was concerned with the physical treatises, it must have been welcomed as a convenient summary of a long series of books, translations of which were slow to appear.”<sup>149</sup> Perhaps (if Barhebraeus is correct), the translation is the work of Ḥunayn.<sup>150</sup> Not surprisingly, there are Theophrastean elements in Nicolaus’ *Compendium*.<sup>151</sup>

The Syriac *Geoponica* was also translated from Greek.<sup>152</sup> Not an easy text in any language, given the vocabulary, it is a good example of the complexity and interest that Syriac scholars reached, and because of that difficult vocabulary, it is also a storehouse of rare lexical items.<sup>153</sup>

We have fragments in Syriac of the *Eisagogika* of Paulus Alexandrinus.<sup>154</sup> Chapter 28 appears in Syriac as Sergius’ “Treatise on the Motion of the Sun.”<sup>155</sup> Saliba also recognized a responsum of George, Bishop of the Arabs, dealing with the position of the sun as a probable commentary to a passage in the *Eisagogika*.<sup>156</sup> As Saliba notes, George knew the text “either through the work of Sergius just cited or through the work of Paulus directly, or still through some unknown scholion ...” George, Bishop of the Arabs (d. 724/5), a student in the line of Severus Sebokt at Qennešrē and contemporary of Jacob of Edessa, whose *Hexaemeron* he completed,<sup>157</sup> composed two astronomical letters<sup>158</sup>

148 Drossaart Lulofs, *Nicolaus Damascenus*.

149 *Nicolaus Damascenus*, p. 7.

150 Takahashi, *Aristotelian Meteorology*, p. 38.

151 Takahashi, “Syriac Fragments”.

152 Paul Anton de Lagarde, *De geoponicon versione syriaca commentatio* (Leipzig, 1855); Lagarde, *Geoponicon in sermonem syriacum versorum quae supersunt* (Leipzig, 1860); Wright, *Syriac Manuscripts*, p. 118g; Baumstark, *Lucubrationes*, pp. 384–405; Rubens Duval, *La littérature syriaque*, pp. 279–281. Duval’s description (p. 280) is worth quoting: “... il renferme un texte assurément ancien, qui rappelle les traductions littérales des premiers siècles, comme celles de Sergius Reschaina.”

153 For the *Geoponica* in Armenian, see Thomson, *Bibliography*, p. 55. For related Arabic texts, see Carrara, “*Geoponica* and *Nabatean Agriculture*”; Hämeen-Anttila, *The Last Pagans of Iraq*.

154 For the Greek text, see Boer, *Paulus Alexandrinus*.

155 Sachau, *Inedita Syriaca*, pp. 125–126. See also Saliba, “Paulus Alexandrinus”, pp. 443–444.

156 Saliba, “Paulus Alexandrinus”, pp. 444–447, 451.

157 Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, vol. 1, p. 4.

158 Ryssel, “Die astronomischen Briefe”. Here is an outline of the letters’ contents (the numbers in parentheses refer to the page numbers in Ryssel’s edition): 1.1 On the number of

in the form of responsa. It is part of one of these letters (1.4) that has been identified as an adaptation of a section of the *Eisagogika*.

### 3 Graeco-varia Christiana: Translations from Greek into some Other Languages of the Christian East

#### 3.1 *Texts in at Least Two Translated Versions*

For many works, we only have a single translated version, with or without the Greek surviving, such as Titus of Bostra's *Contra Manichaeos* in Syriac or the work *On Christ and the Churches*, attributed to Barsabbas of Jerusalem, in Georgian.<sup>159</sup>

Aside from parts of the Bible, the Ps.-Nonnos scholia, Gregory's *Orations*, and titles related to Epiphanius mentioned above, there is a long list of Greek works that exist in more than one language of the Christian east, including:<sup>160</sup>

- The *Grammar* of Dionysius Thrax (Syriac, Armenian)<sup>161</sup>
- Ps.-Aristotle, *De Mundo* (Syriac, Armenian, Arabic)
- *Asceticon* of Abba Isaiah (partly in Arabic, Armenian, Coptic, Gə'əz, Georgian, Sogdian, Syriac)
- *Apophthegmata Patrum* (Arabic, Armenian, Coptic, Gə'əz, Georgian, Syriac, Sogdian)
- *The Capture of Jerusalem by the Persians in 614* (Arabic, Georgian)
- *Sentences* of Sextus (Coptic, Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, Gə'əz, and Arabic)
- Basil, *Hexaemeron* (Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, Arabic)

---

days in each month (4–8), 1.2 (8–11), 1.3 On the divisions of the day (11–12), 1.4 On reckoning the sun's longitude from Virgo rather than Aries (13–15), 1.5 On incongruities between the sun and zodiacal signs (16–17), 1.6 On there being 360 degrees but 365 days in the year (17–19), 1.7 On the anaphorai of the zodiacal signs (19–20), 1.8 Whether there is a place that always has equal days and nights (20–23). 11.1 On the new year at the appearance of Sirius (24–31), 11.2 On the sun, moon, and five wandering stars (31–34), 11.3 Whether moist substances (*gūsmē*) and animate bodies (*pagrē*) increase and decrease with the increase and decrease of the moon (34–37).

159 Van Esbroeck, *Barsabée*.

160 This list, which includes translated texts with an intermediary between Greek and the language(s) in question, is far from exhaustive, and for reasons of space, even what is included has few bibliographical references.

161 Note that a part of Diomedes' *Commentary* to the *Grammar* exists in Georgian. See Michel Van Esbroeck, *Les versions géorgiennes*. See his discussion in CSCO 461, pp. 22–23, with French translation of the text on pp. 51–52; Georgian text in CSCO 460, pp. 44–45.



- *Physiologus* (Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, Arabic)
- Much liturgica (James, John Chrysostom, etc.)
- Very many patristic homilies
- Very many hagiographic texts

Some of these have more than one translation in a single language.

As for translation centers for these languages, we have already mentioned the Qennešrē Monastery for Syriac. For Georgian, translations were carried out from Greek (or from Arabic intermediaries) especially at Mar Saba Monastery,<sup>162</sup> Mt. Athos, the Black Mountain (near Antioch), Gelati Monastery, about some of which I will say more below.

### 3.2 *Translations into Armenian*

According to Armenian tradition, the earliest translation activity started outside of Armenia.<sup>163</sup> In the month of October, the Armenian Church celebrates the commemoration of the Holy Translators (*Surb T'argmanič'k'*): Mesrop Maštoc', Sahak Part'ev, Movsēs Xorenac'i, Eliše. Early on, there was oral translation in churches.<sup>164</sup> According to Koriwn, Mesrop and Sahak sent students of theirs, brothers named Yovsēp' and Eznik, to Edessa, where they translated from Syriac into Armenian and sent the books back to their masters; these students then did the same in Greek-speaking places, there accompanied by two more translators, Koriwn and Levond. This narrative suggests the use of rich foreign libraries of Syriac and Greek books, as well as native expertise in the source languages concerned. Following these four translators, another group, said to include the Armenian historiographer Movsēs Xorenac'i, was sent to Alexandria.<sup>165</sup>

Among early patristic works surviving in Armenian are the fourth and fifth books of Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses. The Demonstration of Apostolic Preaching* also survives in Armenian.<sup>166</sup>

The list of authors, Greek and otherwise, whose works were translated into Armenian is long. Just to mention a few (with references to Thomson's *Bibliography*):

<sup>162</sup> See Gil, *History of Palestine*, pp. 450–451.

<sup>163</sup> Generally on the translation of the Bible, liturgy, and patristic works, see Sarkissian, *Brief Introduction*, pp. 23–33.

<sup>164</sup> Ter Petrosian, *Armenian Translators*, p. 17.

<sup>165</sup> Ter Petrosian, *Armenian Translators*, pp. 17–19.

<sup>166</sup> Sarkissian, *Brief Introduction*, pp. 30–31; Thomson, *Bibliography*, pp. 60–62.

- Acacius of Constantinople (Th., p. 29)
- Alexander Aphrodisias (Th., p. 32)
- Anastasius (Emperor of Constantinople, 491–518) (Th., p. 33)
- Andrew (Bishop of Caesarea, late 6th cent.) (Th., p. 33), *Commentary on the Apocalypse*, translated by Nersēs Lambronac'i (12th cent.)
- Aratus (Th., p. 34)
- Aristotle (Th., pp. 35–36)
- Athanasius (Th., pp. 36–37)
- Barlaam and Ioasaph (Th., pp. 37–38)
- Basil (Th., pp. 38–40), including the *Hexaemeron*
- Book of Beings (*Girk' Ēakac'*) (Th., p. 40), a theological work translated from Greek
- Book of Heresies (*Girk' Herjuacoc'*) (Th., p. 40), adaptation from Epiphanius
- Clement of Alexandria (Th., p. 40), from *De Poenitentia*
- Dionysius Thrax (Th., p. 45)
- Elias (6th cent. commentary on Aristotle) (Th., p. 45)
- Epiphanius (Th., p. 49)
- Euclid (Th., p. 50)
- Euripides (fragment) (Th., p. 50)
- Eusebius of Caesarea (Th., pp. 51–52) (*Hist. Eccles.* translated from Syriac)
- Eusebius of Emesa (Th., pp. 52–53)
- Galen (Th., p. 55)
- Geoponica (*Girk' Vastakoc'*) (Th., p. 55)
- George of Pisidia (7th cent.), *Hexaemeron* (Th., p. 56)
- Gregory Thaumaturgus (Th., p. 58)
- Hippolytus of Rome (Th., pp. 59–60)
- Homer (Th., p. 61)
- Menander (Th., p. 69)
- Ps.-Nonnos (Th., pp. 71–72)
- Pappus (geographer, fl. 300 AD) (Th., p. 72)
- Paul of Alexandria (4th cent. AD) (Th., p. 74)
- Philo (Th., pp. 75–76)
- *Physiologus* (Th., pp. 77–78)
- Plato (Th., p. 78)
- Porphyry (Th., pp. 78–79)
- Proclus Diadochus (Th., p. 80)
- *Sayings of the Ancient Philosophers* (Th., p. 81)
- Secundus (2nd cent. phil.) (Th., p. 81)
- Seven Sages (Th., p. 83)
- Severian of Gabala (Th., pp. 82–83)
- Theon of Alexandria (rhetorician, 2nd cent.) (Th., pp. 84–85)

The spectrum of translation history from Greek to Armenian is sometimes divided into three main periods:

1. Classical (to the end of the 5th cent.)
2. Hellenophile (end of 5th cent. to beginning of 8th cent.)
3. Cilician (12th and 13th cent.)

The same remarks about the reality of such a clear cut presentation given above for Syriac also apply here. The first translation of the Hellenophile school is the *Grammar* of Dionysius Thrax.<sup>167</sup> In the eleventh century, Grigor Magistros translated from Greek into Armenian Euclid's *Geometry* and Plato's *Phaedo* and *Timaeus*. (Grigor Magistros was the father of Grigor Martyrophile, also a translator, from Greek and from Syriac.) In the twelfth century, Nersēs Lambronac'i translated from Greek something of the *Lives of the Egyptian Fathers*. Translations of the Cilician period are freer in at least some cases. They were often the result of collaboration between Armenian and non-Armenian scholars, with both initial draft translations and subsequent polished, edited versions.<sup>168</sup> It is not only from Greek, of course, that translations into Armenian were made: In the thirteenth century Simēon Phnjahanec'i translated Proclus Diadochus' *Syntagma Theologica* (among other books) from Georgian into Armenian.<sup>169</sup> As far as I know, it has not been studied, but there is a manuscript at the British Library with a Qur'ān in classical Armenian (translated from Arabic),<sup>170</sup> and in another manuscript of the same collection there is a copy of the Throne Verse in Arabic but written in Armenian letters.<sup>171</sup>

### 3.3 *Translations into Georgian*

The study of Armenian language and literature has proven more accessible to students and scholars in Europe and the Americas than that of Georgian. In the latter case, would-be researchers are hampered by the inaccessibility of the necessary instrumenta and texts, but that situation is slowly changing. The brief survey that follows will, I hope, highlight the importance of this field for all of those interested in translation during Late Antiquity and afterward and in the transmission and reception of Greek literature.

167 Ter Petrosian, *Armenian Translators*, p. 7.

168 Ter Petrosian, *Armenian Translators*, pp. 10, 22–23.

169 Ter Petrosian, *Armenian Translators*, p. 11; Thomson, *Bibliography*, p. 198.

170 Conybeare, *Catalogue*, pp. 350–351.

171 *Ibid.*, p. 326.

Georgian translators followed two main streams of approaching their task, known as Athonite (freer) and Hellenizing (esp. the Gelati school),<sup>172</sup> but there is, as in the other languages discussed, more variety here than so simple a dichotomy reflects. These methodologically and practically distinct approaches to translation are also separate in both time and place. The Athonite translators worked outside of Georgia, at Mt. Athos (hence the name), in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and the Hellenizing translators had a beginning also outside of Georgia, on the Black Mountain near Antioch, but were then active in the Gelati Monastery, near Kutaisi in Georgia in the second half of the eleventh century into the twelfth. Just to name some of the more prolific and better known Georgian translators, to the earlier free period belong Euthymius (c. 955–1028) and Giorgi Atoneli (1009–1065), and to the hellenizing period belong Ep’rem Mcire (d. 1101/3), the Gelati school with Ioane Petrici (11th/12 cent.), and Arsen Iqaltoeli. Sakvarelidze summarizes the spectrum of translation technique evident in these two approaches and periods as follows:

... from free compiled simplified translation towards the most accurate, from simple language towards elevated, from narrative towards scholarly style, from adaptive-modal towards structural-formal and structural-equivalent translation, from dynamic equivalents to formal, from instability and multiplicity of terminology to regularity and acriby [i.e. ἀκριβεία] ...<sup>173</sup>

As in considering the spectrum of translation approaches in Syriac and Armenian, this is not necessarily a hard and fast division. As the Syriac version of Titus of Bostra’s *Contra Manichaeos* is early but has some literalist hallmarks, in Georgian an earlier translation that shows hellenizing tendencies is the *Hexaameron* of Severian of Gabala.<sup>174</sup> By contrast, while Arsen Iqaltoeli belongs to the Hellenizing Gelati school, his translations are more moderately hellenizing than some others, as Maia Raphava has shown for his version of the fragment of Maximos’ *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*.<sup>175</sup> There Arsen is not as strictly word-for-word as he might have been and he may even introduce small changes to

172 “The Hellenophile epoch is the time when the Georgian cognitive spirit, armed with mind and faith, achieved heights and depths never known before, and which is embodied in original creative work” (Sakvarelidze, “Terms”, p. 67).

173 Sakvarelidze, “Terms”, pp. 65–66.

174 Sakvarelidze, “Terms”, pp. 66.

175 “Fragment”, pp. 93–97.

the text. The fact that we cannot simply make a distinction of free versus literal approaches to translation is also evident earlier in the work of Euthymius. Although he has a less than strict attachment to the text considered as individual words, in some places he clearly noted individual words and roots in Greek and brought those relationships into his Georgian rendering.<sup>176</sup>

It is from Ep'rem Mcire that we have the most accessible witness to how a Georgian translator approached his work. In a letter addressed to a monk named Cyriacus of Alexandria (*Kwrike Alek'sandrieli*) Ep'rem situates his own work in the history of Graeco-Georgian translation. The text of the letter, together with a French translation was made readily available in 1998, and there is a prior French translation,<sup>177</sup> but it has yet to be translated into English; the excerpts translated below are, therefore, somewhat provisional. Ep'rem begins first by noting, in the face of possible criticism, that it is really only people who know both Greek and Georgian that can judge a translation.<sup>178</sup>

But if we see in their translations something lacking, [some mistake made] in haste, due to something missing in the original or the commentaries, due to a corruption of later scribes, this [situation] being clarified not by us, but by others, afterwards, through urging, through earnest requesting, and through interaction with many books and teachers, with fear and trembling we dare to correct them.<sup>179</sup>

Because I learned the alphabet of Greek and Georgian, after God [as my teacher], from them, and from that time on, anything I learn from anyone, I also attribute it to them, for I speak with their tongues, hear with their ears, and work with their hands.<sup>180</sup>

176 Othkhmezouri, "Maximus", pp. 82–83.

177 Text and French translation in Metreveli, et al., *Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera*, pp. xxxi–xxxix. Georgian text also published in Tvaltadze, *Ep'rem Mciris kolop'nebi*.

178 რომელმან ზედმიწევნით უწყით რაბამობად ბერ[ქენთა] და ქართველთა ენებისად (xxxi); "[you, addressing Cyriacus] who know the particular quality of the languages of the Greeks and the Georgians." For the theme, cf. also Jerome, Ep. 57.

179 ხოლო უკუეთუ მათთა თარგმნილთაცა შინა რამე ვიხილოთ დაშთომილად ანუ სისწრაფისაგან, ანუ დედისა და თარგმანთა ვერ პოვნისაგან, ანუ შემდგომთა გარდამწერელთა განრყუნისა, მას არა ჩუენგან, არამედ სხუათა მიერ [საა]ნჯმნო ქმნილსა, შემდგომად სხუათა მიერისა იძულები[სა] [Thus Metreveli, but it is probably better to read -ით(ა) (cf. Tvaltadze).] დიდითა გამოკითხვითა და მრავალთა წიგნთა და მოძღუართა თანა მიმოსლვითა, შიშით და ძრწოლით ვიკადრებთ განმართებად (p. xxxii).

180 რამეთუ ანბანი ბერძულისა და ქართულისა მათგან მისწავიეს შემდგომად

He was nourishing the softness of our nation with milk and greens, but now, having been nourished by him, the people are by the same grace asking for strong[er] food.<sup>181</sup>

But you, that chief leader of ours, we that have been nourished by him [Euthymius], you became generally desirous that I should leave behind everything added and that which was interpolated from a commentary, and that I should translate alone just the words of the saint himself.<sup>182</sup>

Elsewhere, Ep’rem Mcire says, “The language of the Greeks is as deep as an abyss and one and the same word conveys many meanings.”<sup>183</sup> His translations are an attempt to reflect this range of meanings with precision. We saw above that Timothy I made reference to corporate consultation for getting at the meaning of a particular Greek word, and in the later periods of Greek-Armenian translation corporate translation and revision was known, as was also the case with some translations of Buddhist texts into Chinese. Ep’rem echoes this practice of checking with informed scholars: “I consulted many of those who knew Greek and Georgian.”<sup>184</sup>

Now, to give at least a brief glimpse into what survives from Greek in Georgian, I mention a few titles. Parts of the Bible were translated into Georgian by the fifth century, but, as mentioned above, the definite textual basis is not always easy to detect, with Greek, Syriac, and Armenian strains apparent in varying degrees. Suffice it to say here that at least a number of biblical texts are extant in more than one translation or revision.

There are two translations of John of Damascus’ *Expositio Fidei*, the first by Ep’rem Mcire, the second by Arsen Iqaltoeli.<sup>185</sup> Maximos the Confessor’s *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* has two complete Georgian translations: by

---

დმერთისა და მიერთიგან რადცა-ღა ვისგან ვისწავლო, მას მათდადვე შეეპრა-ცხ, რამეთუ მათითა ენითა ვზრახავ და მათითა ყურითა მესმის და მათითა ჰკელითა ვშუერები (p. xxxii).

181 სიწიოებასა ჩუენისა ნათესავისასა სძითა ზრდიდა და მხლითა, ხოლო აწ მის მიერ აღზრდილი ერი მისითავე მადლითა მტკიცისა საზრდელისა მოქ-ენე იქმნა (pp. xxxiii–xxxiv).

182 ხოლო შენ, თავადი ეგე წინამძღუარი ჩუენ, მის მიერ აღზრდილთაჲ, მებრვე ამას წადიერ იქმენ, რათა ზედადართული ყოველი და თარგმანისაგან ჩართული დაუტეო და თვთ წმიდისა ოდენ სიტყუანი მარტოდ ვთარგმნნე (p. xxxiv).

183 Quoted (only English, without Georgian) in Melikishvili, “Principles”, p. 103.

184 Quoted in Melikishvili, “Principles”, p. 103.

185 Raphava, “Fragment”, p. 88.

Euthymius the Athonite and by an anonymous translator of the Gelati school; there is also a fragment of it in Arsen's aforementioned translation of John of Damascus' *Expositio Fidei*.<sup>186</sup>

As examples of secular work, the commentary of Ammonius on the *Eisagoge* and on Aristotle's *Categories* is available in a Georgian translation of the Gelati school,<sup>187</sup> and Ioane Petrici prepared a version of the Neoplatonist Proclus' *Elements of Theology*.<sup>188</sup> Ioane Petrici also translated Josephus' *Antiquities of the Jews* into Georgian.<sup>189</sup> The Byzantine *Chronicle* of George the Sinner was rendered into Georgian by Arsen Iqaltoeli.<sup>190</sup>

#### 4 Agenda et desiderata

This periodic tour of translations and translators has, I hope, given at least some sense of what was translated into which languages, who was doing the translating, and how those texts were translated. It is patently a very broad field of research with much work remaining to be done, both on the practical level of editing texts and studying the employed approaches to translation and on the historical and social level of how those translations were used in their communities. What, for example, were translators' motivations for translating? Another question that remains is: Why, in the ambit of eastern Mediterranean and Caucasian Christianity, did translators into Gə'əz and Coptic so eschew more philosophical texts that appear in Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, and Arabic?

Aside from these questions, I conclude with a few suggestions for future work that might result in fruitful research.

- A general encouragement to producing accessible editions with philological analysis and preferably with a modern translation. Simply making these texts readily available will provide interested students and scholars with

186 Chantladze, "Euthymius", p. 49; Raphava, "Fragment", p. 93; cf. Van Esbroeck, "Ein unbekannter Traktat".

187 Text at TITUS: <http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etca/cauc/ageo/gelati/ammonerm/ammon.htm>.

188 Text at TITUS: <http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etca/cauc/ageo/gelati/petrici/petri.htm>.

189 Tarkhnišvili, *Geschichte*, pp. 212, 390. The Georgian version of the Josephus text is available at TITUS: <http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etca/cauc/ageo/gelati/flaviosi/flavi.htm>.

190 Tarkhnišvili, *Geschichte*, pp. 212, 390. Georgian text available at <http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etca/cauc/ageo/gelati/gmonchr/gmonc.htm>.

material for research into language use, translation technique, and textual criticism. Accompanying philological analysis may offer straightforward help to those learning the languages, and concordances will be of immense value to lexicographers and others. Modern translations, of course, will be of use for those in various fields who may not have facility in the original languages.

– *Materia: Corpus Graeco-orientale.*

Scholars in various corners have been doing work on these translations from Greek, and there is no reason why they should not be in deeper conversations about their work. In his study of the Syriac versions of Cyril of Alexandria's works, Daniel King touched on Greek-Latin translation and Latin-Old English for comparison.<sup>191</sup> A hurdle to such research is that there is not a union catalogue for all of these languages where researchers can find in a single place the evidence for translations of this or that Greek work, although the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* (CPG) partly serves the purpose for patristic texts. Given the immensity of the material and required expertise, it would best be accomplished by a team of scholars. An online database searchable by genre, Greek author, Greek title, language, translator, publication, and manuscript, while a massive undertaking, would serve students and scholars across many fields.

– *Methodos: multitext alignment.*<sup>192</sup>

This involves the aligning of texts available in one or more language and/or more than one version in distinct languages. That is,

- Text<sub>1</sub>: Trans<sub>1a</sub>: Trans<sub>1b</sub> [etc.] (Vorlage + one or more translations into a single language), or
- Text<sub>1</sub>: Trans<sub>1a</sub>: Trans<sub>1b</sub> [etc.]: Trans<sub>2a</sub>: Trans<sub>2b</sub> [etc.] (Vorlage + one or more translations into multiple languages)

Alignment constraints are variable, that is, one might align the texts by words and phrases or by larger segments like sentences or even paragraphs.<sup>193</sup> The hierarchy begins with document (or text) alignment, and then goes down from there as far as practical or necessary: part (book, chapter, section, etc.) alignment, paragraph, sentence, phrase, word.

What are the advantages of such a project? Multitext alignment can help answer the following questions, at least: Are the documents in question really related by translation? If so, is the textual basis more or less exact (i.e.

<sup>191</sup> *Syriac Versions*, pp. 362–372.

<sup>192</sup> See especially Tiedemann, *Bitext Alignment*.

<sup>193</sup> Beyond that level, the usefulness of the endeavor becomes questionable.



of the same text-type)? Is the translation complete? How did the translator approach the task in a given place, with a definite focus on words and phrases, or with a looser focus comprehending sentences? Does the translator follow the constituent order of the source text?

These are questions that scholars working on translated texts and their originals have long kept in mind, and in the privacy of their study they have found different means of arriving at the answers. Multitext alignment, however, may make the tools for answering these and related questions more accessible to scholars beyond those immediately studying this or that translated text and its original.

A project is now underway in initial stages to test the appropriate digital workspaces and necessary options to manipulate the data.<sup>194</sup>

- Recovering fragments of Greek works in Syriac literature, as Saliba did for Paulus Alexandrinus. Just in the genre of cosmology, possibilities include the works of Severos Sebokht, Bar Šakko. In this and other subjects, attempts to find pieces of translated Greek works may find success by dedicated close reading of potentially related Greek texts and those in the other languages we have discussed or even by accident, but in either case successful identifications will further complete the picture available to us of how Greek literature was studied and shared among scholars writing and reading in the languages of the Christian East.

In the *Fihrist*, Ibn al-Nadīm<sup>195</sup> reports from Ishāq al-Rāhib, discussing the translation project of Ptolemy Philadelphos in Alexandria, the background of the rendering of the Hebrew Bible into Greek according to the *Letter of Aristeas*, that the man in charge of the project, Demetrios of Phaleron,<sup>196</sup> having collected 54,120 books for the king's library, tells the ruler, "O King, a great number [of books] remain in the world [that I have not yet collected]: in Sind, India, Persia, Georgia, Armenia, Babylon, Mosul, and among the Greeks."<sup>197</sup>

194 The project is led by Joel Kalvesmaki, with support from Alberto Rigolio, Robin Darling Young, and Adam Carter McCollum.

195 Flügel, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, vol. 1, pp. 239.30–240.3.

196 The text has Zamīrah, but that reading is probably a corruption of some form of the name Demetrios. See the annotations in Flügel, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, vol. 2, pp. 105–106, where other sources for this anecdote are also given.

197 إبياء الملك قد بقي في الدنيا شيء كثير في السند والهند وفارس وجرجان والارمان وابل والموصل وعند الروم. No such statement appears in the *Letter of Aristeas*, but cf. §§ 9–10. The text is available at the end of Swete, *Old Testament in Greek*, p. 520.

As we continue to make headway into the Greek texts translated into these languages, we may find ourselves as continuators of the very translators and commentators whose works we are studying, and as we carry on that tradition, Greek literature continues to spread beyond the borders, times, and uses of its original readers.

## 5 Bibliography

- Abuladze, Ilia, *Kartuli da somxuri liṭeraṭuruli urtiertoba IX–X ss-ši. / Gruzino-armjanskije literaturnye svjazy v IX i X vv.*, Tbilisi, 1944.
- Accorinti, D., Review of Otkhmezouri, *Pseudo-Nonniani*, *Gnomon* 78 (2006), pp. 491–498.
- Aleksidze, Zaza, et al., *Catalogue of Georgian Manuscripts Discovered in 1975 at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mt. Sinai*, Athens: Saberznet'is kulturis saminstro-Sinuri kvlevis p'ondi, 2005.
- Assemani, S.E., and J.S. Assemani, *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codicum manuscriptorum catalogus*, vol. 1.3, Rome, 1759.
- Bachmann, Johannes, *Das Leben und die Sentenzen des Philosophen Secundus des Schweigsamen nach dem Äthiopischen und Arabischen*, Leipzig: Drugulin, 1887.
- Baillet, M. "Un livret magique en christo-palestinien a l'Université de Louvain," *Le Muséon* 76 (1973), pp. 375–401.
- Barbier de Meynard, Charles, ed. and tr., *Maçoudi. Les prairies d'or*, vol. 8, Paris, 1874.
- Baumstark, Anton, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur*, Bonn: A. Marcus and E. Webers, 1922.
- Baumstark, Anton, *Lucubrationes Syro-Graecae*, Leipzig: Teubner, 1904.
- Bedjan, Paul, ed., *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon Syriacum*, Paris: Maisonneuve, 1890.
- Bergsträsser, Gotthelf, ed. and tr., *Hunain ibn Ishaq über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen*, Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1925.
- Bergsträsser, Gotthelf, *Neue meteorologische Fragmente des Theophrast, arabisch und deutsch*, Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1918.
- Berti, Vittorio, "Libri e biblioteche cristiane nell'Iraq dell'VIII secolo. Una testimonianza dell'epistolario del patriarca siro-orientale Timoteo I (727–823)," *The Libraries of the Neoplatonists*, ed. C. D'Ancona, Leiden: Brill, 2007, pp. 307–317.
- Blanchard, Monica, "Moses of Nisibis (fl. 906–943) and the Library of Deir Suriani," *Studies in the Christian East in Memory of Mirrit Boutros Ghali*, ed. L.S.B. MacCoull, Washington, D.C.: Society for Coptic Archaeology, 1995, pp. 13–24.
- Boer, Emilie, ed., *Paulus Alexandrinus: Elementa apotelesmatica—Eisagogika*, Leipzig: Teubner, 1958.
- Braun, Oscar, ed. and tr. *Timothei patriarchae I epistulae*, 2 vols., Louvain, 1914–1915.

- Brock, Sebastian P., "The Armenian and Syriac Versions of the Ps-Nonnus Mythological Scholia," *Le Muséon* 79 (1966), pp. 401–428.
- Brock, Sebastian P., "Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 20 (1979), pp. 69–87.
- Brock, Sebastian P., *A Brief Outline of Syriac Literature*, Kottayam, India: St. Ephrem Ecumenical Research Institute, 1997.
- Brock, Sebastian P., *Catalogue of Syriac Fragments (New Finds) in the Library of the Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai*, Athens: Mt. Sinai Foundation, 1995.
- Brock, Sebastian P., "The Earliest Syriac Translation of Porphyry's Eisagoge. I, Edition," *Journal of the Iraq Academy, Syriac Corporation* 12 (1988), pp. 316–366.
- Brock, Sebastian P., "From Antagonism to Assimilation: Syriac Attitudes to Greek Learning," *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period (Dumbarton Oaks Symposium, 1980)*, eds. Nina Garsoïan et al., Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982, pp. 17–34.
- Brock, Sebastian P., "Greek into Syriac and Syriac into Greek," *Journal of the Syriac Academy, Baghdad* 3 (1977), pp. 406–422.
- Brock, Sebastian P., "Secundus the Silent Philosopher: Some Notes on the Syriac Tradition," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 121 (1978), pp. 94–100.
- Brock, Sebastian P., "Some Notes on the Syriac Translations of Porphyry's Eisagoge," *Mélanges en hommage au penseur libanais Farid Jabre*, vol. 1, Beirut: Département des publications de l'Université libanaise, Sections des facultés, 1989, pp. 41–50.
- Brock, Sebastian P., "The Syriac Background to Hunayn's Translation Techniques," *Aram* 3 (1991), pp. 139–162.
- Brock, Sebastian P., "A Syriac Intermediary to the Arabic Theology of Aristotle? In Search of a Chimera," *The Libraries of the Neoplatonists*, ed. C. D'Ancona, Leiden: Brill, 2007, pp. 293–306.
- Brock, Sebastian P., "Syriac Translations of Greek Popular Philosophy," *Von Athen nach Bagdad. Zur Rezeption griechischer Philosophie von der Spätantike bis zum Islam*, ed. P. Bruns, Bonn: Borengässer, 2003, pp. 9–28.
- Brock, Sebastian P., *The Syriac Version of the Pseudo-Nonnos Mythological Scholia*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1971.
- Brock, Sebastian P., "Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique," *III Symposium Syriacum 1980: Les contacts du monde syriaque avec les autres cultures (Goslar 7–11 Septembre 1980)*, ed. R. Lavenant, Rome: Pont. Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1983, pp. 1–14.
- Brock, Sebastian P., "Two Letters of the Patriarch Timothy from the Late Eighth Century on Translations from Greek," *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 9 (1999), pp. 233–246.
- Brock, Sebastian P., "Two Syriac Translations of the Life of Epiphanius," *British School at Athens Studies* 8 (2001), pp. 19–25.
- Brock, Sebastian P., "Without Mushê of Nisibis, Where Would We Be? Some Reflections

- on the Transmission of Syriac Literature," *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 56 (2004), 15–24.
- Browne, G.M. *The Old Nubian Martyrdom of Saint George*, Louvain: Peeters, 1998.
- Budge, E.A.W., tr. *The Chronography of Gregory Abû'l Faraj, the Son of Aaron, the Hebrew Physician, Commonly known as Bar Hebraeus, Being the First Part of His Political History of the World*, London: Oxford University Press, 1932.
- Butts, Aaron Michael, "Greek Loanwords in Syriac," *Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics*, Leiden: Brill, 2014.
- Capon, Laurent, "Le fragment araméen christo-palestinien de la *Vie d'Abraham de Qidun* (ms. 12 746 de la collection Taylor-Schechter): Nouvelles Lectures," *Sur les pas des Araméens chrétiens. Mélanges offerts à Alain Desreumaux*, eds. Françoise Briquel Chatonnet and Muriel Debié, Paris: Geuthner, 2010, pp. 231–240.
- Carrara, Angelo Alves, "Geoponica and Nabatean Agriculture: A New Approach into their Sources and Authorship," *Arabic Sciences and Philosophy* 16 (2006), pp. 103–132.
- Chantladze, Ani, "Euthymius the Athonite's Translation of Maximus the Confessor's *Quaestiones ad Thalassium*," *Maximus the Confessor and Georgia*, eds. Tamila Mgaloblishvili and Lele Khoperia, London: Bennett & Bloom, 2009, pp. 49–58.
- Conybeare, Frederick Cornwallis, *A Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, London: British Museum, 1913.
- Coulie, Bernard, "Les versions orientales des commentaires mythologiques du Pseudo-Nonnos et la réception de la mythologie classique," *La diffusione dell'eredità classica nell'età tardoantica e medievale. Il Romanzo di Alessandro e altri scritti. Atti del seminario internazionale di studio (Roma-Napoli, 25–27 settembre 1997)*, eds. Rosa Bianca Finazzi and Alfredo Valvo, Alexandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 1998, pp. 113–123.
- Daiber, Hans, "The Meteorology of Theophrastus in Syriac and Arabic Translation," *Theophrastus: His Psychological, Doxographical, and Scientific Writings*, eds. William W. Fortenbaugh and Dimitri Gutas, New Brunswick: Transaction, 1992, pp. 166–306.
- De la Vaissière, Étienne, "Central Asia and the Silk Road," *Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity*, ed. Scott Fitzgerald Johnson, Oxford: Oxford University, 2012, pp. 142–169.
- Dean, James Elmer, ed. and tr. *Epiphanius' Treatise on Weights and Measures: The Syriac Version*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935.
- Degen, Rainer, "Zur syrischen Übersetzung der Aphorismen des Hippokrates," *Oriens Christianus* 62 (1978), pp. 36–52.
- Djobadze, Wachtang Z., *Materials for the Study of Georgian Monasteries in the Western Environs of Antioch on the Orontes*, Louvain: Peeters, 1976.
- Drossaart Lulofs, H.J., ed. and tr., *Nicolaus Damascenus on the Philosophy of Aristotle: Fragments of the First Five Books Translated from the Syriac with an Introduction and Commentary*, Leiden: Brill, 1969.
- Drossaart Lulofs, H.J., "The Syriac Translation of Theophrastus' Meteorology," *Autour*

- d' Aristote: Recueil d'études de philosophie ancienne et médiévale offert à Monseigneur A. Mansion*, ed. L. de Raemaker, Louvain: Publications universitaires de Louvain, 1955, pp. 433–449.
- Duensing, H. *Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäische Texte und Fragmente*, Göttingen: Universitäts-Buchdruckerei, 1906.
- Duval, Rubens, *La littérature syriaque*, 3d ed., Paris: V. Lecoffre, 1907.
- Erdal, Marcel, *A Grammar of Old Turkic*, Leiden: Boston, 2004.
- Fiori, Emiliano, "L'épitomé syriaque du *Traité sur les causes du tout* d'Alexandre d'Aphrodise attribué à Serge de Reš'aynā," *Le Muséon* 123 (2010), pp. 127–158.
- Flügel, Gustav, ed., *Kitâb al-Fihrist mit Anmerkungen*, 2 vols., eds. Johannes Roediger and August Müller, Leipzig: F.C.W. Vogel, 1871.
- Frank, R.M., "The Use of the *Enneads* by John of Scythopolis," *Le Muséon* 100 (1987), pp. 101–108.
- Frick, C., "Die syrische, die armenische und die georgische Übersetzung der homerischen Gedichte," *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* 30 (1910), cols. 444–447.
- Furlani, Giuseppe, "Di alcuni passi della *Metafisica* di Aristotele presso Giacomo d'Edessa," *Rendiconti della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, ser. v, vol. 30 (1921), pp. 268–273.
- Furlani, Giuseppe, "Bruchstücke einer syrischen Paraphrase der «Elementa» des Eukleides," *Zeitschrift für Semitistik* 3 (1924), pp. 27–52, 212–235.
- Furlani, Giuseppe, "L'ΕΓΧΕΙΡΙΔΙΟΝ di Giacomo d'Edessa nel testo siriano," *Rendiconti della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, ser. vi, vol. 4 (1928), pp. 222–249.
- Furlani, Giuseppe, *Le Categorie e gli Ermeneutici di Aristotele nella versione siriana di Giorgio delle Nazioni*, Rome: Dott. Giovanni Bardi, 1933.
- Garitte, Gérard, *Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens littéraires du Mont Sinaï*, Louvain: Peeters, 1956.
- Geiger, Abraham, Review of Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, vol. 1, *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 17 (1863), pp. 752–759.
- Genequand, Charles, *Alexander of Aphrodisias: On the Cosmos*, Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- Georr, Khalil, *Les Catégories d'Aristotele dans leurs versions syro-arabes*, Beirut: Institut français de Damas, 1948.
- Gil, Moshe, *A History of Palestine, 634–1099*, tr. Ethel Broido, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Gorgadze, S.R., ed. *Nemesios emeseli. Bunebisat'ws kacisa, beržnuli'tgan gadmojobuli iovane petric'is mier*, Tbilisi: Gamoc'ema Saeklesio muzeumisa, 1914.
- Graf, Georg, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, vol. 1, Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1944.
- Greatrex, G., R.P. Phenix, and C. Horn, *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor: Church and War in Late Antiquity*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011.

- Gutas, Dimitri, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early 'Abbāsīd Society (2nd–4th/8th–10th Centuries)*, London: Routledge, 1998.
- Hämeen-Anttila, Jaakko, *The Last Pagans of Iraq: Ibn Wahshīyya and his Nabatean Agriculture*, Leiden: Brill, 2006.
- Hilkens, Andy, "Syriac *Ilioupersides*: The Fall of Troy in Syriac Historiography," *Le Muséon* 126 (2013), pp. 285–317.
- Hoffmann, Carsten, *Die Handschrift Éth. d'Abbadie 20: Text, Übersetzung, Kommentar*, Master's thesis, Freie Universität Berlin, 2013.
- Hoyland, Robert, "Early Islam as a Late Antique Religion," *Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity*, ed. Scott Fitzgerald Johnson, Oxford: Oxford University, 2012, pp. 1053–1077.
- Hugonnard-Roche, Henri, "Le corpus philosophique syriaque aux VI<sup>e</sup>–VII<sup>e</sup> siècles," *The Libraries of the Neoplatonists*, ed. C. D'Ancona, Leiden: Brill, 2007, pp. 279–291.
- Hugonnard-Roche, Henri, "Note sur Sergius de Resh 'Aina, traducteur du grec en syriaque et commentateur d'Aristote," *The Ancient Tradition in Christian and Islamic Hellenism*, eds. G. Endress and R. Kruk, Leiden: Brill, 1997, pp. 121–143.
- Hugonnard-Roche, Henri, "Sur les versions syriaques des Catégories d'Aristote," *Journal Asiatique* 275 (1987), pp. 205–222.
- Jugeli, Victoria, *The Blessed Theodoret of Cyrus: the life, activities, creed, writings and their Georgian translations* (in Georgian), vol. 1, Tbilisi, 2008.
- Kessel, Grigory, "The Syriac Epidemics and the Problem of Its Identification," *Epidemics in Context: Greek Commentaries on Hippocrates in the Arabic Tradition*, ed. Peter E. Pormann, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2012, pp. 93–117.
- King, Daniel, "Alexander of Aphrodisias' *On the Principles of the Universe* in a Syriac Adaptation," *Le Muséon* 123 (2010), pp. 159–191.
- King, Daniel, *The Earliest Translation of Aristotle's Categories in Syriac: Text, Translation, and Commentary*, Brill: Leiden, 2010.
- King, Daniel, *The Syriac Versions of the Writings of Cyril of Alexandria: A Study in Translation Technique*, Leuven: Peeters, 2008.
- King, Daniel, "Why were the Syrians Interested in Greek Philosophy?" *History and Identity in the Late Antique Near East*, ed. P. Wood, Oxford: Oxford University, 2013, pp. 61–82.
- Kiraz, George, ed., *Comparative Edition of the Syriac Gospels*, 4 vols., Leiden: Brill, 1996.
- Köbert, Raimund, "Bemerkungen zu den syrischen Zitaten aus Homer und Platon im 5. Buch der Rhetorik des Anton von Tagrit und zum syrischen *Peri askeseos* angeblich von Plutarch," *Orientalia* 40 (1971), pp. 438–447.
- Kosack, Wolfgang, *Lehrbuch des Koptischen*, Graz: Akadem. Druck- u. Verlagsanst., 1974.
- Kühn, Karl Gottlob, ed., *Claudii Galeni Opera Omnia*, 22 vols., Leipzig: C. Knobloch, 1821–1833.

- Kunitzsch, Paul, "Über einige Spuren der syrischen Almagestübersetzungen," *Πρισματα: Naturwissenschaftliche Studien. Festschrift für Willy Hartner*, eds. Y. Maeyama and W.G. Saltzer, Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1977, pp. 203–210.
- Lagarde, Paul Anton de, *De geoponicon versione syriaca commentatio*, Leipzig, 1855.
- Lagarde, Paul Anton de, ed., *Geoponicon in sermonem syriacum versorum quae supersunt*, Leipzig: Teubner, 1860.
- Lamberigts, Mathijs, "Pelagius and Pelagians," *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*, eds. Susan Ashbrook Harvey and David G. Hunter, Oxford: Oxford University, 2008, pp. 258–279.
- Langlois, Victor, *Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie*, vol. 1, Paris: Firmin Didot, 1867.
- Land, J.P.N., *Anecdota Syriaca*, vol. 1, Leiden: Brill, 1862.
- Leroy, Jules "Moïse de Nisibe," *Symposium Syriacum, 1972: célébré dans les jours 26–31 octobre 1972 à l'Institut Pontifical Oriental de Rome*, ed. Ignatius Ortiz de Urbina, Rome: Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum, 1974, pp. 457–470.
- Lippert, Julius, ed., *Ibn al-Qiftī's Ta'rīḥ al-Ḥukamā'*, Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1903.
- Manandian, Agop, "Die Scholien zu fünf Reden des Gregor von Nazianz," *Zeitschrift für armenische Philologie* 1 (1903), pp. 220–300.
- Maraval, Pierre, ed. and tr., *Égérie, Journal de Voyage*, Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1982.
- Margoliouth, D., *Analecta orientalia ad Poeticam Aristoteleam*, London: Nutt, 1887.
- Marti, Heinrich, *Übersetzer der Augustin-Zeit*, Munich: Fink, 1974.
- McCollum, Adam Carter, "Garshuni As It Is: Some Observations from Reading East and West Syriac Manuscripts," *Hugoye* 17 (2014), pp. 215–235.
- Melikishvili, Damana, "The Principles of Term Formation of the Gelati Theological School and the Gelati Translator of the Works of Maximus the Confessor," *Maximus the Confessor and Georgia*, eds. Tamila Mgaloblishvili and Lele Khoperia, London: Bennett & Bloom, 2009, pp. 101–112.
- Metreveli, Helene, et al., *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera, Versio Iberica I: Orationes I, XLV, XLIV, XLI*, Turnhout: Brepols, 1998.
- Müller, August, ed., *'Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā'*, 2 vols., Cairo, 1299/1882.
- Müller-Kessler, Christa, *Grammatik des Christlich-Palästinisch-Aramäischen*, Hildesheim: Olms, 1991.
- Müller-Kessler, Christa and Michael Sokoloff, *The Forty Martyrs of the Sinai Desert, Eulogios, the Stone Cutter and Anastasia*, Groningen: Styx, 1996.
- Müller-Kessler, Christa and Michael Sokoloff, *The Christian Palestinian Aramaic Old Testament and Apocrypha Version from the Early Period*, Groningen: Styx, 1997.
- Müller-Kessler, Christa and Michael Sokoloff, *The Christian Palestinian Aramaic New Testament Version from the Early Period: Vol. 2A, Gospels*, Groningen: Styx, 1998.
- Müller-Kessler, Christa and Michael Sokoloff, *The Christian Palestinian Aramaic New*

- Testament Version from the Early Period: Vol. 2B, Acts of the Apostles and Epistles*, Groningen: Styx, 1998.
- Nimmo Smith, Jennifer, *Pseudo-Nonniani in IV Orationes Gregorii Nazianzeni Commentarii*, Turnhout: Brepols, 1992.
- Nöldeke, Theodor, "Bar Chōnī über Homer, Hesiod und Orpheus," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 53 (1899), pp. 501–507.
- Orlandi, Tito, "Les papyrus coptes du Musée égyptien de Turin," *Le Muséon* 87 (1974), pp. 115–127.
- Orlandi, Tito, "La traduzione copta di Platone, *Resp.* IX, 588b–589b: Problemi critici ed esegetici," *Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, ser. VIII, vol. 32 (1977), pp. 46–62.
- Othkmezouri, Thamar, "Maximus the Confessor's *Ambigua ad Iohannem* within the Georgian Translation Tradition," *Maximus the Confessor and Georgia*, eds. Tamila Mgaloblishvili and Lele Kopperia, London: Bennett & Bloom, 2009, pp. 73–85.
- Othkmezouri, Thamar, *Pseudo-Nonniani in IV orationes Gregorii Nazianzeni commentarii. Versio Iberica*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2002.
- Outtier, Bernard, "Notule sur les versions orientales de l'*Histoire Philothée* (CPG 6221)," *ANTIΔPON: Hulde aan Dr. Maurits Geerard bij de voltooiing van de Clavis Patrum Graecorum / Hommage à Maurits Geerard pour célébrer l'achèvement de la Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, vol. 1, Wetteren: Cultura, 1984, pp. 73–79.
- Pedersen, Nils Arne, *Demonstrative Proof in Defence of God: A Study of Titus of Bostra's Contra Manichaeos—The Work's Sources, Aims and Relation to its Contemporary Theology*, Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Perczel, István, "Sergius of Reshaina's Syriac Translation of the Dionysian Corpus: Some Preliminary Remarks," *La diffusione dell'eredità classica nell'età tardo-antica e medievale. Filologia, storia, dottrina. Atti del Seminario nazionale di studio (Napoli-Sorrento, 29–31 ottobre 1998)*, ed. C. Baffioni, Alexandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2000, pp. 79–94.
- Peters, F.E., *Aristoteles Arabus: The Oriental Translations and Commentaries on the Aristotelian Corpus*, Leiden: Brill, 1968.
- Philothée, Mère, *Nouveaux Manuscrits Syriaques du Sinaï*, Athens: Fondation du Mont Sinaï, 2008.
- Pietruschka, Ute, "The Relationship of Arabic with Ethiopic Gnomologia: Remarks on a Projected Edition," *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 6 (1992): pp. 88–95.
- Pietruschka, Ute, "Fālasfa ṭābiban: Māṣḥafā fālasfa ṭābiban," *Encyclopaedia Aethiopica* vol. 2, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2005, pp. 485–486.
- Pognon, Henri, *Une version syriaque des aphorismes d'Hippocrate*, Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1903.
- Poirier, Paul-Huber, and Catherine Sensal, "Du grec au syriaque: quelques réflexions sur la version syriaque du *Contra Manichaeos* de Titus de Bostra," *v Symposium*



- Syriacum* 1988, *Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven*, 29–31 Août 1988, ed. René Lavenant, Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1990, pp. 307–319.
- Pormann, Peter E., “The Development of Translation Techniques from Greek into Syriac and Arabic: The Case of Galen’s *On the Faculties and Powers of Simple Drugs*, Book Six,” *Medieval Arabic Thought*, eds. Rotraud Hansberger, M. Afifi al-Akiti, Charles Burnett, London: Warburg Institute, 2012, pp. 143–162.
- Raguse, Hartmut, “Syrische Homerzitate in der Rhetorik des Anton von Tagrit,” *Paul de Lagarde und die syrische Kirchengeschichte*, Göttingen: Lagarde-Haus, 1968, pp. 162–175.
- Raphava, Maia, “A Fragment of Maximus the Confessor’s *Quaestiones ad Thalassium* in Old Georgian Manuscripts,” *Maximus the Confessor and Georgia*, eds. Tamila Mgaloblishvili and Lele Khoperia, London: Bennett & Bloom, 2009, pp. 87–100.
- Rayfield, Donald, *The Literature of Georgia: A History*, 2d ed., Surrey: Curzon, 2000.
- Roggema, B.H. “‘Abdisho’ bar Bahrīz,” *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*, Piscataway: Gorgias, 2011, pp. 2–3.
- A. Roman, et al., *Titi Bostrensis Contra Manichaeos libri IV*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2013.
- Rørdam, T. Skat, *Libri Iudicum et Ruth secundum Versionem Syriaco-Hexaplaem*, Copenhagen: J.C. Scharling, 1861.
- Rosenthal, Franz, *The Classical Heritage in Islam*, tr. Emile and Jenny Marmorstein, London: Routledge, 1975.
- Rosenthal, Franz, “al-Şafadī, Şalāḥ al-Dīn Khalīl b. Aybak,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 8, Leiden: Brill, 1995, pp. 759–760.
- Ryssel, V., “Die astronomischen Briefe Georgs des Araberbischofs,” *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 8 (1893), pp. 1–55.
- Sachau, Ed., *Inedita Syriaca: Eine Sammlung syrischer Übersetzungen von Schriften griechischer Profanliteratur*, Vienna: K.K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1870.
- al-Şafadī, *al-Ġayt al-musaġġam*, 2 vols., Cairo, 1305/1888.
- Sakvarelidze, Nino, “Understanding some Terms in Maximus the Confessor’s *Expositio orationis dominicae* and its Gelati Translation,” *Maximus the Confessor and Georgia*, eds. Tamila Mgaloblishvili and Lele Khoperia, London: Bennett & Bloom, 2009, pp. 59–71.
- Saliba, George, “Paulus Alexandrinus in Syriac and Arabic,” *Byzantion* 65 (1995), pp. 440–454.
- Saliba, George, “The Role of the *Almagest* Commentaries in Medieval Arabic Astronomy: A Preliminary Survey of Ṭūsī’s Redaction of Ptolemy’s *Almagest*,” *Archives internationales d’histoire des sciences* 37 (1987), pp. 3–20.
- Sarkissian, Karekin, *A Brief Introduction to Armenian Christian Literature*, London: Faith, 1960.
- Schulthess, Fredrich, “Die syrischen Kanones der Synoden von Nicaea bis Chalcedon,” *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse* n.s. 10, no. 2 (1908), pp. 160–162.

- Schwartz, E., "Zur Geschichte des Athanasius," *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse*, 1905, pp. 271–279.
- Sherwood, P. "Mimro de Serge de Rešayna sur la vie spirituelle," *L'Orient Syrien* 5 (1960), pp. 433–457; 6 (1961), pp. 95–115, 121–156.
- Simon, Jean, "Notes bibliographiques sur les textes de la «Chrestomathia Aethiopica» de A. Dillmann," *Orientalia* n.s. 10 (1941), pp. 285–311.
- Stone, Michael E., "Concerning the Seventy-Two Translators: Armenian Fragments of Epiphanius, 'On Weights and Measures,'" *The Harvard Theological Review* 73 (1980), pp. 331–336.
- Stone, Michael E., and Roberta R. Ervine, eds. and trs., *The Armenian Texts of Epiphanius of Salamis De mensuris et ponderibus*, Louvain: Peeters, 2000.
- Swete, Henry Barclay, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902.
- Takahashi, Hidemi, *Aristotelian Meteorology in Syriac*, Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- Takahashi, Hidemi, "The Mathematical Sciences in Syriac: From Sergius of Resh-ʿAina and Severus Sebokht to Barhebraeus and Patriarch Niʿmatallah," *Annals of Science* 68 (2011), pp. 477–491.
- Takahashi, Hidemi, "Syriac Fragments of Theophrastean Meteorology and Mineralogy: Fragments in the Syriac Version of Nicolaus Damascenus, *Compendium of Aristotelian Philosophy*, and the Accompanying Scholia," *On the Opuscula of Theophrastus: Akten der 3. Tagung der Karl-und-Gertrud-Abel-Stiftung vom 19.-23. Juli 1999 in Trier*, eds. W. Fortenbaugh and G. Wöhrle, Stuttgart: Steiner, 2002, pp. 189–224.
- Tarán, Leonardo, and Dimitri Gutas, *Aristotle, Poetics: Editio Maior of the Greek Text with Historical Introductions and Philological Commentaries*, Leiden: Brill, 2012.
- Tardieu, Michel, *Manichaeism*, tr. M.B. DeBevoise, Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 2008.
- Tarkhnišvili, Michael, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur*, Vatican City: Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, 1955.
- Ter Petrosian, Levon, *Ancient Armenian Translators*, New York: St. Vartan, 1992.
- Thomson, Robert W., *A Bibliography of Classical Armenian Literature to 1500 AD*, Turnhout: Brepols, 1995.
- Tiedemann, Jörg, *Bitext Alignment*, San Rafael, Cal.: Morgan & Claypool, 2011.
- Till, Walter, "Griechische Philosophen bei den Kopten," *Mémoires de l'Institut français* 67 (1934–1937), pp. 165–174.
- Tvaltvdze, Darejan, *Epʿrem Mciris kolopʿonebi*, Tbilisi, 2009.
- Van Esbroeck, Michel, *Barsabée de Jérusalem sur le Christ et les églises*, Turnhout: Brepols, 1982.
- Van Esbroeck, Michel, "La triple préface syriaque de Phocas," *Denys l'Aréopagite et sa postérité en Orient et en Occident. Actes du Colloque International, Paris, 21–24*

- septembre 1994, ed. Ysabel de Andia, Paris: Institut d'études augustiniennes, 1997, pp. 167–186.
- Van Esbroeck, Michel, "Ein unbekannter Traktat ad Thalassium von Maximus dem Bekenner," *xxv. Deutscher Orientalistentag: vom 8. bis 13. 4. 1991 in München*, ed. C. Wunsch, Stuttgart: Steiner, 1994, pp. 75–82.
- Van Esbroeck, Michel, ed. and tr., *Les versions géorgiennes d'Épiphanes de Chypre. Traité des poids et des mesures*, 2 vols., Louvain: Peeters, 1984.
- Vööbus, Arthur, *History of the School of Nisibis*, Louvain: Peeters, 1965.
- Wagner, Ewald, and Peter Steinmetz, *Der syrische Auszug der Meteorologie des Theophrast*, Mainz: Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1964.
- Walzer, Richard, "New Light on the Arabic Translations of Aristotle," *Oriens* 6 (1953), pp. 91–142.
- Watt, John, "Al-Fārābī and the History of the Syriac Organon," *Malphono w-Rabo d-Malphone: Studies in Honor of Sebastian P. Brock*, ed. George Anton Kiraz, Piscataway: Gorgias, 2008, pp. 751–778.
- Wiessner, Gernot, "Zur Handschriftenüberlieferung der syrischen Fassung des Corpus Dionysiacum," *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. 1. Philologisch-historische Klasse* 3 (1972), pp. 165–216.
- Wilson, N.G., ed., *Saint Basil on Greek Literature*, London: Duckworth, 1975.
- Wright, William, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since the Year 1847*, London: British Museum, 1877.
- Wright, William, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since the Year 1838*, 3 vols., London: British Museum, 1870–1872.
- Wright, William, *A Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge*, 2 vols., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1901.
- Wright, William, "Anecdota Syriaca," *Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record*, n.s. 3, 5 (1863), pp. 115–130.
- Zonta, Mauro, "Nemesiana Syriaca: New Fragments from the Missing Syriac Version of the De Natura Hominis," *Journal of Semitic Studies* 36 (1991), pp. 223–258.