

SEPTUAGINTA AND PESHITTA

JACOB OF EDESSA QUOTING THE OLD TESTAMENT IN MS BL ADD 17134

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ABSTRACT

The Old Testament quotations in the margins of Ms BL Add. 17134 (the Hymns of Severus Antiochenus translated by Paul of Edessa and revised by Jacob of Edessa) derive from Jacob himself and reflect the beginnings of his Old Testament revision completed during the last years of his life. The Peshitta text of the quotations is improved and often substituted by renderings of the Septuagint. This paper presents 207 verses in two sections (of 41 and 21 items) according to their derivation from the Peshitta or the Septuagint.

1. INTRODUCTION

- [1] In 1910/11 E.W. Brooks published¹ the Syriac version of *The Hymns of Severus of Antioch and Others*,² originally translated by Paul of Edessa between 619/29, and revised by Jacob of Edessa in 674/75.³ Based on the two extant manuscripts³ of Jacob's revision

¹ E. W. Brooks, *Jacob of Edessa. The Hymns of Severus of Antioch and Others* (PO 6.1 and 7.5; Turnhout, 1910/1911).

² On this translation and its revision see A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluß der christlich-palästinensischen Texte* (Bonn, 1922), 190 and 253; R. Duval, *La littérature syriaque. Des origines jusqu' à la*

(Ms BL Add. 17134 and Add. 18816), Brooks' edition is a typographical master-piece by the meticulous presentation of Ms BL Add. 17134 and of its revisional features. This manuscript substantially gives the text of Paul's translation and carefully denotes the revisional alterations Jacob introduced to it *inter lineas* or by red ink.⁴ In a note on fol. 75rv Jacob explains the reason and the method of his revision for which he used Greek manuscripts, and gives the date A. Gr. 986 (A. D. 674/75) for his work:⁵

[...] and they [*scil.* the hymns] have been with great care and industry corrected and compared with the Greek manuscripts with all possible accuracy by me the poor and sinful Jacob the industrious,⁶ in the year nine hundred and eighty-six of the Greeks [...] and with all the carefulness in my power I have distinguished between the words of the doctor [i. e., Severus] and those that were added by the same Mar Paul in order that the number of rhythmical divisions might be equal when the words are pronounced, on account of the brevity and succinctness of the expressions of this Syriac language in comparison with the Greek language,

fin de cette littérature après la conquête par les arabes au XIII siècle (Paris, 1907/Amsterdam, 1970), 317-18; W. Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature* (London, 1894/Piscataway, 2001), 135 and 149; J.-B. Chabot, *La littérature syriaque* (Paris, 1934), 86; I. Ortiz de Urbina, *Patrologia syriaca* (Rome, 1965), 173 and 180; F. Nau, 'L'Araméen chrétien (Syriaque). Les traductions faites du grec en syriaque au viie siècle,' *RHR* 99 (1929) 263-65.

³ W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired Since the Year 1838*, 1 (London, 1870/Piscataway, 2004), 330-339 (no. ccccxix) and 339-340 (no. ccccxii). A facsimile of Ms Add 17134 in 3 (London, 1872/Piscataway, 2004), plate v.

⁴ Brooks puts Jacob's corrections *inter lineas* in the notes; the words and single letters that Jacob painted red, are represented by Estrangelo-type to distinguish them from Paul's text in Serto-type, and by italics in the translation.

⁵ Syriac text by W. Wright, *Catalogue 1*, 336-37; text and translation by Brooks, *The Hymns of Severus* (PO 7,5), 801-02.

⁶ The identification of 'Jacob the industrious' with Jacob of Edessa was rejected by F. Nau, 'Notice sur un nouveau manuscrit de l'Octoeuchus de Sévère d'Antioche, et sur l'auteur Jacques Philoponus, distinct de Jacques d'Édesse,' *JA* 12 (9^e série, 1898), 346-51; but later he accepted the identification (F. Nau, 'Les traductions,' 264 note 1).

by writing the words of the doctor [i. e., Severus] in ink, and writing those that were added in red paint (σηρικόν); while the words which the translator altered, for the same reason, inserting one expression in place of another, in order that the measure of the period might agree with the rhythm of the Greek words, I have written for you in small, fine letters above the same groups of words between the lines, in order that you may easily know how they stand in the Greek whenever you wish to do so; and how the proofs and testimonies from the scriptural words of the Holy Scriptures in the hymns themselves run, without variation and without addition or diminution' (Brooks' translation in PO 7.5 page 801/02).

[2] Impressed by this note and by the actual presence of the revisional features it describes, W. Wright suggested Ms Add. 17134 to be an autograph⁷ of Jacob and took the date A. Gr. 986 as the date of the manuscript itself. Brooks in the preface of his edition, however, rejected Wright's suggestion by declaring that the second manuscript Add. 18816 often gives a 'better' text than Ms Add. 17134. A check of the readings rejected by Brooks indeed gives an idea about a certain inferiority of Ms Add. 17134 to Ms Add. 18816. The text is slightly corrupted by scribal errors and orthographical mistakes,⁸ which reflect the process of transmission and can hardly be ascribed to Jacob himself. As Ms Add. 17134 can

⁷ Wright, *Catalogue 1*, 338: 'The reasons for supposing that this manuscript is an autograph of the famous Jacob, bishop of Edessa, are 1. The antiquity of the volume. 2. The character of the handwriting, which is not regular enough for that of a professional scribe. 3. The absence of any indication of another scribe. 4. The care with which the specifications contained in the note, fol. 75a, have been adhered to throughout the whole volume, thus giving it an entirely different character and appearance from those of such copies as Add 18816 [...]. 5. The transcription in full, on the upper and lower margins, of all the passages of Scripture referred to in the hymns. 6. The general accuracy with which the Greek proper names and other words are written in Greek letters; and the correctness with which they are represented in Syriac characters [...].'

⁸ F. Nau gives a different (and certainly wrong) interpretation: 'Il semble préférable de dire que le scribe du seconde manuscrit [i.e., Add. 18816] a simplifié et parfois corrigé le premier [i.e., Add. 17134] qui resterait ainsi l'autographe de Jacques d'Edesse' (F. Nau, 'Les traductions,' 263-64

be assigned to the 8th cent. on palaeographical ground,⁹ it is a copy perhaps written already during Jacob's lifetime or not long after his death in 708.

- [3] The authenticity of Jacob's revisional principles is not affected by the slightly corrupted text of Ms Add 17134. Although Ms Add. 18816 does not exhibit these corruptions, it is of restricted critical value especially with regard to Jacob's revisional imprint. This manuscript, which Wright assigns to the 9th cent., basically gives the same text and the same sequence of hymns as Ms Add. 17134; but it omits all revisional features: no corrections, no coloured words or letters are given (except in the hymns 131 and 132), and the reviser's note is excluded. In few instances, however, the text of this manuscript tacitly adopts Jacob's corrections in the main text. The reduction of the revisional features in Ms Add. 18816 gives a greater significance to Ms Add 17134 with the fully preserved revisional features;¹⁰ in text-critical respect, however, Ms Add. 18816 often is to be preferred. A later arrangement and supplementation of the hymns according to the 'eight tones' to which they are set (Octoëchos) can be found in numerous manuscripts.¹¹

The Biblical Quotations

- [4] Ms Add. 17134 of the British Library is a treasury of biblical quotations of both Testaments. There are two different kinds of

⁹ The script is almost identical with the one of plate LIII (Ms Sachau 321, A.D. 740/41) in W. H. P. Hatch, *An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts* (Boston, 1946/Piscataway, 2002).

¹⁰ This manuscript, however, is already affected by a fading-out of the revisional features. In several cases the biblical text usually fully cited in the margins (see below) is not given, but replaced by the reference only.

¹¹ See Brooks, *The Hymns of Severus* (PO 6.1) 6.—Mss Add. 17134 and Add. 18816 do not yet indicate the tones to which the hymns later were set; but in a few places the tones are added *secunda manu*. Brooks' edition throughout adds the tones drawn from the later collections. On the 'Syriac Octoëchos' see A. Baumstark, *Festbrevier und Kirchenjahr der syrischen Jakobiten. Eine liturgische geschichtliche Vorarbeit auf Grund handschriftlicher Studien in Jerusalem und Damaskus* (SGKA 3; Paderborn, 1910), 45-48; J. Jeannin/J. Puyade, 'L'Octoëchos syrien,' *OrChr* N.F. 3 (1913), 82-104; 277-98; J. Jeannin, 'Octoëchos syrien,' in *DACL* 12/2 (1936) 1888-1899.

quotations: Those inside the text, and those outside in the margins. Jacob not only revised Paul's translation of the hymns including its biblical allusions and quotations; he also introduced biblical material to this revision which is not an integral part of Paul's translation but drawn from his own resources. These independent marginal quotations are the subject of the present study.¹²

- [5] Texts of sometimes considerable length (e.g., Luke xv, 3-32) Jacob quotes in the upper and lower margins of Ms Add. 17134. Their intention is—according to Jacob's note on fol. 75rv—to present the full scriptural texts ('without variation and without addition or diminution') alluded to or distorted by adaptation to the Greek metre in Paul's translation.¹³ All marginal quotations belong to the original lay-out of the manuscript; by a graphical sign they are attached to words in the main text. Brooks' biblical index¹⁴ gives ca. 1000 Old Testament quotations. Fully quoted in the margins are ca. 600, additional 365 short quotations from the Psalms are used as headers for the 365 hymns inside the text; the rest is represented by a marginal reference only (e.g., ܬܠܬܐ ܕܡܝܚܐ). From the New Testament ca. 350 texts are quoted.

Septuagint and Peshitta

- [6] According to Brooks' index, ca. 150 of these marginal texts are classified as being quoted from the Septuagint; 17 are 'neither P nor LXX';¹⁵ 4 are taken from Theodotion, 1 from the Syro-

¹² The revisional procedure probably is the same as that Thomas of Harqel used at the beginning of the 7th century revising the Philoxenian version.

¹³ The last sentence of Jacob's note quoted above ('and how the proofs and testimonies ...') refers to the biblical texts in the margin, not to Jacob's interlinear corrections of biblical quotations inside the text. These interlinear corrections are part of the general corrections of Paul's translation according to the Greek text of the Hymns; they are not corrections according to an 'unvaried' Bible text. Brooks obviously missed an explicit reference to the margin in Jacob's note, and declared: 'Some words have perhaps fallen out in this sentence' (802).

¹⁴ The index is appended to PO 14.1 300-309 [470-479] (*Letters of Severus of Antioch*, ed. by Brooks).

¹⁵ Unfortunately these texts are very short, only Lam 3:22 is suitable for comparison. It shows a mixture of the Septuagint and the Peshitta, a characteristic feature of a large number of Jacob's marginal quotations (see

Hexapla; and all 13 quotations from Acts are given according to the Harklean version. The majority of unclassified references in the index are quotations from the Peshitta. This mixture of versions seems to be inconsistent with the reviser's intention to give the scriptural words 'without variation and without addition or diminution.' To contrast the allusions and distorted quotations in Paul's translation we expect him to quote a uniform 'Greek' text (i.e., the Syro-Hexapla, and the Harklean) in accordance with the original language of the hymns. Instead of fully adopting the existing versions from the Greek, Jacob is quoting the Septuagint (and Theodotion) in translations of his own; although there are agreements with the Syro-Hexapla, these translations are independent renderings of the Septuagint.

- [7] How to explain Jacob's versional inconsistency with quoting the scriptural texts? The versional diversity of scriptural quotations does not derive from the specific wording of the allusions and quotations in Paul's text. The dominating text quoted (of both Testaments) is the Peshitta, followed next by the Septuagint, while the Syro-Hexapla, Theodotion, and the Harklean are too infrequently quoted to contribute much to the versional inconsistency. With regard to the general intention of Jacob's marginal quotations to cite an 'unvaried' text, the Septuagint quotations are likely to take the place of Peshitta texts which differ too much from Jacob's standard, i.e., the Greek (Septuagint). This suggestion receives support from the distribution of the Septuagint quotations: Most of them are in poetic books, poetic passages or in the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah, i.e., not in texts of simple narrative structure.¹⁶ In these portions the Peshitta could be easily incongruent with the Septuagint. The Peshitta texts accepted by Jacob for quoting, however, are also far from being *fully* aligned with the Septuagint; but they are in a remarkably *better* alignment

below). Although Exod 3:2 (PO 7.5 page 639 [227]) is a rather long quotation, there are no significant distinctive features between Jacob's text, the Syro-Hexapla and the Peshitta. The remaining 15 quotations (Psalms) are short headers of the hymns.

¹⁶ Brooks declares '[...] I cannot trace any principle except that in Genesis they [i.e., the citations] are from P, in the rest of the law from LXX, in Job and in the books not contained in the Hebrew from LXX, in Daniel from Theodotion, and in Isaiah in the earlier hymns generally from P, in the later generally from LXX' (PO 7.5 page 6).

with the Septuagint than the Peshitta texts rejected by Jacob. The criterion for adoption or substitution of Peshitta text obviously is not the *literal* agreement with the Septuagint, but the *general* congruence given by (almost) identical structure of the verse and by (almost) identical sense.

- [8] A hint to Jacob's intention of substituting Peshitta texts by Septuagint renderings of his own is his obvious refusal to replace the rejected Peshitta texts by the Syro-Hexapla. This refusal might derive from the extreme Graecised style of this translation. His own renderings match better the style of the Peshitta by the occasional adoption of Peshitta elements without adopting the Peshitta as such. The influence of the Peshitta in Jacob's own renderings of the Septuagint is mainly on the lexical level, while the syntax and the general structure of the verse are taken from the Septuagint. On the other hand, numerous minor adaptations to the Septuagint Jacob introduces to those Peshitta texts taken over by him without, however, introducing substantial changes to the text.

- [9] With regard to the *New Testament* quotations there is some reason to believe that Jacob was satisfied with the Peshitta version and its translational features. The New Testament quotations in Ms Add 17134 are hardly affected by diversity or revisional activity. With the exception of thirteen quotations from the Harklean version of Acts,¹⁷ they are all taken from the Peshitta. According to the ca. 120 quotations from the *Corpus Paulinum*,¹⁸ the textual character of the New Testament quotations agrees with the 'majority text' of that version.¹⁹ This agreement and the versional uniformity are in strong contrast with the diversity of Jacob's Old

¹⁷ The Harklean quotations are studied by W. D. MacHardy, 'James of Edessa's citations from the Philoxenian text of the Book of Acts,' *JThS* 43 (1942), 168-173; 'The text of Jacob of Edessa's citations and in the Cambridge Add. MS 1700,' *JThS* 50 (1949), 186-87.

¹⁸ These quotations are included in the comparative edition of that *Corpus* published by B. Aland/A. Juckel, *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung*, II, 1-3 (ANTT 14, 23, 32; Berlin-New York, 1991, 1995, 2002).

¹⁹ This 'majority text' of the *Corpus Paulinum* was prepared by G. H. Gwilliam and J. Pinkerton and included in the New Testament volume issued by the *British and Foreign Bible Society* in 1920. The majority character of this text, however, needs to be improved by additional collations.

Testament quotations and may be taken as his acknowledgement of the New Testament Peshitta as a satisfactory translation. While Jacob might have taken the New Testament texts in the margins of Ms Add 17134 from a Peshitta manuscript, he carefully checked for the congruence of the Old Testament quotations with the Septuagint.

- [10] To set out the textual character of Jacob's marginal quotations in some detail, a total of 207 verses in 62 items are presented in two sections (of 41 and 21 items) according to their derivation from the Peshitta or the Septuagint.

2. THE OLD TESTAMENT: JACOB QUOTING THE PESHITTA

- [11] In the following list 41 OT texts quoted by Jacob of Edessa in the margins of Ms Add 17134 are compared with the OT Peshitta²⁰ and with the Septuagint.²¹ The Targumim²² were constantly

²⁰ The **Peshitta** follows the Leiden edition: *Liber Genesis* (based on material collected and studies by T. Jansma, prepared by the Peshitta Institute (I,1 1977); *Leviticus* ed. D. J. Lane, (I,2 1991); *Liber Samuelis* ed. P. A. H. de Boer (II,2 1978); *Liber Isaiae* ed. S. P. Brock (III,1 1987); *Liber Ezechielis* ed. M. J. Mulder (III,3 1985); *Dodekapropheton*, ed. A. Gelston (III,4 1980); for *Jeremiah* and *Lamentations* (both to be published in the Leiden Edition) I use the edition of S. Lee (1823).—The **Syro-Hexapla** is used according to the edition of Ceriani (and Vööbus, where appropriate): *Codex Syro-Hexaplaris Ambrosianus photolithographice editus* [Monumenta sacra et profana 7]. Mediolani, 1874; A. Vööbus, *The Book of Isaiah in the Version of the Syro-Hexapla. A facsimile edition of Ms. St. Mark 1 in Jerusalem* (CSCO 449/Subs. 68; Louvain 1983).

²¹ The Septuaginta are quoted according to the *Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum Graecum. Auctoritate Societatis Litterarum Göttingensis editum*; I: *Genesis*, ed. J.W. Wevers (1974), II,2: *Leviticus*, ed. J. W. Wevers, U. Quast (1986), XIII: *Duodecim prophetae*, ed. J. Ziegler (1943), XIV: *Isaias*, ed. J. Ziegler (1939), XVI,1: *Ezechiel*, ed. J. Ziegler (1952), XV: *Ieremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Ieremiae*, ed. J. Ziegler (Göttingen 1957). For the books of Samuel I used the edition of A. E. Brooke/N. McLean/H. J. Thackeray, *The Old Testament in Greek*, II,1:1 and 2 Samuel (Cambridge, 1927).

²² A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic. Based on old manuscripts and printed texts*. 1: The Pentateuch according to Targum Onkelos (Leiden, 1959); 2: The Former Prophets according to Targum Jonathan (Leiden, 1959); 3: The Latter Prophets According to Targum Jonathan (Leiden, 1962).

By their structure and sense the following texts are fairly well congruent with the Septuagint. Not surprisingly, the congruence is not the same in the items of narrative texts (e.g., Gen and ½ Sam) and in those of prophetic texts. There are two texts (item 4 and 38) with explicit (though tacit) 'corrections' according to the Septuagint. One more text (item 21) is followed by Jacob's note to the different text of the Septuagint. With regard to the numerous minor adaptations to the Septuagint there is no doubt that Jacob carefully compared the Peshitta text taken over by him with the Greek text.

- 5) Gen 3:17-20/I 55; fol. 12r

17 ነገሩ ጸገረዎ] ጸገረ ጸገሩ ነገሩ Jac — 18 ብሰጠዎ] ብሰጠዎ *MS Add 17134 ex err* — 19 ነፍቱ] *MS Add 17134 ex err*
no seyame

6) Gen 3:17-20/II 767 [355]; fol. 69v
 No variant reading

7) Gen 18:1-5/II 794 [382]; fol. 74r
desinit ለሐ

4 ለሐ Jac 7a1 10l1 12a1*fam* 12b2 | ለሐ Jac
 ለሐ Jac — 5 ለሐ Jac

According to Jacob's text, Abraham is addressing to a single person.

8) Gen 19:15.17.26/II 716 [304]; fol. 61r
 15 ለ] *om Jac* LXX | ለ] ለ Jac 5b1

9) Gen 19:17.26/II 732 [320]; fol. 64r
vs 17 desinit ለ
 26 ለ] ለ Jac (explicitly referring to Lot's wife)

10) Gen 28:16-17/I 156; 35r
 17 ለ] *om om Jac* 5b1 | ለ] ለ Jac | ለ] ለ
 ለ] ለ Jac 5b1→

11) Gen 28:16-19/I 161; fol. 35v
desinit ለ

17 ለ] *om om Jac* 5b1 — 18 ለ] ለ Jac 5b1 |
 ለ] ለ Jac (*cf vs 11*) | ለ] ለ *MS Add 17134 ex err*

12) Gen 50:24-26/II 773 [361]; fol. 70r
 no variant reading

13) Lev 14:3-7/II 750 [338]; fol. 67r
incipit ለ (*sic*)
desinit ለ

5 ለ] *om om Jac* — 6 ለ] ለ Jac |
 ለ] ለ Jac (*cf vs 5*)

14) 1Sam 17:34-36/II 759 [347]; fol. 68r
semper ለ — 34 ለ] ለ Jac LXX: 245 376
 (ἐλάμβανον) 6h1.19 8a1 9a1*fam* 10c1 12a1*fam*→ — 36 ለ] ለ Jac

The variants do not agree with Jacob's later revision, see A. Salvesen, *The Books of Samuel in the Syriac Version of Jacob of Edessa* (MPIL 10; Leiden, 1999), part I, 54.

15) 1Sam 17:49-51/II 759 [347]; fol. 68r

desinit ܡܠܝ

semper ܠܐܬܝ — 50 ܠܐܬܝ ܡܠܝܬܐ] ܠܐܬܝ ܡܠܝܬܐ *MS Add 17134 ex err*

16) 2Sam 23:13-17/II 631 [219]; fol. 46v

desinit ܠܐܬܝ ܠܐܬܝ

14 ܠܐܬܝ ܠܐܬܝ] ܠܐܬܝ ܠܐܬܝ *Jac* 9c1 9l2 10c1.2 11c1 12a1*fam*→ —

15 ܠܐܬܝ ܠܐܬܝ] ܠܐܬܝ ܠܐܬܝ *Jac* — 16 ܠܐܬܝ] *add* ܠܐܬܝ *Jac* LXX (oi) | ܠܐܬܝ ܠܐܬܝ *Jac* | ܠܐܬܝ ܠܐܬܝ *Jac* 9l2→

Jacob's later revision offers also ܠܐܬܝ (in *vs* 14 and 15; in 16 different construction), see A. Salvesen, *The Books of Samuel* part I, 160.

17) Isa 8:23—9:1/II, 605 [193]; fol. 41r

incipit ܠܐܬܝ ܠܐܬܝ ܠܐܬܝ

ix,1 ܠܐܬܝ *ed Leid sub †* | ܠܐܬܝ ܠܐܬܝ *Jac* LXX (oi κατοιχοῦντες) 7a1 8a1 11l1 12a1

18) Isa 10:33—11:3/I, 175; fol. 38v

33 ܠܐܬܝ] *om Jac* — 34 ܠܐܬܝ] ܠܐܬܝ *MS Add 17134 ex err* — xi,1 ܠܐܬܝ] *om Jac*

19) Isa 12:2-3/I, 63; fol. 14v

2 ܠܐܬܝ] ܠܐܬܝ *MS Add 17134 ex err*

20) Isa 14:3-15/II, 599 [187]; fol. 40r

6 ܠܐܬܝ] ܠܐܬܝ *Jac* 9a1*fam* — 8 ܠܐܬܝ] ܠܐܬܝ *Jac* 6h3 9a1*fam* 9d1 10d1 11d1 12a1→ | ܠܐܬܝ] *syome Jac (contra Brooks), cf* LXX (τὰ ξύλα) | ܠܐܬܝ] ܠܐܬܝ *Jac* LXX (ἀνέβη) — 13 ܠܐܬܝ] ܠܐܬܝ *Jac* 9a1*fam* 9d1 10d1 11d1 12a1 | ܠܐܬܝ] ܠܐܬܝ *Jac* SyHex LXX (θήσω) | ܠܐܬܝ ܠܐܬܝ] ܠܐܬܝ *Jac cf* LXX (ἐν ὄρει ὑψηλῷ) (ܠܐܬܝ ܠܐܬܝ 9a1*fam* →) — 15 ܠܐܬܝ] ܠܐܬܝ *Jac*

21) Isa 14:10-12/I 101; fol. 23r

desinit ܠܡܚܝܬ

no variant reading; but the following addition: ܡܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܝܬܐ
(the Peshitta reading is ܡܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܝܬܐ).

22) Isa 28:16/II, 662 [250]; fol. 52v

incipit ܠܡܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܝܬܐ

16 ܠܡܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܝܬܐ *om* ܠܡܚܝܬܐ *Jac* | ܠܡܚܝܬܐ *Ms Add 17134 ex err*

23) Isa 29:13-14/II 742 [330]; fol. 65v

no variant reading

24) Isa 32:1-6/II 596 [184]; fol. 39v

3 ܠܡܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܝܬܐ *Ms Add 17134 ex err* — 5 ܠܡܚܝܬܐ *Jac* 6h3→

25) Isa 35:3-10/I 134; fol. 30v

5 ܠܡܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܝܬܐ *Jac* — 10 ܠܡܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܝܬܐ *Jac cf LXX*
(καὶ συνηγμένοι) | ܠܡܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܝܬܐ *Ms Add 17134 ex err*

26) Isa 40:27-41:2/II 615 [203]; fol. 43v

28 ܠܡܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܝܬܐ *Jac* — 31 ܠܡܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܝܬܐ *Jac cf LXX* (ὡς ἄετοί)

27) Isa 49:14-18/II 662 [250]; fol. 52r

15 ܠܡܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܝܬܐ *Jac (sic, om ܡܚܝܬܐ)* — 16 ܠܡܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܝܬܐ *Ms Add 17134 ex err* — 17 ܠܡܚܝܬܐ *add* ܠܡܚܝܬܐ *Jac* — 18 ܠܡܚܝܬܐ *Ms Add 17134 ex err*

28) Isa 49:18-21/I 137; fol. 31r

18 ܠܡܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܝܬܐ *Ms Add 17134 ex err* — 20 ܠܡܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܝܬܐ *Jac* 9l4.6 12a1

29) Isa 61:3-8/II 639 [227]; fol. 48r

incipit ܠܡܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܝܬܐ

3 ܠܡܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܝܬܐ *Jac* — 4 ܠܡܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܝܬܐ *Jac* | ܠܡܚܝܬܐ ... ܠܡܚܝܬܐ *om Jac* — 5 ܠܡܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܝܬܐ *Jac* | ܠܡܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܝܬܐ *Ms Add 17134 ex err* — 6 ܠܡܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܝܬܐ *Jac* 9a1*fam* — 7 ܠܡܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܝܬܐ *Ms Add 17134 ex err*

30) Isa 58:1-2/II 710 [298]; fol. 60r

1 ܠܡܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܝܬܐ *Jac* 8a1^c 9d1.2 9l3 10d1 12a1 12d1.2→

- 31) Isa 62:1-4/I 136; fol. 31r
1 ܐܠܡܐ] ܐܠܡܐ *MS Add 17134 ex err* — 4 ܚܝܬܐ ܠܐ ܥܕܐ] ܠܐ
ܥܕܐ ܚܝܬܐ *Jac cf LXX: οὐ κληθήσεται*] + ܝܬܝ ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ
ܐܠܐ ܐܠܐ (*-ση 147*) 147-106c *oII L*
- 32) Isa 66:6-9/I 131; fol. 30r
desinit ܠܐ ܠܐ
7 ܐܠܡܐ] ܐܠܡܐ , ܐܠܡܐ *Jac* | ܐܠܡܐ] ܐܠܡܐ ܐܠܡܐ *Jac cf LXX*
(ἐξέφυγε καὶ ἔτεκεν) — 8 ܐܠܡܐ (*twice*) | ܐܠܡܐ (*twice*) *Jac* |
ܐܠܡܐ] ܐܠܡܐ *Jac* | ܐܠܡܐ] *add* ܐܠܡܐ *Jac* | ܐܠܡܐ ܐܠܡܐ] *transp*
Jac LXX: 88 L
- 33) Jer 31:15-17/I 154; fol. 34v
no variant reading
- 34) Ezek 18:21-23/II 697 [285]; fol. 58r
21 ܐܠܡܐ] ܐܠܡܐ *MS Add 17134 ex err* — 23 ܐܠܡܐ]
ܐܠܡܐ ܐܠܡܐ *Jac*
- 35) Ezek 37:15-17/ I 176; fol. 38v
16 ܐܠܡܐ] ܐܠܡܐ *MS Add 17134 ex err* — 17 ܐܠܡܐ] ܐܠܡܐ *Jac*
- 36) Hos 2:23-25/I 135; fol. 30v
24 ܐܠܡܐ] ܐܠܡܐ *MS Add 17134 ex err* — 25 ܐܠܡܐ]
ܐܠܡܐ *Jac* (referring to Hosea's son? *cf. Hos i,4*)
- 37) Amos 8:9-10/II 703 [291]; fol. 59r
10 ܐܠܡܐ] ܐܠܡܐ *MS Add 17134* | ܐܠܡܐ]
ܐܠܡܐ *MS Add 17134 ex err* | ܐܠܡܐ] ܐܠܡܐ *Jac*
1114.5*→
- 38) Jonah 3:7-9/I 68; fol. 15v
incipit ܐܠܡܐ ܐܠܡܐ
desinit ܐܠܡܐ ܐܠܡܐ
7 ,ܐܠܡܐ] ܐܠܡܐ *Jac* — 8 ܐܠܡܐ] ,ܐܠܡܐ *Jac* | ܐܠܡܐ]
ܐܠܡܐ *Jac LXX* (ἐκαστος) |
,ܐܠܡܐ ܐܠܡܐ ܐܠܡܐ] ,ܐܠܡܐ ܐܠܡܐ , ܐܠܡܐ ܐܠܡܐ *Jac LXX*
- 39) Hag 2:6-9/II 649 [237]; fol. 50r
incipit ܐܠܡܐ ܐܠܡܐ
6 ܐܠܡܐ] ܐܠܡܐ *Jac*
- 40) Zech 11:7-8/I 175; fol. 38v
desinit ܐܠܡܐ ܐܠܡܐ

8 ܠܘܬܐ] ܠܘܬܐ Jac

41) Lam 3:25-30/II 731 [319]; fol. 63v

25 ܐܕܕ ܐܡ Jac | ܠܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܝܬܐ Jac LXX
(τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν) | ܠܚܝܬܐ ܕܡܚܝܬܐ Jac LXX (ἦ) — 27
ܡܠܠܐ ܡܠܠܐ ܡܠܠܐ Jac LXX ἐν νεότητι| ἐκ νεότητος L
538 C-239 130 — 29 ܡܠܠܐ] ܡܠܠܐ Jac (LXX *om vs 29*; in O-
Q^{mg} L 538 239 *vs 29* is extant, στόμα αὐτοῦ only is attested)

Evaluation

[12] Jacob's 41 marginal Peshitta quotations compared with the Old Testament Peshitta and the Septuagint offer the following interpretation:

- a. In 7 items (6, 12, 15, 19, 21, 23, 33) Jacob's quotations are in full *agreement* with the printed text of the Leiden Peshitta (i. e., with the traditional text of the Old Testament Peshitta). In 14 more items (1, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14, 16, 17, 20, 24, 28, 29, 30, 37) Jacob agrees with a *variant* quoted in the Leiden Peshitta. In six of these items (16, 20, 28, 29, 30, 37) Jacob's quotation is the earliest witness of the Peshitta variants. All these variants are minor variations, already extant in the 7th-century transmission of the Peshitta text.
- b. In 6 items (4, 8, 16, 17, 38, 41 [*vs 25*]) we find *adaptations* to the Greek or influence of the Septuagint; one of these adaptations (17) is identical with a Peshitta variant. With special variants of the Septuagint Jacob agrees in item 1, 14 (both also Peshitta variants), 3, 31, 32 (*vs 8*), and 41 (*vs 27*).
- c. Most striking is the great number of *singular variants* in Jacob's marginal quotation (in 26 items: 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 25, 26, 27, 29, 32, 34, 35, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41). The majority of these otherwise not attested variants are beyond text-critical control; few of them might be scribal errors (like the omissions in item 2, 13 *vs 5*, 18 *vs 1*, 22 *vs 16*, and 29 *vs 4*) or Peshitta variants (see item 10, 18 *vs 33*, 25 *vs 5*, 26 *vs 28*, 29 *vs 3* and 4, 32 *vs 8*, 34 *vs 23*, 35 *vs 17*, 39 *vs 6*). Some of them, however, seem to be intentional changes introduced by Jacob to the Peshitta text:

1. In item 7 Jacob changes the imperatives to the singular in order to make Abraham talking to only one of the three persons who came to meet him.
2. Some of Jacob's singular variants make the text more explicit: Item 9, 16 (*vs* 15); 27 (*vs* 17); 32 (*vs* 7: ܠܠܗ ܐܝܬܐ, and *vs* 8: add ܠܠܗ).
3. In item 20 (*vs* 8) and 26 (*vs* 31) Jacob imposes the plural of the Septuagint on words of the Peshitta in the singular; in item 20 (*vs* 13) the plural of the Peshitta is changed to the singular of the Septuagint (and ܠܠܗ seems to be omitted by error). We also find confluents of Peshitta and Septuagint in item 25 (ܐܠܗ is from the Septuagint; the verb is from the Peshitta), and 32 (*vs* 7: the addition of ܠܠܗ derives from the Septuagint, the *tempus* from the Peshitta).
4. There is a tendency to omit the suffix in a genitive relation in item 8, 10, 16, 29, 38 (except 38 all in accordance with Peshitta variants), and to reduce ܐܠܗ to ܐܠ (14, 20, 24).
5. In item 27 (*vs* 15) Jacob introduces an expansion of the verse (ܠ ... ܡܠܟܐ ܐܠ) which is difficult to explain. It is a *general* statement that God will not forget Zion (suffix *3rd pers. sg.*) immediately before the *special* address to Zion (suffix *2nd pers. sg.*).
6. The variants ܠܠܗ (for ܠܠܗ) in item 40, and ܡܠܟܐ (for ܡܠܟܐ) in item 41 (*vs* 29) cannot be traced anywhere. The same is true for Jacob's variants in item 4 (*vs* 14), 5 (*vs* 17), 13 (*vs* 6). As these variants are hardly scribal errors, we have to allow for the possibility that Jacob introduced them deliberately.

3. THE OLD TESTAMENT: JACOB QUOTING THE SEPTUAGINT

- [13] The *Syriac text* quoted is Jacob's translation of the Septuagint taken from Brooks' edition (I = PO 6.1; II = PO 7.5), and checked with the help of a microfilm of Ms BL Add 17134. The text is collated

1 καὶ ἐγένετο τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ] *Jac* adopts the Pš: 𐤊𐤍𐤁𐤏𐤃 — 2 the words 𐤒𐤓𐤕 𐤇𐤃𐤁𐤏𐤃 𐤇𐤃 𐤇𐤃𐤁𐤏𐤃 𐤇𐤃𐤁𐤏𐤃 are omitted before 𐤊𐤏𐤏𐤏 by error — 3 τῆς δόξης] τῶν δόξων *Jac* Pš — 4 τὸ ὑπέρθυρον] τὰ ὑπέρθυρα *Jac* Pš — 6 χειρί] *add* αὐτοῦ *Jac* Pš LXX: LO (*sub obel*) | ἄνθρακα] *add* πυρός *Jac* A — 7 ε πεν] *add* μοι *Jac* Pš | τὰς ἀνομίας] τὴν ἀνομίαν *Jac* Pš (*cf* Theodoret's τὸ ἀνόμιμ<on> in Ziegler's edition).

[illegible]

3. אכלה ולא אשכח. ארבעה ימים ולא אשכח. 4. אכלה ולא
אשכח. ולא אשכחתי לו חלק. ופירש רש"י, אכלה ולא אשכחתי.

[illegible]

7) Isa 24:23-25:1/II 683 [271], 55v

8) Isa 25:6-10/II 767 [355], 69v

8 ὁ θεός] *om Jac* | τοῦ λαοῦ] τοῦ κόσμου *Jac (scribal err.)* — 9
σωτηρία ἡμῶν] *add* οὗτος κύριος ὑπεμείναμεν αὐτῷ (*vel*
αὐτὸν) καὶ εὐφρανθήσόμεθα *Jac (cf Pš and LXX: BLO)* — 10 ὅτι
om Jac LXX: BL

Isa 25:6-7/II 683 [271], fol. 55v

6 μύρον] ἔλαιον *Jac* LXX: 46 (Ziegler) — 7 ἡ γὰρ βουλὴ
αὕτη] αὕτη γὰρ ἡ βουλή *Jac*?

9) Isa 26:9/I 124, fol. 28r

9. מה ללך מנסה ומה להלך ילד: מה אומר לך
מנסה לך.

10) Isa 26:18-19/II 700 [288], fol. 58v

18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 8

18 ἀλλά] οὐ πεσούμεθα ἀλλά *Jac* LXX: S^cLC

καταλείψετε| καταλείπει *Jac SyH* | οἱ ἐμμένοντες ἐν
αὐτῷ| οἱ ὑπομένοντες αὐτόν *Jac Ps LXX: L (Ziegler)*

12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 84

13) Isa 55:6-9/II 783 [371], fol. 72r

7 ἐπιστραφήτω ἐπὶ ἐπιστρ. πρὸς *Jac* (*cf* *Ps*) LXX: V-Q^{mg} *LC*
(Ziegler) — 9 τὰ διανοήματα ὑμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς διανοίας μου] τὰ
διανοήματά μου ἀπὸ τῶν διανοιῶν ὑμῶν [*Jac Ps*

[illegible]

15) Isa 59:11-13/II 699 [287], fol. 58r

16) Isa 63:17-18/II 766 [354], fol. 69r

17) Isa 63:19/II 711 [299], 60r

18) Isa 64:4-8/II 772 [360], 70r

5 ὥς^{2]} καὶ ὥς *Jac* Pš LXX: *L* (Ziegler) | φύλλα^{3]} *add* πάντες
 ἡμεῖς *Jac* Pš LXX: *LO* (*sub aster*) | ἡμᾶς^{4]} με *Jac* — 6 ἡμᾶς^{5]} με
Jac — 7 πάντες^{6]} *add* ἡμεῖς *Jac* Pš SyH LXX: BL — 8 σφόδρα^{7]} *Jac*
 لاجل (Pš لاجل لاجل)

19) Isa 65:15-18/II 775 [363], fol. 70v

[illegible]

15 αὐτῶ] μοι *Jac* SyH LXX: BSLC

20) Isa 65:22/II 775 [363], fol. 70v

ܟܬܒܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܝܬܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܝܬܐ 22
 ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς] δένδρου τ. ζ. *Jac* (cf *Pš* ܠܥܡܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܝܬܐ
 ܟܬܒܐ)

21) Isa 66:17-19/II 723 [311], fol. 62r (hardly legible in the microfilm)

ܟܬܒܐ ܟܬܒܐ [ܬܒܐ] ܟܬܒܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܟܬܒܐ ܟܬܒܐ 17
 ܟܬܐ 18 ܟܬܐ ܬܒܐ ܬܒܐ ܬܒܐ [ܬܒܐ] ܟܬܐ ܟܬܐ ܟܬܐ
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17 εἰς τοὺς κήπους] ἐν τοῖς κήποις *Jac* *Pš* *SyH* — 18 τὰ
 ἔργα/τὸν λογισμόν] *transp Jac L* (Ziegler) | ἔρχομαι] καὶ ἔ. *Jac*
LXX: οἱ *(Ziegler)* | καὶ ὄψονται] *om Jac* — 19 σημεῖα] σημεῖον
Jac (*Pš* ܟܬܐ) *LXX*: *BS*LC*

Evaluation

[14] Jacob's translation of the 21 Septuagint texts presented above includes three formative elements: 1. The Septuagint itself and its different recensions; 2. The Peshitta, and modifications of the Septuagint by the Peshitta; 3. Untraceable modifications of the Septuagint. The Syro-Hexapla may have influenced his translation in a general way, special influence is hardly traceable (see item 7, 11, 18, 19, 21). The Masoretic Text coincides with some Peshitta readings adopted by Jacob (see item 1 *vs* 4; *vs* 6:1 ἵχνους *ante* ποδῶν; item 3 *vs* 1: the beginning of the *vs*; item 13 *vs* 9); no special influence of the Hebrew is traceable.

[15] Ad 1. Jacob adopts variants from different recensions of the Septuagint (*disagreeing* with the Peshitta) in item 1 (*vs* 5), 3 (*vs* 6), 6 (*vs* 17), 8 (*vs* 10), 10, 19, 21 (*vs* 18). Adoption of different Septuagint recensions with *agreement* of the Peshitta we meet in item 1 (*vs*s 4 and 6), 3 (*vs* 6), 11, (*vs* 7), 18 (*vs*s 5 and 7). All these items show a striking preponderance of the *Lucianic* recension.

[16] Ad 2. Jacob's rendering of the Septuagint follows the Peshitta, not the Septuagint and/or Septuagint recensions in item 3 (*vs*s 1.3.4.7), 13 (*vs* 9), 16. It is influenced by the Peshitta (without being exactly traceable to any existing reading) in item 8 (*vs* 9), 13 (*vs* 7),

15, 20, 21 (*vs* 19). With exception of the items 15 and 20 again the Lucianic recension is involved.

- [17] Ad 3. Jacob offers untraceable variants in item 2, 6 (*vs* 16), 8 (*vs* 8), 14, 18 (*vs* 5), 21 (scribal errors are possible in item 8, 14, 21). The retroversion of Jacob's quotation is without control in item 6 (*vs* 20) and 8 (*vs* 7 in the second quotation). With regard to Jacob's ability to use different textual traditions in the Septuagint renderings of his own, it may be possible that 'untraceable variants' may originate from Jacob himself.

4. RESULTS

- [18] 1. The first result we can draw from the textual material presented above is that Jacob's approach to a translation of the Old Testament text must have started *ante* A. Gr. 986 (A. D. 674/75). We are not informed about the scope of this approach or about the actual incarnation of his textual material so far; but the consistency of the translational principles point to a well prepared written source which covers most of the Old Testament books. Jacob's decision to add a full-text apparatus of biblical *testimonia* in the margins to offer the explicit scriptural proof for what is only implicitly said or alluded to in the text was hardly the actual reason for his new approach. Possibly Jacob had started to prepare new translations of unsatisfactorily translated passages of the Peshitta earlier. The preponderance of the Lucianic-Antiochene recension in Jacob's translations may be due to a local Septuagint text.

- [19] 2. The second result is that Jacob's introduction of Septuagint renderings in fact is a substitution of 'unsatisfactory' Peshitta texts. The main reason for this interpretation is the mutual influence of Peshitta and Septuagint in Jacob's quotations. Jacob's intention is to maintain the Peshitta where it is congruent with the Septuagint, and to replace it by a rendering of the Septuagint where both differ too much. Full or partial agreement of the Peshitta with the Lucianic recension favoured the inclusion of the Old Testament Peshitta during the process of rendering the Septuagint texts.²³ The

²³ The textual affinity between the Old Testament Peshitta and the Lucianic recension is disputed, but it was already acknowledged at the end of the 19th century, see Th. Stockmayer, 'Hat Lucian zu seiner Septuaginta revision die Peschito benützt?', *ZAW* 12 (1892) 218-223; and M.P.

textual character of Jacob's Septuagint renderings, however, is clearly distinguished from the one of the Peshitta quotations. The accommodation does not eliminate the different textual character of both types of quotations. With regard to translation technique, Jacob's renderings are far from adopting the extreme Graecising translation technique ('mirror translation') of the Syro-Hexapla; but they are much better adapted to the Greek than the Peshitta.

[20]

3. The third result is that Jacob's marginal quotations reflect a prehistory of his later Old Testament revision which came into existence few years before his death in 708. For the purpose of this investigation it is sufficient to state that Jacob's revision²⁴ 'is fundamentally an amalgam of the Peshitta and Greek texts'.²⁵ It is based on the Peshitta using the different recensions of the Greek (Septuagint); the Syro-Hexapla may have influenced his renderings, but is no primary source. Special features are a number of regular substitutions in the vocabulary of the Peshitta, glosses and creative expansions to improve the text, and a more Graecised representation of proper nouns than in the Peshitta. A subscription at the end of 1Sam²⁶ provides the link with Jacob's quotations in Ms Add. 17134. It states that

'this First Book of the Kingdoms [i.e., 1Sam] was corrected as far as possible and with much difficulty from the different traditions—from that of the Syrians and from those of the Greeks—by the holy Jacob, bishop of Edessa'

Weitzmann, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament: An Introduction* (UCOP 56; Cambridge, 1999) 83-84.

²⁴ The books of Samuel are the best presented and studied part of Jacob's revision so far; see R. J. Saley, *The Samuel Manuscript of Jacob of Edessa. A Study in Its Underlying Textual Traditions* (MPIL 9; Leiden, 1998); A. Salvesen, *The Books of Samuel in the Syriac Version of Jacob of Edessa* (MPIL 10; Leiden, 1999); A. Salvesen, 'Jacob of Edessa's version of Exodus 1 and 28,' *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 8:1 (2005) [<http://www.bethmardutho.org/hugoye>]. An instructive article on Jacob's revision was written by W. Baars, 'Ein neugefundenes Bruchstück aus der syrischen Bibelrevision des Jakob von Edessa,' *VT* 18 (1968) 547-54.—For further literature, see D. Kruisheer and L. van Rompay, 'A Bibliographical *Clavis* to the Works of Jacob of Edessa,' *Hugoye* 1:1 (1998), section II A.

²⁵ A. Salvesen, *The Books of Samuel*, x.

²⁶ Syriac text in A. Salvesen, *The Books of Samuel*, part I, 90.

Jacob's quotations in Ms Add. 17134 actually represent the 'different traditions' mentioned in the subscription, thus anticipating the revisional principle of the future work. These 'traditions,' however, are still isolated from each other in Ms Add. 17134 and lack the characteristic later degree of amalgamation, despite their mutual influence already traceable in the single quotations. The dominance of the Peshitta quotations, however, precludes the increased significance of this version for the future revision; and Jacob's own renderings of the Septuagint correspond well with the reduced impact of the Syro-Hexapla on his later work.

- [21] From the very beginning of his revisional activity Jacob adopted the principle of 'graeca veritas,' but in a different way than the Harklean version and the Syro-Hexapla half a century before him. While the latter two versions by their 'mirror translation' are intended to be read as *Greek* texts, Jacob is anxious to offer a *Syriac* text without dropping, however, the substantial relation to the Greek. The 'graeca veritas' is reduced to the Septuagint traditions to which a Syriac textual incarnation is given by adoption, correction, and substitution of the traditional Peshitta text. In the marginal quotations of Ms BL Add 17134 this principle is in its infancy and still lacks the refinement and maturity of the later revision.²⁷

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²⁷ The present study presents only a limited number of Jacob's marginal quotations. Further investigations have to study the remaining quotations and compare all of them with Jacob's later Old Testament revision extant in a small number of manuscripts, see W. Baars, 'Ein neugefundenes Bruchstück,' 548-549.

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Abbreviations

- AN'TT = Arbeiten zur neutestamentlichen Textforschung. Berlin.
- CSCO = Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium. Louvain.
- DACL = Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie. Paris.
- JA = Journal Asiatique. Paris.
- JThS = Journal of Theological Studies. Oxford.
- MPIL = Monographs of the Peshitta Institute Leiden. Leiden.
- OrChr = Oriens Christianus. Wiesbaden.
- PO = Patrologia Orientalis. Paris/Turnhout.
- RHR = Rvue de l'Histoire des Religions. Paris.
- SGKA = Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums.

Paderborn.

UCOP = University of Cambridge Oriental Publications.
Cambridge.

VT = Vetus Testamentum. Leiden.

ZAW = Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft. Berlin.