

Jeffrey T. Wickes, transl., *St. Ephrem the Syrian: The Hymns on Faith*, The Fathers of the Church 130 (Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2015). Pp. xxi + 424; \$39.95. E-book \$39.95.

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The fourth-century Nisibene deacon Ephrem's Syriac *Teaching-Songs on Faith* (*TSF*, or, in quotations from the book under review, *HF* = *Hymns on Faith*) contain his most difficult poetry and some of his best.<sup>1</sup> Under the invented title '*Sermones polemici adversus scrutatores*',<sup>2</sup> they were first edited in 1743 by the Lebanese Maronite scholar as-Sim'ānī (whose name is Latinised as Stephanus Evodius Assemanus) from two manuscripts at Rome (b11).<sup>3</sup> These manuscripts can now be examined online at [www.mss.vatlib.it](http://www.mss.vatlib.it) > catalogo manoscritti > manoscritti digitalizzati. The first, Vaticano siriano (Vat. sir.) 111, dated 522, is one of the codices which the catalogue of the Vatican Library describes as *e limoso Nili fluminis imo extractos* 'extracted from the muddy bottom of the Nile', into which river it fell during its transportation to Rome. For this reason, the *TSF* are partly illegible there, on folia 51–94. The second manuscript, Vat. sir. 113, judging by the script, may be of about 550.

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<sup>1</sup> Jeffrey Wickes, in the book under review, goes back to the term 'Hymns', 'because it is recognizable' (n. 57 on pp. 13f.), although he is aware of Michael Latke's reservations about this and any other English term for the genre, including 'teaching-song', which Wickes credits to Kees den Biesen.

<sup>2</sup> The *TSF* are not 'polemical *homilies* against the inquisitive'. They are cast in the form of liturgical *songs* addressed half to God and half to a congregation, with a prayerful refrain to be sung between the verses. Incidentally, the second and third teaching-songs in this collection have verses and a refrain and so are not '[t]echnically...*mémrê* rather than *madrašê*' (pace Wickes, on p. 13 and in n. 1 on p. 63).

<sup>3</sup> 'b11' = No. 11 in the second edition of the *Annotated Bibliography of Ephrem the Syrian* by Kees den Biesen, privately published in 2011. From here on, I refer to publications on Ephrem as they are listed in Den Biesen. In Appendix 3 on pp. 441–7 of his *Annotated Bibliography*, Den Biesen lists the contents of the *ER*; the title at the bottom of p. 444 makes it appear that Petrus Benedictus was the editor of the *TSF*—indeed Henry Burgess (b460) assumed that he was. Wickes (p. xiii) refers only to J. S. Assemanus, the general editor.

Originally, its contents were the complete *TSF*; unfortunately, many of its leaves are now lost. Where a passage illegible in the former is lacking or damaged in the latter, the editor had recourse to conjecture. He also emended the text where he encountered obvious errors. Unfortunately, he did not indicate which words were editorial in origin. This edition is known as the *Editio Romana* (*ER*).

In 1955, Dom Edmund Beck, O. S. B., of the Abbey of Metten, in Bavaria, based his new edition (b18) of the ‘Hymnen *de fide*’ on folia 2–31 of the London manuscript, British Library (BL) Add. 12,176, of the fifth or the sixth century (to which he gave the siglum A). In his apparatus he notes variants from Assemanus’ sources, Vat. syr. 111 and 113 (to which he gave the sigla B and C) and from BL Add. 14,571, of 519,<sup>4</sup> to which he gave the siglum D, and which contains, on folia 60–7, *TSF* 10–12, 14, 21 and 23, and (on folia 69f.) *TSF* 32. Beck does not emend even obvious errors in the *paradosis* (the transmission of the text, reduced to essentials).

The translations of the entire text begin with the Latin version facing Assemanus’ text, which is a little free, perhaps, but generally true to the gist of the Syriac. In 1847 the *TSF* were translated into English (b991) by the Reverend John Brande Morris, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, under the title *The Rhythms of St. Ephrem the Syrian*. Excerpts from this cycle (see Table 1 for the teaching-songs in question) were translated into English by Henry Burgess (b460, 1853), into German by Pius Zingerle (b1431, 1830–7) and into French by Camille Ferry (b615, 1877). All these were made from the eighteenth-century *ER*. Although this edition has its drawbacks, it is very often accurate in essentials, so that the early translations—particularly those by Burgess, available online—can still be consulted with profit.

Since the appearance of Beck’s transparently edited text, which was accompanied by a German translation (b18), many scholars have translated parts of the cycle, notably Paolo Benetton (b328, 2011), whose Italian translation omits only the last seven teaching-songs. The others include Phil Botha (English, b357, 1996), Sebastian Brock (English, b392, 1975; b397, 1983; b400, 1986; b401, 1987; b435, 2006; b1556, 1987; b1561, 1989), Sebastian Brock &

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<sup>4</sup> Twice on p. 17 and once on p. 18 Wickes refers to this manuscript as ‘Add. 1457’.

George Kiraz (English, b437, 2006), Kees den Biesen (Dutch, b567, 2012), Paul Féghali (French [Arabic by 'CERO'], b435, 2006), François Graffin (French, b639, 1967; b641, 1973), Sidney Griffith (English, b665, 2003), Joseph Longton (French, b895, 1992), Javier Martínez Fernández (Spanish, b924, 1991; b930, 1999), Edward Mathews (English, b935, 1994), Robert Murray (English, b1002, 1970–1; b1003, 1975–6), Manel Nin (Catalan, b1031, 1997; Italian, b416, 1999), Andrew Palmer (English, b1072, 1993; b1073, 1993; b1074, 1995; b1075, 1995; b1077, 1998; b1081, 2003; b1084, 2005; b1085, 2006), Didier Rance (French, b407, 1991), Alphons Rodrigues Pereira (English, b2167, 1997), Paul Russell (English, b1174, 1997; b1181, 2004; b1185, *TSF* 1–80, announced 2009), Christine Shepardson (English, b1251, 2002), Sara Tanoglu (Turkish, b1290, 2006), Emidio Vergani (Italian, b1349, 2005) and Pierre Yousif (English, b1397, 1978). See Table 1 for the teaching-songs in question. Of post-1954 translators, only Beck and Geevarghese Chediath (Malayalam, b500, 2008) have published translations of the whole cycle, until now.

The translation which has now been published by Jeffrey Wickes, assistant professor of Early Christianity at Saint Louis University, Missouri, refers to only five of these publications (marked with an asterisk in Table 1) and takes proper notice of none. Yet why would anyone publish a translation containing errors—or not containing insights—which he might have discovered by studying earlier translations, including the translations of excerpts from the *TSF* which are scattered throughout the literature? This literature is far more extensive than would appear from Wickes' footnotes.<sup>5</sup> Fortunately, Den Biesen has made it easy for us to find the neglected titles. Only a small part of the valuable work of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century translators needs to be revised in the light of Beck's edition. It is unjustifiable to dismiss all translations made before 1955 as not worth consulting, just because they are based on an outdated edition.

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<sup>5</sup> The select bibliography does not claim to be comprehensive. Wickes refers in n. 26 on p. 8 to the anonymous Edessan chronicle of 540 in Hallier's edition of 1892, ignoring Guidi's of 1903. There are a few typographical errors in the bibliography: Nicomidie, for Nicomédie (see Editions, Renoux); Tounneau, for Tonneau (see Editions); 1990, for 1990–1991 (see Secondary Sources, Botha, 'Structure').

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In his introduction Wickes briefly contextualizes Ephrem (pp. 3–5), before devoting about ten pages (5–14) to his life and works. Three mistakes caught my eye. The baptistery of Nisibis, with its Greek inscription dated 359/60, is not ‘a baptismal font’ (n. 8 on p. 4). The notice on A. G. 609 in the anonymous Edessene chronicle of 506 (cf. Trombley & Watts, *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite* [Liverpool, 2000], p. 8) is the source which says Nisibis was ceded to the Persians for 120 years, not Ch. 9 of Bk 25 of Ammianus Marcellinus’ *Histories*, to which Wickes refers for this information in n. 21 on p. 7; nor does this Roman historian support, as he claims, his statement that ‘the city’s Christian inhabitants [were granted] peaceful travel to Amid’, though the Syriac *Life of Ephrem* says he went from Nisibis to that city, from which his mother hailed. And the Syriac word *ṭalyā* means ‘boy’, or ‘young man’, up to about 25 years of age: see Barhebraeus’ *Chronography*, 9.1 (ed. Bedjan, p. 87), where the dying Justin reproaches his wife Sophia, as follows: ‘You are depriving him (*sc.* Tiberius, the regent) of his wife when he is a young man (*ṭalyā*) and his body cannot endure chastity’. Evidently *ṭalyā* is not to be translated as ‘child’ as Wickes does on p. 8f. (with n. 30). To be fair, this misconception is widespread.

There follows a short section (pp. 15–19) devoted to the collection which Wickes has selected for translation. Although he admits that ‘[w]e know very little about how Ephrem wrote his hymn cycles’ (p. 15), he answers the question ‘whether Ephrem wrote the *HF* as a single, coherent, and intentionally sequenced hymn cycle’ with a confident ‘clearly, he did not’ (p. 16). It should be pointed out, in this connection, that the *Verse-Homilies on Faith* (which Wickes, again following the established Latin terminology, refers to as the ‘sermons’) begin by developing the theme of the Father and the Son before introducing, half-way through, the Holy Spirit. The same strategy is followed in the *TSF*, as Wickes himself points out in n. 163 on p. 40: ‘While we cannot assume that the hymns’ ordering represents the order in which they were composed, it is interesting that most of the more explicit references to the Holy Spirit’s divinity come in the later hymns.’ It is only proper for me to pass over the rest of this section, since a review is not the place to defend one’s own theories.

The fourth and by far the longest section of the introduction (pp. 19–43) is on the audience and context of the work.<sup>6</sup> On the basis of comparative theology, Wickes paints ‘a complex picture: aspects of the *HF* betray a “homoian” or “homoiousian” position, and suggest a date in the 350s. Others—the apparently anti-Eunomian language and the language affirming the Spirit’s divinity—suggest an anti-Eunomian position in the late 360s’ (p. 43). This is an interesting thesis; but it does not invalidate Griffith’s argument from *TSF* 87,<sup>7</sup> that this cycle was brought to a conclusion in the early 370s, while the emperor Valens was persecuting the Trinitarians. In order to undermine this argument, Wickes casts suspicion on the authenticity of *TSF* 87 (from which Griffith argues), suggesting that the ‘anti-Jewish language’ of this teaching-song and its ‘ecclesio-political references’ set it apart from the rest of the collection (n. 120 on p. 27). Actually, anti-Jewish language is used in *TSF* 18, 23, 44, 54, 83 and other poems. As for religious persecution of dissident Christians by the emperor, in 53:2 Ephrem says he has seen priests killed by their rulers.<sup>8</sup> The cycle ends (*TSF* 87:23) with a passionate indirect appeal to the emperor, presented as a prayer to God: ‘Pacify, Master of us (all), the priests and the rulers, and, in one (undivided) Church, let the priests pray for their rulers and let

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<sup>6</sup> Wickes actually forgets to discuss the *Sitz im Leben* of the cycle, whether these teaching-songs were designed to be performed during the liturgy, as their literary form suggests, or to be read, in smaller circles, exclusively by the educated class, as their extreme difficulty and sustained argumentation seems to prove, the liturgical form being a rhetorical device by which the poet attempted to shift the grounds of the dispute from its rational content—where his opponents’ position was strong—to an *ad hominem* argument, which claimed that the approach of the Arians (if I may loosely call them by the name they are given in the Edessan chronicle of 540) was incompatible with the reverence and fear appropriate in the presence of the Divinity.

<sup>7</sup> S. H. Griffith, “Ephraem, the Deacon of Edessa, and the Church of the Empire,” in *Diakonia: Studies in Honor of Robert T. Meyer*, ed. by Thomas P. Halton and Joseph P. Williman (Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1986), 22–52.

<sup>8</sup> For more evidence, see Palmer, “The Prophet and the King: Mar Afrem’s Message to the Eastern Roman Emperor,” in *After Bardaisan. Studies in Continuity and Change in Syriac Christianity in Honour of Professor Han J. W. Drijvers*, ed. by Gerrit J. Reinink and Alexander C. Klugkist. OLA 89 (Louvain: Peeters, 1999), 213–36.

the rulers spare their walled cities! And let internal peace, (restored) through you, be to us an external wall!’ This suggests a date right at the end of Ephrem’s life (he died on 9 June 373), for later that year, according to the Edessan chronicle of 540, the cathedral of Edessa was seized by ‘the Arians’ (the emperor’s party), who drove out those who shared the faith of Ephrem.

The introduction ends with a section entitled ‘The language of investigation and Ephrem’s theological voice’ (pp. 43–52) and a note on translation (pp. 52f.). The former begins with a discussion of two Syriac verbs, both of which Wickes translates as ‘investigate’, even though, on his own admission, one is used negatively by Ephrem, the other positively (pp. 47f.). He also undertakes to flag up, in a footnote, any translation which departs significantly from the literal sense of the Syriac (*ibid.*) and says his intention is ‘to represent Ephrem’s Syriac accurately, while still producing a readable English translation’ (*ibid.*).

To test Wickes’ translation transparently for accuracy and readability, we may compare the three published English translations of the conclusion of Teaching-Song 1 (stanzas 16–19). I give Beck’s text with Assemanus’ variants in the margin; then the versions of Morris (b991), Burgess (b461) and Wickes. I print the translation of each separate couplet on a new line, regardless of the original format (Morris, in spite of the title, is printed in continuous prose, Burgess in half-couplets with the stanzas pleasantly set out, Wickes in couplets, often running over, with the stanzas crowded together).

ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ	ܫܚܬܐ ܠܕܢܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܬܠܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ * ܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ	ܫܚܬܐ ܠܢ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܬܠܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ	16
	ܫܚܬܐ ܠܢ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܬܠܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ * ܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ	ܫܚܬܐ ܠܢ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܬܠܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܬܠܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ	17
ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ	ܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ * ܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ	ܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܬܠܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ	18
ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܐܢܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ	ܫܚܬܐ ܠܢ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܬܠܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ * ܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ	ܫܚܬܐ ܠܢ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܬܠܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܬܠܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ	19

**Morris**

- 16 If then our knowledge knows not how to know itself,  
How shall it dare to raise difficulties about the Generation of Him  
that knoweth all things?  
The thing made that knoweth not itself, how should it seek into its  
Maker?
- 17 The mighty Nature, that never was not, is spoken of by all mouths.  
The mouth that willet to speak of That which is unspeakable,  
Bringeth Him to littleness, in that it sufficeth not for His great-  
ness.
- 18 Every one then that wisheth to magnify God exceedingly,  
As He is great in His own Nature, himself in magnifying Him is  
magnified in Him.  
Restrain searching, which sufficeth not [to reach] Him, and gain  
silence, which is becoming of Him.
- 19 Give me, Lord, to use both discerningly,  
that I may neither search rashly, nor be silent carelessly.  
Teach me words of edification, and make me gain the silence of  
discernment.

**Burgess**

- 16 Since then our intellectual faculty / Knoweth not how to know  
itself,  
How shall it dare to meditate / On the generation of Him who  
knoweth all things?  
The thing made which knoweth not itself, / How shall it know its  
Maker?
- 17 There is a mighty nature, / Ineffable by all lips!  
The mouth that will speak / Of Him who is unutterable,  
Brings Him to degradation, / Being inadequate to His greatness.
- 18 Whoever therefore is desirous / Greatly to magnify God,  
(He being great in His nature / Will make him great who magni-  
fies Him!)
- Let him restrain disputation, which is unequal to Him, / And  
possess silence, which is worthy of Him!
- 19 Grant, Lord, that I may use / Both of these prudently;  
That I may not search presumptuously / Nor be silent slothfully.  
Teach me the speech which is profitable, / And impart to me the

silence which is prudent!

### Wickes

- 16 If, moreover, our knowledge knows that it does not know itself,  
How do you presume to meditate upon the birth of that Knower-  
of-all?  
How does a thing-made, which does not know itself, investigate its  
Maker?
- 17 Great is the nature that has never been spoken of by any mouths!  
The mouth which wishes to speak about him who (or: 'that  
which') is unspeakable,  
Makes him (or: 'it') small, for it (or: 'he') is insufficient to his (or:  
'its') greatness.
- 18 All who wish to extol and magnify God,  
[God], being majestic in his nature, magnifies the one who magni-  
fies him.  
Refrain from debating, which cannot comprehend him, and  
acquire silence, which befits him.
- 19 Enable me, my Lord, to use both of these discerningly:  
May I not debate presumptuously; may I not be silent impudently.  
May I learn beneficial speech ('speech of benefit'); may I acquire  
discerning silence ('silence of discernment').

Of the three English interpreters, Burgess (B) conveys the sense most accurately and in the most elegant style. Morris (M) mistranslates a couple of words in stanza 16 and misunderstands the first line of stanza 17, but translates the rest correctly, if woodenly. Wickes (W) has the most errors.<sup>9</sup> He, too, has trouble with the first line of stanza 17, where he construes the second word of the first line as though it were a predicate—a basic error, since it would then be in the absolute state. In English, it seems impossible to translate this stanza well without inverting the order of the first and second lines, as follows:

The mouth which seeks to speak about the one who is not to  
be put into words—  
(that) great nature which has never been put into words by any  
mouth—

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<sup>9</sup> I also made a close study of Wickes' translation of the relatively straightforward *TSF* 2 and found errors—some of them quite serious—in sixteen out of the twenty-four stanzas.



is going to bring him (down) to (its) littleness, since it does not have the capacity for his greatness.

Burgess takes notice of the translations offered by his predecessors; but even in those rare cases where Wickes notices that a certain teaching-song has been separately translated, there is no note discussing a difference of interpretation. One would expect such a footnote to the last line of *TSF* 1, for instance, where Wickes is the only English translator to read the verbs as first-person singular forms of the imperfect (“May I learn”), rather than imperatives (“Teach [me]”).

The new translation has the air of a preliminary draft, which has been insufficiently revised. The volume has all the right components—bibliography, introduction, footnotes, indices—and is a splendid work so far as paper and typography are concerned (these words are borrowed from Henry Burgess); but it is not up to the usual standard of this series. This passionate, brilliant, dense and often satirical cycle deserves better. To make it easy for the reader to check Wickes’ translation not only against those of Morris and Beck, but also against partial translations, I have drawn up as complete a list as I can, based mainly on the second edition of Kees den Biesen’s *Annotated Bibliography of Ephrem the Syrian*, privately published via Lulu in 2011 (Table 1).

## APPENDIX

**Table 1. Substantial or complete translations of individual teaching-songs in the *TSF*.**

HF	b-number: Author (language if not English) N.B. ‘b’ refers to Kees den Biesen, <i>Annotated Bibliography</i> , 2 <sup>nd</sup> ed., 2011.
1	b460: Burgess; b328: Benetton (Italian)
2	b1174: Russell; b328: Benetton (Italian)
3	b328: Benetton (Italian)
4	b1431: Zingerle (German); b1084: Palmer; b328: Benetton (Italian)
5	b1084: Palmer; b328: Benetton (Italian)
6	b328: Benetton (Italian); b567: Den Biesen (Dutch)
7	b1431: Zingerle (German); b1074: Palmer; b328: Benetton (Italian)

8	b400f. & b1561: Brock; b328: Benetton (Italian)
9	b328: Benetton (Italian)
10	b1431: Zingerle (German); b1002: Murray*; b641: Graffin (French); b1561: Brock*; b1031: Nin (Catalan); b807: Koonammakkal; b437: Brock & Kiraz; b328: Benetton (Italian)
11	(Stanzas 1–10) b1075: Palmer; b328: Benetton (Italian)
12	b328: Benetton (Italian)
13	b1431: Zingerle (German); b328: Benetton (Italian)
14	b397: Brock; b407: Rance (French); b1031: Nin (Catalan); b437: Brock & Kiraz; b328: Benetton (Italian); (stanzas 1–5, 9, 10) b930: Martínez Fernández ( <a href="http://www.arzobispodegranada.es/pdfs/40.pdf">www.arzobispodegranada.es/pdfs/40.pdf</a> , pp. 42f.)
15	b1431: Zingerle (German); b328: Benetton (Italian)
16	b1431: Zingerle (German); b328: Benetton (Italian)
17	b1431: Zingerle (German); b328: Benetton (Italian)
18	b641: Graffin (French); b1397: Yousif; b1290: Tanoğlu (Turkish); b328: Benetton (Italian)
19	b1431: Zingerle (German); b328: Benetton (Italian)
20	b1431: Zingerle (German); b1003: Murray; b1556 & b1561: Brock; b1512: Bettiole (Italian); b1072 & b1342: Palmer; b1031: Nin (Catalan); b1360: Vleugels; b328: Benetton (Italian)
21	b1073: Palmer; b328: Benetton (Italian); b930: Martínez Fernández ( <i>ibid.</i> , pp. 44–6)
22	b328: Benetton (Italian); b930: Martínez Fernández ( <i>ibid.</i> , pp. 46–9)
23	b1431: Zingerle (German); b460: Burgess; b328: Benetton (Italian); b930: Martínez Fernández ( <i>ibid.</i> , pp. 49–51)
24	b328: Benetton (Italian)
25	b328: Benetton (Italian); b567: Den Biesen (Dutch)
26	b328: Benetton (Italian)
27	b328: Benetton (Italian)
28	b328: Benetton (Italian)
29	b1431: Zingerle (German); b460: Burgess; b328: Benetton (Italian)
30	b328: Benetton (Italian)

31	b1561: Brock; b351: Botha; b435: Brock/Féghali/CERO (English/French/Arabic); b437: Brock & Kiraz*; b328: Benetton (Italian); b567: Den Biesen (Dutch)
32	b1431: Zingerle (German); b328: Benetton (Italian)
33	b1075: Palmer; b328: Benetton (Italian)
34	b328: Benetton (Italian)
35	b328: Benetton (Italian)
36	b328: Benetton (Italian)
37	b1431: Zingerle (German); b328: Benetton (Italian)
38	b1431: Zingerle (German); b1075: Palmer; b328: Benetton (Italian); b561: Den Biesen
39	b328: Benetton (Italian)
40	b1561: Brock; b328: Benetton (Italian)
41	b328: Benetton (Italian)
42	b460: Burgess; b328: Benetton (Italian); b567: Den Biesen (Dutch)
43	b1431: Zingerle (German); b328: Benetton (Italian)
44	b328: Benetton (Italian)
45	b1077: Palmer*; b328: Benetton (Italian)
46	b1431: Zingerle (German); b328: Benetton (Italian)
47	b328: Benetton (Italian)
48	b328: Benetton (Italian)
49	b1561: Brock; b1072: Palmer; b435: Brock/Féghali/CERO (English/French/Arabic); b437: Brock & Kiraz; b328: Benetton (Italian); b567: Den Biesen (Dutch)
50	b328: Benetton (Italian)
51	b1431: Zingerle (German); b328: Benetton (Italian)
52	b328: Benetton (Italian)
53	b328: Benetton (Italian)
54	b1431: Zingerle (German); b328: Benetton (Italian)

55	b328: Benetton (Italian)
56	b328: Benetton (Italian)
57	b328: Benetton (Italian)
58	b328: Benetton (Italian)
59	b328: Benetton (Italian)
60	b328: Benetton (Italian)
61	b328: Benetton (Italian)
62	b328: Benetton (Italian)
63	b328: Benetton (Italian)
64	b328: Benetton (Italian)
65	b328: Benetton (Italian)
66	b328: Benetton (Italian)
67	b460: Burgess; b328: Benetton (Italian)
68	b1431: Zingerle (German); b1081/b1085: Palmer; b328: Benetton (Italian)
69	b1431: Zingerle (German); b328: Benetton (Italian)
70	b328: Benetton (Italian)
71	b328: Benetton (Italian)
72	b1431: Zingerle (German); b328: Benetton (Italian); (Stanzas 1–7) b1075: Palmer
73	b397: Brock; b407: Rance (French); b415: Nin (Italian); b328: Benetton (Italian)
74	b1431: Zingerle (German); b665: Griffith; b328: Benetton (Italian)
75	b328: Benetton (Italian)
76	b328: Benetton (Italian)
77	b1181: Russell; b328: Benetton (Italian)
78	b357: Botha; b1181: Russell; b328: Benetton (Italian)
79	b1181: Russell; b328: Benetton (Italian)
80	b1431: Zingerle (German); b328: Benetton (Italian)

81	b639: Graffin (French); b1561: Brock; b895: Longton (French); b924: Martínez Fernández (Spanish); b1072: Palmer; b935: Mathews; b1031: Nin (Catalan); b2167: Rodrigues Pereira; b1349: Vergani (Italian); b567: Den Biesen (Dutch)
82	b639: Graffin (French); b397: Brock; b407: Rance (French); b924: Martínez Fernández (Spanish); b895: Longton (French); b935: Mathews; b1031: Nin (Catalan); b2167: Rodrigues Pereira; b1349: Vergani (Italian); b437: Brock & Kiraz
83	b615: Ferry (French); b639: Graffin (French); b924: Martínez Fernández (Spanish); b895: Longton (French); b1072: Palmer; b935: Mathews; b1031: Nin (Catalan); b2167: Rodrigues Pereira; b1349: Vergani (Italian)
84	b639: Graffin (French); b924: Martínez Fernández (Spanish); b895: Longton (French); b935: Mathews; b1031: Nin (Catalan); b2167: Rodrigues Pereira; b1349: Vergani (Italian)
85	b639: Graffin (French); b924: Martínez Fernández (Spanish); b895: Longton (French); b935: Mathews; b1031: Nin (Catalan); b2167: Rodrigues Pereira; b1349: Vergani (Italian)
86	None published
87	b1077: Palmer; b1251: Shepardson*