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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 published[1] the Syriac version of *'The Hymns of Severus of Antioch and Others,'* originally translated by Paul of Edessa between 619/29, and revised by Jacob of Edessa in 674/75.[2] Based on the two extant manuscripts[3] 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,

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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. ccccxxi) and 339-340 (no. ccccxxii). 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 manuscript de l'Octoechus de Sévère d'Antioche, et sur l'auteur Jacques Philoponus, distinct de Jacques d'Édesse,' *JA* 12 (9è 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 autograph[7] 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

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[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 manuscript [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

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[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 index[14] 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., ܡܙܡܘܪ ܟ). 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' note quoted above ('and how the proofs and testimonies …') refers to the biblical texts in the margin, not to Jacob' 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' 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' 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

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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 Peshitta[20] and with the Septuagint.[21] The Targumim[22] 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 Anbrosianus 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 Gottingensis 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).

consulted but did not influence the formation of Jacob's quotations (nor does the Masoretic Text). The *Lemmata* are taken from the Leiden Peshitta, the *variants* from Jacob's quotations published by Brooks (I = PO 6.1; II = PO 7.5). Brooks' texts are checked with the help of a microfilm.

The beginning and the end of verses *not* fully quoted by Jacob are indicated by *incipit* and *desinit* respectively. *Peshitta variants* are only quoted (by their Leiden *sigla*) in support of variants in Jacob's quotations. *Scribal errors* (already noted by Brooks) are included in the list to proof the slightly corrupted condition of Ms Add 17134.

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.

1) Gen 1:27-28/I 155; fol. 34v
28 ^{2}ܐܡܪ] *om Jac* LXX 7k4^{c} 8/5b1 11l3.4→ | ܐܡܪܝܢ] *no seyame Jac*

2) Gen 2:15/I 69; fol. 15v
15 ܢܚܬ] *om Jac* | ܠܡܕܒܪ] ܕܡܕܒܪ *Jac*

3) Gen 2:21-22/I 157; fol. 35r
22 ܐܡܪ] *om Jac* LXX: 121-424-31'

4) Gen 3:14-15/II 603 [191]; fol. 40v
14 ܒܟܠ ܕܚܝ] ܒܟܠܚܝ *Jac* — 15 ܗܘ ܢܫܬܝܪ] ܗܘ ܢܫܝܪ *MS Add 17134 ex err* |
ܗܘ ܢܫܝܪ ܠܟ ܪܫܐ ܘܐܢܬ ܬܫܝܦ ܠܗ ܥܩܒܐ] ܗܘ ܢܫܝܪ ܠܟ ܪܫܐ ܘܐܢܬ ܬܫܝܦ ܠܗ ܥܩܒܐ *Jac* LXX (αὐτός σου τηρήσει κεφαλήν, καὶ σὺ τηρήσεις αὐτοῦ πτέραν)

Jacob substitutes the Old Testament Peshitta of *vs* 15b by a translation of the LXX (similar below in no. 38).

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

17 ܐܒܪ ܒܪܟܠܐ] ܒܪܟ ܪܡܠ ܐܒܪܐ *Jac* — 18 ܪܝܫܝܢܐ] ܪܝܫܝܢ *MS Add 17134 ex err* — 19 ܟܦܪ] *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 ܠܚܡ
4 ܟܥܒܪܐ] ܥܒܪܐ *Jac* 7a1 10l1 12a1*fam* 12b2 | ܟܬܒܗܘܢ] ܟܬܒܗܘܢ *Jac* — 5 ܟܡܐ] ܡܐ *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 ܠ] *om Jac* LXX | ܡܫܬܫܒ] ܪܫܒ *Jac* 5b1

9) Gen 19:17.26/II 732 [320]; fol. 64r
vs 17 *desinit* ܪܒܚܡ
26 ܡܒܗܡ ܒ] ܡܒܗ ܒ *Jac* (explicitly refering to Lot's wife)

10) Gen 28:16-17/I 156; 35r
17 ܐܡ ܠܥܕ] *om* ܐܡ *Jac* 5b1 | ܐܡܐ] ܪܡܐ *Jac* | ܡܒܝܐ ܪܒܥܕ *sic*] ܪܒܥܕ ܪܒܝܐ *Jac* 5b1→

11) Gen 28:16-19/I 161; fol. 35v
desinit ܠܪ ܒܗ
17 ܐܡ ܠܥܕ] *om* ܐܡ *Jac* 5b1 — 18 ܪܒܥܒ] ܪܒܝ *Jac* 5b1 | ܒܡܕ] ܒܡܐ *Jac* (*cf vs* 11) | ܡܒܪܟ] ܡܒܪܟ *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 ܒܡܪܟܪ *(sic)*
desinit ܪܒܕܐ
5 ܪܫ ܪܒ] *om* ܪܫ *Jac* — 6 ܪܒܫ ܪܒܫ] *transp Jac* | ܪܒܒܕ ܪܒ] ܪܒܕ ܪܒܒ *Jac* (*cf vs* 5)

14) 1Sam 17:34-36/II 759 [347]; fol. 68r
semper ܕܐܪܕ — 34 ܠܥܐ] ܠܥܐ *Jac* LXX: 245 376 (ἐλάμβανον) 6h1.19 8a1 9a1*fam* 10c1 12a1*fam*→ — 36 ^{2}ܐܪܐ] ܐܪ *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 ܡܢܝ
semper ܒܥܪܐ — 50 ܒܥܐ ܡܪܟ] ܒܥܪܐ ܡܪܟ *MS Add 17134 ex err*

16) 2Sam 23:13-17/II 631 [219]; fol. 46v
desinit ܠܐ ܟܕܢ
14 ܫܡ ܒܚ] ܫܡ ܒܚܕ *Jac* 9c1 9l2 10c1.2 11c1 12a1*fam*→ — 15 ܫܡ ܒܚ] ܫܡ ܒܚܕ *Jac* — 16 ܗܘܐ] *add* ܒܠܡ *Jac* LXX (οἱ) | ܠܐܡܒܝܥ] ܟܒܝܥ *Jac* | ܫܡ ܒܚ] ܫܡ ܒܚܕ *Jac* 9l2→

Jacob's later revision offers also ܫܡ ܒܚܕ (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 ܠܗܘ ܟܝܢ ܒܡܝ

ix,1 ܒܟܒܢܐ *ed Leid sub* †] ܒܟܒܢ ܒܠܟ *Jac* LXX (οἱ κατοικοῦντες) 7a1 8a1 11l1 12a1

18) Isa 10:33—11:3/I, 175; fol. 38v

33 ܟܒܠ] *om Jac* — 34 ܟܐ] ܟܟܐ *MS Add 17134 ex err* — xi,1 ܒ ܟܝ] *om Jac*

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

2 ܫܒܐ] ܫܒܐ *MS Add 17134 ex err*

20) Isa 14:3-15/II, 599 [187]; fol. 40r
6 ܟܒܟ] ܟܒܟܕ *Jac* 9a1*fam* — 8 ܒܟ] ܒܟ *Jac* 6h3 9a1*fam* 9d1 10d1 11d1 12a1→ | ܟܒܝ] *syome Jac* (*contra* Brooks), *cf* LXX (τὰ ξύλα) | ܠܠ] ܠܠ *Jac* LXX (ἀνέβη) — 13 ܡܟ] ܡܟ *Jac* 9a1*fam* 9d1 10d1 11d1 12a1 | ܢܝܟ] ܢܡܟ *Jac* SyHex LXX (θήσω) | ܟܝ ܟܠ] ܟܠ *Jac cf* LXX (ἐν ὄρει ὑψηλῷ) (ܟܝ ܟܠ 9a1*fam* →) — 15 ܠܚ] ܠܚܐ *Jac*

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

desinit ܐܡܪ ܠܟ
no variant reading; but the following addition: ܘܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܠܗܝ ܒܥܐ ܐܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܫܬܟܚ ܒܟ ܘܠܐ ܢܒܗܬ (the Peshitta reading is ܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܒܠܥܐ ܐܠܗܝ).

22) Isa 28:16/II, 662 [250]; fol. 52v
incipit ܐܠܐ ܟܐܦܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܡ
16 ܐܠܐ ܐܡ] *om* ܐܠܐ *Jac* | ܡܫܬܟܚ] ܡܫܬܟܚ *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 ܬܫܡܥܢ] ܬܫܡܥܢ *MS Add 17134 ex err* — 5 ܐܠ ܒܐ] ܐܠܒܐ *Jac* 6h3→

25) Isa 35:3-10/I 134; fol. 30v
5 ܬܦܬܚܢ] ܬܦܬܚܢ *Jac* — 10 ܘܡܕܡܐ] ܘܡܕܡܐ ܒܐ *Jac cf* LXX (καὶ συνηγμένοι) | ܢܫܬܐ] ܢܫܬܐ *MS Add 17134 ex err*

26) Isa 40:27-41:2/II 615 [203]; fol. 43v
28 ܒܝܬܟ ܐܠ] ܒܝܬܟ ܐܠܐ *Jac* — 31 ܢܫܢ ܚܝܐ] ܚܝܐ ܢܫܐ *Jac cf* LXX (ὡς ἀετοί)

27) Isa 49:14-18/II 662 [250]; fol. 52r
15 ܡܬܟ ܐܢ] ܡܬܟܚ ܐܠ ܐܠܐ ܟܬܒ ܒܠܡ ܒܐ ·ܡܬܟ *Jac (sic, om* ܐܢ) — 16 ܠܚܡܠ] ܠܚܡܠ *MS Add 17134 ex err* — 17 ܒܢܝܟ] *add* ܐܠܗܟ *Jac* — 18 ܒܢܝܟ] ܒܢܝ *MS Add 17134 ex err*

28) Isa 49:18-21/I 137; fol. 31r
18 ܒܢܝܟ] ܒܢܝ *MS Add 17134 ex err* — 20 ܒܝܬܟ] ܐܒܝܬܟ *Jac* 9l4.6 12a1

29) Isa 61:3-8/II 639 [227]; fol. 48r
incipit ܡܫܒܚܟ ܫܘܝ ܠܟ
3 ܠܟ] ܠܟܘ *Jac* — 4 ܢܒܢܘ] ܢܒܢܘ *Jac* | ܒܒܒܒ ... ܢܚܡܘ] *om Jac* — 5 ܢܚܡܘ] ܢܚܡܘ *Jac* | ܢܫܒ ܢܒܢ] ܢܒܢܘ ܢܫܒ *MS Add 17134 ex err* — 6 ܘܡܫܒܚܝܢ] ܫܒܚܝܢ *Jac* 9a1*fam* — 7 ܫܒܝܘ] ܫܒܝܘ *MS Add 17134 ex err*

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

1 ܒܬܠܘ] ܒܬܢܠܘ *Jac* 8a1^{c} 9d1.2 9l3 10d1 12a1 12d1.2→

31) Isa 62:1-4/I 136; fol. 31r
1 ܐܠܗܐ] ܐܠܗܢ *MS Add 17134 ex err* — 4 ܡܫܬܒܚ ܠܐ ܬܐܒ] ܠܐ ܬܐܒ ܡܫܬܒܚ *Jac cf* LXX: οὐ κληθήσεται] + ἔτι O᾽¦οὐκέτι κληθήσεται (-ση 147) 147-106c *oII L*

32) Isa 66:6-9/I 131; fol. 30r
desinit ܡܝܬ ܝܬܝ
7 ܘܐܠܕ] ܘܐܠܕ ,ܘ *Jac* | ܠܟܠܗܘ] ܕܡܫܬܐ ܠܟܠܗ *Jac cf* LXX (ἐξέφυγε καὶ ἔτεκεν) — 8 ܟܝ *(twice)*] ܟܝܐ *(twice) Jac* | ܒܗܘ] ܒܗ *Jac* | ܡܝܬ] *add* ܘܐܠܕ *Jac* | ܠܥܡܐ ܘܐܠܕ] *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 ܥܒܕܗ] ܥܒܕܘܗ *MS Add 17134 ex err* — 23 ܡܐܝܬ] ܡܢ ܡܐܝܬ *Jac*

35) Ezek 37:15-17/ I 176; fol. 38v
16 ܟܬܒܬ] ܟܬܒܬ *MS Add 17134 ex err* — 17 ܠܗܘ] ܟܠܗܘ *Jac*

36) Hos 2:23-25/I 135; fol. 30v
24 ܟܫܒܠܐ] ܟܫܒܠܐ *MS Add 17134 ex err* — 25 ܒܚܝܪܐ] ܒܚܝܪܐ *Jac* (referring to Hosea's son? *cf.* Hos i,4)

37) Amos 8:9-10/II 703 [291]; fol. 59r
10 ܐܬܚܬܟܬ] ܐܬܚܬܟ *MS Add 17134* | ܒܡܪܪܐ] ܒܡܪܪܐ *MS Add 17134 ex err* | ܟܫܝܪ] ܟܫܝܪ *Jac* 11l4.5*→

38) Jonah 3:7-9/I 68; fol. 15v
incipit ܟܬܒܐ ܕ
desinit ܠܟܠ ܒܝܬܗ
7 ,ܡܐܡܪܝܢ] ܟܡܪܝܢ *Jac* — 8 ܡܒܝܢ] ,ܡܒܝܢ *Jac* | ܒܟ] ܒܟܠ *Jac* LXX (ἕκαστος) |
,ܡܢܟܡ ܒܝܕ ܟܦܠ] ,ܡܢܟ ,ܘ ܟܒܠ *Jac* LXX

39) Hag 2:6-9/II 649 [237]; fol. 50r
incipit ܕܐ ܟܬ ܬܐܒ
6 ܟܚܐ] ܟܚܐ *Jac*

40) Zech 11:7-8/I 175; fol. 38v
desinit ܬܐ ܟܢܝ

8 ܒܢ̈ܝܢܐ] ܒܢܘܡܐ *Jac*

41) Lam 3:25-30/II 731 [319]; fol. 63v
25 ܛܒ] *add* ܗܘ *Jac* | ܠܡܢ ܕܡܣܟܐ] ܠܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܣܟܝܢ *Jac* LXX (τοῖς ὑπομένουσιν) | ܕܢܣܟܐ] ܗܝ ܕܢܣܟܐ *Jac* LXX (ἤ) — 27 ܒܛܠܝܘܬܗ] ܡܢ ܛܠܝܘܬܗ *Jac* LXX ἐν νεότητι] ἐκ νεότητος *L* 538 *C*-239 130 — 29 ܦܘܡܗ] ܠܦܘܡܗ *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 *vss* 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: ܗ̇ܝ ܕܠܒܢ̈ܐ, and *vs* 8: *add* ܘܠܒܢ̈ܐ).
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 ܪܒܐ seems to be omitted by error). We also find conflations of Peshitta and Septuagint in item 25 (ܐܦ is from the Septuagint; the verb is from the Peshitta), and 32 (*vs* 7: the addition of ܘܬܐܠ 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 ܘܐܦ to ܐܦ (14, 20, 24).
5. In item 27 (*vs* 15) Jacob introduces an expansion of the verse (ܐܦ ܐܢܬܝ̇ ... ܠܐ) 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 ܟܡܘܣܐ (for ܟܢܝܫܐ) in item 40, and ܠܫܡܗ (for ܦܘܡܗ) 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

against the printed Septuagint-texts of Rahlfs and Ziegler. As most of the variants in Jacob's Septuagint text can be identified in the apparatus of Rahlfs' edition I adopted his *sigla* and his style of quoting (not Ziegler's). The few variants of Jacob's translation attested only in Ziegler's fuller edition are quoted without specification of their inner-recensional attestation. The purpose of the apparatus thus compiled is not to give the exhaustive attestation but the affiliation of the variants to Septuagint recensions as far as possible. The *Greek Lemmata* are taken from Rahlfs' text; in all given cases they are identical with Ziegler's. The variants quoted are from Jacob's Syriac text presented in Greek.

Recensions in italics: *O* = recensio Origenis, *L* = rec. Luciani, *C* = rec. in Catena magna in prophetas inventa.

Jac = Jacobus Edessenus, Pš = Peshitta (Leiden Edition), SyH = Syro-Hexapla, SyL = Syro-Lucianic translation (see Ziegler's edition, page 16 and 81-82). Further *sigla* are given according to Rahlf's and Ziegler's editions.

Shadowed portions are passages identical with the Peshitta text.

1) Isa 1:4-6/II 697 [285], fol. 58r

4 ܘ ܠܚܟ ܣܠܝܟ ܕܚܛ ܕܚܛ ܕܝܟ ܕܫܠܚ ܣܠܝܟ ܕܚܛ ܕܚܛ ܕܝܟ ܕܫܠܚ ܠܡܕܥ ܠܟ ܕܡܗܢ ܥܡܝܩ ܠܚܛ ܕܝܟ ܠܡܕܥ ܕܡܗܢ ܕܝܟ ܕܫܠܚ ܕܚܛ ܕܚܛ

1 ܘܐܬܪܚܫ ܠܗ ܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܐ ܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܝܬ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܒܢܘ
ܒܝܬܐ 2 .ܡܫܟܢܐ ܕܐ ܐܬܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ .ܐܠܥܠܐ ܐܠܗ
.ܠܡ ܟܬܒ ܐܬܐ .ܠܡ ܟܬܒ ܐܬܐ ,ܡܐܝܬ ܐܡܪ ܒܡܠ
[ܐܡܪ ܒܡܠ ܕܐ ܒܝܬܐ :ܐܠܥܠܐ] ܐܡܪ ܒܡܠ ܕܐ ܒܝܬܐ
ܒܠ ܐܝܬ ܐܡܪ ܒܡܠ 3 .ܐܡܪ ܒܡܐ ܒܝܬܐ .ܐܠ ܬ
ܐܠܗܐ ܐܒܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܢ ܐܢ ܐܢ ܐܡܪ ܒܝܡܐ ܐܝܬ
ܐܬܐ ܐܒܩܫ ܒܝܫܐ 4 .*(sic)* ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ
,ܐ ܒܝܡܐ 5 .ܐܫ ܠܐܒܝ ܐܒܐ .ܐܡܪ ܒܡܠ ܐܡ ܐܠ ܕ
.ܒܝ ܐܝܬ ܠܐ :ܐܝ ܐܡܪ ܠܐ .ܐܝ ܐܡ ܠ
ܠ ܒܝ ܐܬ ܒܝܟܐ ܠ ܒܝ ܐܒܐ ܐ ܐܒܩܫ
ܐܒܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܠܗܐ .ܐܝ ܒܟ ܐܝ ܐܒܝܩ ܐܒܩܫ
(sic) ܡܐܝܬ .ܐܫ ܕܐ ,ܒܠ ܒܪܫ 6 .ܚܬܢ ܒܝܫ
.ܐܬܐ ܐܒܝܟ ܕܐ ,ܡ :ܐܝ ܐܒܝܟ ܠ ܒܝ 7
ܐܠܥܐ .ܟܒܩܫ ܠܐ ܒܝ ܒܪ ܡ .ܠ ܒܟ ܐ ܒܝ ܐ
ܐܠܗ ܒܝܫܐ .ܐܬ

1 καὶ ἐγένετο τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ] *Jac* adopts the Pš: ܒܫܢܐ — 2 the words ܐܡܪ ܒܡܠ ܕܐ ܒܝܬܐ :ܐܠܥܠܐ are omitted before ܐܠ ܬ 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<ον> in Ziegler's edition).

4) Isa 9:15-16/II 738 [326], 65r

15 .ܐܠܗܐ ܐܠܗ ܐܡ ܐܒܠ ܐܒܩ ܐܒܫ ܐܡ ܐܡܪ
ܐ ܐܡܐܒܠ ܠܐ ܐܡ ܠܐ 16 .ܐܡ ܐܠܒ ܐܠܗ ܐܡ
.ܐܠܐ ܐܡ

5) Isa 21:3-4/II 744 [332], 66r

ܠܐ ܐܠ 4 .ܐܡ ܐܠ ܠܟܫܐ .ܒܐ ܐܠ ܠܠܒ 3
.ܐܠܐ ܠܒ ܐܡ ܠܐ ܐܫ .ܐܠܗ ܠ ܐܠܐܫܐ ܐܠ .ܐܗ

6) Isa 24:15-20/II 694 [282], fol. 57v

ܐܠܟܐ ܐܒ ܐ ܫܩ ܐ 16 .ܐ ܐ ܐ 15
ܠܐ .ܠܐ ܐ ܠ ,ܒ ܐ *(sic)* ܐ .ܐ
ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ 17 :ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ 18 .ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ .ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ
ܫ ܐ ܐ ܐ .ܐ ܐ ܐ ܐ 19 .ܐ ܐ 20

ܐܡ ܗܢ .ܟܬܝ ܟܠܝܙ ܗܢ ܫܥܝܗ ܠܥܬܗ ܟܠܥܐ
.ܒܥܠ ܫܥܐ ܟܠ ܠܥܗ .ii ܫܥܝ .ܟܥii

16 τῷ εὐσεβεῖ] τοῖς ἀσεβέσιν *(sic) Jac* — 17 ἐνοικοῦντας] (κατ-) οἰκοῦντας *Jac* LXX: S* *L* — 19 ταραχῇ] *om Jac?* — 20 ἔκλινε καὶ σεισθήσεται ὡς ὀπωροφυλάκιον ἡ γῆ] κλινεῖ καὶ σαλευθήσεται καὶ σεισθήσεται ὡς ὀπ. ἡ γῆ *Jac? (cf L)*

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

ܟܬܐ ܒܗܐ .ܒܠܥܝܐܣܐ ܥܡܝ ܟܝܬ ܟܠܫ ܠܠܐ 23
ܫܢܫܐ .ܟܠܥ ܟܝܐܥܐ ܟܫܥܥ .ܫܢ ,ܡܠܥ ܟܝܬ 1 .ܫܥܫܥ
.ܟܝܬ ܟܥܡܫ ܟܫܝܝܟ ܟܫܥܝ ܟܫܢܝܫ .ܟܡܝܫܫ ܟܝܫܥܐ

1 ὑμνήσω] καὶ ὑμ. *Jac* Pš SyH (Ziegler)

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

.ܟܡ ܟܝܠܟ ܠܕ ܟܫܫܐ ܥܡܠܕ ܫܐܟܫܝ ܟܝܬ ܐܫܫ 6
ܟܝܠܟ 7 .ܥܝܐܫ ܥܡܫܫ .ܟܝܫܡ ܥܫܥ .ܟܫܫܡ ܥܫܥ
ܠܕ .ܟܐܡ ܝܟ ܟܫܢܝܫ .ܟܫܫܐ ܠܥܡ ܡܠܡ ܠܥܟ .ܟܡ
ܫܫܫܫ ܐܕ ܟܫܫܐ ܟܕ 8 .ܫܫܫܫ ܟܫܫܐ ܥܡܠܥ
ܫܫܐ ܟܠܠܐ ܟܫܡܐ .ܠܡܫܫ ܟܫܫܥܝܐ ܠܕ ܟܫܫܐ ܠܕ ܫܫܐ
ܥܝܐܟܡ 9 .ܠܠܐ ܟܝܐ ܝܟ ܡܫܫ .ܟܝܬ ܡܠܕ ܟܐ
ܥܡܝܥ ܥܡܡ ܥܝܫܫ ,ܡܠܕ ܐܡ ܥܡܠ ܟܡ .ܐܡ ܟܫܫ
ܠܫܐ ܟܫܡ 10 .ܡܡܡ ܣ ܥܝܫܫ ܟܝܬ ܐܡ .ܥܝܐܫܫ ܥܡܡ
.ܟܡ ܟܝܠܟ ܠܕ ܟܡܠ

8 ὁ θεός] *om Jac* | τοῦ λαοῦ] τοῦ κόσμου *Jac (scribal err.)* — 9 σωτηρίᾳ ἡμῶν] *add* οὗτος κύριος ὑπεμείναμεν αὐτῷ (*vel* ἀυτὸν) καὶ εὐφρανθησόμεθα *Jac* (*cf* Pš and LXX: B*LO*) — 10 ὅτι] *om Jac* LXX: B*L*

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

ܟܝܠܟ ܠܕ ܟܫܫܐ ܥܡܠܕ ܫܐܟܫܝ ܟܝܬ ܐܫܫ 6
7 .ܟܫܫܐ ܥܡܫܫ .ܟܝܫܡ ܥܫܥ .ܟܫܫܡ ܥܫܥ .ܟܡ
ܟܐܡ *(sic)* ܟܫܫܐ ܥܡܠܥ ܡܠܡ ܠܥܟ .ܟܡ ܟܝܠܟ
.ܫܫܫܫ ܟܫܫܐ ܥܡܠܥ ܠܕ ܟܫܫܥܝܐ ܝܟ

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

ܥܠܟ ܟܝܡܐܝ ܠܠܐ .ܟܡܠ ܫܫܐ ,ܡܝ ܟܫܐܫ ܟܠ ܠܐ 9
.ܟܝܬ ܠܕ ܫܝܐܐ

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

19 .ܟܝܬ ܠܕ ܝܟܫܐ ܥܡ ܥܠܫ ܟܠ ܠܫ ܟ 18
ܥܡ ܥܐܡ .ܟܝܫܫܐ ܥܡ ܥܫܡܫܫ ܟܫܝܬ ܥܫܫ

ܡܬܒܥܝ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܀ ܗܘ ܕܐܡ ܐܢ ܐܝܟ ܠܐ ܡܟܝܡܝܢ ܀ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܡܝܬ ܕܒܥܝܢ ܠܡ ܀ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܀ ܐܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܀ ܐܠܐ ܡܬܒܥܝ ܀ ܐܠܐ ܡܬܒܥܝ ܀ ܐܠܐ ܡܬܒܥܝ

20 καὶ ἀναπαύσασθαι οὐ δυνήσονται] *om Jac* (scribal error?)

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

11 ܟܕ ܢܚܝܢ ܟܣܝܢ. ܟܬܝܒ ,ܡܐܟܝ ܠܐ ܟܬܝ ܠܡܚ ܡܚܐ
12 ܠܢ ܟܫܠܝ. ܒܟܡ ܠܢ ܟܫܘܥܟ ܟ ܒܟ ܟܬܟܚ
ܟܫܘܟ. ܡܐܟܝ ܟ ܒܟ ܟܫܘܥܟ ܟ. ܠܡܠ ܟܡ
ܟܬܝ ܢܚܝ ܟܡ ܡܢܝ ܟܫܘܥ ܠܟ ܢ ܟܫܟ. 13 ܡܒܟ
12 τὰ ἀδικήματα] τὸ ἀδίκημα *Jac* SyH (*cf* Pš ܠܥܐ) — 13 τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν] τοῦ κυρίου *Jac* (*cf* Pš)

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

17 ܟܢ ܟܫܠ ܫܥܡ. ܟܢܝ ܟ ܟܝ ܠ ܫܟܟ ܟܠ
18 ܟܫܫܝ ܟܫ. ܟܫ ܠܟ. ܟܝ ܟܫ ܠܟ ܫܫ. ܟܡ
ܢܟ ܟܫܫܝ ܟܫ ܟ ܫܝ ܟܢ ܢܫܠ ܟܡ
ܟܫ ܟ ܫ ܟ. ܟܫ ܟ ܟ ܟ ,ܡܐܟܝ ܟܢ
17 ἐσκλήρυνας] καὶ ἐ. *Jac* Pš

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

19 ܟ ܠ ܫܥܡ ܟܢ ,ܫܟ. ܫܥ ܟ ܟ ,ܫܟ ܫ ܟ
ܟ ,ܟ ܟ ,ܟ ܟ ,ܟ

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

22 ܐܝܟ ܕܥܒܕ̈ ܢܦܫ ܕܝܠܝ ܘܐܝܟ ܕܥܒܕ̈ ܒܚܪ̈ ܕܝܠܝ.

ξύλου τῆς ζωῆς] δένδρου τ. ζ. *Jac* (*cf* Pš ܐܝܟ ܕܥܒܕ̈ ܒܚܪ̈ ܕܝܠܝ)

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

17 ܒܬܪ ܚܕ[ܐ ܕܥܒ] ܕܥܒ̈ ܒܓܢ̈ ܘܐܟܠ̈ ܒܣ̈ ܘܥܟ̈ ܒܬܪ ܚܕ 18 .ܕܥ̈ ܘܐ[.....]ܕ ܕܥ̈ ܘܐ ܕ[ܥ]ܒ̈ ܕ[ܥ]ܒ̈ ܕ[ܥ]ܒ̈

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 revision[24] '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 1Sam[26] 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' 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' 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, preludes 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

ANTT = 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.