STUDIES IN THE SYRIAC VERSIONS OF ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM'S HOMILIES ON THE NEW TESTAMENT

WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HOMILIES 6, 20, 22, 23, 37, 62, 83, AND 84 ON JOHN

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VOLUME I

STUDIES AND TRANSLATION

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ABSTRACT

STUDIES IN THE SYRIAC VERSIONS OF ST. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM'S HOMILIES ON THE NEW TESTAMENT WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HOMILIES 6, 20, 22, 23, 37, 62, 83, AND 84 ON JOHN

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

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by Jeffrey Wayne Childers,

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The thesis conducts systematic studies of the Syriac versions of St. John Chrysostom's Homilies on the New Testament—the Homilies on Matthew, the Homilies on John, and the Homilies on the Epistles of St. Paul. The thesis focuses mainly on sixth- and seventh-century British Library manuscripts, but is also concerned with the spread of the material over the course of centuries into different sorts of books. Pre-dating extant Greek witnesses by centuries, the main Syriac manuscripts preserve translations made during the fifth and sixth centuries and constitute unique textual evidence for students of the Greek. By analyzing the methods of translation, it has been possible to place the versions within the framework of the development of Syriac translation technique and to highlight methodological issues for those attempting to relate Syriac versions to their Greek source texts. The translation analysis includes Biblical citations. The analyses have shown that the Homilies on the Epistles were translated last and are the most literal. The Homilies on Matthew and on John were translated earlier, are relatively less literal, and most likely to have Peshitta or even (occasionally) Old Syriac Bible texts rather than direct translations from the Greek.

Several of the Homilies on John are edited and translated, allowing a critique of M.-E. Boismard's interpretation and use of the Syriac version, which is seen to be unsatisfactory in several ways.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

VOLUME I: STUDIES AND TRANSLATION

Abstract ii

Table of Contents iii

Preface v

Abbreviations vii

Chapter I: INTRODUCTION 1

Chapter II: AN OVERVIEW OF THE SYRIAC EVIDENCE 7

Chapter III. TRANSLATION ANALYSIS : HOMILIES ON ON MATTHEW 62

Chapter IV. TRANSLATION ANALYSIS: HOMILIES ON THE EPISTLES 105

Chapter V. BIBLICAL CITATIONS IN THE HOMILIES ON MATTHEW AND ON THE EPISTLES 152

Chapter VI. TRANSLATION ANALYSIS: HOMILIES ON JOHN 215

Chapter VII. BIBLICAL CITATIONS IN THE HOMILIES ON JOHN 261

Chapter VIII. M.–E. BOISMARD AND THE SYRIAC TEXT OF THE HOMILIES ON JOHN 298

Chapter IX. SELECT HOMILIES ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN— PRELIMINARIES TO THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION . . 324

Chapter X. SELECT HOMILIES ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN— ENGLISH TRANSLATION . . 327

Chapter XI. CONCLUSION 414

VOLUME II: SYRIAC TEXT AND APPENDICES

Chapter XII. SELECT HOMILIES ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN— PRELIMINARIES TO THE SYRIAC TEXT . . 1

Chapter XIII. SELECT HOMILIES ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN— SYRIAC TEXT . . 8

Appendix 1 HOMILIES WITHOUT COMMENTARY MANUSCRIPT SUPPORT 80

Appendix 2 PHILOXENUS' FLORILEGIUM: ITS SIGNIFICANCE FOR DATING THE TRANSLATIONS OF THE SYRIAC HOMILIES ON MATTHEW AND ON JOHN 106

Appendix 3 THE PLACE OF CHRYSOSTOM'S HOMILIES ON THE NEW TESTAMENT IN SYRIAC EXEGETICAL TRADITION 111

Bibliography 120

INDICES

ORTHOGRAPHICAL INDEX 140

SCRIPTURE INDEX 142

MANUSCRIPT INDEX 145

Preface

These studies have been instructive to me in many ways—not least in that they have continually reminded me that my own endeavours find but a modest place within a long line which stretches back to those who have worked before me and forward towards those who will pursue the inquiries further in the future. I find myself dependent upon previous scholarship, including that of Syriac- and Greek-speaking Christians over the centuries and indeed of Chrysostom himself, as well as of modern scholars. The fruit of their labours has been a substantial portion of my diet for some time, and sweet or sour I have found it nourishing.

In managing this repast, I am especially indebted to the work and enthusiastic interest of Sebastian Brock. He has been my guide and model, though I a poor imitator. His counsel and questions have always proved beneficial. His welcoming manner and sincere interest in me and my work has been inspirational. I am fortunate to have been one of the many touched by his learned wisdom and fine character.

I am grateful to the staff of the Bodleian Library and the Oriental Institute Library, Oxford for their helpfulness, and especially to the British Library, London, for the opportunity to consult their rich collection of Syriac manuscripts. I am also thankful for the generosity of David and Allison Salvesen, the team who together developed the beautiful Syriac script adorning these pages.

Several organizations and persons have funded my working sojourn in Oxford: Merton College; the Christian Scholars Foundation in Atlanta, Georgia; Professor Dr. Carroll Osburn; the Hall-Houghton fund for Biblical studies, Oxford; Abilene Christian University in Abilene, Texas; the University of Oxford; and generous benefactors in the hamlet of Breckenridge, Texas.

Emotional support over the last several years has been offered unreservedly by many of my friends, and especially Kirsten Merritt and Nick Matthews, whose companionship has often helped me to retain a sense of balance when my research threatened to be all-consuming.

Even more important to my complete well-being has been my family. Their place in my life brings great joy and in loving devotion they have shared with me the burden of this work. In particular, my wife Linda has exhibited uncommon patience and been immensely helpful to me in the final stages of the research. Her encouragement and unflagging support have been indispensable.

Finally, thanks be to God, for whose honour the Syriac and Greek texts were composed and transmitted and in whose name this research has proceeded.

GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

add.	addit(unt)	n. nn.	note(s)
cf.	*confer*	om.	omittit(unt)
col., cols.	column, columns	p., pp.	page(s)
ed., eds.	editor, editors	pr.	praemittit(unt)
eg.	*exempli gratia*	tr.	translator
f., ff.	following (with pages)	viz.	*videlicet*
	folio(s) (with manuscripts)	vol., vols.	volume(s)
ibid.	*ibidem*	+	add(s)
i.e.	*id est*	*, *[1], etc.	denotes variant(s)

BIBLIOGRAPHIC ABBREVIATIONS

AAWG.PH — *Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse*. 3rd series (Göttingen)

ABAW.PPH — *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse* (München)

Abr-N. — *Abr-Nahrain* (Leiden)

AION — *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli* (Naples)

ANRW — *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* (Berlin)

ANTF — *Arbeiten zur neutestamentliche Textforschung* (Berlin)

Aphrahat, *Dem* — *Aphraatis demonstrationes XXIII*. Ed. Jean Parisot. *Patrologia Syriaca* 1.1–2. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1894–1907.

Assemani, *BO* — Joseph S. Assemani. *Bibliotheca orientalis Clementino-Vaticanae*. Volume 1, *de scriptoribus syris orthodoxis*. Volume 3, *de scriptoribus syris nestorianis*. Rome: 1719, 1725.

Assemani, *Catalogus* — Stephen E. and Joseph S. Assemani. *Bibliothecae apostolicae vaticanae codicum manuscriptorum catalogus*. Volume 2, *Codices chaldaicos sive syriacos*. Volume 3, *Reliquos codices chaldaicos sive syriacos*. Rome:1758–9.

Aug. — *Augustinianum* (Rome)

BAH	*Bibliothèque archéologique et historique* (Paris and Beirut)
BETL	*Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium* (Louvain)
Bib.	*Biblica* (Rome)
BPM	*Biblia Polyglotta Matritensia* (Madrid)
Byz.	*Byzantion* (Brussels)
BZAW	*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (Berlin)
CarmNis	Ephrem. *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen de Carmina Nisibena*. Ed. Edmund Beck. *CSCO* 218, 240. Louvain: Secrétariat du *CSCO*, 1961–3.
CBM	*Chester Beatty Monographs* (Dublin)
CCG	Michel Aubineau, Robert E. Carter, and Wolfgang Lackner, eds. *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci*. Five volumes. Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1968–83.
CDia	Ephrem. *Saint Ephrem: Commentaire de l'évangile concordant. Texte syriaque*. Ed. Louis Leloir. *CBM* 8. Dublin: Hodges, Figgis & Co., 1963.
CDia[A]	_____. *Saint Éphrem. Commentaire de l'évangile concordant. Version arménienne*. Ed. Louis Leloir. *CSCO* 137. Louvain: L. Durbecq, 1953.
CDia[FA]	_____. *Saint Éphrem: Commentaire de l'évangile concordant. Texte syriaque, folios additionnels*. Ed. Louis Leloir. Louvain: Peeters, 1990.
CG-E	_____. *Sancti Ephraem Syri in Genesim et in Exodum commentarii*. Ed. R.-M. Tonneau. *CSCO* 152. Louvain: L. Durbecq, 1955.
CM-L	Philoxenus. *Fragments of the Commentary on Matthew and Luke*. Ed. J.W. Watt. *CSCO* 392–3. Louvain: Secrétariat du *CSCO*, 1978. *The "Matthew-Luke" Commentary*. Ed. Douglas J. Fox. *SBL Dissertation Series* 43. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1979.
CNRS	Centre Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique
CPG	Maurice Geerard, ed. *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*. Volume 2, *Ab Athanasio ad Chrysostom.*. Turnhout: Brepols, 1974.
CPJ	Philoxenus. *Philoxène de Mabbog. Commentaire du prologue johannique*. Ed. André de Halleux. *CSCO* 380. Louvain: Secrétariat du *CSCO*, 1977.

CSCO — *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (Louvain, Paris, and Rome)

DÖAW.PH — *Denkschriften. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse* (Vienna)

DSp — Marcel Viller et al, eds. *Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique, doctrine et histoire*. Paris, 1937ff.

EO — *Ecclesia Orans* (Rome)

EtB — *Études bibliques*. New Series (Paris)

EThL — *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovaniensis* (Louvain)

Field, *in Matt.* — *Sancti patris nostri Joannis Chrysostomi archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani homiliae in Matthaeum*. 3 volumes. Ed. Frederick Field. Cambridge: 1838–9.

Field, *Interp.ep.Paul.* — *Sancti patris nostri Joannis Chrysostomi archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani interpretatio omnium epistolarum Paulinarum per homilias facta* 7 volumes. Ed. Frederick Field. Oxford: 1845–62.

GOF.S — *Göttinger Orientforschung. Reihe 1, Syriaca* (Wiesbaden)

GRBS — *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* (Cambridge, Mass.)

HNat — Ephrem. *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen de Nativitate*. Ed. Edmund Beck. *CSCO* 186. Louvain: Secrétariat du *CSCO*, 1959.

HPar — _____. *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen de Paradiso und contra Julianum*. Ed. Edmund Beck. *CSCO* 174. Louvain: Secrétariat du *CSCO*, 1957.

HS — *Horae Semiticae* (Cambridge)

HThR — *Harvard Theological Review* (Cambridge, Mass.)

JBL — *Journal of Biblical Literature* (Philadelphia)

JÖB — *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* (Vienna)

JSSt — *Journal of Semitic Studies* (Manchester)

JThS — *Journal of Theological Studies* (Oxford)

LibGrad — *Liber Graduum*. Ed. Michael Kmosko. *Patrologia Syriaca* 1.3. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1926.

LTP — *Laval théologique et philosophique* (Quebec)

LXX — *Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum* . 16 volumes. Eds. Alfred Rahlfs et al. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1931–93.

MAH	*Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* (Paris)
Mingana, *Catalogue*	A. Mingana. *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts*. Volume 1, *Syriac and Garshuni Manuscripts*. Cambridge: W. Heffer & Sons, 1933.
Muséon	*Le Muséon* (Louvain)
NA[27]	*Novum Testamentum Graece*. 27th ed. Eds. Barbara and Kurt Aland. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1993.
NAWG	*Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen* (Göttingen)
NT	*Novum Testamentum* (Leiden)
NTGF	*The New Testament Text in the Greek Fathers* (Atlanta)
NTS	*New Testament Studies* (Cambridge)
OCA	*Orientalia Christiana Analecta* (Rome)
OCP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica* (Rome)
OLA	*Orientalis Lovaniensia Analecta* (Louvain)
OLoP	*Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* (Louvain)
OrChr	*Oriens Christianus* (Rome)
OrSyr	*Orient Syrien* (Paris)
ParOr	*Parole de l'Orient* (Kaslik)
PIOS	Pontificium Institutum Orientalium Studiorum
PIRHT	*Publications de l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes. Documents, études et repertoires* (Paris)
PG	*Bibliothecum Patrum Graecum. Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca*. Ed. J.–P. Migne Paris, 1857ff.
PO	*Patrologia Orientalis* (Paris and Turnhout)
RB	*Revue Biblique* (Paris)
RHE	*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* (Louvain)
ROC	*Revue de l'Orient Chrétien* (Paris)
RSLR	*Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* (Florence)
RSR	*Recherches de science religieuse* (Paris)
RThPh	*Revue de théologie et de philosophie* (Lausanne)
SD	*Studies and Documents* (Grand Rapids)

Savile	*Sancti Johannis Chrysostomi Opera Omnia*. 8 volumes. Ed. Henry S. Savile. Eton: John Norton, 1612–3.
SBEc	*Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica* (Oxford)
SPLA	S.P. Brock. *Syriac Perspectives on Late Antiquity*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1984.
StPatr	*Studia Patristica*. Ed. F.L. Cross et al.
StSin	*Studia Siniatica* (London)
StSC	S.P. Brock. *Studies in Syriac Christianity*. London: Variorum Reprints, 1992.
StT	*Studi e Testi* (Vatican City)
Συμποσίον	*Συμποσίον. Studies on St. John Chrysostom*. Ed. Panagiotis Nicolopoulos. *Ἀναλέκτα Βλατάδων* 18. Thessalonike: *Πατριαρχικὸν Ἵδρῦμα Πατερικῶν Μελέτων*, 1973.
Supplement	Jessie Payne Smith. *Supplement to the Thesaurus Syriacus*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927.
SVigChr	*Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae* (Leiden)
TaS	*Texts and Studies* (Cambridge)
Thesaurus Syriacus	Robert Payne Smith. *Thesaurus Syriacus*. Two volumes. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879, 1901.
Tr.	*Traditio* (New York)
TS	*Theological Studies* (New York)
TU	*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur* (Berlin)
UCP.CS	*University of California Publications*. Classical Studies (Berkeley, Calif.)
Vetus Testamentum syriace	*Vetus Testamentum syriace iuxta simplicem syrorum versionem*. Peshitta Institute. Leiden: Brill, 1977–91.
Wright, *Catalogue*	William Wright. *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since the Year 1838*. 3 volumes. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1870–2.
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* (Berlin)

Μὴ γάρ μοι τὴν βάρβαρον αὐτῶν φωνὴν ἴδῃς, ἀλλὰ τὴν φιλοσοφοῦσαν αὐτῶν διάνοιαν.

St. John Chrysostom, on the native Syriac-speaking Christians around Antioch (*De sanctis martyribus sermo* 1).

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I. INTRODUCTION

A perusal of the entries for St. John Chrysostom (d. 407) in *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* reveals the vast corpus of material supposed to derive from the preaching of this important church leader.[1] The sets of exegetical homilies, or commentaries, are the most monumental, consisting of series of homilies treating various books of the Bible systematically.[2] Blending exegesis and homiletics, they constitute the largest surviving cycles of Patristic Biblical commentary.[3] This study is particularly concerned with Chrysostom's Homilies on the New Testament, which enjoyed widespread popularity in the post-patristic Church, proving useful for a variety of applications. This popularity is reflected in the versional tradition—*CPG* describes

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[1]See *CPG*, 4305–4495.

[2]During and after Chrysostom's lifetime, the homily cycles—many of which must have been delivered orally—were subjected to programs of composition and editorial refinement for publication. In some cases, further editorial work may have resulted in the publication of successive recensions. For the most recent discussion, see J.N.D. Kelly, *Golden Mouth. The Story of John Chrysostom, Ascetic, Preacher, Bishop* (London: Duckworth, 1995) 92–4.

The most obvious example is his Homilies on Acts. See E.R. Smothers, "The Twofold Tradition of Saint John Chrysostom's Homilies on Acts," Ph.D. dissertation (University of Michigan [Ann Arbor], 1936); ibid., "Le texte des homélies de Saint Jean Chrysostome sur les Actes des Apôtres," *RSR* 27 (1937) 513–48; ibid., "Toward a Critical Text of the Homilies on Acts of St. John Chrysostom," in *StPatr* 1.1, ed. F.L. Cross (*TU* 63; Berlin: Akademie) 53–7; cf. F.T. Gignac, "The Text of Acts in Chrysostom's Homilies" *Tr.* 26 (1970) 308–15.

[3]Internal clues suggest that the majority are based on sermons delivered by Chrysostom during his episcopacy at Antioch, between 386–97 C.E. Others are based on series of sermons preached at Constantinople before his exile to Cucusus and Pityus in 404 (see Kelly, *Golden Mouth*, 90–1, and the survey in Johannes Quasten, *Patrology*, vol. 2, *The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature from the Council of Nicaea to the Council of Chalcedon* [Utrecht: Spectrum, 1960] 433–50).

texts in Latin, Syriac,[4] Coptic, Armenian, Georgian, Old Slavonic, and Arabic. The first known translation of Chrysostom's work was prepared by Annianus of Celeda, who rendered Homilies 1–25 on Matthew into Latin in 419 or 420, not long after Chrysostom's death. A flood of translations and re-translations or revisions followed over the centuries.[5]

Considering the Greek evidence for Chrysostom's Homilies on the New Testament, "c'est une vraie calamité ou une vraie bénédiction," depending on one's point of view. The quantity of manuscripts is enormous, constituting the richest tradition of all Chrysostom's works,[6] but the sheer volume is a mixed blessing for editors. Also, the value of the rich tradition is qualified by the lateness of the evidence, since the tradition scarcely begins before the tenth century—long after the Golden Mouth had fallen silent. The Greek manuscripts for the homilies on John well illustrates this problem. According to the volumes of *Codices Chrysostomici Graeci* (*CCG*) published so far, at least 55 extant manuscripts contain all or part of the Greek text of Chrysostom's 88 Homilies on John.[7] Yet only six of these manuscripts are dated as early as the tenth century; the rest are manuscripts from the eleventh century or later.[8] Similar is the situation of the Homilies on Matthew.

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[4]R.E. Carter revealed before 1970 that "a catalogue of the Syriac manuscripts is. . . envisaged" by those working on Chrysostomic texts, but no catalogue has yet appeared (Carter, "The Future of Chrysostom Studies," in *StPatr* 10.1, ed. F.L. Cross [*TU* 107; Berlin: Akademie, 1970] 15).

[5]Jean-Paul Bouhot, "Les traductions latines de Jean Chrysostome du Ve au XVIe siècle," in *Traduction et traducteurs au moyen âge. Actes du colloque international du CNRS 1986*, ed. Geneviève Contamine (*PIRHT*; Paris: CNRS, 1989) 31–9.

[6]E. Amand de Mendieta, "Un problème d'ecdotique. Comment manier la tradition manuscrite surabondante d'un ouvrage patristique," in *Texte und Textkritik: eine Aufsatzsammlung*, ed. Jürgen Dummer (*TU* 133; Berlin: Akademie, 1987) 31. See the volumes of *CCG* and Michel Aubineau, "Une enquête dans les manuscrites chrysostomiens: opportunité, difficultés, premier bilan," *RHE* 63 (1968) 6–7. Many important volumes of *CCG* are yet to appear (Marcel Richard, "La collection Codices Chrysostomici Graeci," in *Συμποσίον*, 91–3).

[7]Evidence about the tradition from *CCG* is naturally incomplete (see n. 6), but undeniably representative. P.W. Harkins claims to be aware of some 140 such manuscripts, 87 of which he had personally investigated by 1966 ("The Text Tradition of Chrysostom's Commentary on John" in *StPatr* 8.1, ed. F.L. Cross [*TU* 92; Berlin: Akademie, 1966] 217–8).

[8]Only three of the manuscripts are confidently dated to the tenth century, viz. München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Graec. 4 and Cod. Graec. 386; and Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, G65 sup. (Gr.407) (see *CCG* 2.39, 83; 5.119). The rest of the six are given less certain dates of the tenth or eleventh century.

M.-É. Boismard uses a Paris manuscript he dates to the ninth century (Paris, Bib. Nat., Gr. 705), but the Paris manuscripts have not yet been surveyed in *CCG* (see

Chrysostom's 90 homilies represent the oldest complete Patristic commentary on this most popular Gospel. They are based on sermons apparently given at Antioch, probably about 390.[9] According to *CCG*, at least 120 Greek manuscripts contain all or part of the text, yet all but ten of the manuscripts date from the eleventh century or later. Nine date from the tenth century or thereabouts. This particular textual tradition is remarkably—and uniquely—endowed with the sixth-century Wolfenbüttel manuscript, the oldest Greek witness of any of Chrysostom's works, containing a number of the Homilies on Matthew.[10] This remarkable manuscript remains unedited. When Frederick Field published in 1838 what is still the most critical edition of the Homilies on Matthew (reprinted by Migne), he used only about a dozen of the extant manuscripts, incorporating none earlier than the tenth century.[11]

Since the Greek witnesses are late and the printed editions are liable not to be representative,[12] the manuscript traditions attract considerable interest, mainly as preliminary diversions *en route* to the tasks of determining authenticity, tracing source histories, and finally of studying Chrysostom's thought.[13] Fresh editorial work has begun on a few Chrysostomic texts,[14] including the Homilies on the New Testament.[15] Yet some debate exists as to whether fresh editorial work is

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Boismard and A. Lamouille *Un évangile pré-johannique* [*EtB* 17; Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1993] 1.1.24).

[9]Kelly, *Golden Mouth*, 90; Quasten, *Patrology*, 437–8.

[10]Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Helmst. 75a. See Otto von Heinemann, *Die Handschriften der herzoglichen Bibliothek zu Wolfenbüttel*, vol. 1, *Die Helmstedter Handschriften* (Wolfenbüttel: Julius Zwissler, 1884) 1.95.

[11]Field, *in Matt*. See especially vol. 3, *adnotationes et indices*, xvii–xxiii. For an account of the publication histories of certain of Chrysostom's works, see Harkins, "Text Tradition of Chrysostom's Commentary on John," (1966) 211–4; S.L. Greenslade, "The Printer's Copy for the Eton Chrysostom," in *StPatr* 7.1, ed. F.L. Cross (*TU* 92; Berlin: Akademie, 1966) 60–4; F.J. Leroy, "Les manuscrits de Montfaucon et l'édition de S. Jean Chrysostome," *Tr.* 20 (1964) 411–8.

The known Greek textual tradition of the Homilies on the Epistles begins in the tenth century.

[12]The state of existing printed editions of Patristic works and the complexities of their Greek manuscript traditions necessitates a specialized textual criticism (see the attempt of Miroslav Marcovich, *Patristic Textual Criticism*, part 1 (*Illinois Classical Studies Supplement 6*; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994).

[13]See Carter, "Future of Chrysostom Studies" (1970) 14–21.

[14]See Anne-Marie Malingrey, "Vers une édition critique des oeuvres de saint Jean Chrysostome," in *StPatr* 3, ed. F.L. Cross (*TU* 78; Berlin: Akademie, 1961) 81–4; ibid., "L'édition critique de Jean Chrysostome. Actualité de son oeuvre. Volumes parus. Projets," in *Συμποσίον*, 88–9.

[15]Viz. the Homilies on John and the Homilies on Titus and on Philemon. See Harkins', Boismard, *Un évangile pré-johannique*, and Blake Goodall, *The Homilies of St. John Chrysostom on the Letters of St. Paul to Titus and Philemon:*

worthwhile,[16] and what methods are to be used.[17] Some maintain that the original Greek texts of Patristic authors and the process of their transmission are basically irrecoverable,[18] partly because of the special forces to which the living tradition was subjected, and mainly because of the great lapse of time between the era of Chrysostom and the medieval manuscripts bearing witness to him. This lapse in the Greek evidence necessarily arouses interest in the ancient versional evidence—especially the Syriac. The Syriac versional tradition of the homilies, while not voluminous and typically incomplete in coverage, includes manuscripts of great antiquity and variety.[19]

From the standpoint of editors and readers of Chrysostom's Greek Homilies on the New Testament, the Syriac witnesses are of interest mainly because of their age—several manuscripts are of the sixth and seventh centuries, pre-dating the extant Greek evidence by centuries.[20] These witnesses will play an important role in any careful reconstruction of the Patristic Greek texts, bearing unique potential for helping textual critics to determine the character of the pre-medieval Greek.[21] Also,

Prolegomena to an Edition (*UCP.CS* 20; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979).

[16]E.g. Carter believes new editions of *edita* to be unnecessary ("Future of Chrysostom Studies" [1970] , 21), whereas Harkins ("Text Tradition of Chrysostom's Commentary on John" [1966]), and to some extent Boismard (*Évangile pré-johannique*), believe that important features of a textual tradition may remain obscured when inferior editions are not replaced by those which take more comprehensive account of the evidence. Cf. Richard, "Transmission des textes des Pères grecs," in *Opera Minora* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1977) 51, 59–60.

[17]E.g. Harkins (and apparently Goodall) pursues a program of complete collation, whereas others caution against unnecessarily squandering time on such a program (e.g. H. Musurillo and S.J. Plattsburgh, "Some Textual Problems in the Editing of the Greek Fathers," in *StPatr* 3, ed. F.L. Cross [*TU* 78; Berlin: Akademie, 1961] 86–7; de Mendieta, "Un problème d'ecdotique," 35).

[18]Musurillo and Plattsburgh, "Some Textual Problems," 86–8.

[19]See Anton Baumstark. *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn: A. Marcus and E. Webers, 1922) 80–1. For a brief overview of studies of the Syriac translation tradition of Chrysostom, see also Paul Krüger, "Eine bisher unbekannte Homilie des hl. Johannes Chrysostomus in syrischer Übersetzung," *OrChr* 51 (1967) 78–9.

[20]Syriac versions, often tending towards literalism, can be very helpful in studying the Greek homiletical texts (see François Graffin and Anne-Marie Malingrey, "La tradition syriaque des homélies de Jean Chrysostome sur l'incompréhensibilité de Dieu," in *Epektasis. Mélanges patristiques offerts au Cardinal Jean Daniélou*, eds. Jacques Fontaine and Charles Kannengiesser [Paris: Beauchesne, 1972] 609; Joseph-Marie Sauget, "L'apport des traductions syriaques pour la patristique grecque," *RThPh* 110 [1978] 144–6).

[21]In the face of our ignorance about the history of Patristic Greek texts before the ninth century, Richard affirms the significance of the Oriental versions because of their relative age ("Transmission des textes des Pères grecs," 3.83.51–2, 56).

the Syriac enables one to affirm the value of fresh textual work; whether or not it is possible to recover the original form of a Patristic text, these studies in the Syriac versions prove that it is possible at least to learn more about the earliest forms of the text.

This thesis is largely concerned with the Syriac versions as translation texts and therefore pays close attention to the relationship between the Syriac and the Greek. Yet it would be unfair to assume that the Syriac versions are valuable only because of their relevance to the Greek. Although it is true that these particular versions are not so creative as to constitute original literature like some early translations,[22] nevertheless they have innate worth. The Syriacist is intrigued by the manuscripts themselves,[23] which are ancient and command respectful analysis. The texts also provide information about Syriac methods of translation and the early importation into Syriac of Greek Patristic texts in the fifth and sixth centuries.

The foregoing are essentially textual matters and it is such matters with which this thesis is primarily concerned. But also fascinating is the role which these translations play in the development of Syriac exegetical, homiletical, and liturgical traditions.[24] Their translation represents the influx of a huge corpus of material into the Syriac tradition which exerted great influence on Syriac literature. The wider Syriac exegetical and homiletical traditions were impacted at several levels for

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Ancient versional evidence is understandably viewed with some suspicion. De Mendieta counsels editors to confine themselves to direct witnesses (viz. Greek or Latin, for his purposes), except in unusual circumstances. He argues that the Greek tradition is normally sufficient and that ancient versions, e.g. the Syriac, are so paraphrastic and imprecise as to be unhelpful in the handling of a Greek tradition ("Un problème d'ecdotique," 35–7).

The paraphrastic style of some Syriac translations certainly limits their usefulness in this regard (see S.P. Brock, "Basil's *Homily on Deut. xv 9*: Some Remarks on the Syriac Manuscript Tradition," in *Text und Textkritik: eine Aufsatzsammlung*, ed. Jürgen Dummer [*TU* 133; Berlin: Akademie, 1987] 63). However, the literal style of others makes them very helpful.

[22]E.g. the Syriac version of St. Basil's *De spiritu sancto* (see David G.K. Taylor, "The Syriac Versions of Saint Basil of Caesarea's *De spiritu sancto*.," D.Phil. thesis [University of Oxford, 1995] 1.38–9).

[23]Colophons and the unornamented, utilitarian style of extant early Syriac manuscripts (such as those which make up the bulk of this tradition) indicate that most early Syriac manuscripts were designed for ordinary use and are themselves important sources for cultural study (see Marlia Mundell Mango, "Patrons and Scribes Indicated in Syriac Manuscripts, 411 to 800 AD," in *XVI. Internationaler Byzantinistenkongress Akten* [*JÖB* 32.4; Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1982] 2.4.3).

[24]For some discussion of this, see Appendices 1 and 3.

centuries by the Chrysostomic materials, a process traceable to the fountainhead created by the translation of the homilies themselves. Hence, the Syriac homilies warrant investigation both as early off-shoots of Greek Patristic texts and as a body of Syriac literature.

The rich benefits of this corpus will begin to gain appreciation only after preliminary textual studies. The present thesis begins such studies in the Syriac Homilies on the New Testament by giving an overall view of the shape of the tradition and exploring the groups of witnesses making up the tradition (Chapter II). The homilies are treated in three groups, consisting respectively of the Homilies on Matthew (HMt), the Homilies on John (HJn), and the Homilies on the Epistles of St. Paul (HEpp).[25] The study proceeds to evaluate the Syriac texts themselves by analyzing textual samples from each set of homilies in order to place their translation styles within the framework of the development of Syriac translation technique (Chapters III, IV, VI). Attention is given to the possible role of the Syriac as textual witness. A separate component of the translation analysis involves the translators' methods of handling Biblical citations (Chapters V, VII). Throughout, the study devotes special attention to Homilies 6, 20, 22, 23, 37, 62, 83, and 84 on John, giving an English translation of these homilies (Chapters IX–X) and the Syriac text, edited for the first time (Chapters XII-XIII). The Syriac Homilies on John are the only ones to have received significant scholarly attention prior to the studies in this thesis,[26] a matter treated in Chapter VIII.

Finally, a few appendices deal with matters of related interest, most notably the appearance and use of the homilies in Syriac exegetical tradition (Appendix 3).

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[25]Only the Homilies on Acts appear not to have been translated into Syriac; in any case, there is no trace of them in the Syriac tradition.

[26]It would be unfair to ignore Goodall's study (*Homilies of St. John Chrysostom on the Letters of St. Paul to Titus and Philemon*), which incorporates some of the Syriac versional evidence.

II. AN OVERVIEW OF THE SYRIAC EVIDENCE

A. Introduction

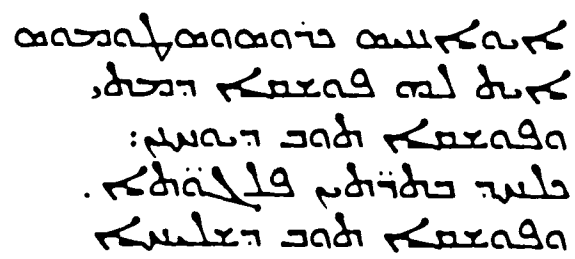
1. The Scope and Basic Qualities of the Tradition

Preaching to his congregation in Antioch, St. John Chrysostom says:

> "I think today must be a great festival, on account of the presence of our brothers, who have adorned our city today and embellished our church. In language, they are to us a backwards people, but in faith we harmonize. They lead quiet lives, having a temperate and reverend existence. For amongst these people are no disorderly theatres, nor horse races, nor immoral women, nor other urban chaos; instead, every indication of licentiousness is driven out and great temperance blossoms everywhere."[1]

Chrysostom did not have such kind words for everyone, as the Constantinopolitan nobility would one day realize, but here he refers to the Syriac-speaking rural folk living around Antioch. Occasionally he draws attention to them in his sermons, praising their character and morality. Unsurprisingly, many of his works were translated from Greek into Syriac at an early time—amongst them the exegetical Homilies on the New Testament.

The extant commentary manuscripts are of West Syrian origin, although the influence of the versions on the East Syrian tradition is apparent.[2] In his 13(14)th-century catalogue, 'Abdisho' has the following data on the Syriac versions:[3]



John Chrysostom:
He has a Commentary on Matthew
And another Commentary on John,
Each in two parts;
And furthermore a Commentary on the Apostle.

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[1]*De statuis ad populum Antiochenum*, 19 (*PG* 49.188).

[2]See Baumstark, *Geschichte*, 80, and Appendix 3 below.

[3]The text is from his *Scriptorum ecclesiasticorum catalogus* (Assemani, *BO*, 3.24, 26).

There is no indication in the Syriac tradition that the Homilies on Acts were ever translated into Syriac.

Extant witnesses to this tradition fall into two basic groups: 1) **commentary manuscripts** which present the continuous texts of particular sets of the exegetical homilies, e.g. a volume of the Homilies on Matthew; and 2) **collections**, which have limited extracts of the exegetical homilies according to the specific purposes of each collection, e.g. anthologies, homiliaries, and catenae.

The textual core of this study consists of the material in extant **commentary manuscripts**. Commentary manuscripts are known to exist for each set of homilies 'Abdisho' mentions except: the Homilies on Galatians, 1 and 2 Timothy, and Hebrews.[4] This thesis treats **collections** and the extracts in them only secondarily. However, they do figure in this study since their excerpts usually have the same translation as the corresponding commentary manuscripts. Also, the collections illustrate the manifold uses which the homilies served in various branches of the Syriac (and Greek) literary tradition.[5] Hence, this study does not exclude the collections from consideration, although it carefully distinguishes between the two types of witnesses—commentary manuscripts and collections.[6] Also, it should be noticed that collections are not incorporated for their own sake and certain problems are generally of no concern to this thesis—such as the fact that many consist of originally independent conglomerations of extracts. As a rule, the only collections excluded from the main studies are those categorized as catenae or florilegia, because the special problems attaching to them seriously complicate their immediate usefulness.[7]

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[4]However, it is likely that these once existed in commentary forms; for each of them some extracts survive in collections (see Appendix 1).

[5]In Carter's terminology, such enquiries are concerned with the *Nachleben* of the Patristic author ("The Future of Chrysostom Studies: Theology and *Nachleben*," in *Συμποσίον*, 129, 133–6). See Appendices 1 and 3 below.

[6]To ease recognition, the identifications of collection manuscripts are in italics (e.g. *B.L. Add. 17,147*) and the identifications of commentary manuscripts in plain text (e.g. B.L. Add. 12,142).

[7]A few are included for specified reasons, but there has been no attempt comprehensively to list or examine all the pertinent Syriac catenae or florilegia. The British Library has several early Syriac catenae manuscripts which frequently cite from the homilies, affording opportunities for further investigation into this branch of the tradition (see Appendices 1 and 3). For some comments about the significance of the catenae to the textual criticism of Patristic texts, see Richard, "Transmission des textes des Pères grecs," 52–3, 55–6.

It is impossible to know for certain precisely when translators rendered the exegetical homilies into Syriac, but the presence of citations from the Homilies on Matthew (HMt) in a florilegium prepared by Philoxenus of Mabbug shows that at least those Homilies were translated by 484. The composite nature of florilegia, among other things, typically makes them unreliable for dating, but this particular florilegium, contained in two sixth-century manuscripts, has been shown to have been prepared by Philoxenus himself, while a number of decisive internal features strongly suggest a date of 482(–4) for the florilegium (and the memre which it accompanies).[8] The florilegium does not cite from the Homilies on the Epistles (HEpp),[9] but its citations from HMt have the same translation as the commentary manuscripts.[10] Hence, at least HMt had been translated by 484.

The florilegium also cites from the Homilies on John (HJn), but the citations are few and brief.[11] Their similarities with the parallel texts in the Syriac HJn commentary manuscripts indicate that the florilegium probably relies on the same translation, in which case HJn too would have been translated by 484. However, the citations are too brief to be conclusive; 484 is only a hypothetical *terminus ante quem* and for more information it is necessary to rely on the ages of the manuscripts having HJn and whatever clues arise from the translation style.[12]

One of the manuscripts having the florilegium is dated 581 (*Vat. Syr. 138*). Beyond that, the earliest dated Syriac manuscript of this tradition consists of volume three (Homilies 34–44) of the Syriac version of the Homilies on 1 Corinthians and was copied at the monastery of Gubba Barraya in 584.[13] Thus, the translation of this set of homilies must have occurred by about the third quarter of the sixth century. By

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[8]See André de Halleux, *Philoxène de Mabbog. Sa vie, ses écrits, sa théologie* (Louvain: Imprimarie Orientaliste, 1963) 233–4, 238; F. Graffin, "Le florilège patristique de Philoxène de Mabboug," in *Symposium Syriacum 1972*, ed. I. Ortiz de Urbina (Rome: PIOS, 1974) 268; Graffin, ed., *Sancti Philoxeni Episcopi Mabbugensis Dissertationes Decem de Uno e sancta trinitate incorporato et passo*, vol. 5, *Appendices*, *PO* 41.1 (1982).

[9]Their absence is not necessarily evidence that the HEpp were not translated by then, but the translation style which they exhibit suggests a date considerably later (see 138–40).

[10]The citations in the florilegium have minor variants, normally to accommodate the citations to their context; some are tendentious.

[11]For samples of the excerpts, see Appendix 2.

[12]See Chapter VI, especially 254–5.

[13]Viz. B.L. Add. 12,160. The next oldest dated manuscript is B.L. Add. 17,152, of A.D. 594, which contains in Syriac translation the Homilies on 1 and 2 Thessalonians. For the date (pre-562) of *B.L. Add. 12,156*, see 59–60.

comparison, most of the Syriac translations of the homilies also enjoy attestation as early as the sixth century because of the ages of their manuscript sources.[14] It would be natural to presume that one of the great commentaries on the Gospels was the first to be taken into Syriac. In fact, the earliest manuscript (on paleographical grounds) is the Syriac translation of Homilies 1–32 on the Gospel of Matthew—the manuscript's hand is of the early sixth century.[15]

On purely external grounds then, it is probable that the Syriac translations of at least some sets of the Homilies on the New Testament had begun by about the middle of the fifth century and been completed by the middle of the sixth century. This probability is strengthened by the observation that several sixth- and seventh-century collections have extracts taken from commentary manuscripts, which must themselves have been in existence long enough for such early collections to cite the same texts. A comparative analysis of the translation styles affirms the priority of the translation of HMt and generally provides data helpful to the dating of the translations on internal grounds, which will be presented in Chapters III, IV, and VI.[16]

Very little more can be known for certain about the provenance of the translations. The helpful colophon of the afore-mentioned manuscript containing Homilies 34–44 from the Homilies on 1 Corinthians states that the translation of the book in question was made in Kallinikos. The colophon says nothing about the name of the translator or the date of his work. This locale is not unlikely, since by the sixth century Kallinikos was a centre for Syriac translation.[17] It may be that others of the New Testament homilies were translated at Kallinikos, but no other textual data exist in these manuscripts to determine more precisely the circumstances of their translation.

As previously intimated, the Syriac translations of Chrysostom's commentaries appear in a wide variety of manuscript witnesses, prepared by scribes of the sixth up to the twentieth centuries. The number of extant witnesses from the

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[14]Many of the manuscripts have no dates, in which cases dates are ascribed according to the learned estimates of reliable paleographers (usually cataloguers).

[15]Viz. B.L. Add. 12,142 (see 19).

[16]See especially 93–4, 137–9, and 254–5.

[17]See Brock, "Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique," in *III° Symposium Syriacum 1980*, ed. René Lavenant (*OCA* 221; Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1983) 2 (reprinted in *StSC*); Ernest Honigmann, *Évêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VIe siècle* (*CSCO* 127; Louvain: Secrétariat du *CSCO*, 1951) 54.

sixth or seventh century is proportionately large, but the material is perpetuated and used well beyond that period. The forms and purposes of the witnesses are as varied as their dates. Once Syriac translations of the commentaries appeared, *ethika*[18] and whole homilies were soon disseminated into a variety of collections, mainly liturgical. Syriac manuscripts attest to the flexible use of the homilies in books on canon law, homiliaries, polemical anthologies, commentaries on other Patristic authors, topical arrangements on Christology or the resurrection or Antichrist—all make use of the Syriac translations of Chrysostom's commentaries, often presumably according to Greek models.

Yet the tradition exhibits no evidence for a process of drastic revision or re-translation of the fifth- and sixth-century translations.[19] Down through the centuries, the Syriac versional tradition of each set of homilies is essentially uniform. The Syriac collections, although often ultimately based on independent Greek collections, normally draw on the existing Syriac translations, perpetuating the original tradition. Even minor revisions and textual adjustments are scarce.[20]

2. *Terminology and Structure*

Certain features of terminology and structure are noteworthy. Both the commentary manuscripts themselves and extracts within the collections normally refer to a given commentary—or set of homilies—as ܦܫܩܐ (*pushaqa'*, "commentary").[21] Hence, this study often uses the term "commentary" to refer to a set of the homilies (e.g. on Matthew, or on one of the Epistles, such as the Homilies on 1 Thessalonians), or to a manuscript originally constituting a volume having the continuous text of a given set of homilies (e.g. B.L. Add. 12,142). The manuscripts nearly always refer to an individual homily as ܡܡܪܐ (*memra'*, "homily"). Occasionally they are known as ܦܫܪܢܐ ("interpretations," or "prose homilies");

[18]The exegeses were not so popular for extraction. For the terminology , see 12–3 below. For general remarks, see Chrysostomus Baur, *John Chrysostom and His Time*, tr. M. Gonzaga (London: Sands, 1959) 1.373.

[19]A phenomenon common to the Syriac translation tradition (see Brock, "Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique," 2–3, 12). Translation B in the Homilies on Matthew is a special case (see 97–9).

[20]See 96–102, 139–43, and 257–60.

[21]The term is also used sometimes of the exegetical portion of a homily, in contrast to the *ethikon* (see 56–7).

excerpts in the collections are sometimes described as ܩܛܥܐ ("extract").

A lemma normally precedes homily material, whether appearing in a commentary or in some collection. In commentaries, lemmata tend to provide homily numbers, Biblical citations, and summary/headings. The enumeration of the homilies agrees with that of the bulk of the Greek tradition. In collections, details helpful for identification can be scarce—hence ensuring that many excerpts go unidentified—but the collections tend to have lemmata which give the commentary title and the author's name.[22]

Several features within the Syriac tradition highlight the structure of the homilies, which typically fall into two parts: 1) an exegetical portion (occasionally ܦܫܛܐ, "commentary") which treats a passage of scripture in verse-by-verse fashion; and 2) the *ethikon* ("moral") in the Greek tradition, or ܡܪܛܘܪܝܘܬܐ (*martyanutha'*) in the Syriac,[23] of a decidedly more homiletical nature. The latter Syriac term literally means, "admonition," but occurs here in a technical sense to designate the portion of the homily given over to moral application. In a comment similar to that of 'Abdisho', the Arabic *Chronicle of Seert* has the following on the Homilies on the New Testament:

> Il composa deux volumes de commentaires sur Matthieu et deux autres sur Jean ainsi qu'une explication des Épitres pauliniennes. Il composa ces commentaires d'une façon didactique. A la fin de tous ses traités, il donnait des exhortations.[24]

As in the Greek tradition, the *exhortations* (homiletical sections, i.e. *ethika*), are particularly popular amongst compilers of collections.[25]

This distinction also relates to apparatuses which occur sporadically in the Syriac tradition, apparatuses which clearly derive from the Greek tradition, at least functionally. These textual tools are clearly meant to facilitate the practical use of the

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[22]In the Syriac manuscripts, the author St. John Chrysostom appears under an immense quantity of slight name variations and titles, but is most often referred to as "Mar" or "Holy John, Bishop of Constantinople."

[23]A few other Syriac terms occasionally occur, but ܡܪܛܘܪܝܘܬܐ (*martyanutha*) is customary.

[24]*Chronicle of Seert* 1.67 (*Histoire Nestorienne (Chronique de Séert)*, ed. Addai Scher, tr. Pierre Dib, *PO* 5.2 (1910) 319.

[25]See Carter, "Future of Chrysostom Studies: Theology and *Nachleben*," 135.

books, especially where edification and liturgy are of concern. In the Greek manuscripts, brief summaries of the *ethika* sometimes appear mid-way through the homilies, at the point where an *ethikon* begins. Similar—even occasionally identical—summaries occur in the Syriac. The summaries appearing with HMt and HJn tend to be brief, often formally resembling headings to the homily's *ethikon*. For example, the lemma to Homily 3 on Matthew has ܘܥܠ ܡܟܝܟܘܬܐ ("and on humility"). A manuscript having the corresponding Greek text has a note in the middle of the homily giving the same heading: *ἤθικον. περὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης*.[26] However, many of the summaries are longer and provide summaries in a paraenetic tone as in the lemma to Homily 7 on Matthew: ܘܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܬܡܠܝܢ ܒܬܪܝܗܘܢ ܕܡܓܘܣܐ ܒܪܟܐ . ܘܥܠ ܨܘܡܐ ("and that we should be imitators of the diligence of those blessed Magi; and about sobriety"). The summaries attached to HEpp, in both the Greek and the Syriac, tend to be much longer comprehensive summaries of the contents of particular homilies,[27] and are sometimes called ܩܦܠܝܐ (*kephalaia*). For the purposes of this study, the shorter headings and the longer (paraenetic) summaries are classed together because the manner of their appearance and function in the homilies is basically identical. To distinguish them from the homily headings proper, they are designated "summaries" or "paraenetic summaries."

The Syriac manuscripts often have such summaries in the lemmata to the homilies, but sometimes they appear mid-way through the homily, and occasionally in both places. The *ethika* are often marked marginally as such, although few Syriac manuscripts follow consistent practice. For example, the lemma to Homily 3 on Matthew in the Syriac manuscript B.L. Add. 14,558 has an initial Biblical citation followed by the summary/heading noted above. The Greek manuscript has the afore-mentioned note at the beginning of the homily's *ethikon*; the parallel Syriac manuscript also has the note ܐܘܕܝܬܐ ("admonition," i.e. *ethikon*) in the margin at the same place in the homily, in a hand later than the original.

As in Greek manuscripts, the apparatuses of the Syriac manuscripts of HEpp sometimes also include indices and ܗܦܘܬܝܣܐ (i.e. *hypotheseis*)—summaries of the contents of the Pauline Epistles themselves. Identical Syriac summaries often appear for certain homilies (or for *ethika*) throughout commentary manuscripts and even in

[26]See Field, *in Matt.*, 1.33.

[27]For an example, see p. 41, n. 180.

various collections where the particular homily appears, but it is also not unusual for the summaries attached to the same text in diverse witnesses to differ from witness to witness.[28] Moreover, although the Greek and Syriac apparatuses and notations are parallel in some ways, it must be noticed that the phrasing of the Syriac summaries is virtually never identical to that of the relatively late Greek manuscripts—the above example of a very succint summary is an exception—although the content of the summaries is usually similar, for obvious reasons. Hence, it is clear that multiple traditions developed among and between Greek and Syriac witnesses for homily titles, summaries, and apparatuses.[29]

In the Syriac lemmata, the initial Biblical citations and the paraenetic summaries serve complementary functions. Initial citations pertain to the running commentary of the exegetical portion of the homilies. The paraenetic summaries are descriptive of the exhortatory material of the *ethika*, often functioning as homily titles in the collections.[30] Hence, each acts as a heading for one portion of the homily.

Biblical citations in the text of the homilies are often—but not always—marked with standard signs in the margins: either ܪ and ܢ, or « and ». The marking can be quite inconsistent. The signs sometimes mark citations in the lemmata, but not often; the lemmata ordinarily appear in red ink or are set apart by other strong forms of punctuation. Quotations of opponents' arguments or "negative" citations are sometimes marked by the marginal ÷.

B. The Syriac Evidence

The great commentaries themselves determine the structure of the following presentation of the particulars regarding the Syriac manuscript tradition. Since the entire Syriac tradition begins with translations of the commentaries, the following presentation will do so as well. Commentary manuscripts are carefully distinguished from collections, which in turn are normally sub-divided into two groups:

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[28]E.g. the lemma to Homily 1 on 2 Corinthians in the anthology *B.L. Add. 14,612* has the brief summary: ܥܠ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܒܢܝܗܝ ܡܝܬܝܢ ("about the person whose children die," folio 72ᵛ). The *kephalaion* to Homily 1 in the index to the commentary manuscripts (B.L. Add. 14,564 and B.L. Add. 12,180) reads, ܘܐܦ ܗܘ ܡܬܢܚܡ ܕܫܝܐܠ ܠܡܢܝ ܕܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܒܢܝܗܘܢ ("and it also contains consolation befitting those whose children happen to die").

[29]See the description in the treatment of B.L. Add. 14,559 (p. 20).

[30]For an illustration, see 45–6.

miscellaneous collections and homiliaries; as a rule, catenae and florilegia are disregarded for the purposes of this study.[31] Where a single collection cites from different commentaries, it is listed and treated separately with each group. By noting the appearance of extracts in various collections it is possible to trace in outline the versions' influence.

The data are drawn from manuscript catalogues, occasionally from secondary studies or editions, and, mainly in the case of British Library manuscripts, by direct examination. The manuscripts themselves are presently scattered throughout the world. However, the British Library in London contains by far the most substantial and important collection, especially of the commentary manuscripts themselves. Only British Library manuscripts have been inspected first-hand. The presentation and description of commentary manuscripts is meant to be comprehensive and exhaustive.[32] The enumeration of other witnesses (i.e. collections) is as exhaustive as possible, but it may be taken as certain that unidentified extracts exist and it is not unlikely that the search for witnesses has overlooked some extracts.[33] Cataloging Chrysostom's works in Syriac translation is not the task of this thesis.[34] However, the explorations have involved the manuscript catalogues of all libraries known to have major collections of Syriac manuscripts and such detailed works as Alain

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[31]Cf. p. 8, n. 7.

[32]Only the precise contents of manuscript Mard. orth. 99 are unknown (copied in 1703). A vague notice lists it as, "Livre des Homélies de s. Jean Chrysostome," containing, "86 homélies sur les textes évangéliques" (Scher, "Notice sur les manuscrits syriaques et arabes conservés dans la bibliothèque de l'évêché chaldéen de Mardin," *Revue des bibliothèques* 18 [1908] 93). It may be a copy of HJn, although the given number matches neither that of HJn (88) or HMt (90). Either way, its value is considerable and one must wonder about the nature of its *Vorlage*.

[33]Not all catalogs are precise in their descriptions of collections. Also, even where a cataloger mentions Chrysostom as a major contributor, the extracts are not always listed and identified. For example, extracts from the New Testament homilies are liable to be lurking in Vat. syr. 585 (17th-century collection), Vat. syr. 599 (East Syrian, 19th century), Vat. syr. 623 (9th-century collection), and Camb. Add. 1998 (East Syrian, 16th century). The respective catalogs give only tantalizing clues about the nature of the Chrysostomic extracts (on the Vatican manuscripts, see A. van Lantschoot, *Inventaire des manuscrits syriaques des fonds Vatican [490–631] Barberini oriental et Neofiti* [*StT* 243; Rome: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1965] 111–3, 151–3; on the Cambridge manuscript, Wright, *A Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge* [Cambridge: University Press, 1901] 443).

Identification is especially difficult where extracts circulated as independent homilies (see J.A. de Aldama, *Repertorium Pseudochrysostomicum* [Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1965] 7, 98).

[34]See p. 2, n. 4.

Desreumaux's *Répertoire*.[35] Therefore, the following tables represent the greatest part of the whole extant tradition and it is hoped they will prove to be helpful as such.

Details regarding the witnesses to each commentary are given in tabular form. Thereupon follows discussions of the more interesting and pertinent features of particular manuscripts, with special attention given to matters of text, structure, terminology, and usage. Although the discussions focus on the commentary manuscripts, they also comment on the context and function of extracts residing in collections.

Table 1: Sigla for Tabular Summaries of Manuscript Traditions

Ber.	=	Berlin
Birm.	=	Birmingham
B.L.	=	British Library
Camb.	=	Cambridge
Dam.	=	Damascus
Mard.	=	Mardin
Par.	=	Paris
Sin.	=	Sinai
Vat.	=	Vatican
( )	=	indicates partial extract of a given homily occurs in the manuscript
[ ]	=	indicates that the portion of manuscript having homily or extract is defective[36]

1. Homilies on Matthew

The most popular Gospel in the early Church—that of Matthew—is the subject of what is also the most popular of Chrysostom's commentaries, in both the Greek and versional traditions.[37] Within the overall Syriac translation tradition of Chrysostom's exegetical homilies, only the sub-tradition of the Homilies on Matthew (HMt) gives clear evidence of more than one Syriac translation of substantial portions of the homily cycle. Translation A (HMt^A), probably the older of the two, exists beside the seemingly independent Translation B (HMt^B), which occurs only in part of one witness (B.L. Add. 12,142). HMt^A must have been translated by 484.[38] No

[35]Alain Desreumaux, *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits syriaques* (*PIRHT*; Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1991).

[36]In most cases the original extract was only partial, but a lacuna has further reduced the text.

[37]See Carter, "Future of Chrysostom Studies: Theology and *Nachleben*," 134.

[38]See 9.

homilies of higher number than 32 are extant in commentary manuscripts. Although it is not unlikely that the whole of HMt once existed in Syriac translation,[39] it is impossible to determine whether surviving extracts of higher numbered homilies derive from such a translation or were translated independently from Greek collections. Hence, in this study sources having only homilies whose origin cannot be confirmed are separated from the rest:

Table 2: Homilies on Matthew—Summary of the Tradition

Manuscript	Date[40]	Genre[41]	Relevant Contents[42]
B.L. Add. 12,142	6	commentary	[1–32]
B.L. Add. 14,560	6	commentary	[1–20]
B.L. Add. 14,558	557	commentary	[1–16]
B.L. Add. 14,559	6	commentary	[17–32]

[39]The notice of 'Abdisho' and that of the *Chronicle of Seert* imply a normal division into two halves (see 7, 12), which is perfectly satisfied by the two volumes of Homilies 1–32. It is possible that only these homilies were translated into Syriac; certainly some of the excerpts from later homilies appear to be of independent translation types (see 29–30, 69). However, by the eleventh century the most common manner of division of the Greek HMt is into two volumes, although other multi-volume divisions are also known. Fifth- and sixth-century patterns of division may have been different from those of the Middle Ages, and 'Abdisho' probably has in mind two volumes covering Homilies 1–90. The shape of the overall tradition confirms that surviving witnesses represent only a fraction of what must have existed in Syriac, so lacunae are unsurprising.

[40]Dates are given according to century when precise dates are unknown (see p. 10, n. 14). Assigned dates are often very imprecise and thus given according to an estimated range of centuries. For example, "6–7" indicates that a manuscript is believed to have been copied in either the sixth or seventh century, but no further specification is possible.

[41]"Commentary" designates a manuscript devoted to a commentary text in part or its entirety. "Anthology" refers to any of a number of different sorts of collections which contain extracts from the commentary or one of its exegetical homilies. "Homiliary" refers to a volume which has homiletical extracts arranged according to the liturgical year, in the terminology of Albert Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche* (*TU* 50–52; Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1937–52), especially 1.2.1–2, 242–89 (see also Jean Gribomont, "Exploration dans les homéliaires de l'orient," *RSLR* 14 (1978) 232–3). "Canon law" designates a book devoted to the presentation and exposition of ecclesiastical canons. Occasionally a "catena" or "florilegium" is listed.

[42]The numbers refer to the individual homilies of a commentary. Most occurrences of homilies within collections are of excerpts from homilies rather than whole homilies.

Table 2: Homilies on Matthew—continued

Manuscript	Date	Genre	Relevant Contents
Vat. Syr. 138	581	florilegium	(1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 13)
B.L. Add. 12,164	6	florilegium	(1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 13)
B.L. Add. 17,166	6	anthology	(2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 10, 11, 14, ?, ?)
B.L. Add. 14,567	6	anthology of John	(5, 9)
B.L. Add. 14,612	6–7	anthology	(2, 3, 5, 6, 9, 12, 60, 66, 79, 82)
Sin. Syr. 16	7	anthology	(?, 28, ?, 60)
B.L. Add. 12,181	8	filler	(1)
Sin. Syr. NF Sp. 27[43]	8–9	commentary?	[2,4]
Sin. Syr. NF Sp. 42	8–9	anthology?	[1]
B.L. Add. 14,623	823	anthology	(1, 4, 6)
B.L. Add. 17,193	874	anthology	(7, 23)
B.L. Add. 14,636	9–10	funeral anthology	(31)
B.L. Add. 17,174	929	lives of desert fathers	(8)
Birm. Mingana Syr. 331	1573	anthology	(?, ?, ?)
Birm. Mingana Syr. 56	1902	Book of John of Dara	(?)
Vat. Syr. 368	mid-8	homiliary	(32)
B.L. Add. 14,516	9	homiliary	(25), 68
Dam. Patr. 12/19	10–11	homiliary	(3, 25, 32, 69)
Dam. Patr. 12/20	1000	homiliary	(3, 25, 32, 69, 81, 83, 84, 86)
B.L. Add. 12,165	1015	homiliary	(32)
Ber. Sachau 220	11	homiliary	[9]
B.L. Add. 14,727	13	homiliary	6, 9, (66, 70)
Vat. Syr. 107	pre-8[44]	anthology	(60)
Vat. Syr. 253	8	homiliary	(66)
B.L. Add. 17,267[A 45]	13	commentary extracts	(58, 61, 82, 85)
B.L. Add. 17,267[B]	13	anthology	(64, 66, 73)
Camb. Add. 2023	13	canon law	(50, 79)

Except for two volumes consisting respectively of Homiles 1–16 and 17–32, the commentary manuscripts exhibit different patterns of division.[46]

[43]"NF" designates, "New Finds." See Brock, *Catalogue of Syriac Fragments (New Finds) in the Library of the Monastery of Saint Catherine, Mount Sinai* (Athens: Mount Sinai Foundation, 1995). See also Philotea of Sinai, "Les nouveaux manuscrits syriaques du Mont Sinaï," in *III° Symposium Syriacum 1980*, ed. René Lavenant (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Studiorum Orientalium, 1983) 333–9.

[44]Estimates of dates assigned by the Assemanis on the basis of paleography are not always reliable. However, Lucas van Rompay accepts their pre-eighth-century dating of *Vat. Syr. 107* ("John Chrysostom's 'Ad Theodorum Lapsum.' Some Remarks on the Oriental Tradition," *OLoP* 19 [1988] 94).

[45]I.e. Wright's DCII (*Catalogue*). Several manuscripts are bound together in *B.L. Add. 17,267*, all of the thirteenth century. The portion having extracts from Homilies 64, 66, and 73 is Wright's DCCCXLV (viz. *B.L. Add. 17,267*[B]; a third portion is noted on p. 37).

[46]The volume containing Homilies 1–32 (B.L. Add. 12,142) is obviously

a. Commentary Manuscripts

B.L. Add. 12,142 is missing a number of folios.[47] W. Wright places the script at the beginning of the sixth century, so this is likely to be the earliest extant manuscript of the Syriac version to any of the Homilies on the New Testament.[48] It is most unusual in that, of all the diverse witnesses to the Syriac translations of the Homilies on the New Testament, it is the only one suggesting a complex translation tradition: from the beginning of Homily 21 through the end of the volume, a translation exists (HMt^B) which is different from that present in the other Syriac witnesses to Homilies 21–32. Compared to the type of translation which occurs elsewhere throughout the Syriac tradition of HMt, HMt^B is more precise and refined—probably later. It appears not to be a revision of HMt^A, but a fresh translation from the Greek.[49]

The homilies in B.L. Add. 12,142 have lemmata which give homily numbers and have initial Biblical citations. Paraenetic summaries often follow the citations but appear irregularly. For instance, the lemma to Homily 9 has, ܘܕܠܐ ܢܬܪܡܡ ܒܚܝܠܘܗܝ ܘܥܠ ܪܚܡܐ ܕܟܣܦܐ ("and that a person should not boast in his ancestors; and on the love of money," f. 138ʳ). The summaries typically exhibit no direct relationship with similar ones in the Greek tradition.[50]

B.L. Add. 14,560 is very defective due to lacunae, being complete only in Homilies 7–12 and 20.[51] Its lemmata begin with the term, ܪܫܝܬܐ ("heading," "chapter," equivalent to *kephalaion*). For example: ܪܫܝܬܐ : ܡܪܝܡܪܐ ܫܒܥܐ ("Heading: Homily Seven," f. 20ʳ), upon which the lemma data follow.[52] Otherwise, the lemmata are like those in B.L. 12,142; where comparison is possible, they share identical or nearly identical paraenetic summaries. Where comparison with B.L. Add. 12,142 is impossible due to lacunae, B.L. 14,560 has the same paraenetic summaries as B.L. Add. 14,558.

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similar in its manner of division to the two which together constitute 1–32. The medieval Greek manuscript evidence for HMt is enormous and exhibits considerable variety in patterns of division (see *CCG* and p. 17, n. 39).

[47]It is defective in Homilies 1, 2, 4, 5, 15, 16, 32, and is missing Homily 3.

[48]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.465–6.

[49]See Chapter III for a comparative analysis of the translations.

[50]But see p. 13.

[51]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.467.

[52]Here the Syriac term ܪܫܝܬܐ ("heading") is used; in the Syriac tradition of HEpp, the transliteration ܩܦܠܝܘܢ (*kephalaion*) is used in the same way.

B.L. Add. 14,558 is fairly complete,[53] having only a few lacunae.[54] Its lemmata are the same as those of B.L. Add. 12,142; the paraenetic summaries are normally identical. However, the lemma to Homily 4 includes the following: ܘܠܐ . ܡܬܩܢܝܢ ܕܡܥܡܕܝܢ ܠܡܥܡܕܐ ܕܢܢܛܪܘܢ ܡܢ ܬܐܘܐܬܐ ܘܥܠ ܪܚܡܐ ("and admonition (or *ethikon*) for candidates for baptism, that they should keep themselves from lusts; and on compassion," f. 26ᵛ). The other three Syriac commentary manuscripts are defective at this point, but in B.L. Add. 14,558 the same paraenetic application occurs in the margin near the beginning of the *ethikon* of Homily 4, which is annotated, ܡܪܛܘܢܘܬܐ ܡܠܐ ("full of admonition," f. 35ʳ), using the term *martyanutha* in a non-technical sense.[55]

B.L. Add. 14,559 is defective in just that portion which would be of greatest interest for comparison to B.L. Add. 12,142: it lacks the end of Homily 24, the beginning of Homily 32, and all of Homilies 25–31.[56] Its lemmata are basically like those of B.L. Add. 12,142, although discrepancies exist between most of the paraenetic summaries. They are identical for Homilies 17 and 18 but B.L. Add. 12,142 has none for Homilies 19–20 and 23–32.[57] In contrast, B.L. Add. 14,559 has paraenetic summaries in Homilies 19–20 and 23–24 (elsewhere comparison is impossible due to its lacunae). Its summaries in Homilies 21–22 differ considerably from those of B.L. Add. 12,142, showing that multiple traditions of paraenetic summaries for HMt existed.[58]

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[53]Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.466–7. A sample of the text from folio 89ᵛ of this manuscript appears in W.H.P. Hatch, *An Album of Dated Syriac Manuscripts* (Boston: American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1946), Plate XXIV (facing p. 75).

[54]Aside from "des volatiles assez grossiers" with which the scribe occasionally fills blank spaces (Jules Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Europe et d'Orient* [*BAH* 77; Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1964] 108). The manuscript is unusual among early estrangelo manuscripts because of the illustrations of birds which are on ff. 18ᵛ and 171ʳ.

[55]The other lemmata in this manuscript do not have the term ܡܪܛܘܢܘܬܐ (*martyanutha*; i.e. *ethikon*); nor do paraenetic applications appear at the *ethika* in the margins of its other homilies. However, the *ethikon* is nearly always marked and keyed to the marginal notation, ܡܪܛܘܢܘܬܐ (*martyanutha*; i.e. *ethikon*). The hand of the notations appear to be different from that of the original script, but cannot be much later.

[56]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.468–9.

[57]It is also lacking paraenetic summaries for Homilies 2 and 10–12, but it shares this feature with B.L. Add. 14,558 and B.L. Add. 14,560, as far as it is possible to compare them (all but with Homily 2, B.L. Add. 14,560).

[58]For Homily 21, B.L. Add. 12,142 has, "and on the renunciation of worldly goods" (ܡܪܛܘܢܘܬܐ, f. 198ʳ), whereas B.L. Add. 14,559 has, "and that we should not be impudent; and on compassion" (f. 50ᵛ). For Homily 22, B.L. Add. 12,142 has,

b. Miscellaneous Collections

Extracts from HMt appear in a wide variety of collections. ***Vat. Syr. 138*** and ***B.L. Add. 12,164*** contain a Philoxenian Christological florilegium which has extracts from early-numbered HMt, some quite brief. The translation is the same as that of the commentary manuscripts.[59] The florilegium is noticed here because of its importance for setting the *terminus ante quem* for the date of the translation—484.[60]

The anthology ***B.L. Add. 17,166***, made up of miscellaneous extracts from different authors, includes two sections of extracts from HMt.[61] The first section has longer extracts with lemmata that give the homily numbers and Biblical citations which match those occurring in the commentary manuscripts (where comparison is possible).[62] The translation is the same as that occurring elsewhere. The second section has much briefer extracts,[63] the lemmata of which do not identify the sources of the extracts. However, the lemmata do include paraenetic applications, at least some of which are like those of the commentary manuscripts.[64]

B.L. Add. 14,567 is entitled, ܟܪܟܐ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ ܩܕܝܫܐ ("Volume of the Holy John").[65] It consists of extracts from Chrysostom's writings, including short excerpts from HMt.[66] One excerpt is from the *ethikon* of Homily 5; its lemma referring to itself as, ܐܝܬܝܩܘܢ ܡܢ ܡܐܡܪܐ ("*ethikon* from the *memra'*," f.

"and that we should not be anxious; and on continuous prayer" (f. 200ᵛ), whereas B.L. Add. 14,559 has, "and on the repentance of prayer." Not any of these Syriac summaries is precisely like those published in the Greek editions.

[59]The text is characterized by regular brief abbreviations. On the witnesses to the florilegium, see Graffin, "Le florilège patristique de Philoxène de Mabboug," 268; Graffin, ed., *Sancti Philoxeni Episcopi Mabbugensis Dissertationes Decem*, *PO* 45.1.9.

[60]See p. 9 and Appendix 2.

[61]Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.658–60.

[62]The placement of the extracts is as follows: from Homily 2, ff. 58ᵛ–59ʳ; from Homily 3, ff. 60ʳ–64; from Homily 4, ff. 65ʳ–77; from Homily 10, ff. 78ʳ–85; from Homily 11, ff. 86ʳ–95ʳ.

[63]Very brief extracts from Homilies 9, 5, 14, and three homilies yet to be identified are on ff. 102ʳ–107.

[64]For example, the paraenetic summary in the lemma to Homily 9 reads, "on the love of money," as in B.L. Add. 12,142 (see 19).

[65]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.478–9. In a rare example of elaborated artwork in early estrangelo manuscripts, the title of the work is set between two illustrated birds (see Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures*, 108).

[66]The excerpt from Homily 9 is on ff. 182ᵛ–186; that from Homily 5 on ff. 198ᵛ–200ʳ.

198^{v}). The lemma includes a paraenetic summary which is somewhat shorter than, but very similar to, those which occur in the commentaries. The other excerpt is from the *exegetikon* of Homily 9. In keeping with the exegetical content of the excerpt, the lemma contains the following summary-title: ܥܠܬܐ ܕܗܪܘܕܝܣ ܩܛܠ ܥܠ ܛܠܝܐ ܕܢܘܚܪܐ ("about those infants Herod killed," f. 182^{v}). The explicit reads, ܡܢ ܡܐܡܪܐ ܕܡܪܝ ("excerpt from the *memra'*," f. 186^{v}). In both cases, the translation is the same as that of the commentaries.

The miscellaneous anthology ***B.L. Add. 14,612*** contains many extracts from the Homilies on the New Testament, including eleven from HMt.[67] Most of the extracts are of *ethika*. The extracts are entitled, ܡܪܛܘܪܝܢܘܬܐ (*martyanutha*; i.e. *ethikon*), or even, ܡܢ ܡܪܛܘܪܝܢܘܬܐ ("extract of the *martyanutha*"). The lemmata do not normally contain paraenetic summaries, but where they do, and comparison is possible, they are totally different from those occurring elsewhere in the Syriac and Greek traditions.[68] The texts of these extracts are of the same translation as that of the commentary manuscripts.

The short extracts from Homilies 66, 79, and 82 are part of a sub-group refuting the doctrine of the pre-existence of the soul. The three extracts share two lemmata entitling the homilies, ܦܫܪܢܐ ("interpretations," or "prose homilies"). The lemma to Homilies 79 and 82 summarize the exegetical portions of the homilies as they relate to the topic of the section in the anthology. No parallel passages exist in commentary manuscripts for comparison with these excerpts, but the translation style appears more terse and precise than that of the commentary manuscripts and the excerpts may have been translated independently as a unit directly from an ancestral Greek collection. In contrast, the style of the separate excerpt from Homily 60 is much like that of HMt^{A} in the commentary manuscripts.

Sin. Syr. 16 is a collection of unknown date claiming to have four extracts

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[67]Two extracts are taken from Homily 3. See Wright, *Catalogue* 2.696–701. The placement of the extracts is as follows: from Homily 3, ff. 96^{r}–97^{r}; from Homily 12, ff. 97^{r}–98^{v}; from Homily 5, ff. 151^{r}–153^{r}; from Homily 6, ff. 153^{v}–157^{r}; from Homily 9, ff. 157^{r}–159^{v}; from Homily 2, ff. 159^{v}–161^{v}; from Homily 3, ff. 161^{v}–162; from Homilies 66, 79, and 82, ff. 165^{v}; from Homily 60, ff. 227^{r}–230^{r}.

[68]For example, the summary in the lemma to the extract from Homily 9 reads, ܕܠܐ ܡܢܝܢ ܠܗ ܠܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܬܝܪ ܠܗ ܡܕܡ [ ] ܕܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܛܒܘܬܐ ("that [ ] does not profit a person if he does not have good conduct," f. 157^{r}). Cf. the other summaries for Homily 9 in B.L. Add. 12,142 and *B.L. Add. 17,166*.

from HMt, two of which remain unidentified.[69] The lemmata to the extracts all identify the author and the commentary, referring to each extract as, ܡܡܪܐ ܕܡܢ ܦܫܝܛܐ ("*memra'* from the commentary"). Only the extract from Homily 28 gives the homily number, with no paraenetic summary. In place of homily numbers, the other lemmata have paraenetic summaries which function as titles for the homilies.[70] The extract from Homily 60 has the same paraenetic summary as the parallel extract in *B.L. Add. 14,612*; identical incipits show that they also have the same translation.[71] A comparison of the incipit of the excerpt from Homily 28 with the commentary manuscripts indicate that they have the same text, sharing the same translation; these correpondences increase the likelihood that the excerpts from Homily 60 here and in *B.L. Add. 14,612* derive from a single commentary translation and that the translation is the same as that in the majority of Syriac witnesses to HMt (all but B.L. Add. 12,142, Homilies 21–32).

B.L. Add. 12,181 consists mainly of the Syriac translation of some of Severus's letters. However, the scribe chose an excerpt from Homily 1 on Matthew to fill up space on one folio (102ʳ).[72] Its translation is the same as that in the commentary manuscript B.L. Add. 14,558.

Sin. Syr. NF Sp. 27 and ***42*** consist of small fragments of two manuscripts, not very well preserved.[73] *Sin. Syr. NF Sp. 27* may be the remnants of a commentary manuscript, since its bifolium has an extract from Homily 2 on one side and an extract from Homily 4 on the other. *Sin. Syr. NF Sp. 42* was a collection of some sort, since its extract from Homily 1 on Matthew is accompanied by a portion of Basil's *In principium Proverbiorum*. The lemma to the extract from Homily 1,

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[69]See Agnes Smith Lewis, *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS. in the Convent of S. Catharine on Mount Sinai* (*StSin* 1; London: C.J. Clay, 1894) 38. Data about the lemmata and incipits of this excerpt come from unpublished collations made by Brock. The placement of the extracts is as follows: an unidentified extract begins on f. 184ᵛ; an extract from Homily 28 begins on f. 186ʳ; an unidentified extract begins on f. 191ʳ; and an extract from Homily 60 begins on f. 195ʳ.

[70]The first extract has, "On the youth from whom Legion was cast out; and on humility." The third has, "On he who sins, that he should not despair of his soul because it happens."

[71]The translation style is like that of HMtᴬ (see 22–3).

[72]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.558–64. Its paraenetic summary is, ܥܠ ܡܢܘ ܕܢܬܠܦ ܡܢ ܢܦܫܢ ܘܡܢ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܫܦܝܪܝܢ ("On [how] that we should learn from our soul and from Scripture to conduct ourselves well"). ܢܦܫܢ is a conjecture; the manuscripts reads, ܢܦܫܢ, which makes no sense.

[73]See Brock, *Catalogue of Syriac Fragments*, 22, 39–41 (includes a plate of the fragments on pp. 204–05 and a text sample on p.100).

though difficult to read, makes reference to the author, the commentary, and probably the homily number. The text of both extracts is the same as that of the commentary B.L. Add. 14,558.

The palimpsest ***B.L. Add. 14,623*** is a miscellaneous anthology with sixth-century underwriting, having three extracts from HMt.[74] Only the lemma to the extract from Homily 6 has a paraenetic summary, which is distinct from that which occurs in the commentary manuscripts' lemmata.[75] When compared with the texts of the commentary manuscripts and other collections, the text of the extracts in *B.L. Add. 14,623* exhibit a number of variants but is essentially identical.

Wright describes ***B.L. Add. 17,193*** as a "volume of demonstrations, collections, and letters" (f. 1ʳ).[76] Amongst its many Patristic extracts, those from Homily 7 and 23 are of the same translation of the commentary manuscripts (B.L. Add. 12,142 and B.L. Add. 14,559, respectively), HMt^{A}.

B.L. Add. 14,636 consists of funeral sermons and consolations from a variety of sources.[77] A comparison between the text of the extract from Homily 31 and that of B.L. Add. 12,142, the only other Syriac witness with a parallel text, reveals that *B.L. Add. 14,636* relies on a different translation from that of the former (HMt^{B}) and is more consistent with that of HMt^{A}, which features elsewhere throughout the tradition. The extract is from the *ethikon* of Homily 31, exhorting readers not to mourn overmuch for departed loved ones but to take courage in the hope of resurrection.

The manuscript ***B.L. Add. 17,174*** is a collection of the lives of Egyptian fathers belonging to the convoluted *Historia Lausiaca* tradition, having, ܫܒܚܐ ܕܡܢܚܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܡ ("praise for the monks of Egypt," f. 166ʳ).[78] The encomium is

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[74]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.762–6. A sample of the text from folio 46 of this manuscript is in Plate XCVIII of Hatch, *Album* (facing p. 149).

[75]B.L. Add. 12,142, B.L. Add. 14,558, and even the homiliary *B.L. Add. 14,727* have the paraenetic summary, "and that it is not right to jest." The summary of *B.L. Add. 14,623* has, "on those who jest" (f. 20ᵛ). The anthology *B.L. Add. 14,612* has a still different summary in its lemmata: "*martyanutha* (i.e. *ethikon*) against the envious and the lazy" (f. 153ᵛ).

[76]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.989–1002. The extract from Homily 7 is on f. 96ʳ and that from Homily 23 on ff. 96ʳ–98ʳ.

[77]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 1.398. The relevant extract is on ff.50ᵛ–55.

[78]Wright, *Catalogue*, 3.1074–6. See also Baumstark, *Geschichte*, 202, n. 6; Assemani, *BO*, 3.1.146 states that 'Ananisho' prepared such a text, taking "from the Commentary on the Blessed Evangelist a discourse done by Mar John on the praises

actually an extract from the exegetical portion of Homily 8, which treats the flight of Mary and Joseph to Egypt.[79] The translation is the same as that in the commentary manuscripts.

Birm. Mingana Syr. 331 is a late miscellaneous anthology containing three unidentified extracts from HMt.[80]

In the "Book of John of Dara" (***Birm. Mingana Syr. 56***), a homily on the end of the world cites from an unidentified one of the Homilies on Matthew.[81] The colophon claims that the book was copied from a manuscript of about 700 years age from Mosul (f. 140ᵛ).

c. Homiliaries

Syriac homiliaries have proven to be an invaluable source for translations of Patristic literature.[82] Chrysostom's attention to Biblical text and practical moral instruction made him a popular source author for regular inclusion in the homiliaries.[83] Several homiliaries are known to employ extracts from HMt.

The homiliary ***Vat. Syr. 368*** was copied by Sergios of Maiperqat.[84] It

(ܡܢܙܠܐ) of the monks in Egypt." Other redactions do not contain the excerpt (cf. *B.L. Add. 14,583, B.L. Add. 12,173*, and *B.L. Add. 14,730* [Wright, *Catalogue*, 3.865–6, 1070–72]).

[79]The extract occurs on ff. 166ʳ–169. A sample of the text from f. 18ᵛ of this manuscript appears in Plate CXV of Hatch, *Album*, facing p. 166.

[80]The colophon apparently provides no information about the copy's source manuscript (see Mingana, *Catalogue*, 613). The extracts are on ff. 115ʳ–116ʳ.

[81]Ff. 118ᵛ–119. See Mingana, *Catalogue*, 155; Vööbus, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Memre-Dichtung des Ja'qob von Serug* (*CSCO* 421; Louvain: Secrétariat du *CSCO*, 1980) 3.32.

[82]E.g. see Sauget, "Nouvelles homélies du *Commentaire sur l'Évangile de S. Luc* de Cyrille d'Alexandrie dans leur traduction syriaque," in *Symposium Syriacum 1972*, ed. I. Ortiz de Urbina (Rome: PIOS, 1974) 439–56; Albert van Roey, "Les discours de Saint Grégoire de Nazianze dans la littérature syriaque," *OLoP* 4 (1973) 121–33; 5 (1974) 79–125.

Syriac homeliaries are also important for the writing of the history of the development of Byzantine homeliaries (Réginald Grégoire, "Homéliaires Orientaux," in *DSp*, 7.1 [1969] 613–7). Cf. Gribomont, who says that Syriac homiliaries may not be very helpful in resolving structural and calendrical problems associated with the Greek tradition, even though the Syriac witnesses tend to be much older than the Greek ones ("Exploration dans les homéliaires," 235).

[83]On the subject of Syriac hagiography and homiletical literature, Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche* is deficient. In his review, P. Charles Martin attempts to fill in some gaps and provide correction ("Aux sources de l'hagiographie et de l'homilétique byzantines," *Byz.* 12 [1937] 347–62).

[84]The analysis of Sauget, "Deux homéliaires syriaques de la Bibliothèque Vaticane," *OCP* 27 (1961) 393, replaces those of Assemani, *BO*, 3.2.D.ij–D.iv, and

contains extracts from Homily 32 on Matthew.[85] The lemma (numbered 54) refers to the title of the commentary and its author.[86] A comparison has not been made between its incipit and the text of the commentary manuscripts.

The ܟܬܒܐ ܕܗܘܕܪܐ ܕܫܢܬܐ ܟܠܗ ("volume of the cycle [*Ḥudra*] for the whole year"), or ***B.L. Add. 14,516***, cites a brief final portion of the *ethikon* of Homily 25 to be read during Lent, and the whole of Homily 68 for Passion Week.[87] The lemmata give the title of the commentary, its author, and homily numbers. No parallel Syriac text exists with which to compare Homily 68. Its lemma has the summary, "On the parable of the vineyard" (f. 192ᵛ). The extract from Homily 25 is paralleled by a passage in the commentary B.L. Add. 12,142, which exhibits a decidedly different translation (HMt^{B}); the translation style in *B.L. Add. 14,516* is more consistent with that of HMt^{A}.

The two homiliaries ***Dam. Patr. 12/19*** and ***12/20*** are very closely related in structure and content.[88] Only incomplete information is available about the precise scope of the extracts and their lemmata,[89] but it seems clear that the two homiliaries share four extracts from HMt. The extract from Homily 25, "On the Leper," starts with a Biblical citation (Matthew 8:1) near the beginning of the homily.[90] The homiliary gives the commentary name and author, but no homily number. The incipit of an extract, "On the Two Blind Men," reads, ܡܬܝܠܝܬܐ ܕܬܪܝܢ ܥܘܪܝܢ ܕܥܡܐ

A. Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio e Vaticanis codicibus edita* (Rome: 1831) 5.2, 42–4. Cf. Hieronymus Engberding, "Ist Vat. Syr. 368 monophysitischer Herkunft?" *OrChr* 47 (1963) 111–7.

[85]Ff. 197–98ᵛ.

[86]Sauget does not specify whether the liturgical order is given with this particular excerpt, as sometimes occurs in this homiliary.

[87]The volume actually consists of two parts. See Wright, *Catalogue*, 1.244–46; Vööbus, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Memre-Dichtung des Ja'qob von Serug*, 3.75–76. The extract from Homily 25 is on f. 119; the extract of Homily 68 is on ff. 192ᵛ–197ʳ. The manuscript has no index.

[88]See Sauget, "Le manuscrit Sachau 220. Son importance pour l'histoire des homéliaires syro-occidentaux," *AION* 45 (1985) 388–96; Brock, review of Ephrem Malki's, *Die syrische Handschrift Berlin Sachau 220* (*Heidelberger orientalische Studien* 6; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1984), in *JSSt* 30 (1985): 298–301; Vööbus, *Discoveries of Great Import on the Commentary on Luke by Cyril of Alexandria* (Stockholm: Estonian Theological Society in Exile, 1973) 21–3.

[89]Information about the contents comes from unpublished indices and collations of incipits done by Brock. Comparisons of incipits alone cannot yield certain identifications, especially in homiliaries (see Sauget, "Le traitement subi par l'homélie pseudo-chysostomienne *Sur le fils prodigue* dans la traduction syriaque," *OCP* 51 [1985] 329).

[90]Ff. 152ᵛ–155ʳ in *Dam.. Patr. 12/19* (item 43); ff. 184ᵛ–188ʳ in *Dam.. Patr. 12/20* (item 45).

("and again Jesus said to his disciples").[91] It is probably from Homily 32, treating the healing of two blind men (Matthew 9:27–30), since the incipit mirrors the citation of Matthew 9:36 in that homily.[92] The extract from Homily 3 is taken from the *ethikon* of that homily.[93] The homiliary provides the author, the commentary title, and the homily number. The incipit is the same as that in *B.L. Add. 14,612* and matches the text of the commentary manuscript B.L. Add. 14,558 as well as *B.L. Add. 17,166*. The extract from Homily 69 commences with the initial Biblical citation (Matthew 22:1ff.) at the beginning of the homily.[94] The homiliary provides the title of the commentary, the author, and the homily number. Without more textual information, no judgements can be made about the translations exhibited in this homiliary and the following:

Dam. Patr. 12/20 contains a unit consisting of four extracts from HMt which the compiler of *Dam. Patr. 12/19* did not include.[95] Each extract commences at the beginning of the homily whence it is taken; together the extracts present exegetical comment on events associated with the night of Jesus' betrayal.

The homiliary ***B.L. Add. 12,165*** is entitled, ܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܠܠܬܐ ܘܫܒܚܬܐ ܠܫܢܬܐ ܟܠܗ ܕܗܘܕܪܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܕܬܪܝܨܝܢ ("book of prose homilies and festal hymns for the entire annual cycle [*Ḥudra*], of the orthodox doctors" folio 354ᵛ).[96] It cites from the *ethikon* of Homily 32 on Matthew to be read during the nocturnal office of Wednesday of the Week of Miracles (fifth week in Lent).[97] The lemma entitles the extract, ܡܢܬܐ ܕܡ ܕܫܒܘܥܐ

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[91]Ff. 189ᵛ–191ʳ in *Dam.. Patr. 12/19* (item 57); ff. 237ᵛ–239ᵛ in *Dam. Patr. 12/20* (item 59).

[92]Although the extract would actually derive from a passage which does not treat the healing. The parallel pericope of the healing of two blind men at Jericho in Matthew 20:29–30 is treated in Homily 66, which does not in the Greek cite a verse beginning, "Jesus said to his disciples. . . ."

[93]Ff. 198ᵛ–199ᵛ in *Dam. Patr. 12/19* (item 62); ff. 253ʳ–255ʳ in *Dam. Patr. 12/20* (item 64).

[94]Ff. 208ʳ–210ᵛ in *Dam. Patr. 12/19* (item 67); ff. 266ʳ–269ʳ in *Dam. Patr. 12/20* (item 69).

[95]Their placement in *Dam. Patr. 12/20* (items 96, 99, 100, 102) is as follows: from Homily 81, ff. 381ʳ–383ᵛ; from Homily 83, ff. 387ᵛ–389ᵛ; from Homily 84, ff. 390ʳ–393ʳ; from Homily 86, ff. 395ᵛ–398ʳ.

[96]A sample of the text from f. 177 of this manuscript appears in Plate CXIX of Hatch, *Album*, facing p. 170.

[97]Ff. 143ʳ–45ʳ. See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.842–51; Vööbus, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Memre-Dichtung des Ja'qob von Serug*, (*CSCO* 344; 1973) 1.100–1. Sauget points to *B.L. Add. 12,165* as important evidence for the early development of Syriac homiliaries on the basis of Greek structures ("Pour une

("*martyanutha* [i.e. *ethikon*] from the *memra*," f. 143[r]). The lemma also provides, "On those two blind men (whose eyes) Our Lord opened." Except for a number of careless haplographies, the text is the same as that in the commentary manuscript B.L. Add. 14,559 (i.e. HMt[A]).

Ber. Sachau 220 is entitled, ܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܬܩܢܢܐ ܕܬܪܥܝܗ ܕܫܢܬܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܗܘܕܪܐ ("book of prose homilies of the orthodox doctors for the entire annual cycle [*Ḥudra*]"). It once contained Homily 9 in its entirety.[98] Its lemma includes a paraenetic summary identical to that which appears in the commentary manuscripts, and an initial Biblical citation. The translation is the same as that of the commentary manuscripts.[99]

B.L. Add. 14,727 incorporates two complete homilies from HMt.[100] The lemmata include paraenetical summaries identical to those which occur in the commentary manuscripts. The translation is also the same, which is of particular interest since overlapping texts allow the comparison of at least five different Syriac witnesses to both Homilies 6 and 9.[101] The homiliary also excerpts portions of Homilies 66 and 70, for which comparison with commentary manuscript texts is impossible.[102] The former has the same incipit as the extract in *Vat. Syr. 253*; its

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interpretation de la structure de l'homéliaire syriaque ms. BL Add. 12165," *EO* 3 [1986] 121–46; ibid., "L'homéliaire du vatican syriaque 253. Essai de reconstitution," *Muséon* 81 [1968] 347; ibid., "Le traitement subi par l'homélie pseudo-chrysostomienne *Sur le fils prodigue*," 310, 327–8). The manuscript has no index.

[98]Ff. 20[v]–24[v], with a lacuna in the middle (Sauget, "Le manuscrit Sachau 220," 380). For a study of *Ber. Sachau 220*, see Malki, *Die syrische Handschrift Berlin Sachau 220* (details about the extract are given in pp. 44–5). See also Brock's review of Malki, 298–301; Vööbus, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Memre-Dichtung des Ja'qob von Serug*, 1.92–3. The manuscript boasts extensive decoration (Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures*, 341–9; Baumstark, "Spätbyzantinisches und frühchristlich-syrisches Weihnachtsbild," *OrChr* 3 [1913] 115–27).

[99]Sauget, "Le manuscrit Sachau 220," 371, 380. Amongst extant homiliaries, *Ber. Sachau 220* may reflect a very early stage of development. It does not show the same degree of influx of Jacob's metrical homilies that other homiliaries do (e.g. *B.L. Add. 12,165*). In this respect and in respect of the sequence of homilies, *Ber. Sachau 220* is very like the two homiliaries, *Dam. Pat. 12/19* and *12/20* (Sauget, "Le manuscrit Sachau 220," 396; see also Brock's review of Malki, 299–301).

[100]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.886–90. Homily 6 is on ff. 150[v]–163; Homily 9 is on ff. 164[r]–174[v]. Sauget refers to *B.L. Add. 14,727* as, "un homéliaire non structuré" ("Le manuscrit Sachau 220," 380). It has no index.

[101]Viz. B.L. Add. 12,142; B.L. Add. 14,558; B.L. Add. 14,560; *B.L. Add. 14,612*; and *B.L. Add. 14,727*. Six comparison texts exist for Homily 9, including that of *Ber. Sachau 220*.

[102]The extract from Homily 66 is on ff. 30[v]–35; that from Homily 70 on ff.

lemma designates it as a homily of John for Palm Sunday. The extract from Homily 70 occurs amongst others pertaining to the resurrection of Christ.

d. Manuscripts Having Only Excerpts Not Allowing Comparison

Some manuscripts have only excerpts which are not paralleled in any commentary manuscripts. These do not allow direct comparison between their texts and those of commentary manuscripts, making it impossible to determine whether the extracts derive from the Syriac commentaries or represent independent translations of some sort.

Vat. Syr. 107 is a miscellaneous anthology which has extracts from several of Chrysostom's commentaries, including one from HMt.[103] The lemma includes a title consisting of a Biblical citation (Matthew 18:15) identical to that which precedes the extracts from Homily 60 in *B.L. Add. 14,612* and *Sin. Syr. 16*. The incipits of the three are also identical, suggesting the translations are the same throughout. In at least the British Library and Vatican manuscripts, the extracts appears to be equivalent to the *ethika* of the homily.[104]

The somewhat fragmentary ***Vat. Syr. 253*** selects a portion of Homily 66 to be read on Palm Sunday.[105] The lemma gives only the homily number, although an index to the homiliary also mentions the title of the commentary.[106] The translation is the same as that of the parallel extract in *B.L. Add. 14,727*; the incipits are also the same.[107] It is worth noting that *Vat. Syr. 253* includes excerpts from HJn which have

126ʳ–129.

[103]See Assemani, *Catalogus* 3.50. The extract from Homily 60 is on ff. 28–32.

[104]Sufficient information about the Sinai manuscript is unavailable. The explicit of the extract in *Vat. Syr. 107* has, ܥܠܡ ܥܠ ܦܫܝܛܐ ("Ended on the text. . . ," f. 32), followed by the title/citation of the lemma.

[105]The analysis of Joseph-Marie Sauget, "L'homéliaire du vatican syriaque 253," 322–4, replaces that of Assemani, *Catalogus*, 3.541–2. See also, Vööbus, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Memre-Dichtung des Ja'qob von Serug*, 1.88–9.

[106]The extract begins on f. 37ʳ (see Sauget, "L'homéliaire du vatican syriaque 253," 331).

[107]See Sauget, "L'homéliaire du vatican syriaque 253," 348; ibid., "Le traitement subi par l'homélie pseudo-chrysostomienne *Sur le fils prodigue* ," 327–8; cf. Gribomont, "Exploration dans les homéliaires de l'orient," 236. Sauget maintains that the homiliary *Vat. Syr. 253*, perhaps representative of early Syriac homiliaries, is based on the infrastructure of some unknown Greek model—it consists mainly of authors from the orthodox Greek tradition, drawing on Severus and Jacob of Serugh and John of Antioch only at the close of liturgical sections, as if these writers have been inserted into an existing structure.

been confirmed to be of the same translation as that of the pertinent commentary manuscripts.[108]

One text bound in ***B.L. Add. 17,267***[A] consists of extracts from HMt.[109] The beginning of the manuscript is defective, but the lemmata to the extracts from Homilies 82, 85, and 61 identify the author and give the title ܡܪܛܘܬܢܘܬܐ (*martyanutha*, i.e. *ethikon*). The lemmata include paraenetic summaries similar in style and scope to those which are in the lemmata of the commentary manuscripts.

One of the small manuscripts bound in ***B.L. Add. 17,267***[B] contains part of Philoxenus' *Commentary on Luke*,[110] one of Marutha's homilies,[111] and extracts from three of HMt.[112] The latter passages are paralleled nowehere else in known Syriac sources. Due to a lacuna in the manuscript, the lemma to the extract from Homily 64 is missing. However, the lemmata to the other two extracts give the author's name only, entitling the extract, ܡܪܛܘܬܢܘܬܐ (*martyanutha*, i.e. *ethikon*). These lemmata include summaries several times longer and more comprehensive in scope than those which occur in the commentaries—they are stylistically and functionally more like the summaries found in the Greek editions and the *kephalaia* common amongst the Greek and Syriac HEpp.[113]

Camb. Add. 2023 is a synodicon containing ecclesiastical canons and supportive Patristic citations, including extracts from Homilies 50 and 79 on Matthew.[114]

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[108]See 34.

[109]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.481. The placement of the extracts is as follows: from Homily 58, ff. 1ʳ–2ʳ; from Homily 82, ff. 2ᵛ–4ʳ; from Homily 85, ff. 4ᵛ–5; from Homily 61, ff. 6ʳ–8.

[110]See the editions of Philoxenus, *CM-L*.

[111]Edited by Brock, "The Homily by Marutha of Tagrit on the Blessing of the Waters at Epiphany," *OrChr* 66 (1982) 51–74.

[112]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.884–5. The placement of the extracts is as follows: from Homily 64, f. 13; from Homily 66, f. 14ʳ–15ʳ; from Homily 73, ff. 15ᵛ–17ʳ.

[113]E.g. see 41–2.

[114]F. 56ᵛ. See Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts Preserved in Cambridge*, 606–9; also Walter Selb, *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht*, vol. 2, *Die Geschichte des Kirchenrechts der Westsyrer von den Anfängen bis zur Mongolenzeit* (*DÖAW.PH*, *Sitzungsberichte* 388; Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, 1989) 91, 100–1; Vööbus, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Memre-Dichtung des Ja'qob von Serug*, 3.34.

The significance of West Syrian manuscripts pertaining to canon law, including *Camb. Add. 2023*, is discussed in Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen. Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkunde. I. Westsyrische Originalkunden* (*CSCO* 307, 317;

2. *Homilies on the Gospel of John*

Of the 88 Homilies on the Gospel of John (HJn), known Syriac manuscripts have texts of 72, mostly entire. HJn may have been translated by 484.[115] Although this study discovered no extracts from Homilies 44–59, it is difficult to imagine their not having been translated into Syriac.[116] Where it is possible to compare different witnesses, the texts are essentially identical and have the same translation.

A select number of the Syriac HJn (6, 20, 22, 23, 37, 62, 83, and 85) have been edited based on available manuscripts and appear in Chapter XIII, with an English translation in Chapter X.

The following table illustrates the shape of the manuscript tradition:

Table 3: Homilies on John—Summary of the Tradition

Manuscript	Date	Genre	Relevant Contents
B.L. Add. 14,561	6–7	commentary	[1–43]
B.L. Add. 12,161	6–7	commentary	60–88
B.L. Add. 14,562	7–8	commentary	[60–88]
Sin. Syr. NF Sp. 28	8–9	commentary	[20]
Sin. Syr. NF Sp. 74	8–9	commentary	[20]
B.L. Add. 14,612	6–7	anthology	22, 23, (62, 85)
Vat. Syr. 109	692	anthology	(62)
Sin. Syr. NF Sp. 47	c.7	?	[83]
Sin. Syr. NF Sp. 48	c.7	?	[77]
B.L. Add. 14,732	12	anthology	(83)

Louvain: Secrétariat du *CSCO*, 1970); also, *The Didascalia Apostolorum in Syriac. I. Chapters I–X*, ed. Vööbus (*CSCO* 401; Louvain: Secrétariat du *CSCO*, 1979).

[115]See 9.

[116]'Abdisho' and the *Chronicle of Seert* attest only to two volumes in Syriac translation. It is possible that these consisted precisely of Homilies 1–43 and 60–88. However, by the eleventh century two volumes covering Homilies 1–88 had become normal for the Greek tradition, although some variety exists, so it is more likely that the late Syriac catalogues had such a division in view (i.e. two volumes incorporating all of Homilies 1–88) and do not point to a translation originally deficient for Homilies 44–59 (see 7, 12, and p. 17, n. 39).

Table 3: Homilies on John—continued

Manuscript	Date	Genre	Relevant Contents
Vat. Syr. 253	8	homiliary	[37, 85]
B.L. Add. 14,515	892–3	homiliary	37
B.L. Add. 14,516	9	homiliary	[37, 62, 63, 64]
Dam. Patr. 12/19	10–11	homiliary	(37, 68, 76)
Dam. Patr. 12/20	1000	homiliary	(37, 68, 76, 85)
B.L. Add. 14,727	13	homiliary	83, (85)

a. Commentary Manuscripts

B.L. Add. 14,561 originally included Homilies 1–43, but is now defective in Homilies 1, 2, 29, and 35 due to missing folios; Homilies 30–34 are missing entirely.[117] **B.L. Add. 12,161** and **14,562** cover Homilies 60–88.[118] The former manuscript is complete, but the latter is defective in Homilies 60, 61, and 63; Homily 62 is missing.[119] The three commentary manuscripts share similar features. Rubrics giving the title and author appear occasionally in upper margins. The lemma to each homily in the commentary manuscripts provides the number of the homily and normally has an initial citation of scripture followed by a paraenetic summary.[120]

Sin. Syr. NF Sp. 28 and **74** are palimpsest fragments, apparently from the same manuscript.[121] The former consists of four folios, the latter is a single tiny fragment.[122] The underwriting comes from a sixth-century manuscript of Genesis. A rubric on Sin. Syr. NF Sp. 28 identifies the text as that of Chrysostom's Commentary,

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[117]Homilies 6, 20, 22, 23, and 37 in this manuscript are edited in Chapter XIII (English translation in Chapter X).

[118]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.469–71.

[119]Homilies 83 and 84 in both manuscripts and Homily 62 in B.L. Add. 12,161 are edited in Chapter XIII (English translation in Chapter X).

[120]For example, the lemma to Homily 66 contains a citation of John 12:8 and the summary: ܥܠܝܢܐ ܥܠ ܩܝܡܬܐ ܕܡܠܐ ܥܠ ܡܫܬܐ ܘܥܠ ("and on the resurrection and against heretics and pagans"). B.L. Add. 12,161, f. 46^{r}; B.L. Add. 14,562, f. 25^{v}.

To illustrate the functions of the lemmatic scripture citations and paraenetic summaries: the first two-thirds of Homily 66 (i.e. *exegetikon*) comments verse by verse on John 12:8–24. The last part of the homily (*ethikon*) takes the topic of the resurrection, mentioned briefly in the preceding exegesis, as its starting point. Yet its thought moves in a different direction, utilizing no material from the Gospel of John, but condemning those who reject the resurrection, particularly the heretics Marcion and Valentinus.

[121]See Brock, *Catalogue of Syriac Fragments*, 22–3, 70–1 (plates of the fragments are on pp. 205–6, 274).

[122] The texts of these fragments are edited in Chapter XIII (English translation in Chapter X).

(ܡܬܬܠܡܢܘܬܐ [ܕ]ܝܘܚܢܢ ܣܦܪܐ, f. 2ʳ). The texts of both agree with that of B.L. Add. 14,561.

b. Miscellaneous Collections

B.L. Add. 14,612 contains miscellaneous extracts from different authors.[123] In a lengthy section of citations from Chrysostom's works, it incorporates the entire text of Homilies 22 and 23 on John (ff. 59ᵛ–68ᵛ).[124] Initial scripture citations and paraenetic summaries agree with those in B.L. Add. 14,561. A brief extract from Homily 62 appears elsewhere in the manuscript (f. 166ʳ) as one of a pair commenting upon the subject of the state of the soul after death.[125] The *ethikon* from Homily 85 (ff. 78ʳ–80ʳ) exhorts the readers to observe proper Christian modesty at funerals. The texts of the short extracts are essentially the same as that found in the commentaries.

The manuscript ***Vat. Syr. 109*** is a collection of various authors which includes an *ethikon* from Homily 62 on John (ff. 25–27).[126] Its lemma consists of a paraenetic summary identical to that in the commentary manuscript B.L. Add. 12,161.[127] A comparison of the incipit with the text of the commentary manuscript shows that they share the same translation.

Sin. Syr. NF Sp. 47 consists of three fragments from a single folio having a bit of the exegetical portion of Homily 83 on John.[128] ***Sin. Syr. NF Sp. 48*** is two tiny fragments with even less text, this time from the *ethikon* of Homily 77.[129] It is impossible to know whether the fragments are from commentary manuscripts or from collections. The translation is the same as that of the commentary manuscripts.

B.L. Add. 14,732 consists of only nine folios.[130] It contains an excerpt from the writings of Isaac of Nineveh and two items ascribed to Chrysostom: namely, a

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[123]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.696–701.

[124]Homilies 22, 23, and 62 in this manuscript are edited in Chapter XIII (English translation in Chapter X).

[125]See 38.

[126]See Assemani, *Catalogus*, 3.73.

[127]F. 20ᵛ: ܘܥܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܚܫܕܢ ܕܠܐ ܡܠܝܢ ("and on these [women] who mourn excessively"). B.L.Add. 14,562 and *B.L. Add. 14,516* have no lemmata for Homily 62, being defective at this point.

[128]See Brock, *Catalogue of Syriac Fragments*, 47–8 (plates of some of the fragments are on pp. 244–6). This fragment is edited in Chapter XIII (English translation in Chapter X).

[129]See Brock, *Catalogue of Syriac Fragments*, 48–9 (plates of some of the fragments are on pp. 246–8 and a text sample from on p.121–2).

[130]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.867.

discourse on virginity and repentance, and a brief extract of Homily 83 on the Gospel of John (f. 233ʳ), entitled ܡܪܛܘܢܘܬܐ (*martyanutha*, i.e. *ethikon*).[131] The *ethikon* challenges readers to imitate Jesus' endurance of suffering. The translation is the same as that which appears in the commentary manuscripts and other collections.[132]

c. Homiliaries

Homily 37 was especially popular reading for the Lent season because it deals with the healing of the paralytic in John 5, a pericope which features amongst the liturgical readings in Lent.[133] The oldest Syriac homiliary containing a portion of HJn is ***Vat. Syr. 253***, copied in the Nitrian desert.[134] The homiliary consists of Syriac translations of the works (ܡܐܡܪܐ, "*memre*'") of Greek Fathers, of whom Chrysostom is by far the most popular. The first few folios contain the remnants of an index giving the number and author of each piece, often along with a summary title or a reference to the feast for which the reading is intended.[135] A small portion of Homily 37 on John appears with readings for Palm Sunday (f. 36), the beginning and end of which are defective; the mutilated index entitles the reading, "On the Healing of the Paralytic and on Envy,"[136] the elements of which appear in the parallel lemmata[137] belonging to other collections and to the commentary manuscript. *Vat. Syr. 253* also cites from Homily 85 amongst readings for Passion Week (ff. 93ᵛ–96ᵛ). The incipit of this *ethikon* is the same as that which appears in the homiliary *B.L. Add. 14,727*. The compiler of *Vat. Syr. 253* or its uses the same translation as that which appears elsewhere in the Syriac tradition, not making an independent translation from a Greek homiliary source.[138]

B.L. Add. 14,515 is entitled, ܡܫܠܡܐ ܕܚܕܪܐ ܕܫܢܬܐ ܫܠܡܐ ܕܚܕ ("volume one of the cycle [*Ḥudra*] for the whole year"). The homiliary has,

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[131]Only one lemma appears for the pair of Chrysostomic excerpts: ܥܠ ܡܪܛܘܢܘܬܐ ܕܡܪܛܘܬܐ ܕܡܪܛܘܬܐ ("On Virginity and Repentance; and *martyanutha* [i.e. *ethikon*]").

[132]The text of Homily 83 is edited in Chapter XIII (English translation in Chapter X).

[133]Normally on the third Sunday. See Jean Tomajean, "Les Dimanches du Carême dans le rite syro-antiochien," *OrSyr* 7 (1962) 362–3.

[134]The analysis of Sauget ("L'homéliaire du vatican syriaque 253," 297–349) replaces Assemani, *Catalogus*, 2.541–2. See pp., 29–30, nn. 105, 107.

[135]Sauget, "L'homeliaire du vatican syriaque 253," 311.

[136]Ibid., 331.

[137]See the edition (Chapter XIII) and English tradition (Chapter X).

[138]See Sauget, "L'homeliaire du vatican syriaque 253," 331, 348.

amidst an assortment of other homilies to be read during Lent, the text of Homily 37 on John in its entirety.[139] The lemma mentions the author, but says nothing about the commentary or homily number (f. 137^{v}), having only the title, "*Memra'* on the Paralytic and on Envy," (cf. the index to *Vat. Syr. 253* and the lemma in the commentary manuscript B.L. Add. 14,561). The translation of the homily is the same as that in the commentary manuscript and the other collections.[140]

The homiliary ***B.L. Add. 14,516*** also includes an extract from Homily 37 on John amongst its readings for Lent, originally complete but now somewhat lacunose.[141] Like *B.L. Add. 14,515*, the lemma gives the author and a title, "Homily on the Paralytic *which Our Lord Healed*, and on Envy."[142] The translation is the same as that of the commentary manuscript (B.L. Add. 14,561) and the other homiliary (*B.L. Add. 14, 515*).[143] The readings for Lent in *B.L. Add. 14,516* also include abridgements of Homilies 62, 63, and 64 on John (ff. 127^{r}–129^{r}).[144] The translation is the same as that of the commentary manuscript (B.L. Add. 12,161).[145] It exhorts the readers to avoid excesses in mourning, trusting instead in the hope of the resurrection.[146]

The two closely related homiliaries ***Dam. Patr. 12/19*** and ***12/20*** share three extracts from HJn.[147] The extract from Homily 37 has the same incipit as in *B.L. Add. 14,516*.[148] The incipit of the extract from Homily 68 commences at the beginning of the homily text.[149] The same is true for the extract from Homily 76.[150] *Dam. Patr.*

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[139]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 1.240–3; Vööbus, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Memre-Dichtung des Ja'qob von Serug*, 3.74–5. A sample of the text from f. 117 of this manuscript appears in Plate CXII of Hatch, *Album*, facing p. 163.

[140]The text of Homily 37 is edited in Chapter XIII (English translation in Chapter X).

[141]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 1.244–6. See p. 26, n. 87.

[142]The texts of Homilies 37 and 62 is edited in Chapter XIII (English translation in Chapter X).

[143]Comparison with *Vat. Syr. 253* has not been possible.

[144]Wright recognized only Homily 62.

[145]The commentary manuscript B.L. Add. 14,562 lacks Homily 62 due to missing folios.

[146]See 22–3 above on the anthology *B.L. Add. 14,612*, which also has an extract from Homily 62.

[147]Again, only brief, select portions of the texts are available for comparison (see pp. 26–7, nn. 88–9).

[148]For *Dam. Patr. 12/19*, ff. 180^{v}–182^{r} (item 52); for *Dam. Patr. 12/20*, ff. 225^{r}–228^{r} (item 54).

[149]For *Dam. Patr. 12/19*, ff. 261^{r}–262^{r} (item 85); for *Dam. Patr. 12/20*, ff.

12/20 contains a further extract, this time from Homily 85, which the compiler of *Dam. Patr. 12/19* did not use.[151] The homiliary provides the homily number, the author, and the commentary title. The incipit is the same as that which is in *B.L. Add. 14,727* and *Vat. Syr. 253*.

The homiliary ***B.L. Add. 14,727*** contains, in abridged form, Homily 83 on John (ff. 40ʳ–48ᵛ).[152] The lemma has no initial scripture citation or paraenetic summary such as occurs in the commentary manuscripts. A marginal note on the first page designates the passage for, ܩܠܝܠܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܩܕܝܬܐ ("the first nocturnal office"). An extract from Homily 85 immediately follows (ff. 48ᵛ–55ʳ), commenting on Christ's burial and resurrection and delivering exhortations about the proper Christian attitude towards death. Its marginal note designates it for: ܩܕܝܬܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܩܠܝܠܐ ܕܩܝܡܬܐ ܩܕܝܬܐ ("the second nocturnal office of Easter Eve"); the manuscript has no index. For both homilies, *B.L. Add. 14,727* has the same translation that occurs elsewhere.[153]

3. Homilies on the Epistles

The consistent popularity of the Gospels ensured that HMt and HJn would be better preserved in a wider variety of sources than his Homilies on the Epistles of St. Paul (HEpp).[154] The HEpp, to which the broader Syriac tradition makes collective reference as ܦܫܩܢܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ("The Commentary on the Apostle"), do not enjoy such great popularity. Nevertheless, several of these cycles are represented by fine and complete commentary manuscripts. Other cycles have left only stray echoes of their former influence. In particular, no commentary manuscripts are known to exist for the Homilies on Galatians, 1 and 2 Timothy, and Hebrews. A Syriac version of an extract of the latter has been detected in one collection and is discussed here, but for the Homilies on Galatians and 1 and 2 Timothy excerpts appear only in catenae

339ʳ–342ʳ (item 87).

[150]For *Dam. Patr. 12/19*, ff. 263ʳ–266ʳ (item 86); for *Dam. Patr. 12/20*, ff. 342ᵛ–345ᵛ (item 88).

[151]Ff. 424ᵛ–427ᵛ.

[152]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.886–90. See also p. 28, n. 100.

[153]The texts of Homilies 83 and 85 are edited in Chapter XIII (English translation in Chapter X).

[154]In particular, the homilies on the Gospels afford many more passages suitable for liturgical use because they treat passages figuring in the major festivals.

manuscripts and discussion of them is consigned to Appendix 1.[155]

The distinct cycles can be treated corporately as a set, albeit with some caution. Each of the extant sets of HEpp enjoys some sixth- or seventh-century attestation. In most cases, the translation style is consistent throughout the sets of HEpp. These facts suggest that HEpp were translated at about the same time (by the middle of the sixth century)[156] and perhaps in similar circumstances.

a. Homilies on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans

Despite the wide dissemination of the Syriac translation of the Homilies on Romans, no substantial portion of the text is known to have survived.

Table 4: Homilies on Romans—Summary of the Tradition

Manuscript	Date	Genre	Relevant Contents
B.L. Add. 17,164	6–7	commentary	[1–32?] (palimpsest)
B.L. Add. 14,612	6–7	anthology	(4)
Vat. Syr. 107	pre-8	anthology	(5)
B.L. Add. 17,193	874	anthology	(7, 25)
B.L. Add. 17,191	9–10	anthology	(19)
B.L. Add. 17,267[c]	13	anthology	(25)
Camb. Add. 2023	13	canon law	(3)
Birm. Mingana Syr. 4	1895	anthology	?
Dam. Patr. 12/19	10–11	homiliary	(5, 25, ?)
Dam. Patr. 12/20	1000	homiliary	(5, 25, ?)
B.L. Add. 12,165	1015	homiliary	(5)

1) Commentary Manuscript

B.L. Add. 17,164 is a palimpsest whose upper writing is that of a ninth-

[155]It is likely that each of these once existed as whole, independent Syriac translations, since extracts from them occur in catenae whose other extracts from the New Testament homilies are seen to derive from the same translations as the commentary manuscripts (see Appendix 1).

That the Syriac witness for some commentaries should be so scanty is not strong evidence that the entire commentary did not exist in Syriac translation—with all the homilies, the Syriac evidence is incomplete and sketchy, even though the breadth of the evidence often testifies to the wide use and dissemination of the translations.

[156]See 137–9.

century collection of Syriac authors.[157] Underneath are parts of two different texts: a sixth-century manuscript of Jeremiah, and a sixth- to seventh-century commentary manuscript, containing on 82 folios some of the Homilies on Romans. Most of the underwriting is illegible, but occasionally a clear passage emerges.[158] This is the only Syriac commentary manuscript of the Homilies on Romans known to exist. One margin contains a *kephalaion* of several lines which provides a lengthy summary of the contents of the adjacent homily.[159] Another margin has a note consisting of a few illegible words followed by ܕܠܚܡܐ (either "of bread" [ܠܚܡܐ] or, "that is suitable for. . ." [ܠܡܐ]), possibly indicating a festival reading (f. 40ᵛ).[160] The hand of the marginal notes, though part of the underwriting, is probably later than that of the original sixth-century hand.

2) Miscellaneous Collections

It is impossible to determine whether excerpts in the collections and homiliaries derive from the original commentary translation or represent independent translations. An analysis of these questions is in Appendix 1.

The anthology ***B.L. Add. 14,612*** contains a small extract from Homily 4.[161] The extract is one amongst a group of quotes from different sources pertaining to the subject of the consciousness of the soul after death.

Vat. Syr. 107 is a collection of extracts from various authors containing a small excerpt from Homily 5.[162] The lemma refers to the title of the commentary, its author, and the homily number. A citation of Romans 2:10 serves as the title/summary of the extract. It appears to come from a point earlier in the homily than the extracts in *B.L. Add. 12,165.*

B.L. Add. 17,193 is a very miscellaneous collection having two extracts from

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[157]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.680–1.

[158]E.g. the beginning of Homily 32 on f. 45ʳ

[159]F. 28ᵛ. The beginning of the *kephalaion* reads, ܥܠ ܡܢ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܕܢܗܘܝܢ ("On [how] that we should be. . ."). It is unclear whether the *kephalaion* is positioned at the beginning of the homily or in the middle (i.e. where the *ethikon* commences).

[160]The commentary manuscripts appear sometimes to have been taken over for liturgical use (see 42–3).

[161]F. 165ʳ. See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.696–701.

[162]F. 135. See Assemani, *Catalogus*, 3.60–1 and p. 18, n. 44 above.

the Homilies on Romans.[163] Unfortunately, the one from Homily 25 does not overlap with any of the other extracts from that homily that are available for comparison.

B.L. Add. 17,191 contains extracts from numerous Fathers, discussing Scripture, doctrine, and practice.[164]

B.L. Add. 17,267^{C} presently consists of only 11 folios.[165] It contains a discourse by John, Patriarch of Antioch on the consecration of the chrism,[166] and an extract from Homily 25 on Romans (folios 23^{v}–27). The lemma includes a summary title to the extract (folio 23^{v}). ***Camb. Add. 2023*** contains a brief excerpt from Homily 3.[167] The manuscript is a synodicon consisting mainly of ecclesiastical canons, accompanied by extracts from various authors relating to principles and issues of ecclesiastical law.[168]

An unidentified extract appearing in the late ***Birm. Mingana Syr. 4*** treats the subject of adultery.[169] The manuscript consists of short extracts from various works.

3) Homiliaries

The closely related homiliaries ***Dam. Patr. 12/19*** and ***12/20*** share the same extracts from the Homilies on Romans.[170] The extract from Homily 25 has the same incipit as the extract in *B.L. Add. 17,267^{C}*.[171] The extract from Homily 5 has the same incipit as the extract in *B.L. Add. 12,165*.[172] In both cases, the homiliaries provide the

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[163]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.989–1002. The extracts are on f. 90^{v}.

[164]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.1008–15. The extract is on f.67^{r}. The manuscript also has a block of tiny extracts from HEpp (ff.63^{r}–64^{r}).

[165]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.885. Several manuscripts are bound together in *B.L. Add. 17,267* (see p.18, n.45). This one is Wright's DCCCXLVI.

[166]Jouko Martikainen has prepared an edition and translation of this part of the manuscript (*Johannes I. Sedra. Einleitung, syrische Texte, Übersetzung und vollständiges Wörterzeichnis* [*GOF.S* 34; Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991] 37, 171–209).

[167]F. 49^{r}. See Wright, *A Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts Preserved in Cambridge*, 606.

[168]See p. 31, n. 114 for pertinent bibliography.

[169]The colophon claims the manuscript was copied from a very old source from Tur Abdin (f. 162^{v}). See Mingana, *Catalogue*, 10; Vööbus, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Memre-Dichtung des Ja'qob von Serug*, 3.31.

[170]For bibliography on these homiliaries, see pp. 26, nn. 88–9.

[171]For *Dam. Patr. 12/19*, ff. 173^{r}–175^{r} (item 49); for *Dam. Patr. 12/20*, ff. 212^{r}–215^{r} (item 51).

[172]For *Dam. Patr. 12/19*, ff. 176^{r}–177^{r} (item 50); for *Dam. Patr. 12/20*, ff. 215^{v}–217^{r} (item 52).

title of the commentary, its author, and homily numbers. A third extract is from Homily 27(8),[173] since its incipit matches Romans 16:25, which in Chrysostom's Bible follows 14:23.[174] The passage is the initial citation of the homily and is cited a few lines into the homily and some lines after that,[175] but nowhere else in the Homilies on Romans.

The homiliary ***B.L. Add. 12,165*** contains an *ethikon* from Homily 5 on Romans, selected to be read ܩܕܘܡܬܐ ܩܕܝܫܬܐ ܕܫܒܬܐ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ("the nocturnal office of Monday of the Week of Miracles," i.e. the fifth week of Lent).[176] The lemma has the author, homily number, the title of the commentary, and a paraenetic summary.

b. Homilies on St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians

Extant witnesses indicate that the Syriac translation of Chrysostom's Homilies on 1 Corinthians circulated in three volumes: volume one (no longer extant) containing Homilies 1–19; volume two containing Homilies 20–33; and volume three containing Homilies 34–44.[177] The Syriac translation of Homilies 1–20 does not survive in any part.

Table 5: Homilies on 1 Corinthians—Summary of the Tradition

Manuscript	Date	Genre	Relevant Contents	
B.L. Add. 14,563	7–8	commentary	[20–33]	(volume 2)
B.L. Add. 12,160	584	commentary	34–44	(volume 3)
B.L. Add. 14,612	6–7	anthology	(39, 41)	
B.L. Add. 14,613	9–10	anthology	(42)	

1) Commentary Manuscripts

[173]For *Dam. Patr. 12/19*, ff. 338ᵛ–340ʳ (item 112); for *Dam. Patr. 12/20*, ff. 481ᵛ–483ᵛ (item 125). It does not come from the end of the Commentary (Homily 32[33]).

[174]A glance at *NA*[27] shows that the doxology of Romans 16:25–7 appears variously in the versional and Patristic tradition in chapters 14, 15, and 16.

[175]Field, *Interp.ep.Paul.*, 1.430–1 (*PG* 60.643–4). For comments on Chrysostom's placement of the doxology, see Field, idem., 1.547 [718B].

[176]Ff. 138ᵛ–140ʳ (the marginal note is at the bottom of f. 138ᵛ in a distinct hand). See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.842–51. For bibliography on this important manuscript, see pp. 28, n. 97.

[177]This particular manner of division is unknown amongst the Greek manuscripts surveyed in *CCG*.

The colophon of **B.L. Add. 12,160** describes the manuscript as ܡܫܠܬܐ ܬܠܬܝܐ ("volume three") of Chrysostom's Homilies on 1 Corinthians.[178] The manuscript was copied at the monastery of Gubba Barraya (ܓܘܒܐ ܕܒܪܝܐ).[179] Another note states: ܕܬܪܓܡܬܗ ܡܢ ܝܘܢܢܝܬܐ ܠܣܘܪܝܝܬܐ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܩܠܝܢܝܩܘܣ. ("and it was translated from the Greek tongue into the Syriac in the city Kallinikos"). Each homily is preceded by a lemma which gives the title and volume of the commentary, its author, and homily numbers. This data is followed by initial scripture citations. No paraenetic summaries appear in the lemmata. However, *kephalaia* regularly appear. These consist of summaries, mainly focusing on the *ethika* of the homilies.[180] They are similar in style and content to the summaries which appear in the Greek editions, but not identical. For Homilies 34–36, the *kephalaia* occur in red ink in the margins near the beginning of each homily. The hand of these marginal notes appears to be the same as that of the original manuscript text. Beginning with Homily 37, the *kephalaia* are actually incorporated into the lemmata, between the numbered titles and the Biblical citations. In Homilies 40–44 the *kephalaia* appear not at the beginning of the homilies, but in the middle, interrupting the text where the *ethika* commence. These *kephalaia* are sometimes in black ink, but usually in red.

Clearly, a scribe in the process of copying the volume changed his policy and began to include the *kephalaia*. They may have been in the lemmata of his exemplar, in which case he initially omitted the *kephalaia* which lay before him, but reversed

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[178]F. 106^{v}. See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.472–3. A sample of the text from f. 74^{v} of this manuscript appears in Plate XXXIII of Hatch, *Album*, facing p. 84.

[179]A few folios have been replaced by those of later years (viz. ff. 54, 55, 64, 65, 91, and 98). On the question of the precise location of Gubba Barraya, see Honigmann, *Évêques et évêchés monophysites*, 205.

[180]For example, the *kephalaion* to Homily 35 reads as follows:

1 ܥܠ ܡܕ̈ܡ ܕܡܫܬܡܫܢܐ ܕܫܘܬܦܐ ܕܠܥܠܡ
2 ܘܡܕ̈ܡ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܫܬܝܪܝܢ ܗܘ̈ܘ ܐܦ ܗܠܝܢ ܥܒܕܘ ܗܢܐ .
3 ܕܠܐ ܢܥܒܕ ܡܕܡ ܠܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܫܘܐ
4 ܐܦ ܕܠܐ ܡܕ̈ܡ ܕܠܝܬܘܗܝ ܠܝܬܘܪ ܢܥܒܕ ܡܕܡ .
5 ܒܬܪ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܬܚܘܐ ܡܕܡ ܕܪܥܝܢ ܗܘܘܢ ܫܠܝܛܐ ܐܦ
ܠܡܢܝ ܕܡܢܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܀

1 On [how] that in matters of common advantage
2 we should be especially careful, for the apostles also did this;
3 and that we should not do a thing for the sake of empty glory or
4 merely because it is not expedient.
5 After these things, he also demonstrates how evil are possessions for those who possess them.

that initial policy early on. However, it is more likely that they appeared in a different source, such as a separate table or index,[181] and the scribe chose to incorporate them into the lemmata. Layers of such apparatus material sometimes accrued in these books: at the point in Homily 41 where the *kephalaia* is inserted into the text, a similar but distinct *kephalaion* is written into the margin in a later hand (f. 82ʳ).[182]

B.L. Add. 14,563 is a copy of volume two in the series, though it contains no self-designation to that effect.[183] The first three homilies (20–22) are very defective due to lacunae. Each homily has a lemma which gives the title of the commentary, its author, and homily numbers. The usual scripture citation follows, with citation marks. *Kephalaia* do not appear in this manuscript.

2) Miscellaneous Collections

Two excerpts from volume three appear in ***B.L. Add. 14,612***, an anthology containing miscellaneous extracts from different authors.[184] Extracts from various Chrysostomic compositions includes portions of Homily 39 (f. 80ʳ) and Homily 41 (f. 81ʳ) on 1 Corinthians, the latter amongst excerpts pertaining to the afterlife and the efficacy of offerings for the dead.[185] These brief excerpts have lemmata which identify the author, the commentary, and the homily numbers. They exhibit only a few minor variations from the parallel commentary texts. A comparison of the extract from Homily 39 with the corresponding text in the commentary manuscript B.L. Add. 12,160 reveals an interesting marginal notation. At the point in the commentary where the extract begins, a later hand has added the words, ܡܢ [ܗ]ܢܐ ("read from here") to mark the beginning of a reading, possibly liturgical, but perhaps because that particular passage was especially edifying. Hence, not only was

[181]Several of the Greek manuscripts surveyed in *CCG* have tables of *ethika* with *hypothesis* (called *argumentum*) prefixed to the commentary texts. Some Syriac manuscripts also have such apparatuses (see 44, 48).

[182]Similar layering occurs in the commentary on 2 Corinthians (see 45).

[183]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.471.

[184]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.696–701.

[185]Paul Bedjan published a portion of the extract from Homily 41 in *S. Martyrii, qui et Sahdona, quae supersunt omnia* (Paris: Harrassowitz, 1902) 870–1. In his edition, the excerpt appears with three poems from the same manuscript ascribed to Ephrem as part of a group of texts "sur le dogme du purgatoire" (xx). The edition's index summarizes the teaching of the excerpt: "that the deceased receive benefit from offerings."

the passage extracted from the commentary for use in other sorts of volumes, but also the users of the commentary manuscript itself chose to distinguish the passage in the commentary for convenient reference and reading. The same notation appears elsewhere throughout the manuscript.

B.L. Add. 14,613 contains mainly a condensation of the *Liber Graduum*, along with excerpts from a number of authors.[186] The extract from Homily 42 (ff. 180ᵛ–181ʳ) has a lemma which names the author, the commentary, and the homily number.[187] With reference to the commentary text (B.L. Add. 12,160), the incipit of the excerpt matches the text immediately following the placement of the *kephalaion* mid-way through Homily 42. This is the only *kephalaion* in the commentary manuscript that begins with the term, ܡܪܛܘܢܘܬܐ (*martyanutha*; i.e. *ethikon*). The translation is the same as that in the commentary.

c. Homilies on Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians

The series of 30 homilies on 2 Corinthians is remarkably well served by two early and full volumes, along with a handful of extracts:

Table 6: Homilies on 2 Corinthians—Summary of the Tradition

Manuscript	Date	Genre	Relevant Contents
B.L. Add. 14,564	6–7	commentary	[1–30]
B.L. Add. 12,180	6–7	commentary	1–30
B.L. Add. 14,612	6–7	anthology	(1, 5)
Vat. Syr. 107	pre-8	anthology	(11)
B.L. Add. 14,617	7–8	anthology	(10)
B.L. Add. 17,193	874	anthology	(13)
B.L. Add. 17,191	9–10	anthology	(11)
Dam. Patr. 12/19	10–11	homiliary	(10)
Dam. Patr. 12/20	1000	homiliary	(10)
B.L. Add. 12,165	1015	homiliary	(10)

1) Commentary Manuscripts

B.L. Add. 12,180 is complete, containing all 30 homilies. **B.L. Add. 14,564**

[186]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.810–5.

[187]Ff. 190ᵛ–195 of this manuscript have miscellaneous unidentified extracts from HEpp (ܡܢ ܦܝܫܩܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ, "from the Commentary of the Apostle").

originally contained the complete set, but now Homilies 8–10 and 23 are imperfect due to missing folios.[188] Otherwise, the commentary manuscripts share many features. They both have the same translation. Their lemmata give the title of the commentary, its author, and homily numbers. This material is followed by the usual marked initial Biblical citations. The lemmata do not include *kephalaia*, but numbered ܩܦܠܝܐ (*kephalaia*) do occur in indices which occupy the first few folios of both commentary manuscripts.[189] These *kephalaia* consist of summaries of the contents of each homily,[190] in scope and style similar to the *kephalaia* which occur in the margins and text of the Homilies on 1 Corinthians,[191] but textually unrelated to those found in the Greek editions of the Homilies on 2 Corinthians. The indices are followed by a brief summary of the contents of the Epistle itself, ܚܘܫܒܐ ܕܐܓܪܬܐ ("account of the epistle," functionally a *hypothesis*).[192] This in turn is followed by a second index keyed to sections of the Epistle itself, having fifteen brief summaries (also called ܩܦܠܝܐ, *kephalaia*). Whereas the first set of *kephalaia* in the indices focuses on the *ethika* of the homilies, the latter set has fifteen concise references to the contents of Biblical sections.[193] It is likely that similar indices were at some early time attached to the apparatus of the Homilies on 1 Corinthians (see above), which would account for the appearance of *kephalaia* in B.L. Add. 12,160. The apparatuses themselves probably derive from the Greek manuscript tradition.[194]

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[188]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.473–5.

[189]The heading to the index reads:

ܩܦܠܝܐ ܕܐܝܬܝܢ ܒܬܠܬܐ ܡܐܡܪܐ ܕܦܘܠܘܣ ܠܩܘܪܢܬܝܐ 1
ܕܦܘܠܘܣ ܕܐܓܪܬܐ ܬܢܝܬܐ ܕܩܘܪܢܬܝܐ ܕܦܘܠܘܣ ܕܐܓܪܬܐ ܬܢܝܬܐ ܕܩܘܪܢܬܝܐ . 2
ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܬܠܬܝܢ . ܕܒܗܝܢ ܡܦܪܫ ܕܟܠ ܡܐܡܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ . ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܬܠܬܝܢ . ܕܒܗܝܢ ܡܦܪܫ ܕܟܠ ܡܐܡܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ . 3

1 The *kephalaia* that are in this third volume
2 of the Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Corinthians:
3 there are thirty, in which is explained the point that each of the memre had.

[190]De Halleux notes the usage of the Syriac transliteration of *kephalaion* (or the translation ܪܫܝܬܐ) for scholia translated from Greek which give brief literary analyses ("Les commentaires syriaques des discours de Grégoire de Nazianze. Un premier sondage," *Muséon* 98 [1985] 112–6). The commentary on Matthew, B.L. Add 14,560, uses ܪܫܝܬܐ.

[191]Viz. B.L. Add. 12,160 (see 41–2).

[192]F. 5^{v} in B.L. Add. 14,564; f. 3^{v} in B.L. Add. 12,180.

[193]For example, the entry for section 10 reads as follows: ܒܩܦܠܝܐ ܕܥܣܪܐ . ܕܫܠܝܚܘܬܗ ܕܬܝܛܘܣ ܠܩܘܪܢܬܝܐ ܘܥܠ ܐܠܝܢ ܐܚܪܢܐ ("In *kephalaion* 10: about the sending of Titus to the Corinthians, and about these other [things]").

[194]Some medieval Greek commentary and *ethika* manuscripts of the

Unlike in the manuscript of the Homilies on 1 Corinthians, the *kephalaia* to the Homilies on 2 Corinthians are not incorporated into the commentary text but appear only in the initial indices. However, in the margins of B.L. Add. 12,180 the term ܡܢܗܢܐ ("from here") occurs at the beginning of the *ethika*. B.L. Add. 14,564 has nearly identically placed markings in a later hand, accompanied by marginal *kephalaia* similar to the ones in the indices, yet distinct in content. These latter marginal *kephalaia* ordinarily bear the title ܡܬܡܠܠܐ ܡܢܗܢܐ ("demonstration from here") or ܡܪܛܘܢܘܬܐ ܡܢܗܢܐ ("*martyanutha* [i.e. *ethikon*] from here")—tools of structure and content to facilitate the use of the manuscripts. No *kephalaia* appear in the margins of B.L. Add. 12,180; only the brief markings.

2) Miscellaneous Collections

The anthology ***B.L. Add. 14,612*** collects extracts from miscellaneous authors.[195] In a long section of quotes from Chrysostom's works are two short excerpts from Homilies 5 and 1 on 2 Corinthians (ff. 70ᵛ–73ʳ). For both extracts, the translation is the same as that of the commentaries.

The anthology ***Vat. Syr. 107*** contains extracts from a variety of sources, including one from Homily 11 on 2 Corinthians (f. 134).[196] The lemma contains a reference to the commentary title, the author, and homily number. No incipit or other text is available for comparison to the text of the commentary manuscripts.

The anthology ***B.L. Add. 14,617*** contains miscellaneous extracts from various authors, including one from Homily 10 on 2 Corinthians.[197] The lemma gives the homily number from which the ܦܣܩܐ ("excerpt") is taken (f. 111ᵛ). The translation is the same as that of the commentaries.

The same homily extract appears in the homiliary ***B.L. Add. 12,165***;[198] the margin prescribes that it be read, ܒܠܠܝܐ ܕܫܬܐ ܒܫܒܐ ܕܨܘܡܐ ("on the night of the sixth Sunday of the Fast," f. 156ʳ). The lemma gives the homily number

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commentary on 2 Corinthians have tables or indices prefixed (see *CCG* 3.114; 4.50). At least one is also prefaced by a *hypothesis* (also called *argumentum* in the literature, see *CCG*, 1.52).

[195]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.696–701.

[196]See Assemani, *Catalogus*, 3.60. For bibliography on this manuscript, see p. 18, n. 44.

[197]Ff. 111ᵛ–114. See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.740–2.

[198]Ff. 156ʳ–158ʳ. See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.842–51. For bibliography on this important manuscript, see pp. 28, n. 97.

from which the ܡܪܛܘܢܘܬܐ (*martyanutha*, i.e. *ethikon*) is taken. Thereupon follows a brief summary and paraenetic summary.[199]

In the commentary manuscript B.L. Add. 12,180, the same *ethikon* is marked at its beginning and keyed to an obscured word in the margin, probably ܡܢܗ ("from here"). A similar mark occurs in the margin of commentary manuscript B.L. Add. 14,564, near the same place in the homily. The notation there is keyed to a marginal *kephalaion* written in a later hand. Entitled ܡܪܛܘܢܘܬܐ ("demonstration"), the *kephalaion* is several times longer than the paraenetic summary in the lemma of the homiliary *B.L. Add. 12,165*, but the contents are similar. The commentary manuscript B.L. Add. 12,180 has no marginal *kephalaion* or lemmatic summary, but like its sister B.L. Add. 14,564, it has a *kephalaion* for Homily 10 in its index which is longer still, and more comprehensive. Again, the nature of their content overlaps, but none of the *kephalaia* or summaries exhibits clear signs of textual interrelationship.

It is clear that several summary-title traditions existed, probably in both Greek and Syriac witnesses and dependent largely on the sort of book using the excerpt. Yet each of these four witnesses—two commentaries, an anthology, and a homiliary—attest to the popularity and use of the passage from Homily 10 liturgically and as edifying reading. Readers excerpted the passage for incorporation into liturgical manuscripts. Although possibly based structurally on Greek models, the excerpts were taken from existing Syriac commentary texts, not translated from a Greek homiliary or anthology.[200] Yet the passages are singled out in commentary manuscripts by means of the secondary notations of later hands—showing that the liturgical tradition and usage in turn influenced the use the commentaries themselves.

The miscellaneous collection ***B.L. Add. 17,193*** contains an extract from Homily 13 which has not been matched textually with that of the commentary

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[199] ܘܥܠ ܡܬܝܐܬܗ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ . ܘܗܝ ܕܚܝܠܐ ܢܬܥܩܪ ܒܗܕܐ ܙܒܢܐ ("and on the fearful coming of Christ; and that passibility will be removed at the same time").

[200] See Sauget, "L'homéliaire du vatican syriaque 253," 346–8; ibid., "Le traitement subi par l'homélie pseudo-chrysostomienne *Sur le fils prodigue* ," 327–8. Gribomont correctly points out that a Syriac translator could have worked on the basis of a Byzantine homiliary for structure and content but chosen to use existing Syriac translations where available for a particular reading ("Exploration dans les homéliaires," 236).

manuscripts.[201]

Amongst the numerous Patristic extracts in ***B.L. Add. 17,191*** is an excerpt from Homily 11 which has the same translation as that of the commentary manuscripts.[202]

3) Homiliaries

The closely related homiliaries ***Dam. Patr. 12/19*** and ***12/20*** share the same extract from Homily 10; the incipit is the same as that which appears in *B.L. Add. 14,617* and *B.L. Add. 12,165*.[203]

For ***B.L. Add. 12,165*** see 2) Miscellaneous Collections (above).

d. Homilies on St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians

The Syriac translation of Chrysostom's Homilies on Ephesians is well represented by two fine early commentary manuscripts.

Table 7: Homilies on Ephesians—Summary of the Tradition

Manuscript	Date	Genre	Relevant Contents
B.L. Add. 14,565	6–7	commentary	1–24
Par. Bib. Nat. 69	614–15	commentary	1–24
B.L. Add. 14,612	6–7	anthology	24
B.L. Add. 12,181	8	filler added to Book of letters of Severus of Antioch	(11)
B.L. Add. 17,147	8–9	florilegium	(11)
Birm. Mingana Syr. 344	1770	florilegium	(3)

1) Commentary Manuscripts

The commentary manuscript **Par. Bib. Nat. 69** has a lemma for each of the

[201]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.988–1002. The extract is on f.72^{v}. It is noteworthy that the translation of the extracts in this manuscript from HMt has been matched with the representatives of HMt^{A} (see 24).

[202]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.1008–15. The extract is on ff.73^{v}–74^{r}. The manuscript also has a block of tiny extracts from HEpp (ff.63^{r}–64^{r}).

[203]For *Dam. Patr. 12/19*, ff. 232^{r}–233^{v} (item 76); for *Dam. Patr. 12/20*, ff. 298^{v}–300^{v} (item 78). For bibliography on these homiliaries, see pp. 26–7, nn. 88–9.

twenty-four homilies, giving the author and homily numbers.[204] A ܗܦܘܬܐ (i.e. *hypothesis*) precedes the homilies, summarizing the contents of the Epistle. H. Zotenberg's catalogue does not indicate whether or not the manuscript includes an index to the homilies. However, it notes that summaries of a "theological" nature have been written into the margins of many homilies. These notes bear one of the titles: ܡܪܬܝܢܘܬܐ ("demonstration"), ܦܫܝܛܐ ("commentary"), or ܡܪܬܝܢܘܬܐ (*martyanutha*, i.e. *ethikon*).[205] About the textual quality of this witness, Zotenberg observes only that the Biblical citations are fresh translations and do not derive from a Syriac Biblical version. However, the sample provided in Hatch's *Album* allows a comparison between this manuscript and B.L. Add. 14,565 which shows that the two share the same translation.

B.L. Add. 14,565 also includes a ܗܦܘܬܐ ܕܐܦܣܛܠܐ ܕܐܦܣܘܣ (i.e. *hypothesis*, f. 4) for the Epistle and an index of twenty-four ܩܦܠܝܐ (*kephalaia*, ff. 1^{v}–4^{r}).[206] The *kephalaia* are similar in nature to those which occur in the commentary manuscripts on the Corinthian Epistles, and presumably derive from the Greek tradition, although they are unrelated to the summaries which appear in the Greek editions.[207] The lemmata in B.L. Add. 14,565 include homily numbers and the author's name, followed by the usual initial citation of scripture. *Kephalaia* from the prefixed index also appear in connection with each homily, sometimes at the beginning near the lemma, sometimes in the middle.[208] The marginal note, ܡܢܗܢܐ ("from here"), marks

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[204]See H. Zotenberg, ed. *Catalogues des manuscrits syriaque et sabéens (mandaïtes) de la bibliothèque nationale* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1874), 36–7. A sample of the text from f. 137 of this manuscript appears in Plate XLI of Hatch, *Album*, facing p. 92.

[205] Zotenberg provides an example of the summary written into the margin at a point mid-way through Homily 10. The summary (*kephalaion*) is similar in style and scope to those which occur in the indices and margins of the manuscripts of the Homilies on the Epistles to the Corinthians.

[206]The heading to the index is in precisely the same form as that to the index of the *kephalaia* to the Homilies on 2 Corinthians. The distinctive function of these *kephalaia* is indicated by the explicit to the index: ܡܬܡܪ ܗܠܝܢ ܩܦܠܝܐ ܕܒܐܦܣܛܠܐ ܕܐܦܣܘܣ ("ended are the 24 *kephalaia* which are in the Epistle to the Ephesians," f. 4^{r}). The phrase refers to the 24 Homilies, not sections within the Epistle itself.

[207]Some of the parallel Greek commentary manuscripts surveyed in *CCG* include *hypotheseis* (although *CCG* uses the term *argumentum*), and prefixed tables or indices to the *ethika*.

[208]The *kephalaia* are written in red ink in the same hand as that of the original script, usually across the tops of folios. The two-column homily text is indented to accommodate them. Some appear in margins instead.

reference points in the homily text in connection with placement of *kephalaia*.[209]

This commentary manuscript has some other rather interesting marginal notes.[210] For example, the word, ܦܶܣܡܳܐ (*pesma*), occurs and is marked twice in Homily 1 (f. 7ᵛ). The attached marginal note—of the same hand as the original script—reads: ܦܶܣܡܳܐ ܕܡܬܬܪܓܡ ܠܣܘܪܝܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܨܒܝܢܐ ("*pesma* translates into Syriac as 'desire'"). Apparently the unusual use of the word *πεῖσμα* treating the text of Ephesians 1:5 in a discussion about the "good pleasure" of God has occasioned the note. The translator chose to transliterate the word, but at some point an explanatory note was joined to the passage. Yet the original Syriac word was not changed—only explicated. In the middle of Homily 14, a discussion about fitting speech pertaining to Ephesians 4:29 and Canticles 1:3 employ the word, ܡܘܪܘܢ (*muron*, "perfume, sweet oil"). The word is keyed to a marginal note—in a hand different from that of the original script—which writes, *MYPON* in Greek (f. 93ᵛ).

Similar notes with different purposes occur later in the commentary. For example, Homily 21 presents the superiority of a Christian approach to child-rearing. Chrysostom contrasts the customs of pagan philosophers with the customs appropriate to young Christians, whom he likens to the "true philosophers" of scripture. One sect of Greeks he calls *κύνες*. A marginal notation in the same hand as that of the original script reads: ܐܝܬ ܡܢ ܕܦܝܠܣܘܦܐ. ܕܡܬܩܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܟܠܒܐ ("there is a sect amongst the philosophers which they call 'that of the dogs,'" f. 141ᵛ). Similarly, a much longer note in the margin of Homily 20 explains the background of ܐܝܪܘܣ ("Irus," f. 135ʳ), who is invoked as an example of poverty.[211] The explanatory notes may derive from the Greek tradition as aids to

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[209]The note sometimes also has the number of the particular ܩܠܝܢܐ (*kephalaion*), and thus of the homily, but the number matches the form which occurs with the summaries (e.g. ܟܒ, "22") rather than that of those which occur in the homily headings (e.g. ܬܪܬܝܢ ܥܣܪܝܢ, "twenty-two").

[210]Graffin discusses similar marginal notes in "Jacques d'Édesse réviseur des homélies de Sévère d'après le ms. syriaque *B.M. Add.* 12.159," in *Symposium Syriacum 1976*, eds. François Graffin and Antoine Guillaumont (*OCA* 205; Rome: PIOS, 1978) 243–55.

[211]The note reads:

1 ܐܝܪܘܣ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ,ܡܣܟܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܝܪܘܣ.
2 ܕܡܬܩܪܝ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܦܝܠܣܘܦܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܝ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܟܠܒܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ .
3 ܗܢܐ ܠܒ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܝ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܟܠܒܐ.
4 ܡܢ ܐܝܪܘܣ. ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܡܕܡ .
5 ܕܡܢ ܕܠܥܠܡܐ ,ܡܣܟܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܝܪܘܣ:

1 Irus was a poor man

Christian readers unfamiliar with the pagan classical background of Chrysostom's thought, although the Greek editions include no data about such notes. In contrast, notes about the Syriac language must have originated in Syriac-speaking circles. They indicate some of the means by which Syriac readers of these manuscripts coped with the background of Greek culture and language underlying their texts.

2) Miscellaneous Collections

A group of Chrysostomic citations dealing with the subject of the pre-existence of the soul in the anthology ***B.L. Add. 14,612*** includes an extract from Homily 24 (f. 165ᵛ).[212] The passage comments on Ephesians 6:24, establishing the uncorruptibility of the soul. Remarkably, the excerpt has a different translation of the text than the commentary manuscript B.L. Add. 14,565, even though it appears amidst numerous other excerpts which all have the same translations as the parallel commentary manuscripts.[213] The lemma refers to the author and his commentary but does not give the homily number, whereas the other extracts are so identified.[214] These facts indicate that a translator/editor working on the basis of a Greek model may have had difficulty finding the passage in an existing copy of the Syriac Homilies on Ephesians and resorted to translating the passage independently from his Greek model, hence producing a unique translation.

The scribe of ***B.L. Add. 12,181***, which contains Syriac translations of some works of Severus of Antioch, chose to fill up the space of some remaining leaves with an excerpt from Homily 11 (ff. 100ᵛ–101).[215] The lemma gives the title of the commentary, its author, and the homily number, describing the extract as ܡܪܛܘܢܘܬܐ (*martyanutha*, i.e. *ethikon*). In fact, the commentary manuscript B.L. Add. 14,565 marks the commencement of the same passage in Homily 11 with the

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2 who used to beg amongst the tables of the suitors of Odyssesus' wife.
3 When Odysseus came in to beg incognito,
4 Irus arose and drove him from her house,
5 so that he alone might beg there.

For a treatment of many similar explanations of classical literature in Syriac sources see Brock, *The Syriac Version of the Pseudo-Nonnos Mythological Scholia* (Cambridge, University Press, 1971).

[212]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.696–701.

[213]See 22, 33, 42–3, 45.

[214]With the exception of a few of the extracts from HMt (see 22).

[215]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.558–64.

marginal note, ܡܢܗܢܐ ("from here"), which is accompanied at the top of the page by a *kephalaion* from the index.[216] The translation of the obviously edifying extract is the same as that in the commentary manuscript.

A tiny passage from early in Homily 11 appears in ***B.L. Add. 17,147*** (f. 116ᵛ),[217] a copy of a commentary on Gregory Nazianzus translated by Paul of Edessa. The extract appears in a section of the commentary entitled, ܣܗܕܘܬܐ ܕܡܡܪܐ ("testimonia of the *memra*")—florilegia of Biblical and Patristic or pagan citations (i.e. *martyria*) pertaining to Gregory's homilies.[218] In one set of testimonia, Chrysostom's adaptation of Ephesians 4:6, taken from Homily 11 and stressing the omnipresence and omnipotence of God, accompanies a citation from Socrates. A lemma identifies the author and designates the source as "*Memra'* 11 of the Commentary on the Apostle." Though the passage is very brief, it is interesting to note that it is virtually identical textually with its parallel in the Syriac commentary, clearly deriving from the same translation.

A polemical collection opposing Roman Catholicism (***Birm. Mingana Syr. 344***) includes a treatise defending orthodox West Syrian Christology which incorporates a short extract from Homily 3 on Ephesians (f. 113).[219]

e. Homilies on St. Paul's Epistles to the Philippians and to Philemon[220]

Of fifteen homilies on Philippians and three on Philemon, only a fragmentary Syriac commentary manuscript remains:

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[216]No reflection of any *kephalaion* or summary appears with the extract in *B.L. Add. 12,181*.

[217]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.438–40.

[218]See de Halleux, "Les commentaires syriaques des discours de Grégoire," 112–8, who discusses the form and structure of this manuscript and others related to it.

[219]The manuscript apparently provides no information about the source from which it was copied. See Mingana, *Catalogue*, 1.639.

[220]These are treated in non-Biblical order because they are bound together into a single volume.

Table 8: Homilies on Philippians and Philemon—Summary of the Tradition

Manuscript	Date	Genre	Relevant Contents
B.L. Add. 14,566[A]	6	commentary	[1–15 on Philippians] [1–3 on Philemon]

B.L. Add. 14,566[A] consists of twenty-eight folios[221]—only a fraction of the original manuscript, which originally contained the whole of both commentaries.[222] However, some lemmata do survive for both sets of homilies. They contain titles of the commentaries, the author, homily numbers, and the usual initial Biblical citations. Immediately preceding the citations, the lemmata have *kephalaia* similar in scope and style to that found in other commentaries.[223] The marginal note, ܡܪܛܘܢܘܬܐ (*martyanutha*, i.e. *ethikon*), sometimes appears mid-way through a homily in a hand later than that of the original scribe.

The remnants of the Homilies on Philemon begin with what is left of a ܟܬܒܐ ("account," functionally equivalent to *hypothesis*)[224] of the commentary (ff. 23ʳ–24ʳ). The lemmata have no *kephalaia*. Instead, a *kephalaion* appears mid-way through the homilies in a later hand, accompanied by the designation, ܡܪܛܘܢܘܬܐ (*martyanutha*, i.e. *ethikon*).

f. Homilies on St. Paul's Epistles to Colossians and to Titus[225]

The surviving texts witnessing to the tradition of the Syriac version of Chrysostom's Homilies on Colossians and Titus only barely enjoy proportionially greater attestation than those of the Homilies on Philippians and Philemon:

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[221]Two manuscripts are bound together in B.L. Add. 14,566; this one is Wright's DXCIV.

[222]None of the medieval Greek manuscripts surveyed in *CCG* have the Homilies on Philippians and Philemon in one volume, but the medieval manuscripts exhibit great variety in manners of combining or dividing the commentary texts.

[223]Again, the summaries for the Homilies on Philippians and on Philemon are unrelated to the summaries which appear in the Greek editions.

[224]Some of the medieval Greek manuscripts surveyed in *CCG* include *hypotheseis* to the Epistle (although *CCG* regularly uses the term *argumentum*) in addition to the three homilies.

[225]These are treated in non-Biblical order because they are bound into a single volume.

Table 9: Homilies on Colossians and Titus—Summary of the Tradition

Manuscript	Date	Genre	Relevant Contents
B.L. Add. 14,566[B]	6–7	commentary	[1–12 on Colossians] [1–6 on Titus]
Vat. Syr. 560A	8	canon law	(8 on Colossians)
Mard. Orth. 310	8	canon law	(8 on Colossians)
Dam. Patr. 8/2	19	canon law	(8 on Colossians)
Vat. Syr. 560C	1936	canon law	(8 on Colossians)
Birm. Mingana Syr. 8	1911	canon law	(8 on Colossians)

1) Commentary Manuscript

Bound together with the Homilies on Philippians and Philemon (in **B.L. Add. 14,566**), a separate manuscript constitutes the fragmentary remnants of a copy of the Homilies on Colossians and to Titus.[226] Once containing the twelve homilies on Colossians and the six homilies on Titus, the manuscript now consists of 84 folios (ff. 29–112).[227] The lemmata to the Homilies on Colossians (ff. 29–108ʳ) give the commentary title, homily number, and the author's name. This material is followed by a *kephalaion* and the usual initial Biblical citations. The *kephalaia* are like those encountered elsewhere,[228] but incorporate the term, ܦܫܩܢܐ ("comment"), in a fashion which illustrates the layering of distinct apparatuses sometimes occuring in these manuscripts. For example, the lemma to Homily 2 is as follows:

1 ܗܠܝܢ ܡܐܡܪܐ ܕܬܪܬܝܢ. ܕܦܓܪܐ ܕܩܠܝܢܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܝܘܚܢܢ .
2 ܕܠܡܢ ܕܪ ܕܠܡܢ ܕܡܪܝ, ܡܬܬܝܡܐ:
3 ב[229] ܦܫܩܢܐ ܕܬܪܬܝܢ: ܥܠ ܡܐ, ܕܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܘܫܝܢ .
4 ܕܠܐ ܕܪ ܡܪܚܡܝܢ ܡܠܝܢ ܕܗܢܐ.
5 ܘܢܫܬܘܠ ܥܠ ܡܕܡܐ ܕܢܟ ܡܪܝܢ .
6 ܐܡܪ ܕܝ ܕܥܠ ܕܒܟ ܕܢܫܬܘ .
7 ܠܡܬܠ ܡܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܬܘܫܝܢ ܕܐܢܘܢ ܕܒܟ .

1 Next, *Memra'* Two of the Commentary on the Epistle to the Colossians
2 by the same Mar John.
3 (2) Comment Two: On how that we should not be careless people;
4 and that we should not, while loving the things that are here,

[226]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.476–7. This manuscript is Wright's DXCV.

[227]The eleventh-century Greek manuscript, Oxford, New College, cod. 78, also combines the Homilies on Colossians and Titus into a single volume (see *CCG*, 1.114).

[228]I.e. stylistically similar to those found in some of the other sets of Syriac HEpp, but not textually like the summaries which accompany the Greek editions.

[229]This number is written into the margin by the original hand for easy reference.

5 mourn because of our departure hence.
6 And he spoke also on the coming judgement,
7 against those who do not believe in the judgement.

The usual Biblical citation follows, after which comes the text of the homily. The redundant enumeration and title, ܦܫܩܢܐ ("comment," "commentary")[230], suggest that the *kephalaia* within the lemmata ultimately derive from a separate source such as the distinct indices to be found as part of the preliminary apparatus in the Homilies on Ephesians and 2 Corinthians.[231] The marginal notation, ܡܪܛܝܢܘܬܐ (*martyanutha*, i.e. *ethikon*), is written in a later hand at points mid-way through the homilies.

Lemmata to the Homilies on Titus (ff. 108ᵛ–112) give the title of the commentary, its author, and homily numbers. Before the initial Biblical citations, *kephalaia* are included in the lemmata. In scope and style, they are similar to those found in the Homilies on Colossians. However, they begin not with ܦܫܩܢܐ ("comment"), but with phrases like the following: ܡܡܪܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܡܚܘܐ ܠܗ ("the first *memra'*; he shows about. . . ," f. 108ᵛ) or, ܡܡܪܐ ܕܡܪܛܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܡܚܘܐ ܠܗ ("*Memra'* of admonition [or, *ethikon*]; and he shows that. . . ," f. 111ᵛ). The style is similar to that which occurs in the summaries and descriptions in Greek manuscripts, but no textual relationship exists between them. Again, their redundancies suggest that the *kephalaia* are drawn from a distinct source.[232]

2) Collections

Several synodica make use of a passage from Homily 8 on Colossians in their Patristic testimonia pertaining to ecclesiastical canons. Some of the witnesses are very late, but the presence of older witnesses indicates the antiquity of this particular usage. The content of the various synodica is not identical, but the usage in the different witnesses of a combination of extracts from the Homilies on Colossians and

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[230]It is unclear whether ܦܫܩܢܐ ("comment") refers to the homily or to the *kephalaion*.

[231]Some of the medieval Greek manuscripts surveyed in *CCG* include such indices. The summary shows no relationship to the *ethikon* summary for this homily in the Greek editions.

[232]According to *CCG*, not many Greek manuscripts of the Homilies on Titus survive. None appear to have indices or prefixed apparatus material.

1 Thessalonians is clearly the result of an inter-related canonical testimonia tradition.[233] Among the oldest is ***Vat. Syr. 560A***.[234] The extract from Homily 8 on Colossians is in a section which contains other Chrysostomic extracts (ff. 80ᵛ–81ᵛ).[235] The early manuscript is defective, lacking the original conclusion. The replacement of the missing folios is bound with it and designated ***Vat. Syr. 560C***, a late manuscript copied in 1936 from two other manuscripts of 1907 and 1911, respectively.[236] Another manuscript of 1911 is ***Birm. Mingana Syr. 8***, a synodicon containing what appears to be the same excerpt from Homily 8 on Colossians (ff. 209ᵛ–212ʳ).[237]

Mard. Orth. 310 also contains the extract, as does the much later ***Dam. Patr. 8/2***.[238]

The texts of the excerpts in these synodica have not been compared with that of the commentary manuscript—if comparison would even be possible, in view of the fragmentary nature of B.L. Add. 14,566[B].

g. Homilies on Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians

Table 10: Homilies 1 and 2 Thessalonians—Summary of the Tradition

Manuscript	Date	Genre	Relevant Contents
B.L. Add. 17,152	594	commentary	1–11 on 1 Thessalonians 1–4 on 2 Thessalonians
B.L. Add. 14,567	6	anthology of John	8 on 1 Thessalonians
B.L. Add. 12,161	8	fragment	(3 on 2 Thessalonians)
Mard. Orth. 310	8	canon law	(3 on 1 Thessalonians)
B.L. Add. 14,601	9	anthology	8 on 1 Thessalonians

[233]See Selb, *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht*, 2.98–101, 120–7. The significance of West Syrian manuscripts such as these is discussed in Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen*; ibid. *The Didascalia Apostolorum in Syriac*; see also ibid., "Discovery of Important Syriac Manuscripts on the Canons of the Ecumenical Councils," *Abr-N.* 12 (1971–2) 95–7.

[234]See Selb, *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht*, 2.98–101, 107–9, 120–1.

[235]See van Lantschoot, *Inventaire*, 78–84.

[236]The relevant portion is on f. 112.

[237]Since *Birm. Mingana Syr. 8* was in Britain well before 1936, it could not plausibly have been a *Vorlage* of *Vat. Syr. 560C*.

According to the colophon, *Birm. Mingana Syr. 8* was copied from a book over 1000 years old from a monastery near Mardin (f. 247ᵛ). See Mingana, *Catalogue*, 1.36; Selb, *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht*, 2.98–101, 107–9, 120–1.

[238]See ibid.

Table 10: Homilies 1 and 2 Thessalonians—continued

Manuscript	Date	Genre	Relevant Contents
Dam. Patr. 8/2	19	canon law	(3 on 1 Thessalonians)
Vat. Syr. 560C	1936	canon law	(3 on 1 Thessalonians)
Birm. Mingana Syr. 8	1911	canon law	(3 on 1 Thessalonians)
(*B.L. Add. 12,156*	pre-562	florilegium	[7 on 1 Thessalonians])
Vat. Syr. 368	mid-8	homiliary	(8, 9 on 1 Thessalonians)

1) Commentary Manuscript

B.L. Add. 17,152 contains the Homilies on 1 and 2 Thessalonians.[239] No apparatus is prefixed to the Homilies on 1 Thessalonians. The commentary begins with a general title and lemmata to the homilies include homily numbers and the usual initial Biblical citations. *Kephalaia* like those commonly occurring elsewhere appear mid-way through a homily in many instances.[240] The *kephalaion* is part of the original text (though in red ink). Some lemmata have *kephalaia* just prior to the Biblical citations.

The *kephalaia* provide information about the way in which early users of the commentaries viewed the material. The *kephalaion* to Homily 8 reads: ܡܐܡܪܐ ܕܡܬܝܢܘܬܐ ܘܥܠ ܡܬܝܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܐܠܗܢ ܕܥܡ ܦܫܩܐ ܕܥܠ ܡܪܛܘܪܝܘܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܗ ܦܫܩܐ, etc. ("*Memra'* Eight, in which is the commentary along with the *martyanutha* [i.e. *ethikon*]; on the second coming of our Lord and God. . . ," f. 53ʳ). The *kephalaion* continues in its summation of the homily, to be followed by the initial Biblical citation. In this example, ܦܫܩܐ ("commentary") is distinguished from ܡܪܛܘܪܝܘܬܐ (*martyanutha*, i.e. *ethikon*), though both co-exist in the same ܡܐܡܪܐ (*memra'*, "homily"). The distinction is doubtless one of function—that of exhortation in contrast to exegesis—but also one of form and structure.[241] Notes of

[239]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.477–8. A sample of the text from f. 30ᵛ of this manuscript appears in Plate XXXV of Hatch, *Album*, facing p. 86.

[240]Again, although the Greek editions have similar summaries, they are not textually related to those under consideration here.

[241] This is illustrated by a marginal note in the middle of Homily 5. At this point, Chrysostom finishes his verse-by-verse treatment of 1 Thessalonians 4:1–8 (exegetical) and takes up a lengthy exhortation on the related subject of chastity (*ethikon*). A hand later than that of the original script has written into the margin, ܦܫܩܐ ܕܥܠ ܡܐܡܪܐ ("here ends the commentary," f. 37ᵛ). The same thing occurs at a parallel position in Homily 6, where Chrysostom turns from his exegetical treatment of 1 Thessalonians 4:9–13, about the resurrection, to discuss the matter of mourning women. The marginal note explicitly signals the end of "commentary" on

this type feature in a number of these homilies, sometimes indicating the end of the exegesis, sometimes the beginning of the *ethikon*.

The commentary manuscript **B.L. Add. 17,152** also contains a translation of Chrysostom's four Homilies on 2 Thessalonians (ff. 85ʳ–119ʳ).[242] An apparatus containing a ܣܬܘܪܐ (i.e. *hypothesis*) and index of ܩܦܠܝܐ (*kephalaia*) is prefixed to the body of homilies (ff. 85ʳ–86ᵛ). Lemmata give the commentary title, its author, homily numbers, and Biblical citations. *Kephalaia* are inserted into the text of the homilies. In three of the four homilies they are followed by marginal remarks which note the end of ܦܫܝܛܐ ("commentary") and beginning of ܡܪܛܘܢܘܬܐ (*martyanutha*, i.e. *ethikon*).[243] A marginal *kephalaion* different from that which occurs in the middle of the text distinguishes the beginning of Homily 3 (f. 104ʳ). Its hand is identical to that of the original script of the book and reads, ܗܠܝܢ ܕܢܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܕܐܬܝܢ ܡܢ ܐܚܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܢܛܝܟܪܝܣܛܘܣ. ("Next, about the Antichrist and which are them who follow him"). The *kephalaion* inserted into the homily text reads, ܣܗܕܘܬܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܦܡܐ ܕܕܗܒܐ ܕܐܓܪܬܐ ܕܬܘܡܐ ܕܐܢܛܝܟܪܝܣܛܘܣ. ("Testimony of the Holy John Chrysostom from the Epistle to the Thessalonians about the Antichrist").

2) Miscellaneous Collections

A few manuscripts contain extracts from the homilies on 1 Thessalonians. ***B.L. Add. 14,567*** is, ܣܦܪܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܝܘܚܢܢ ("Volume of the Holy John"), containing various Chrysostomic homilies and extracts.[244] It includes Homily 8 on 1 Thessalonians (ff. 187ʳ–198ʳ), whose *ethikon* expounds at length on the matter of final judgment. The popular homily found appropriate regular use in feasts for the departed.[245] The lemma gives the commentary title, the author, homily number, and the usual Biblical citation. No *kephalaion* of this homily appears in the manuscript. Homily 8 also occurs in ***B.L. Add. 14,601***, in a section of miscellaneous Chrysostomic works amongst extracts from assorted authors (ff. 92ʳ–95ʳ).[246] Its

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the apostolic texts and the beginning of the *martyanutha* (i.e. *ethikon*; f. 43ᵛ).

[242]According to the survey of Greek manuscripts in *CCG*, in the Greek tradition both commentaries were usually bound together in one volume (often with other sets of HEpp).

[243]The hand of these notations is the same as that of the similar ones in the section of the manuscript containing the Homilies on 1 Thessalonians.

[244]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.478–9.

[245]See Carter, "Future of Chrysostom Studies: Theology and *Nachleben*," 134.

[246]See Wright, 2.789–93.

lemma makes reference to the author and the commentary but provides no homily number. A *kephalaion* distinguishing between ܦܫܩܢܐ ("commentary") and ܡܪܛܘܢܘܬܐ (*martyanutha*, i.e. *ethikon*) appears in the lemma before the scripture citation. The translation in both *B.L. Add. 14,567* and *B.L. Add. 14,601* is the same as that of the commentary manuscript.

The *kephalaion* to Homily 3 on 2 Thessalonians in the commentary manuscript is the same as that which occurs in the lemma to an extract from Homily 3 in the fragment of ***B.L. Add 12,161***. Two fragments are bound as the first two leaves of *B.L. Add. 12,161*, which consists mainly of Homilies 60–88 on the Gospel of John.[247] The first fragments contains the seventh-century text of a prayer and an excerpt from *Doctrina Addai*; the second has the extract from Homily 3 on 2 Thessalonians. The original context of this excerpt is unknown. It is easy to understand the interest this exegetical treatment of 2 Thessalonians chapter two commanded, in view of ongoing fascination with the subject of Antichrist. The interest led to an extraction of the passage for use in other books, as ܣܗܕܘܬܐ ("testimony"); the scribe has mark out the passage in the commentary manuscript as well. The translation is the same as that of the commentary manuscript.

As in the case of Homily 8 on Colossians, a portion of Homily 3 on 1 Thessalonians became standard among testimonia accompanying Syriac synodica. The relevant portion of ***Vat. Syr. 560C***[248] appears to have the same extract as ***Birm. Mingana Syr. 8***.[249]

Mard. Orth. 310 contains the extract, as does the much later ***Dam. Patr. 8/2***.[250]

The texts of the excerpts in these synodica have not been compared with that of the commentary manuscript.

B.L. Add. 12,156 was copied by the Edessene scribe ܬܠܝ (*tly'*).[251] This,

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[247]See ibid., 2.469–70.

[248]The extract of Homily 3 on 1 Thessalonians appears on ff. 112^{v}–113^{r}. See van Lantschoot, *Inventaire*, 78–84.

[249]F. 212^{r-v} (see Mingana, *Catalogue*, 1.36). See Selb, *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht*, 2. 98–101, 107–9, 120–1. For bibliography pertaining to the significance of these manuscripts for understanding the development of West Syrian canon law, see p. 55, n. 233.

[250]See Selb, *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht*, 2. 98–101, 107–9, 120–1.

[251]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.639–48. For the appellation, "Edessene scribe,"

the earliest dated manuscript discussed in this study, is the book of "Bishop Timothy, against those saying, 'two natures.'"[252] The book is an important source for the teachings of Timothy Aelurus.[253] Its florilegium also cites from numerous other fathers.[254] An extract from Homily 7 on 1 Thessalonians (ff. 38ᵛ–39ᵛ) has a lemma naming the author, but makes only a vague reference to the commentary and gives no homily number.[255] In fact, the text of the excerpt is not of the same translation as that of B.L. Add. 17,152 and is actually based on a significantly different Greek text. It appears to have been translated independently, probably from an existing Greek collection, and possibly before the Homilies on 1 and 2 Thessalonians had been translated into Syriac.[256] It is noticed here in order to clarify its relationship to the Syriac tradition, on account of its early date and the great attention it has received as part of an important source text.

3) Homiliary Manuscript

After homilies on the martyrs, the homiliary ***Vat. Syr. 368*** cites from Homilies 8 and 9 on 1 Thessalonians as part of a group pertaining to the subject of

see Mango, "Patrons and Scribes Indicated in Syriac Manuscripts," 2.4.5.

[252]F. 26ᵛ.

[253]See Joseph Lebon, *Le monophysisme Sévérien* (Louvain: J. van Linthout, 1909) 93–111, appendix 4–9; *Textes Monophysites*, ed. F. Nau, *PO* 13 (1919) 202–47; Eduard Schwartz, *Codex Vaticanus gr. 1431: eine antichalkidonische Sammlung aus der Zeit Kaiser Zenos* (*ABAW.PPH* 32.6; München: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1927) 117–26; Rudolf Abramowski, "Untersuchungen zu Diodor von Tarsus," *ZNW* 30 (1931): 250–2; ibid., "Der theologische Nachlaß des Diodor von Tarsus," *ZNW* 42 (1949): 22–49; Frances Young, "Syriac–a Tool for the Student of Early Christian Doctrine," in *Horizons in Semitic Studies: Articles for the Student*, ed. J.H. Eaton (Birmingham: University Press, 1980) 42–3. See also Axel Moberg, *On Some Fragments of the Book of Timotheos Ailuros against the Synod of Chalcedon* (Lund: Hakan Ohlsson, 1928); cf. J. Lebon, Review of Moberg, *RHE* 26 (1930) 831; Maurice Brière, "Quelques fragments syriaques de Diodore, évêque de Tarse (378–394?)," *ROC* 30 (1946) 231–83.

[254]On the basis of an analysis of the context of this excerpt from Homily 7, Luise Abramowski concludes that the Christological controversy with the Eutychians must have involved the matter of bodily death and the resurrection body ("Ein Text des Johannes Chrysostomus über die Auferstehung in den Belegsammlungen des Timotheus Älurus," in *After Chalcedon: Studies in Theology and Church History Offered to Professor Albert van Roey for His Seventieth Birthday*, eds. C. Laga, J.A. Munitiz, and L. van Rompay [*OLA* 18; Louvain: Departement Oriëntalistiek, 1985] 9–10). See ibid., "Die Anakephalaion zum Panarion des Epiphanius in der Handschrift Brit. Mus. Add. 12156," *Muséon* 96 (1983) 217–30.

[255]It reads simply, ܡܢܬܪܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܝܘܚܢܢ ܕܡܢ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܫܠܝܚܐ ܒܩܨܪܐ ܥܠ ܩܝܡܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ("of the Blessed John, from what is said by him in the Apostle briefly about the resurrection of the dead"). The *kephalaion* accompanying Homily 7 in the commentary manuscript B.L. Add. 17,152 mentions the resurrection, but is not otherwise parallel to this independent title.

[256]See 142–3.

death.[257] The extract from Homily 8 begins with the same Biblical citation found in the lemma to the homily elsewhere.[258] The incipits of the extracts have not been compared with the text of the commentary manuscript.

h. Homilies on the Epistle to the Hebrews

Only one small extract is known to exist in Syriac. Despite the absence of any known commentary manuscript, notice of the extract is included here because another extract in the collection, from the Homilies on 2 Corinthians, is of the same translation as its commentary manuscripts. Still, this is no guarantee that the extract of the Homilies on Hebrews derives from a translation of the whole commentary.

Table 11: Homilies on Hebrews—Summary of the Tradition

Manuscript	Date	Genre	Relevant Contents
B.L. Add. 14,617	7–8	anthology	(27)

The lemma to the extract (ܟܬܒܐ, "extract") in ***B.L. Add. 14,617*** designates the author, refers to the "Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews," and provides the homily number.[259] It is impossible to know whether a Syriac translation of the Homilies on Hebrews was ever made, but it is not unlikely. Several catenae witnesses have excerpts from the Homilies on Hebrews, amidst extracts from other HEpp, as well as from HMt and HJn—some of which have been identified as deriving from the same translations as in the commentary manuscripts.[260]

4. An Overview of the Tradition from the Standpoint of the Witnesses

The previous discussions explore the tradition from the standpoint of the great commentary sets themselves, a perspective which has led to the repetitive treatment of collections and the general obscurement of certain aspects of the tradition. The following table lists the collections in chronological order, noting (with **x**) whether a manuscript attests to a particular homily set, thereby enabling one to appreciate better the witnesses themselves and the depth of use which each homily set has enjoyed in the tradition. Only those known to be commentary manuscripts are excluded:

[257]Ff. 140ʳ–146ʳ. For bibliography on this homiliary, see p. 26 n. 84.
[258]See Sauget, "Deux homéliaires syriaques de la Bibliothèque Vaticane," 410.
[259]See Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.740–2.
[260]See Appendix 1.

Table 12: **Overview of the Collections Surveyed in this Study**

Manuscript	Date	Mt	Jn	Ro	1C	2C	Ep	Php	Phm	Col	Ti	1Th	2Th	Hb
(B.L.Add.12,156	pre-562)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	–
Vat. Syr. 138	581	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
B.L. Add.12,164	6	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
B.L. Add.17,166	6	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
B.L. Add.14,567	6	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	–
B.L. Add.14,612	6–7	x	x	x	x	x	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Vat. Syr. 109	692	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Sin. Syr. 16	7	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Sin.Syr.NFSp.47	c.7	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Sin.Syr.NFSp.48	c.7	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
B.L. Add.14,617	7–8	–	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x
Vat. Syr. 107	pre-8	x	–	x	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
B.L. Add.12,181	8	x	–	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
B.L. Add.12,161	8	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–
Vat. Syr. 253	8	x	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Vat. Syr. 560A	8	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	–
Mard. Orth. 310	8	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	x	–	–
Vat. Syr. 368	mid-8	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	–
B.L. Add.17,147	8–9	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Sin.Syr.NFSp.27	8–9	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Sin.Syr.NFSp.42	8–9	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
B.L. Add.14,623	823	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
B.L. Add.17,193	874	x	–	x	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
B.L. Add.14,515	892–3	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
B.L. Add.14,516	9	x	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
B.L. Add.14,601	9	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	–
B.L. Add.14,613	9–10	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
B.L. Add.14,636	9–10	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
B.L. Add.17,191	9–10	–	–	x	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
B.L. Add.17,174	929	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Dam.Patr.12/19	10–11	x	x	x	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Dam.Patr.12/20	1000	x	x	x	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
B.L. Add.12,165	1015	x	–	x	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ber. Sachau 220	11	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
B.L. Add.14,732	12	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
B.L. Add.14,727	13	x	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
B.L. Add.17,267[A]	13	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
B.L. Add.17,267[B]	13	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
B.L. Add.17,267[C]	13	–	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Camb. Add.2023	13	x	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Birm. Mingana Syr. 331	1573	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Birm. Mingana Syr. 344	1770	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Birm. Mingana Syr. 4	1895	–	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Dam. Patr. 8/2	19	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	x	–	–
Birm. Mingana Syr. 56	1902	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Birm. Mingana Syr. 8	1911	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	x	–	–
Vat. Syr. 560C	1936	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	x	–	x	–	–

Καὶ ὅσοι τὴν Σύρων ἴσασι γλῶτταν,
ἴσασι τὸ λεγόμενον.
St. John Chrysostom (*Homily 7 on Matthew*)

III. TRANSLATION ANALYSIS: HOMILIES ON MATTHEW

A. The Analyses—Introduction

Any attempt to comprehend the nature of the relationship between a Greek source and its Syriac translation is fraught with difficulties. The Syriac language is able to represent Greek only imperfectly—especially in translations made prior to the technical developments of the seventh century.[1] Also, judging the literalness of the Syriac Homilies on the New Testament is complicated by the state of the Greek tradition: numerous Greek manuscripts exist, but they are much later than the Syriac manuscripts. At some points of divergence, the Syriac texts actually preserve primitive readings which no longer appear in the Greek tradition but were originally present in it. Furthermore, complete evidence pertaining to the Greek tradition is not easy to acquire, since existing editions represent the extant Greek evidence very incompletely.[2]

Fortunately, circumstances mitigate these limitations. First, the following analyses show that the Syriac translations have texts very like those of the Greek editions or at least like one or more textual groups. Therefore, as far as the available Greek evidence will allow a conclusion, the Syriac translations confirm that at least some of the branches of the medieval Greek text go back to the sixth century; so the texts of the printed editions are not unhelpful. The limitations are further controlled by the fact that these analyses are concerned not so much with specific readings as with broadly perceived patterns and general principles of technique.[3] The studies attempt to put the translation techniques into the framework of the development of Syriac method, which in turn helps date the translations and clarify the role of the Syriac as a witness to the Greek.[4]

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[1]See Brock, "Limitations of Syriac in Representing Greek," in Bruce M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament, Their Origin, Transmission, and Limitations* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977) 83–98.

[2]See 2–3.

[3]Moreover, the analysis of the translation of HMt in particular enjoys a measure of control by comparing the Greek with two Syriac translations—each of which represents essentially the same source text, but in two distinct ways.

[4]On this topic, see Brock, "Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity,"

In the following analyses, each set of Homilies is treated in separate chapters. The various sets of HEpp are treated corporately in one chapter due to the impressive stylistic similiarities which they share. For HMt and HEpp, detailed analyses are based mainly on multiple samples of paragraph length. Yet although conclusions are based on extrapolations from limited evidence, the homogeneity of the witnesses[5] indicates that such samples may be accepted as representative. The analyses of HJn naturally draw on a much larger sampling of text.

The presentation of Syriac samples is based on the texts of all available parallel manuscripts and it notes substantial (i.e. non-orthographical) variants.

The parallel Greek texts appear with the samples in order to facilitate comparison, drawn from Field's edition for HMt; Field's and Migne's editions for HEpp; and from Boismard's, Savile's, and Migne's editions for HJn.[6] Textual variants are noted mainly according to the *sigla* of the editions.

English translations accompany the Syriac texts. The translation is very literal, pushing the parameters of readable English style and word order to the limit without violating the basic rules of English grammar. Even so, the translation is often unable to reflect all the details significant for a thorough analysis.

The samples are followed by classified lists of examples illustrating the translation styles, based on systematic analyses of the Syriac and Greek texts. All the Syriac translations strive for semantic equivalence in their renderings. Furthermore, except in the case of HMt which is unique as a set and defies this generalization, the Syriac translations are seen to be fairly or quite literal in their representation of the Greek texts. Consequently, and in keeping with the rule that one can measure only degrees of literalness,[7] attention in the analyses is focused on techniques of literalism, or on instances in which a given translation abandons formal equivalence for the sake of a more dynamic rendering, and on the presence or absence of certain

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GRBS 20 (1979) 80–3 (reprinted in *SPLA*, III); and ibid., "Greek into Syriac and Syriac into Greek," *Journal of the Syriac Academy* 3 (1977) 3–5 (reprinted in *SPLA*, II).

[5]The part of the translation of HMt for which HMt^{B} exists is an exception.

[6]In the absence of comprehensive critical editions, it is important to draw on a wide range of sources in order to maximize the chances of uncovering Greek readings explaining the Syriac text.

[7]See James Barr, "The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations," *NAWG*, *Philologisch historische Klasse* 11 (1979) 279–84.

literalizing techniques.

The analyses include a few comments about the possible presence of revisions and about which Greek variants the Syriac versions support. The brevity of the sample texts ordinarily does not allow authoritative conclusions about various patterns of textual affiliations of the Syriac translations; the notes are meant to be merely indicative. Also, the Syriac often gives no clear indication as to which Greek variant underlies its own reading. This is true for two reasons: 1) the limitations of Syriac in representing Greek; and 2) ambiguity due to stylistic preferences on the part of the translators. However, in many cases, the notes demonstrate well the potential of the Syriac versions for understanding the history of the Greek tradition.

Scriptural citations in the translations are treated as a separate category in subsequent Chapters V and VII.

B. Homilies on the Gospel of Matthew

1. Samples of Text

Unlike the Syriac translations of the other Homily sets, the tradition for the HMt has two Syriac translations. HMt^B appears only in B.L. Add. 12,142, where it occurs together with HMt^A. Where possible, the texts of excerpts in collections have been compared with parallel texts in the other commentary manuscripts, revealing that HMt^A appears throughout the extant manuscripts containing HMt—except for part of B.L. Add. 12,142. The volume in question originally had all of Homilies 1–32 but is now missing many leaves.[8] HMt^B commences at the beginning of Homily 21 in the manuscript and continues through what remains of Homily 32. Homilies 1–20 in the same manuscript have HMt^A, which is identical to that of the rest of the tradition, where comparison is possible. The manuscript B.L. Add. 12,142 gives no indications as to the origin or cause of this combination. Elsewhere in the tradition (again, where comparison is possible), Homilies 21–32 are HMt^A. HMt^B has left no other impression on the overall tradition, despite the early date of its appearance. Perhaps a scholar who undertook to copy this volume of HMt did not have the Syriac translation of Homilies 21–32 available to him and found it necessary to provide his own translation. It is possible to do no more than speculate about the reason for the limited existence of HMt^B.

HMt^B actually provides most of the extant evidence for a Syriac translation of

[8]See 19.

Homilies 21–32; HMt^{A} exists for these homilies only in fragmentary form. The commentary manuscript B.L. Add. 14,559 is defective in Homilies 25–32 and only a few other manuscripts make extracts from these homilies for their collections. However, the tradition is sufficiently full to allow a comparison of the translations and to detect that HMt^{B} is almost certainly the younger of the two.[9]

HMt^{B}[10] is typically about 20% shorter than HMt^{A}, using fewer words and less elements than HMt^{A} to represent the Greek text, yet in semantically similar ways. Although the two translations are based on different Greek texts,[11] the differences are slight and the source texts are essentially identical. The following parallel extracts from Homily 23 illustrate:[12]

1 Ἐν ᾧ γὰρ κρίματι κρίνετε, φησὶ, κριθήσεσθε.
2 Οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον καταδικάζεις, φησίν, ἀλλὰ σαυτὸν,
3 καὶ φοβερόν σοι ποιεῖς τὸ δικαστήριον,
4 καὶ ἀκριβεῖς τὰς εὐθύνας.
5 Ὥσπερ οὖν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀφέσει παρ' ἡμῶν αἱ ἀρχαὶ,
6 οὕτω καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ κρίσει
7 παρ' ἡμῶν τὰ μέτρα τῆς καταδίκης τίθεται.
8 Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὀνειδίζειν δεῖ, οὐδὲ ἐπεμβαίνειν,
9 ἀλλὰ νουθετεῖν·
10 οὐ κακηγορεῖν*[1] ἀλλὰ συμβουλεύειν·
11 οὐδὲ*[2] μετὰ ἀπονοίας ἐπιτίθεσθαι,
12 ἀλλὰ μετὰ φιλοστοργίας διορθοῦν.

*[1] κατηγορεῖν B D F (κακηγορεῖν = Syriac HMt^{A}; κατηγορεῖν = Syriac HMt^{B})
*[2] οὐ F

HMt^{A} (B.L. Add. 14,559; and *B.L. Add. 17,193*)[13]

1 ܕܒܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ *[1] ܕܝܢܐ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܕܢܬܕܝܢܘܢ .
2 ܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ *[1] ܠܡܐ ܡܬܚܝܒ ܐܢܬ . ܐܠܐ ܡܬܚܝܒ .*[2]
3 ܡܬܒܪ ܐܢܬ ܕܡܗܝܡܐ ܕܝܢܐ *[3] ܥܒܕ ܠܟ ܡܐ ܕܢܬ ܕܝܢܐ :
4 ܕܕܝܩܢܐ ܢܡܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܡܐܙܢܐ .
5 ܐܝܟܢܐ ܡܬܠ *[4] ܕܒܫܘܒܬܐ ܕܚܛܝܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܟ ܡܢ :
6 ܡܬܟܐ *[5] ܐܦ ܒܗܠܟ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܢܬܕܝܢ
7 ܕܫܘܬܐ ܕܡܬܟܐ ܕܠܟ ܡܢ ܥܒܕܝܢ ܡܐ .
8 ܠܐ ܡܬܠ ܕܠܐ ܠܟ ܠܡܫܕܐ ܕܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܐܡܪ . ܕܠܐ ܠܡܫܕܐ ܡܐ .
9 ܐܠܐ ܕܢܬ ܠܟ ܕܢܬܝܕܝܥ ,
10 ܠܐ ܕܠܐ *[6] ܕܢܬܚܝܒ ܐܠܐ ,ܕܢܬܝܥܕ ,ܐܠܐ . ܕܢܬܚܝܒ

[9]See 78–9, 93–4, 96–8.

[10]Equivalent to Homilies 21–32 in B.L. Add. 12,142.

[11]See 69–70.

[12]The Greek sample is from Field, *in Matt*. 1.327 (*PG* 57–8. 309).

[13]The Syriac text is from B.L. Add. 14,559, folio 73^{r}; and *B.L. Add. 17,193*, folio 96^{r}.

*7 .ܡܬܚܠܦܝܢ

11 ܠܐ ܡܛ ܐܢܬ ܕܡܬܚܠܦܝܢ ܠܡܬܚܠܦ .

12 ܐܠܐ ܕܡܬܚܢܢܝܢ ܡܬܚܢܢܝܢ .

1 *"For by the judgement,"* he says,*1 *"that you judge, by it you will be judged."*
2 "For not," he says,*1 "that one do you condemn, but yourself,*2
3 and you make (it) so that that court of judgement is fearful*3 upon you,
4 and that the reckoning will take place severely with you."
5 Therefore,*4 just as with forgiveness of sins the beginning is with us,
6 thus*5 also with punishment and with judgement
7 the measure and quantity is from us.
8 Therefore, it is not proper for you to scorn your brother who has erred, nor to attack him;
9 but it is right for you that you admonish him.
10 It*6 is not proper that you revile him or speak of him evilly but that*7 you counsel him.
11 You ought not with arrogance to stand against him
12 but with pity to correct him.

*1om. ܠܡܪ *B.L. Add. 17,193* (om. "he says")
*2ܠܡܬܚܝܢ *B.L. Add. 17,193* (provision of direct object marker)
*3ܐܢܬ ܕܝܕܝܟ *B.L. Add. 17,193* (add emphatic second-person pronoun)
*4ܡܛܠ *B.L. Add. 17,193* ("for") *5ܡܛܠ *B.L. Add. 17,193* ("therefore")
*6+ ܡܛܠ *B.L. Add. 17,193* ("for it")
*7om. –ܕ *B.L. Add. 17,193* (om. "that")

HMt[B] (B.L. Add. 12,142)[14]

1 ܕܗܘܐ ܠܡܪ ܡܛܠ ܕܝܕܝܢ ܬܬܕܝܢ .
2 ܠܐ ܠܡܪ ܠܡܢܘ ܕܬܬܕܝܢ ܐܢܬ ܐܠܐ ܠܢܦܫܟ .
3 ܘܐܢܬ ܠܟ ܕܬܥܒܕ ܐܢܬ ܠܡ ܠܕܝܢܐ ܕܐܬܐ
4 ܘܠܚܩܪܐ ܬܬܩܪܒ .
5 ܐܡܬܝ ܡܛܠ ܕܚܛܝܐ ܕܫܘܬܦܐ ܕܢܢ ܡܢ ܥܡܢ ܐܝܟܢܐ :
6 ܡܛܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܕܝܢܐ ܕܐܬܐ
7 ܕܢܢ ܕܡܬܡܫܚܢܢ ܕܕܝܢܐ ܕܢܢ .
8 ܠܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܬܬܩܠ ܘܠܡ ܬܬܚܢ .
9 ܐܠܐ ܕܛܒ .
10 ܠܐ ܕܬܬܚܠ . ܐܠܐ ܕܬܬܚܠ .
11 ܠܐ ܒܥܬܝܪܐ ܕܬܬܩܪ .
11 ܐܠܐ ܒܪܚܡܐ ܕܬܬܩܢ .

1 *"For by the judgement,"* he says, *"that you judge, you shall be judged."*
2 "For not," he says, "that one do you condemn, but yourself,
3 and you yourself make fearful for you the court of judgement,
4 and strict the examination."
5 Therefore, just as with the forgiveness of sins from us is the beginning,
6 thus also with this judgement,
7 by us is laid down the measure of our judgement.
8 For it is not right that we scorn and deride,

[14]The Syriac sample is from folio 205[v].

9 but that we correct;
10 not that we accuse but that we counsel;
11 not with pride that we scorn
12 but with mercy that we correct.

And from Homily 21:[15]

1 *Ὁρᾶς πῶς κατὰ μικρὸν τῶν ὄντων ἀφίστησι,*
2 *καὶ διὰ πλειόνων τὸν περὶ τῆς ἀκτημοσύνης εἰσάγει λόγον,*
3 *καὶ τὴν τῆς φιλαργυρίας καταβάλλει**[1] *τυραννίδα;*
4 *Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἠρκέσθη τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν,*
5 *καίτοι πολλοῖς καὶ μεγάλοις οὖσιν·*
6 *ἀλλὰ καὶ ἕτερα προστίθησι πλείονα καὶ φοβερώτερα.*
7 *Τί γὰρ τῶν νῦν εἰρημένων φοβερώτερον,*
8 *εἴγε μέλλοιμεν τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ δουλείας ἐκπίπτειν διὰ τὰ χρήματα;*
9 *Τί δὲ ποθεινότερον, εἴγε**[2] *μέλλοιμεν αὐτῶν ὑπεριδόντες*
10 *ἀκριβῆ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὔνοιαν ἔχειν καὶ τὴν ἀγάπην;*
11 *Ὅπερ γὰρ ἀεὶ λέγω, τοῦτο καὶ νῦν ἐρῶ,*
12 *ὅτι δι' ἑκατέρων ὠθεῖ τὸν ἀκροατὴν*
13 *εἰς τὴν ὑπακουὴν τῶν λεγομένων,*
14 *καὶ διὰ τῶν ὠφελίμων, καὶ διὰ τῶν βλαβερῶν·*
15 *καθάπερ ἰατρὸς ἄριστος,*
16 *καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἀπροσεξίας νόσον,*
17 *καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπακοῆς ὑγείαν ἐνδεικνύμενος.*

*[1] *ἐκβάλλει* A; *καταστέλλει* D, Savile (*καταβάλλει* = Syriac)
*[2] *εἰ* A B[c]

HMt[A] (B.L. Add. 14,559)[16]

1 ܡܢ ܕܐܢܘܢ ܕܡܬܠܠ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܟܡ ܡܠܝܢ ܡܬܚܠܦܝܢ: ܡܢܝܢ ܠܡ
ܠܡܬܝܗܒ ܡܬܬܝܗܒ:
2 ܕܡܬܝܩܪܝܢ: ܐܠܐ ܕܡܬܝܩܪܝܢ ܐܠܐ ܕܡܬܝܥܢܝܢ ܡܬܠ.
3 ܕܦܪܝܩܝܢ ܡܬܬܝܗܒ ܡܢ ܡܬܬܝܗܒ ܡܢܝ.
4 ܡܢ ܠܐ ܠܝܬ ܡܢܝ ܡܢ ܡܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܩܝܡܝܢ.
5 ܕܗ ܕܐܦ ܡܢܝ, ܡܢ ܕܡܪܝܢ.
6 ܡܢ ܡܢ ܡܬܬܝܗܒ ܡܬܬܝܗܒ ܕܟܡ ܡܠܝܢ ܡܬܝܪ ܕܐܦ ܕܡܠܝܢ.
7 ܡܢܝ ܠܝܬ ܡܢ ܕܡܠܝܢ ܕܡܪܝ.
8 ܕܢܦܠܘܢ ܡܢ ܕܡܬܬܪܝܢ ܕܡܬܬܝܗܒ ܡܢ.
9 ܡܢ ܡܢܝ ܕܡܬܝܩܪ ܡܢ ܕܡܪܝ. ܕܗܘ ܕܡܬܬܝܗܒ ܡܬܬܝܗܒ:
10 ܡܢ ܕܡܬܝܩܪ ܡܬܬ ܡܬܬܝܗܒ ܡܬܬܝܗܒ ܠܗ.
11 ܡܢ, ܠܝܬ ܕܡܬܠܝܢ ܡܢܝ. ܡܢ, ܡܪܝ ܡܢ ܡܬܝܪ ܡܢ.
12 ܕܗܘ ܕܡܬܝܗܒ ܡܢ ܠܡܬܝܗܒ.
13 ܠܘܬ ܕܡܬܬܝܗܒ ܕܡܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܬܝܗܒ:
14 ܕܗ ܕܡܬܝܗܒ ܕܗ ܕܡܬܝܗܒ.
15 ܕܡܬܝܗܒ ܕܡܬ ܡܬܬܝܗܒ.
16 ܕܡܬܝܗܒ ܕܟܡ ܠܗ ܡܬܝܗܒ ܠܗ.
17 ܕܡܬܝܗܒ ܕܟܡ ܡܬܬܝܗܒ ܡܢ. ܡܬܝܗ ܡܬܬܝܗܒ ܡܢ ܠܡܬܝܗ.

[15]The Greek sample is from Field, *in Matt*. 1.303–4 (*PG* 57–8. 293–5).
[16]The Syriac sample is from folio 50[v]–51[r].

1 You see how, little by little, from these transient things he has drawn the mind of the hearers
2 and, by many things, a word about voluntary poverty he introduces,
3 and the tyranny of the love of money he throws down.
4 For neither enough for him were these former things
5 although they were very many and great,
6 but also others he adds that are more excellent and more fearful than these.
7 For what is there that is more fearful than this:
8 that because of money, from the service of Christ we fall?
9 Or what is there that is more dear than this: that when we scorn it,
10 love and harmony precisely with him we shall have.
11 For that which always I say, this same also I now repeat,
12 that through both he draws the hearer
13 to the obedience of those things that are said,
14 through useful things and through injurious
15 —in the manner of a wise physician,
16 who the illness that occurred from imprudence
17 and the health that is from obedience he shows the ill.

HMt[B] (B.L. Add. 12,142)[17]

1 ܡܢܘܢ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܩܝܡܝܢ ܡܫܟ ܡܚܫܒܐ
2 ܕܡܫܡܥܢܐ ܘܒܣܓܝܐܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܡܬܝܕܥ ܡܦܩ:
3 ܘܫܠܛܢܐ ܕܪܚܡܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܡܬܪܡܐ ܡܦܩ.
4 ܡܛܠ ܠܐ ܠܗ ܡܦܩ ܡܢ ܡܠܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܐܠܐ:
5 ܐܦ ܟܕ ܣܓܝܐ ܡܢ, ܘܪܒܐ.
6 ܐܠܐ ܬܡܢ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܕܡܬܘܣܦ ܐܠܝܢ. ܕܡܬܚܝ ܘܕܡܠܝ.
7
8 ܡܢ ܡܢ ܕܢܬܪܚܩ ܢܢ ܕܡܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܢ ܥܒܕܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ.
9 ܐܘ ܡܢ ܕܢܬܝܩܪ ܡܢ ܡܕܡ ܕܢܬܩܪ ܥܠ ܡܦܩ.
10 ܕܚܘܒܐ ܠܗ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܡܫܬܡܫ ܥܡܗ ܡܫܬܡܫ.
11 ܡܕܡ ܕܠܗ ܕܡܬܠܝܢ ܐܢܐ ܗܢܐ. ܐܦ ܡܫܝܢ ܗܢܐ ܐܢܐ.
12 ܕܒܬܪܝܗܘܢ ܕܡܫܟ ܠܡ ܠܫܡܥܐ.
13 ܕܡܫܡܥ ܡܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܡ
14 ܕܒܬ ܡܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܬܝܕܥ ܕܒܬ ܡܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܝܩܪ.
15 ܐܝܟ ܐܣܝܐ ܕܡܬܝܩܪ
16 ܕܡܬܚܝ ܒܡܪܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܕܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܚܘܠܝܐ.
17 ܕܡܬܚܙܐ ܥܠܬܐ ܕܡܬܫܡܥܢܐ ܚܘܠܝܐ.

1 You see how, little by little, he introduces you from these things that are visible
2 and through many things illuminates voluntary poverty
3 and despises the tyranny of the love of money.
4 For neither enough for him are these things that he said above,
5 although they were very many and great;
6 but again others he adds to them, that are greater and more fearful:
7
8 if we, because of money, are going to be rejected from the servitude of Christ,

[17]The Syriac sample is from folio 198[r].

9 what is there that is more desirable than this: that we scorn money,
10 and have toward God love and exact harmony?
11 For that which always I say, also now I repeat:
12 that through both he exhorts the hearer
13 to do these things that are said by him,
14 both through these things that are profitable and through these things that are harmful—
15 like a skillful physician
16 who shows the illness of disobedience
17 and makes known the health of obedience.

For Homily 23, witnesses to HMt^{A} are nearly identical, although the commentary manuscript B.L. Add. 14,559 is more faithful to the Greek in the few variants which exist between it and the collection *B.L. Add. 17,193.*[18]

In addition to the samples cited above, comparable samples have been taken from every Syriac British Library manuscript known to have some portion of HMt.[19] Where it is possible to compare excerpts in collections with parallel texts in the commentary manuscripts all the manuscripts use the same translation of the Homilies (except for the occurrence of HMt^{B}), although some minor variation exists.[20] Where comparison is not possible because of gaps in the extant commentary witnesses, it is also basically impossible to determine the nature of the origin of the excerpts concerned. Some have styles which seem more literal than those of HMt^{A} and HMt^{B}, although not drastically so, suggesting that they are not excerpted from the Syriac commentary translations but may instead represent independent translations of the collections in which they occur.[21]

2. *The Principal Differences between HMt^{A} and HMt^{B}*

a. Similar but Distinct Source Texts

In both samples presented and in others studied, HMt^{B} of B.L. Add. 12,142 is obviously more concise than HMt^{A}, yet it represents the elements of the Greek and

[18]See 101.

[19]See the table on 17–8.

[20]See 96–102.

[21]Cf. 22, 29–31. It is unnecessary to suppose that they represent one or more distinct translations or revisions of the homilies themselves. No evidence exists to support such a theory, whereas the independent translation of whole collections of selected homilies, made without reference to existing translations of the works from which they cite, must have been not uncommon.

renders the sense accurately. The Greek text underlying HMt^{B} is essentially the same as that underlying HMt^{A}, although the two translations persistently use different vocabulary. However, it must be noted that some slight differences occasionally distinguish the Greek source texts of the two translations. One instance is in line 7 of the sample from Homily 21, where the Greek text underlying HMt^{B} has suffered the haplography of the clause enclosed by *φοβερώτερα* and *ποθεινότερον*, which the Syriac translator naturally passed on. The mistake must have occurred within the Greek tradition,[22] affecting a different branch (or even a single witness) of the Greek tradition other than that underlying HMt^{A}.

Another example involves an instance of textual variation within the Greek and Syriac traditions. The Greek editions do not signal much variation between manuscripts. However, many Greek manuscripts remain unedited, and it may be that more variation exists than the editions show. However, in the selected passages, the Syriac provides conclusive evidence only in connection with two Greek variations:

Hom.	Line	Field Text	Field Apparatus
23	10	*κακηγορεῖν* (HMt^{A})	*κατηγορεῖν* (HMt^{B})
21	3	*καταβάλλει* (HMt^{A})[23]	*ἐκβάλλει* or *καταστέλλει*

The second example does not allow a suitable comparison between the renderings of HMt^{A} and HMt^{B}, but the first is an example of the small differences between Greek source texts: HMt^{B} uses the Syriac word derived from *κατήγωρ*, thereby denoting the reading *κατηγορεῖν*, whereas HMt^{A} has "speak evilly," obviously based on *κακηγορεῖν*.

b. Differences in Style

A systematic analysis of specific features of translation style shows that the translations are similar in many respects.[24] However, some major differences between the two translations are immediately recognizable and help clarify the nature of the relationship between the two.

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[22]It is barely possible that the Syriac translator of HMt^{B} made the error in his handling of the Greek text, but it is much more likely the result of a scribal error and hence an inner Greek corruption due to homoioteleuton.

[23]HMt^{B}'s reading ("he despises") does not precisely match any of the Greek variants.

[24]See 93–4.

1) Translation Unit and Word Order

HMt^{A} typically takes a Greek clause or sentence as its unit of translation, whereas HMt^{B}'s focus is normally smaller, taking the clause or phrase. Smaller translation units suggest a developmentally later translation technique.[25] The regular expansions in HMt^{A} are a striking result of the larger translation units. Fourth- and fifth-century Syriac translations are typically paraphrastic, expansive, and generally appear more comfortable using native Syriac idiom to express the sense of the source text. These traits progressively diminish in favour of more literal styles, until they effectively vanish in the so-called "mirror-translations" of the seventh century, which focus strictly on individual words or even smaller units.[26] Very early Patristic translations are no exception to this pattern of development, bearing the marks of primitive techniques.[27] Both HMt^{A} and HMt^{B} regularly add some elements, such as possessive or objective suffixes, anticipatory objective pronouns, and the relative pronoun, –ܕ.[28] However, HMt^{A} is much more likely than HMt^{B} to add substantial portions of expansive material. In contrast, HMt^{B} regularly follows Greek word order carefully, even when restructuring would bring the text into conformity with normal Syriac idiom—the latter policy usually being followed by HMt^{A}. Hence, an examination of the phrases of the translations allows one quickly to detect that HMt^{A} is more dynamic in its renderings at that level whereas HMt^{B} is significantly more formal. A discussion of notable dynamic renderings will illustrate this distinction between the two.

2) Dynamic Renderings

A) Making Explicit what is Implicit

HMt^{A} typically adds material which makes explicit that which is implicit in

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[25]Brock, "Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique," 10–3; see ibid., "To Revise or not to Revise: Attitudes to Jewish Biblical Translations," in *LXX: Scrolls and Cognate Writings*, eds. George J. Brooke and Barnabas Lindars (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992) 312–3; ibid., "Greek into Syriac and Syriac into Greek," 3–5.

[26]Ibid., "Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique," 10–3.

[27]See ibid., "Basil's *Homily on Deut. xv 9*," 62–3.

[28]The addition of elements such as these is normal for Syriac translations and as a feature persists even when the refinement of literal techniques approaches its zenith (see Sauget, ed., "Une homélie de Proclus de Constantinople sur l'ascension de Notre-Seigneur en version syriaque," *Muséon* 82 [1969] 13); cf. C.J.A. Lash, "Techniques of a Translator: Work-Notes on the Methods of Jacob of Edessa in Translating the Homilies of Severus of Antioch," in *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, ed. Franz Paschke (*TU* 125; Berlin: Akademie, 1981) 383.

the source text.[29] A good example occurs in Homily 23, best illustrated by the following re-presentation of the texts:

Homily 23

1 *Οὐδὲ γὰρ ὀνειδίζειν δεῖ, οὐδὲ ἐπεμβαίνειν,*
2 *ἀλλὰ νουθετεῖν·*
3 *οὐ κακηγορεῖν**[1]
4 *ἀλλὰ συμβουλεύειν· οὐδὲ**[2] *μετὰ ἀπονοίας ἐπιτίθεσθαι,*
5 *ἀλλὰ μετὰ φιλοστοργίας διορθοῦν.*

*[1]*κατηγορεῖν* B D F *[2]*οὐ* F

HMt[A]:

1 ܠܐ ܡܛܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܠܟ ܠܡܚܘܝܐ ܕܚܛܝܐ ܠܐܚܝܟ. ܗܠܝܢ ܠܡܬܚܙܐ ܡܢܗ.
2 ܐܠܐ ܕܝܢ ܠܟ ܕܡܬܝܪܬܐ ܠܗ.
3 ܠܐ ܗܠܝܢ *[1] ܠܡܚܘܝܐ ܕܥܒܕܬ ܠܗ ܠܡܠܬܐ ܕܫܢܝܐ.
4 ܐܠܐ ܕܡܬܬܝܪܬܐ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܡܢ ܟܒܪ ܕܬܬܚܙܐ ܠܗ ܠܡܬܚܙܐ ܥܡ ܓܐܘܬܐ.
5 ܐܠܐ ܕܡܢ ܪܚܡܐ ܕܬܬܩܢ ܠܗ.

1 Therefore, it is not proper *for you* to scorn *your brother who has erred*, nor to attack *him*,
2 but *it is right for you* to admonish *him*.;
3 *it**[1] *is not proper that you revile him or* speak *of him* evilly,
4 but that*[2] you counsel *him*. *Do not condemn so that* with arrogance you stand against *him*.,
5 but that with pity you correct *him*.

*[1]+ ܠܟ *B.L. Add. 17,193* (+"for")
*[2]om. – ܕ *B.L. Add. 17,193* (om. "that")

HMt[B]:

1 ܠܐ ܠܟ ܕܢܥܒܪ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܢܬܚܙܐ.
2 ܐܠܐ ܕܢܬܩܢ.
3 ܠܐ ܕܢܬܬܝܪ.
4 ܐܠܐ ܕܢܬܬܚܙܐ. ܠܐ ܒܥܬܪܐ ܕܢܥܒܪ.
5 ܐܠܐ ܒܪܚܡܐ ܕܢܬܩܢ.

1 For it is not right that we scorn and deride,
2 but that we correct;
3 not that we accuse
4 but that we counsel; not with pride that we scorn
5 but with mercy that we correct.

Although here HMt[A] is more literal in one sense because it uses Syriac infinitives,[30] it is also quite expansive. HMt[B] represents the Greek text with greater precision, even

[29]In the following examples of dynamic renderings, the translations of additions are *italicized* and the translations of free renderings are in **bold type**.

[30]See 85–6.

preserving word order in phrases like, ܠܐ ܕܢܒܣܪ ܙܕܩ ("not to-scorn is-it-right") in line 1, where natural Syriac idiom would have the transposition of the last two words. Further examples from Homily 23:

	καὶ ἀκριβεῖς τὰς εὐθύνας
HMt^A	ܘܕܚܝܦܐܝܬ ܢܗܘܐ ܥܡܟܘܢ ܚܘܫܒܢܐ and that the reckoning *will take place* severely *with you*.
HMt^B	ܘܒܘܨܝܐ ܚܬܝܬܐ and strict the examination
Homily 21	*τῶν ὄντων ἀφίστησι, καὶ διὰ πλειόνων τὸν περὶ τῆς ἀκτημοσύνης εἰσάγει λόγον*
HMt^A	ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܥܒܘܪ̈ܝܬܐ ܢܓܕ ܠܗ ܠܪܥܝܢܐ ܕܫܡܘ̈ܥܐ ܘܒܣܘ̈ܓܐܬܐ: ܡܠܬܐ ܕܥܠ ܡܣܟܢܘܬܐ ܡܥܠ From these transient things he *draws the mind of the hearers and* by many things a word about voluntary poverty he introduces.
HMt^B	ܡܥܠ ܠܟ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܚܙܝܢ: ܘܒܝܕ ܣܘ̈ܓܐܬܐ ܡܢܗܪ ܠܗ ܠܡܣܟܢܘܬܐ He introduces *you* from these visible things, and through many things **illuminates** voluntary poverty.
	καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπακοῆς ὑγείαν ἐνδεικνύμενος
HMt^A	ܘܚܘܠܡܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܡܫܬܡܥܢܘܬܐ ܗ̇ܘ. ܡܚܘܐ ܠܗ ܠܟܪܝܗܐ and the health that is from obedience he shows *the ill*
HMt^B	ܘܡܘܕܥ ܚܘܠܡܢܐ ܕܡܫܬܡܥܢܘܬܐ and **he makes known** the health of obedience
Homily 25	*καὶ ὁ μὲν γὴν καὶ σποδὸν, ὁ δὲ σκώληκα ἑαυτὸν ἐκάλει.*
HMt^A	ܘܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܩܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܢܦܫܗ ܥܦܪܐ ܘܩܛܡܐ. ܘܐܚܪܢܐ ܡܫܡܗ ܗܘܐ ܠܢܦܫܗ ܬܘܠܥܐ And one *of them was calling himself*, "dust and ashes," and the other *was naming* himself, "worm."
HMt^B	ܘܗܘ̇ ܥܦܪܐ ܘܩܛܡܐ. ܘܗܘ̇ ܬܘܠܥܐ ܩܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܢܦܫܗ And the one, "dust and ashes," and the other was calling himself, "worm."

In the latter example, neither translation reproduces the important governing particles of the Greek phrase; yet HMt^B retains the terse style of the original, whereas HMt^A fills out the ellipsis.

Homily 31[31] *ὑπὲρ ὀλίγου χρόνου μικροψυχεῖς;*

HMt[A]

About a little time *that is before you*, **do you show us so much distress**?

HMt[B]

About a little time are you distressed?

ἀπέδωκας τὴν παρακαταθήκην

HMt[A]

the deposit *that was with you* you have returned

HMt[B] ("you have returned the deposit")

B) Making the Style Smoother

Sometimes the dynamic readings of HMt[A] do not fill out ellipses but make the style less difficult, give explanations, or provide a reading presumably easier for the reader to understand:

Homily 25 *Ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ ἑαυτὸν εἰδώς, ἅπαντα εἴσεται· οὕτως ὁ τοῦτο μὴ εἰδώς, οὐδὲ τὰ ἄλλα εἴσεται.*

HMt[A]

For just as that one who knows himself knows everything, thus also that one who does not know **himself strays from the knowledge of all.**

HMt[B]

For just as that one who himself knows, knows everything, thus that one who does not know this, neither the other things does he know.

Homily 31 *Μηκέτι φρόντιζε λοιπόν, ἐν ἀσύλῳ*[a] *τὸ κτῆμα ἀποθεμένη θησαυρῷ.*

[a]*ἀληστεύτῳ* some editions[32]

HMt[A]

No longer be anxious, *for behold* you have put your property in a place *whose desposits* are not stolen.

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[31]This example represents well the mixed quality of HMt[A]. Its expansion helps the reader to perceive the sense of the original more easily, but produces a much less literal rendering than is in HMt[B]. Yet the former's translation of *μικροψυχεῖς* by the etymologically parallel (literally, "smallness of soul") is remarkably literal (see 82–3).

[32]See Field, *In Matt*. 3.73–4 (364A).

HMt[B] ܠܐ ܡܬܒܥܐ ܠܐܝܟܐ ܕܐܢܬ ܫܩܠܬ ܢܟܣܝܟ ܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܠܝܐ
No longer be anxious, for you have removed your property to a place that is not pillaged.

Ἄκουσον καὶ Παύλου ταύτην μακαρίζοντος τὴν χηρείαν

HMt[A] ܫܡܥ ܗܘܐ ܕܦܘܠܘܣ ܡܒܪܟ ܠܐܪܡܠܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܕܐ
hear Paul, calling blessed **widows such as this one**

HMt[B] ܫܡܥ ܗܘܐ ܕܦܘܠܘܣ ܡܒܪܟ ܠܐܪܡܠܬܐ ,ܗܕܐ
hear Paul, calling blessed this widow

C) Amplifying the Greek

Similarly, HMt[A] has expansions which intensify the meaning of the Greek, as in the following usage of the emphatic infinitive:[33]

Homily 25

ἀγνοεῖ ἑαυτὸν

HMt[A] ܡܬܝܕܥ ܠܗ ܠܗܘܢ ("**he truly forgets** himself")
HMt[B] ܡܬܝܕܥ ܠܐ ܠܗ ("he does not know himself")

D) Double Translations

Occasionally HMt[A] provides double translations. Jacob of Edessa did so in the seventh century in order to represent fully the meanings of Greek words which have no single precise Syriac equivalent, but here they are not linked with difficult or subtle Greek words, but seem merely to be another expression of the pleonastic expansiveness of HMt[A]. For example:

Homily 23
1 *Ὥσπερ οὖν ἐν τῇ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων ἀφέσει παρ' ἡμῶν αἱ ἀρχαὶ,*
2 *οὕτω καὶ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ κρίσει παρ' ἡμῶν*
3 *τὰ μέτρα τῆς καταδίκης τίθεται.*

HMt[A]
1 ܗܟܝܠ ܕܠܡܚܐ ܕܚܛܝܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܪܫܝܬܐ ܥܡܢܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܡܢ *[1]ܗܟܝܠ ܗܘܝܐ
2 ܗܟܝܠܗ ܗܘܝܐ ܕܥܢܫܐ ܕܕܝܢܐ ܗܘܝܐ *[2]ܗܟܝܠ
3 ܕܡܬܩܠܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܕܡܢܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܢ ܢܬܝܗܒ ܗܘܝ.

1 Therefore*[1] just as with forgiveness of sins the beginning is with us,
2 thus*[2] also *with punishment and* with judgement
3 the measure *and quantity* is from us.

*[1]ܐܝܟ *B.L. Add. 17,193* ("for") *[2]ܗܟܝܠ *B.L. Add. 17,193* ("therefore")

[33]The Syriac HJn characteristically use the emphatic infinitive as an intensifier; it is unknown whether this is also characteristic of HMt[A].

HMt[B]

1 ܗܘܝܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܕܚܛܝܐ ܕܡܬܚܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܡܢ ܐܝܟܢܐ:
2 ܗܟܝܠ ܗܘܝܢ ܕܕܝܢܐ ܗܢܐ
3 ܡܢ ܕܡܬܬܝܗܒ ܕܕܝܢܐ ܕܕܝܢ.

1 Therefore, just as with the forgiveness of sins, from us is the beginning,
2 thus also with this judgement
3 by us is laid down the measure of our judgement.

Homily 25 *περὶ τῶν ὑπερηφάνων*
HMt[A] ܥܠ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܓܐܐܐ ("about the proud *and arrogant*")
HMt[B] *ܥܠ ܕܓܐܐ ("about the proud[a]")

*sg. B.L. Add. 12,142, error (pointing variant)

3) Consistency in Word Class

Both translations tend to translate the words and phrases of their source texts using Syriac words of the same classes, i.e. Greek nouns by Syriac nouns, etc. Some regular exceptions occur, usually inevitably (e.g. certain Greek finite verbs by Syriac participles, proper Greek adjectives by adjectival participles, etc.). However, HMt[B] is more likely strictly to observe Greek word class in its renderings. For example:

Homily		HMt[A]	HMt[B]
23	*ἀκριβεῖς*	ܒܬܪܨܝܢ (adverb)	ܪܒܒܝܢ (adjective)

The freedom of HMt[A] in this category is most clearly visible in its expansive or interpretative renderings and in its double translations, because in them the translator often uses words not of the same classes as that of their Greek source words.

4) HMt[B] as Occasionally Less Literal

When analyzed on the phrase level and according to word order, HMt[A] has the features of a relatively primitive translation technique: expansions, double translations, less concern for precise representation of word order, and the substitution of Greek idiom for Syriac idiom. In contrast, the succint HMt[B] is often remarkably faithful to the word order of the source text and avoids expansions. Although about 20% shorter than HMt[A], it carefully represents the meaning of the Greek in most cases. However, it would be incorrect to define HMt[B] as one which is always more faithful to the source text, as the systematic micro-analysis conducted below demonstrates.[34] Yet even this macro-analysis reveals a few instances in which

[34]See 79, 97–8.

HMt[B] allows elements of the Greek to go unrepresented while HMt[A] reflects them.[35] Some examples:

Homily 21 *τὸν περὶ τῆς ἀκτημοσύνης λόγον*
HMt[A] ܡܠܬܐ ܕܥܠ ܡܣܟܢܘܬܐ ("a word about voluntary poverty")
HMt[B] ܡܣܟܢܘܬܐ ("voluntary poverty")

τοῦτο καὶ νῦν ἐρῶ
HMt[A] ܗܢܐ ܗܘܝ ܗܫܐ ܐܢܐ ܡܐܡܪ ܠܟ
the same also I (will) now repeat
HMt[B] ܗܢܐ ܗܘܝ ܗܫܐ ܐܢܐ ("also now I [will] repeat")

τὴν φιλοστοργίαν τὴν πατερικήν
HMt[A] ܡܚܒܐ ܕܒܢܝܢ ܕܒܐܒܗܬܐ ܕܩܝܡܐ
the mercy/love of sons which is set within fathers
HMt[B] ܡܚܒܐ ܕܐܒܗܬܐ
the mercy of fathers

Homily 25 *ὁ μηδὲν εἶναι ἑαυτὸν νομίζων*
HMt[A] ܕܠܐ ܡܚܫܒ ܠܗ ܕܗܘܐ ܡܕܡ ܐܝܟ ܕܢܘܢ
who does not think about himself that he is something
HMt[B] ܕܡܚܫܒ ܠܗ ܕܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܕܡ
that one who thinks that he is nothing

κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν συνήθειαν ἔθος ἡμῖν
HMt[A] ܐܝܟ ܕܢܗܓ ܒܟܠܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ("by common custom we are accustomed")
HMt[B] ܠܢ ܢܘܡܤܐ ("we have a custom")

Both examples from Homily 25 illustrate how that HMt[B] is often a peculiar mixture of more and less literal elements. In the first example, HMt[B] has the more literal rendering except for omitting the reflexive pronoun. In the second example, HMt[B] reproduces the Greek possessive idiom but omits the prepositional phrase. HMt[A] is not strictly formal, representing the Greek idiomatically, but it does represent all the semantic elements of the source text.

These examples (and the following micro-analysis) show that HMt[B] is of a mixed quality, sometimes having less literal renderings. This extends even to the matter of word order, though much more rarely. For example:[36]

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[35]Other fairly literal Syriac translations are characterized by the inexplicable omission of clauses which are obviously original (see Malingrey, "La tradition syriaque du dialogue sur la sacerdoce de Jean Chrysostome," *ParOr* 6–7 [1975–6] 94).

[36]Another interesting example of discrepant word order occurs in Homily 25:

καὶ ὁ Δαυὶδ καὶ ὁ Ἀβραάμ
HMt[A] ܕܐܒܪܗܡ ܘܐܦ ܗܘ ܘܐܦ ("both David and Abraham")
HMt[B] ܗܘ ܘܐܦ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ ܘܐܦ ("both Abraham and David")

Homily 25

	πρὸς τὴν ἄκραν ἀνέβησαν τῆς ἀρετῆς
HMt^{A}	ܠܪܡܐ ܐܬܪܡܘ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܫܘܚܐ
	literally, "to the height, they were lifted, of excellence"
HMt^{B}	ܠܪܡܐ ܕܫܘܚܐ ܐܬܪܡܘ ܠܫܘܚܐ ܕܫܘܚܐ
	they ascended to the utmost height of excellence

The word order of HMt^{A} here perfectly reflects the Greek word order; it is remarkable because the interposition of a verb between two words linked in a genitival relationship is unusual to Syriac idiom. In this instance HMt^{B} is more literal in its choice of terms but less so in word order. However, excepting rare occurrences such as this one, HMt^{B} normally reflects Greek word order more precisely than HMt^{A}.

Very rarely, HMt^{B} appears to be expansive where HMt^{A} is not:

Homily 21

	τὸν Ἰακώβ
HMt^{A}	ܝܥܩܘܒ ("Jacob")
HMt^{B}	ܝܥܩܘܒ ܕܡܒܪܟ ("the blessed Jacob")

c. The Priority of HMt^{A}

The preceding macro-analysis shows that HMt^{B} is the product of a basically more refined translation technique than that employed for HMt^{A}. Both translations have dynamic traits, and the systematic micro-analysis conducted below affirms that the style of neither translation allows simple generalizations, but HMt^{A}'s expansions and HMt^{B}'s attention to word order mark the latter as developmentally posterior to the former. The translator of HMt^{A} is comfortable deliberately changing the semantic content of the source text, mainly by augmentation, to produce a similar sense in the receptor language. This technical feature presupposes formal changes. HMt^{B} is also dynamic, but it prefers to alter the form without necessarily accommodating details of content to the natural idiom of the receptor language. It is much more reluctant to add material which is not present in the Greek. In these ways, HMt^{A} is more reader-oriented, HMt^{B} more text-oriented.[37]

The reading of HMt^{A} is closer to the Greek, but it is entirely possible that variation existed in the Greek tradition and that each Syriac translation reflects a different branch of the Greek tradition. The order of the names appearing in the Greek and in HMt^{A} is unchronological and does not match the order of the accompanying citations. Hence, that order is likely to be original and a scribe in the Syriac tradition, or in the Greek tradition underlying HMt^{B}, transposed the names.

[37]It could be posited that the two Translations are based on substantially different source texts, that HMt^{A} is actually a close representation of a relatively

It is very likely that HMt^B is chronologically later than HMt^A, because of the stylistic differences at the macro-level. However, both translations must have been produced within a fairly narrow span of time, from after the beginning of the fifth century to about the beginning of the sixth century, since they appear together in B.L. Add. 12,142.[38] This necessary chronological proximity explains the stylistic similarities at the micro-level, explored in the following section.

3. *Systematic Analysis*

The following classified list of examples focuses on stylistic features perceptible mainly at the micro-level of word and phrase. In most categories, the styles of the two translations are indistinguishable. However, in some categories HMt^B actually demonstrates an enigmatically less literal style of translation than HMt^A.

Again, the analysis focuses on those homilies for which HMt^A and HMt^B overlap. The following data and examples are drawn from the samples given above and from other homilies.

a. Treatment of Particles and Conjunctions

Both HMt^A and HMt^B tend toward consistency in their treatment of Greek particles and conjunctions.[39] However, they do not consistently provide formal equivalents, especially for *δέ*, *γάρ*, and *οὖν*.[40] Nor is there any concern to represent the particle *μὲν* consistently. The following occurrences drawn from the samples illustrate:

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pleonastic recension of the Greek. However, in the absence of such a Greek text, that theory is unnecessarily complicated—especially since expansionistic styles like that of HMt^A are a standard feature of early Syriac translations.

[38]Furthermore, HMt^A must have been done prior to 484 (see 9).

[39]For some discussion of the treatment of Greek particles on the part of Syriac translations, see Brock, "Some Aspects of Greek Words in Syriac," in *Synkretismus im syrisch-persischen Kulturgebiet*., ed. A. Dietrich (*AAWG.PH* 96; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1975) 89 (reprinted in *SPLA*., IV). By the seventh century, Syriac translations give special attention to the consistent and formal representation of Greek particles (Brock, "Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique," 13; ibid, "Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity," 82).

[40]Such consistency is not a regular feature until the late sixth century. See Brock, "Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique," 8–9; ibid., "The Treatment of Greek Particles in the Old Syriac Gospels, with Special Reference to Luke," in *Studies in New Testament Language and Text. Essays in Honour of George D. Kilpatrick on the Occasion of his sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. J.K. Elliott (Leiden: Brill, 1976) 81–4.

	HMt[A]	HMt[B]
γάρ	ܡܛܠܡܐ ("therefore")	ܐܦܝܠܘ (≈ *γάρ*)
δέ	Ø	ܗܝܡ (≈ *δέ*)
μέν. . . δέ	ܕ . . . ܕ	ܕ. . . ܕ
	(≈ *καὶ. . . καί*	≈ *καὶ. . . καί*)
καί. . . δέ	ܒܬܪܝܢ . . . ܕ	ܗܝܡ . . . ܕ
	(≈ *καὶ. . . πάλιν*	≈ *καὶ. . . δέ*)

HMt[B] appears somewhat more consistent in its handling of Greek particles and conjunctions, but the difference is negligible and neither translation is genuinely consistent. When the Syriac differs from the Greek in occurrence of particles and conjunctions, it is usually by the addition of a word where none exists in the terse and elliptical Greek. Typical additions include: ܗܝܡ (≈ *δέ*), ܕ (≈ *καί*), ܐܦܝܠܘ (≈ *γάρ*), and ܡܛܠܡܐ ("therefore"); less often by the use of a term not formally parallel to the corresponding Greek word. Omissions also occur. Hence, as with many early translations, the Syriac evidence for these homilies is not very useful for evaluating variations amongst Greek particles and conjunctions (especially *γάρ* ≈ ܐܦܝܠܘ and *δέ* ≈ ܗܝܡ).[41]

b. Comparative Forms

Both translations normally represent comparatives by use of (ܛܒܐ)ܝܬܝܪ:

Homily 31 *Καὶ γὰρ εὐδοκιμωτέρα ἡ τοιαύτη φανεῖται, πλείονα ἐπιδεικνυμένη τὴν ὑπομονήν.*

HMt[A] ܐܦܢܐ ܕܡܬܝܠܦ ܛܒܐܝܬܝܪ . ܡܛܠܡܐ ܕܗܢܐ ܠܗ ܛܒܘܬܐ ܕܢܚܘܐ ܕܢܬܚܙܐ ܕܣܒܪܐ ܕܣܓܝܐ ܕܣܒܪܐ

Therefore she who is thus is of better report, if she will show endurance more greatly.

HMt[B] ܡܛܠܡܐ ܕܡܬܝܠܦ ܛܒܐܝܬܝܪ . ܡܛ ܕܗܢܐ ܕܡܬܚܙܐ ܝܬܝܪ ܐܦܝܠܘ ܕܗܢܐ ܕܣܒܪܐ ܕܣܓܝܐ ܕܣܒܪܐ

For she who is such shows more her excellence by her endurance.

The Syriac sometimes adds an explicit object of comparison with ܡܢ, thereby building a common Syriac idiom:

Homily	HMt[A]	HMt[B]
21 *Τί ποθεινότερον;*	ܡܕܡ ܕܝܬܝܪ ܕܗܢܐ ܡܢ .	ܡܕܡ ܕܐܦܝܠܘ ܕܗܢܐ ܡܢ .
	What is there that is more beloved than this?	What is there that is dearer than this?

[41]See ibid., 80–3; James T. Clemons, "Some Questions on the Syriac Support for Variant Greek Readings," *NT* 10 (1968) 29.

25 *μάλιστα πάντων* ܡܢܝܠܐ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ
more than every person

ܡܢܝܠܐ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ
more than every person

The word ܕܠܐ may occur in HMt[A] instead of (ܐܦܝܠ)ܟܠܗܘܢ:

Homily 21
πλείονα καὶ φοβερώτερα ܡܪܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ
greater and more fearful than these (HMt[A])

ܡܪܝܐ ܟܠܗܘܢ
great(er) and (more) fearful (HMt[B])

From these examples it appears that both translations are equally consistent and literal in their translation of Greek comparative forms.[42]

c. Adjectival Forms

The Greek language is endowed with an enormous quantity of derivative adjectival forms. Throughout the sixth century, Syriac translators tended more and more to construct Syriac adjectives with ܐܝ– to represent Greek adjectival forms.[43] Such forms may occur in the translations, but the many samples taken of these homilies have not revealed any. Hence, such adjectival constructions may be uncommon in these translations. In any case, it is presently impossible to determine whether one translation builds such constructions more than the other, although the two regularly differ in the specific choice of vocabulary.

d. Adverbial Forms

The Syriac translation normally uses adverbial forms or parallel Syriac adverbs to render Greek adverbs.[44] However, the translations sometimes use prepositional phrases or other types of phrases to render Greek adverbs, in ways that are more or less normal for Syriac idiom. The two translations often render the adverbs in different ways, although no clear patterns emerge. For example:

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[42]An unusual rendering occurs in Homily 31:
τὰ πολλῷ βελτίω ܡܬܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܠܐ ܗܠܝܢ
those things that are more excellent than these and more glorious (HMt[A])
ܡܬܬ ܐܝܟܐ ܗܠܝܢ
these things that for the most part are glorious (HMt[B])

[43]Brock, "Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique," 11–2; cf. Brock, "Diachronic Aspects of Syriac Word Formation: an Aid for Dating Anonymous Texts," In *V Symposium Syriacum 1988*, ed. René Lavenant (*OCA* 236; Rome: PIOS, 1990) 325.

[44]For *κυρίως* and *θεοπρέπως*, see 90–1.

Homily		HMt[A]	HMt[B]
25	*ὁμοίως τούτοις*	ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܗܠܝܢ in the image of these things	ܗܟܢܐ thus
21	*καθάπερ*	ܒܕܡܘܬܐ in the image	ܟܡܐ as

e. Greek Compound Words

Unlike typical seventh-century translations,[45] neither HMt[A] nor HMt[B] is concerned with the consistent formal representation of the coherent elements of Greek compound words. Occasionally HMt[A] exhibits a greater concern for formal representation. Two examples, one verbal and one participial:

Homily		HMt[A]	HMt[B]
31	*μικροψυχεῖς*	ܡܚܘܝܝܢ ܡܢܝܢ ܕܢܦܫܐ ܠܢ ܕܝܠܟ ("Do you show us smallness of soul?")	ܕܝܠܟ ܡܬܕܟܝܢ Are you distressed?
31	*τὸν συνοικοῦντα*	ܕܒܝܬܐ ܕܝܠܟ a fellow of your home	ܒܥܠܟ your husband

HMt[A] actually exhibits a greater concern for formal representation than HMt[B].[46] This is also seen in the treatment of words related to *φιλοσοφία*, as the following examples illustrate:

Homily		HMt[A]	HMt[B]
21	*φιλοσοφία*	ܦܝܠܣܦܘܬܐ (*pilasaputha'*)	ܦܘܢܝܐ ("conduct")
21	*φιλόσοφος*	ܦܝܠܣܘܦܐ (*pilasupha'*)	ܚܟܝܡܐ ("wise one")

Both translations treat *α*-privative compounds literally:

Homily		HMt[A]	HMt[B]
21	*ἀπροσεξίας*	ܠܐ ܕܡܬܢܛܪܝܘܬܐ non-prudence	ܠܐ ܕܡܬܟܢܝܢܘܬܐ non-obedience

Of further interest is the translations' treatment of *φιλανθρωπία*, according to the following examples:

Homily		HMt[A]	HMt[B]
21	*φιλανθρωπία*	ܪܚܡܐ ("mercy")	om.

[45]See Brock, "Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique," 12–3.

[46]The renderings of HMt[B] here are more dynamic. However, as in the case of the first example from Homily 31 (*μικροψυχεῖς*), sometimes one type of literalness is traded for another. HMt[A] uses a term which is formally parallel to the Greek term, but since the Greek term is a verb and the Syriac term a noun, the translation is obliged to supply an additional verb and even an indirect object which are not in the source text. HMt[B] uses a term which is not formally parallel in itself, but retains the simple present tense verb form of the Greek. In this case, each translation is both literal and dynamic, but in different ways.

22	*φιλανθρωπία*	ܪܚܡܝܘܬܐ ("mercy")	ܪܚܡܢܘܬܐ ("compassion")
23	*φιλανθρωπία*	ܪܚܡܐ ܕܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ love of men	ܪܚܡܢܘܬܐ compassion
23	*φιλανθρωπία*	ܪܚܡܝܘܬܐ ("mercy")	ܪܚܡܝܘܬܐ ("mercy")

f. Prepositional Phrases

The translations normally represent Greek prepositions with formally parallel Syriac prepositions in predictable patterns of correspondence.[47] However, strict formal equivalence is not approached in either translation. The translations typically use native Syriac idioms to represent Greek prepositional phrases and idioms. In many cases, HMt[B] uses prepositions that do not formally correspond, sometimes electing an entirely different means of representing the meaning:

Homily		HMt[A]	HMt[B]
21	*εἰς τὴν ὑπακοήν*	ܠܡܫܡܥܬܐ ܕܠܐ to obedience	ܕܢܥܒܕ[48] that we do
21	*κατὰ φύσιν*	ܒܛܒܥܐ naturally	ܒܛܒܥܗ in his nature
21	*ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπακοῆς*	ܡܢ ܫܡܫܡܥܬܐ from obedience	ܕܫܡܫܡܥܬܗ of obedience
25	*πρὸς ἀλαζονείαν αἰρόμενος*	ܠܘܬ ܪܘܡܝܘܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܪܡܐ to the height exalted	ܠܘܬ ܪܘܡܝܘܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܢܣܒܐ taken up into the height

Hence, HMt[B] is not more literal in this category, possibly less so.[49]

It is noteworthy that both translations use ܗܕܐ ܠܗܕܐ ("because of this [masculine]") to represent *διὰ τοῦτο*, rather than the more literal ܗܕܐ ܠܗܕܐ ("because of this [feminine]") which begins to be used more commonly in the sixth century.[50]

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[47]For *κατὰ ἄνθρωπον*, see 91.

[48]In this case the reading of HMt[B] has dynamically removed the need for a preposition by having "to do" instead of "to obedience" (see line 13 of the sample cited above, p. 67).

[49]The Syriac translations supply prepositions which naturally complement certain Syriac verbs, regardless of whether corresponding prepositions exist in the source text. HMt[A] is more likely to supply such elements when not absolutely necessary. For example:

Homily		HMt[A]	HMt[B]
25	*ὁ μηδὲν εἶναι ἑαυτὸν νομίζων*	ܠܐ ܡܬܚܫܒ (ܠܐ) ܕܠܐ ܡܕܡܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ,ܡܕܡܐ	ܕܠܐ ܡܬܚܫܒ ܕܠܐ ܡܕܡܐ ,ܡܕܡܐ
		the one who does not think about himself that he is something	he who thinks that he is nothing

[50]The phrase appears in HJn (see 231).

g. Methods of Translating Greek Verbs

The tenses of the Syriac verb do not precisely overlap in form or function with the wide range of Greek tenses. Although seventh-century translations developed means by which to distinguish carefully Greek verbal tenses,[51] the translations of HMt make only broad distinctions. Both translations regularly render Greek verbs in predictable ways. The Greek **present tense** indicative is normally translated by means of the Syriac present tense (i.e. a participial phrase), although the translations often differ in their choice of vocabulary and participial form. The translations use a participle followed with the auxiliary verb ܗܘܐ ("to be") to translate the Greek **imperfect tense**; the Syriac perfect tense translates the Greek **aorist tense**.

Both translations normally translate the Greek **future tense** by means of a participial phrase like that which translates the present tense. However, HMt[A] occasionally uses the Syriac imperfect tense,[52] as in this example from Homily 31:

	HMt[A]	HMt[B]
φανεῖται	ܚܘܝܐ she will show	ܚܘܝ she shows

Each translation treats two occurrences of the **optative mood** (Homily 21) in different ways:

	HMt[A]	HMt[B]
μέλλοιμεν ἐκπίπτειν	ܢܦܠ we may fall	. . . ܗ ܢܢ ܡܬܪܚܩܝܢ ܗܘܝܢ we are going to be rejected
μέλλοιμεν ἔχειν	ܢ ܗܘܝܢ we may have	ܢܚܢ we may possess

HMt[A] ignores the optative sense, choosing to represent only the Greek infinitives with the Syriac imperfect tense. HMt[B] does the same in the second instance. However, in the first instance HMt[B] renders the combination more literally.

Two common Greek verbs warrant special attention. In the case of εἰμι, the Syriac translations either use a form of ܐܝܬ ("there is") or ܗܘܐ ("to be"), or employ a Syriac idiom that depends on enclitic pronouns and implied verbal relationships:

Homily		HMT[AB]
21	οὖσιν	ܐܝܬ ("to be")

[51]See Brock, "Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity," 83.

[52]It is not surprising that the translations use the imperfect tense when rendering prohibitions.

25	ἐστιν (twice)	ܐܢܘܢ ("is")[53]
25	εἶναι	ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ("there is")

In the case of ἔχω, the Syriac normally uses a form of the idiom, ܐܝܬ ܠ– ("there is to. . ."). In one case, HMt[B] has a different rendering:

Homily	HMt[A]	HMt[B]
21 ἔχειν	ܠܢ ܢܗܘܝܗ we may have	ܢܩܢܐ we may possess")

In their handling of both these special verbs, neither translation consistently employs the formal representations which eventually became standard in Syriac translations.[54]

Overall, no clear distinction of styles is evident from a comparison of the translations' patterns of rendering Greek finite verbs.

h. Infinitival Phrases

In rendering infinitival phrases, the translations are not highly concerned with formal equivalence or consistency. Sometimes the translations use Syriac infinitival forms, at other times they use the imperfect in a restructured phrase. The two translations often diverge. In phrases where the infinitive serves as a complement, HMt[A] prefers to use Syriac infinitives, whereas HMt[B] is content to employ the Syriac imperfect tense with the relative pronoun –ܕ prefixed. For example:

Homily

21 εἴγε μέλλοιμεν τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ δουλείας ἐκπίπτειν διὰ τὰ χρήματα
ܡܢ ܩܢܝܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܢܦܠ
that because of money, from the service of Christ we fall (HMt[A])
ܐܢ ܕܢܢ ܕܢܬܪܚܩܘܢ ܡܢ ܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܢ ܩܢܝܢܐ ܢܬܪܚܩ
if we, because of money, are going to be rejected from the servitude of Christ (HMt[B])

23 οὐδὲ γὰρ ὀνειδίζειν δεῖ, οὐδὲ ἐπεμβαίνειν
ܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܠܟ . . . ܠܡܫܩܠ ܘܠܐ ܠܡܪܡܣ
therefore it is not proper for you to scorn. . . nor to attack (HMt[A])
ܠܐ ܡܫܬܟܚ ܕܢܚܣܪ ܘܢܬܪܡܣ
for it is not right that we scorn and deride (HMt[B])

25 κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν συνήθειαν ἔθος ἡμῖν λέγειν περὶ τῶν ὑπερηφάνων
ܠܘܬ ܡܬܪܝܢ ܠܡܡܪܐ ܥܠ ܫܘܬܦܐ ܕܢܬܝܠܐ ܕܪܝܫܐ
by common custom, we are accustomed to say about the proud and haughty (HMt[A])

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[53]Neither translation has the verb, choosing instead to carry the predicate relationship by means of normal Syriac idiom using the enclitic pronoun.

[54]See Brock's discussion in "Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity," 83.

*ܡܬܪܓܫܝܢ ܠܢ ܕܢܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܥܠ ܪܡܐ ܗܘܝܢ
we have a custom, that we say about the proud[a] (HMt[B])

*sg. B.L. Add. 12,142, error (pointing variant)

In the following example, both translations provide a literal equivalent for the Greek preposition, yet both also exhibit formal dynamism in their renderings. HMt[A] employs a verbal phrase and HMt[B], in a more restrained fashion, simply provides a noun in place of the infinitive:

Homily
31 *μὴ τοίνυν θρήνει ὑπὲρ οὗ στεφανοῦσαι*
ܠܐ ܡܢܝܢ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܥܠ ܡܕܡܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܢܬܟܠܝܠ ܠܟ ܗܘܝܬ ܠܟ ܕܢܬܟܠܝܠ*
mourn not at all then, because of that for which it is right that you be crowned (HMt[A])

*ܢܬܟܠܝܠ B.L. Add. 14,559 (error)

ܠܐ ܡܛܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܥܠ ܟܠܠܟ
therefore, do not be troubled about your crown (HMt[B])

The style of HMt[A] appears to be more literal than HMt[B] in its representation of Greek infinitives, mainly because the latter prefers to use the Syriac imperfect tense instead of Syriac infinitive forms. However, HMt[B] is consistent in its usage of its chosen style.

i. Greek Participles

Greek adverbial and adjectival participles are typically translated by Syriac participles, with a few exceptions on the part of each translation. The Syriac does not distinguish consistently between tenses, but not infrequently it uses a past tense verb or augment for Aorist participles. Adverbial participles are either accompanied by ܕܢ, translated by Syriac finite verbs, or treated like present tense verbs. The sentence may be restructured with the relative –ܕ or be rendered by participles linked with a subject noun when a third person subject is implied, or with personal pronouns when first or second person. For example:

Homily		HMt[A]	HMt[B]
21	*ὑπεριδόντες*	ܕܢ ܡܬܪܚܩܝܢ we despising	ܕܢܬܪܚܩ that we despise
31	*μακαρίζοντος*	ܕܢ ܡܒܪܟ ܠܗ calling blessed	ܕܢ ܡܒܪܟ ܠܗ calling blessed
31	*λέγοντος*	ܕܢ ܐܡܪ saying	*ܕܢ ܐܡܪ saying

*ܡܬܟܪܙ ܕܐ B.L. Add. 12,142 (error)

Sometimes one or both translation will translate a participle as if it were a finite verb, without restructuring the sentence to accommodate the participial phrase. For example:[55]

Homily			
21	ἐνδεικνύμενος	ܡܚܘܝܐ shows	ܡܚܘܝܐܝܬ who shows
31	ἐπιδεικνυμένη	ܡܚܘܝ she will show	ܡܚܘܝ she shows

HMt^{A} in the first example and HMt^{B} in the second treat the Greek participle as if it were a finite verb; HMt^{A} in the second example uses the imperfect tense to translate the Greek participle.

In translations of adjectival participles with definite articles or pronouns, the Syriac participles are usually accompanied by pronouns, except when nouns actually occur. The addition of the relative pronoun –ܕ relates the participle to the other elements of the sentence. For example:

Homily		HMt^{A}	HMt^{B}
21	τῶν λεγομένων	ܡܠܝܐ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ what things that are said	ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ these things that are said
25	ὁ νομίζων	ܡܣܬܟܠ ܐܝܟ he who supposes	ܗܘ ܕܡܣܬܟܠ that one who supposes
25	ὁ αἰρόμενος	ܡܬܪܡܐ ܐܝܟ who is exalted	ܗܘ ܕܐܬܪܡܝܬ that one who is taken up

No clear distinction in style emerges from a comparison of each translation's rendering of Greek participles.

j. Demonstrative and Relative Pronouns (including τοιοῦτος)

Syriac idiom necessitates that the translations regularly add the relative –ܕ in order to clarify the relationships between words and clauses, or perhaps to compensate for syntactic adjustments.

When rendering demonstrative pronouns such as ἐκεῖνος and οὗτος, both translations often use precisely parallel pronouns like ܗܘ ("that") and ܐܝܟ ("this"). However, it is just as common for one or both translations to be less precise (e.g. ܗܘ ["that"] for οὗτος) or to omit a pronoun altogether. In some instances a pronoun is

[55]That both examples involve a form of δείκνυμαι is purely coincidental.

provided in the Syriac where none exists in the Greek, usually making explicit an otherwise implicit element. No discernable pattern distinguishes the two translations in this area.

Where *τοιοῦτος* appears, HMt[B] exhibits the more literal technique for representing it:

Homily		HMt[A]	HMt[B]
21	*ἡ τοιαύτη φανεῖται*	ܗܠܝܢܐ ܕܗܝܢܐ ܗܘܬ she who is thus	ܕܡܐ ܗܘܬ ܟܕܢܐ ܗܘܬ she who is like this i.e. "she who is such"

k. Reflexive Pronouns

According to native Syriac idiom, the Syriac translations use ܢܦܫܐ (literally, "soul") with a possessive pronominal suffix to represent Greek reflexive pronouns. An exception appears in one sample from HMt[A]:

Homily		HMt[A]	HMt[B]
23	*σαυτόν*	ܦܓܪܗ(ܝ) literally, "your person"	ܢܦܫܝ literally, "your soul"

The use of ܢܦܫܐ ("soul") or ܦܓܪܐ ("person") to represent Greek reflexive pronouns is an accommodation to native Syriac idiom which seventh-century translators replace with etymological equivalents.[56]

l. Lexical Items

The development of the Syriac translations of certain Greek words have been the subject of prior study.[57] The highly literal translations of the seventh century are separated from the much less literal fifth-century translations by a sixth-century period of transition.

Methods of translating *φιλανθρωπία* and words related to *φιλοσοφία* have already been noted.[58] Where certain key words occur, they provide valuable information about the styles of HMt[A] andHMt[B] and the place of the translations in the history of Syriac translation technique. The extant Syriac texts have been surveyed for translations of some key words, many of which do not appear otherwise in

[56]Brock, "Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity," 87.

[57]See ibid., "The Syriac Background to Hunayn's Translation Techniques," *Aram* 3 (1991) 148–50;" ibid., "Some Aspects of Greek Words in Syriac," 87–108.

[58]See 82–3.

passages paralleled by surviving Syriac translation, or appear only rarely.

1) *οἰκουμένη*

By the seventh century, Syriac translators had begun to translate *οἰκουμένη* with the literal ܡܕܝܢܬܐܕܝ (literally, "what is inhabitable"), which replaced the more primitive ܟܠܗ ("the whole world"). HMt[A] predictably uses ܟܠܗ, but HMt[B] more unusually prefers ܐܪܥܐ ("earth"). For example:

Homily		HMt[A]	HMt[B]
23	*τῆς οἰκουμένης*	ܟܠܗ ܥܠܡܐ of all the whole world	ܐܪܥܐ of the earth
	τῆς οἰκουμένης ἁπάσης	ܟܠܗ ܥܠܡ all the whole world	ܡܕܝܢ ܥܠܡ all the creation
25	*τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης*	(not extant)	ܐܪܥܐ ܣܦܝܐ[59] the edges of the earth

Neither translation employs the literal rendering typical of the seventh century.

2) *εὐσεβεία*

Εὐσεβεία has a similar pattern of Syriac translation development. By early translators rendered with ܕܚܠܬ ܐܠܗܐ ("fear of God"), it came to be rendered consistently with ܡܕܝܢܬ ܚܝܘܬܐ ("goodliness of fear") by the seventh century. Examples of usage in these translations:

Homily		HMt[A]	HMt[B]
10	*μίαν εὐσεβείας συμφωνίαν*	ܚܕܐ ܡܫܬܡܥܬܐ ܕܫܠܡ one sound agreement	(not applicable)
21	*τὴν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀσφάλειαν*	ܕܚܠܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܕܝܢܬ ܚܝܠܐ the soundness of the fear of God	(absent)[60]
25	*ὁ λόγος τῆς εὐσεβείας*	(not extant)	ܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ[61] the word of God

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[59]The passage possibly alludes to Psalm 19:5, for which the Peshitta has, ܒܟܠܗ ܐܪܥܐ ܦܢܐ ܩܠܗܘܢ . ܘܠܣܦܝܬܐ ܕܬܒܠܐ ܠܡܠܬܗܘܢ ("into all the earth their tidings have gone out, and their words into the ends of the whole world"). The Syriac homily translation does not rely on the Peshitta, which predictably has ܟܠܗ ܣܦܝܐ ("the ends of the whole world").

[60]For *τὴν τῆς φιλοσοφίας κτῆσιν, καὶ. . . τὴν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀσφάλειαν*, HMt[B] has ܕܢܩܢܝܢ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܢ ܬܪܥܝܬܐ ("and how that we possess good conduct"), which clearly represents the first clause of the Greek (for which HMt[A] has ܩܢܝܢܬܐ ܕܦܝܠܘܣܘܦܝܐ ܪܘܚܢܝܬܐ, "the acquisition of spiritual philosophy"). Unfortunately, HMt[B] inexplicably lacks the clause with *εὐσεβεία*.

[61]The passage possibly alludes to Psalm 19:5 (see n. 59) However, the element *εὐσεβεία*, in *ὁ λόγος τῆς εὐσεβείας*, does not derive from the Psalm.

The lack of suitable instances for comparison make it impossible to judge between HMt[A] and HMt[B] in their respective treatments of this term. However, it is clear that neither uses the literal terminology typical of the seventh century. More significantly, neither consistently applies particular methods in representing the term. Both translations appear capable of coining creative translations, although HMt[A] also uses the traditional and primitive ܕܚܠܬ ܐܠܗܐ ("fear of God").

3) *σωτηρία*

HMt[A] sometimes uses the primitive ܚܝܐ ("life," "salvation") to represent *σωτηρία*, whereas HMt[B] has ܦܘܪܩܢܐ ("salvation"), which came to be standard well before the seventh century. However, an instance in Homily 22 shows that even HMt[A] also uses ܦܘܪܩܢܐ ("salvation") at times:

	HMt[A]	HMt[B]
τὴν σὴν σωτηρίαν	ܦܘܪܩܢܟ ("your salvation")	ܦܘܪܩܢܢ ("our salvation")

HMt[A] is inconsistent in its method.

4) *κυρίως*, *θεοπρεπῶς*, and *κατὰ ἄνθρωπον*

Translations of several adverbs also provide clues about the dates of translations. For example, one occurrence of *κυρίως* in Homily 4 (for which HMt[B] is not relevant) is predictably translated by ܡܪܝܡܝܬ ("exactly"), common until the seventh-century adoption of the more literal ܡܪܝܢܝܬ ("authoritatively, accurately"). Similarly, the adverb *θεοπρεπῶς* is typically represented by ܠܡܗܘܝܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ("according to what is becoming to God") in early texts, replaced with ܡܪܝܡܝܬ ܡܐܠܗܝܬ ("becoming-of-divinely") by the seventh century. An occurrence in Homily 8 produces the following:

> *εἰ πάντα θεοπρεπῶς καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν ἔπραττε*
> ܡܕܡܝܡܝܬܐ ܡܠܝܠ ܠܐܘ ܠܡܗܘܝܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܬܥܒܕ ܡܢܗ ܐܝܟ ܠܐܘ ܝܠܗܘܬܗ
> if he was doing all things according to what was becoming to his power and to his divinity

Aside from being dynamic in other ways, the Syriac translation (HMt[A]) renders *θεοπρεπῶς* in the manner one would expect from pre-seventh-century translations.

Syriac translators employed different techniques to render the adverbial phrase *κατὰ ἄνθρωπον*. Translations of christological contexts have the most

striking technical developments, due to the pressure exerted by the felt need for terminological precision. For example, the adverb ܐܢܫܝܬܐ ("humanly") is more literal than the dynamic ܒܦܓܪܐ ("in the flesh"), but neither is as literal as ܠܦܓܪ ܐܢܫܐ ("according to man"), which occurs in the seventh-century Harklean version of the New Testament. The phrase does not appear in homilies for which HMt^{A} and HMt^{B} overlap, but two occurrences of the phrase within the same context in Homily 7 reveal that at least HMt^{A} has its own technique of translating the adverbial phrase:

οὐδὲ γὰρ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον	ܠܐ ܐܦܠܐ ܠܦܓܪ ܐܢܫܐ for neither as concerning-man
μείζονα ἢ κατὰ ἄνθρωπον	ܡܪܒܝܐ ܡܢ ܐܢܫܐ greater than concerning-man

The stylized composite ܐܢܫܐ ܠܐ ("concerning-man") is not as literal as ܠܦܓܪ ܐܢܫܐ ("according to man"), but more literal than the other two renderings noted above.

5) Conclusions about Lexical Items

This category of analysis is not very helpful for distinguishing stylistically between the two translations, both because of the low frequency of occurrences of the key words, and the lack of parallel passages allowing comparison of the two. Where comparison is possible, HMt^{B} does not emerge as the more literal of the two but is actually less consistent than HMt^{A}. Taken together, the translations exhibit styles far less literal than that typical of the seventh century, being creative and inconsistent in their renderings of the key words. With the exception of HMt^{A}'s very notable rendering of *κατὰ ἄνθρωπον*, this means that neither translation gives indications of the transitional styles of the sixth-century, but both fit the pattern of mid- to late-fifth-century translations. Since the external evidence demands that the translations were made by about the beginning of the sixth century, this is not surprising.[62]

m. The Holy Spirit and Gender

An interesting feature of early Syriac Christianity is its treatment of the Holy Spirit as grammaticaly feminine under the influence of Standard Aramaic.[63] From

[62]See 9, 93–4.

[63]See Brock, "The Holy Spirit as Feminine in Early Syriac Literature," in *After Eve: Women, Theology, and Christian Tradition*, ed. J.M. Soskice (London: Collins, 1990) 73–88; ibid., "Aspects of Translation Technique," 87.

the early fifth century, the Holy Spirit is sporadically treated as grammatically masculine and by the sixth century the masculine is the norm, the feminine appearing only occasionally, mainly in poetic or liturgical texts.

HMt[A] treats the Spirit as grammatically feminine, as shown by the following examples from Homily 4:

> *πῶς τὸ πνεῦμα εἰργάσατο τοῦτο;*
> ܐܝܟܡܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܥܒܕܬ
> How did the Spirit do this?
>
> *πῶς τοῦ πνεύματος θαυματουργοῦντος δυνησόμεθα ταῦτα εἰπεῖν;*
> ܐܝܟܡܐ ܢܬܟܠܠ ܠܢ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܕܡܬܥܒܕܢܐ ܕܬܡܗܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܠܡܡܠܠ
> How would a person be able to speak about the wonders of the Spirit. . . ?
>
> *ἔπλασεν. . . τὸ πνεῦμα τὸν ναὸν ἐκεῖνον*
> ܐܬܒܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܕܫܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܗܢܘܢ
> the Holy Spirit fashioned that temple

This feature is a very primitive one and on its own suggests a translation well prior to the sixth-century. Unfortunately, it is impossible to compare the style of HMt[B] in this regard. Some references to the Holy Spirit occur in HMt[B], but no case allows the determination of grammatical gender.[64]

n. Consistency in Rendering

Neither translation is characterized by stereotyping. Indeed, inconsistency in choice of vocabulary occurs occasionally when similar words or phrases appear in the same context but are rendered differently within the same translation:

Homily		HMt[A]	HMt[B]
23	*παρ' ἡμῶν* (twice)	ܡܢ ܠܢ literally, "from to us" ܡܢ ܥܡܢ literally, "from at us"	ܡܢ (twice) from us
25	*ὁ ἀγνοῶν* (twice)	ܡܢܕܥ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ , ܕܢܫܐ ܠܐ does not know he who forgets	ܕܢܫܐ ܠܐ, ܡܢܕܥ[65] forgets does not know

A similar inconsistency, from the reverse perspective, occurs when distinct but basically synonymous Greek words are translated by the same Syriac terms within a

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[64]This is partly because HMt[B] often translates *πνεῦμα* with ܡܬܢܬܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ("the gift of the Spirit"), particularly in contexts concerned with the giving or receiving of the Spirit.

[65]Both translations alternate their usage of ܡܢܕܥ ("is ignorant") and ܠܐ ܕܢܫܐ, ("does not know") but in opposite places.

single context. This occurs because of the discordance between the plethora of Greek words and native Syriac vocabulary,[66] a discordance which is somewhat overcome by HMt^{B} in these cases:

Homily		HMt^{A}	HMt^{B}
25	*ἀνέβησαν*	ܐܬܪܡܘ	ܐܬܠܘ
		they were exalted	they ascended
	αἰρόμενος	ܡܬܪܡܐ	ܡܬܢܣܐ
		is exalted	is taken up
25	*κορυφήν*	ܪܘܡܐ	ܪܝܫܐ
		the height	the utmost height
	ἀλαζονείαν	ܪܘܡܢܘܬܐ	ܪܘܡܢܘܬܐ
		the height	the height

Whereas both translations exhibit regular inconsistencies, HMt^{B} is more consistent in vocabulary choice.

4. Conclusions from Both Analyses, Especially for Dating

Both translations show concern for remaining faithful to the text, basically communicating what is present in the Greek. Yet from the evidence emerges the fact that both translations defy simple characterizations. Where translation theory is concerned with general style, a translation can be more literal than another in certain respects while being equally or less literal in others. James Barr has pointed out the need to gauge translation style in each of several modes instead of generalizing in broad terms about the style of translation;[67] S.P. Brock develops the emphasis.[68] Within the context of the development of Syriac translation technique, even relatively late translations can be both "fidèle et libre."[69] In this particular study, the preceeding multi-modal analysis has revealed that the complexion of HMt^{B} is sophisticated and multi-faceted. On the level of word and phrase, it is distinct from the parallel HMt^{A} but similar in degree of literalness, except for a few categories in which one translation is significantly more literal than the other. Yet the preceding macro-analysis shows that on the clause-level and in word order the translator of HMt^{B} is following a stylistically different program than HMt^{A}—one which is

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[66]See Sauget, "Une homélie de Proclus," 10.

[67]Barr, "Typology of Literalism," 292–324.

[68]Brock, "To Revise or Not to Revise," 310–3.

[69]Sauget, "Le traitement subi par l'homélie pseudo chrysostomienne *Sur le fils prodigue*," 312—Sauget notes the uneven quality of one particular translation which he figures may have been done in the eighth century.

basically more literal.

It has previously been observed that some of the special features of HMt^B, particularly in the areas of word order and non-expansion, are characteristic of a relatively later and more refined system. Hence, it is very likely on internal grounds that HMt^B is chronologically later than HMt^A. Yet the appearance of the two translations side by side in an early manuscript, the similar styles perceived in the micro-analysis, and the regularly greater literalness of HMt^A in a few categories, requires the conclusion that the two translations were done within broadly the same period. The analyses affirm on the basis of style the parameters of the period, which are already obvious from external evidence: the earliest translation must have been done after the beginning of the fifth century, because of Chrysostom's dates, and no later than 484, because of the citations in Philoxenus' florilegium.[70] The florilegium agrees with HMt^A, although the identification may not be appropriate since the florilegium cites only from homilies outside the known scope of HMt^B, i.e. outside of Homilies 21–32. The later translation (or revision[71])—almost certainly HMt^B—must have been done by about the beginning of the sixth century, because of the age of B.L. Add. 12,142 in which both translations appear. Viewed broadly, the characteristics of both HMt^A and HMt^B fit very comfortably within the context of fifth-century translation techniques, as defined by present knowledge of the technical developments in Syriac translation of Greek literature.[72]

C. The Question of Revised Translations of the Homilies on Matthew

1. Revisions in the Syriac Translation Tradition

Syriac translations of Patristic works made from Greek originals during the fifth and sixth centuries were typically revised or replaced by the zealous translators and editors of later years who operated according to much more literal methods developed since the earlier phases.[73] However, the original Syriac translations of the

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[70]See 9.

[71]On the question of revision, see 96–8 below.

[72]Vööbus conclusion that the "great series of exegetical homilies and commentaries [on the Gospels] were translated into Syriac in the second part of the fifth century" is based mainly *a priori* on Chrysostom's dates and popularity, but partially on the age of the manuscripts (*Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac, I* [*CSCO* 128; Louvain: L. Durbecq, 1951] 77–8).

[73]See Brock, "Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique," 11–2; ibid., "Basil's *Homily on Deut. xv 9*," 62–5. Sometimes a continual process of slight revision was at work (e.g. see de Halleux, "L'homélie baptismale de Grégoire de Nazianze," *Muséon* 95 [1982] 5–6).

Homilies on the New Testament appear to have made a lasting impression not to be erased or greatly refined. Throughout the centuries, the various extant Syriac collections and homiliaries tend not to rely on their Greek models for the texts but normally draw on basically the same original Syriac translations, with some exceptions. Extant evidence shows that the Syriac translations have not been subjected to systematic re-translation or drastic and thorough revision. The only possible exception is HMt^B of part of HMt, but the following analysis will show that HMt^B is probably not a revision and that the new translation may well have been occasioned by something other than developments in translation technique.

No evidence for drastic revision exists, nor is there much evidence for sporadic and slight revision according to the Greek texts. Such revision can only be confidently detected where there is variation between parallel Syriac witnesses. Many of the Syriac variants do not correspond to any of the Greek texts of the printed editions—such variants may sometimes derive from an unpublished Greek source, in revision or originally. However, sound method requires that, for the purposes of this analysis, the possibility of revision be discussed only in cases where variation exists between Syriac witnesses and at least one of the variants is clearly closer to some known Greek text. Even these circumstances only suggest the possibility of the presence of a conscious revision with reference to a Greek text, they do not confirm it, since a wide range of factors may account for variation in the Syriac text. In some cases, major variations point clearly to a Greek source, although the identification of the relationship between a variant and the Greek text does not always resolve the questions surrounding the relationships between Syriac variants. However, where only slight and occasional variations exist, as is generally the case in the tradition under scrutiny here, it is not enough to show that a particular variant appears closer to the Greek text. A policy of revision is normally only detectable when a pattern of variation appears suggesting conscious revision, and not on the basis of one variant alone.

Each of the three chapters devoted to translation analyses will present evidence from the samples used for the translation analyses and from other samples drawn from the homilies. Because of their early date and the homogeneous character of parallel witnesses, the commentary manuscripts generally serve to provide hypothetical original texts against which variation will be measured as "deviation," but always with a view to the possibility that a commentary manuscript may have a

secondary reading while a later text preserves the original.

Revisions in Biblical citations are treated in Chapter V.

2. *The Relationship Between HMt^A and HMt^B: Revision or Fresh Translation?*

If HMt^B is a later production, does it represent a fresh translation, or is it merely a revision of HMt^A? If HMt^B is a revision of HMt^A, then the revision is very extensive, since persistent differences exist between the two. Even where the styles of the two are similar on certain levels, word choice is usually distinct and scarcely a phrase is exactly parallel. Only a policy of extensive revision could account for it—or a fresh translation.[74]

The peculiar manner of the appearance of HMt^B in B.L. Add. 12,142 provides a clue. While it is easy to conceive of HMt^B as an independent and abstract entity—indeed it may once have existed independently and encompassed the whole of HMt—it actually survives only in Homilies 21–32 of one manuscript which originally contained Homilies 1–32. The most likely explanation for this phenomenon is elusive: if HMt^B once existed independently and was intended to replace HMt^A, why has it left an impression on only one very early witness for a select and coherent group of homilies and not elsewhere in the midst of the very rich tradition of the Syriac HMt? Moreover, if a scribe had before him a revision or re-translation of the entire HMt (i.e. HMt^B), why did he use it only for Homilies 21–32 of his manuscript? The manner of the translation's appearance in B.L. Add. 12,142 suggests that some copyist or translator had little or no evidence for HMt^A in Homilies 21+, perhaps because a volume was missing from his collection. He supplied the text of Homilies 21–32 in B.L. Add. 12,142 (HMt^B) in order to fill the gap.

If the text of HMt^B is put into B.L. Add. 12,142 to overcome a deficiency, the question remains: did it derive from an existing translation or revision or does it constitute a fresh translation on the part of the editor in question of the Greek of certain homilies, those to which the editor had no access in Syriac? The only way to

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[74]Vööbus' vague remarks, ostensibly applying to both the Syriac HMt and HJn, that "a comparative study of these manuscripts indicates that behind the manuscripts of the sixth century there is an interesting history of the transmission of the text" is presumably an acknowledgement of the distinct characters of HMt^A and HMt^B (*Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac, I*, 78).

determine whether HMt^{B} is a revision of HMt^{A}, rather than a new translation from the Greek, is to discover connections between the two that cannot be accounted for on the bases of a common Greek substratum, technical conventions, or some other common source of interference (e.g. Biblical versions). A few possible connections attract attention:

Homily 21 *ἐρῶ* HMt^{AB} : ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ("I [will] repeat")

Homily 31 *τὰ πολλῷ βελτίω*

HMt^{A} ܡܕܡܐ ܕܠܡ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܘܝܩܪܝܢ ܘܫܦܝܪܝܢ
those things which are greater than these and more glorious

HMt^{B} ܡܕܡܐ ܕܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܠܡܢ
these things that are more glorious

Both translations render *βελτίω* by "more glorious." Similarly, both use the term "place" in the same context to translate *θησαυρῷ*:

ἐν θησαυρῷ

HMt^{A} ܒܐܬܪܐ ("in a place")

HMt^{B} ܠܐܬܪܐ ("to a place")

Again in the same context, both translations transform an *εἰ*-clause to produce a similar sense—HMt^{A} by omitting the particle, HMt^{B} by providing the copulative conjunction:

ἀπέδωκας τὴν παρακαταθήκην, εἰ ὅπερ ἐνεπιστεύθης παρέστησας

HMt^{A} ܐܬܦܩܬ ܩܝܡܐ . ܕܡܢ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܐܬܬܝܗܒ ܠܟ ܕܒܗ ܐܬܡܢܝܬ ܐܬܩܢܝܬ
The deposit that was with you you have returned; that with which you were entrusted you have surrendered.

HMt^{B} ܐܬܦܩܬ ܩܝܡܐ ܘܐܝܬ ܠܟ . ܕܡܢ ܕܒܗ ܐܬܡܢܝܬ ܐܬܬܝܗܒ ܠܟ
You have returned the deposit and you have given that thing with which you were entrusted.

Each of these cases is explicable on the grounds that HMt^{B} is a revision of HMt^{A} which nevertheless very occasionally retains some peculiar features of its *Vorlage*. On the other hand, the occurrences may be coincidental; otherwise, they call into question the very understanding of revision: one wonders why such easily remedied discrepancies would be allowed to remain, if the aim of the revision was to correct such things with reference to some Greek text. Admittedly, there could have been oversights, since even strict revisors are not absolutely consistent, and in view of

the above analyses it must be confessed that the person who produced the text of HMt^{B} does not follow a strict method. Yet especially important here are the points at which HMt^{B} is less literal than HMt^{A} (discussed above). If a revisor had before him HMt^{A} and a program of "improvement" in mind, why would he sometimes introduce changes which actually moved the text further from the Greek? Even allowing that the Greek comparison text taken for this study is not exactly the source text of HMt^{B}, and some discrepancies can be disregarded on the grounds that they could possibly be the result of a different Greek *Vorlage*, most of the discrepancies will not allow this disavowal. For example, why replace ܙܥܘܪܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ ("smallness of soul" ≈ *μικροψυχεῖς*) with ܗܠܝܢ ܡܬܬܪܥܝܢ ("are you distressed?")? With *ἐνδεικνύμενος* in the source text, why change ܡܚܘܐ ("show") to ܡܬܝܕܥ ("make known")? Many other examples may be adduced, several of which occur in the above lists. The discrepancies between HMt^{B} and the Greek are too numerous and early to allow that they are the result of variation within a (virtually lost) Syriac tradition alone. Also, no evidence exists to suggest the complicated theory that they derive from a (presumably lost) Greek text unique in all the right places, different from that underlying HMt^{A} and the Greek editions. If HMt^{B} represents a revision of HMt^{A}, then it is a very odd revision indeed.

Therefore the best theory may require unusual circumstances but is the simplest accounting of both internal and external evidence: HMt^{B} is not a revision but a new translation made from the Greek, possibly made to fill the gap in some scholar's copy of the existing Syriac version of HMt. It originally consisted of at least Homilies 21–32, but may also have included homilies of higher numbers. The method of translation is essentially more developed than that of HMt^{A} but, having been carried out in isolation from the latter for the homilies concerned, it is not more literal at every point.

3. Revisions in HMt

A comparative study of samples from every passage at which British Library manuscripts overlap in their presentation of part of HMt reveals no clear signs of revision.[75] Some variations between manuscripts exist which result in a text closer to

[75]Vööbus agrees (idem.).

The study involves 22 sets of samples, each of about paragraph length and representing places in the tradition open to comparison because of the occurrence of overlapping witnesses. The samples are taken from the following homilies: two from 1; two from 2; two from 3; one each from 4 and 5; two from 6; one each from 7 and 8; two from 9; and one each from 10, 11, 12, 21, 23, 25, 31, and 32.

the published Greek text. However, these variants are typically not of a sort that compels one to consider conscious revision as the cause of variation. Moreover, revisions should occur in some pattern within certain witnesses, but these do not. To illustrate the bases of these conclusions, there follows a survey of representative instances in which one of the variations is clearly closer to the Greek:

Homily
4 *τῆς ἑτέρου γνώμης*
ܡܬܢܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܐܚܪܢܐ ("the thinking of another;" B.L. Add. 14,558; *B.L. Add. 14,623*; *B.L. Add. 17,166*)[76]

ܡܬܢܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܐܚܪܢܐ ("the thinking of others;" B.L. Add. 12,142; B.L. Add, 14,560)

In this case, the singular is almost certainly original to the Syriac translation. The plural of two commentary manuscripts is an inner Syriac corruption accommodating the form to the natural sense of the phrase.

23 *σαυτόν*
ܢܦܫܟ ("yourself;" B.L. Add. 14,559)
ܢܦܫܟܝܬ ("yourself;" *B.L. Add. 17,193*; includes direct object marker)[77]

The latter reading more literally represents the Greek, but appears to be an unconscious adjustment made out of respect for the grammatical context of the Syriac. In the following example, the singular reading is ~~obviously~~ probably the result of an error.

6 *Τίνος γὰρ ἕνεκεν εἰπέ μοι*
ܠܡܢܐ ܗܝܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ("for because of what, tell me;" B.L. Add. 14,558; B.L. Add. 14,560; *B.L. Add. 14,623*)
ܠܡܢܐ ܗܝܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ("for not, tell me;" B.L. Add. 12,142)

With some instances of variation, it is impossible to determine which reading is original to the translation, even though one is technically a more precise representation of the Greek. The following illustrates this, since translation style or unconscious scribal activity could account for the addition or omission of ܘ ≈ *καί*:

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[76]In a variation between singular and plural as distinguished solely by pointing (*seyame*), one of the readings will naturally be closer to that of the Greek (unless the Syriac contains words not formally paralleled by the Greek). But variations in pointing are relatively insubstantial in comparison to other formal variations and can not normally constitute strong evidence for revision.

Such variations are frequent. The case given as an example stands out because of the clustering of older and younger witnesses.

[77]Several other variations which appear in the late *B.L. Add. 17,193* move the text away from the Greek comparison text, not closer to it (see the sample on 65–6).

32 *οὐδὲ γάρ*
ܠܐ ܗܘܝ ("for not;" B.L. Add. 14,559)
ܠܐ ܗܘܝܐ ("for neither;" *B.L. Add. 12,165*)

Nevertheless, no reason exists to understand the reading of *B.L. Add. 12,165* as a revision with reference of the Greek.

4. Other Types of Alterations in HMt

Leaving aside the special case of HMt^{B}, the various Syriac witnesses to HMt bear numerous occasional differences which are clearly not signs of revision with referenceto the Greek but are interesting nevertheless. Some variations are the result of accommodation to the phrasing of biblical passages, as in the following example, where the scribe producing the reading of *B.L. Add. 14,612* must have had Matthew 8:10 in mind:

Homily
3 *πάντας Ἰουδαίους*
ܟܠܗܘܢ ܝܗܘܕܝܐ ("all the Jews;" B.L. Add. 14,558;*B.L. Add. 17,166*)
ܟܠ ܝܫܪܝܠ ("all Israel;" *B.L. Add. 14,612*)

In the next example, it would appear that the translator supplied ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ("in the likeness of"), which was corrupted to ܒܕܘܟܬܐ ("in the place of") at an early point:

Homily
6 *τὸ Πνεῦμα διὰ τοῦτο ἐν πυρὶ φαίνεται*

ܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ ܡܬܚܙܝ ܗܘܐ
the Holy Spirit because of this in the likeness of fire appeared
B.L. Add. 12,142; B.L. Add. 14,558; *B.L. Add. 14,727*

ܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ ܒܕܘܟܬܐ ܕܢܘܪܐ ܡܬܚܙܝ ܗܘܐ
the Holy Spirit because of this in the place of fire appeared
B.L. Add. 14,560; *B.L. Add. 14,612*

In a few cases, the cause of variation is hard to see, as in the following:

12 *ἄσυλον τὸ χωρίον ἐστί*
ܡܛܠܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܪܐ (B.L. Add. 12,142; B.L. Add. 14,560; *B.L. Add. 14,612*)

the fortification is strong
ܬܩܝܦ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܪܐ (B.L. Add. 14,588)
the fortification is powerful

Some relatively late manuscripts have a number of minor variants that are probably the result of loose scribal policies regarding particles and conjunctions. An

example from HMt^{A}:

Homily		B.L. Add. 14,559	*B.L. Add. 17,193*
23	*φησί(ν)* (twice)	ܐܡܪ	Ø
	οὖν	ܗܘܝܢ	ܐܝܟ
	οὕτω	ܗܟܢܐ	ܗܘܝܢ
	οὐ	ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܐ	ܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ ܠܐ

In each case, the anthology *B.L. Add. 17,193* has a reading less like the Greek than the reading which HMt^{A} has in B.L. Add. 14,559. The age of the anthology suggests strongly that its readings are secondary.

In some cases, alterations occur in order to accommodate an excerpt to the context in which it appears or to the purpose and use of a collection. For example, the anthology *B.L. Add. 14,623* adds ܐܚܝܢ ("my brothers") to the opening of an excerpt from Homily 1, tailoring the severed unit to fit as a public reading.

Manuscripts occasionally show divergent preferences regarding Greek infinitives, one reading having the Syriac infinitive and the other having the imperfect tense. Both types of forms occur often in the style of HMt^{A}. The weight of the witnesses indicates in the first example that the Syriac imperfect is the original translation, whereas in the second the Syriac infinitive is the original translation:

Homily

1 *ἀκούειν*
ܕܢܫܡܥ (B.L. Add. 14,558; B.L. Add. 12,142)
that he hear
ܠܡܫܡܥ (*B.L. Add. 14,623*)
to hear

10 *ἔθος ἀεὶ τῇ Γραφῇ τούτῳ κεχρῆσθαι τῷ τρόπῳ*
ܡܢܗܓ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܠܡܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܗܟܢܐ ܡܠܬܐ (B.L. Add. 12,142; B.L. Add. 14,558; B.L. Add. 14,560)
the Scripture has a custom to speak thus

ܡܢܗܓ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܗܟܢܐ ܡܠܬܐ (*B.L. Add. 17,166*)
the Scripture has a custom that it will speak thus

The witnesses are more evenly distributed in the final example:

5 *ἐξελέσθαι*
ܠܡܫܪܝܐ (B.L. Add. 12,142; *B.L. Add. 14,612*)
to set free
ܕܢܫܪܝ (B.L. Add. 14,560; *B.L. Add. 14,567*; B.L. Add. 14,558)
that he set free

Instances of variation between infinitive and imperfect forms are almost certainly due

to unconscious scribal corruption within the Syriac tradition.

5. Conclusions about the Presence of Revisions

If these preliminary analyses had given substantial indications of the presence of revisions in the Syriac tradition, it would be profitable to analyze individual witnesses more carefully in order to discern and describe patterns of revision within them. However, since the variants afford no such clues, a closer analysis is unnecessary. Most of the variants are obviously features of the Syriac tradition only, occurring because of scribal forces within the tradition, not because of attention to a presumed Greek *Vorlage*. In most cases, readings closest to the Greek are original features of the translation, and those which diverge from the Greek are inner Syriac corruptions. The few possible exceptions are so slight and solitary in their occurrence as to suggest that their comparatively greater resemblance to the Greek is coincidental, perhaps being accommodations to a context which naturally fostered adjustments toward the text of the Greek, but without conscious reference to the Greek.

A careful study of HMt^A and HMt^B leads to the conclusion that the latter is a fresh translation, not a revision of the former.

D. The Significance of the Syriac Translations to Editors of the Greek Text

1. Using the Syriac as a Witness to the Greek Text

HMt^A nor HMt^B are both very ancient and together confirm that their pre-medieval source texts looked much the same as the extant medieval Greek manuscripts. However, before editors can use their evidence in connection with particular Greek readings, they must appreciate the nature of the translations and their limitations as witnesses to the Greek. First to be acknowledged are the basic limitations of Syriac in representing Greek, which have been noted previously and will not be repeated here.[78] It will suffice merely to draw attention to the special limitations of the Syriac HMt as demonstrated in the above analysis.

Where Greek variants involve major transpositions, omissions, or additions, the Syriac HMt can be a helpful witness. However, neither HMt^A nor HMt^B are useful where small variations in word order occur (e.g. within clauses), although HMt^B may occasionally prove useful when read with care. Neither is a reliable witness where variations involve conjunctions or particles, although their evidence

[78]See Brock, "Limitations of Syriac," 83–98.

should be cited, with qualification, to be used with extreme care. Where variations involve verb tense, HMt^{B} is more helpful than HMt^{A}, though not where the distinction is merely one of pointing; again, their evidence should be cited with qualification. Due to the profusion of personal elements, the Syriac texts are not good witnesses to the occurrence of pronouns, though where there are Greek variations the Syriac should be cited with qualification. Unique readings in HMt^{A}—particularly of an expansive sort—should not be taken as evidence for an unknown Greek reading, although such readings in HMt^{B} must be considered carefully. As a rule, however, Greek texts should not by hypothesized on the basis of the Syriac texts; instead, the occurrence of variations in the Greek tradition should determine the points at which the Syriac may be useful.

This is a summary; in particular cases, reference should be made to the relevant sections of this analysis.

2. Some Instances of Variation in Homilies 21 and 22

A reading of Homilies 21 and 22 show that the Greek editions of HMt usually signal only occasional and slight variation. Much of it involves subtle and slight features which the translations cannot accurately reflect. Yet a comparison between the Greek and Syriac is not completely fruitless, as the following examples illustrate:

Homily	Field Text	Variant	Syriac Versions
21	*ἀλλὰ τί;*	*ἀλλ' ὅτι* (Editions)	Editions
21	*οὐκ*	om. (A)	Field Text
22	*εἶπεν*	+*ἁπλῶς* (A)	Field Text
22	*μέγα τῶν διδομεν.* (i.e. E)	*μετά τῶν διδομεν.* (A, B, C, D, F)	Field Text
22	*φησίν· οὐκ ἐκελ.*	om. *οὐκ* (E)	E
22	*Χριστοῦ*	*Θεοῦ* (D F)	D F
22	*ἔχομεν*	+*πανταχοῦ* (E)	E

Where longer variants occur, the Syriac evidence is quite clear. For example, in Homily 22 Greek manuscripts A and F have *καὶ τὰ* (om. *τὰ* A) *μυρία δι' αὐτοῦ χαρίσματα ἐδωρήσατο*, which the other Greek witnesses (B, C, D, E, and the editions) do not have; it is also absent from both Syriac texts. In the same homily, manuscript C has the unique reading, *Ὦ μακαρία γλῶσσα, πόσους ἀνακτᾶται τὸ ἓν σου ῥῆμα τοῦτο*, also absent from the Syriac texts.

The two Syriac translations sometimes go different ways, as in the following examples:

Homily	Field Text	Variant	HMt[A]	HMt[B]
21	οἱ πεντ. καὶ οἱ τρισχ.	οἱ τρισχ. καὶ οἱ πεντ. (A F)	A F	Field Text
21	τοῖς ἀπὸ φύσεως	τ. θηρίοις α. φυσ. (Editions)	Editions	Field Text

Determining the textual affiliation of the Syriac text is not easy, especially without examining many more homilies. The task might be simplified, were future editors of the Greek texts to present a much greater range and depth of variation in the Greek tradition than Field's edition.[79] Generally, the Syriac versions appear to share many of the readings of the fluid group essentially formed by Greek manuscripts B, C, D, and E, against A and F—perhaps with a special affinity for the text represented by E. However, a number of exceptions to this pattern exist, and it is impossible at this stage even to guess at the contrasting textual qualities of HMt[A] and HMt[B].

Still, the age of the translations and the examples given in this section provide hope that a more complete analysis would be worthwhile. For the present, the main contribution of the Syriac translations in this regard is to confirm that the text of the late Greek manuscripts is essentally the same as the pre-medieval Greek text—to the extent that Field's edition represents the latter.

[79]This potential is illustrated in those cases where HMt[B] lacks a clause extant in the Greek editions when the absence appears to derive from an unknown Greek source text—yet HMt[A] has the clause (see 70). Also, for the reference in Homily 22 to the woman designated τὴν Φοινίκισσαν (Φοίνισσαν B E), HMt[A] has ܦܝܢܩܝܐ ("Pheonician"), but HMt[B] has ܣܡܪܝܬܝܬܐ ("Samaritan"), a discrepancy which probably originates in the Greek tradition.

IV. TRANSLATION ANALYSIS: HOMILIES ON THE EPISTLES

A. Introduction[1]

The Syriac translations of HEpp are stylistically similar to one another, having many features in common. It is impossible to know the circumstances under which the various sets were translated into Syriac,[2] but their stylistic homogeneity suggests they were translated at about the same time.

The following analysis proceeds in the same manner as in the preceding chapter. Again, Field's editions provide the most excellent Greek comparison texts available.[3]

For the Syriac Homilies on Romans and the Homilies on Hebrews, no legible commentary manuscripts exist to form a reliable basis for analysis; only extracts survive, which may not accurately reflect texts of the original translations.[4] Hence, samples of their texts are not directly incorporated into this analysis, but are studied separately in Appendix I.

B. Samples of Text and Macro-Analysis

1. General Observations Arising from the Macro-Analysis

On the macro-level, the different Syriac versions of HEpp share essentially a single style. They tend to take the Greek phrase as the unit of translation and usually maintain the order and function of the Greek clauses. Normally, the translations do not provide elements absent from some form of the Greek. The translations exhibit many instances of remarkable faithfulness to Greek word order. They are also fairly careful to maintain correspondence in word class, i.e. rendering Greek nouns with Syriac nouns, etc. Exceptions are frequently inevitable and follow regular patterns, e.g. rendering adjectives with adjectival participles.

In these areas, the translations are more literal and more consistent than the

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[1]For a general introduction to the translation analyses, see 62–4.

[2]Except that the Homilies on 1 Corinthians were translated in Kallinikos, according to the colophon of B.L. Add. 12,160 (see 41).

[3]The presentations of Greek texts employ the *sigla* of the editions.

[4]See 37–8, 60.

translations of HMt or HJn, although they do not strive for the degree of consistency evident in many seventh-century translations.

2. Homilies on Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians

A sample from Homily 39 on 1 Corinthians:[5]

1 Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐν*[1] τῇ τελευταίᾳ ἡμέρα οἱ ἐχθροὶ καταργοῦνται τοῦ θεοῦ
2 μετὰ τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τοῦ διαβολοῦ καὶ τῶν δαιμόνων,
3 μὴ ἀσχάλλωμεν ἐπὶ τοῖς εὐημεροῦσιν ἐχθροῖς τοῦ θεοῦ.
4 Οἱ γὰρ ἐχθροὶ τοῦ Κυρίου
5 ἅμα τῷ δοξασθῆναι αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑψωθῆναι ἐκλείποντες,
6 ὡσεὶ καπνὸς ἐξέλιπον.
7 Ὅταν*[2] ἴδῃς τινὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν*[3] τοῦ θεοῦ πλουτοῦντα,
8 δορυφορούμενον, κόλακας ἔχοντα πολλούς,
9 μὴ καταπέσῃς, ἀλλὰ στέναξον, δάκρυσον, παρακάλεσον τὸν θεὸν,
10 ὥστε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς φίλους κατατάξαι·
11 καὶ ὅσῳ ἂν εὖ πράττῃ ἐχθρὸς ὤν,
12 τοσούτῳ αὐτὸν μᾶλλον πένθησον.
13 Τούς γὰρ ἁμαρτωλοὺς ἀεὶ μὲν θρηνεῖν δεῖ,
14 μάλιστα δὲ ὅταν καὶ πλούτου καὶ πολλῆς ἀπολαύωσιν εὐημερίας.

*[1]om. A *[2]+οὖν F (= Syriac)
*[3]τινὰ ἐχθρόν Veronensis Migne (τινὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν = Syriac)

B.L. Add. 12,160; and *B.L. Add. 14,612*[6]

1 ܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܕܒܐܚܪܝܬܐ ܝܘܡܐ ܕܒܥܠܝܢ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐܝܬܝܢ:
2 ܥܡ ܡܘܬܐ ܘܐܝܟ ܕܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܫܝܛܢܐ.
3 ܠܐ ܢܬܚܫ ܒܢܦܫܢ ܥܠ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܬܝܩܪܝܢ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܬܝܪܝܢ.
4 ܕܒܥܠܝܢ, ܐܝܟ ܕܡܪܝܐ
5 ܕܡܬܝܩܪ ܕܡܫܬܒܚܝܢ ܘܡܬܪܡܝܢ ܘܡܬܠܝܢ.
6 ܐܝܟ ܥܫܢܐ *[1] ܡܛܘ.
7 ܐܡܬܝ, ܡܛܠ ܕܚܙܝܬ ܐܢܬ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܒܥܠܝܢ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܥܬܝܪܝܢ:
8 ܕܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܡܫܡܫܝܢ, ܟܕ ܢܛܘܪ: ܕܡܬܪܝܢ ܡܫܬܡܫܝܢ ܐܢܬ ܠܗ.
9 ܠܐ ܬܦܠ. ܐܠܐ ܐܢܚܢ. ܕܡܟܐ ܐܦܝܢ ܠܐܠܗܐ
10 ܕܢܬ ܕܢܬܪܡ, ܕܢܬܪܡ,.
11 ܕܐܢܬ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܐ ܐܢܬܝ, ܕܒܥܠܝܢ.
12 ܡܢܐ ܕܠܡܐ ܐܢܬ *[2]ܡܬܩܢܐ ܠܗ ܕܐܢܬ,.
13 ܠܐ ܢܚܝܢ ܕܐܝ ܕܒܥܠܝܢ ܕܐܝ ܕܡܬܩܢܐ.
14 ܡܬܩܢܐ ܕܐ ܐܢܬ, ܕܡܢ ܐܢܬ ܡܬܩܢܐ. ܕܒܡܝܢ
ܕܡܬܪܘܝܢ ܕܡܬܩܢܐ.

1 Therefore since in the latter day the enemies of God will be brought to nothing,
2 (along) with death and the devil and the demons,
3 let us not be distressed at the enemies of God who are rich.
4 For the enemies of the Lord,

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[5]The Greek sample is from Field, *Interp.ep.Paul.*, 2.500 (*PG* 61.342–3).

[6]The Syriac text is from B.L. Add. 12,160, folio 63[v]; and *B.L. Add. 14,612*, folio 80[r].

5 at the moment they are glorified and exalted, are destroyed,
6 and like smoke*[1] they have burnt up.
7 Therefore when you see one of the enemies of God who is wealthy,
8 and spearmen go before him, and he has many flatterers,
9 do not fall, but groan, weep, urge God
10 so that he might put him with his friends.
11 And inasmuch as he is wealthy, being an enemy,
12 mourn over him so much the more.*[2]
13 For although it is always right that we mourn for sinners,
14 yet it is especially (right to do so) when they are in wealth and enjoy great riches.

*[1]om. ܥܫܢܐ *B.L. Add. 14,612* (om. "smoke;" a later corrector introduces it into the margin)
*[2]om. ܡܢܥܠܐ *B.L. Add. 14,612* (om. "the more")

The Syriac text of both manuscripts is identical, except for two omissions on the part of *B.L. Add. 14,612*. Both texts derive from the same Syriac translation.

The sample well illustrates the type of literalism which characterizes the Syriac translation(s) of HEpp. The translator tends to represent only elements which occur in the Greek, adding a very few minor elements. Also, only a few small, mainly inevitable, adjustments mar his otherwise faithful pursuit of the Greek word order. Furthermore, the translation renders the Greek by carefully having Syriac words of the same classes, except in line 8, where the Syriac uses an interpretive phrase to represent the single Greek participle, *δορυφορούμενον*.

3. Homilies on Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians

A sample from Homily 10 on 2 Corinthians:[7]

1 *Ἀκούσωμεν τοίνυν*[1] *τῆς Παύλου φωνῆς λεγούσης,*
2 *ὅτι δεῖ ἡμᾶς παρασταθῆναι*[2] *τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ·*
3 *καὶ ὑπογράψωμεν ἐκεῖνο τὸ δικαστήριον,*
4 *καὶ νομίσωμεν αὐτὸ παρεῖναι νῦν, καὶ τὰς εὐθύνας ἀπαιτεῖσθαι.*
5 *Ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτὸ πλατύτερον ἐρῶ.*[3]
6 *Παῦλος γὰρ, ἐπειδὴ περὶ θλίψεως*[4] *ὁ λόγος ἦν*[5] *αὐτῷ,*
7 *καὶ οὐκ ἐβούλετο πάλιν θλῖψαι αὐτους, οὐκ ἐνδιέτριψε τῷ λόγῳ,*
8 *ἀλλ' ἐν βραχεῖ τὸ στῦφον εἰπὼν,*
9 *Ἕκαστος κομίσεται*[6] *πρὸς ἃ ἔπραξε, ταχέως παρέδραμε.*
10 *Νομίσωμεν οὖν*[8] *αὐτὸ παρεῖναι νῦν,*
11 *καὶ ἕκαστος τὸ ἑαυτοῦ συνειδὸς ἀναλογιζέσθω,*
12 *καὶ ἤδη λογιζέσθω*[7] *παρεῖναι τὸν δικαστήν,*
13 *καὶ πάντα ἀνακαλύπτεσθαι καὶ εἰς μέσον ἄγεσθαι.*
14 *Οὐ γὰρ παραστῆναι ἡμᾶς ἁπλῶς δεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ φανερωθῆναι.*

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[7]The Greek sample is from Field, *Interp.ep.Paul.*, 3.122 (*PG* 61.470).

[8]On the relationship of this passage with *Hom. de perfecta caritate* 6.292A, see Field, *Interp.ep.Paul.*, 3.344 [510B].

15 *Ἄρα οὐκ ἠρυθριάσατε;*[*8] *ἆρα οὐκ ἐξέστητε;*

*[*1]*οὖν* A F *[*2]*παραστῆναι* A C *[*3]+*νῦν* C D (om. *νῦν* = Syriac)
*[*4]*ἀναστάσεως* Veronensis Savile mg. (*θλίψεως* = Syriac)
*[*5]Sic A B C F; *ἦν ὁ λόγος* Migne *[*6]*κομίσηται* A F
*[*7]*ἐννοείτω* C D (*λογίζεσθω* = Syriac)
*[*8]*ἐφρίξατε* C D (*ἠρυθριάσατε* = Syriac)

B.L. Add. 14,564; B.L. Add. 12,180; *B.L. Add. 14,617*; and *B.L. Add. 12,165*[9]

1 ܢܬܩܪܒ[*1] ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܢܫܡܥ ܠܩܠܗ ܕܦܘܠܘܣ ܗܘܐ ܕܐܡܪ:
2 ܕܗܘܝܢ[*2] ܕܢܩܘܡ ܩܕܡ ܒܝܡܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ .
3 ܘܢܨܝܪ ܠܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܗܘ ܕܝܢܐ .
4 ܘܢܚܫܒ ܕܗܫܐ ܩܐܡ . ܘܢܬܒܥܘܢ ܕܚܝܒܐ ܕܝܠܢ .
5 ܐܢܐ ܠܝ ܡܠܝ ܐܡܪ ܒܫܘܪܐ ܪܒܐ ܠܡܐ .
6 ܦܘܠܘܣ ܗܘ . ܠܡܕܡ ܕܡܠܝܠ ܥܠ ܥܩܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ:
7 ܘܠܐ ܨܒܐ ܕܢܥܩܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ . ܠܐ ܡܛܝ ܒܡܠܝܠܐ .
8 ܐܠܐ ܟܕ ܒܫܘܪܐ[*3] ܐܡܪ ܡܢܝ ܕܡܚܝܦܐ:
9 ܕܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܢܣܒ ܠܦܘܪܥܢܗ ܡܢܝ ܕܥܒܕ . ܡܫܬܠܚ ܫܪܐ .[*4]
10 ܡܫܬܠܚ ܡܫܝܚ ܕܩܪܝܒ ܡܫܝܚ .
11 ܘܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܢܚܫܒܘܢ ܒܡܕܥܬܗ .
12 ܘܢܚܫܒ ܠܗ ܕܩܪܝܒ ܕܩܪܝܒ[*5] .
13 ܘܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܡܬܓܠܝ ܘܡܬܩܪܒ ܐܡܨܥܬܐ .
14 ܠܐ ܠܝ ܕܢܩܘܡ ܒܠܚܘܕܝ ܕܢܬܓܠܝ[*6] . ܐܠܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܓܠܝܐ .
15 ܐܝܟܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܬܪܥܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ . ܐܝܟܐ ܠܐ ܡܪܬܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ .

1 Let*[1] us hear therefore the voice of Paul, who says,
2 "It is right*[2] that we stand before the judgement seat of Christ;"
3 and let us depict that court of judgement,
4 and let us suppose that it is now present, and the debts required of us.
5 For I myself say it at greater length.
6 But Paul, because about tribulation he had a discourse,
7 and he did not want to distress them further, did not persist in the discourse,
8 but when in brief*[3] he had spoken that astringent,
9 so that everyone might receive it in proportion to the things that he has done, quickly he passed on.*[4]
10 Therefore, let us understand that it is now near,
11 and let everyone take account in his conscience,
12 and let him/us reckon that it is already near,*[5]
13 and everything is revealed and has come into the midst.
14 For it is not right*[6] merely that we stand, but that we be revealed.
15 Are you not in awe? Are you not quivering?

*[1]ܢܬܩܪܒ . ܡܫܝܚܐ *B.L. Add. 12,165* ("my beloved, let us")
*[2]ܕܗܘܝܢ *B.L. Add. 12,165* ("Who says, 'that we are about to'")
*[3]ܒܫܘܪܐ *B.L. Add. 14,617* (plural; add *seyame*)
*[4]om. ܫܪܐ ܡܫܬܠܚ . . . ܕܗܘ ܕܝܢܐ ܢܨܝܪ *B.L. Add. 12,165* (om. "and let us depict that court. . . , quickly he passed on")
*[5]ܩܪܝܒ ܕܩܪܝܒ *B.L. Add. 12,165* ("that he is now near")
*[6]ܕܢܗܘܐ *B.L. Add. 12,165* ("for we are not merely going to stand")

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[9]The Syriac text is from B.L. Add. 14,564, folio 82; B.L. Add. 12,180, folio 69; *B.L. Add. 14,617*, folio 111[v]; and *B.L. Add. 12,165*, folio 156[r].

Three Syriac witnesses to this passage have essentially identical texts,[10] deriving from the same translation. The eleventh-century homiliary *B.L. Add. 12,165* omits a large portion of this popular passage, presumably due to intentional abbreviation.[11]

Line 14 provides a good example of remarkably close adherence to the Greek word order—even the positioning of ܝܐܬܝ ("it is right") is precisely parallel, at the end of its clause, when Syriac idiom would strongly prefer it nearer the beginning. Still, the translator only irregularly goes to such trouble to follow the word order of his source text.

4. Homilies on Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians

A sample from Homily 11:[12]

1 *Εἰ τοίνυν βουλόμεθα τοῦ πνεύματος ἀπολαύειν τοῦ ἀπὸ*
τῆς κεφαλῆς,
2 *ἀλλήλων ἐχώμεθα.**[1]
3 *Δύο γὰρ εἰσι διαιρέσεις**[2] *ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ·*
4 *μία μὲν, ὅταν ψύξωμεν τὴν ἀγάπην,*
5 *δευτέρα δὲ, ὅταν ἀνάξια τοῦ τελεῖν εἰς ἐκεῖνο τὸ σῶμα τολμήσωμεν·*
6 *ἑκάτερως**[3] *γὰρ**[4] *χωρίζομεν ἑαυτοὺς τοῦ πληρώματος.*
7 *Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλους εἰς τούτο οἰκοδομεῖν**[5] *τετάγμεθα,*
8 *οἱ**[6] *πρότερον**[7] *σχίζοντες, τί οὐκ ἂν πάθοιεν;*
9 *Οὐδὲν οὕτως ἐκκλησίαν δυνήσεται διαιρεῖν, ὡς φιλαρχία·*
10 *οὐδὲν οὕτω παροξύνει τὸν θεόν, ὡς τὸ ἐκκλησίαν διαιρεθῆναι.*
11 *Κἂν μυρία ὦμεν ἐργασάμενοι καλά,*
12 *τῶν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ διατεμόντων οὐκ ἐλάττονα δώσομεν δίκην,*
13 *οἱ τὸ πλήρωμα κατατέμνοντες τὸ ἐκκλησιαστικόν.*
14 *Ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ κέρδει τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐγένετο,*
15 *εἰ καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ διανοίας τοιαύτης·*

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[10]Although *B.L. Add. 14,617* uses ܡܬܪܚܡܢܐ to represent *βραχεῖ*.

[11]It also has some orthographical variations, and a few variants more substantial, but shows itself to have the same translation as the three manuscripts:

The occurrence of ܪܚܡܝ ("my beloved") at the beginning is a standard address for the liturgical reading in the homiliary.

The addition of ܗܘ ("he"), which actually takes the place of *δικαστήν*, a term that has no representative in the three other manuscripts, provides a subject where one is wanting. The variation is an addition calculated to improve the stylistically awkward sentence resulting from the absence of *δικαστὴν* (or its Syriac representative).

The substitution in two places of the more literal ܡܬܝ (≈ *δεῖ*) with ܡܬܚܢܢ ("we are about to") is an accommodation to the Peshitta of 2 Corinthians 5:10 (see 212).

[12]The Greek sample is from Field, *Interp.ep.Paul.*, 4.222 (*PG* 62.85).

16 *τοῦτο δὲ οὐδὲν οὐδαμοῦ*[*8] *τὸ χρήσιμον ἔχει,*
17 *ἀλλὰ πολλὴ ἡ βλάβη.*
18 *Ταῦτά μοι οὐχὶ*[*9] *πρὸς τοὺς ἄρχοντας εἴρηται μόνον,*
19 *ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχομένους.*

*[1] *ἐχόμεθα* A *[2] *εἰσιν αἱ διαιρέσεις* E *[3] *ἑκατέρωθεν* A B F
*[4] om. C D E (inclusion of *γάρ* = Syriac)
*[5] sic E Veronensis; *εἰς τὸ οἰκοδομεῖν* A B F Savile and subsequent editions; *οἰκοδομεῖν εἰς τούτο* C D
*[6] +*μὴ οἰκοδομοῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ* A B F Savile and subsequent editions (om. = Syriac)
*[7] *πρότεροι* B E (*πρότερον* = Syriac) *[8] *οὐδαμόθεν* A B F
*[9] *οὐ* E

B.L. Add. 14,565 and *B.L. Add. 12,181*[13]

1 ܐܢܬܘܢ ܡܬܠ ܕܢܬܪܘܚܢ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܡܢ ܪܫܐ ܗܢܘܢ ܪܘܚܐ *[1]
2 ܢܬܚܙܩ ܐܝܟܐ ܚܕ ܠܚܕ.
3 ܬܪܝܢ ܠܝܬ ܦܠܓܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܦܓܪܐ ܕܥܕܬܐ.
4 ܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܝܟܐ, ܕܢܬܪ ܡܪܚܝܢ
5 ܕܢܬܪ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܬܪܝܨ ܕܢܥܒܕ ܠܗ *[2] ܡܕܡ ܕܠܐ ܫܝܐ.
6 ܡܬܠ ܡܢ ܡܕܡܐ ܠܝܬ. ܦܪܝܫܝܢ ܢܚܢ ܡܢ ܫܠܡܐ ܡܢ ܦܓܪܐ.
7 ܐܦ ܠܝܬ ܠܡܢ, ܕܐܬܩܢܝܢ *[3] ܢܚܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܬܚܠܩܝܢ.
8 ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܡܬܚܠܩܝܢ. ܡܕܡ ܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ:
9 ܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܡܫܬܠܛ ܡܬܬܪ ܕܥܕܬܐ ܡܢ ܪܘܚܐ. ܐܝܟ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܪܝܫܘܬܐ.
10 ܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܡܬܪܓܙ ܠܐܠܗ *[4] ܠܐܠܗ. ܐܝܟ ܡܢ, ܕܥܕܬܐ ܕܡܬܚܠܩܐ.
11 ܐܦ *[5] ܕܢܗܘ ܠܢ ܕܥܒܕܢ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܛܒܬܐ.
12 ܠܐ ܢܬܝܗ ܡܢ ܡܠܬ ܕܩܛܥܘ ܦܓܪܗ ܢܬܠ ܕܝܢܐ.
13 ܡܢ ܕܡܬܚܠܩܝܢ ܥܕܬܐ ܕܡܠܝܢ.
14 ܡܢ, ܡܢ ܠܝܬ. ܠܡܬܪܝܢ ܕܡܬܠ *[6] ܐܡܬܪܝܢ.
15 ܐܦ ܠܐ ܡܢ ܕܡܬܪܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܡܕܡ.
16 ܡܕܡ ܕܝܢ. ܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܡܢ *[7] ܠܒܪ ܡܢ, ܕܡܬܩܢܝܢ ܐܠܗ ܠܗ.
17 ܐܠܐ ܡܬܠܦܝܢ ܡܠܝܢ:
18 ܡܠܝ ܠܐ ܠܗ ܕܢܬܪ ܠܡܢܪ ܐܡܪܝ ܠܝ.
19 ܐܠܐ ܠܡܢ ܡܢ ܕܢܗܘܢ ܕܢܬ.

1 Therefore, if we want to be refreshed with that spirit from the brain,*[1]
2 let us hold to each other.
3 For there are two divisions from the ecclesiastical body:
4 one, on the one hand, when we cool love,
5 and the second, on the other hand: that we dare to do*[2] unworthy things to that body.
6 For by either one of them we sever ourselves from the fullness.
7 For if to build others*[3] we have been appointed,
8 those who divide first of all, what will not happen to them?
9 Nothing is so able to tear the church asunder like love of primacy;
10 nothing so angers God*[4] as the church being torn asunder.
11 Even if*[5] we be those who have done ten thousands of good things,
12 not less than these who have cut his body we will give judgement,
13 we who divide the ecclesiastical fullness.

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[13]The Syriac text is from B.L. Add. 14,565, folio 76[r]; and *B.L. Add. 12,181*, folio 100[v].

14 For that, on the one hand, was done for the benefit of the whole world,*[6]
15 although not from such an intention;
16 this, on the other hand, nothing at all by any means*[7] profitable does it have,
17 but great harm.
18 These things not to leaders only are said by me,
19 but also to those who are under a leader.

*[1]om. ܕܥܒܕܬ ܠܟܠ ܥܠܡܐ, ܡܢ *B.L. Add. 12,181* (homoioteleuton)
*[2]om. – ܕ B.L. Add. 14,565 (insignificant omission of relative pronoun)
*[3]om. – ܠ *B.L. Add. 12,181* (omission of accusative marker)
*[4]+ ܠܗ *B.L. Add. 12,181* (+objective pronoun)
*[5]+ ܟܝ *B.L. Add. 12,181* (as if the Greek were *Κἂν μέν* in line 11)
*[6]ܥܠܡܐ ("whole world") B.L. Add. 14,565 original hand?;
ܕܡܬܝܫܒܐ ("what is inhabited"), correction in same hand
*[7]om. ܟܠܡܐ *B.L. Add. 12,181* (om. "by any means")

Although a number of variations[14] exist between the two witnesses to this passage, the two manuscripts have the same translation.

While sometimes restructuring the order of elements within clauses for the sake of the preferences of Syriac idiom, overall the translator follows the Greek word order quite literally, exemplified in lines 7–8. The translator is also very careful to maintain parallel word classes in his translation where possible, an exception being in line 18 where he uses the prepositional phrase ܠܬܚܬ ܪܫܐ ("those under a leader") to render the participle *τοὺς ἀρχομένους*. The rendering is semantically accurate, but not so formally literal as the others in the sample. However, it achieves another sort of literalism, by maintaining Syriac parallelism where Greek parallelism exists (*τοὺς ἄρχοντας—τοὺς ἀρχομένους*).

5. Homilies on Paul's Epistle to the Philippians

The fragmentary extant Syriac Homilies on Philippians yield brief samples

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[14]In regard to the non-orthographical variants: *B.L. Add. 12,181* provides an anticipatory suffix which is a normal feature of Syriac idiom but is an additional element unparalleled in the Greek. It also smoothes out the style by adding the relative –ܕ, missing from B.L. Add. 14,565.

Of much greater interest is the addition of ܟܝ on the part of *B.L. Add. 12,181*. Ostensibly intended to represent *μέν*, the particle does not appear in the edited Greek. However, since corresponding ܕܡ (≈ *δέ*) does not follow, as would normally be expected, it may be that an editor of the Syriac knew a Greek text having a solitary *μέν*. The omission of ܟܠܡܐ ("by any means") on the part of *B.L. Add. 12,181* may be due to the editor's interpretation of the term as redundant.

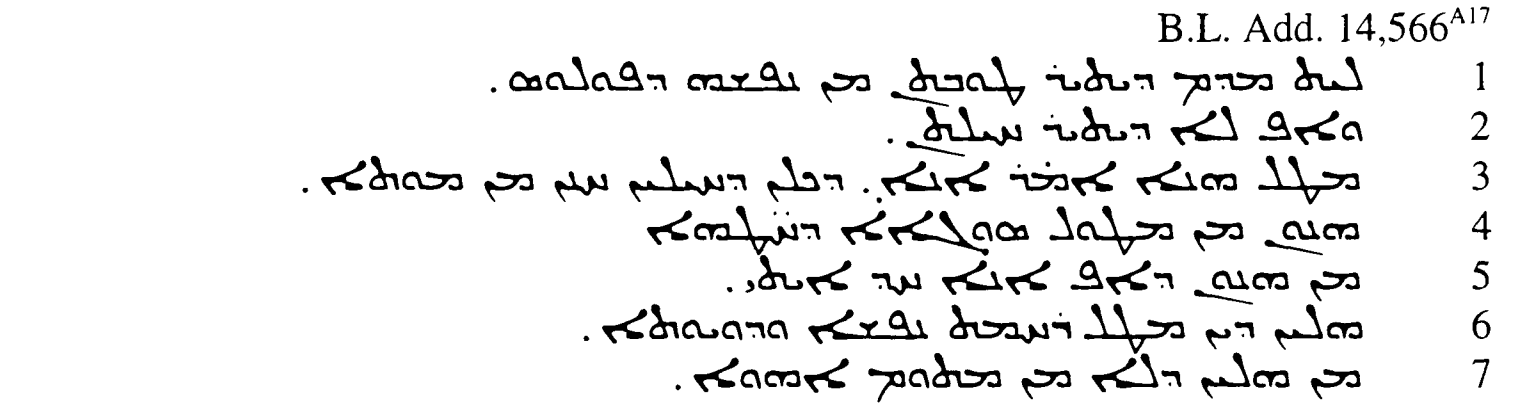
For the variation between ܕܡܬܝܫܒܐ ("what is inhabited") and ܥܠܡܐ ("whole world"), see 139.

illustrating the translation style. The first is from Homily 4:[15]

1 *Οὐδὲν τῆς Παύλου ψυχῆς μακαριώτερον,*[*1]
2 *ἐπειδὴ μηδὲ γενναιότερον,*[*2]
3 *διὰ τοῦτο. Πάντες πεφρίκαμεν τὸν θάνατον, λέγω.*[*3]
4 *Οἱ μὲν διὰ τὸ τῶν ἁμαρτημάτων πλῆθος,*
5 *ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς εἷς εἰμι·*
6 *οἱ δὲ διὰ τὴν φιλοψυχίαν καὶ ταλαιπωρίαν,*
7 *ὧν μήποτε γενοίμην ἐγώ·*

*[1]+*γέγονεν* F (om. = Syriac)
*[2]+*ἀλλὰ νῦν τὸ ἐναντίον εὔκαιρον εἰπεῖν περὶ πάντων· οὐδὲν ἡμῶν ἀσθενέστερον, οὐδὲ ταλαιπωρότερον* C G Savile and subsequent editions (om. = Syriac)[16]
*[3]Sic E F; om. Migne et al. (inclusion of *λέγω* = Syriac)

B.L. Add. 14,566[A17]



1 Nothing is more blessed than the soul of Paul,
2 and also not stronger.
3 Because of this I say that all of us are afraid of death;
4 those, on the one hand, because of the multitude of sins—
5 of those I also am one;
6 these, on the other hand, because of the love of life and (because of) misery—
7 (one) of these may I never be.

A sample from Homily 2:[18]

1 *Οὐχ ὡς ἀπιστούμενος μάρτυρα καλεῖ τὸν Θεόν,*
2 *ἀλλ' ἐκ πολλῆς διαθέσεως τοῦτο ποιεῖ,*
3 *καὶ τῷ σφόδρα πεπεῖσθαι καὶ θαρρεῖν.*
4 *Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ*[*1] *εἶπεν, ὅτι ἐκοινώσησαν αὐτῷ,*
5 *ἵνα μὴ νομίσωσιν, ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο αὐτοὺς ποθεῖ,*
6 *καὶ οὐχ ἁπλῶς*[*2] *ἐκείνων ἕνεκεν, διὰ τοῦτο ἐπήγαγεν,*
7 *ὅτι ἐν σπλάγχνοις Χριστοῦ.*

*[1]om. E Veronensis catenae (inclusion of *γάρ* = Syriac)
*[2]om. *καὶ οὐκ ἁπλῶς* E F Veronensis catenae (om. = Syriac)

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[15]The Greek sample is from Field, *Interp.ep.Paul.*, 5.39 (*PG* 62.205).
[16]See Field, *Interp.ep.Paul.*, 5.506 [219B]).
[17]The Syriac sample is from folio 14[v].
[18]The Greek sample is from Field, *Interp.ep.Paul.*, 5.17 (*PG* 62.189).

B.L. Add. 14,566[A19]

1 ܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܡܗܝܡܢ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܣܗܕܐ .
2 ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܥܒܕܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܡܪܝܡ ܡܨܝ .
3 ܘܡܢ ܡܢ ܕܣܓܝ ܡܫܬܘܠ .
4 ܡܛܠ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܠܗ .
5 ܕܠܐ ܢܣܒܪܘܢ ܕܡܛܠ ܡܪܝܡ ܡܚܒ ܠܗܘܢ
6 ܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܐܘܣܦ
7 ܒܪܚܡܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ .

1 Not as he who does not believe does he call God witness,
2 but he does this from great love;
3 and from (being) greatly persuaded and confident.
4 For because he said that they shared with him—
5 so that they would not suppose that he loves them because of this,
6 because of this he added,
7 "with the mercies of Christ."

The close following of the *μέν. . . δὲ* clause in lines 4–6 of the sample from Homily 4 shows that the translator is interested in the word order of his source text and is able to represent it with precision.

The placement of ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ (≈ *λέγω*) in line 3 of the same sample differs from the Greek placement, each revealing a distinct understanding of the relationships between the relevant clauses. However, as *λέγω* is absent from many Greek witnesses, the significance of the Syriac word order is unclear. The Syriac of the sample from Homily 2 has nothing corresponding to *καὶ οὐχ ἁπλῶς ἐκείνων ἕνεκεν* (line 6). The absence of *καὶ οὐχ ἁπλῶς* from several Greek witnesses suggests that the Syriac reading is based on a Greek variation.[20]

6. Homilies on Paul's Epistle to Philemon [21]

A sample from Homily 1:[22]

1 *Ὑπὲρ οἰκέτου πρὸς δεσπότην ἐστὶ ταῦτα.*
2 *Εὐθέως*[*1] *ἀπὸ τοῦ προοιμίου τὸ φρόνημα αὐτοῦ κατέσπασεν,*
3 *οὐκ ἀφῆκεν ἐπαισχυνθῆναι, τὸν θυμὸν ἔσβεσε,*
4 *δέσμιον ἑαυτὸν καλῶν κατέννυξε καὶ συνέστειλεν,*
5 *οὐδὲν τὰ παρόντα ἐποίησε δοκεῖν εἶναι πράγματα.*

[19]The Syriac sample is from folio 6.

[20]See 147.

[21]Data on this set of homilies are presented here, out of Biblical order, because the Syriac text is preserved with that of the Homilies on Philippians in the same manuscript.

[22]The Greek sample is from Field, *Interp.ep.Paul.*, 6.328–9 (*PG* 62.703).

6 *Εἰ γὰρ δεσμὸς οὐκ αἰσχύνη διὰ τὸν Χριστόν,*
7 *ἀλλὰ καὶ*[*2] *καύχημα,*
8 *πολλῷ μᾶλλον δουλεία οὐκ ἐπονείδιστον.*
9 *Καὶ ταῦτα*[*3] *λέγει οὐκ ἐπαίρων ἑαυτόν·*
10 *συμφερόντως γὰρ ποιεῖ*[*4] *τὸ ἀξιόπιστον*[*5] *δεικνύς,*
11 *οὐχ ἑαυτοῦ ἕνεκεν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν χάριν ἑτοιμότερον λαβεῖν·*
12 *ὡς ἂν εἰ ἔλεγε, δι' ὑμᾶς τὸν δεσμὸν τοῦτον περίκειμαι·*

*[1]+*οὖν* catenae (om. = Syriac) *[2]om. C E (inclusion of *καί* = Syriac)
*[3]+*αὐτά* I (= Syriac)
*[4]*ἑαυτὸν· ἀλλὰ συμφερόντως τοῦτο ποιῶν, καὶ τὸ* C G K Savile and subsequent editions
*[5]+*ἐντεῦθεν* G K Savile and subsequent versions (om. = Syriac)

B.L. Add. 14,566[A23]

1 ܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܝܐ ܕܥܒܕܐ ܠܡܪܝܐ ܡܬܩܢܝܢ .
2 ܡܛܠ ܕܡܢ ܫܪܝܬܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܟܡ ܐܬܟܣܐ ܡܕܥܗ .
3 ܘܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܕܢܒܝܫܘܢ . ܐܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܐ ܪܓܙܐ .
4 ܡܛܠ ܕܒܗܝ ܕܩܪܐ ܠܢܦܫܗ ܐܣܝܪܐ . ܐܦܚܕ ܘܩܨܪ ܠܗ .
5 ܕܠܐ ܢܚܫܒ* ܕܗܘܝܢ ܕܗܫܐ ܥܒܕܐ ܕܠܝܬܝܢ .
6 ܐܢ ܡܛܠ ܕܐܣܘܪܐ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܝܬ ܒܫܘܬܐ :
7 ܐܠܐ ܐܦ ܕܫܒܚܐ .
8 ܟܡܐ ܡܢܝܢ ܥܒܕܘܬܐ ܠܝܬ ܒܟܣܝܢܘܬܐ .
9 ܘܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܝܐ ܐܡܪ . ܠܐ ܒܪܡܝܢ ܢܦܫܗ .
10 ܐܠܐ ܦܥܠܐ ܛܒܬܐ ܕܒܪ ܡܫܘܐ ܕܗܘܝܢ ܕܫܪܝܪ ܗܘܝ
11 ܠܐ ܡܛܠ ܢܦܫܗ . ܐܠܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܢܣܒ ܛܝܒܬܐ ܕܛܥܡܐ ܗܢܐ
12 ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ . ܡܛܠ ܕܝܠܟܘܢ ܐܣܘܪܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܫܬܪܝܢ ܥܠܝ .

*ܡܢ ("from") B.L. Add. 14,566[A] — error?

1 These things are on behalf of the servant to the master.
2 For immediately from the beginning he concealed his mind
3 and did not allow him to be ashamed, but extinguishes anger.
4 For in that he called himself a prisoner he caused alarm and cut him short,
5 to make him think that the existing deeds are nothing.
6 For if chains are no shame because of Christ—
7 but even boasting—
8 how much more is slavery not a matter for reproach.
9 And these very things he says, not exalting himself,
10 but acting beneficially, showing that it is worthy to be believed,
11 not because of himself, but for the sake of receiving grace more readily,
12 as if he were saying, "Because of you are these chains that are set upon me."

The sample exhibits a few non-literal renderings. However, the word order of the Syriac shows a preference for following that of the Greek quite closely. For example, the Syriac translation of the conditional sentence in lines 6–8 positions its parallel elements in precisely the same order as the Greek.

[23]The Syriac sample is from folio 25[r].

7. Homilies on Paul's Epistle to the Colossians

Sample of Homily 11:[24]

1 Ἐι γὰρ ἰατρὸς*[1] οὐχ ὁμοίως πᾶσι χρήσεται τοῖς σώμασι,
2 πολλῷ μᾶλλον διδάσκαλος.
3 Καίτοι μᾶλλον ἂν τὰ*[2] σώματα ἀκατάλληλα φάρμακα ἐνέγκοι,
4 ἢ ψυχὴ λόγον.
5 Οἷον, πρόσεισιν Ἕλλην, καὶ γίνεταί σοι φίλος;
6 μηδὲν αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦτου διαλεχθῇς,
7 ἕως ἂν γένηται πάνυ φίλος·*[3] καὶ ὅταν γένηται, ἠρέμα.
8 Ὅρα*[4] καὶ ὁ Παῦλος ἡνίκα εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας παρεγένετο,
9 πῶς αὐτοῖς διελέγετο.
10 Οὐκ εἶπεν, ὦ μιαροὶ καὶ παμμίαροι, ἀλλὰ τί;
11 Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ πάντα ὡς δεισιδαιμονεστέρους ὑμᾶς θεωρῶ.
12 Πάλιν ὅτε ὑβρίσαι ἐχρῆν, οὐ παρῃτήσατο·
13 ἀλλὰ μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς σφοδρότητος ἔλεγε τῷ Ἐλύμᾳ·
14 Ὦ πλήρης παντὸς δόλου καὶ πάσης ῥᾳδιουργίας, υἱὲ διαβόλου,
15 ἐχθρὲ πάσης δικαιοσύνης.

*[1] ἰητρός D E *[2] om. B C E
*[3] om. μηδὲν αὐτῷ. . . πάνυ φίλος C (inclusion = Syr.)
*[4] +γάρ B C H Savile and subsequent editions (= Syriac)

B.L. Add. 14,566[B25]

1 ܐܢ ܠܝܬ ܐܝܬܪܐ ܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܦܓܪܐ ܒܚܕܐ ܒܪܡܙܐ.
2 ܟܡܐ ܡܬܠܝܬܐ ܡܠܦܢܐ.
3 ܒܪ ܡܢ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܦܓܪܐ ܡܫܬܡܥܝܢ ܠܡܫܩܠ ܡܪܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܠܗ.
4 ܐܦ {ܠܝܬ} ܡܠܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܝ.
5 ܗܘܝܢ ܐܝܟܢܐ. ܡܬܩܪܒ ܥܒܪܐ ܕܡܢܐ ܠܟ ܕܗܘܐ ܚܒܪܐ.
6 ܠܐ ܬܡܠܠ ܥܡ ܡܪܝܗ ܡܠܬܐ ܗܕܐ.
7 ܥܕܡܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܚܒܪܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܡܢܗܪ ܕܗܘܐ ܚܒܪܐ ܡܫܬܡܥܢܐ.
8 ܘܡܐܢܝܢ ܐܦ ܠܦܠܘܣ ܕܡܢ ܐܬܪܐ ܠܐܬܝܢܐ
9 ܐܝܟܢܐ ܡܬܡܠܠ ܥܡܗܘܢ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ.
10 ܠܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܘ ܦܓܪܐ ܡܪܝܚܐ. ܐܠܐ ܡܢܐ.
11 ܓܒܪܐ ܐܬܝܢܝܐ. ܟܠܗ ܐܢܐ ܚܙܐ ܠܟܘܢ. ܕܡܬܬܝܪܝܢ ܡܢ ܟܠ
ܕܚܠܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ.
12 ܒܬܪܝܢ ܕܢܗܘ ܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܠܡܫܬܡܥ ܠܐ ܨܒܐ.
13 ܐܠܐ ܥܡ ܬܩܝܦܘܬܐ ܣܓܝܐܬܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܐܠܘܡܐ
14 ܐܢܬ ܡܠܝܐ ܟܠ ܡܠܬܐ ܒܝܫܬܐ: ܒܪܗ ܕܐܒܠܝܣ ܕܝܢܐ
15 ܕܥܕܠܬܐ ܟܠܗ ܕܙܕܝܩܘܬܐ.

1 For if a physician does not treat all bodies in the same way,
2 how much more the teacher.
3 Yet bodies are more able to receive herbs that are inappropriate
4 than the soul a word.
5 For example: a pagan gets close and becomes a friend to you.

[24]The Greek sample is from Field, *Interp.ep.Paul.*, 5.291 (*PG* 62.377).
[25]The Syriac sample is from folio 94ᵛ–95ʳ.

6 You would not tell him something about this
7 until he becomes a sure friend, and after he becomes (one), quietly.
8 For see also Paul when he came to Athens,
9 how he was speaking with them.
10 He did not say, "O impure and polluted ones," but what?
11 "Athenian men, I see you, who in everything are greatly in the fear of demons."
12 And again, when it is right to be abusive he did not abstain,
13 but with great force he was saying to Elymas,
14 "O (one) full of all deceit and all evil, son of the devil
15 and enemy of all righteousness."

Aside from an oddity in line 4,[26] the Syriac clauses in the sample from Homily 11 are parallel in function to those of the Greek. A sample from Homily 4 exhibits similar characteristics. The Syriac translation sometimes alters the order of its elements, but typically has an order which matches that of the Greek exactly.

8. Homilies on Paul's Epistle to Titus[27]

A sample from Homily 1:[28]

1 *Τῶν Παύλῳ συνόντων δόκιμος οὗτος ἦν·*[*1]
2 *οὐκ*[*2] *ἂν οὖν*[*3] *αὐτῷ τὴν νῆσον ὁλόκληρον ἐπέτρεψεν,*
3 *οὐκ ἂν τὰ ἐλλειφθέντα ἀναπληρῶσαι προσέταξεν.*
4 *Ἵνα γάρ, φησί, τὰ λείποντα*[*4] *ἐπιδιορθώσῃ·*
5 *καὶ*[*5] *τοσούτων ἐπισκόπων κρίσιν ἐπέτρεψεν,*
6 *εἰ μὴ σφόδρα ἐθάρρει τάνδρί.*[*6]
7 *Φασὶ δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ νέον εἶναι,*
8 *διὰ τὸ*[*7] *τεκνῷ αὐτῷ γράφειν·*[*8]
9 *πλὴν ἀλλ' οὔπω τοῦτο δῆλον ἀπὸ τοῦτου.*
10 *Οἶμαι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν ταῖς Πράξεσιν*[29] *εἶναι μνείαν.*
11 *Τάχα καὶ Κορίνθιος ἦν.*

*[1]+*σφόδρα* K L M (om. = Syriac)
*[2]*εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν δόκιμος οὐκ* K L M Savile and subsequent editions (om. = Syriac)
*[3]om. Migne (= Syriac) *[4]*ἐπιλείποντα* D catenae
*[5]*οὐκ ἂν* K L M Savile and subsequent editions (*καί* = Syriac)

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[26]The Syriac text has the conjunction ܓܪܡܐ (≈ *γάρ*) in line 4 with the phrase which renders *ἡ ψυχὴ λόγον*. In the Greek, the elliptical phrase is parallel to the phrase preceding it. The Syriac, which retains ܐܘ (≈ *ἤ*), effectively makes the clause the initial part of another statement. It is difficult to see what the translator had in mind; the inclusion of the conjunction ܓܪܡܐ (≈ *γάρ*) may be an error, as the text and translation above assume.

[27]Data on this set of homilies are presented here, out of Biblical order, because the Syriac text is preserved with that of the Homilies on Colossians in the same manuscript.

[28]The Greek sample is from Field, *Interp.ep.Paul.*, 6.264 (*PG* 62.663).

[29]For notes on this peculiar reference to Acts, see Field, *Interp.ep.Paul.*, 6.392 [729B].

*[6] τῷ ἀνδρί C D *[7] τοῦτο C (τό = Syriac)
*[7] τέκνον αὐτὸν λέγειν K L M Savile and subsequent editions (τεκνῷ αὐτῷ γράφειν = Syriac)

B.L. Add. 14,566[B30]

1 ܗܕܐ ܡܬܩܒܠ ܒܝܢ ܐܠܝܢ ܕܥܡ ܦܘܠܘܣ ܗܘܐ .
2 ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܫܠܡ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܐܝܠܢܐ
3 ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܬܬܨܒܐ ܕܢܥܒܕ ܠܗܠܝܢ ܕܚܣܪܝܢ .
4 ܐܡܪ ܕܠܟ ܕܡܠܝܠ ܗܘܐ ܕܬܬܩܢ ܠܗܠܝܢ .
5 ܠܐܦ ܠܐ ܠܝܬ ܕܡܫܠܡ ܠܗ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܩܫܝܫܐ ܕܡܢ .
6 ܐܠܐ ܠܐ ܦܠܓ ܕܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܠܒܪܢܫܐ .
7 ܡܬܡܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܬܩܒܠ ܐܝܠܢ ܥܡ ܦܘܠܘܣ .
8 ܡܛܠ ܕܟܬܒ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܠܒܪܐ ܕܒܪܗ ܕܡܢ .
9 ܐܠܐ ܒܪܝܟ ܠܐ ܐܬܝܕܥ ܡܢܗ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ .
10 ܘܣܒܪ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܦܪܫܓܢܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܘܬܐ .
11 ܘܐܦܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܩܘܪܢܬܝܐ ܡܬܩܒܠ ܐܝܠܢ .

1 This one was approved amongst these who were with Paul.[31]
2 And he would not have permitted him the authority of the whole island
3 and he would not have been ordered to fulfill these things that were wanting:
4 "And that," he says, "you might set straight these things that are lacking."
5 For neither would he have permitted him (the authority) of all these bishops
6 if he had not been very confident in the man.
7 For they say about him also that he was a youth,
8 because of the (fact) that he had written to him as to a son.
9 But nevertheless this is not yet known from this.
10 And I think that there is also in Acts a mention of him;
11 and perhaps he was also a Corinthian.

The functions of several clauses have been adjusted or clarified by the addition or change of conjunctions. This is noteworthy because the level of adjustment appears to be higher than in the other translations of HEpp, although the "adjustments" are not drastic enough to set the translation wholly apart from the others.[32] The first δὲ is represented by ܕܡܢ (≈ γάρ). In one place, ܕܡܢ (≈ γάρ) occurs where no Greek conjunction exists, to bring out the function of a clause, and in

[30]The Syriac sample is from folio 108[v].

[31]Or, "more approved was this one, than these who were with Paul."

[32]Relying on the expertise of Michael Guinan for his understanding of the Syriac, Goodall claims that the the Syriac translation is so literal as to be virtually incomprehensible without the Greek (see *Homilies of St. Chrysostom on the Letters of St. Paul to Titus and Philemon*, 36). This is an exagerration. Goodall appears to be aware of the limitations of Syriac in representing Greek, but is perhaps not cautious enough in his confident use of the Syriac as a witness for certain Greek variants (see pp. 125–6 below). The style of the translations of the Homilies on Titus and on Philemon does not allow unqualified acceptance of the Syriac evidence.

two places, an additional ܗܘܢ (≈ δέ) is provided. The copulative –ܘ (≈ καί) joins two clauses, again where no Greek conjunction appears.

The translator is willing to rearrange the elements within a clause or even an entire sentence. For example, the Syriac translation uses several more elements to convey the sense of the Greek line 1, rearranging their order drastically. However, such radical alterations in word order may not be typical of this translation, since the elements of other Syriac clauses have precisely the same order as the Greek.

It must also be noted that the micro-analysis conducted below shows that at the phrase and word levels this translation's style is not dissimilar to the style basically common to the others.

9. Homilies on Paul's First Epistle to the Thessalonians

A sample from the popular Homily 8, containing a number of brief scriptural citations:[33]

1 *Οἱ προφῆται μὲν τὸ ἀξιόπιστον τῶν λεγομένων δεῖξαι βουλόμενοι,*
2 *πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων τοῦτο λέγουσιν·*
3 *Ὅρασιν, ἣν εἶδεν Ἡσαΐας·*
4 *καὶ πάλιν, Ῥῆμα κυρίου, ὃ ἐγενήθη πρὸς Ἱερεμίαν·*
5 *καὶ πάλιν, Τάδε λέγει κύριος, και ὅσα τοιαῦτα.**[1]
6 *Πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν καθήμενον ὁρῶσι τὸν θεόν,*
7 *ὡς αὐτοῖς ἰδεῖν δυνατόν.*
8 *Ὁ δὲ Παῦλος οὐ καθήμενον ἰδών,*
9 *ἀλλ' ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ λαλοῦντα τὸν Χριστόν,*
10 *ἀντὶ τοῦ, Τάδε λέγει κύριος,*
11 *ἔλεγεν, εἰ**[2] *δοκιμὴν ζητεῖτε**[3] *τοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν**[4] *λαλοῦντος Χριστοῦ;*
12 *καὶ πάλιν, Παῦλος ἀπόστολος Ἰησους Χριστοῦ,*
13 *δεικνὺς ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ ἐστιν·*
14 *ὁ γὰρ ἀπόστολος**[5] *τὰ τοῦ ἀποστείλαντος φθέγγεται.**[6]

*[1] *τοσαῦτα* L(?) Morell Benedictine (= Syriac)
*[2] *εἰ* B C K L (= Syriac); *ἤ* editions
*[3] *ποιεῖτε* K
*[4] *ἐμοί* C K (Syriac)
*[5] *ἀπεσταλμένος* I
*[6] *Χριστοῦ· ὁ γὰρ ἀπόστολος* (*ἀπεσταλμένος* I) *τὰ τοῦ ἀποστείλαντος λέγει* (*φθέγγεται* Veronensis) *δεικνὺς ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ ἐστιν* C I L Veronensis (Field's text = Syriac)

B.L. Add. 17,152; *B.L. Add. 14,567*; and *B.L. Add. 14,601*[34]

1 ܐܬܝܢ*[1] ܡܪܝ. ܕܐܢܢ ܕܢܚܘܢ ܠܡܠܠܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܡܬܚܙܝܢ*[2].

[33]The Greek sample is from Field, *Interp.ep.Paul.*, 5.393–4 (*PG* 62.439).

[34]The Syriac text is from *B.L. Add. 14,567*, f. 187; *B.L. Add. 14,601*, f. 92ᵛ; and B.L. Add. 17,152, f. 53.

2 ܢܒܝܐ ܡܢ ܚܕ ܡܚܘܝܢ ܕܡܬܡܢ. ܡܕܡ ܐܡܪܝܢ.
3 ܚܙܘܬܐ ܕܐܫܥܝܐ ܚܙܐ.
4 ܘܬܢܝܢ: ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܕܗܘܬ ܠܐܪܡܝܐ.
5 ܘܬܢܝܢ. ܐܠܝܢ ܡܠܝܐ ܡܪܝܐ. ܘܟܠܗܝܢ ܕܐܝܟ ܡܠܝܐ.
6 ܘܣܓܝܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܦ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܬܒ* ܫܪܐ.
7 ܐܝܟ ܕܡܐ* ܕܡܬܚܙܐ ܠܗܘ.
8 ܦܘܠܘܣ ܕܝܢ ܠܐ ܕܝܬܒ ܚܙܐ.
9 ܐܠܐ ܕܡܢ, ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܡܠܠ.
10 ܐܠܦ ܡܢ, ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐܠܝܢ ܡܠܝܐ ܡܪܝܐ:
11 ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ. ܐܢ ܡܢ ܕܡܒܥܐ ܕܬܡܢ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܡܠܠ ܒܝ.
12 ܘܬܢܝܢ ܦܘܠܘܣ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܐܡܪ.
13 ܕܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܡܢ ܕܝܠܗ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ,
14 ܫܠܝܚܐ ܠܝ ܡܠܝ ܕܡܢ ܕܫܕܪܗ ܡܫܬܕܪ.

1 The prophets,*[1] on the one hand, wanting to show that the things
that are said*[2] are worthy of belief,
2 before all these other things, say this,
3 "That vision that Isaiah saw,"
4 and again, "The word of the Lord which came to Jeremiah;"
5 and again, "These things the Lord said;" and all such things.
6 And many also see God sitting,*[3]
7 inasmuch*[4] as it is possible for him to be seen by them.
8 But Paul, on the other hand, did not see (him) sitting,
9 but in that he had Christ in him who speaks,
10 instead of saying, "These things the Lord said,"
11 he was saying, "If you seek proof that it is Christ who speaks in me;"
12 and again, "Paul an Apostle of Jesus Christ," he says,
13 showing that nothing is from himself.
14 For an apostle proclaims the things of him who sent him.

*[1]om. ܢܒܝܐ *B.L. Add. 14,567* (om. "the prophets")
*[2] ܕܡܬܡܢ *B.L. Add. 14,601* (error)
*[3]om. ܝܬܒ *B.L. Add. 14,567* (om. "sitting")
*[4]om. ܕܡܐ *B.L. Add. 14,601* (does not affect sense)

The three Syriac witnesses have nearly identical texts, sharing the same translation.

The Syriac translation in line 1 has an order which does not follow that of the Greek literally, but the remainder of the sentence in lines 2–3 is remarkably literal in word order. The general style of the Syriac is fairly literal.

10. Homilies on Paul's Second Epistle to the Thessalonians

Sample from Homily 3:[35]

[35]The Greek sample is from Field, *Interp.ep.Paul.*, 5.472–3 (*PG* 62.486).

1 φησι· Μόνον ὁ κατέχων ἄρτι ἕως ἐκ μέσου γένηται·
2 τουτέστιν, ἡ ἀρχὴ ἡ Ρωμαϊκὴ
3 ὅταν ἀρθῇ ἐκ μέσου, τότε ἐκεῖνος ἥξει.
4 Καὶ εἰκότως.
5 Ἕως γὰρ ἂν ὁ ταύτης ᾖ τῆς ἀρχῆς φόβος,
6 οὐδεὶς ταχέως ὑπεραρθήσεται.*[1]
7 ὅταν δὲ αὕτη καταλυθῇ, ἐπιθήσεται τῇ ἀναρχίᾳ,
8 καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπιχειρήσει ἁρπάσαι ἀρχήν.
9 Ὥσπερ γὰρ αἱ πρὸ τούτου κατελύθησαν βασιλεῖαι,
10 οἷον ἡ Μήδων ὑπὸ*[2] Βαβυλωνίων, ἡ Βαβυλωνίων ὑπὸ Περσῶν,
11 ἡ Περσῶν ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων, ἡ Μακεδόνων ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων·
12 οὕτω καὶ αὕτη ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου,
13 κἀκεῖνος ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ οὐκέτι καθέξει.
14 Καὶ ταῦτα μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς σαφηνείας ὁ Δανιὴλ ἡμῖν παρακατατίθεται.
15 Καὶ τοτέ, φησίν, ἀποκαλυφθήσεται ὁ ἄνομος.
16 Καὶ τί μετὰ ταῦτα; Ἐγγὺς ἡ παραμυθία·*[3]
17 Ὃν ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς, φησίν, ἀναλώσει τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ,
18 καὶ καταργήσει τῇ ἐπιφανείᾳ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ·

*[1]sic C I catenae; *ὑποταγήσεται* editions (= Syriac)
*[2]sic C L catenae; +*τῶν* editions
*[3]+*ἐπάγει γὰρ* B K Savile and subsequent editions (om. = Syriac)

B.L. Add. 17,152; and *B.L. Add. 12,161*[36]

1 ܐܡܪ ܠܟ . ܒܗܝܢ ܕܗܘ ܕܡܚܙܩ ܢܬܦܠ ܡܢ ܡܨܥܬܐ ·
2 ܡܢ ܗܝܢܘܢ . ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܪܘܡܝܐ .
3 ܕܟܕ ܢܬܪܡܡ ܡܢ ܡܨܥܬܐ . ܡܢܝܢ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܢܐܬܐ ·
4 ܕܡܬܡܗܢ .
5 ܕܟܕ ܠܝ ܢܐܬܐ* ܕܟܠܗ ܕܡܢ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܪܘܡܝܐ
6 ܠܐ ܐܢܫ ܕܠܡܗܪ ܠܐ ܢܬܥܠܝܢ .
7 ܐܡܬܝ, ܕܡ ܕܡܬܦܠܓ ܡܢܗ . ܡܢܝܢ ܢܦܠ ܠܟ ܠܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ
8 ܕܠܡܠܟܘܬ ܐܢܫܐ ܘܕܠܐܠܗܐ ܢܨܬܪ ܠܡܣܒܪ ܫܠܛܢܐ .
9 ܐܝܟܢܐ ܠܝ ܕܩܕܡ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܡܬܪܡܡ
10 ܐܝܟ ܕܡܠܟܘܬ ܡܕܝܐ ܡܢ ܒܒܠܝܐ : ܡܢ ܕܒܒܠܝܐ ܡܢ ܦܪܣܝܐ :
11 ܡܢ, ܕܦܪܣܝܐ ܡܢ ܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ : ܡܢ, ܕܡܩܕܘܢܝܐ ܡܢ ܪܘܡܝܐ .
12 ܗܟܢܐ ܗܘܬ ܗܝ ܐܢܬܝܟܪܝܣܛܘܣ .
13 ܡܢ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܬܚܙܩ ܐܝܟ .
14 ܗܠܝܢ ܒܟܠܗ ܢܨܝܚܘܬܐ . ܕܡܪܝܐ ܡܫܝܚ ܠܢ .
15
16 ܗܟܢܐ ܒܬܪܝܢ . ܡܪܝܐ ܐܡܪ .
17 ܡܢ ܠܟ ܕܡܪܝܐ* ܢܐܒܕ ܢܫܬܡܗ, ܒܪܘܚܐ ܕܦܘܡܗ ·
18 ܘܒܛܠ ܒܚܙܘܬܗ ܕܡܬܪܡܡ .*[3]

1 "Only," he says, "until that one who now holds be taken from the midst."
2 That is, the rule of the Romans,
3 when it shall be taken up from the midst, then that one will come,

[36]The Syriac text is from B.L. Add. 17,152, folio 104; and *B.L. Add. 12,161*, folio 2[r].

4 and duly.
5 For*[1] as long as there is fear of this rule,
6 no one easily will be subjugated.
7 But when this shall be dissolved, then he will set up non-rule,
8 (for) the rule of God and of men he will dare to seize.
9 For just as the kingdoms that were dissolved before now,
10 like the Medeans by the Babylonians, that of the Babylonians by the Persians,
11 and that of the Persians by the Macedonians, and that of the Macedonians by the Romans,
12 thus also this one by the Antichrist—
13 and that one by Christ, and no longer will he hold (it).
14 And these things in all clearness Daniel sets out for us.
15
16 And what afterwards? Comfort.
17 "That one," he says, "whom*[2] the Lord Jesus will destroy by the breath of his mouth
18 and will bring to nothing by the brightness of*[3] his coming."

*[1]om. ܐܬܝ *B.L. Add. 12,161* (om. "for")
*[2]om. – ܕ *B.L. Add. 12,161* (om. "whom")
*[3]Om. – ܕ *B.L. Add. 12,161* (om. "of," to produce, "will bring his coming to nothing by the brightness," probably an error)

The two Syriac witnesses to this passage about the Antichrist are nearly identical, witnessing to the same Syriac translation.

The translation follows the Greek order of clauses and is normally careful to represent Greek word order as accurately as Syriac grammar will allow. A transposition occurs in line 8, with *τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ*—the Syriac has, ܐܠܗܐ ܘܕܒܢܝ ܐܢܫܐ ("of God and of men"). The Syriac possibly follows the order of its Greek source text, but the editions signal no record of this order in the Greek tradition.

An interesting feature of the Syriac (line 16) is the terse response to the rhetorical question; where the Greek reads, *ἐγγὺς ἡ παραμυθία*, the Syriac has simply, ܢܚܡܐ ("consolation") instead. In this case, the elliptical Syriac rendering gives a perfectly adequate sense.[37]

C. Stylistic Features of the Translations of HEpp

The macro-analysis has shown the basic homogeneity shared by the various

[37]An apparent omission deserves notice. In line 15, the translation omits the first part of the citation from 2 Thessalonians 2:8 (*καὶ τοτέ, φησίν, ἀποκαλυφθήσεται ὁ ἄνομος*). The cause for this discrepancy may be the homoiarchon with *καί. . . καὶ* at the beginnings of lines 15 and 16—a rare sort of cause for haplography, but just possible. It is more likely that the portion missing from the Syriac is a secondary addition to the Greek text.

Syriac translations of HEpp at the clause level and in word order.[38] A micro-analysis of the preceding and other samples completes the picture, indicating further that the translators applied what may broadly be considered the same style or method of translation.

Classified examples from all the translations of HEpp illustrate the technique employed. The lists of examples are representative, not comprehensive. Grouping together examples from different sets of homilies assumes their basic homogeneity, but the assumption is legitimated by the similar styles of the translations.

Examples are cited according to the format, "10, 1 Cor," which designates Homily 10 on 1 Corinthians.

1. Dynamic Renderings

The translators were normally careful to represent only the elements which appeared in their Greek source texts, as economically as their methods allowed. Additional elements are usually of a grammatical, rather than a semantic nature.[39] For example, where the Greek has simply *κύριος*, the Syriac has the precisely parallel ܡܪܝܐ ("Lord"), not ܡܪܢ ("our Lord"), which commonly appears in less literal translations (e.g. HMt and HJn), but is typically reserved for *κύριος ἡμῶν* in HEpp.

Dynamic transposition pervades the Syriac HEpp, in which the Syriac regularly adjusts aspects of form but achieves a high degree of semantic literalness. Occasionally, however, examples of dynamic modulation occur, in which the translators also transform the semantic material, accommodating their renderings to Syriac idiom or producing a rendering which is more clear or smoother in style. It is possible that some of the more dramatic readings treated here as "dynamic" may derive originally from a Greek text not yet known. However, the following samples show that the majority of readings treated here conform to certain patterns and are more easily understood as expressions of style, not of a lost Greek text.[40]

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[38]With the possible exception of the sample from the Homilies on Titus (see 136–7).

[39]E.g. the profusion of the Syriac relative pronoun –ܕ or the use of anticipatory objective suffixes.

[40]As with examples cited from HMt, in the following examples of dynamic renderings, the English translations of *additions* are *italicized* and the translations of **free renderings** are in **bold type**.

a. Adding Personal Elements

Sometimes, the translations have semantically significant elements not actually occurring in the Greek, but clearly growing from the Greek and functioning to amplify or explain the source text.[41] Particularly common is the addition of personal elements. An abundance of personal elements is normal for Syriac idiom, but not usually necessary for the translation. For examples:

Homily		
1, Philemon	*κατένυξε*	ܡܫܠܡܗ ("he shortened *it*")
8, 1 Thess	*μετὰ τοῦ πατρός*	ܥܡܗܘܢ ܐܒܐ ("with *their* Father")

b. Amplifying through Minor Additions

The translators occasionally amplify the text by adding elements, usually to make the meaning more accessible:

Homily	
5, 2 Cor	*ἐν ζάλῃ καὶ κλύδωνι* ܒܙܥܬܐ ܘܒܙܘܥܬܐ ܕܡܬܙܘܥ both to the tempest and to the tumult *that is stirred*
10, 2 Cor	*ὃ καὶ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ ἔλεγεν*[42] ܗܘ ܕܐܦ ܒܩܕܡܬܐ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ which he was also saying in that first *letter*
1, Titus	*οὐκ ἂν αὐτῷ τὴν νῆσον ὁλόκληρον ἐπέτρεψεν* ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܫܠܡ ܠܗ ܠܗ ܡܬܬܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܐܝܬܐ and he would not have permitted him *the authority of* the whole island

c. Other Alterations

Occasionally the translators transform phrases even more drastically, to produce a reading which makes clear for the Syriac reader the meaning of the Greek text, perhaps smoothing the style:

Homily		
11, Ep	*τί οὐκ ἂν πάθοιεν*	ܡܢܘ ܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ **What will not happen to them?**
39, 1 Cor	*δορυφορούμενον*	ܘܣܓܝܐܐ ܡܬܬܐ ܩܕܡܘܗܝ **and many spearmen go before him**

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[41]The addition of conjunctions and particles is discussed below (124–5).

[42]Variations abound for this phrase, presumably because of its terseness, though no edited Greek witness has an expansion parallel to that of the Syriac:

ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης Veronensis

ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης πρὸς Κορινθίους Savile Benedictine

ἐν τῇ πρὸς Κορινθίους A B *ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Κορινθίους* D

4, Col *ἀναξίους ὄντας καταλλαγῆς κατήλλαξε*
ܚܕܝܢܝܢ ܐܢܘܢܝܢ ܡܢ ܚܝܐ ܐܬܪܥܝܢ ܢܘ
being unworthy, **they were considered worthy of reconciliation**

d. The Restrained Dynamism of the Translations

The examples listed above are among the most striking examples of dynamic renderings which the samples offer. The paucity of such instances—or indeed of more dramatic ones such as HMt^{A} offers—shows the translators following the Greek text quite closely, as a rule, without often adding elements or even transforming existing elements substantially. Occasionally, they add minor elements or even modify the text before them, but normally in small ways. The translations of HEpp are not so literal as seventh-century translations, but in this category follow a more precise method than that used to produce either HMt or HJn. The restrained dynamism increases any appreciation of their role in understanding the Greek tradition; when a Syriac reading differs greatly from the edited Greek texts, but does not conform to one of the dynamic patterns described here, it is not unlikely that it preserves a lost Greek reading.

2. Treatment of Particles and Conjunctions

The Syriac translations of HEpp do not normally attempt to represent subtle modal or intensive particles like weak *ἄν* and *γε*. However, in their treatment of certain particles and conjunctions, the translations are quite consistent and predictable correspondencies occur. In particular, they are careful to represent *μὲν* where it appears, with few exceptions.

Nevertheless, the Syriac is not absolutely consistent in its renderings. Occasionally, a particle or conjunction is simply omitted. More often, one is added. The most common additions are of –ܘ (≈ *καί*), ܗܠܝܢ (≈ *δέ*), ܓܪܡܐ (≈ *γάρ*), and ܐܠܐ (≈ *ἀλλά*). Some occurrences may be the result of underlying Greek readings which differed from the medieval text current in the modern editions. Most are probably the product of the translation style—in place of a weaker (or nonexistent) Greek word, the added or stronger particles and conjunctions often clarify or emphasize the functions of their clauses.

The following illustrates this feature by giving some of the non-literal correspondencies which occur:

δέ –ܘ (≈ *καί*), ܓܪܡܐ (≈ *γάρ*) *ἐπεί* ܐܠܐ (≈ *ἀλλά*)

καί	ܗܝ (≈ δέ)	εἰ δέ	ܐܢܬܝ (≈ εἰ γάρ)
ἐπειδή	ܕܐܦܢ ("and also")		

Occasional non-literal renderings like these are not unusual even with more literal Syriac translation styles.[43] Yet HEpp are more consistent in their representation of particles and conjunctions than the Homilies on the Gospels.[44]

3. Comparative Forms

The translations treat Greek comparatives predictably, using a Syriac adverb in combination with ܝܬܪ ("more"), or some form of the same, such as ܡܬܝܬܪ ("especially," "more") with an adjective. When the object of comparison is specified, the normal Syriac comparative construction occurs, using ܡܢ ("than"). For example:

Homily		
10, 2 Cor	πλατύτερον	ܡܬܪܚܒܐ ܝܬܪ ("more fully")
11, Ep	τῶν. . .ἐλάττονα	ܡܢܘܢ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ("less than these")

4. Adjectival Forms

The significance of this category has already been noted.[45] Throughout the sixth century, Syriac translators tended more and more to construct Syriac adjectives with ܐܝ– to represent Greek adjectival forms. This type of formation occurs in the translations of HEpp:

Homily		
11, Ep	ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ	ܐܝܟܠܝܣܝܐܝܬܐ ("ecclesiastical")

This particular form strongly suggests a translation date subsequent to the turn of the sixth century, since in West Syrian sources its earliest datable occurrences yet known are in late writings of Philoxenus.[46] This is the only example of such an adjectival form occurring in the texts surveyed, and its evidence, strictly speaking, is relevant only to the Syriac Homilies on Ephesians. Yet the numerous other stylistic similarities between the latter and the other Syriac HEpp indicates that the Homilies on Ephesians should not be disassociated from the rest on the basis of this occurrence, but instead that the occurrence should hypothetically be considered as a feature of the

[43]See Sauget, "Une homélie de Proclus," 13; cf. Brock, "Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique," 7–8.

[44]Cf. Goodall, *Homilies of St. Chrysostom on the Letters of St. Paul to Titus and Philemon*, who is not cautious enough in his confident use of the Syriac as a witness for Greek variants involving conjunctions and particles.

[45]See 81.

[46]Brock, "Diachronic Aspects of Syriac Word Formation," 328.

corpus. In this case, the paucity of such forms may point to a translation date earlier in the sixth century rather than later.

5. Adverbial Forms

The Syriac translations normally use parallel Syriac adverbs to render Greek adverbs, often with ܐܝܟ–. Sometimes the translations use prepositional phrases to render Greek adverbs less literally, in ways that are normal for Syriac idiom. For example:

Homily		
11, Ep	*ἑκατέρως	ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܬܪܝܗܘܢ ("in each one of them")
	*ἑκατέρωθεν A B F	
2(3), 1 Thess	ὑπομνήσεως	ܥܠ ܕܗܘܝܢܢܢ ("upon rehearsal")

The translators use such common idiomatic adverbial phrases when they exist.

6. Greek Compound Words

The translators are often not very concerned with the formally literal representation of Greek compounds. But in some cases, and especially where *φιλ-* is involved, the translators use a composite of elements parallel to those in the Greek compound, according to techniques becoming standard in the sixth century. In comparison with the Syriac translations of the Homilies on the Gospels, which only rarely give formal representations of Greek compounds,[47] HEpp are relatively closer to the formality of seventh-century Syriac translations.[48] For example:

Homily		
11, Ep	φιλαρχία	ܪܚܡܐ ܕܪܫܘܬܐ ("love of primacy")
4, Philip	φιλοψυχίαν	ܪܚܡܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ ("love of soul")
8, 1 Thess	φιλοστόργου	ܪܚܡܐ ܕܚܢܢܐ ("love of affection")
8, 1 Thess	ἀξιόπιστον	ܪܚܡܝܐ ܕܡܗܝܡܢܐ ("worthy of belief")

The translators are careful to represent *α*-privatives with formal literalism:

Homily		
2(3), 2 Thess	ἀναρχίᾳ	ܪܚܡܐ ܠܐ ("non-primacy")

The technique can also appear in the rendering of participles:

Homily		
1, Titus	τῶν συνόντων	ܐܢܘܢ ܕܥܡܗ ܗܘܘ these who were with

[47]See 82–3, 229–30.

[48]On the topic, see Brock, "Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique," 12–3.

The homilies are peculiarly inconsistent in their methods of translating *φιλανθρωπία*. The translators sometimes use the primitive ܪܚܡܐ ("mercy"), in common with HJn. Elsewhere, they use the related ܪܚܡܢܘܬܐ ("mercifulness"). However, they also use, ܪܚܡܐ ܕܒܢܝܢܫܐ ("love of humanity"), which was becoming standard amongst translators by the end of the sixth century.[49] The Syriac Homilies on Colossians illustrate the inconsistency by having all three forms. Similarly, Homily 39 on 1 Corinthians has ܪܚܡܢܘܬܐ ("mercifulness") twice, followed by ܪܚܡܐ ܕܒܢܝܢܫܐ ("love of humanity") in the doxology. It is possible that the homilies are in a transitional stage of translation technique with regard to this term.

7. Prepositional Phrases

The translations normally represent Greek prepositions with formally parallel Syriac prepositions. The concern for consistency is exemplified in a passage of Homily 1 on Philemon, where ܥܠ represents *ὑπὲρ* with the genitive case but ܠܡܛܠ represents *ἕνεκεν*, in contrasting clauses of the same sentence. Yet this general consistency allows for some departures from the program; for example, *διὰ* with the Accusative is rendered by either ܠܡܛܠ or ܠܘܬ.

8. Methods of Translating Greek Verbs

In keeping with their literal tendencies, the translations of HEpp exhibit a relatively high degree of consistency rendering Greek tenses.[50]

a. The General Program of Translating Greek Verbs

The style employs quite regular techniques to translate Greek verbs, although it is not absolutely consistent. The Syriac participle translates the Greek **present** and **future tenses** indicative, although the Syriac future may be used for either on rare occasions. Some discrepancies are due merely to pointing and are insubstantial.[51]

The Greek **imperfect tense** is normally translated by a participle followed by

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[49]The translator of Homily 39 on 1 Corinthians uses, ܐܠܗܐ ܕܪܚܡ ܒܢܝܢܫܐ ("God who loves men") for *τῷ φιλανθρώπῳ θεῷ*.

[50]Seventh-century translators developed means by which to distinguish precisely between the Greek tenses (see Brock, "Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity," 83).

[51]See 236, 325.

the auxiliary verb ܗܘܐ, although a rendering without ܗܘܐ sometimes appears.

The Greek **aorist tense** is nearly always rendered by the Syriac perfect tense. The Greek **perfect tense** is translated either by the Syriac perfect tense or by a participle, according to sense:

Homily		
11, Ep	*τετάγμεθα*	ܡܬܬܩܢܝܢܢ ("we have been appointed")
4, Philip	*πεφρίκαμεν*	ܕܕܚܠܝܢ ܐܢܚܢܢ ("we are afraid")
11, Ep	*εἴρηται*	ܐܡܪܝܬܐ ("are said")

The distinct functions of different moods are reflected by functionally parallel renderings in the Syriac. The Syriac imperfect tense in clauses having – ܕ renders Greek verbs of the **subjunctive mood**, regardless of tense.

The translators render verbs of the **optative mood** in the same way, by the Syriac imperfect tense. In one instance, a translator brings brings out the nuance of the optative by means of adding ܡܨܝܢ ("able"):

Homily		
11, Col	*ἐνέγκοι*	ܡܨܝܢܝܢ ܠܡܣܒܠ ("are able to take")

b. Translations According to Sense Rather than Form

The translators occasionally show deference to context and sense rather than the Greek form. Some Greek aorists provide examples:

Homily		
1, Titus	*ἐπέτρεψεν*	ܗܘܐ ܡܫܪܐ ("he was permitting")
	προσέταξεν	ܗܘܐ ܡܬܦܩܕ ("he was being commanded")
10, 2 Cor	*ἠρυθριάσατε*	ܐܦܠܐ ܡܬܒܗܬܝܢ ("Are you ashamed?")

c. Techniques of Translating ἔχω and εἰμι

Two common Greek verbs warrant special consideration. Their consistent treatment in the translations of HEpp sets these translations apart as more literal than the translations of the Homilies on the Gospels.[52]

In the many instances of *ἔχω*, the Syriac uses the idiom with – ܠ ܐܝܬ. The translations do not employ the formal representation which eventually became standard in Syriac translations,[53] but they are consistent in the application of the

[52]See 84–5, 234; cf. the discussion in Brock, "Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity," 83.

[53]Ibid.

Syriac idiom.

In the case of *εἰμι*, the Syriac translations are careful to render the verb (or participle) with ܐܝܬ (literally, "there is") and a pronominal suffix or personal pronoun, plus an auxilliary verb to convey the tense, if necessary. For example:[54]

Homily					
11, Ep	*εἰσι*	ܐܝܬ	4, Col	*εἶναι*	ܡܐܝܬ
4, Philip	*αὐτός εἰμι*	ܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ	1, Titus	"	ܐܝܬ
4, Col	*ἦσαν*	ܐܝܬܘܢ	10, 2 Cor	*ἦν*	ܗܘܐ ܐܝܬ
			1, Titus	"	ܗܘܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ

Exceptions to the pattern are rare:

Homily		
1, Titus	*εἶναι*	ܗܘܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ("he was")[55]

Participles follow the same pattern:

Homily		
39, 1 Cor	*ὤν*	ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܕܐ ("being")
1, Titus	*τῶν συνόντων*	ܠܗܘܢ ܕܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܥܡܗ ("these that were with")

d. Conclusions about the Methods of Translating Greek Verbs

In their methods of translating Greek verbs, the translations of HEpp are relatively more literal and consistent than the translations of the Homilies on the Gospels. However, none of the translations of HEpp exhibits the same degree of literalness or consistency as seventh-century translations. Hence, HEpp may be used as witnesses to the Greek text only with caution where the variations involve differences in tense, and especially when the distinction in Syriac is merely one of pointing.

9. Infinitival Phrases

When the Greek infinitive stands on its own or with a verb normally taking an infinitive complement (e.g. *δεῖ* or *βούλομαι*), the Syriac translations render it by a phrase having –ܕ and a finite verb in the imperfect tense. This pattern is quite regular, being violated only when the Syriac translator is unable to represent the meaning adequately by this means.

[54]Unfortunately, the samples yield no instances of the future tense of *εἰμι*, for which there are various methods of Syriac translation.

[55]The adjustment in tense probably occurs because the passage is reporting comments made in the past (i.e. "for they say about him also, 'he was a youth'").

Phrases with articular infinitives are translated by means of – ܕ ,ܒܡܐ and either a participle or finite verb in the imperfect tense. The Syriac reflects Greek prepositions. This rendering is a formal equivalent which becomes standard in Syriac translations.[56] Some examples:

Homily 39, 1 Cor	*τὸ ἀποθανεῖν* ܒܡܐ ܕܡܝܬܘܬܐ ("by dying")
1, Philemon	*ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν χάριν λαβεῖν* ܒܡܐ ܕܢܣܒܘܢ ܝܩܪܐ ("for the sake of receiving grace")
4, Col	*τῷ γὰρ εἰπεῖν* ܒܡܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܗܘ ("for in that he said")
2, Philip	*τῷ σφόδρα πεπεῖσθαι καὶ θαρρεῖν* ܒܡܐ ܕܡܬܐܡܢܝܢ ܘܡܬܪܥܝܢ by being greatly persuaded and confident

Again, the degrees of literalness and consistency are greater than those of the translations of the Homilies on the Gospels.

10. Greek Participles

Greek adverbial and adjectival participles are typically translated by Syriac participles. The Syriac does not necessarily distinguish between tenses. Adverbial participles appear with ܕܢ only infrequently. Where it does not occur, the participles are related to their clauses by means of –ܕ. For example:

Homily 10, 2 Cor	*ἀκούσωμεν τῆς Παύλου φωνῆς λεγούσης* ܢܫܡܥ ܠܩܠܗ ܕܦܘܠܘܣ ܕܡܐܡܪ let us hear the voice of Paul, who says.

The translator may prefix -ܒ to the participle:

Homily 1, Philemon	*καλῶν*	[57]ܒܩܪܐ . . . –ܕ ,ܒܡܐ ("in that he calls")

When translating adjectival participles, the Syriac participles are usually accompanied by pronouns when definite articles are attached in the Greek. Occasionally, a non-participial phrase is used:

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[56]Brock, "Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity," 82–3.

[57]A scribe has actually pointed it as a finite verb: ܒܩܪܐ ("he called").

Homily		
11, Ep	*τοὺς ἀρχομένους*	ܥܠ ܡܬܡܢܝܢ ܐܢܫܐ ("those under a leader")

Infrequently the translations render Greek participles according to sense rather than follow a strict pattern of formal equivalence. For example, aorist participles are sometimes rendered by means of the Syriac perfect tense:

Homily		
10, 2 Cor	*εἰπών*	ܐܡܪ ("he spoke")
11, Ep	*τῶν διατεμόντων*	ܐܢܫܐ ܕܩܛܥܘ ("these who mutilated")
1, Titus	*τὰ ἐλλειφθέντα*	ܕܚܣܪܘ ܐܢܫܐ these that were lacking

HEpp's techniques of rendering Greek participles are less flexible than those used in the Syriac Homilies on the Gospels, but also less literal than the methods typical of seventh-century translations.

11. Demonstrative and Relative Pronouns τοσοῦτος, ὅσος, τοιοῦτος, οἷος

The translations are consistent in their handling of these pronouns. *Οἷος* and *τοιοῦτος* are rendered by combinations using ܐܝܟ ("like") and a form of ܗܢܐ ("this"), e.g. ܐܝܟ ܗܢܐ ("like this"). When the the adverbial *οἷον* introduces an example, the translators use ܐܝܟܢܐ ("like, as").

Ὅσος is rendered by ܐܝܟܡܐ ("as much as").

Τοσοῦτος is rendered by a combination of ܗܢܐ ("this") and – ܟܠ ("all"), e.g. ܗܢܐ ܟܠ ("all this").

In this category, HEpp are reliable witnesses to their underlying Greek texts.

12. Reflexive and Intensifying Pronouns

The translations do not exhibit the etymologizing renderings which become standard in the seventh century;[58] the reflexive ܢܦܫܐ (literally, "soul") renders the Greek reflexive pronoun *ἑαυτός*. However, this correspondence is not entirely consistent—sometimes the Syriac uses simple objective or possessive pronominal suffixes. For example:

Homily		
8, 1 Thess	*ἑαυτῷ*	ܒܗ ("in him")

[58]See Brock, "Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity," 87.

10, 2 Cor *τὸ ἑαυτοῦ συνειδός* ܒܠܒܗ[ܝܗ]ܕܝܢ ("in his conscience")

The translations treat the intensive pronoun *αὐτὸς* by using a corresponding Syriac pronoun (or pronominal suffix):[59]

Homily
8, 1 Thess *αὐτὸν θεόν* ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ("God himself")
4, Philip *αὐτὸς εἰμι* ܐܢܐ ܗܘܐ ("I myself am")

However, the Syriac emphatic pronoun sometimes appears where no intensifying pronoun exists in any of the edited Greek texts.

13. Lexical Items

The homilies' irregular way of rendering *φιλανθρωπία* has already been noted.[60]

a. Ὁμοούσιος

Six occurrences of the term *ὁμοούσιος* in HEpp (at points where Syriac manuscripts preserve a translation) constitute an interesting feature of the translation technique: in each of the six occurrences, the same phrase appears. Three times in Homily 26 on 1 Corinthians (two different contexts), twice in Homily 3 on Colossians, and once in Homily 6 on Colossians, ܒܪ ܛܒܥܐ (literally, "son of the nature," i.e. "of the same nature") renders *ὁμοούσιος*. This translation is an archaic one which began to be transformed into more literal renderings from about A.D. 500, especially in the West.[61] Its consistent appearance in HEpp suggests either that the translations were made no later than the last years of the fifth century, or—much more likely, that a later translator was comfortable with the old terminology in spite of the refinements taking place elsewhere from the turn of the century. East Syrian authors typically preserve this usage well after the fifth century.[62]

A similar technique is used elsewhere in the homilies, as in Homily 10 on 2

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[59]For the Greek idiom *τὸ αὐτό*, the Syriac idiom ܡܢ ܒܪ ܡܢ ("the same") appears, as in Homily 4 on Colossians.

[60]See 126–7.

[61]De Halleux, "La philoxénienne du symbole," in *Symposium Syriacum 1976*, eds. Graffin and Guillaumont (*OCA* 205; PISO, 1978) 301–2.

[62]Brock, "The Christology of the Church of the East in the Synods of the Fifth to Early Seventh Centuries: Preliminary Considerations and Materials," in *Aksum Thyateira. A Festschrift for Archbishop Methodios of Thyateira and Great Britain*, ed. George Dragas (London: Thyateira House, 1985) 131 (reprinted in *StSC*); see J.F. Bethune-Baker, *Nestorius and His Teaching: A Fresh Examination of the Evidence* (Cambridge: University Press, 1908) 217.

Corinthians, where *ὁμότιμοι* ≈ ܒܢܝ ܝܩܪܐ (literally, "sons of the honour," i.e. "those sharing the same honour"). However, the translator of the Homilies on Ephesians employs a more advanced method in a similar case in Homily 11, where *ἰσοτιμίαν* ≈ ܫܘܝܝܘܬܐ ܕܝܩܪܐ ("sameness of honour").

b. Words Related to σαρκωθέντα

Words related to *σαρκωθέντα* appear in a few places preserved in Syriac translation:

Homily		
34, 1 Cor	*ὁ Υἱος τοῦ Θεοῦ σαρκωθείς*	ܒܪܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܬܦܓܪ the Son of God, being enfleshed
39, 1 Cor	*οὐδὲν περὶ τῆς σαρκώσεως λέγει. . . οὐ γὰρ τὸ σαρκωθῆναι*	ܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܥܠ ܦܓܪܐ . . . ܠܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܦܓܪ ܗܘܐ and nothing about the enfleshment does he speak. . . for it is not that he was enfleshed
39, 1 Cor	*ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔδειξεν αὐτόν σοι σαρκωθέντα*	ܡܛܠ ܕܚܘܐ ܠܗ ܠܟ ܕܐܬܦܓܪ but because he has shown him that he was enfleshed
1, Ep	*Ἰδού, Θεὸς τοῦ σαρκωθέντος. Εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλει, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου Πατήρ*	ܗܐ ܐܠܗܗ ܕܡܢ ܕܐܬܦܓܪ . ܐܢ ܠܐ ܨܒܐ ܠܟ ܠܐ ܐܠܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܒܐ Behold, the God of him who has been enfleshed. And if you do not wish, rather of the Word God the Father.

The diacritical marks with ܡܠܬܐ ܐܠܗܐ ("the Word God") in the last example are not *seyame* indicating plurality but some other sort of editorial designation. A later hand corrects the word ܐܠܗܐ ("God") to read, ܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ("the Word of God the Father"). Whether the correction reflects the original Syriac translation is uncertain. The corrective activity and special pointing comes as no surprise in a context of such christological interest—the summary for Homily 1 on Ephesians closes with the words, ܗܘܝܘܬܐ ܕܡܬܠ . ܡܠܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܡܢ ܕܐܝܟ ܐܒܐ ܘܒܪܐ ("and he demonstrates after these things also concerning the sameness-of-*ousia* of the Father and of the Son").[63] In the margin near the first occurrence in Homily 39 on 1 Corinthians is the note, ܠܘܬ ܝܘܠܝܢܘܣ ܕܡܬܠ ("against Julian the Phantastiast"), which occurs in several other places in the

[63]The use of the phrase ܗܘܝܘܬܐ ܕܡܬܠ ("sameness-of-*ousia*") shows that these particular summaries were probably translated according to different methods than the homilies themselves, probably later.

manuscript.[64] These features highlight the christological significance of such passages in the homilies, a significance seen in the development of the refinements within Syriac translation technique after A.D. 500 which led to the consistent use of ܐܬܒܣܪ ("he was enfleshed") to translate words related to *σαρκωθέντα*.[65] This consistency is reflected in the translation of the four (five) occurrences in HEpp.

c. The adverbs κυρίως, θεοπρεπῶς, and κατὰ ἄνθρωπον[66]

The adverb *κυρίως* appears a few times and receives inconsistent treatment:

Homily	
41, 1 Cor	ܟܪܝܢܐܝܬ ("exactly")
24, Ep	ܟܪܝܨܘܬܐ ("authoritatively, accurately")
4, 2 Thess	*καὶ κυρίως ταύτην ἀεὶ λέγει παράδοσιν* ܘܟܠܡܬܐ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܡܪܝܡ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܕܐ ܡܫܬܐ ܕܟܪܝܨܘܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܕܗܢܐ ܡܫܬܐ ܕܡܫܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܕܗܢܐ ܡܫܬܐ and always truly he spoke this tradition

The last example has the most dynamic rendering. The first, with ܟܪܝܢܐܝܬ ("exactly"), uses the term common prior to the sixth century, when the more formally literal ܟܪܝܨܘܬܐ ("authoritatively, exactly") began to take its place. The latter term was used consistently from the seventh century, but appears in these translations only in Homily 24 on Ephesians. Taken individually, these translations might point to distinct styles. Taken collectively, they point to an uneven style, perhaps in a period of transition.

The adverb *θεοπρεπῶς* occurs only within a single context of Homily 39 on 1 Corinthians. In the two instances, the translator renders it with ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܝܐ (literally, "befitting-of-divinely," i.e. befitting divinity), the literal form which by the seventh century replaced more dynamic earlier translations. This is quite an early occurrence of this form and on its own strongly suggests the translation was made no earlier than the sixth century.

Laying aside some Biblical citations,[67] a number of occurrences show that

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[64]In the same homily, the translator employs the primitive ܠܒܫ ܦܓܪܐ ("he put on flesh") for *σάρκα ἔλαβε* (*ἀνέλαβε* F).

[65]See de Halleux, "La philoxénienne du symbole," 302–4.

[66]On the significance of these terms in translation analysis, see 90–1.

[67]In a citation of 1 Corinthians 15:32 in Homily 40 on 1 Corinthians, *κατὰ ἄνθρωπον* is rendered by ܟܝܢܐ ܕܒܪܢܫܐ ("according to man;" the Peshitta has ܟܝܢܐ ܕܐܢܫܐ ܕܒܪܢܫܐ, "according to the family of men"); in a citation of 1 Corinthians 3:3 in Homily 9 on Ephesians, it is translated ܐܢܫܝܬܐ ("humanly;" the

HEpp prefer to translate *κατὰ ἄνθρωπον* with ܟܕܐܢܫ ܕܒ ܥܠܡܐ ("according to man"), ܟܕܐܢܫܐ ܕܒ ܥܠܡܐ ("according to men"), or even ܟܕܐܢܫܐ ܕܒ ܒܝܬ ܥܠܡܐ ("according to the family of men").[68] Similar to the method employed by HMt[A],[69] this is even more literal, being the same method as employed consistently by seventh-century translators. Homily 3 on 1 Thessalonians has a more dynamic translation:

κατὰ ἄνθρωπον ἡ φιλία
ܚܘܒܐ ܕܐܢܫܐ ܗܘܝܐ ("the love is of man")

Of comparative interest is this rendering in Homily 8 on 1 Thessalonians: *κατὰ σάρκα* ≈ ܒܦܓܪܐ ("in the flesh").

d. εὐσεβεία[70]

The Syriac translations of HEpp translate *εὐσεβεία* by the early ܕܚܠܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ("fear of God"); the seventh-century ܟܕܚܠܬܐ ܕܛܒܘܬܐ ("goodliness of fear") does not appear.[71]

e. οἰκουμένη[72]

HEpp quite consistently use ܥܠܡܐ ("the whole world") to translate *οἰκουμένη*, although one correction in the original hand uses the more literal ܟܕܡܬܝܬܒܐ (literally, "what is inhabitable"), a term which becomes standard by the seventh century.[73]

14. The Holy Spirit and Gender

The inspection of several occurrences of the term "(Holy) Spirit" in a few of the homilies shows that the translators treat the term as grammatically masculine.[74]

15. Consistency in Rendering

In the macro-analysis it has already been observed that the Syriac translations of HEpp are careful to maintain consistency in choice of word class. The translations

Peshitta has ܒܦܓܪܐ, "in the flesh").

[68]The last occurs in Homily 2 on Colossians.

[69]See 91.

[70]On the significance of this term in translation analysis, see 89.

[71]Representative occurrences are in Homily 28 on 1 Corinthians, Homily 6 on 2 Corinthians, and Homily 19 on Ephesians.

[72]On the significance of this term in translation analysis, see 89.

[73]On this occurrence, see 139.

[74]For the significance of this feature, see 92.

also exhibit consistency in word choice. When a word or structure appears more than once in the same context, the translations show a tendency to render it the same way each time. However, consistency is not rigorously maintained, as the following examples illustrate:

Homily			
10, 2 Cor	*παρεῖναι*	ܩܪܝܒ is near (twice)	ܐܝܬܝܗ exists
11, Col	*μιαροὶ καὶ παμμίαροι*	ܛܡܝܐܐ ܘܛܡܝܐ unclean and polluted ones	

At times, the Syriac translator appears to be at a loss to provide words in sufficient variety to match the variety of expression which the Greek employs due to its enormous wealth of vocabulary.[75] This results in a distinct type of inconsistency, a sort of stylistic flattening out on the part of the Syriac:

Homily		
2, Philip[76]	*διαθέσεως*	ܚܘܒܐ ("love")
"	*ποθεῖ*	ܪܚܡ ("[he] loves")

Highly formal word formation and stereotyping is not the norm in these translations.

Since abolutely consistent regular correspondencies do not normally occur, one must be careful when evaluating Greek variants not to presume that the source text of the Syriac in one place will be the same in another simply because the Syriac uses identical terms in the two contexts.

D. Conclusions

1. General Concluding Observations on Style

While there are some obvious problems in considering the various sets of the Syriac HEpp as constituting a translational unity, their respective styles are so similar as to constitute an essentially unanimous style. In the macro-analysis, only the Homilies on Titus deviates from the patterns set by the others sufficiently to consider setting it apart as possibly an example of a different translation style. Yet the micro-analysis has not shown it not to be especially distinctive, so that considering it in

[75]See Sauget, "Une homélie de Proclus," 10.

[76]If one includes the citation of Philippians 1:8–11 immediately preceding, the "flatness" is even more striking. The Syriac again uses ܪܚܡ ("loves") and ܚܘܒܐ ("love") in the citation to represent *ἐπιποθῶ* and *ἀγάπη*.

isolation from the other sets is only a precaution and possibly not necessary. Its style is essentially the same as those of the other homily translations.

In the basic features of style surveyed in the micro-analyses, the translations of HEpp are not entirely unlike the translations of the Homilies on the Gospels. Many techniques of representation are identical and none of the Syriac translations bear certain literal features characteristic of seventh-century translations. However, HEpp show a much greater reluctance to add material pleonastically or in an expansive or paraphrastic way. Their translators are more text-oriented. In handling the verbs *εἰμι* and *ἔχω*, participles, infinitival phrases, and demonstrative pronouns, the translators are more consistent in the application of their techniques. The initial macro-analysis reveals that the translations exhibit a high level of concern for Greek word order. Gauged according to the framework of the development of Syriac translation technique, the Syriac HEpp generally have a more refined technique than any of the translations of the Homilies on the Gospels, and were therefore probably translated at a later date. However, it is noteworthy that the translations of HEpp tolerate more inconsistency than typical seventh-century translations, which are relatively even more technically advanced.

2. *Dating the Translations*

For the *terminus ante quem* of the translations, the earliest dated manuscripts containing portions of HEpp are of 584 and 594.[77] Many more have been assigned dates of the sixth or seventh centuries on paleographical bases, and a number of collections show that the translations had been in existence long enough to have permeated such literature before or during the seventh century. Hence several, and probably most or all, of the translations of the homily sets must have been in existence prior to the seventh century.

Translation style confirms a date prior to the seventh century, but also helps set a hypothetical *terminus post quem*. The macro- and micro-analyses have illustrated the fact that most of the stylistic features of the translations of the various HEpp together constitute a single, basically homogeneous style. It has also been observed that the translation style is relatively later than those of the Homilies on the

[77]Viz. B.L. Add. 12,160 (1 Cor) and B.L. Add. 17,152 (1 Thess), respectively. *B.L. Add. 12,156* contains an extract from the Homilies on 1 Thessalonians and was copied before 563, but its translation of the homily is not the same as the one in the commentary manuscript (see 58–9, 141–3).

Gospels, but it is possible to be even more precise by taking the methods of representing certain words and relating them to the abstract framework of the development of Syriac translation technique.[78] On the one hand, the consistent use of ܒܪ ܛܒܥܐ ("son of the nature") for *ὁμοούσιος* is reminiscent of pre-500 usage, and the methods of translating *εὐσεβεία* and *οἰκουμένη* are relatively primitive. On the other hand, the consistent use of words related to ܐܬܒܣܪ ("he was enfleshed") for *σαρκωθέντα* suggests a post-500 date. The style of representing *κατὰ ἄνθρωπον* anticipates seventh-century precision, while the use of ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܝܐ ("befitting divinity") for *θεοπρέπως* is a technical advancement belonging to the sixth century and a regular feature of the seventh. The occurrence of the adjectival form ܟܢܝܫܬܐ ("ecclesiastical") also strongly suggests a date from the sixth century. Inconsistencies in rendering certain lexical items with varied degrees of literalness, e.g. various means of representing *φιλανθρωπία*—even within a single set of homilies, point to a transitional character and may indicate a period earlier in the sixth century rather than later.

Since in many instances, such varied indicators occur within the same commentaries, it must be acknowledged that at least some of the various means of rendering are part of the same translation style exercised at roughly the same time. The similarities shared by the translations in the other categories of comparison support the hypothesis. On the basis of all the evidence, that time would appear to be the sixth century. The translations certainly do not exhibit the overall consistency of most seventh-century translations. The somewhat "mixed" character of the translation technique, seen particularly in lexical items, is probably due to their having been translated during the sixth-century period of technical transition. Certain advancements appear, but certain other primitive features remain.

The translations of the christological terms are illustrative. The occurrence of words related to ܐܬܒܣܪ ("he was enfleshed") indicates strongly that the translation was made sometime after 500, but the translators continued to use ܒܪ ܛܒܥܐ ("son of the nature") for *ὁμοούσιος* perhaps because it was traditional and somehow they felt no need to be more precise in rendering this particular term. Certainly, one would not expect that translations of the mainly non-christological moralizing homilies of a theologically non-controversial Father would necessarily keep strictly in step with terminological developments defined primarily by translations of creeds and

[78]See 132–5.

christological polemics and the revision of key Biblical passages.

In any case, taken together, the external and internal data suggest that the translations of all of HEpp were made between 500 and 600, most of them perhaps by the middle of the sixth century.

E. Revisions in the Homilies on the Epistles

1. Apparent Revisions

There is no substantial evidence that editors subjected the Syriac translations of HEpp to programs of revision.[79] A survey of the samples shows that variant readings occasionally present themselves within the traditions, but they may not confidently be interpreted as revisions, least of all revisions with reference to the Greek.[80]

The most remarkable example of a definite revision occurring in the texts surveyed is not part of a programmatic editing process, but witnesses to the moment of a single revision:

Homily	
11, Ep	τῆς οἰκουμένης
	ܟܠܗ ("of the whole world;" *B.L. Add. 12,181*; original of B.L. Add. 14,565?)
	ܕܡܬܝܬܒܐ (literally, "of what is inhabitable;" correction in B.L. Add. 14,565)

The correction in the commentary manuscript B.L. Add. 14,565 is written over an erasure. The correction is in the original hand, but exceeds the allotted space, causing the next word to overflow into the margin. The underwriting is illegible, but occupies a space about half the size of the correction—it was probably ܟܠܗ ("of the whole world").[81] The revision, consisting of the highly literal ܕܡܬܝܬܒܐ ("of what is inhabitable"), is an etymological calque of οἰκουμένη which appears in the sixth century and becomes common in the seventh.[82] Its appearance as a correction

[79]For an introduction to the topic of revisions, see 94–6.

[80]The study involves 11 sets of samples, each of about paragraph length and representing places in the tradition which are open to comparison due to the occurrence of overlapping witnesses. The samples are taken from the following homilies: 39, 41, 42 on 1 Cor; 1, 5, 10 on 2 Cor; 11, 22 on Ep; 7, 8 on 1 Thess; 2(3) on 2 Thess.

[81]See 135.

[82]See Brock, "Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity," 85; ibid., "Diachronic Aspects of Syriac Word Formation," 329.

suggests that the original translation was made prior to the time of the popular acceptance of the calque, perhaps the first half of the sixth century. The revision occurred at the time of copying, in either the sixth or seventh century. It is conceivable that the scribe did not refer to a Greek text but simply applied what had become for him a conventional term to represent what he knew must have been the Greek word underlying the original Syriac before him.

2. Other Types of Alterations

Scribes or editors sometimes adapt passages for use in a collection. Especially common in liturgical collections is the addition or transformation of elements at the beginning of a passage adapting it for public reading, e.g. the addition of ܚܒܝܒܝ, "my beloved." Similar adjustments occur in the following example:

Homily
41, 1 Cor *καὶ βοηθεῖν, ὡς ἂν οἷόν τε ᾖ, οὐ δακρύειν, ἀλλ' εὐχαῖς*
ܠܡܨܠܝܗ ܠܗܘܢ . ܠܐ ܒܒܟܝܐ ܐܠܐ ܒܨܠܘܬܐ ܕܡܬܚܢܢܐ
and that you may help as (far as) possible, not with tears, but with prayers
(B.L. Add. 12,160)

ܠܗܘܢ . ܠܐ ܒܒܟܝܐ ܐܠܐ . ܕܐܢ ܨܒܐ ܕܡܬܚܢܢ ܥܡܗ ܠܡܨܠܝܗ
for if you want to help him who has departed, not with tears, but with prayers
(*B.L. Add. 14,612*)

An editor has altered the text functioning as an incipit in the anthology *B.L. Add. 14,612* in order to fashion a personal greeting at the introduction of the reading.

Some of the collections pursue a policy of deliberate abbreviation. A comparison between samples of Homily 10 on 2 Corinthians from the homiliary *B.L. Add. 12,165* and other sources[83] brings to light an example of this editing style. Citing a passage from the homily, about the "fearful coming of Christ," the homiliary omits about half the passage. There is no obvious indication of a simple error and the adjusted text makes perfect sense.[84]

Some Syriac witnesses differ in the provision or exclusion of explicit objects and subjects. For example:

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[83]Viz. B.L. Add. 12,180; B.L. Add. 14,564; and *B.L. Add. 14,617* (see 108–9).

[84]Another substantial differences exist between the text of B.L. Add. 12,165 and the others. The use of ܢܬܚܙܐ ("we are going to, we will") in place of ܫܦܝܪ ("it is right") matches the citation of 2 Cor 5:10 and is an accommodation to the Peshitta text of that passage (see 108–9, 212).

Homily
10, 2 Cor *λογιζέσθω παρεῖναι τὸν Δικαστήν*
ܢܚܫܒ ܕܩܪܝܒ
let us reckon that (he/it is) near (B.L. Add. 12,180;*B.L. Add. 14,617*)
ܢܚܫܒ ܕܩܪܝܒ ܗܘ
let us reckon that he is near (*B.L. Add. 12,165*)

11, Ep *παροξύνει τὸν Θεόν*
ܡܟܥܣ ܐܠܗܐ ("will anger God;" B.L. Add. 14,565)
ܡܟܥܣ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ (literally, "will anger him-God;" *B.L. Add. 12,181*)

Variations like these are probably inner Syriac corruptions.

3. B.L. Add. 12,156

It has been noticed that the excerpt from Homily 7 on 1 Thessalonians which appears in the very early *B.L. Add. 12,156* (pre-562) is of a different translation than that of the commentary manuscript B.L. Add. 17,152 (594).[85] In view of the homogeneity of the material surveyed so far, it is *a priori* unlikely that the excerpt in *B.L. Add. 12,156* is evidence for revisional work. However, the question invites exploration for two reasons: first, because of the scholarly attention which *B.L. Add. 12,156* and the excerpt attract; second, because both Syriac texts witness to a well-defined branch of the Greek manuscript tradition.

A comparison of samples of about paragraph length shows that the Syriac texts are occasionally identical or quite similar. However, such passages of close similarity occur only sporadically and are sustained only for the length of individual clauses. The similarities are not remarkable, probably being coincidences resulting largely from the limitations of a common source text and the narrow range of options lying before any Syriac translator. Each translation presupposes essentially the same Greek source text, but exhibits an individual preference in word choice. For example, B.L. Add. 17,152 prefers ܗܢܘܢ and ܗܠܝܢ ("those" and "these"), whereas *B.L. Add. 12,156* prefers ܕܐܠܝܢ ("those which"). Many examples of divergent vocabulary choices exist. For example:

	B.L. Add. 12,156	B.L. Add. 17,152
ἀπηρτισμένους	ܫܠܡܝܢ ("whole")	ܫܠܡܝܢ ("complete")

The two texts are not simply distinct, however. In many instances, B.L. Add. 17,152 is more literal than *B.L. Add. 12,156* in representing the common Greek source text. For example:

[85]See 59, especially the literature cited in nn. 253–4.

	B.L. Add. 12,156	B.L. Add. 17,152
ἐργωδίαν	ܥܒܝܕܘܬܐ ("difficulty")	ܥܒܝܕܘܬܐ ("labour")
μυρία ἔτη	ܫܢܝܢ ܣܓܝܐܐ ("a multitude of years")	ܫܢܝ ܡܝܐ ("myriads of years")
ὥσπερ	ܟܕ ("as")	ܟܕܡܐ ("just as")
ὁ δεῖνα	ܐܢܫ ("a person")	ܦܠܢ ("such and such a one")
ναυάγιον ὑπέστη	ܣܥܪ ܣܓܝܐ "([he] was in a shipwreck")	ܡܛܪ ܣܓܝܐ ("[he] suffered a shipwreck")
χωρίοις	ܐܬܪܘܬܐ ("places")	ܐܬܪܝܬܐ ("regions")

The relative literalness of B.L. 17,152 suggests a more developed translation technique than that of the older *B.L. 12,156*. The latter certainly does not have a revision of the text of the former. If an inter-relationship between the two is proposed, the only plausible theory is that the text of B.L. Add. 17,152 represents a revision of an earlier translation of the homilies employed by the editor/translator producing *B.L. Add. 12,156*, or perhaps a new translation. In this case, a very early Syriac version of at least the Homilies on 1 and 2 Thessalonians would have disappeared and been replaced by the revision or fresh translation represented by B.L. 17,152. However, it is much more likely that the extract in *B.L. Add. 12,156* was simply translated or compiled independently from an existing Greek source collection, without reference to an existing Syriac translation of the Homilies on 1 and 2 Thessalonians—perhaps even before a translation existed.[86] Although many of the differences between the two Syriac texts make B.L. 17,152 closer to the common Greek source text, many are totally arbitrary in character, and inconsistent with a conscious program of revision.

The textual character of the Syriac Homilies on 1 Thessalonians is discussed below.[87] When compared to the Greek of Field's edition,[88] both Syriac texts under consideration here are seen essentially to witness to the same Greek textual group, although certain minor discrepancies between the Syriac texts sound a caution against over-generalizing prematurely about their character. This Greek text is basically that

[86]Where comparison is possible, it would be interesting to know how many others of the texts in *B.L. Add. 12,156* can be shown not to derive from existing independent Syriac translations of the relevant patristic works.

[87]See 148–9.

[88]Field, *Interp. ep. Paul.*, 5.388–9.

which Field has chosen as his main text. In effect, these two early Syriac translations confirm the widespread sixth-century existence of the main text in Field's edition.

4. Conclusions about the Presence of Revisions

No evidence exists to suggest that editors systematically or sporadically revised any of the Syriac HEpp with reference to a Greek text, or that any of them were ever systematically re-translated. Inner Syriac variations exist, some of which are more like the Greek comparison text, but the scarcity of such variation underscores the pervasive homogeneity of the Syriac witnesses to HEpp.

F. The History of the Greek Tradition and the Syriac Text

The importance of the Syriac evidence for understanding the history of the Greek text fact suggests itself on the *a priori* basis of the antiquity of the Syriac witness, and is fortified by the evidence brought forward in the previous section.

I. Some Suggestions about the Use of the Syriac Versions in Textual Study of the Greek HEpp

The inevitable limitations of the Syriac in representing Greek must be observed here as with HMt.[89] The translation style of the Syriac HEpp makes them good witnesses to the Greek text. Where Greek variants involve transpositions, substantial omissions, and additions, the evidence of HEpp is helpful. HEpp may even be helpful where variations in word order occur within clauses, though their evidence must be used cautiously. Where variants involve conjunctions and most particles, HEpp may be relied on, albeit with qualification, and a unique occurrence of such in HEpp should not be taken as evidence for a corresponding but unknown Greek text. HEpp are also helpful where variations involve pronouns and verbal tenses, although with the latter, when the distinction is one of pointing, the evidence should be applied cautiously as always. As a rule, the occurrence of variation in the Greek should control one's consultation of the Syriac; however, where the Syriac has a substantial individual reading that cannot otherwise be explained (e.g. by scribal error or through HEpp's restrained dynamism[90]), one may use it as an independent witness to a hypothetical lost Greek.

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[89]See p. 62, n. 1 and p. 102–3.
[90]See 123–4.

When evaluating individual cases, this summary should be complemented by reference to relevant sections of the translation analysis, and each case must be evaluated on its own with attention to context and the translations' stylistic features.

2. Summaries of the Analyses of Each Set of Homilies

Texts from every extant Syriac set of HEpp have been systematically compared with the Greek texts and apparatuses of Field's editions, which themselves present the evidence of manuscripts and previous editions. Wherever possible, an entire homily has been studied to determine whether and which text the Syriac supports at points of variation. The analyses are restricted by focusing only on instances of variation in the Greek tradition. This does not allow a thorough appreciation of the character of the Syriac texts as independent witnesses, but it gives important information about their reliability as witnesses. The evidence of the analyses is not presented in detail here, but only interpretations of the evidence and examples illustrating the conclusions. The conclusions are merely preliminary and not meant to be directly useful to the evaluation of individual readings. However, despite these limitations, the analyses clearly demonstrate the worth of the Syriac evidence, often giving strong indications as to which Greek textual witnesseses or groups are most like those underlying the sixth-century Syriac translations.

a. Homilies on 1 Corinthians

Edited witnesses to the Greek Homilies on 1 Corinthians do not exhibit much variation, nor do clear and consistent textual groups emerge.[91] A reading of Homily 39 shows that certain manuscripts are most likely to have unique readings, viz. F, C, and E, but rarely does one agree with another or with the other two. The Syriac tends not to agree with these individual readings, agreeing instead with the common text shared by the Greek manuscripts A, B, D, and the printed editions prior to Field. However, the Syriac occasionally agrees with otherwise unique readings, appearing in the Greek F. For example:

Reading Agreeing with Syriac	Variant
εἰ μὲν γὰρ (F)	*εἰ γὰρ* (Field text)
τῆς μακαριότητος πάσης ἐκείνης (F)	om. *πάσης* (Field text)

[91]The relatively low frequency of variation in the Greek tradition leads some to suggest that the Homilies on 1 Corinthians are among the very few sets that do not exist in two strikingly different recensions (see Goodall, *Homilies of St. Chrysostom on the Letters of St. Paul to Titus and Philemon*, 2). Cf. n. 32 above.

The Syriac does not agree with most of F's unique readings, particularly more elaborate additions. It appears that some mixture has occurred and that the Syriac is based on a Greek text not quite like any having come to light so far.

b. Homilies on 2 Corinthians

The edited Greek tradition for Homily 10 does not signal as much variation proportionally as exists within most of the homily sets.[92] Greek manuscript D most frequently departs from the majority, then manuscript B and, finally, A. The three form no group together, but manuscripts C and D occasionally agree against the rest (which include E, F, a Moscow manuscript, and the printed editions). Foregoing an analysis of the largely unanimous Greek witnesses, it may be observed that the four Syriac witnesses to Homily 10 have nearly identical texts, and none of the witnesses individually shows itself to have a distinctive relationship to any part of the Greek tradition. They share a text very like the edited Greek text.[93] Although in a few instances they agree together with the unique readings of Greek manuscript D, more often they do not, usually agreeing against any unique readings with the majority of Greek witnesses, the core of which appears to consist of E, F, and the Moscow manuscript.

c. Homilies on Ephesians

The study of Greek Homily 11[94] reveals clearly that a textual group is formed by manuscripts A, B, and F, often joined by the printed editions since Savile. The two Syriac witnesses are essentially identical. They virtually always disagree with the former group, in agreement with the remaining witnesses (mainly C, D, E, and a Moscow manuscript). However, the Syriac often agrees with those variants shared by the group ABEF, attesting to mixture within the tradition for which Greek manuscript E acts as a control. The Syriac does not agree with the idiosyncrasies of C.

Of interest are unique Syriac readings which have some claim to primitiveness. The following examples involve rhetorical words and phrases which may be secondary additions in the Greek, especially in view of the comparative terseness of the Syriac:

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[92]Field, *Interp. ep. Paul.*, 3.116–25.
[93]See the sample on 108.
[94]Field, *Interp. ep. Paul.*, 4.214–26.

Field Text	Variants and witnesses	Syriac variants
τουτέστιν	τοιοῦτό τι λέγων (A B F Sav. cet.)	om.
εἶτα	εἶτα ἐπάγων (A B F Sav. cet.)	om.
Τί ἐστι, κατὰ τὸ μέτρον;	Τί ἐστι τοῦτο; (E)	ܡܕܡܐ ܗܘܐ What is it?

d. Homilies on Philippians

About half of Homily 2(3) on Philippians has survived in Syriac. A reading of the homily in Greek[95] shows that considerable variation exists between Field's witnesses, out of which at least one group clearly emerges, consisting of C, G, and the printed editions beginning with Savile. Field's text normally gives priority to manuscripts F and E, particularly the former. Compared with the latter manuscripts, the afore-mentioned group has a number of additions and transpositions, as well as some omissions. In these cases, the Syriac text is never in agreement with that group against F (and E).[96]

Hence, it is apparent that the sixth-century Greek text underlying the Syriac translation has closer affinities with F and E (and the text of the Veronensis edition, where it agrees with one or both of these manuscripts) than with any of the other edited witnesses.[97] This also applies to some readings which Field chose to relegate to his apparatus as secondary:

Readings Agreeing with Syriac	Supporting Witnesses
om. καὶ οὐκ ἁπλῶς[98]	F E Veronensis Catenae
om. ἄπαγε	F Veronensis
om. ἐπιποθῶ πάντας	F Veronensis

e. Homilies on Philemon

Nearly the whole of Homily 1 on Philemon has survived in Syriac, making it an excellent text to compare with the Greek, for which Field shows considerable

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[95]Field, *Interp. ep. Paul.*, 5.17–29.

[96]In two possibly exceptional cases, the Syriac text is ambiguous. A third involves the addition of the Syriac equivalent to φησι, a term which the translator frequently supplies where no such parallel exists in any known Greek text, and hence not very useful for the evaluation of variants.

[97]This may also be observed amongst the variants given in the above samples of Homilies 2 (line 3) and 4 (lines 2 and 3), pp. 112–3 above.

[98]The Syriac also lacks anything corresponding to the subsequent ἐκείνων ἕνεκεν, a phrase included in all the published Greek texts. The Syriac may be the product of an unknown Greek text similar to that of F E Veronensis Catenae (see 112).

variation.[99] In this homily, Field's text normally follows the text of manuscripts I and E, giving priority to I. An opposing group consists of C, G, K, and the printed editions, although the Veronensis edition sometimes departs from the group to agree with I or E, or both together. The Syriac follows Field's text, in cases of variation virtually always in clear agreement with I and whatever other witnesses corroborate I's readings (usually E). Where I has unique readings the Syriac usually supports them.[100] For example:

Reading Agreeing with Syriac	Variant
ταῦτα αὐτὰ (I)	*ταῦτα* (E C G K Editions)
οὐ πλούτου χρημάτων (I E Veronensis)	*οὐ πλούτου, οὐ χρημάτων* (C G K other Editions)

Hence, the Greek text underlying the sixth-century Syriac translation must have been basically equivalent to that of I. These conclusions are in agreement with those of Goodall, whose analysis of the relationships between manuscripts is more thorough than reliance upon Field's edition will allow.[101] Goodall points out that some of the unique readings of the Syriac probably go back to original Greek readings which have fallen out of the Greek tradition.[102]

f. Homilies on Colossians

A reading of Homily 4[103] reveals that numerous small variations are shared by the group consisting of B and H, which is typically joined by the witness of the printed editions since Savile, and often by manuscript C as well. The Syriac nearly always opposes these readings, agreeing instead with the remaining witnesses, especially the group consisting of A, D, and E. In a few instances, involving particles or conjunctions, the Syriac contradicts this pattern, but it is only in one instance where the catenae join the BCH group that the Syriac clearly supports the group in a

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[99]Field, *Interp. ep. Paul.*, 6.328–35.

[100]The only remarkable exception in Homily 1 occurs where the Syriac appears to support *εὐκατάλλακτος* of C, G, K, and most of the editions, against *εὐμετάλλακτος* of I, E, and the Veronensis edition.

[101]However, since Goodall has produced no edition, the present study must rely on Field for textual comparisons between the Greek and Syriac.

Goodall divides his twelve Greek witnesses evenly into two recensions designated α and β, alleging that the Syriac nearly always agrees with β, and with α only coincidentally. His judgement is that the principal variations separating the two groups are deliberate alterations, not the result of errors (*Homilies of St. Chrysostom on the Letters of St. Paul to Titus and Philemon*, 46–8). Cf. n. 32 above.

[102]See ibid., 36–7, 48.

[103]Field, *Interp.ep.Paul.*, 5.211–21.

major variant.[104] It should be noticed that the Syriac does not uniformly agree with the ADE group, and particularly that typically it does not support the unique readings of any particular witness.

g. Homilies on Titus

Some very profitable comparisons can be made between the Syriac text and patterns of variation amongst the Greek witnesses, as Goodall has indicated.[105] An analysis of three fragments, from Homilies 1, 2, and 5, respectively,[106] indicates that the Syriac version regularly agrees with one textual grouping against another. The group consisting of manuscripts C and D, along with the witness of the Veronensis edition (and manuscript E where present), present a text most like that of the Syriac version. In clear opposition is the group consisting of K, L, M, and the other printed editions since Savile's. However, when witnesses from the former group go their own way, whether C, D, or E, the Syriac strongly tends to agree with the majority, sometimes having its own reading. Commenting further on the mixture which Goodall perceives would require a broader reading of the Greek than has been possible in this study.

The following examples from the sample given above illustrate the quality of the Syriac witness:

Line	Reading Agreeing with Syriac	Variant
1	om. *σφόδρα* (Field text)	include *σφόδρα* (K L M)
2	om. *εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν δόκιμος* (Field text)	include same (K L M Sav.cet.)
7	*τό* (Field text)	*τοῦτο* (C)
7	*τεκνῷ αὐτῷ γράφειν* (Field text)	*τέκνον αὐτὸν λέγειν* (K L M Sav.cet.)

h. Homilies on 1 Thessalonians

A reading of the Greek text of Homily 8 on 1 Thessalonians[107] shows that considerable variation exists amongst the Greek witnesses, but that long additions and substantial omissions or transpositions are not very common. Indeed, the Greek

[104]Viz. the omission of *οὐδὲ πραθείς*.

[105]Goodall finds three textual groups to which his ten Greek witnesses testify, designated *α*, *β*, and *γ*. He postulates that the three distinct text types were in existence by the ninth century and that the Syriac witnesses to an earlier, mixed text basically consisting of the agreements of *βγ* against *α* (*Homilies of St. Chrysostom on the Letters of St. Paul to Titus and Philemon*, 36). Cf. n. 32 above.

[106]Field, *Interp.ep.Paul.*, 6.264–5, 277–8, 312–3.

[107]Field, *Interp. ep. Paul.*, 5.393–405.

witnesses appear to have mixed texts, so that simple and consistent patterns of agreement are not immediately obvious. This state of affairs complicates an evaluation of the Syriac text, which for this homily enjoys three complete witnesses.[108] Their texts are basically identical, with no significant variations suggesting affiliation with a distinct strand of the Greek tradition.[109] A careful reading of the Syriac, with close attention to the Greek variants signalled in Field's edition, indicates that the Syriac most often disagrees with a particular fluid group, the core of which consists of Greek manuscripts B and K. In this regard, the group is most often joined by C and L, but sometimes also by I and some of the editions. The manuscript with which the Syriac disagrees least often is I; however, the Syriac tends not to agree with any manuscript's unique readings,[110] including those of I.

The complexities of the Greek tradition require that greater attention be devoted to it before it will be possible to ascertain even preliminary indications of the significance of the Syriac. However, the following examples from Homily 8 demonstrate that the sixth-century Syriac witness will indeed be essential to such an endeavour:[111]

Reading Agreeing with Syriac	Variant
κυρίου (C I L Sav.cet.)	*θεοῦ* (B K)
τὰ 'Αρμενίας λέγω (I L Sav.cet.)	om. (B C K)
*ὁ γὰρ ἀπόστολος**[1] *τὰ τοῦ ἀποστείλαντος λέγει**[2] *δεικνὺς ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ ἐστιν* (C I L Veronensis)	*δεικνὺς ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ ἐστιν· ὁ γὰρ ἀπόστολος τὰ τοῦ ἀποστείλαντος φθέγγεται* (B K Sav.cet.)

*[1] *ἀπεσταλμένος* I *[2] *φθέγγεται* Veronensis

i. Homilies on 2 Thessalonians

Although the manuscript evidence for Field's edition of the Homilies on 2 Thessalonians is essentially the same as for the Homilies on 1 Thessalonians, a study

[108]Viz. B.L. Add. 17,152; *B.L. Add. 14,567*; *B.L. Add. 14,601*.

[109]The possible exceptions involve readings of *B.L. Add. 14,567* not shared by the other two Syriac manuscripts: first, in one place it omits the word corresponding to *μέν* in agreement with Greek manuscript L; second, in another instance it omits *καὶ* in agreement with Greek B, C, and L; finally, in a third place it has the plural (i.e. *seyome*), against Greek I and L, and the other Syriac witnesses. Only the first example is possibly significant, but the word may have fallen out because it would have appeared as the first word in the column of a new page of *B.L. Add. 14,567*.

[110]Sporadic exceptions normally involve minor variations, such as the addition or omission of conjunctions and particles.

[111]For some notice of the Syriac's relationship to Greek variations in a sample from Homily 7, see 141–2.

of the Greek text of Homily 2(3) on 2 Thessalonians[112] reveals some fairly clear textual groupings. One group consists of the witnesses B and K, often joined by I and a series of printed editions beginning with Savile. The Syriac nearly always witnesses against the minor adjustments and additions of this group,[113] typically agreeing with the group consisting of C, L (sometimes joined by I), which may be in agreement with the catenae and the Veronensis edition. Where either C or L has a distinctive reading (perhaps in agreement with the catenae or the Veronensis edition), the Syriac may agree with it, but typically does not.

The most dramatic illustration of the basic shape of the Syriac witness involves a lengthy paragraph of commentary (17 lines in Field's edition) which appears in B, K, and the editions beginning with Savile.[114] The paragraph is absent from the witnesses C, I, L, the catenae, and the Veronensis edition. The Syriac also lacks the paragraph, although at precisely the same point a short summary of the remaining homily material appears in red ink in the midst of the text, as often occurs in these homilies.[115] The Syriac summary or sub-title is much shorter than the omitted paragraph and not parallel in content, but it draws further attention to this place in Homily 2(3) as a division point and a site for editorial activity.

The Syriac does not always agree with the CL group. Indeed, its testimony suggests strongly that these (and other) witnesses have mixed texts.

3. The Significance of the Syriac Translations for Understanding the Greek Manuscript Evidence

The study will not allow a thorough description of the textual affinities of the Syriac texts with reference to the Greek. However, it proves that the Syriac can responsibly be associated with particular Greek variants and even Greek textual groupings.[116] An application of the Syriac evidence generally confirms Field's

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[112]Field, *Interp. ep. Paul.*, 5.461–71.

[113]Most of the exceptions involve the addition or omission of conjunctions on the part of B and K.

[114]See Field, *Interp. ep. Paul.*, 5.465, note h.

[115]Another short summary appears in the Syriac manuscript at the point where the Veronensis edition marks the *ethikon*, textually unrelated to the earlier Syriac summary or to the Greek one, and this time in the margin of the manuscript. It is not unusual for two distinct summaries to appear in the context of a single Syriac homily (see 42, 54).

[116]Goodall is quite confident in his conclusions about the textual affinity of the Syriac (noted in nn. 101, 105 above), reached on the basis of full comparisons between the Syriac and published Greek texts (see his *Homilies of St. Chrysostom on*

judgements about which textual groups must be secondary, and which deserve to be put forward as the main texts of the editions; i.e. the Syriac typically agrees with Field's main text—but not always. Even the witnesses to these main texts exhibit bewildering patterns of mixture, and the Syriac, by virtue of its age and literalness, shows great promise as a tool helping editors to sort through the mixture in the extant Greek tradition.

By comparing the ancient Syriac evidence to the Greek homilies, editors will often be able to determine with certainty the shape of certain pre-medieval Greek texts.

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the Letters of St. Paul to Titus and Philemon, 12, 36–7, 46–8). Cf. n. 32 above.

V. BIBLICAL CITATIONS IN THE HOMILIES ON MATTHEW AND IN THE HOMILIES ON THE EPISTLES

A. Introduction

1. General Considerations

The principal aim of this Chapter and Chapter VII is to gain some appreciation for the ways in which the translators handle Biblical citations. That is, the citations are here seen as aspects of translation technique, but considered separately because of the special forces playing upon them and because of their potentially far-reaching implications. These analyses are concerned only secondarily with the place of the citations as possible witnesses to the Syriac Biblical tradition, or with their role in restoring corrupt Greek Chrysostomic citations. Pursuing the primary goal will require that attention be given to these secondary goals, and will even provide direction for doing so, but this study will pursue them only in a preliminary way. Indeed, without a thorough appreciation of the citations as features of a coherent translation, it is impossible responsibly to relate them to their hypothetical Greek *Vorlagen* or any Biblical tradition. Lack of respect for this tenet has resulted in serious error amongst those who mine Patristic sources for the treasure of Biblical citations.

This is not to lay aside questions pertinent to the textual criticism of the Bible, especially the New Testament. The Fathers themselves dabbled in textual criticism when it suited them,[1] and the significance of their Biblical citations has long been

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[1]Chrysostom occasionally undertook discussions about textual variants in his homilies (F.H. Chase, *Chrysostom, A Study in the History of Biblical Interpretation*. [Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co., 1887] 84–5), although he was not the textual critic Origen and Jerome were; see Metzger, "Explicit References in the Works of Origen to Variant Readings in New Testament Manuscripts," in *Biblical and Patristic Studies in Memory of Robert Pierce Casey*, eds. J. Neville Birdsall and Robert W. Thomson (Freiburg: Herder, 1963) 78–95; ibid., "The Practice of Textual Criticism among the Church Fathers," in *StPatr XIII*, ed. E.A. Livingstone (*TU* 115; Berlin: Akademie, 1975) 340–49; Metzger, "St. Jerome's Explicit References to Variant Readings in Manuscripts of the New Testament," in *Text and Interpretation: Studies in the New Testament Presented to Matthew Black*, eds. Ernest Best and R. McL. Wilson (Cambridge: University Press, 1979) 179–90 (the latter two articles are reprinted in Metzger, *New Testament Studies, Philological, Versional, and Patristic* (Leiden: Brill, 1980) 189–98 and 199–210, respectively).

recognized.[2] More recent applications of their evidence, e.g. to the social history of Christianity,[3] have not distracted attention from their traditional role as evidence capable of dating and localizing readings and text types, which the oldest Biblical manuscripts and Biblical versions normally cannot do.[4]

There has been a trend in recent decades to elevate the status of Patristic Biblical citations, a trend championed perhaps by M.-E. Boismard, who treats them as primary—even superior—witnesses, and whose work on HJn will be the subject of Chapter VIII.[5] Recent moderate views are more cautious,[6] but demand that textual critics take Patristic evidence more seriously than traditional methods have allowed,[7] as a means of getting beyond the fourth-century barrier in a way which appreciates

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[2]See B.F. Westcott and F.J.A. Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek, Introduction and Appendix* (Cambridge: Macmillan, 1881) 87–8; J.M. Bebb, "The Evidence of the Early Versions and Patristic Quotations on the Text of the Books of the New Testament," *SBEc* 2 (1890) 233–4.

[3]See Bart D. Ehrman, "The Text as Window. New Testament Manuscripts and the Social History of Early Christianity," in *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research. Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, eds. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes (*SD* 46; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995) 361–79; and ibid., "The Use and Significance of Patristic Evidence for New Testament Textual Criticism," in *New Testament Textual Criticism, Exegesis and Church History. A Discussion of Methods*, eds. B. Aland and J. Delobel (*Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology* 7; Kampen: Pharos, 1994) 129–34.

[4]For such an estimate of their value, see Robert P. Casey, "The Patristic Evidence for the Text of the New Testament," in *New Testament Manuscript Studies*, eds. Merrill M. Parvis and Allen P. Wikgren (Chicago: University Press, 1950) 69–80; Jack Suggs, "The Use of Patristic Evidence in the Search for a Primitive New Testament Text," *NTS* 4 (1957–8) 139; Metzger, "Patristic Evidence and the Textual Criticism of the New Testament," *NTS* 18 (1971–2) 385–6, 400; and ibid., *The Text of the New Testament: Its Transmission, Corruption, and Restoration*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: University Press, 1992) 86.

The significance of a Patristic witnesses is sometimes held to extend to that of a primary witness when a Father preserves a reading only slimly attested elsewhere (Westcott and Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, 87–8; Casey, "Patristic Evidence for the Text of the New Testament," 72; cf. Bebb, "The Evidence of the Early Versions and Patristic Quotations," 237–8).

[5]Early examples include his, "Critique textuelle et citations patristique," *RB* 57 (1950) 388–408; "Lectior brevior, potior," *RB* 58 (1951) 161–8; and "Problèmes de critique textuelle concernant le quatrième évangile," *RB* 60 (1953) 347–71.

[6]See Jean Duplacy and Jack Suggs, "Les citations grecques et la critique du texte du Nouveau Testament: Le passé, le présent, et l'avenir," in *La Bible et les pères*, eds. André Benoit and Pierre Prigent (Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1971) 187–213; Pierre Prigent, "Les citations des Pères grecs et la critique textuelle du Nouveau Testament," in *Die Alten Übersetzungen des Neuen Testaments, die Kirchenväterzitate und Lektionare*, ed. K. Aland (*ANTF* ; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972) 436–40; and Metzger, "Patristic Evidence and Textual Criticism," 380–4, 400.

[7]William L. Petersen, "What Text can New Testament Textual Criticism Ultimately Reach?" in *New Testament Textual Criticism, Exegesis and Church History*, 136–51; and Ehrman, "Use and Significance of Patristic Evidence,"120–7.

the apparently fluid character of the early New Testament text and overcomes the geographic limitations of papyri evidence.[8] Cautious researchers have signalled numerous cautions about the use of Patristic citations,[9] and the field has seen considerable methodological advances in the collection, evaluation, and presentation of Patristic evidence[10] as well as the publication of valuable tools produced according to the refined methods.[11]

Most recent activity has focused on second- and third-century Patristic works, but many of the potentialities and all the methods are relevant to later works as well. Commenting on possible directions for future research, Bart Ehrman indicates that "a full analysis of John Chrysostom" may be the most pressing *desideratum*.[12] Citing copiously from Scripture at a key period for the development of the New Testament text, Chrysostom's exegetical homilies represent a veritable trove of textual data.

Although in this regard New Testament textual critics are concerned primarily with the Greek Patristic texts, Syriac translations are not irrelevant to their task, even when Greek texts survive. In Chrysostom's case, if it can be shown that the Syriac translators were careful to translate Biblical citations literally as they found them in Greek exemplars, then textual critics are supplied with Patristic witnesses far more

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[8]See Eldon Jay Epp, "The Significance of the Papyri for Determining the Nature of the New Testament Text in the Second Century: A Dynamic View of Textual Transmission," in *Gospel Traditions in the Second Century*, ed. Petersen (Notre Dame: University Press, 1989) 71–103.

[9]Against Boismard, see Metzger, "Patristic Evidence and Textual Criticism," 387–95; Fee, "The Text of John in Origen and Cyril of Alexandria: A Contribution to Methodology in the Recovery and Analysis of Patristic Citations," *Bib.* 52 (1971) 357–62; ibid., "The Text of John in *The Jerusalem Bible*: A Critique of the Use of Patristic Citations in New Testament Textual Criticism," *JBL* 90 (1971) 170–3; F. Neirynck, "L'Évangile de Jean. Examen critique du commentaire de M.-É. Boismard et A. Lamouille," *EThL* 53 (1977) 383–99; and Michel Roberge, "Jean VI, 22–4. Un problème de critique textuelle?" *LTP* 34 (1978) 275–89.

B. Aland appears to have more moderate scholarship in mind in, "Die Rezeption des neutestamentlichen Textes in den ersten Jahrhunderten," in *The New Testament in Early Christianity*, ed. Jean-Marie Sevrin (*BETL* 86; Louvain: University Press, 1989) 1–38.

[10]Exemplified by Fee's work; see his recent discussions, "The Use of Greek Patristic Citations in New Testament Textual Criticism: the State of the Question," in *Studies in the Theory and Method of New Testament Textual Criticism*, eds. E.J. Epp and G. Fee (*SD* 45; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993) 344–59; and "The Use of the Greek Fathers for New Testament Textual Criticism," in *Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research*, 191–207.

[11]E.g. Ehrman, *Didymus the Blind and the Text of the Gospels* (*NTGF* 1; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986); and James A. Brooks, *The New Testament Text of Gregory of Nyssa* (*NTGF* 2; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991).

[12]Ehrman, "Use and Significance of Patristic Evidence," 124.

ancient than extant Greek witnesses—notorious for having corrupt citations.[13] The translations need not be "letter-perfect" representations in order to yield valuable evidence.[14] Given the vast corpus of Greek Chrysostomic manuscripts and the appalling lack of adequate critical editions, such assistance is welcome; the Syriac translation could serve as a control for deciding between Greek variants or determining the antiquity of specific textual groups in the Greek tradition. Indeed, the following study shows that the Syriac even preserves forms of citations apparently lost to the Greek tradition, where the Greek citations have been expanded or accommodated to a more familiar standard form.

Alternatively, translators might cite from existing Syriac Biblical versions instead of translating Chrysostom directly.[15] In this case, the citations would supply evidence pertinent to the Syriac Biblical tradition,[16] consisting mainly of several versions of the New Testament and different strands of the Peshitta Old Testament.[17]

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[13]Medieval scribes often accommodated Biblical citations in Patristic works to the Biblical text with which they were familiar, hence nullifying the primitive value of the Patristic witness. See Bebb, "Evidence of the Early Versions and Patristic Quotations," 237; Suggs, "The Use of Patristic Evidence," 140; Fee, "Use of Greek Patristic Citations," 344–6; Metzger, "Patristic Evidence and Textual Criticism," 397–8.

[14]Against Robert M. Grant, who maintains that only Greek versions need to be cited in support of Greek New Testament readings, except where translations are highly literal ("The Citation of Patristic Evidence in an Apparatus Criticus," in *New Testament Manuscript Studies*, eds. Merrill M. Parvis and Allen P. Wikgren [Chicago: University Press, 1950] 123).

[15]See Baumstark, "Das Problem der Bibelzitate in der syrischen Übersetzungsliteratur," *OrChr* 8 (1933) 208–25; Curt Peters, "Die Zitate aus dem Matthäus-Evangelium in der syrischen Übersetzung der Theophanie des Eusebius," *OrChr* 11 (1936) 1–25 (cf. the opinions of M.-J. Lagrange, "L'ancienne version syriaque des évangiles," *RB* 29 [1920] 321–52; 30 [1921] 11–44).

The practice seems to have been common in early Syriac translations of Patristic works (Brock, "Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique," 10–2).

[16]The early Syriac translation of Basil's *De spiritu sancto* is a splendid example recently brought to light (see Taylor, "Syriac Versions of Basil of Caesarea's *De spiritu sancto*," especially 1.138).

[17]Although more homogeneous textually than the various witnesses to the Peshitta New Testament, witnesses to the Peshitta Old Testament still show considerable variety. Recognized and discussed early (see the debate between W. Emery Barnes, "A New Edition of the Pentateuch in Syriac," *JThS* 15 [1913] 41–4, and John Pinkerton, "The Origin and the Early History of the Syriac Pentateuch," *JThS* 15 [1913] 14–41), their qualities have been fully appreciated only since the more recent appearance of critical editions (see the discussions in Marinus Dirk Koster, *The Peshitta of Exodus: The Development of its Text in the Course of Fifteen Centuries*, tr. C.A. Franken-Battershill [Amsterdam: van Gorcum, 1977]; ibid., "Which Came First: the Chicken or the Egg? The Development of the Text of the Peshitta of Genesis and Exodus in the Light of Recent Studies," in *The Peshitta: Its Early Text and History*, eds. Peter B. Dirksen and M.J. Mulder [Leiden: Brill, 1988] 125–6; Peter B. Dirksen, "The Old Testament Peshitta," in *Mikra. Text, Translation,*

This rich Syriac Biblical tradition is worthy of its own study, but in its turn it also has a bearing on the Biblical tradition in general, especially the Greek New Testament.

Either way, Chrysostom's citations in Syriac translation deserve scrutiny. Chrysostom has commonly been considered the first major representative of an early stage of the Byzantine text type of the New Testament.[18] However, the study of his citations in the Greek texts of his Homilies on the New Testament is beset with difficulties. First, no totally satisfactory critical Greek editions exist,[19] and the lack of critical editions makes it impossible to resolve certain problems. Little or no means exist by which to understand the relationships of different texts, although understanding is prerequisite to the task of recovering Biblical citations.

A second difficulty is that Chrysostom often appears to quote inexactly, perhaps *memoriter*, offering two or three forms of a "citation" even within the same context.[20] Third, although it is true that longer citations are generally more reliable than short ones,[21] the often lengthy initial citations which appear as part of the

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Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity, ed. Martin Jan Mulder [Amsterdam: van Gorcum, 1988], 255–97).

[18]See Westcott and Hort, *The New Testament in the Original Greek*, 91–2; Hermann Freiher von Soden, *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, 1. Teil, *Untersuchungen*, 2. Abteilung, *Die Textformen* (Berlin: Arthur Glaue, 1907) 1461; Claude Darwin Dicks, "The Matthean Text of Chrysostom in His Homilies on Matthew," *JBL* 67 (1948) 365, 376; Fee, "The Text of John and Mark in the Writings of Chrysostom," *NTS* 26 (1979–80) 525–6, 529, 537–8; cf. Jacob Geerlings and Silva New, "Chrysostom's Text of the Gospel of Mark," *HThR* 24 (1931) 138; Boismard, *Évangile pré-johannique*, 1.1.9.

[19]Grant maintains that "Migne should never be used" ("Citation of Patristic Evidence," 120). For a brief study of the life and work of Migne and a commentary on the past and present significance of *PG*, see J. Irmscher, "Jacques-Paul Migne heute," *Aug.* 20 (1980) 221–32.

[20]Examples in Field, *in Matt.* 3.19–20 (117B), 54 (275C), 62 (315C), 71–2 (357C).

See Chase, *Chrysostom, A Study in the History of Biblical Interpretation*, 86–7; Geerlings and New, "Chrysostom's Text of the Gospel of Mark," 136–7; J. Dumortier, "Les citations bibliques des Lettres de S. Jean Chrysostome à Théodore (PG 47, 277–316)," in *StPatr* 4, ed. F.L. Cross (*TU* 79; Berlin: Akademie, 1961) 79–81; Fee, "The Text of John and Mark in the Writings of Chrysostom," 527 (n.15), 532. Fee gives some helpful criteria for using such readings ("Use of Greek Patristic Citations," 354); M.-L. Guillamin, "Problèmes posés aux éditeurs de Jean Chrysostome par la richesse de son inspiration biblique," in *Συμποσίον*, 59–76.

One searches for other witnesses to substantiate a unique text form (Petersen, "What Text can Textual Criticism Ultimately Reach?" 141–7; Dumortier, "Les citations bibliques," 81; Boismard, *Évangile pré-johannique*, 1.1.12), but extreme caution is required with Chrysostom, who has an abundance of such texts (Fee, "Use of Greek Patristic Citations," 355

[21]Bebb, "Evidence of the Early Versions and Patristic Quotations," 216; Suggs, "Use of Patristic Evidence," 142; Metzger, *Text of the New Testament*, 87.

lemmata cannot be considered Chrysostomic in the same sense as internal citations. The citations of the lemmata were subject to different forces and are notoriously unreliable as witnesses to a Father's text.[22] The distinctive quality of the initial citations in the Syriac versions highlights the problem.[23] This leaves textual critics with a mass of brief internal quotations which are often difficult to classify—mere adaptations and allusions abound.[24]

Answers to many of the questions which these difficulties present might be beyond resolution without more direct evidence of the early state of the texts. The Syriac translations provide such evidence. However, the Syriac translations represent independent textual traditions within the larger Syriac tradition, and as such are themselves subject to some of the same factors which complicate the study of Greek Biblical citations. Also, the Syriac citations must first be seen as aspects of the translators' techniques. As the literary context may influence the form which a citation takes in the language of the original composition, so the technical context of translation style will influence citations more or less. One must respect this aspect of context in order to use the citations responsibly.

2. *Specific Observations Relating to the Syriac Translations of the Homilies on the New Testament: Aims and Methods*

No one has yet generally studied the Biblical citations in the Syriac versions of Chrysostom's Homilies on the New Testament.[25] Hence, this study aims to gain as broad an appreciation as possible by investigating Biblical references of all kinds, without initially being too particular about which to exclude. The foregoing discussion is intended not only as an apologetic for this analysis, but also to display a recognition of the principles of sound method in recovering Biblical citations from Patristic sources. The analysis respects these principles, but it should be pointed out that its primary aim is not the recovery and application of evidence to the Syriac

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[22]Fee, "Use of Greek Patristic Citations," 352, 355; ibid., "Text of John and Mark in the Writings of Chrysostom," 527 (n.15); Geerlings and New, "Chrysostom's Text of the Gospel of Mark," 137.

[23]See 187–8, 289–90.

[24]Metzger, "Patristic Evidence and Textual Criticism," 379. For helpful terminological distinctions between citation, adaptation, and allusion, see Fee, "Text of John in *The Jerusalem Bible*," 169–70; ibid., "Text of John in Origen and Cyril of Alexandria," 362.

[25]Boismard has given attention to citations in some of the homilies of the Syriac HJn (*Évangile pré-johannique*).

Biblical tradition or the task of recovering Chrysostom's Bible, but to gain an understanding of the translators' methods and only preliminary indications about the significance, broadly conceived, of the Syriac evidence for textual criticism. Preliminary soundings are necessary—not least because of the factors complicating Chrysostom's text—but they neither require nor allow the rigour of method indispensable to later stages of analysis.

Therefore, in pursuit of the stated aim, the method of the analyses is to compare citations in the Greek homily text and those in the Syriac homily text and to explain their relationship in terms of translation technique. As a control, the analyses incorporate comparison texts from a variety of (mainly) Greek and Syriac Biblical witnesses, in an effort to expand the possible explanations for particular forms of text.

Properly, the term "citation" should refer to passages within the homilies in which Chrysostom appears to be consciously citing Scripture, either directly or *memoriter*. Identifying citations can be difficult, since the presence or absence of *φησὶ* or ܐܡܪ ("he/it says," rarely, ܐܡܪܬ ["he says"]) is not a reliable indicator that the original composer of the Greek homilies or the Syriac translator did or did not recognize a quotation;[26] more reliable is the explicit identification of a Biblical writer or context. ܐܡܪ does not always appear where *φησὶ* is present, and sometimes ܐܡܪ occurs where no published Greek witness has *φησί*; moreover, considerable variation exists internally within Greek and Syriac traditions. None of the Syriac translations exhibits an easily perceptible pattern for using ܐܡܪ, although HEpp follow their source texts most closely. In citing examples, this study retains ܐܡܪ ("he says") to illustrate its use.

These factors make it difficult to identify proper citations or, more pertinently, to isolate passages identified as such by the Syriac translators. The problem is especially acute for Chrysostom, since amidst straightforward citations he has numerous "loose citations," as well as many allusions and adaptations.[27] Because of

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[26]Scribes also indicate citations by means of marginal notations in both commentary and collection manuscripts, but only inconsistently. Inconsistencies occur within given witnesses and between witnesses. For example, of twenty-four internal citations in Homily 21 on Matthew, B.L. Add. 12,142 and B.L. Add. 14,559 signify eleven of them together; B.L. Add. 12,142 signifies three others independently (fourteen total); and B.L. Add. 14,559 signifies four others independently (fifteen total). Six citations are not signified in either manuscript. Some commentary and collection witnesses also signify initial citations in lemmata similarly.

[27]Fee distinguishes between "loose" and "genuine" citations, both of which

this, although this study is especially concerned with proper citations, it also includes relevant "adaptations," which are adjusted in order to fit the grammatical or semantic context, and even close "allusions," i.e. allusions with obvious and strong verbal correspondence with a Biblical text. Translators often mark with ܠܡܪ passages which modern scholars would designate "adaptations" or "allusions." Ultimately, more rigorous identifying criteria will be required in order to understand the nature of the citations accurately, but the initial explorations must be broader and more flexible if one is first to appreciate the translators' methods.

Hence, this study uses the term "citation" to designate these significant Biblical references, which in modern parlance actually fall into the three categories mentioned (citation, adaptation, allusion). Attempting greater terminological accuracy would be premature without the orientation which the broad study initiates. As expected, the broad approach has revealed essential information. Adaptations and close allusions have proven to be very helpful for determining whether the translators tend to translate directly from the Greek homily text or to import citations from a Syriac Biblical version. Excluding from consideration passages which deviate significantly from an assumed Greek standard, on the assumption that they may be adaptations or allusions, would strongly prejudice the results of the study by pre-determining the shape of Chrysostom's Biblical text;[28] even classifying them more precisely at the outset would be to prejudge.

The citations naturally fall into two categories: those which occur in the body of a homily (internal citations), and those which occur at the beginning of a homily as part of the lemma (initial citations). They are treated separately. **Internal citations** are more valuable for understanding the history of the Greek homily tradition, though they often consist of less than a full verse, rarely more than two. **Initial citations** normally consist of one to three verses, but may include as many as ten or more. The scope of the Syriac initial citation is normally the same as the Greek, but sometimes shorter or longer, especially in lemmata belonging to collections.[29] The initial

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are properly citations and quite different from adaptations and allusions ("The Text of John in Origen and Cyril of Alexandria," 362).

[28]Such complications vindicate the suggestion of Fee and others that attempts be made to reconstruct a Father's Biblical text in a format with multi-level apparatus that include adaptations and all variants, as well as the insistence that textual critics examine the contexts of citations before finally interpreting the evidence.

[29]Within collections, the incipit is often a passage of scripture, but the text following is not necessarily that which follows upon the passage in the original homily text, whether the citation is originally initial or internal; i.e. citations are

citation does not always agree textually with the internal citation of the same passage—this is expecially true in HMt and HJn. Initial citations (and the rest of each lemma) typically appear in red and are set off from the text of the homily by ornamental punctuation.

The following study will compare citations in the Syriac with published Greek texts of the homilies and the Syriac Biblical textual tradition. Again, the Greek homily comparison texts are: Field for the Homilies on Matthew; Field and Migne for the Homilies on the Epistles; and Boismard, Savile, and Migne for the Homilies on John.[30] The Greek Biblical texts are LXX, *NA*[27], and Tischendorf's edition.[31] The most important Syriac comparison texts are: for Old Testament citations, the Peshitta;[32] for Gospel citations, the Old Syriac, Peshitta,[33] and distinctive citations in the commentaries of Ephrem and Philoxenus (as points of access to the Diatessaron, pre-Peshitta recensions, and the so-called "Philoxenian" version), as well as some allusions in Ephrem's hymns; for non-Gospel New Testament citations, the Peshitta and distinctive citations of the previously named commentators.[34] The collections in Ignatius Ortiz de Urbina's presentation of Diatessaric material[35] and in *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung* also supply citations for comparison, as do the early Syriac texts of *Liber Graduum* and Aphrahat. The Harklean version post-dates the translations and even most of the important manuscripts, and is incorporated only

typically disassociated from their contexts and used as headings to an extract.

[30]Inevitably, the Greek comparison text is treated as the source text for the Syriac translations only by hypothesis. Variations between the Syriac text and the published Greek homily texts may have originated from early Greek texts which no longer survive or have not yet been published. Hence, the category "variation from the Greek" is necessarily tentative.

[31]LXX = *Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum* , 16 vols., eds. Alfred Rahlfs et al. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1931–93); Constantine von Tischendorf, ed., *Novum Testamentum Graece. Editio octava critica maior*, 2 volumes. (Leipzig: Giesecke & Devrient, 1869–72).

[32]I.e. *Vetus Testamentum syriace*.

[33]For Old Syriac, *The Old Syriac Gospels*, ed. Agnes Smith Lewis (London: Williams and Norgate, 1910). For Peshitta, *Tetraeuangelium sanctum juxta simplicem syrorum versionem*, eds. Philip Edward Pusey and George Henry Gwilliam (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901).

[34]For Romans—Ephesians, *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung. II. Die paulinischen Briefe*, eds. Barbara Aland and Andreas Juckel (*ANTF* 14, 23; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991–5). For the other non-Gospel texts, *The Syriac New Testament* (London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1920).

[35]Ignatius Ortiz de Urbina, *Vetus evangelium syrorum et exinda excerptum Diatessaron Tatiani* (*BPM* 6; Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones cientificas, 1967). For a recent incisive critique of Ortiz de Urbina's methods and conclusions, see Petersen, *Tatian's Diatessaron. Its Creation, Dissemination, Significance, and History in Scholarship* (*SVigChr* 25; Leiden: Brill, 1994) 338.

for illustrative comparison.[36] In all cases, examples from editions are given according to the texts, apparatuses, and *sigla* of the editions.

This study cites Greek homily comparison texts and variants in their entirety, except for orthographical variants.[37] When presenting examples of the Syriac homily text, this study gives the texts and all variants except orthographical ones. But as for Syriac comparison texts (e.g. the Peshitta), in the interests of economy the study cites only those variants which are pertinent for comparison.

Mentioning comparison texts raises a serious question about method, one which is not always fully appreciated by those using Biblical and Patristic versions for the textual criticism of the Bible: How does one determine confidently what influences have played upon a citation to produce its form? In a few instances, it appears certain that a Syriac homily version preserves a very primitive form of citation lost to the edited Greek, so it is possible that some citations which are unlike the edited Greek homily text but resemble the Peshitta have not in fact been influenced by the Peshitta but go back to an earlier, lost form of the Greek text, particularly if such a form of the Greek Biblical text is known to exist. Furthermore, it is not impossible that the translators may occasionally create unique forms of text, without external influence, although this is not the habit of the translators of the Homilies on the New Testament. Absolute confidence is often impossible. When suggesting the most likely source of influence on a given citation, the method of this study is controlled by two factors: 1) where it can be shown without doubt that the Syriac homily text is prone to the influence of another text (e.g. the Peshitta), the latter influential text is considered a likely candidate in less certain cases, where it will fit; and, 2) it is usually better to put forward an actual, known text as the most likely candidate where it fits than to posit a hypothetical form of influential text. Only by taking such care will this attempt to trace generally the translators' methods be helpful for evaluating particular readings. Examining a reasonably broad range of comparison texts (e.g. Ephrem, Philoxenus, Aphrahat, *Liber Graduum*, critical editions of the Greek Old and New Testaments) brings a measure of control to the

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[36]Except for Romans—Ephesians (see n. 34), this study uses *Sacrorum evangeliorum versio Syriaca Philoxeniana*, ed. Joseph White, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1778); and *Actuum Apostolorum et Epistolarum tam Catholicarum quam Paulinarum versio Syriaca Philoxeniana*, ed. White, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1799, 1803).

[37]Notices of Greek variants also include notes in brackets about which of them agree with the Syriac.

conclusions about relationships and dependence.

The passages used for comparison consist of samples drawn from a wide selection of homilies and witnesses, at the core of which is the systematic analysis of select whole homilies. For HJn, the edited homilies provide the citations; the larger data base allows a more precise analysis and more conclusive results. Since the collections are strictly secondary, the study focuses on citations in passages having commentary manuscript support.

For obvious reasons, the homilies have many more New Testament than Old Testament citations; the two are considered separately. Also, special attention is given to citations of the texts with which particular homilies are concerned, as distinct from citations of supporting texts. The last distinction has proven not to be very significant for HEpp, but more significant for HMt and HJn, especially the last, since the translator uses different methods. A further distinction in the analysis has been made between citations in the *ethikon* portions of homilies and those in the exegetical portions, in response to the idea that the homilies are composite entities, for which the Syriac may attest to different components or layers.[38] This methodological distinction has not indicated any substantial differences between forms of citations in the various parts of homilies, so the presentation of examples is not classified according to *ethikon* and *exegetikon*. Patterns of citing may also vary from one portion of a commentary to the next (especially HJn).

Attention is also given to the matter of detecting revisions of Syriac citations.

B. Biblical Citations in the Homilies on Matthew

Upon reading a few pages of B.L. Add. 12,142, Vööbus remarked that "the textual material found in Chrysostom's translations surpasses all our expectations," meaning that he found the Syriac HMt to be a treasure trove of Old Syriac readings.[39] Indeed, on the basis of his preliminary investigation, he concluded that the

[38]See especially Boismard's suggestions and the discussion in Chapter VIII below. Boismard believes that the exegetical portions are themselves composite, yet his exclusion of the *ethika* from his edition dramatically indicates his views on their distinctive quality.

[39]Vööbus, *Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac*, 194.

translator's copy of the Old Syriac preserved a text even older than that of either the Sinaitic or Curetonian manuscripts.[40] Unfortunately, the more thorough study undertaken here requires that such exuberance be repressed somewhat. The citations do exhibit some Old Syriac influence, but nothing like Vööbus indicates. His estimate does not take sufficient account of factors such as translation technique and even the Greek source text.

Homilies 21, 22, and 23 provide most of the citations, adaptations, and close allusions for this study, but are complemented by citations in text samples from other homilies. In general, the translators of HMt^{AB} treat citations conservatively, basically adhering to the Greek text before them, or perhaps to the Syriac Biblical text familiar to them. Citations in HMt^{A} are not characterized by expansions and loose treatment like the rest of the translation, but by conservatism.

1. Internal Citations

a. Old Testament Citations

A study of 17 references to 17 Old Testament verses enables a portrayal of the translators' citation techniques.

Where the Greek homily text is very like that of the Peshitta, HMt^{A} (B.L. Add. 14,559, unless noted otherwise) and HMt^{B} (B.L. Add. 12,142) often agree together with the Peshitta and the Greek homily text. In such cases, it is impossible to determine whether the translator has taken the citation from the Peshitta or translated it directly from the Greek. But sometimes, the Greek homily and Peshitta texts are essentially identical, yet it is clear that HMt^{AB} make no reference to the Peshitta. For instance, in a citation of Isaiah 2:4 (Micah 4:3) in Homily 19, both translate *τὰς μαχαίρας αὐτῶν* with ܚܪܒܘܗܝܡ ("their swords"),[41] while the Peshitta uses ܚܪܒܘܬܗܘܢ, a synonymous but distinct term.

Where the Greek homily text has an allusion or otherwise differs significantly from the Peshitta, the translators usually translate directly from the Greek without reference to the Peshitta. In keeping with their distinctive styles, the two translations typically differ:

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[40]Ibid., 84.

[41]Here HMt^{A} includes B.L. Add. 14,560 as well as B.L. Add. 14,559.

Genesis 28:20 (Homily 21)
ἐὰν δώῃ μοι κύριος ἄρτον φαγεῖν, καὶ ἱμάτιον περιβαλέσθαι

HMt[A]

ܐܢ ܢܗܘܐ ܡܪܝ ܠܝ ܠܡܐܟܘܠ ܠܚܡܐ ܘܠܠܒܫܐ ܠܡܬܟܣܝܬܐ .

if the Lord will give me bread to eat and covering to put on

HMt[B]

ܐܢ ܗܘܐ ܡܪܝ ܠܝ ܠܡܐܟܘܠ ܠܚܡܐ ܘܠܠܒܫܐ ܠܡܬܟܣܝܬܐ .

now if the Lord will give me bread to eat and garments (with which) to be covered

Peshitta

ܐܢ ܢܗܘܐ ܡܪܝ ܠܝ ܠܡܐܟܘܠ ܠܚܡܐ . . . ܘܠܠܒܫܐ ܠܡܬܟܣܝܬܐ

if God will be with me. . . and will give me bread to eat and clothing to put on

Despite its explicit introduction as a report of Jacob's speech, this allusion has not prompted either translator to do other than translate the Greek directly, albeit in distinct ways. They treat the following allusion (which Chrysostom marks as a citation) similarly, albeit with a curious transposition in HMt[B]:[42]

Isaiah 45:6–7 (Homily 22)

1 *ἐγώ, φησί,*
2 *ποιῶν εἰρήνην καὶ κτίζων κακά*

HMt[A]

1 ܐܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ
2 ܕܥܒܕ ܫܠܡܐ ܘܒܪܐ ܒܝܫܐ

1 "I," he says, "am the one
2 "who makes peace and creates calamity"

HMt[B]

1 ܐܢܐ ܠܗ
2 ܕܥܒܕ ܫܠܡܐ ܘܒܪܐ ܒܝܫܐ ܐܢܐ

1 "I," he says,
2 "I create peace and I make calamity"

Peshitta

1 ܐܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܪܝ . ܠܝܬ ܐܚܪܝܢ . ܕܥܒܕ ܢܗܘܪܐ ܘܚܫܘܟܐ ܕܒܪܝܬ ܫܠܡܐ .
2 ܕܒܪܝ ܫܠܡܐ ܘܒܪܐ ܒܝܫܐ .

1 I am the Lord, and there is no other who has fashioned light and created darkness,
2 (who has) made peace and created calamity.

The following example well illustrates the reluctance to fill out allusions:

[42]Witnesses to LXX have no such transposition.

Genesis 18:27 (Homily 25—12,142 and *14,516*)

καὶ ὁ μὲν γῆν καὶ σποδόν. . . ἑαυτὸν ἐκάλει

HMt[A43]

and one of them was calling himself, "dust and ashes"

HMt[B]

and the one "dust and ashes". . . he was calling himself

Peshitta

and I am dust and ashes

The previous examples illustrate the translators' preference for their source text and reluctance to round out allusions by referring to the Peshitta. However, this pattern must be qualified because of a few instances exhibiting Peshitta Old Testament influence. Although the translators do not often rely directly on the Peshitta, they occasionally fill out or modify the citations with wording similar to that of the Peshitta. HMt[A] is more likely to do this than HMt[B]; the latter typically adheres to the Greek source text instead, at least in scope, but with verbal similarity to the Peshitta. This pattern is well illustrated by the following example:

Isaiah 49:15 (Homily 22)

1/3 *εἰ καὶ ἐπιλάθοιτο,*[*1] *φησί, γυνὴ*[*2]
2 *τὰ ἔκγονα*[*3] *τῆς κοιλίας αὐτῆς,*
ø
4 *ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἐπιλήσομαί σου*[*4]

*[1]*ἐπιλανθάνοιτο* editions
*[2]+*τοῦ ἐλεῆσαι* B E (om. *τοῦ* E) [= HMt[AB]]
*[3]*ἔγγονα* A B E
*[4]+*λέγει κύριος* editions [= HMt[B]]

HMt[A]

1 "Will a woman," he says, "forget *her baby,*
2 *and have no compassion on the child* of her womb?
3 *Even if this one forgets*,"*
4 *he says*, "I will not forget you."

*or. "*Even if she forgets this*"

HMt[B]

1/3

[43]Here HMt[A] is supplied by *B.L. Add. 14,516.*

2 ܕܠܐ ܪܚܡܝܢ ܠܒܪ ܒܛܢܗ.
ø
4 ܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܢܫܟܚܟ ܡܪܝ ܐܡܪ.

1/3 "Even if a woman," he says, "forgets *her baby*
2 *and has no compassion on the child* of her womb,
ø
4 I will not forget you," says the Lord.

Peshitta
1 ܐܢ ܢܫܟܚ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܠܛܠܝܗ.
2 ܕܠܐ ܪܚܡܝܢ ܠܒܪ ܒܛܢܗ:
3 ܐܦ ܡܠܝ ܢܫܬܝ
4 ܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܢܫܟܚܟ.

1 If a woman forgets her baby
2 and has no compassion on the child of her womb,
3 even if they forget these things,*
4 I will not forget you.

*or, "even if these forget,"

The structure and wording of the citation in HMt^{A} is more like that of the Peshitta than the Greek homily text. Naturally HMt^{A} is also quite like LXX and it is possible that the translator's source text may have been in agreement with LXX and unlike the edited Greek homily text, whose own variants occur because of LXX influence.[44] Two of HMt^{A}'s readings—ܠܐ (≈ *μή*, line 1) and ܗܢܘ (≈ *τούτου*, line 3 [LXX variant])—come from a distinct Greek source text, not the Peshitta. Yet the overall agreement in wording shows that the translator has been influenced by the Peshitta itself. In contrast, the translator of HMt^{B} follows the structure and scope of the Greek source text—including the expansive *λέγει κύριος*—but borrows its wording from the Peshitta.

In the following example, both HMt^{AB} follow the Peshitta, except where HMt^{B} provides a direct object, in agreement with the Greek homily text:

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[44]LXX text (see *Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum*, 14.307–08):

1 *μὴ ἐπιλήσεται μήτηρ*[*1] *τοῦ παιδίον αὐτῆς*
2 *τοῦ μὴ ελεῆσαι τὰ ἔκγονα*[*2] *τῆς κοιλίας αὐτῆς;*
3 *εἰ δὲ καὶ*[*3] *ἐπιλάθοιτο*[*4] *ταῦτα*[*5] *γυνή,*[*6]
4 *ἀλλ' ἐγὼ οὐκ ἐπιλήσομαι σοῦ, εἶπε κύριος.*[*7]

[*1]*γυνή* [*2]*τέκνα* [*3]om. [*4]*ἐπιλήσεται*
[*5]*τούτου* [*6]om. [*7]*λέγει κύριος* or om.

(The presentation here merely notes variants, without listing all the witnesses.)

Psalm 146/7:9 (Homily 21)

1 *τῷ διδόντι τοῖς κτήνεσι τροφὴν αὐτῶν,*
2 *καὶ τοῖς νεοσσοῖς τῶν κοράκων τοῖς ἐπικαλουμένοις αὐτόν*

HMt[AB] and Peshitta

1 ܘܡܬܠ ܠܒܥܝܪܐ ܕܡܬܠܐ *[1]. ܠܒܢܝ ܥܘܪܒܐ
2 ܕܩܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܠܒܢܝ ܥܘܪܒܐ*

1 and gives to the cattle food,
2 and to the young ones of crows which call*

*[1]om. –ܘ Peshitta 6t1[c] 8a1[c] 9a1 9t2 10t1.6 12t2–5 —> (om. "and")
*[2]+ܗܘ HMt[B] (+"him")

Job 31:25 (Homily 21)
εἰ καὶ εὐφράνθην πολλοῦ πλούτου μοι γενομένου

HMt[A] and Peshitta
ܐܢ ܕܚܕܝܬ ܠܝ ܕܣܓܝ ܢܟܣܐ*
if I have rejoiced, *when* wealth *abounds* to me

*ܕܢܟܣ ܠܝ ܕܣܓܝ Peshitta ("when my property abounds")

HMt[B]
ܐܢ ܗܫܐ ܕܚܕܝܬ ܒܢܟܣܐ ܣܓܝܐ ܕܝܠܝ ܕܗܘܐ
now if I have rejoiced in the great wealth that I have

In the last example, HMt[A] employs the same method of rendering the Genitive Absolute as the Peshitta, although the discrepancy between ܠܝ ("wealth. . . to me") and ܢܟܣ ("my property") shows that the reliance is not direct. HMt[B] is a direct translation of its Greek source text.[45]

Although HMt[A] appears more likely to employ Peshitta wording, occasionally HMt[B] does so when its counterpart does not. For example:

Hosea 6:4 (Homily 22)
τὸ δὲ ἔλεός μου ὡς νεφέλη πρωϊνή, καὶ ὡς δρόσος ὀρθρινὴ παραπορευομένη

HMt[A]
ܘܚܣܕܝ ܗܘܐ ܐܝܟ ܥܪܦܐ ܕܨܦܪܐ ܘܐܝܟ ܛܠܐ ܕܡܬܐܙܠ ܨܦܪܐ.
my mercy was like a cloud of the dawn, and like the dew that goes down in the early morning

HMt[B]
ܘܚܣܕ ܠܝ ܐܝܟ ܥܪܦܐ ܕܨܦܪܐ ܘܐܝܟ ܛܠܐ ܕܡܬܐܙܠ ܨܦܪܐ.
"My mercy," he says, "(is) like a cloud of the dawn and like the dew that *comes early and passes away*."

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[45]Although it may presume a text having *πολλῷ πλουτῷ*, like LXX manuscript 575.

Peshitta

ܛܒܝܬܟ ܐܝܟ ܥܢܐ ܕܢܦܠ ܠܟ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܛܠܬܐ ܕܡܫܟܚ ܘܡܥܒܪ .

your grace (is) like a cloud of the dawn and like the dew that comes early and passes away

In the last example, HMt[A] has distinctive wording in the second clause, whereas HMt[B] matches the Peshitta exactly here.[46] However, HMt[B]'s resemblance to the Peshitta may be due to familiarity rather than direct reference, since it retains the reading, "my mercy," against the Peshitta. In the following example, such familiarity with a well-known Psalm causes the translator of HMt[B] partially to expand the reference:[47]

Psalm 148:7a, 9b (Homily 22)
αἰνεῖτε τὸν κύριον, ξύλα καρποφόρα καὶ πᾶσαι κέδροι

HMt[AB]

ܫܒܚܘ ܠܡܪܝܐ *1 ܐܡܪ *2. ܐܝܠܢܐ ܕܦܐܪܐ ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܪܙܐ .

"Praise the Lord,"* he says,*2 "trees of fruit and all cedars!"

*1 om. ܐܡܪ HMt[B] (om. "he says")
*2 +ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ HMt[B] (+"*from the earth*")

Peshitta

ܫܒܚܘ ܠܡܪܝܐ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ . . . ܐܝܠܢܐ ܕܦܐܪܐ ܘܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܪܙܐ :

Praise the Lord from the earth. . . trees of fruit and all cedars!

Where an Old Testament citation also appears in the New Testament, neither translator shows special preference for the Old Testament form, adhering to the form appearing both in the Peshitta and in the Greek homily text (which itself follows the New Testament form):

1 Kings 19:18; Romans 11:4 (Homily 21)
κατέλιπον ἐμαυτῷ ἑπτακισχιλίους ἄνδρας

LXX (1 Kings 19:18)
καταλείψεις ἐν Ἰσραὴλ ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν

NA[27] (Romans 11:4)[48]
κατέλιπον ἐμαυτῷ ἑπτακισχιλίους ἄνδρας

HMt[AB] and Romans 11:4 (Peshitta)

ܫܒܩܬ ܠܝ ܒܢܦܫܝ *ܫܒܥܐ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܓܒܪܐ

I have left to myself* seven thousand men

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[46]Aphrahat, *Dem*, 19.3 (col. 853) agrees with the Peshitta.

[47]It is less likely that the (lost?) Greek source text had the phrase, though it occurs in LXX.

[48]This is the text of ℵB D Ψ 1881 𝔐; Did. Some variation exists regarding the form of *κατέλιπον/ –λειπον/ –λειψα* (see NA[27] apparatus).

*ܠ HMt[B] ("to me")

1 Kings 19:18 (Peshitta)
ܫܒܩܬ ܠܝ ܒܝܫܪܝܠ ܫܒܥܐ ܐܠܦܝܢ
I have left over from Israel seven thousands

That the translator of HMt[B] does not use a reflexive construction confirms that he is translating the Greek text directly,[49] not relying on the Peshitta. The translator of HMt[A] is probably doing the same, but in any case he does not refer to the Peshitta Old Testament.

b. New Testament Citations

The following conclusions are based on the analysis of a number of citations, adaptations, and close allusions: 70 references to 67 Gospel verses (mainly Matthew); 22 references to 26 non-Gospel verses; 6 initial citations of 12 verses. Again, the citations are drawn largely from Homilies 21, 22, and 23, but also from other sample passages which enjoy commentary manuscript support.

1) Gospel Citations

Because Chrysostom treats passages verse-by-verse, the Greek homily text has many full Gospel citations, although where distinctive readings exist it is often difficult to determine whether he has cited *memoriter* or directly.

A) Citations Favouring the Peshitta

Quite often, the translators do not translate the Greek directly but exhibit signs of reliance on the Peshitta. HMt[A] tends to shows more respect for Peshitta wording than HMt[B]. In the following example, both use wording clearly derived from the Peshitta:

Matthew 6:24 (Homily 21)
οὐ δύνασθε θεῷ δουλεύειν καὶ μαμωνᾷ

1 *ἢ γὰρ τὸν ἕνα μισήσει, φησί, καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀγαπήσει·*
2 *ἢ ἑνὸς* ἀνθέξεται, καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου καταφρονήσει*

**τοῦ ἑνός* A

HMt[AB] and Peshitta
ܠܐ* ܡܫܢܐ ܚܕܐ ܢܣܢܐ ܘܠܡܪܚܡ ܢܬܚܫܒ

[49]The translator does not always use a Syriac reflexive construction to render a Greek reflexive pronoun (see 88).

you* are not able to serve God and money

*+ܠܘ HMt^{B} (+quotation marker)

1 ܐܘ ܠܘ ܡܢ ܚܕ *ܕܢܣܢܐ ܘܡܢ ܐܚܪܢܐ .
2 ܐܘ ܠܘ ܡܢ ܚܕ ܕܢܪܚܡ ܘܡܢ ܐܚܪܢܐ .

1 for either* the one he will hate and the other he will love,
2 or the one *he will honour* and the other he will despise

*+ܠܘ HMt^{B} (+quotation marker)

In many other cases, the citation departs from the Greek homily text and agrees with the Peshitta but also with some form of the Greek Biblical text, making it uncertain whether the translator has been influenced by the Peshitta or is translating a (lost) source text. In view of the clear Peshitta influence elsewhere and the tendency of the Greek to have distinctive citations, and since HMt^{B} often agrees alone with the Greek homily text, it is very likely that the accommodations occur because of Peshitta influence and not because of a different unknown Greek source text.

For instance, where the Greek homily text condenses or otherwise adapts a citation, one or both Syriac translations fills out the citation:

Matthew 25:41 (Homily 23)
τὸ πῦρ. . . τὸ ἡτοιμασμένον τῷ διαβόλῳ

HMt^{AB}
ܢܘܪܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܬܩܢ ܠܗ *2ܕܡܬܩܢ ܠܗ . . . *1ܕܡܢ ܢܘܪܐ ,ܕܠܐܒܠܝܣ ܘܠܡܠܐܟܘܗܝ
that*1 fire. . . which*2 is prepared for the devil *and his angels*

*1om. ܕܡܢ HMt^{B} (om. "that") *2ܕܡܬܩܢ ܠܗ ,ܕܡܢ HMt^{B} (grammatical)

Peshitta
ܢܘܪܐ ܕܠܥܠܡ . ܕܡܬܩܢ ܠܗ ,ܕܡܢ ܕܠܐܒܠܝܣ ܘܠܡܠܐܟܘܗܝ ,ܕܠܐ
the eternal fire which is prepared for the devil and his angels

In the last example, HMt^{AB}'s handling of the Greek articular phrases is more literal than that of the Peshitta, but the expansion shared by both translations is influenced by the familiar Biblical text. In the following, the Biblical text influences the translator of HMt^{A} to expand the citation; that HMt^{B} does not do so confirms that the Peshitta is the source of the accommodation in HMt^{A}.[50]

[50]It should be noticed that HMt^{B}'s wording in the final clause is closer to that of the Peshitta.

Matthew 6:30 (Homily 22)

1 *εἰ γὰρ τὸν χόρτον τοῦ ἀγροῦ, φησίν,*
2
3 *ὁ θεὸς οὕτως ἀμφιέννυσι, πολλῷ* μᾶλλον ὑμᾶς, ὀλιγόπιστοι*

**οὐ πολλῷ* B E 1 Mosquensis [= HMt^{B} Peshitta]

HMt^{A} and Peshitta

1 ܐܢ ܡܬܠ ܕܥܠܬܐ *[1] ܕܚܩܠܐ ܕܒܪܝܬܐ ܗܢܘܢ
2 ܕܗܘܝܐ ܠܝܘܡܐ ܘܠܡܚܪ ,ܡܬܪܡܝܐ ܠܬܢܘܪܐ *[2]:
3 ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢܝܢ ܡܠܒܫ ܠܟܘܢ. ܗܟܝܠ ܕܠܐ ܠܟ *[3] ,ܐܝܬܝ, ܡܫܬܟܚܢ..

1 "If then," he says,*[1] "the grass of the field—
2 *which exists today and tomorrow into the furnace is thrown—*
3 God thus clothes, how much more (will he clothe) you, ones of little faith?"

*[1] ܐܢ ܗܝ Peshitta ("and if;" om. "he says")
*[2] ܡܬܪܡܝܐ ܠܬܢܘܪܐ Peshitta ("is thrown into the furnace")
*[3] ܠܐ ܡܠܝ ܠܟ ܐܝܬܝ Peshitta ("will he not much more [clothe] you?")

HMt^{B}

1 ܐܢ ܡܢ ܠܟ ܠܝ ܕܥܠܬܐ ܕܚܩܠܐ ܕܒܪܝܬܐ
2
3 ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢܝܢ ܡܠܒܫ ܠܟ ܠܐ ܡܠܝ ܠܟ ,ܐܝܬܝ, ܡܫܬܟܚܢ.

1 "For if," he says, "the grass of the field
2
3 God thus clothes, will he not much more (clothe) you, ones of little faith?"

The translators are liable to correct adaptations or otherwise accommodate their source text to the familiar Peshitta form. Persistent unevenness again suggests that the reliance may not be direct. Again, HMt^{A} is more likely to depart from the source text, HMt^{B} more likely to agree with it:

Matthew 7:6 (Homily 23)
μὴ καταπατῆσωσι, καὶ στραθέντες ῥήξωσιν ὑμᾶς

HMt^{A} and Peshitta

ܕܠܐ ܢܪܡܣܘܢ ܒܪܓܠܝܗܘܢ ܘܢܗܦܟܘܢ ܠܟܘܢ.
lest they trample them with their feet and turn (and) maul you

HMt^{B}

ܕܠܐ ܢܪܡܣܘܢ ܒܪܓܠܝܗܘܢ ܡܢܝܢ ܘܢܗܦܟܘܢ ܠܟܘܢ
that they not trample them and turn (and) maul you

Matthew 6:13 (Homily 22)
ὅτι αὐτοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα

HMt^{AB} and Peshitta

ܕܕܝܠܗ *[1] ܗܘ, ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܘܚܝܠܐ ܘܝܩܪܐ *[2]

because yours*[1] is the kingdom and the power and glory*[2]

*[1]ܕܝܠܟ HMt[B] ("because his") *[2]ܘܫܒܚܬܐ Peshitta ("and glorification")

Matthew 6:33 (Homily 22)

1 *ζητεῖτε τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν,*
2 *καὶ ταῦτα πάντα προστεθήσεται ὑμῖν*

HMt[A] and Peshitta

1 ܒܥܘ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܨܕܩܬܗ.
2 ܘܟܠܗ ܠܢ ܢܬܘܣܦܘܢ ܠܟܘܢ*

1 but seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness,
2 and all these things* are added to you

*ܟܠܗ ܠܢ Peshitta (except 2 and 21); transpose "and-these-things/all")

HMt[B51]

1 ܒܥܘ ܠܟ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ.
2 ܘܟܠܗ ܠܟ ܢܬܘܣܦܘܢ ܠܟ

1 "Seek the kingdom of God," he says,
2 "and all these things are added to you."

In another citation of the same passage within the same context of Homily 22, HMt[AB] both move closer to the Greek form of the citation, but in different ways:

HMt[AB]

1 ܒܥܘ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ.*[1]
2 ܘܟܠܗ ܠܟ ܢܬܘܣܦܘ*[3] ܠܟ*[2]

1 seek the kingdom of God,*[1]
2 and all these things*[2] will be added*[3] to you

*[1]ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ HMt[B] ("kingdom of heaven")
*[2]ܟܠܗ ܠܟ ܢܬܘܣܦܘ HMt[B] (transpose "and-these-things/all")
*[3]ܢܬܘܣܦܘ HMt[B] ("are added")[52]

B) Citations Agreeing with the Greek Homily and Peshitta Texts

In the majority of citations, the Greek homily text is quite like that of the Peshitta and the Syriac translators deliver citations naturally agreeing with both. In such cases, the use of Peshitta phraseology may be coincidental, but the previously

[51]Ephrem (*CDia*[FA], vi.16a, 18a) also lacks "first" in two citations of this passage, but HMt[B]'s primary correspondence is simply with its Greek *Vorlage*.

[52]*LibGrad*, 28.11 (col. 804) has the same form of this word as HMt, but its citation differs in several other ways.

established role of the Peshitta must be remembered and many of the translators' choices will be due to their familiarity with the Peshitta. For example:

Luke 12:49 (Homily 6)
πῦρ ἦλθον βαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν γὴν καὶ ἤθελον εἰ ἤδη ἀνήφθη

HMt[53] and Peshitta
ܢܘܪܐ ܐܬܝܬܝ ܠܡܫܕܪ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ . ܘܨܒܝܬܝ ܕܗܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܡܘܩܕ ܗܫܐ *ܠܘ ܡܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܗܘܐ .
I have come to put fire on the earth, and I have wished that* it were already kindled.

*ܠܘ Peshitta, except 17 26 ("wished it were")

John 1:33 (Homily 11)
1 *ἐφ' ὃν ἂν ἴδῃς τὸ πνεῦμα καταβαῖνον καὶ μένον,*
2 *οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ βαπτίζων ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ*

HMt[54] and Peshitta
1 ܗܘ ܕܬܚܙܐ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܢܚܬ ܘܩܐܡ ܥܠܘܗܝ *[1]ܗܘ ،ܡܢܐ ܗܘ ܡܥܡܕ ܒܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ *[2]ܗܘ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܡܥܡܕ . 2

1 that one*[1] on whom you see the Spirit descend and remain,
2 he is the one*[2] baptizing with the Holy Spirit

*[1]ܗܘ Peshitta ("he on whom")
*[2]ܗܘ ܡܢ Peshitta ("is the one baptizing")

The preceding examples illustrate the fact that precise agreement with the known Peshitta text is unusual, although it is clear that Peshitta wording is in his mind to influence his choices. In particular, HMt[B] often exhibits less respect for Peshitta wording, as in the following:

Matthew 6:32 (Homily 22)
οἶδεν γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος ὅτι χρῄζετε τούτων ἁπάντων

HMt[A] and Peshitta
ܘܐܒܘܟܘܢ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܝܕܥ ܕܨܒܝܬܘܢ ܠܟܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܝܢ ܡܬܬܪܥܝܢ . ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ .
and your Father in heaven knows that you also need all these things

HMt[B]
ܗܘ ܡܢ ܠܟ ܐܒܘܟܘܢ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܕܨܒܝܬܘܢ ܠܟܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܝܢ ܡܬܬܪܥܝܢ ܗܘ ܕܝܢ .
"He knows" he says, "—your Father in heaven—that you also need all these things"

The word order of HMt[B] matches that of the Greek, whereas HMt[A] is identical to the Peshitta.

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[53]HMt[B] does not exist for this homily; the evidence for this citation consists of B.L. Add. 12,142, B.L. Add. 14,558, B.L. Add. 14,560, *B.L. Add. 14,612*, and *B.L. Add. 14,727*.

[54]HMt[B] does not exist for this homily; the evidence for this citation consists of B.L. Add. 12,142, B.L. Add. 14,558, B.L. Add. 14,560, and *B.L. Add. 17,166*.

C) The Quality of the Peshitta Influence

It is clear that HMt^{A} favours Peshitta phraseology more than does HMt^{B}. It is widely believed that earlier translations tend to do so. However, several factors suggest that reliance on the Peshitta here is indirect. Many of the citations adhere to the Greek form of the citation or allusion, ignoring the Peshitta wording. Even where a citation departs from the Greek form to move closer to the Peshitta, it usually retains non-Peshitta elements, and only rarely will it match the Peshitta exactly—much less any other Syriac Biblical version. Moreover, HMt^{B} in places is closer to the Peshitta than HMt^{A}, although the former normally has readings even less like those of the Peshitta. Therefore, some of the correspondences with the Peshitta must be coincidental, occurring because of the ultimately common source text (i.e. the Greek New Testament) and similarities in translation style. But the more remarkable correspondences show that the Peshitta has influenced the translators, although their quality indicates that they occur simply because of the familiarity of the Biblical text to the translator (or even to the scribes), not because of direct and systematic reliance.

D) Primitive Citations in HMt

At numerous points, the forms of the Syriac citations are very different from those of the Greek, which raises the question of originality. In some cases, it is clear that the Greek form must be more primitive than the Syriac, e.g. where the Syriac fills out a condensed citation or allusion with material drawn from the Peshitta. However, in other cases the Syriac attests to a form of the Greek different from that in the edited texts, one which may be more primitive—not surprising, given the age of the Syriac translation and manuscripts. For example:

Matthew 2:13 (Homily 8)

1 *Ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ αὐτῶν, ἰδοὺ *ἄγγελος φαίνεται*
2 *τῷ Ἰωσὴφ κατ' ὄναρ, λέγων· ἐγερθεὶς παράλαβε τὸ παιδίον*
3 *καὶ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ, καὶ φεῦγε εἰς Αἴγυπτον*

*+*κυρίου* Savile, Migne [= HMt Peshitta]

HMt[55] and Peshitta

1 ܗܘܝܢ ܕܐܙܠܘ ܐܢܘܢ *[1]: ܐܬܪܐܝܘ ܠܡ *[2] ܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ

[55]HMt^{B} does not exist for this homily; the evidence for this citation consists of B.L. Add. 12,142, B.L. Add. 14,558, and B.L. Add. 14,560.

The excerpt in *B.L. Add. 17,174* has in its lemma a citation from Matthew 2:13, although the text following it begins at a point further on within Homily 8 than the occurrence of the same citation internally in the homily proper. This initial citation lacks the expansion and is more like the Peshitta in other ways.

2 ܕܢܦܠܘ ܡܓܘܣܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܡ · ܐܬܐ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ*3 ܠܝܘܣܦ
3 ܒܚܠܡܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܡܐܡܪ.

1 And when the Magi*1 left, an angel of the Lord appeared*2
2 in a dream to Joseph and said to him, "Rise, take*3 the child
3 and his mother and flee to Egypt."

*1om. ܡܓܘܣܐ Peshitta (om. "Magi")
*2om. ܗܘ Peshitta (om. intensifier)
*3ܗܒ Peshitta ("bring")

"The Magi" does not occur in any of the Syriac Biblical versions or in the edited Greek manuscripts. It would be most uncharacteristic for the translator to produce it if it were not in his source text; although expansive when handling the homily text, his treatment of citations is basically conservative. It is likely that his Greek source text was like those few noted in Tischendorf's *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 1.7, having "the Magi."[56]

Matthew 15:27 (Homily 22)

1 *ναὶ, κύριε· καὶ γὰρ τὰ*1 κυνάρια ἐσθίει ἀπὸ τῶν ψιχίων*
2 *τῶν πιπτόντων ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης τῶν*2 κυρίων αὐτῶν.*

*1*καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὰ* E *2*τῆς* editions

HMt[AB] and Peshitta
1 ܐܝܢ ܡܪܝ. ܐܦ ܟܠܒܐ ܐܬܠܝܢ ܐܝܢܘܢ*1 ܡܢ ܦܬܘܬܐ*2
2 ܕܢܦܠܝܢ.*3

1 Yes, Lord; even the dogs themselves*1 eat of the crumbs*2
2 which fall.*3

*om. ܐܝܢܘܢ HMt[B] and Peshitta (om. "themselves")
*1ܦܬܘܬܐ Peshitta ("morsels")
*2+ ܕܡܢ ܦܬܘܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܗܘܢ HMt[B] and Peshitta (+"from the tables of their masters")

HMt[A] is distinguished by the absence of the final Greek clause, most of line 2. It is probable that HMt[A]'s Greek source lacked the clause, either because the text originally did so but was subsequently filled out by some scribe, or because the clause had fallen out inadvertently due to homoioteleuton (*πιπτόντων. . . αὐτῶν*). The translator of HMt[B] either read the clause in his source or, less likely, filled out the citation himself due to the influence of the Syriac Biblical text. In any case, HMt[A] witnesses to a lost Greek citation, perhaps the original.

[56]Of interest is the fact that the Old Syriac (Curetonian and Sinaitic) also uses ܠܩܚ ("take") instead of the Peshitta's ܗܒ ("bring").

The use of ܦܬܝܬܐ ("crumbs") instead of ܦܬܝܬܐ ("morsels") is noteworthy. The latter appears in the Peshitta and Old Syriac of Matthew 15:27 and its parallel Mark 7:28.[57] F.C. Burkitt observed that the unusual ܦܬܝܬܐ ("crumbs") appears in the Harklean version of both passages and one place in Ephrem, "but the circumstance is too isolated to have any special significance."[58] In fact, it occurs in allusions in *HPar*, 7.26 and 5.15, as well as *HNat*, 4.83.[59] Its appearance in all these contexts and in both HMt^{A} and HMt^{B} shows that these occurrences are not coincidental but derive from a presently unknown source, presumably a Syriac Biblical version, perhaps the Diatessaron.[60]

E) Citations Favouring Another Syriac Biblical Version

The last example leads naturally into the next category. Early Syriac translations of Greek Patristic texts have gained the reputation as potential enclaves for pre-Peshitta forms of the New Testament text.[61] Vööbus' estimate of the translator of HMt (B.L. Add. 12,142) is that he cites a text older than either of the extant main Old Syriac witnesses, on the rather curious grounds that "[the versions] have preserved textual elements which are not in both Old Syriac manuscripts."[62] It is true that HMt is distinguished by occasional Old Syriac influence. Yet Vööbus treats only a few examples from Homilies 13–5 and he has not handled the material carefully enough; his sole criterion appears to be the occurrence of variation in HMt agreeing with either or both Old Syriac witnesses but disagreeing with the Peshitta. For instance:

Matthew 4:19 (Homily 14)
ἐδικαιώθη ἡ σοφία ἀπὸ τῶν τέκνων αὐτῆς

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[57]Viz. the Curetonian; the Sinaitic omits the phrase.

[58]Francis Crawford Burkitt, *S. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel* (*TaS* 7; Cambridge: University Press, 1901) 38.

[59]See especially Edmund Beck, tr., *Des heiligen Ephraem des Syrers Hymnen de Paradiso und contra Julianum* (*CSCO* 175; Louvain: Secrétariat du *CSCO*, 1957) p.18, n.15.

[60]Unfortunately, the citation in Ephrem, *CDia*, xii.13 sheds no light on this particular problem. Ortiz de Urbina tentatively gives the term as Diatessaric (*Vetus evangelium syrorum*, 246 [see p. 92, 1150]) on the basis of its appearance in *Sancti Patris nostri Ephraem Syri opera omnia* , ed. Stephen E. (Rome: 1743) 3.585.

[61]For example, see Vööbus, *Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac, II* (*CSCO* 496; Louvain: Peeters, 1987) 9–11.

[62]See Vööbus, *Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac, I*, 84 (and n. 3), and especially the examples treated on pp. 194–6.

HMt, Old Syriac (Sinaitic and Curetonian), and Peshitta
*ܚܟܡܬܐ ܙܟܝܐ ܡܢ ܒܢܝܗ
wisdom has been proved right by her sons*

*ܥܒܝܕܬܗ Peshitta ("her actions")

Although HMt agrees with the Old Syriac, its principal agreement is with the Greek source text, having *τῶν τέκνων*. Often the agreements Vööbus notices are too slight to be significant, as in a citation of Matthew 5:5 (Homily 15), where HMt and the Old Syriac have ܢܚܠܘܢ ܐܪܥܐ ("will inherit the earth") against the Peshitta's ܢܚܠܘܢ ܐܪܥܐ, distinguished only by the absence of the anticipatory pronoun. In several of these cases, the agreements are liable to be merely coincidental and due to the translator's methods, particularly since most of these minor agreements occur amidst a number of major disagreements (which Vööbus neglects to list).

The forms of most of the citations in HMt^{AB} may be accounted for on the bases of the Greek homily source text, the translator's style, or Peshitta influence. Generally, the citations bear no special comparison with the Old Syriac or the Diatessaron— certainly not with the Harklean or recoverable Philoxenian. However, in a few rare instances the wording of the citations is definitely reminiscent of a non-Peshitta Syriac version, usually the Old Syriac. Some of the examples noted by Vööbus may genuinely exhibit Old Syriac influence, but the only compelling one involves a citation of Matthew 6:33 (Luke 12:31) in Homily 15, where HMt has ܟܠܗܘܢ ܠܟܘܢ ܢܬܘܣܦܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܟܠܗ ("all these things abundantly will be added to you"). Neither the Greek homily text nor Greek New Testament texts have anything like "abundantly" here.[63] The phrase occurs in the Curetonian text of the parallel Luke 12:31,[64] and its special quality is reinforced by its occurrence in *LibGrad* 28.11 and Ps.-Ephrem.[65]

A more careful survey has revealed several other examples of such influence:

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[63]Also, this form of the citation is not like that seen elsewhere in HMt (except for the verb tense—see 172).

[64]But not in Matthew 6:33; the Sinaitic is defective in Matthew 6:33 but does not have the phrase in Luke 12:31.

[65]*LibGrad*, 28.11 (col. 804); *Sancti Ephraem Syri Hymni et Sermones*, ed. Thomas Joseph Lamy (Mechline, 1886) 2.717. Ortiz de Urbina gives it tentatively as Diatessaric on the basis of these occurrences (*Vetus evangelium syrorum*, 224 [cf. p. 44, 545–6]).

Matthew 7:19 (Homily 23)

1 πᾶν δένδρον μὴ ποιοῦν καρπὸν καλὸν ἐκκόπτεται,
2 καὶ εἰς πῦρ βάλλεται

HMt[AB] and Old Syriac (Curetonian)

1 ܟܠ ܐܝܠܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܦܐܪܐ *ܛܒܐ ܡܬܩܛܥ ܘܡܬܪܡܐ ܒܢܘܪܐ.
2 ܘܡܬܪܡܐ ܒܢܘܪܐ.

1 every tree, therefore,* which does not produce good fruit is cut down
2 and thrown into the fire

*om. ܛܒܐ HMt[B] (om. "therefore")

Peshitta

1 ܟܠ ܐܝܠܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܦܐܪܐ ܛܒܐ ܡܬܩܛܥ ܘܡܬܪܡܐ
2 ܒܢܘܪܐ

1 every tree which does not produce good fruit is cut down
2 and thrown into the fire

Against the Greek word order and that even of the Peshitta, HMt[AB] follow that of the Curetonian Old Syriac. Moreover, HMt[A] also has the particle of the Old Syriac, unless one were to conjecture that *οὖν* was present in HMt[A]'s source text since it appears in a few New Testament witnesses.[66] The translators may have been influenced by the wording of the Old Syriac.

A curious fact is that HMt[B] exhibits probable Old Syriac influence more often than HMt[A], as the following examples show. The citation of Matthew 4:4[67] involves an Old Testament citation but is included here because of its special interest for this section:

Matthew 4:4/Deuteronomy 8:3 (Homily 21)

1 οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρτῳ μόνῳ* ζήσεται ἄνθρωπος,
2 ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὶ ῥήματι ἐκπορευομένῳ διὰ στόματος θεοῦ

*μόνον E

HMt[AB] and Peshitta

1 ܠܐ *[1]ܠܐ *[2]ܐܡܪ ܕܒܠܚܡܐ ܒܠܚܘܕܝ ܢܬܚܝܐ ܒܪܢܫܐ *[3].
2 ܐܠܐ ܒܟܠ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܬܦܩܐ ܡܢ ܦܘܡܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ *[4].

1 "Not,"*[1] he says,*[2] "by bread alone does a person live,*[3]
2 but by every word proceeding from the mouth of the Lord."*[4]

*[1]ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܐ HMt[A] and Peshitta ("it is not by bread alone a person)
*[2]om. ܐܡܪ HMt[A] and Peshitta (om. "he says")

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[66]See NA[27] apparatus.

[67]Or parallel Luke 4:4; neither New Testament text has "the mouth of the Lord."

*[3] ܢܚܝܘܢ Peshitta Mass. 2 3 ("will live")
*[4] ܐܠܗܐ HMt[A] and Peshitta ("of God")

Old Syriac (Sinaitic and Curetonian)

1 ܠܐ ܡܢܐ *[1] ܒܠܚܡܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܢܫܐ *[2] ܢܚܐ .
2 ܐܠܐ ܟܠ ܦܘܠܓܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ .

1 It is*[1] not by bread alone a person lives,*[2]
2 but by every statement proceeding from the mouth of the Lord.

*[1] om. ܡܢܐ Sinaitic ("not by bread alone will a person live")
*[2] ܢܫܐ Sinaitic ("will a person live")

In this citation of Matthew 4:4/Deuteronomy 8:3, HMt[B] and the Old Syriac New Testament have "the mouth of the Lord," against the Greek homily text, the Peshitta and other New Testament witnesses. The absence of the reading in other New Testament witnesses makes it unlikely that the translator of HMt[B] read it in his source text. The Peshitta of Deuteronomy also has ܦܘܡܗ ܕܡܪܝܐ ("the mouth of the Lord") but the translator would not be expected to rely on the Old Testament for the citation,[68] and given the presence of the form in the Old Syriac, the simplest explanation is that he was familiar with a form of the text at this point like that in the Old Syriac manuscripts.[69]

Matthew 6:31–2 (Homily 22)

1 *Μὴ οὖν μεριμνήσητε λέγοντες·*
2 *τί φάγωμεν, ἢ τί πίωμεν, ἢ τί περιβαλώμεθα;*
3 *Πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη τοῦ κόσμου* ἐπιζητεῖ.*

*om. *τοῦ κόσμου* E [= HMt[A]]

HMt[AB], Peshitta, and Old Syriac (Curetonian)

1 ܠܐ ܡܬܠ ܗܢܐ ܢܗܘܢ *[1] ܐܡܪܝܢ .
2 ܡܢܐ ܢܐܟܘܠ ܐܘ *[2] ܢܫܬܐ ܐܘ *[2] ܢܠܒܫ ܢܚܐ .
3 ܕܟܠ ܗܠܝܢ *[3] ܥܡܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ *[4] ܡܒܥܝܢ ܗܘܘ .

1 Therefore, do not worry and say,*[1]
2 "What shall we eat, or what*[2] shall we drink, or what*[2] shall we wear?"
3 For all these things*[3] the Gentiles of the earth*[4] seek.

*[1] ܐܡܪܝܢ ܐܘ HMt[A] Peshitta ("or say")

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[68]Deuteronomy 8:3 has ܡܠܬܐ ("thing"), not ܡܠܬܐ ("word") or ܦܘܠܓܐ ("statement").

[69]In *CDia*[FA], iv.10, Ephrem has, ܠܐ ܒܠܚܡܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܐܠܐ ܟܠ ܦܘܠܓܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ . ("not by bread alone, but by every statement proceeding from the mouth of God," p. 28), showing some affinity to the Old Syriac (especially the Sinaitic), but having "the mouth of God" instead (cf. *CDia*[A], iv.10, *ի բերանէ աստուծոյ*).

*[2]ܘܡܢܘ Old Syriac ("and what")
*[3]ܟܠܗ ܗܠܝܢ Old Syriac (transpose "all these/these")
*[4]om. ܕܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ HMt[A] Peshitta (om. "of the earth"), except Peshitta manuscripts 12 17 40, which have ܕܥܠܡܐ ("of the world")

In this citation of Matthew 6:31–2, nearly all the edited Greek manuscripts have *τοῦ κόσμου*, although this phrase properly belongs to the distinct form of the parallel *logion* in Luke 12:30. Greek manuscript E agrees with the Biblical text by omitting it.[70] HMt[A] also does not have the phrase, either because it relies on a text associated with E, or because it is absent from most Peshitta manuscripts. However, if it were present in HMt[A]'s source text, it is improbable that the translator would have omitted it on the basis of its absence from the Peshitta known to him, since this sort of omission is very uncharacteristic of his style. Hence, HMt[A] probably derives from an E-type text. By contrast, HMt[B] includes the phrase. One might suppose that its translator (or a scribe) has supplied the phrase due to familiarity with the Peshitta text which has it, except that his choice of words is quite distinctive—ܐܪܥܐ ("earth") instead of ܥܠܡܐ ("world"), using the term which appears in the Old Syriac and in *LibGrad*, 10.5 (col. 260).

Matthew 6:27 (twice; Homily 21)

a *Τίς δύναται ἐξ ὑμῶν προσθεῖναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ πῆχυν ἕνα;*
b *Τίς γὰρ ἐξ ὑμῶν, φησί, μεριμνῶν δύναται προσθεῖναι ἐπὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν αὐτοῦ πῆχυν ἕνα;*

HMt[A]

a ܡܢܘ ܕܒܟܘܢ ܡܫܬܠܛ ܠܡܘܣܦ ܥܠ ܩܘܡܬܗ ܐܡܬܐ ܚܕܐ
b ܡܢܘ ܠܡܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܒܟܘܢ ܕܒܥܝܢܐ ܡܫܬܠܛ ܠܡܘܣܦ ܥܠ ܩܘܡܬܗ ܐܡܬܐ ܚܕܐ

a Who among you is capable to add to his stature one cubit?
b "For who among you," he says, "by worrying is able to add to his stature one cubit?"

HMt[B]

a ܡܢܘ ܕܒܟܘܢ ܡܫܬܠܛ ܠܡܘܣܦ ܥܠ ܩܘܡܬܗ ܐܡܬܐ ܚܕܐ
b ܡܢܘ ܠܡܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܒܟܘܢ ܡܫܬܠܛ ܠܡܘܣܦ ܥܠ ܩܘܡܬܗ ܐܡܬܐ ܚܕܐ

a Who among you is able to add to his stature one cubit?
b "For who among you," he says, "is able to add to his stature one cubit?"

Peshitta and Old Syriac (Curetonian)

ܡܢܘ ܗܝ*[1] ܕܒܟܘܢ ܕܒܥܝܢܐ *[2]ܡܫܬܠܛ ܠܡܘܣܦ ܥܠ ܩܘܡܬܗ ܐܡܬܐ ܚܕܐ
And*[1] who among you, by worrying,*[2] is able to add to his stature one cubit?

*[1]om. ܗܝ Old Syriac, Peshitta 38 (om. "and")

[70]NA[27] records no instance of this addition to the text of Matthew 6:31–2.

*[2]om. ܒܗ ܡܢܕܥ Old Syriac (om. "by worrying"); ܡܕܥܪܐ Peshitta 7 ("because he worries")

In the last instance, the translator of HMt[B] lacks ܒܗ ܡܢܕܥ ("by worrying") from the second citation, either conforming it to the first citation—although it does not conform in other respects—or because he is comfortable with the absence of the phrase due to familiarity with an Old Syriac form of text.

The following involves a comparison with the Diatessaron:

Matthew 6:26 (Homily 21)
ἐμβλέψατε εἰς τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ

HMt[A]
ܐܬܚܙܘ ܥܦܪܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ
Consider the fowl of the sky.

HMt[B], Peshitta (Matthew 6:26), and Old Syriac (Curetonian)
ܚܙܘ ܨܦܪܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ
Look at the bird of the sky

Peshitta (Matthew 6:28) and Old Syriac (Curetonian)
ܐܬܬܘܢ *ܫܘܫܢܐ ܕܚܩܠܐ
Consider the lilies of the field

*ܚܙܘ ܫܘܫܢܐ Old Syriac ("look at the lilies")

Peshitta (Luke 12:24) and Old Syriac (Sinaitic and Curetonian)
ܐܬܬܘܢ ܓܪܒܐ . ܕܠܐ ܙܪܥܝܢ ܘܠܐ ܡܩܨܝܢ
Consider the ravens, which neither sow nor reap

HMt[A]'s wording is remarkable here. The translator would certainly have recognized the citation, and one would suppose that the Peshitta wording—which is identical to that of the Old Syriac (Curetonian)—would be familiar.[71] It is possible that the parallel statement in Luke 12:24 or the near-parallel one in Matthew 6:28 influenced the translator's choice of ܐܬܬܘܢ ("consider"), but HMt[A]'s citation is not similar to these otherwise. However, the wording in Ephrem's *CDia*[FA], vi.18 is similar to that of HMt[A]:

ܚܙܘ ܥܦܪܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܘܐܬܬܘܢ ܓܪܒܐ ܕܠܐ ܙܪܥܝܢ ܘܠܐ ܡܩܨܝܢ
Look at the fowl of the sky and consider the ravens, which neither sow nor reap

Obviously a harmonistic conflation of Matthew 6:26 and Luke 12:24, this possibly

[71]In a later citation within the same homily, both translations have ܚܙܘ ܨܦܪܘܬܐ ("look at the bird").

Diatessaric text also has the phrase ܥܘܦܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ("the fowl of the sky"). This and its placement of ܚܙܝܘܗܝ ("consider") in the immediate context suggests the possibility that the translator of HMt[A] was influenced by a text like that which Ephrem cites and which underlies that in the *Acts of Thomas* 2:[72]

ܚܙܝܘ ܠܥܘܪܒܐ ܘܚܙܝܘ ܠܥܘܦܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ . ܕܠܐ ܙܪܥܝܢ ܘܠܐ ܡܚܨܕܝܢ .
Look at the ravens and consider the fowl of the sky, which neither sow nor reap.

A final example involves a brief passage of scripture (John 1:3) which has been rendered into Syriac about as many different ways as is linguistically possible.[73] Hence, the distinct forms of the citation in HMt[A] and HMt[B] find parallels in the Syriac tradition, but it is impossible to tell whether one or both translators' choices are the result of external influence or not:

John 1:3 (Homily 22)
πάντα γὰρ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἕν

HMt[A]; Ephrem, *CG–E*, 1.28 (p.23); and *CDia*, i.6 (pp. 4, 6)
ܠܡܐ ܕܟܠ ܒܗ *[1]ܗܘܐ *[2]ܗܘܐ . ܘܡܢܠܒܪܗ ,ܠܐܦ ܠܐ ܚܕ *[3]ܗܘܐ
For, all by him*[1] came to be,*[2] and apart from him not even one (thing) came to be*[3]

*[1]ܒܗ ܡܬܒܪܟ ܟܠ *CG–E* *CDia* ("everything by him")
*[2]om. ܗܘܐ *CDia* (om. pronoun) *[3]om. ܗܘܐ *CDia* (om. "came to be")

HMt[B]; Titus of Bostra, *Contra Manichaeos*, 4.46
ܠܡܐ ܕܟܠ ܒܝܕܘܗܝ *[1]ܡܬܒܪܟ ܟܠ ,ܡܐܡܪ ܗܘ . ܘܡܢܠܒܪܗ ,ܠܐܦ ܠܐ ܚܕ *[2]ܗܘܐ
For he says,*[1] "everything came to be by his hands,*[2] and apart from him not even (one) thing came to be."

*[1]om. ܡܐܡܪ ܗܘ Titus of Bostra (om. "for he says")
*[2]ܒܝܕܘܗܝ Titus of Bostra ("his hand")

Peshitta and Old Syriac (Curetonian)
ܟܠ ܒܝܕܗ ܡܬܒܪܟ *[1] . ܘܡܢܠܒܪܗ ,ܠܐܦ ܠܐ ܚܕ ܗܘܐ *[2]
all came to be by his hand,*[1] and apart from him not even one thing*[2] came to be

*[1]ܟܠ ܡܬܒܪܟ ܒܗ ܠܡܐ Old Syriac ("everything came to be by him)

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[72]In *Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles*, ed. W. Wright (London: Williams and Norgate, 1871) 1.194.

[73]For some examples in addition to the Peshitta, Old Syriac, and Harklean renderings, see Ortiz de Urbina, *Vetus evangelium syrorum*, 4). In *CPJ*, 53, 55 (pp. 132, 140), Philoxenus has ܟܠ ܡܬܒܪܟ ܒܝܕܗ ("everything by his hand came to be"), and in another place (*CPJ*, 105 [p.241]), ܟܠ ܡܬܒܪܟ ܒܝܕܗ ("by his hand everything came to be"). A third reference (*CPJ*, 90 [p.213]) has the longer, ܟܠ ܡܬܒܪܟ ܒܝܕܗ . ܘܡܢܠܒܪܗ ,ܠܐܦ ܠܐ ܚܕ ("by his hand everything came to be, and apart from him nothing came to be").

*[2]om. מהימן Old Syriac (associates "thing" with the following clause: "and that *thing* which came to be by him is life")

Some other partial correspondences exist.[74]

The examples in this section represent the strongest links between HMt[AB] and non-Peshitta Syriac versions of the Bible. Being stray echoes, they suggest nothing more than indirect influence of non-Peshitta Syriac forms of text.

2) Non-Gospel Citations

When handling citations from Paul's Epistles and Acts, HMt[AB] tend to follow the Greek homily text according to their respective translation techniques, ordinarily exhibiting no Peshitta influence. Only occasionally do they fill out allusions or accommodate a citation to the Peshitta. Thus, their method of handling non-Gospel citations is different from their method of handling Gospel citations. The differences may simply be due to greater familiarity with the Gospel texts on the part of the Syriac translators, perhaps coupled with the fact that the text is especially concerned with the text of Matthew, which supplies most of the Gospel citations.

HMt treat most non-Gospel citations in much the same way as they treat the rest of the homily text:

1 Corinthians 15:55/Hosea 13:14 (Homily 19)
ποῦ σοῦ, θάνατε, τὸ νῖκος; ποῦ σοῦ, ᾅδη, τὸ κέντρον;

HMt[75]
ܐܝܟܐ ܕܢܨܚܟ ܡܘܬܐ . ܐܝܟܐ ܕܢܫܚܬܟ ܫܐܘܠ ܡܢ ܐܝܟܐ
Where is your victory, Death? And where is your sting, Sheol?

Peshitta (1 Corinthians 15:55)
ܐܝܟܐ ܕܫܚܬܟ ܡܘܬܐ *[1]ܐܝܟܐ . ܐܝܟܐ ܕܢܨܚܟ ܫܐܘܠ ܡܢ
Where is your sting, Death? And where is your victory, Sheol?

Peshitta (Hosea 13:14)
ܐܝܟ ܕܢܨܚܟ ܡܘܬܐ ܐܝܟ . ܐܝܟܐ ܕܫܚܬܟ ܫܐܘܠ *[2]ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢ ܐܝܟܐ
Where therefore* is your victory, Death? Or where is your sting, Sheol?

[1]ܐܝܟ ܐܝܟ 2 10 13 14 15 17 19 ("or where")
*[2]om. ܗܠܝܢ 12a1 —> (om. "therefore")

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[74]E.g. *LibGrad*, 30.23 (col. 917) has precisely the same wording for the second clause as HMt[A].

[75]HMt[B] does not exist for Homily 19; the evidence for this citation consists of B.L. Add. 14,560, B.L. Add. 14,559, and B.L. Add. 12,142.

The sequence in the citation in HMt matches that in Hosea 13:14 and the Greek homily text, against the Peshitta New Testament. The translator has simply followed his source text, without regard for the Peshitta New Testament.[76] Another example:

1 Corinthians 2:14 (Homily 23)
ψυχικὸς δὲ ἄνθρωπος οὐ δέχεται τὰ τοῦ πνεύματος· μωρία γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐστι*

*om. A C F [= HMt^{AB}]

HMt^{AB}
*2. ܠܗ ܠܡ ܡܝܢ ܟܕܡܬܐ . ܟܕܡܢܝܐ ܠܥܠܡ ܠܐ *1ܟܪܝܙܐ ܟܪܝܟ ܕܢ
the natural*1 person does not accept spiritual things, for*2 they are foolishness to him

*1ܟܪܝܙܐ HMt^{B} (lexical variant)
*2ܠܡ ܠܗ ܡܝܢ HMt^{B} (different word order, like the Peshitta)

Peshitta
ܠܗ ܡܝܢ ܟܕܡܬܐ . ܟܕܡܢܝܐ ܠܥܠܡ ܠܐ ܡܢ ܪܥܝܢ *1ܠܗ ܟܪܝܟ ܕܢ
ܠܡ
for*1 the person that is natural does not accept spiritual things, for they are foolishness to him

*1ܗܘ 2 10 11 ("but")

Discrepancies in wording and word order show that the Peshitta influences neither HMt^{A} nor HMt^{B} in the preceding citations.[77]

Less often, one or the other translation has a non-Gospel citation which appears to have been influenced by the Peshitta. As seen in previous exmaples, it is HMt^{A} that is more likely to exhibit Peshitta influence, as in the word order of the following example:

1 Corinthians 3:7 (Homily 21)
1 *ὥστε οὔτε ὁ φυτεύων, οὔτε ὁ ποτίζων ἐστί τι,*
2 *ἀλλ' ὁ αὐξάνων θεός*

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[76]In view of his established method, it is very unlikely that he relies on the Peshitta Old Testament here. More significant is the observation that in *CDia* xxi.12, Ephrem also cites ܐܝܟܐ ܢܨܚܟ ܕܡܘܬܐ ("where is your victory, Death?"); the citation in *CarmNis*, 53.24 is nearly identical (ܢܨܚܗ ["his victory"]), and Aphrahat, *Dem*, 22.5 (col. 1000) has precisely the same phrase. Similar forms of the passage occur in translations of Severus, Athanasius, and Theodore agree (see B. Aland, *Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung*, 2.1.491).

But one need look no further than the Greek homily text for the translator's source.

[77]The style is similar to Philoxenus': in one citation (*CPJ*, 63 [p.156]), Philoxenus also has, ܟܪܝܙܐ ܟܪܝܟ ܕܢ ("physical person") but, ܡܠܝܗ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ("the things of God's Spirit"). In two close allusions (*CPJ*, 68–9 [p.p.170, 172]), he has instead, ܟܪܝܙܐ ܓܒܪܐ ("physical man"). Citations in the Syriac Athanasius and John of Apamea are similar (see B. Aland, *Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung*, 2.1.307).

HMt[A] and Peshitta

1 ܐܝܟ *[1]ܕܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܨܒ ܘܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܫܩܐ ،ܐܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܨܡܚ .
2 ܐܠܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘܐ *[2]ܗܘܐ ܕܡܨܡܚ .

1 *[1]It is neither he who plants that is anything, nor he who waters,
2 but God, he*[2] who causes growth.

*+ܠܗܢܐ Peshitta (+"therefore") *[2]om. ܗܘܐ Peshitta (om. "he")

HMt[B]

1 ܠܗܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܢܨܒ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܨܡܚ ،ܐܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܫܩܐ .
2 ܐܠܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘܐ .

1 Therefore, it is neither he who plants nor he who waters that is anything,
2 but God, who causes growth.

In the following example, both translators exhibit familiarity with the Biblical text, but at different points:

1 Timothy 5:5 (Homily 31)

1 ἡ δὲ ὄντως χήρα καὶ μεμονωμένη
2 ἤλπισεν ἐπὶ κύριον

HMt[A78]

1 ܘܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܐܪܡܠܬܐ ܡܫܬܪܝܬܐ ܘܠܒܪܬܗ ،ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܫܪܝܐ ܫܒܪܗ .
2 ܐܠܗܐ ܥܠ ܫܒܪܗ

1 and she who is a real widow and it is only her,
2 her hope is on God

HMt[B]

1 ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܐܪܡܠܬܐ ܫܪܝܪܬܐ . ܘܠܒܪܬܗ ،ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܫܪܝܐ ܫܒܪܗ .
2 ܗܢܐ ܫܒܪܗ ܒܐܠܗܐ

1 inasmuch as she is a widow in truth and alone,
2 this one's hope is in the Lord

Peshitta

1 ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܐܪܡܠܬܐ ܫܪܝܪܬܐ ܘܠܒܪܬܗ ،ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܫܪܝܐ ܫܒܪܗ .
2 ܗܢܐ ܫܒܪܗ ܥܠ ܐܠܗܐ ܗܘܐ

1 and she who truly is a widow and alone,
2 this one's hope is on God

Corresponding to ὄντως in the Greek, HMt[AB] both have phrases parallel to the Peshitta's ܫܪܝܪܬܐ ("truly") and like the Peshitta use the noun ܫܒܪܗ ("her hope") to represent ἤλπισεν. Each also has a Peshitta reading which the other does not share: HMt[A]'s ܐܠܗܐ ܥܠ ("on God") for ἐπὶ Κύριον, and HMt[B]'s ܗܢܐ ("this

[78]No commentary manuscript preserves HMt[A] at this point; the text comes from *B.L. Add. 14,636*.

one"). The familiar text of the Peshitta must have suggested these readings, but discrepancies show that the translators make no direct reference.

More rarely, HMt[B] alone shows Peshitta influence:

2 Timothy 4:15 (Homily 23)
ὃν καὶ σὺ φυλάσσου· λίαν γὰρ ἀνθέστηκε τοῖς ἡμετέροις λόγοις

HMt[A]

ܐܦܢܬ ܕܢܛܪܝܗ ܠܡܛܠ ܕܫܓܝܐ ܠܡܠܝܗ ܕܢܛܪ ܗܘ ܐܦ ܐܢܬ

"You also," he says, "be watchful of him, for greatly he stands against our words."

HMt[B] and Peshitta

ܐܦ ܐܢܬ* ܡܬܚܪܝܪ ܗܘ . ܕܢܛܪ ܗܘ ܠܡܛܠ ܕܫܓܝܐ ܠܡܠܝܗ

*You also be wary of him, for he is very set up against our words.
*+ܗܘ Peshitta (+"but")

Titus 3:10 (Homily 23)
αἱρετικὸν ἄνθρωπον μετὰ μίαν καὶ δευτέραν νουθεσίαν παραιτοῦ

HMt[AB]

ܡܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܡܫܚܬܐ *[2]ܒܬܪܬܝܢ ܡܢ ܚܕ ܢܙܪܐ *[1]ܡܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܡܫܚܬܐ

from a contentious*[1] man, after one admonition*[2] and two, stay away from him

*[1]ܡܫܚܬܐ HMt[B] (*heresyuṭa'*)
*[2]ܡܢܙܪܐ HMt[B] ("after one correction")

Peshitta

ܡܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܡܫܚܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܚܕ ܢܙܪܐ ܘܡ ܡܢ ܡܢܙܪܐ ܡܢ ܐܢܬ ܕܢܬܚܝ ܠܗ ܐܢܫܐ

from a contentious (*heresyuṭa'*) man, after you admonish him one time and two, stay away

HMt[B]'s use of *heresyuṭa'* is probably due to familiarity with the Peshitta.

A few non-Gospel citations in HMt are unique, exhibiting remarkable dissimilarities with the Greek homily text and Syriac Biblical versions. One of the most outstanding is a citation from Acts:

Acts 4:32 (Homily 21)
1 *τοῦ πλήθους τῶν πιστευσάντων*
2 *ἦν ἡ καρδία καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ μία*

HMt[A]

1 ܗܢܘ ܕܣܓܝܐܘܬܐ ܕܡܗܝܡܢܝܢ ܗܘ ܕܟܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܢܢ .
2 ܕܚܕ ܠܒܐ ܘܚܕ ܢܦܫܐ . ܗܘܘ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܠܒܐ ܘܢܦܫܐ .

1 for behold, that multitude of disciples who had believed,
2 they all had one heart and one soul

HMt[B]

1 ܐܝܟ ܕܠܒܐ ܘܢܦܫܐ ܕܣܓܝܐܬܐ ܕܗܢܘܢ ܕܗܝܡܢܘ ܗܘܘ.
2 ܚܕ ܐܬܪܥܝܘ.

1 for indeed the heart and soul of the multitude of those which had believed
2 was one

Peshitta

1 ܘܐܝܟ ܕܣܓܝܐܬܐ ܕܐܢܫܐ ܕܗܢܘܢ ܕܗܝܡܢܘ ܗܘܘ.
2 ܚܕ ܢܦܫܐ ܘܚܕ ܪܥܝܢܐ.

1 and the multitude of people which had believed had
2 one soul and one mind

HMt[A]'s apparently expansive translation indicates either that its Greek source text was very different from that which has survived—and which is in perfect agreement with nearly all Greek New Testament witnesses,[79] or that the translator is treating the citation in the same loose manner that he treats the homily text, perhaps because he did not recognize it as a citation. Yet HMt[B]'s treatment is also less literal than normal; it is not expansive, but it has radically adjusted the order of elements within the sentence, and in a way which departs from the Peshitta text. The two unusual translations cannot be explained on the basis of a single source text, unless it be admitted that both happen to treat this single citation abnormally.

1 Corinthians 4:5 (Homily 23)

1 ὥστε μὴ πρὸ καιροῦ τι κρίνετε
2 ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ ὁ κύριος, ὃς καὶ φωτίσει τὰ κρυπτά

HMt[A]

1 ܒܪܝܟ ܠܐ ܡܪܝܟ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܡܗܪ ܡܕܡ ܩܕܡ ܙܡܢܗ.
2 ܥܕܡܐ ܕܢܐܬܐ ܡܢ ܕܡܓܠܐ ܡܣܬܪܬܐ.

1 But yet do not be judging a thing ahead of time,
2 until he comes who reveals hidden things.

HMt[B]

1 ܠܗܝܢ ܡܛܠ ܡܪܝܟ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܡܗܪ.
2 ܥܕܡܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܢܐܬܐ.

1 Therefore, do not judge ahead of time,
2 until the Lord comes.

Peshitta

1 ܡܛܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܪܝܟ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܡܗܪ ܡܕܡ
2 ܥܕܡܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܢܐܬܐ ܕܢܢܗܪ ܡܣܬܪܬܐ.

[79]The only recorded variations involve definite articles (see NA[27]).

1 Because of this, do not be judging ahead of time,
2 until that Lord comes who illuminates his hidden things.

In the last example, the absence of the final clause from HMt[B] suggests strongly that its translator employed a slightly different source text from that currently known and which presumably underlies HMt[A].[80] Yet the latter's omission of ܡܪܝܐ ("Lord") is also unusual—either an oversight, or because its source text lacked the word.[81]

2. *Initial Citations*

Initial citations in the Syriac HMt are normally of the same scope as those in the Greek tradition; i.e. an initial citation of Matthew 3:1–2 in the Greek witnesses is paralleled by a citation of precisely the same passage in the Syriac. Unlike many internal citations, initial citations in the Greek are normally quite close to the Biblical text. In turn, the citations in HMt tend to follow them closely, but this also produces a text very like that of the Peshitta. Hence all tend to be in agreement, as in the following:

Matthew 3:1–2 (Homily 10)
1 *Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις παραγίνεται Ἰωάννης ὁ Βαπτιστής,*
2 *κηρύσσων ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ λέγων· Μετανοεῖτε·*
3 *ἤγγικε γὰρ ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν.*

HMt[82] and Peshitta
1 ܗܘܝܢ ܝܘܡܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܬܝܐ ܡܥܡܕ ܝܘܚܢܢ *[1]
2 ܘܩܪܝܐ ܒܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܝܐ ܘܐܡܪ *[2]ܕܢܬܘܒܘ
3 ܡܛܠ ܕܩܪܒ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ *[3]ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܐ:

1 *[1]In those days came John the Baptist,
2 and he was preaching in the wilderness of Judea, and he said,*[2] "Repent,
3 for*[3] the kingdom of heaven has come near."

*[1]ܗܘ ܝܘܡܬܐ ܗܠܝܢ Peshitta ("and in those very days")
*[2]ܕܐܡܪ Peshitta, except 10 ("and saying")
*[3]om. ܐܝܟ B.L. Add. 14,558 and Peshitta (om. "for")

Matthew 1:1 (Homily 2)
βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, υἱοῦ Δαυίδ, υἱοῦ Ἀβραάμ

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[80]It is possible that the text underlying HMt[A] also lacked the clause, but the translator filled out the incomplete citation, which would perhaps explain his unusual translation of that clause.

[81]For parallels, probably unrelated, see B. Aland, *Das Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung*, 2.1.324).

[82]HMt[B] does not exist for this homily; the evidence for this citation consists of B.L. Add. 12,142, B.L. Add. 14,558, B.L. Add. 14,560, and *B.L. Add. 17,166*.

HMt[83] and Peshitta

ܟܬܒܐ ܕܝܠܕܘܬܗ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܪܗ ܕܕܘܝܕ ܒܪܗ ܕܐܒܪܗܡ

the book of the birth of Jesus Christ, the son of David the son of Abraham

Exhibiting no affinities with the Old Syriac or Philoxenian versions,[84] the last citation is simply that of the Peshitta.

Where the initial citations of HMt[A] and HMt[B] may be compared, they have essentially the same texts. For example:

Matthew 6:28–9 (Homily 22)

1 *Καταμάθετε τὰ κρίνα τοῦ ἀγροῦ, πῶς αὐξάνει·*
2 *οὐ κοπιᾷ, οὐδὲ νηθεῖ·*
3 *λέγω δὲ ὑμῖν, ὅτι οὐδὲ Σολομῶν ἐν πάσῃ τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ*
4 *περιεβάλετο* ὡς ἓν τούτων.*

**περιεβάλλετο* A

HMt[AB] and Peshitta

1 ܐܬܒܘܢ *[1] ܫܘܫܢܐ ܕܚܩܠܐ ܐܝܟܡܐ ܕܡܬܪܒܝܢ.
2 ܠܐ ܡܬܥܒܕܝܢ *[2] ܘܠܐ ܡܓܕܠܝܢ.
3 ܐܦܠܐ ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟܘܢ ܕܐܦܠܘ ܫܠܡܘܢ ܒܟܠ ܝܩܪܗ
4 ܠܐ ܐܬܠܒܫ ܐܝܟ ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ.

1 Consider*[1] the lilies of the field, how they grow,
2 because they neither labour*[2] nor spin;
3 but I tell you that not even Solomon in all his glory
4 was dressed like one of these.

*[1] ܐܬܒܘܢ HMt[A] (singular imperative, rather than plural)
*[2] ܥܒܕܠܐ HMt[A] ("toil")[85]

Matthew 6:24 (Homily 21)

1 *οὐδεὶς* δύναται δυσὶ κυρίοις δουλεύειν·*
2 *ἢ γὰρ τὸν ἕνα μισήσει, καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ἀγαπήσει·*
3 *ἢ ἑνὸς ἀνθέξεται, καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου καταφρονήσει.*

*+*οἰκέτης* F 1 Mosquensis

HMt[AB] and Peshitta

1 ܠܐ ܡܫܬܠܛ ܒܬܪܝܢ ܡܪܝܐ ܠܡܦܠܚ.
2 ܐܘ ܕܢܣܢܐ ܠܚܕܐ * ܘܢܚܒܐ ܠܚܪܢܐ.

[83]HMt[B] does not exist for this homily; the evidence for this citation consists of B.L. Add. 12,142, B.L. Add. 14,558, and *B.L. Add. 17,166*.

[84]The Old Syriac has, ܟܬܒܐ ܕܬܘܠܕܬܐ (Curetonian ܟܬܒܐ ܕܬܘܠܕܬܐ), "book of the generations"); Philoxenus prefers ܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܘܠܕܐ ("book of the origin") in *CPJ*, 16, 19, 21, 23 (pp.41, 47, 49–50, 52), but refers to the Peshitta rendering in *CPJ*, 17 [p.42].

[85]This reading is unique.

3 ܐܘ ܠܝܬ ܡܢܗ ܡܚܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܢܥܒܕ .

1 No one is able to serve two masters,
2 for either the one he will hate* and the other he will love,
3 or the one he will honour and the other he will despise

*ܢܣܢܐ . . . ܢܪܚܡ Peshitta 21 (transpose "hate" and "love")

In the first example, HMt[AB] is as close to the Peshitta as to the Greek text. In the last, the choice of ܢܥܒܕ to represent ἀνθέξεται, which also occurs in the internal citation in the same homily[86], is doubtlessly influenced by the Peshitta.

The most remarkable feature of the last example is that witnesses for both HMt[A] and HMt[B] have precisely identical texts, and in the first example they are nearly identical. Precise correspondence is unusual amongst internal citations, which tend to be shorter; such precision in the longer initial citations indicates that both sets of witnesses are drawing on the same source for their initial citations, namely the Peshitta. This may be because the persons responsible are using the same lemmata:[87] between Homilies 2–20, B.L. Add. 12,142 (which for these homilies attests to HMt[A]) has headings identical or nearly identical to those of the parallel B.L. Add. 14,558 and B.L. Add. 14,560. However, for Homilies 21–2, B.L. Add. 12,142 (HMt[B]) has very different summary headings than B.L. Add. 14,559 (HMt[A]), whereas for Homilies 23–32, B.L. Add. 12,142 has no such headings, yet B.L. Add. 14,559 has them for Homilies 23–4 (the rest of its text being defective). So, parts of the lemmata accompanying HMt[B] belong to a different tradition than those with HMt[A], but the initial citations are the same. It is possible that a translator relied originally on the Peshitta for the initial citations prefixed to the homilies, which was employed for both translations, but two different sets of summary headings accrued to the lemmata. However, it is equally plausible that the translator rendering Homilies 21–32 for HMt[B] simply imported the Peshitta passages for the lemmata, as a predecessor had done for the witnesses having HMt[A], then he devised his own brief summary headings for Homilies 21–2, but neglected the task in Homilies 23–32.

Whether to be linked at the level of the lemmata tradition or at the ultimate Biblical source, initial citations in both translations essentially correspond to the Peshitta text. This means that they differ in small ways from many internal citations of the same passages.

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[86]See 169.

[87]For a discussion of their structure and content, see 19–20.

But slight departures from the Peshitta are noteworthy. In the citation of Matthew 3:1–2, most of the witnesses have ܓܪܡܐ (≈ *γάρ*) in agreement with the Greek but against the Peshitta; B.L. Add. 14,558 also omits it. Citing Matthew 6:28–9, B.L. Add. 14,559 has two non-Peshitta readings, although only ܥܡܠܐ ("toil") is substantial. The following initial citations are also slightly different from the Peshitta and the Greek text, though the unanimous witness shows that the discrepancies must have occurred very early:[88]

Matthew 2:4–5 (Homily 7)

1 *Καὶ συναγαγὼν πάντας τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ γραμματεῖς τοῦ λαοῦ,*
2 *ἐπυνθάνετο παρ' αὐτῶν, ποῦ ὁ Χριστὸς γεννᾶται.*
3 *Οἱ δὲ εἶπον αὐτῷ· ἐν Βηθλεὲμ τῆς Ἰουδαίας.*

HMt[89] and Peshitta

1 ܘܟܢܫ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܪܒܢܐ ܘܣܦܪܐ.*
2 ܘܫܐܠ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܝܟܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ.
3 ܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܒܒܝܬ ܠܚܡ ܕܝܗܘܕܐ

1 And he gathered all the chief priests and scribes*
2 and he was asking them, "Where will the Messiah be born?"
3 And they said, "In Bethlehem of Judea."

*+ܕܥܡܐ Peshitta (+"of the people"), except 10

Within the known Syriac Biblical tradition, only the Peshitta manuscript which P.H. Pusey and G.H. Gwilliam designate number 10 agrees with HMt in omitting ܕܥܡܐ (≈ *τοῦ λαοῦ*).[90] The person responsible for the initial citation appears to have been familiar with such a Peshitta text.

Matthew 2:16 (Homily 9)

1 *Τότε ἰδὼν Ἡρώδης ὅτι ἐνεπαίχθη ὑπὸ τῶν μάγων, ἐθυμώθη λίαν·*
2 *καὶ ἀποστείλας ἀνεῖλε πάντας τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐν βηθλεέμ,*
3 *καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ὁρίας αὐτῆς, ἀπὸ διετοῦς καὶ κατωτέρω,*
4 *κατὰ τὸν χρόνον, ὃν ἠκρίβωσε παρὰ τῶν μάγων.*

HMt[91] and Peshitta

1 ܡܬܪܥܡ ܡܪܗܪܘܢ ܕܒܐ ܫܠܚ ܗܪܓܙܐ ܟܠ ܛܠܝܐ.*[1]

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[88]That the readings derive from an unknown but legitimately Peshitta text is far less likely.

[89]HMt[B] does not exist for this homily; the evidence for this citation consists of B.L. Add. 12,142, B.L. Add. 14,558, and B.L. Add. 14,560.

[90]The Old Syriac (Sinaitic and Curetonian) has it. Cf. Ephrem (*CDia*[FA], ii.21b), who omits "of the people" in a citation whose other distinctive features do not allow it to be related to the homily text: ܗܪܘܕܝܣ ܐܡܪ ܕܟܢܫ ܠܟ ܣܦܪܐ ܘܦܪܝܣܝܐ ("And Herod," it says, "gathered the scribes and Pharisees").

[91]HMt[B] does not exist for this homily; the evidence for this citation consists of B.L. Add. 12,142, B.L. Add. 14,558, B.L. Add. 14,560, and *B.L. Add. 14,727*.

ܗܪܘܕܝܣ ܕܚܙܐ ܕܐܬܬܪܚܝܠ ܗܘܐ *3ܟܠܗ ܩܛܠ ܠܛܠܝܐ *2ܘܫܕܪ 2
ܘܒܟܠ ܬܚܘܡܘܗܝ *5ܕܒܝܬ ܠܚܡ *4 3
4

1 Then, when Herod saw that he had been mocked by the Magi,*[1]
2 *[2]he sent (and) killed all the infants*[3] in Bethlehem
3 and*[4] in its vicinities*[5]
4

*[1]+ܫܓܝܐ ܡܬܪܓܙ Peshitta and *B.L. Add. 14,727* (+"he was very angry")
*[2]pr. –ܘ Peshitta ("and he sent")
*[3]ܟܠܗ ܩܛܠ B.L. Add. 14,560, Peshitta and *B.L. Add. 14,727* (word order, against Greek)
*[4]ܘܒܟܠ ܬܚܘܡܘܗܝ Peshitta and *B.L. Add. 14,727* ("and of all its vicinities")
*[5]+ܡܢ ܬܪܬܝܢ ܫܢܝܢ ܘܠܬܚܬ ܠܦܝ ܙܒܢܐ ܕܚܫܒ ܡܢ ܡܓܘܣܐ. Peshitta and *B.L. Add. 14,727* (+ "from two years old and down, according to the time which he calculated from the Magi")

A comparison between the commentary manuscripts and the homiliary *B.L. Add. 14,727* illustrates some features which are not uncommon: first, the scope of initial citations in the Syriac texts do not always match that of the existing Greek, and it is not unlikely that the Syriac is more primitive in this respect, given the complementary tendencies of scribes; second, although the homily text in the homiliary is the same as that in the commentary manuscripts, at some point an editor copied the Peshitta text into the heading and filled out the citation, probably because the Greek model on which the Syriac compilation was based had the fuller form.

The absence of ܫܓܝܐ ܡܬܪܓܙ ("he was very angry") from line 1 and ܟܠܗ ("all")[92] from line 3 sets the primitive initial citation apart from the Greek homily text and the Peshitta. The distinctive word order in line 2 (except for B.L. Add. 14,560's normalized order), corresponds to the Greek.[93] Perhaps an originator of the Syriac series of initial citations followed the Greek elements, but used Peshitta renderings for the text before him. A few variations, usually gravitating towards the Peshitta, crept into some citations in some witnesses.

Therefore, the initial citations of all the commentary manuscripts are essentially in agreement with each other and Peshitta, although they have some distinctive readings which may reflect an early form of the Greek text, or—less

[92]The Sinaitic Old Syriac also lacks it, against the Curetonian, but the correspondence is probably coincidental, because many discrepancies exist between HMt and the Old Syriac in this verse. Ephrem includes the phrase in *CDia*[FA], iii.1–2.

[93]It also agrees with the Curetonian Old Syriac, against the Sinaitic, but only incidentally.

probably—variant forms of the Peshitta. The character of the initial citations distinguishes them as representatives of a different and simpler tradition of citations than that to which the internal citations belong. Whether the product of the translators or slightly later editors,[94] the manuscripts' ages require that the forms of the Peshitta text employed were current during the late fifth or sixth century.

3. Biblical Citations in HMt and the Greek Text

The Syriac initial citations are not helpful witnesses to the primitive form of the Greek text because they are basically extracts from the Peshitta. It is possible that they would be of interest for understanding the ancient Peshitta tradition. This study underscores the need to treat citations in lemmata separately and carefully, in any Patristic text.

Even the internal citations are not very helpful, since they exhibit Peshitta influence and are occasionally subject to expansion—however, the expansions are from the Biblical text and not the result of creative paraphrasis; the translator is relatively conservative in his treatment of citations. It has already been seen that the Syriac is capable of preserving primitive readings not otherwise attested in the published Greek manuscripts.[95] However, HMt's Biblical citations tend not to be useful witnesses to the Greek, especially in view of the essential homogeneity of the published Greek manuscripts and the paucity of substantial Greek variants. As items of textual evidence, they must be used in a way which respects the forces playing upon them.

4. Revisions of Internal and Initial Citations

Biblical citations in early Syriac translations of Patristic works were the first targets for revision. However, none of the witnesses to the Syriac HMt exhibit evidence for any systematic revision of internal citations. They may be detected reliably only where witnesses have divergent forms of a citation. HMt^A is often distinct from HMt^B, but each is probably an independent translation; the citations support this, since those in HMt^B do not bear signs of being revisions of those in HMt^A; sometimes the former agree with the latter, at other times with the Peshitta or

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[94]By comparison, initial citations in HEpp appear to be the product of the translators (see 208–10).

[95]See 174–5.

Greek, against HMt^{A}.[96] As for parallel witnesses to HMt^{A}, even the later collections generally maintain the earliest recorded forms of the citations. Occasionally the form of an internal citation in one witness differs from that in another, being accommodated to the Peshitta text, but such activity is sporadic and probably unintentional.

Since the forms of the citations for HMt^{A} are usually synonymous in different witnesses, it may with some confidence be assumed that the preference for Peshitta wording is the habit of the translator himself, not a sign of inadvertent or intentional alteration on the part of later scribes.

The initial citations are more problematic. Certainly, some initial citations have been revised intentionally with the Peshitta in mind, as in the case of Matthew 2:16 in *B.L. Add. 14,727*.[97] Their special place within lemmata make them high-profile targets for revision or replacement, but it is clear that the activities to which they are subject should not be presumed upon the homilies themselves.

5. Conclusions about Biblical Citations in HMt

The following conclusions are preliminary and indicative, being based on a limited range of samples. Yet the essential shape of the translators' program emerges clearly. The translators of HMt^{AB} treat Biblical citations in a conservative fashion. Far from being expansive or paraphrastic, they tend either to follow closely the Greek homily text or the Peshitta. The citations reveal no evidence of systematic revision amongst the witnesses. The general unanimity of witnesses to HMt^{A} where they overlap strongly suggests that we have to do mainly with citations of the form in which they left the translator's pen. Also, no evidence has surfaced to suggest that citations appearing in the *ethikon* portions of homilies are of a different character than those in the exegetical portions.

The translators normally translate Old Testament citations directly from their Greek source texts without referring to the Peshitta, each according to his own translation style. Sporadically, one or both translators may fill out an allusion or modify the wording of a citation in accordance with the Peshitta, but not usually in a

[96]On the matter of their relationship, see 96–8.
[97]See 191–2.

sufficiently radical way to suggest direct reliance upon the Peshitta; the familiar language of the Peshitta influenced translators, possibly sub-consciously. HMt^{A} is more likely than HMt^{B} to have slight accommodations to Peshitta wording, although the phenomenon occasionally affects HMt^{B} as well, at times solely. Therefore, HMt^{AB} are not especially helpful witnesses to any particular strand of the Peshitta Old Testament and must be used cautiously as witnesses to the Greek homily text.

A study of New Testament citations yields indications that HMt^{A} relies on a source text that differs at points from that of HMt^{B}. Together, they handle New Testament citations in two different ways. First, with Gospel citations, both prefer Peshitta wording and vocabulary, although HMt^{B} less so, and neither exhibits signs of direct or systematic reliance, only familiarity. HMt^{B} is more faithful to the scope and structure of the Greek citations, but often uses Peshitta wording. Non-Matthew Gospel citations do not occur often enough to allow a suitable comparison, but it appears that the translators have employed the same methods with them as they do with Matthew citations. Since reliance on the Peshitta is indirect in the internal citations, only with great caution may one use them as witnesses to the Peshitta of the late fifth century.

However, there are hints that the translators were familiar with other Syriac versions, viz. the Old Syriac and the Diatessaron, or other related textual traditions—HMt^{B} more than HMt^{A}. Yet it would be irresponsible to suggest that HMt could function as a reliable witness to pre-Peshitta Syriac Biblical texts. If "the influence of the Peshitta very seldom makes itself felt,"[98] it is not because the translator relies mainly on an Old Syriac text, as Vööbus claims, but because he often translates directly from the Greek. In fact, the Peshitta makes itself felt regularly. In response to Vööbus' suggestions, this study has emphasized the need to take into account all the possible reasons for apparent agreements, including translation technique.

With non-Gospel citations, HMt follows the Greek more closely, showing signs of Peshitta influence less often. The presence of idiosyncratic readings are a sign that the translators are less conservative with the non-Gospel citations and tend to subject them to the same methods used to render the homily text.

The initial citations form a coherent body of quotations from the Peshitta in all

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[98] Vööbus, *Studies in the History of the Gospel Text in Syriac, I*, 84.

the commentary manuscripts and in both translations, with only rare anomalies. As a phenomenon, they are to be distinguished from the internal citations and in their present forms are not to be considered products of the HMt^{AB} translators. They typically differ from internal citations of the same passages. They are witnesses to a form of the Peshitta text existing during the late fifth and sixth centuries.

A study of the Biblical citations in the Syriac HMt provides excellent information about the translation techniques of these Syriac translators in the late fifth century. It is helpful to know, for example, that a single early translator may use a variety of methods in rendering Biblical citations, sometimes adhering to a general pattern and sometimes defying generalization. Heterogeneity in the textual quality of citations is a function of method in this case, not evidence for revision or a composite layering of sources.[99] In comparison with extant Greek witnesses, some of the Syriac forms of citations are secondary, but others are probably more primitive than the extant Greek. Still, the imprecise styles of translation and the preference for Peshitta wording means that the Syriac must be used only with caution as an aid to the task of correcting corrupt Greek citations to their pre-medieval forms; HMt^{B} may be more helpful than HMt^{A}.

C. Biblical Citations in the Homilies on the Epistles

Although constituted by a wide range of texts, the HEpp all exhibit the same method of handling Biblical citations, well substantiating the earlier conclusion that they share a homogeneous style.[100] Whether the citations are internal or initial, whether from the Biblical text with which a homily is especially concerned or from elsewhere, whether Old Testament or New, the methods are essentially the same.

The New Testament citations often resemble the text of the Harklean version, due to similarities in style. Yet they definitely do not derive from the Harklean, and the primary Biblical comparison text is the Peshitta.[101]

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[99]This observation provides important controls; see 321–3.

[100]See 137–8.

[101]A small assortment of parallel citations (Old and New Testament) indicates that no interesting correspondences exists between citations in the Syriac HEpp and Philoxenus' *CM-L* and *CPJ*.

1. Internal Citations

The biblical citations which occur in the Syriac translations of the Homilies on the Epistles are based directly on the Greek homily text, showing little or no influence from Syriac biblical versions.[102] Allusions and adaptations are left as such, without accommodation to the fuller or normal Biblical forms. When a single homily repeats a Biblical passage, the Syriac translation typically follows the various Greek forms: if the Greek citation occurs in different forms, so does the Syriac, whereas if the Greek citation occurs in identical forms, the Syriac citations also match.[103]

The following analysis is based mainly on a systematic survey of the citations, adaptations, and close allusions within single homilies, several of which enjoy multiple attestation, along with citations from other sampled passages.[104] Although

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[102]In his catalogue, Zotenberg (36–7) observes that the Paris Homilies on Ephesians (Par Bib. Nat. 69, A.D. 614–5) does not cite an existing Syriac version but provides fresh translations of the biblical citations.

[103]The citations of Titus 1:7 well illustrate this (see 204–5). Variations are typically minor. An exception occurs in Homily 1 on Philemon, where the third instance of a repeated citation appears to have been influenced by the Peshitta text. The initial citation of Philemon 2 and two subsequent citations have *καὶ Ἀρχίππῳ τῷ συστρατιώτῃ ἡμῶν*. In the first two citations, the Syriac has the literal, ܘܠܐܪܟܝܦܘܣ ܕܒܬܪܢܐ ("and to Archippus our companion of labour"), but in the third it has the Peshitta's rendering, ܘܠܐܪܟܝܦܘܣ ܦܥܠܢ ܥܡܢ ("and to Archippus, labourer with us"), even though it follows closely after the second occurrence.

[104]To illustrate the breadth of the study, the breakdown of the citations is as follows:

1 Cor: 9 references to 9 Old Testament verses; 5 references to 5 Gospel verses; 40 references to 26 non-Gospel New Testament verses (mainly from Homily 39).

2 Cor: 0 Old Testament references; 4 references to 4 Gospel verses; 27 references to 14 non-Gospel New Testament verses (mainly from Homily 10).

Ep: 4 references to 4 Old Testament verses; 0 Gospel verses; 40 references to 33 non-Gospel New Testament verses (mainly from Homily 11).

Philippians: 0 Old Testament references; 0 Gospel references; 9 references to 8 non-Gospel New Testament verses (mainly from the fragmentary Homily 2[3]).

Philemon: 0 Old Testament references; 1 reference of 1 Gospel verse; 11 references to 6 non-Gospel New Testament verses (mainly from the fragmentary Homily 1).

Col: 2 references to 2 Old Testament verses; 0 Gospel references; 17 references to 12 non-Gospel New Testament verses (mainly from Homily 4).

Titus: 0 Old Testament references; 0 Gospel references; 9 references to 6 non-Gospel New Testament verses (from the fragmentary Homilies 1, 2, and 5).

1 Thess: 8 Old Testament references to 9 verses; 5 references to 5 Gospel verses; 6 references to 9 non-Gospel New Testament verses (mainly from Homily 8).

2 Thess: 1 Old Testament reference of 1 verse; 1 apocryphal citation of 1 verse; 2 Gospel references to 2 verses; 22 references to 13 non-Gospel New Testament verses (mainly from Homily 2[3]).

nearly all the citations studied are examples of the same method, for the sake of comprehensive illustration, examples are provided from each of the homily sets.[105]

a. Old Testament citations.

Old Testament citations are not so common; allusions are more numerous. The translators render them directly from the Greek, betraying no particular Peshitta influence. The following examples are of references which are quite different from LXX and the Peshitta, yet the Syriac HEpp follow their source texts faithfully:

Genesis 13:10 (8, 1 Thess)

1 *Εἶδε γὰρ, φησί, Λὼτ πᾶσαν τὴν περίχωρον τοῦ Ἰορδάνου,*
2 *καὶ ἦν ποτιζομένη, ὡς* παράδεισος τοῦ θεοῦ.*

*+*ὁ* B C

B.L. Add. 17,152, *B.L. Add. 14,567*, and *B.L. Add. 14,601*

1 ܐܡܪ ܠܘܛ ܕܚܙܐ ܠܟܠ ܬܚܘܡܐ ܕܝܪܕܢܐ.
2 ܕܗܘܬ ܡܫܩܝܐ ܛܒ ܐܝܟ ܓܢܬܐ. ܐܝܟ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ.

1 "For* Lot saw," it says, "all the area of Jordan,
2 and it was a well-irrigated place, like a garden of God."

*om. ܐܡܪ *B.L. Add. 14,601* (om. "for")

Peshitta

1 ܘܢܨܠ ܠܘܛ ܥܝܢܘܗܝ ܘܚܙܐ ܠܟܠ ܬܚܘܡܐ ܕܝܪܕܢܐ
2 ܕܗܘܬ ܟܠܗ ܫܩܝܐ ܛܒ . . . ܐܝܟ ܓܢܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ.

1 And Lot raised his eyes and saw all the land of Jordan,
2 that it was all a well-watered place. . . like a garden of God.

Exodus 24:7 (4, Col)

Ναί, κύριε, πάντα ὅσα ἂν εἴπῃς ποιήσομεν, καὶ ἀκουσόμεθα.

B.L. Add. 14,566[B]

ܐܝܢ ܡܪܝ. ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܡܪܬ ܢܥܒܕ. ܘܢܫܡܥ ܢܫܬܡܥ.
Yes Lord, everything which you say, we do and we hear.

Peshitta

ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܪܝܐ ܢܫܡܥ ܘܢܥܒܕ.
everything which the Lord says, we will hear and we will do

1 Samuel 2:25 (11, Ep)

*Ἂν εἰς ἄνθρωπόν τις ἁμάρτῃ, φησί, *προσεύξονται περὶ αὐτοῦ.*

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[105]Citations in excerpts from the Homilies on Romans and the Homilies on Hebrews are treated separately in Appendix 1, on account of the lack of adequate commentary manuscripts for these homily sets.

*καὶ προσεύξωνται E

B.L. Add. 14,565[106]

ܐܢ ܐܝܟ ܠܡܢ ܕܚܛܐ ܠܒܪܐ ܢܨܠܘܢ ܠܗ ܐܡܪ ܗܘ.

"If someone," he says, "should sin against a person, they will pray for him."

Peshitta

ܐܢ ܡܚܛܐ ܠܒܪܐ ܠܒܪܐ ܢܥܒܕ ܨܠܘܬܐ ܩܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ.

If a man should sin against a man, we will make supplication before God.

Even the familiar Peshitta Psalms[107] seem not to have had an impact on the translators' methods:

Psalm 101/2:28 (39, 1 Cor)
Σὺ δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς εἶ, καὶ τὰ ἔτη σου οὐκ ἐκλείψουσι.

B.L. Add. 12,160

ܐܢܬ ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܘܫܢܝܟ ܠܐ ܡܣܬܝܢ.

you are the same and your years do not fail

Peshitta

ܐܢܬ* ܐܝܟ ܕܐܢܬ ܘܫܢܝܟ ܠܐ ܡܬܚܪܒܝܢ.

and* you are as you are and your years do*[1] not come to an end

*om. –ܐ 12t9[txt] (om. "and")

Psalm 105/6:2 (8, 1 Thess)
1 *Τίς λαλήσει τὰς δυναστείας τοῦ κύριου,*
2 *ἀκουστὰς ποιήσει πάσας τὰς αἰνέσεις αὐτοῦ;*

B.L. Add. 17, 152, *B.L. Add. 14,567*, and *B.L. Add. 14,601*

1 ܡܢ ܢܡܠܠ ܓܒܘܪܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ.
2 ܘܢܫܡܥܝܢ ܟܠ ܫܒܚܬܗ.

1 Who will speak the mighty deeds of the Lord,
2 and render as audible things all his praises?

Peshitta

1 ܡܢ ܢܡܠܠ ܓܒܘܪܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ
2 ܘܢܥܒܕ ܟܠܗ ܫܒܚܬܗ.

1 Who* will tell the wonders of the Lord
2 and will make all his praises heard?

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[106]The excerpt in *B.L. Add. 12,181* does not include the section in which this citation appears.

[107]The familiarity of the Psalms sometimes affected translators and scribes more than other parts of Scripture (see Taylor, "Syriac Versions of Basil of Caesarea's *De spiritu sancto*," 1.73–4).

The few agreements which exist between citation and Peshitta are coincidental, due simply to the similar source material and the common language:

Leviticus 24:20 (4, Col)
Ὀφθαλμὸν ἀντὶ ὀφθαλμοῦ, φησί, καὶ ὀδόντα ἀντὶ ὀδόντος.

B.L. Add. 14,566[B] and Peshitta
ܥܝܢ ܬܚܬ ܥܝܢ *[2]ܘܫܢܐ ܬܚܬ ܫܢܐ *[1]ܐܡܪ ܗܘ
"Eye for eye," he says,* "and*[1] tooth for tooth."

*[1]om. ܐܡܪ Peshitta (om. "he says")
*[2]om. ܘ Peshitta (om. "and")

Psalm 2:8 (39, 1 Cor)
*Αἴτησαι παρ' *ἐμοῦ, καὶ δώσω σοι ἔθνη τὴν κληρονομίαν σου·*

**ἡμῖν* mg. C

B.L. Add. 12,160 and Peshitta
ܫܐܠ ܡܢ ܩܕܡܝ ܘܐܬܠ ܠܟ ܥܡܡܐ ܕܢܚܠܬܟ.
Ask me, and I will give to you the nations for your inheritance.

b. New Testament citations.

Illustrative examples of New Testament citations abound.

1) Gospel Citations

The translators follow their Greek source texts when rendering Gospel citations:

John 14:2 (10, 2 Cor)
Ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοῦ πατρός μου μοναὶ πολλαί εἰσιν.

B.L. Add. 12,180 and B.L. 14,564
ܒܒܝܬ ܐܒܝ ܐܝܬ ܡܢܝܢ ܣܓܝܐܐ.
in the house of my Father's house are many abodes

Peshitta and Old Syriac (Sinaitic)
ܣܓܝ *[3]ܡܢ *[2]ܒܝܬܐ ܕܐܒܝ *[1]ܡܫܟܢܐ
many are the abodes*[1] in*[2] my Father's house

*[1]ܡܫܟܢܐ Old Syriac Peshitta 36 (grammatical variant)
*[2]ܒܕܘܪܝܐ Old Syriac ("the places")
*[3]pr. ܕ Peshitta manuscript 9 ("of")

The translators tend not to fill out allusions or expand citations, adhering to their source texts:

Matthew 6:12 (1, Philemon)
Ἄφες ἡμῖν τὰ ὀφειλήματα ἡμῶν,[1] καθὼς*[2] καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν·*[3]

*[1]om. *ἡμῶν* E *[2]*ὡς* E
*[3]+*τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν* Savile and subsequent editions

B.L. Add. 14,566[A]
ܐܦܪܩܠܢ ܠܚܘܒܝܢ. ܐܦ ܚܢܢ ܕܫܒܩܢ ܠܚܝܒܝܢ ܠܢ.
Forgive us our debts, just as we ourselves forgive.

Peshitta and Old Syriac (Curetonian)
ܘܐܦܪܩ ܠܚܘܒܝܢ. ܐܦ ܚܢܢ ܕܫܒܩܢ ܠܚܝܒܝܢ* ܠܚܝܒܝܢ.
And forgive our debts, as we ourselves also have forgiven* our debtors.

*ܢܦܪܩ ܢܚܢܢ Old Syriac ("we ourselves also will forgive")

Matthew 12:29 (39, 1 Cor)
Ὅταν δήσῃ τὸν ἰσχυρόν, τότε καὶ τὰ σκεύη αὐτοῦ διαρπάσει.*

*om. *καί* F [= Syriac]

B.L. Add. 12,160
ܕܢܫܪ ܠܚܝܠܐ. ܗܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܩܕܡ ܕܡܫܪܐ ܠܚܝܠܐ. ܗܝܢ ܕܢܫܩܘܠ ܢܟܣܝܗ.
when he binds the powerful (man), then he may snatch his belongings

Peshitta
1 . . . ܕܢܥܘܠ ܠܒܝܬ ܚܝܠܐ ܘܢܫܩܘܠ ܢܟܣܝܗ.
2 ܐܠܐ ܕܩܕܡ ܕܡܫܪܐ ܠܚܝܠܐ.
3 ܗܝܢ ܕܒܗܝܠܗ ܢܫܪܐ ܒܝܬܗ:

1 . . . to enter a strong (man's) house and plunder his belongings,
2 unless first he binds the strong (man)
3 and then plunders his house.

2) Non-Gospel Citations

Numerous citations exist which follow the Greek closely and bear no particular affinity with a Syriac Biblical version or witness, although stylistic similarities with the Harklean version is illustrated in several examples:[108]

1 Corinthians 15:13 and 15:14 (separate citations; 39, 1 Cor)
1 Εἰ δὲ ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν οὐκ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ Χριστὸς ἐγήγερται.
2 *Εἰ δὲ Χριστὸς οὐκ ἐγήγερται, κενὸν ἄρα τὸ κήρυγμα ἡμῶν.*

B.L. Add. 12,160, Peshitta, and Harklean
1 ܐܢ ܕܠܝܬ *[1] ܩܝܡܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ *[2]. ܠܐ ܐܦ ܡܫܝܚܐ *[3]ܩܡ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ. ܗܢܐ
2 ܐܢ ܕܠܝܬ *[1] ܩܝܡܬܐ ܠܐ ܗܘܬ. ܗܢܐ *[4]ܩܝܡܬܐ ܗܘ, ܗܢܐ *[5]ܩܝܡܬܐ *[6]ܕܝܠܢ.

1 But if*[1] there is no rising*[2] of the dead, also*[3] not even Christ arose.
2 But if*[1] Christ did not rise, our*[6] preaching then*[5] is vain.*[4]

[108]Of course, the Harklean has as its source text the Greek New Testament, but ultimately so do the citations in the Greek HEpp; the comparison is meant to be illustrative.

*[1] ܐܦ Peshitta ("and if")
*[2] ܩܝܡܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ Peshitta ("resurrection of the dead")
*[3]om. –ܐ Peshitta Harklean (om. "also")
*[4] ܩܝܡܬܐ Harklean (emphatic state)
*[5]om. ܐܪܥܐ Peshitta (om. *'ara'*)
*[6] ܕܝܠܢ ܩܝܡܬܐ ܕܝܠܢ Harklean (distinct representation of possessive pronoun)

2 Corinthians 5:2 (10, 2 Cor)

1 *Καὶ γὰρ *ἐν τούτῳ στενάζομεν,*
2 *τὸ οἰκητήριον ἡμῶν τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐπενδύσασθαι ἐπιποθοῦντες.*

*+*τῷ σκήνει* D Mosquensis *σ*

B.L. Add. 12,180, B.L. Add. 14,564, and Harklean

1 ܕܒܗܢܐ ܠܟ ܠܝܬ *[1] ܡܬܩܝܡܝܢ.
2 ܕܝܠܢ *[2] ܕܝܡܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ ܠܡܠܒܫ *[3] ܥܠ ܕܝܠܢ ܡܬܩܝܡܝܢ ܕܢܬܒܥ *[4].

1 "For in this," he says,*[1] "we groan,
2 our dwelling*[2] from heaven eagerly desiring*[4] to put upon.*[3]"

*[1]om. ܗܢܐ ܠܟ ܐܦ Harklean ("for also in this")
*[2] ܕܝܠܢ ܕܝܡܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ Harklean (distinct representation of possessive pronoun and definite article)
*[3]om. ܥܠ ܕܝܠܢ Harklean (om. "upon")
*[4] ܕܢܬܒܥ ܡܬܩܝܡܝܢ ܕܝܠܢ Harklean (literal representation of infinitive and word order)

Peshitta

1 ܐܦ ܥܠ ܕܗܢܐ ܠܟ ܠܝܬ ܡܬܩܝܡܝܢ ܢܚܢ.
2 ܕܢܠܒܫ ܢܚܢ ܕܒܝܬܢ ܕܡܫܡܝܐ ܕܝܠܢ ܕܝܡܐ.

1 For also because of this we groan,
2 and we long to put on our house from heaven.

In the last example, not only is it obvious that the translator is following the Greek text solely, but his very literal means of representing the prepositional element of *ἐπενδύσασθαι* is striking.

Ephesians 4:9–10 (11, Ep)

1 *Τὸ δὲ ἀνέβη τί ἐστιν,*
2 *εἰ μὴ ὅτι καὶ κατέβη πρῶτον εἰς τὰ κατώτερα μέρη τῆς γῆς;*
3 *Ὁ καταβάς, αὐτός ἐστι καὶ ὁ ἀναβὰς ὑπεράνω πάντων τῶν οὐρανῶν,*
4 *ἵνα πληρώσῃ τὰ πάντα.*

B.L. Add. 14,565 and Harklean[109]

1 ܡܢܘ ܠܟ *[1] ܕܐܬܠܐ ܡܢܘ ܗܘܐ ܠܬܬܐ.
2 ܗܘ ܕܢܚܬ *[2] ܗܘ ܢܦܫܗ ܕܡܢܟܬܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܫܡܝܐ ܕܥܠ ܟܠ ܡܠܝܢ *[3].
3 ܡܢ ܗܢܐ. ܡܢ ܐܢܘܢ, ܐܦ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܠܐ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܫܡܝܐ ܕܡܠܝ ܟܠ ܡܕܡܐ.

[109]The excerpt in *B.L. Add. 12,181* does not include the section having this citation.

4 ܗܠܐ ܡܫܠܡܐ.*[4]

1 "And as for that 'He ascended,'" it says,*[1] "what is it,
2 except*[2] that he also descended formerly to the lower regions[110] of the world.*[3]
3 He who descended, he is also the one who ascended above all the heavens
4 to fill all."*[4]

*[1]om. ܐܡܪ Harklean (om. "it says") *[2]+ ܐܦ Harklean
*[3]ܠܬܚܬܝܬܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ ܡܢܘܟܬܐ Harklean ("to the parts more low of-the-earth;" more literal terms and word order)
*[4]ܕܢܫܠܡ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܡܫܠܡܐ Harklean ("in order to-fill all")

Peshitta
1 ܗܠܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܢܘ.
2 ܐܠܐ ܕܐܦ ܢܚܬ ܠܬܚܬܝܬ ܐܪܥܐ.*
3 ܡܢ ܕܢܚܬ. ܗܘ ܗܘ ܕܐܦ ܣܠܩ. ܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܫܡܝܐ
4 ܕܢܫܠܡ ܟܠ.

1 And, "He ascended," what is it,
2 except* that he also descended first to the lower (parts) of the earth.
3 He who descended is he who also ascended higher than all the heavens
4 in order to fulfill all.

*om. ܐܦ 2 (lexical variant, agreeing with B.L. Add. 14,565)

Philippians 1:19 (2[3], Philippians)
1 *Οἶδα γὰρ, φησίν, ὅτι τοῦτό μοι ἀποβήσεται εἰς σωτηρίαν*
2 *διὰ τῆς ὑμῶν δεήσεως,*
3 *καὶ ἐπιχορηγίας τοῦ πνεύματος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.*

B.L. Add. 14,566[A] and Harklean
1 ܝܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܕܗܢܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܦܪܘܩܝ *[1]. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ *[2]ܠ ܡܣܬܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ
2 ܘܒܨܠܘܬܟܘܢ ܕܐܠܗܐ.
3 ܘܒܡܬܢܬܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ.

1 "For I know," he says,*[1] "that this will turn out for my salvation,*[2]
2 through your supplication,
3 and the gift of the Spirit of Jesus Christ."

*[1]om. ܐܡܪ Harklean (om. "he says")
*[2]ܕܗܢܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܝ ܠܦܪܘܩܝ Harklean ("that for me this turns out for salvation")

Peshitta
1 ܝܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܕܗܠܝܢ ܢܬܟܠܠܘܢ ܠܝ
2 ܒܨܠܘܬܟܘܢ.
3 ܘܒܡܬܢܬܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ.

1 For I know that these things will be found (to be) for my salvation
2 by your supplication
3 and by the gift of the Spirit of Jesus Christ.

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[110]According to B. Aland (*Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung*, 2.2.291–3), the Syriac version of Severus' *Homiliae cathedrales* ascribed to Paul of Kallinikos (unedited) uses the same wording (ܡܬܚܬܝܬ, "regions").

Galatians 6:17 (1, Philemon)
Ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ στίγματα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, φησί, βαστάζω.

B.L. Add. 14,566[A]

For I bear the marks of Christ.

Peshitta

For I carry the marks of our Lord in my body.

*+ 12[c] 15 16 19 20 (+"Christ")[111]

Colossians 1:23 (4, Col; three occurrences of all or part)
1 *Εἴγε ἐπιμένετε* τῇ πίστει τεθεμελιωμένοι καὶ ἑδραῖοι,
2 καὶ μὴ μετακινούμενοι ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλπίδος* τοῦ εὐαγγελίου.

*+*φησί* in a subsequent citation in the same homily

B.L. Add. 14,566[B]

1 If* you will persist in the faith, being established and firm,
2 and not moved from the hope of the Gospel.

*+ in the second citation (+"he says")

Peshitta

1 If you will persist in your faith, your foundation being firm,
2 and not moved from the hope of the Gospel.

Titus 1:7 (1, Titus; 3 occurrences of all or part)
1 *Δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον,* φησίν, ἀνέγκλητον εἶναι,
2 ὡς θεοῦ οἰκονόμον,
3 μὴ αὐθάδη, μὴ ὀργίλον,
4 μὴ πάροινον, μὴ πλήκτην.

*om. *τὸν ἐπίσκοπον* in the second citation

B.L. Add. 14,566[B]

1 "For," he says, "it is necessary that a bishop* be without rebuke,

[111]Some others (e.g. John of Apamea and Isho'dad of Merv) have (“our Lord Jesust Christ”) when citing this passage (see B. Aland, *Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung*, 2.2.247).

2 as the steward of God;
3 not rash, not wrathful,
4 not a drunkard, not a brawler."

*om. ܩܫܝܫܐ in the second citation (om. "a bishop")

Peshitta

1 ܡܛܠ ܕܦܩܝܕܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܚܝܒ .
2 ܐܝܟ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܪܝܐ ܩܫܝܫܐ .
3 ܠܐ ܡܬܪܥܡ ܕܒܪܘܚܗ ܕܝܠܗ ܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܪܓܙܢܐ .
4 ܠܐ ܡܬܚܡܪ ܠܚܡܪܐ ܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܠܐ ܢܫܬܠܚ ܐܝܕܗ ܠܡܫܩܠ
ܡܕܡܐ .

1 For the overseer ought to be without censure,
2 as the steward of God;
3 and let him not be carried away in his own mind, and let him not be wrathful,
4 and let him not be excessive concerning wine, and let not his hand be swift to strike.

1 Corinthians 10:8–10 (8, 1 Thess)

1 *Μηδὲ πορνεύωμεν,*[1] καθώς τινες αὐτῶν ἐξεπόρνευσεν,
2 καὶ ἔπεσον*[2] ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρα εἴκοσι καὶ τρεῖς χιλιάδες·*[3]
3 μηδὲ γογγύζωμεν, καθώς τινες αὐτῶν ἐγόγγυσαν,
4 καὶ ἀπώλοντο ὑπὸ τοῦ ὀλοθρευτοῦ·
5 μηδὲ ἐκπειράζωμεν*[4] τὸν Χριστόν,*[5] καθώς τινες αὐτῶν*[6] ἐπείρασαν,
6 καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ὄφεων ἀπώλοντο.

*[1] πορνεύσωμεν I *[2] ἔπεσαν C
*[3] κγ Veronensis; εἴκοσι τρεῖς Flor. Savile and subsequent editions
*[4] πειράζωμεν K *[5] θεόν C
*[6] αὐτόν K L

B.L. Add. 17,152, *B.L. Add. 14,567*, and *B.L. Add. 14,601*

1 ܠܐ ܢܙܢܐ . ܐܝܟ ܕܟܡܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܙܢܘ .
2 ܘܢܦܠ ܬܪܬܝܢ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܕܐܠܦ ܐܠܦ ܢܦܠܘ .
3 ܘܠܐ ܢܬܪܥܡ ܐܦ ܠܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܟܡܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܪܥܡܘ .
4 ܘܐܒܕܘ ܡܢ ܡܚܒܠܐ .
5 ܠܐ ܢܢܣܐ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܟܡܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܢܣܘ .
6 ܘܐܒܕܘ ܡܢ ܚܝܘܬܐ .

1 And let us not commit fornication, as some of them committed fornication,
2 and twenty and three thousand thousand fell in one day.
3 And also let us not grumble as some grumbled,
4 and they perished by the destroyer.
5 And let us not test Christ, as some of them tested,
6 and they perished by the snakes.

Peshitta

1 ܠܐ ܢܙܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܟܡܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܙܢܘ .
2 ܘܢܦܠ ܬܪܬܝܢ ܐܠܦܝܢ ܕܐܠܦ ܐܠܦ ܢܦܠܘ .
5 ܠܐ ܢܢܣܐ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܟܡܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܢܣܘ .
6 ܘܐܒܕܘ ܡܢ ܚܝܘܬܐ .
3 ܘܠܐ ܢܬܪܥܡ ܐܦ ܠܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܟܡܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܪܥܡܘ .
4 ܘܐܒܕܘ ܡܢ ܡܚܒܠܐ .

1 And also let us not commit fornication, as some of them committed fornication,
2 and twenty and three thousand thousand fell in one day.
5 And let us not test Christ, as some of them tested,
6 and the snakes destroyed them.
3 And also do not grumble, as some of them grumbled,
4 and they perished by the hands of the destroyer.

The last example is remarkable because the homily translator follows the inverted order of verses in the Greek manuscripts instead of rectifying the order according to the Biblical standard.

2 Thessalonians 2:3 (2[3], 2 Thess)

1 *Μή τις ὑμᾶς ἐξαπατήσῃ κατὰ μηδένα τρόπον·*
2 *ὅτι ἐὰν μὴ ἔλθῃ ἡ ἀποστασία πρῶτον,*
3 *καὶ ἀποκαλυφθῇ ὁ ἄνθρωπος τῆς ἁμαρτίας,*[*1] *ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας,*
4 *ὁ ἀντικείμενος καὶ ὑπεραιρόμενος*
5 *ἐπὶ πάντα λεγόμενον θεὸν ἢ σέβασμα,*
6 *ὥστε αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ὡς θεὸν*[*2] *καθίσαι,*
7 *ἀποδεικνύντα ἑαυτὸν ὅτι ἐστὶ θεός.*

*[1] *ὁ ἄν. τῆς ἁμαρ.* post *ἀπωλείας* transposit L
*[2] om. *ὡς θεόν* L

B.L. Add. 17,152

1 ܠܐ ܐܢܬ ܡܫܕܪܐ ܐܠܐ ܒܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܢܘܢ .
2 ܡܛܠ ܕܐܬܐ ܡܪܕܘܬܐ ܩܕܡܝܬܐ ܠܡܫܪܟ ܡܢܗܘܢ :
3 ܘܢܬܓܠܐ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܡܫܚܬܐ ܒܪܡ ܐܒܕܘܬܐ
4 ܕܡܢ ܕܡܬܩܪܒܐ . ܘܡܬܪܝܡܐ ܥܠ .
5 ܠܐ ܠܟ ܡܢ ܕܡܬܚܫܕܝܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܡܬܩܪܝ .
6 ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܒܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܝܬܒ ܐܝܟ ܐܠܗܐ :
7 ܡܬܚܘܐ ܠܢܦܫܗ ܕܐܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ,

1 Let no one lead you astray, not in any single way,
2 because until the rebellion comes first,
3 and the man of sin, the son of perdition, be revealed,
4 he who (is) opposed and greatly exalts himself
5 above everything which is called God or worshipped,
6 so that in the temple of God he sits as God,
7 declaring himself to be God.

Peshitta

1 ܠܟܢ ܐܢܬ ܡܫܕܪܐ ܐܠܐ ܒܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܢܘܢ .
2 ܡܛܠ ܕܐܢ ܠܐ ܡܬܩܪܒܐ ܡܪܕܘܬܐ ܩܕܡܝܬܐ ܠܡܫܪܟ .
3 ܘܢܬܓܠܐ ܒܪ ܐܢܫܐ ܡܫܚܬܐ ܒܪܡ ܐܒܕܘܬܐ .
4 ܕܡܢ ܕܡܬܩܪܒܐ ܡܢ . ܘܡܬܪܝܡܐ
5 ܠܐ ܠܟ ܡܢ ܕܡܬܚܫܕܝܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܡܬܩܪܝ .
6 ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܒܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܝܬܒ ܐܝܟ ܐܠܗܐ :
7 ܕܡܬܚܘܐ ܠܢܦܫܗ ܕܐܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢ .

1 Now let no one lead you astray in any of the patterns,

2 because unless the rebellion comes first,
3 and the man of sinfulness, the son of destruction, be revealed,
4 he who is opposed and exalts himself
5 above everything which is called God and feared,
6 so that even in the temple of God he will sit as God,
7 and he will declare about himself as if he were God.

Correspondences with the Peshitta are coincidental. Genuine Peshitta influence appears to be virtually non-existent, or extremely slight, being limited to similarities in phraseology. For example:

1 Corinthians 7:40 (8, 1 Thess)
δοκῶ δὲ κἀγὼ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἔχειν

B.L. Add. 17,152, *B.L. Add.14,567*, *B.L. Add. 14,601*, and Peshitta
ܒܝ ܐܝܬ ܠܝ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܗܘܝܢ ܐܦܠܐ ܐܢܐ ܕܡܣܬܟܠܝܢ ܐܢܐ
I*[2] also think*[1] that God's Spirit is in me

*[1]ܡܣܬܟܠܝܢ Peshitta (different form of same root)
*[2]ܐܦܠܐ Peshitta ("but I also")

The translator's choice of ܒܝ ("in me"), instead of ܠܝ ܐܝܬ ("I have"), is reminiscent of the Peshitta. The Harklean has ܠܝ ܐܝܬ ("I have").[112]

1 Corinthians 3:6 (11, Ep)
Ἐγὼ ἐφύτευσα, φησίν, Ἀπολλὼς ἐπότισεν, ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς ηὔξανε.

B.L. Add. 14,565 and Peshitta
ܐܢܐ ܨܒܝܬ ܐܦܠܘܢ ܫܩܝܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܨܥ ܝܬܗ.
I planted and Apollos watered, but God caused growth.

Here it is only the provision of "and" which sets the homily translation apart from the Greek text in favour of the Peshitta; the Harklean lacks the conjunction.

Such occurrences provide no evidence for genuine Peshitta influence. One instance amongst the texts surveyed yields stronger evidence of Peshitta influence, unless one supposes that the Syriac relies on an expanded form of the Greek text no longer known, which is quite possible in view of the translators' preferred method and since the "expansion" is Biblical:

1 Timothy 5:24 (8, 1 Thess)
1 *Τινῶν ἀνθρώπων αἱ ἁμαρτίαι πρόδηλοί εἰσι,*
2 *τισὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπακολουθοῦσι.*

[112]Except manuscripts 1 and 4 mg (see B. Aland, *Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung*, 2.1.364).

B.L. Add. 17,152, *B.L. Add. 14,567*, and *B.L. Add. 14,601*

1 ܡܬܝܕܥܝܢ ܕܚܛܝܐܬܗܘܢ ܡܩܕܡܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܗ.
2 ܕܚܛܝܐܬܗܘܢ ܕܡ. ܕܬܪܝܢ ܡܬܪܕܦܝܢ.

1 The sins of some are known and precede them into judgement;
2 and (the sins) of others follow them.

Peshitta

1 ܐܝܬ ܕܢܝܫܐ ܕܡܬܝܕܥܝܢ ܚܛܝܗܘܢ: ܕܡܩܕܡܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܠܗ:
2 ܐܝܬ ܕܕܬܪܝܢ ܡܬܪܕܦܝܢ.

1 There are people whose sins are known and precede them into judgement;
2 and there are those (whose sins) follow them.

2. Initial Citations

The initial citations are of the same character as the internal citations: they follow the Greek homily text, irrespective of the Syriac Biblical tradition. Indeed, they normally have the same forms of text as the internal citations where their texts overlap, to the extent that their respective Greek forms are the same. The scope of initial citations in the Syriac homilies is usually the same as that in the Greek homilies.[113] Two examples suffice:

1 Corinthians 13:8 (34, 1 Cor)

1 *Εἴτε δὲ προφητεῖαι καταργηθήσονται·*
2 *εἴτε γλῶσσαι, παύσονται· εἴτε γνῶσις, καταργηθήσεται.*

B.L. Add. 12,160 and Harklean

1 ܐܢ ܢܒܝܐܬܐ ܕܡ* ܢܬܒܛܠܢ.
2 ܐܢ ܠܫܢܬܐ ܢܫܬܟܚܢ. ܐܢ ܕܝܢܐ ܢܬܒܛܠ

1 And* if prophecies, they will be brought to nothing;
2 and if tongues, they will cease;and if knowledge, it will be brought to nothing.

*ܐܢ ܕܡ ܢܬܒܛܠ Harklean (more literal placement of "and")

Peshitta

1 ܡܛܠ ܕܢܒܝܐܬܐ ܢܬܒܛܠܢ.
2 ܠܫܢܬܐ ܢܫܬܟܚܢ. ܘܕܝܢܐ ܢܬܒܛܠ

1 For prophecies will be brought to nothing,
2 and tongues will be stilled, and knowledge will be brought to nothing.

---

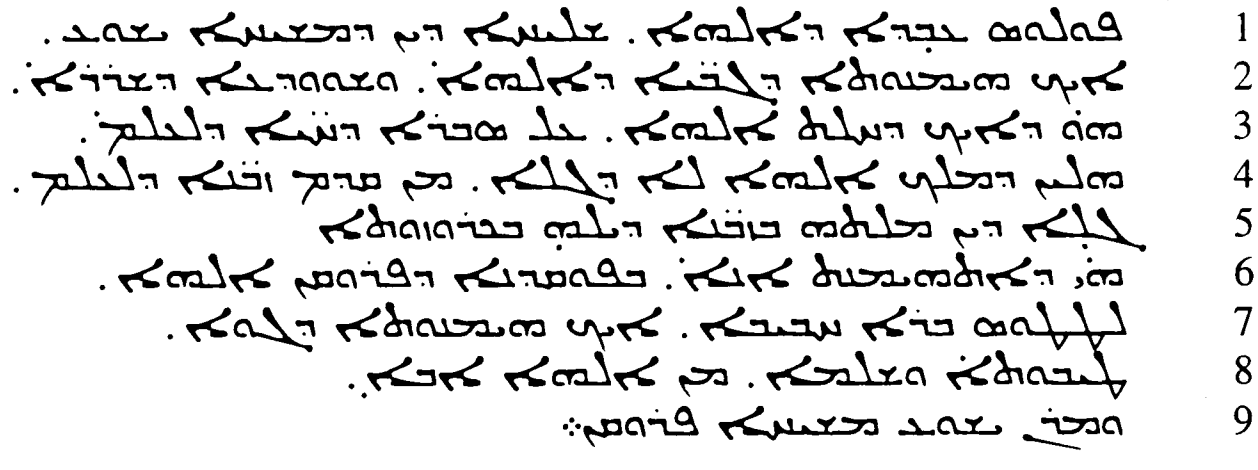
[113]The Homilies on 2 Corinthians present an exception; their initial citations are much longer than those in the Greek, normally covering all the verses treated by the homily instead of presenting only the first few. Yet the long citations must derive from a Greek source, since they have obviously been translated afresh for the homilies and usually match the parallel internal citations precisely.

Titus 1:1–4 (1, Titus)

1 *Παῦλου δοῦλος θεοῦ, ἀπόστολος δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,*
2 **[1]κατὰ πίστιν ἐκλεκτῶν θεοῦ, καὶ ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας*
3 *τῆς κατ' εὐσέβειαν, ἐπ' ἐλπίδι*[2] ζωῆς αἰωνίου,*
4 *ἣν ἐπηγγείλατο ὁ ἀψευδὴς θεὸς πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων,*
5 *ἐφανέρωσε δὲ καιροῖς ἰδίοις τὸν λόγον αὐτοῦ ἐν κηρύγματι,*
6 *ὃ ἐπιστεύθην ἐγὼ κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεοῦ,*
7 *Τίτῳ γνησίῳ τέκνῳ κατὰ κοινὴν πίστιν,*
8 *χάρις καὶ*[3] εἰρήνη ἀπὸ θεοῦ πατρὸς*
9 *καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν.*

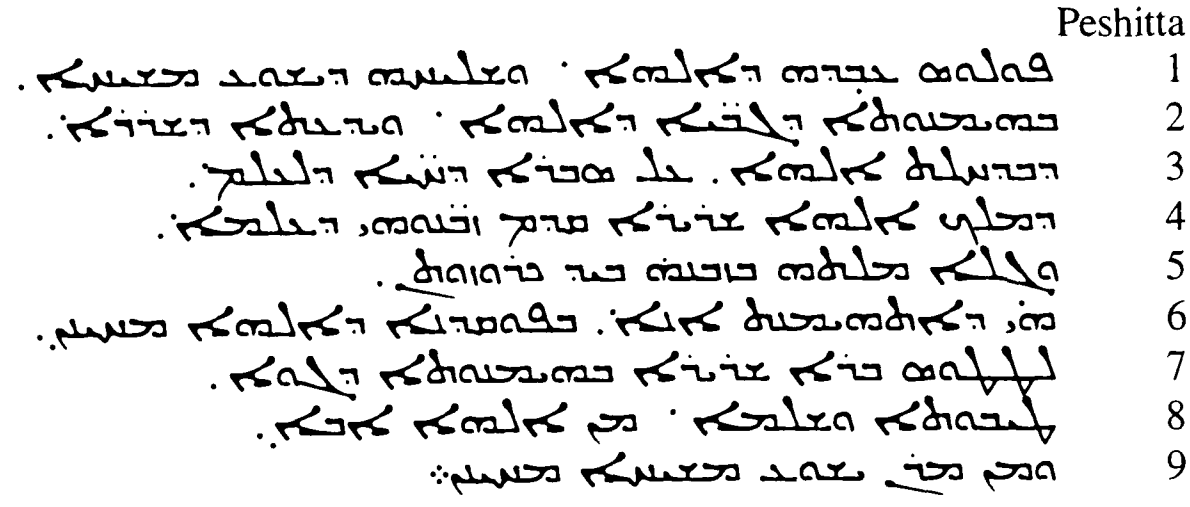
*[1]K L M omit the rest of the passage *[2]om. *ἐπ' ἐλπίδι* D
*[3]*ἔλεος* D

B.L. Add. 14,566[B]



1 Paul, a servant of God and Apostle of Christ Jesus,
2 according to the faith of God's elect and the recognition of the truth
3 which (is) according to the fear of God upon the hope of life eternal,
4 which God who is not false promised before times eternal;
5 and he revealed his word in his own times by the preaching
6 which I myself have believedby the command of our savious God;
7 to Titus, a beloved son, according to the common faith,
8 grace and peace from God the Father
9 and our Lord Jesus Christ our saviour.

Peshitta



1 Paul, a servant of God and Apostle of Jesus Christ,
2 by the faith of God's elect and the knowledge of the truth,
3 which (is) by the fear of God on the hope of life eternal,
4 which the true God promised before his times eternal;

5 and he revealed his word in its time through our preaching,
6 which I myself have believed by the command of God our life-giver/saviour;
7 to Titus, a true son, by the common faith
8 grace and peace from God the Father
9 and from our Lord Jesus Christ, our life-giver/saviour.

In the preceding examples, the Syriac citations resemble the Peshitta text in certain ways, but this is to be expected; their basic correspondence is simply with the Greek text.

3. Biblical Citations in HEpp and the Greek Texts

In the main, the Syriac versions of HEpp show that the forms of Biblical citations in the best medieval Greek manuscripts are the same as those underlying the pre-medieval Syriac translations. Yet the ancient Syriac witness may help one to determine precisely which are best. Also, where Greek variations occur, the attestation of the Syriac is usually clear, when one allows for the version's limits. For instance, amongst the examples given above, the Syriac attests to specific Greek variants in the following passages: 1 Samuel 2:25; Matthew 6:12; 1 Corinthians 10:8–10; 2 Corinthians 5:2; 2 Thessalonians 2:3; and Titus 1:1–4. The value of the Syriac in this regard is obvious. Consider this simple example:

2 Corinthians 13:3 (8, 1 Thess)
εἰ[1] *δοκιμὴν ζητεῖτε*[2] *τοῦ ἐν ἡμῖν*[3] *λαλοῦντος Χριστοῦ;*

*[1] *ἢ* Savile and subsequent editions *[2] *ποιεῖτε* K
*[3] *ἐμοι* C K [= Syriac]

B.L. Add. 17,152, *B.L. Add. 14,567*, *B.L. Add. 14,601*, Peshitta, and Harklean
ܗܠܝܠܐ ܕ *[2]ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܡܠܠ ܒܝ *[1]ܡܢ ܕ
if you seek*[1] proof that Christ (is he)*[2] who speaks in me

*[1]ܡܕܡ Peshitta Harklean ("because you seek")
*[2]+ܗܘܐ Harklean (explicit "is he")

The Syriac homily text gives evidence pertaining to three variations. Of course, it is plausible that the Syriac text owes more to the Peshitta than to the translator's Greek *Vorlage*, but this seems unlikely since the translator tends not to admit Peshitta influence.

In a few instances, it appears that the Syriac relies on a different Greek source text than has hitherto come to light.

1 Corinthians 2:3 (24, 1 Cor)
καὶ γὰρ ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ, φησί, καὶ ἐν φόβῳ καὶ ἐν τρόμῳ πολλῷ ἐγενόμην πρὸς ὑμᾶς

B.L. Add. 14,563
ܐܬܝܠܝ ܒܟܠܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ ܕܪܥܕܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܠܘܬ ܐܢܬܘܢ
"For in weakness," he says, "and with much shaking I was in your presence."

Peshitta
ܐܬܝܠܝ ܒܟܠܐ ܕܚܝܬܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ ܕܪܥܕܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܠܘܬ ܐܢܬܘܢ
and I with great fear and with trembling was in your presence

If the absence of any term corresponding to *φόβω* is an error, it is hardly explicable as one which occurred within the Syriac scribal tradition, but must have occurred in the Greek tradition due to the surrounding *καὶ ἐν. . . καὶ ἐν* phrases. Otherwise, the Greek homily underlying the Syriac translation had a text different from that of the medieval manuscripts, which conforms to the Biblical text.

Another example occurs in a citation of Philippians 1:14 in the Syriac Homily 2(3) on Philippians: all the edited Greek witnesses have *ἀφόβως τὸν λόγον λαλεῖν*, while the Syriac has an additional element, ܕܠܐ ܕܚܠܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܕܕܚܠܬܐ ("[that] without fear we speak the word of the Lord"). Since the Peshitta has ܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ("the word of God"), it is very likely that the translator of the Homilies on Philippians had before him a Greek text reading *τὸν λόγον (τοῦ) κυρίου*.[114]

These observations underscore the value of the Syriac versions of HEpp for understanding the Greek tradition and particularly for ascertaining the primitive forms of the Biblical citations.

4. Revisions of Internal and Initial Citations[115]

Unsurprisingly, later Syriac scribes and editors felt themselves to be under no compulsion to revise the citations in HEpp in order to make them more literal. The two commentary manuscripts having Homily 10 on 2 Corinthians have nearly identical citations, distinguished only by a very few tiny variations. Significantly, the

[114]This is especially interesting, since only Greek New Testament manuscripts F and G are recorded as having this reading; many have *τοῦ θεοῦ* and many others nothing (see apparatus of NA[27]).

[115]See the remarks on p. 193–4.

later collections nearly always have the same forms of citations as appears in commentary manuscripts—three different manuscripts attest to the text of Homily 8 on 1 Thessalonians, yet their initial and internal citations are virtually identical. However, some witnesses have variations which produce texts more like the Peshitta. Such occurrences are rare[116] and are clearly not the result of conscious, systematic revision. For example:

2 Corinthians 5:10 (10, 2 Cor)
δεῖ ἡμᾶς παρασταθῆναι τῷ βήματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ

B.L. Add. 14,564, B.L. Add. 12,180, *B.L. Add. 14,617*, and *B.L. Add. 12,165*
ܘܕܝ* ܕܢܬܩܝܡ ܩܕܡ ܒܝܡܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
it is necessary* that we stand before the judgement seat of Christ

*ܢܬܩܝܡ *B.L. Add. 12,165* ("we are going to stand")

Peshitta
ܡܛܠ ܕܟܠܢ ܢܬܩܝܡ ܩܕܡ ܒܝܡܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
for all of us are going to stand before the judgement seat of Christ

A scribe has given the homiliary *B.L. Add. 12,165* a Peshitta reading, but without copying the Peshitta exactly.[117]

5. B.L. Add. 12,156

The excerpt from Homily 7 on 1 Thessalonians which appears in the "Book of Mar Timothy" (*B.L. Add. 12,156*)[118] is an independent translation and probably earlier than that of the commentary represented by B.L. Add. 17,152. In comparison with the text of the commentary manuscript, one of the excerpt's citations is more like the Peshitta text:

1 Thessalonians 4:15 (7, 1 Thess)
1 *οἱ περιλειπόμενοι*[1] *εἰς τὴν παρουσίαν τοῦ κυρίου,*

[116]A much less significant occurrence: the ninth-century anthology *B.L. Add. 14,601* has two variations in its presentation of an initial citation (1 Thessalonians 4:15–7) which make the text conform to the Peshitta, but only one variation is noteworthy: the change of ܒܩܠܐ ܕܡܠܐ ("with the utterance") to ܘܒܩܠܐ ("and with the cry"). The addition of the conjunction and the omission of ܕܡܠܐ make the text more like that of the Peshitta, but parts of the rest of the citation otherwise are unlike the Peshitta.

[117]In a citation of a different portion of 2 Corinthians 5:10 and in a citation of Matthew 22:13, the text of *B.L. Add. 12,165* has a few small unique variations, yet they do not make the text more like the Peshitta; indeed, the cause of them is not clear.

The Harklean and the Syriac Athanasius also use ܘܕܝ ("it is necessary"); see B. Aland, *Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung*, 2.2.98–9.

[118]See 141–3.

2 *οὐ μὴ φθάσωμεν*[2] *τοὺς κοιμηθέντας*

*[1]om. *οἱ περιλειπόμενοι* L *[2]*φθάσομεν* Savile mg

B.L. Add. 17,152

1 ܐܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܚܫܐܝܢ ܠܡܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܢ.
2 ܠܐ ܢܩܕܡܘܢ ܠܐܠܝܢ ܕܢܡܘܢ.

1 those which are left until the coming of the Lord
2 will not overtake those which have fallen asleep

B.L. Add. 12,156 and Peshitta

1 ܢܚܢ ܐܠܝܢ ܕܚܝܝܢ ܢܚܢ. ܐܠܝܢ*[1] ܕܡܬܚܫܐܝܢ*[2] ܠܡܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܢ.*[3]
2 ܠܐ ܢܩܕܡܘܢ ܠܐܠܝܢ ܕܢܡܘܢ.

1 that we which are alive, which*[1] are left*[2] at the coming of our Lord,*[3]
2 will not overtake those which have fallen asleep

*[1]om. ܐܠܝܢ . ܢܚܢ ܕܚܝܝܢ Peshitta (om. "which are alive")
*[2]ܕܡܬܚܫܐܝܢ Peshitta (+personal pronoun)
*[3]+ܕܚܝܝܢ Peshitta (+"that are alive")

The respective forms of this citation are consistent with the hypothesis that the excerpt represents an earlier (independent) translation.

6. Conclusions about Biblical Citations in HEpp

The translation analysis indicates that the various sets of HEpp share essentially the same style.[119] An analysis of the Biblical citations confirms this. Internal and initial citations in HEpp all share together a similar character, having been translated directly from the Greek homily *Vorlagen* without direct reference to any Syriac Biblical version. The character of the citations is the same whether in *ethikon* portions of homilies or the exegetical portions. The citations exhibit no clear influence from Syriac Biblical versions, with the possible exception of very occasional revisions in the collections, but even these are probably unintentional. The various parallel commentary witnesses and collections have virtually identical citations.[120]

The translators' methods are more literal than those employed by translators of HMt and HJn, although their translations of Biblical citations are still not so literal

[119]See 137–9.

[120]The excerpt from Homily 7 on 1 Thessalonians in *B.L. Add. 12,156* is an obvious exception (see 212).

as the text of the Harklean version. This makes them of particular value to those wanting to understand the history of the Greek tradition and to detect corruptions in the forms of citations as they appear in Greek manuscripts. The Syriac texts often agree with the citations in the best medieval Greek manuscripts and are therefore independent and early witnesses. Yet, where the Syriac has a reading that differs from that of the Greek and cannot be explained as an accommodation to the Peshitta or some other Syriac Biblical version, one must consider that the Syriac HEpp may preserve the most primitive text form extant.

VI. TRANSLATION ANALYSIS: HOMILIES ON JOHN

A. Introduction

This translation analysis involves the complete texts of the several Syriac HJn edited for the thesis. Therefore it is much more comprehensive in scope and capable of greater precision than the preceding two analyses. The constant problem of all the translation analyses in this study—that of producing a satisfactorily reliable Greek comparison text—is especially acute for HJn. Two sets of research suggest that the text of Migne, based on a handful of Greek manuscripts, is far removed textually from the most primitive Greek text of the Homilies. P.W. Harkins collated a great number of Greek manuscripts and detected two textual groups amidst the witnesses to HJn. He concluded that one is the result of a stylistic revision of the other.[1] Harkins has produced no edition, suggesting only that the editions of Savile and Commelin are more helpful than that of Migne. Yet his own studies show one of the main difficulties associated with the two earlier editions: their editors often do not designate the precise source of variant readings, essentially leaving the reader to guess.[2]

M.-É. Boismard has studied fewer Greek manuscripts but detects a broader and more complex recensional tradition.[3] He claims that a text even more primitive than that which Harkins isolated resides in (mainly) two manuscripts. According to Boismard's reading of the evidence, the text of HJn was subject to two (or more) revisions; Harkins' recensional scheme therefore fits within the latter group of recensions and takes no account of the earliest text-type. Boismard has produced a critical edition of parts of several homilies.[4] For a select group of homilies, he compares the Syriac translation as it appears in B.L. Add. 14,561, concluding that it

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[1]See Harkins, "Text Tradition of Chrysostom's Commentary on John," (1948); idem. (1966) 217–20; idem. *TS* 19 (1958) 411–2.

[2]Cf. Greenslade, "The Printer's Copy for the Eton Chrysostom," 60–4.

[3]See Boismard, *Évangile pré-johannique*, 1.1.19; 1.2.9–26, 31–4.

[4]In volume 1, Boismard edits Homilies 6 and 16–23A according to several manuscripts, but elects not to edit the *ethika* of the homilies due to his aim of recovering the "pre-Johannine" gospel text and to his theories about the composition history of the texts. In an appendix, he edits similar portions of Homilies 8 and 11–13, but only according to the two manuscripts of his hypothetical earliest recension, with Migne's text thrown in for comparison. In volume 2, Boismard edits Homilies 23B–35, again confining himself to the allegedly earliest recension and Migne's edition, along with the catenae as a control.

belongs to an early stage of recension, itself a revision of the most primitive Greek text-type.[5]

Whether or not one of these theories accurately describes the history of the textual tradition of Chrysostom's HJn, they highlight the complexity of the Greek textual tradition. One may not presume that any narrow reading of the Greek manuscript tradition is liable to reveal the text most closely approximating that from which the Syriac translation was made in the fifth or sixth century. In any case, Migne's text is not likely to be that primitive text. For the relevant portions of Homilies 6, 20, 22, and 23, Boismard's edition provides the comparison texts. For portions of these homilies not covered by Boismard's edition, the texts of Migne's and Savile's editions provide the text. The latter editions also supply the Greek comparison texts for Homilies 37, 62, 83, and 85, for no part of which does any critical edition of the Greek text yet exist. The early editions of Savile (and Commelin) do not enable one consistently to determine the sources of variant readings.

The presentation of four samples is followed by a discussion of macro-features of the translation style, then by a classified description of various interesting micro-features. Each discussion of the categories of analysis includes a brief summary of the significance and reliability of the relevant aspect of the translation style for understanding the Greek tradition. The discussions are illustrated by examples from the samples given below and from a few samples of other homilies, but mainly from the texts of the homilies edited in Chapter IX. Because of their special status, the texts of Biblical citations are ignored for the purposes of this analysis.

The samples and examples use the format and *sigla* of the Greek editions.[6] As in the preceding analyses, references to sources of examples do not provide precise locations but only homily numbers, in order to illustrate the breadth of the sampling.

B. Samples of Text and Macro-Analysis

Although the analysis is ultimately based on the complete texts of several homilies, four brief samples are given here to illustrate conveniently the translation

[5]Boismard, *Évangile pré-johannique*, 1.2.26–31, 34.

[6]For explanations of format and *sigla*, see the relevant editions.

style. The samples are followed by a discussion of the style's macro-features, such as word order and size of translation unit.

1. Samples from Homilies 22, 23, 83, and 85

A sample from Homily 22 on the Gospel of John:[7]

1 Ἔχει μέν τινα πόνον τὸ λέγειν·
2 καὶ τοῦτο ὁ Παῦλος δηλῶν ἔλεγεν·*[1]
3
4 Μάλιστα οἱ κοπιῶντες ἐν λόγῳ καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ.
5 ἀλλὰ τὸν [ ]*[2] πόνον τοῦτον ὑμεῖς κύριοι
6 καὶ κοῦφον ποιῆσαι καὶ βαρύν.
7 ἂν μὲν γὰρ ἀποπτύητε τὰ λεγόμενα,
8 ἢ μὴ ἀποπτύητε μέν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις μὴ <u>δείκνυται</u>,*[3]
9 βαρὺς ὁ κόπος ἡμῖν [ ]*[4] διὰ τὸ πονεῖν εἰκῇ καὶ μάτην.
10 ἂν δὲ <u>προσχητε</u>*[5]
11 και [ ]*[6] διὰ τῶν ἔργων <u>ὑπακοὴν</u>*[7] <u>παρέχεται</u>,*[8]
12 οὐδὲ αἴσθησιν ληψόμεθα τῶν ἱδρώτων.
13 ὁ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν πόνων τικτόμενος καρπὸς
14 οὐκ <u>ἀφίησιν</u>*[9] φαίνεσθαι τοῦ <u>κόπου</u>*[10] τὸ <u>ἐπαχθές</u>.*[11]

*[1]sic BM; +*οἱ καλῶς προεστῶτες πρεσβύτεροι διπλῆς τιμῆς ἀξιούσθωσαν* reliqui
*[2]+*μέν* Migne *[3]sic M; *δεικνύητε* reliqui (Syr *δεικνύημεν*)
*[4]+*ἔσται* Migne *[5]sic MKR; *προσέχητε* reliqui
[6]sic M B; +*τὴν* reliqui *[7]sic BMD; *ἐπίδειξιν* reliqui
*[8]sic M; *παρέχητε* reliqui *[9]*ἀφήσει* Migne
*[10]sic M; *πόνου* reliqui *[11]sic M D B*; *σφοδρόν* reliqui

B.L. Add. 14,561 and *B.L. Add. 14,612*[8]

1 ܐܝܬ ܥܡܠܐ ܒܡܠܬܐ .
2 ܗܢܘܢ ܕܝ ܡܬܪܓܡ ܦܘܠܘܣ ܐܡܪ .
3 ܗܘܝܢ ܐܠܝܢ ܗܘܦܟ ܡܢܝܢ ܕܝܢܐ ܠܐܡܪܝܢ ܥܦܝܢ ܢܬܠܢ .
4 ܡܛܝܢܬܐ ܐܠܝܢ ܕܡܠܦܝܢ ܒܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܬܠܡܕܢܐ .
5 ܐܠܐ ܠܘ ܢܬܠܢ ܡܢܐ ܐܢܬܘܢ ܐܠܝܢ ܡܪܝܐ
6 ܩܠܝܠ ܠܡܥܒܕ ܐܦ ܠܡܬܩܠ ܐܦ .
7 ܐܢ ܠܝܬ ܠܟ ܢܬܦܛܘܢ ܕܡܬܡܪܝܢ *[1] ܡܢܝܢ ܗܘܝܢ ܕܡܬܦܛܘܢ
8 ܐܘ ܕܝ ܠܐ ܡܬܦܛܘܢ ܒܬܪܝܢ ܠܟ ܢܬܦܛܘܢ *[2] ܐܝܢܝ
9 ܡܛܝ *[3] ܠܢ ܥܡܠܐ ܡܢ ܢܬܠܢ . ܟܦܠ ܠܟܘܢܐ ܕܡܬܪܝܢ ܕܡܬܠܝܢ .
10 ܐܢ ܗܘ ܦܠܝܢ *[4] ܢܬܦܛܘܢ
11 ܕܒܝܢ ܗܘܝܢ ܒܬܪܝܢ ܢܬܦܛܘܢ .
12 ܠܐ ܢܬܠܢ ܡܢܝ ܕܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܪܝܢ .
13 ܦܝܪܝܐ *[5] ܠܝܬ ܗܘ ܥܡܠܐ ܕܡܬܠܕ
14 ܠܐ ܡܫܕܐ ܠܢ ܠܡܘܡ ܗܘ ܥܡܠܐ *[6] ܕܡܬܚܙܝ .

1 There is labour in the word,

[7]The Greek text is from Boismard, *Évangile pré-johannique*, 1.1.134.

[8]The sample is taken from B.L. Add. 14,561, folio 88[r]; *B.L. Add. 14,612*, folio 59[v].

2 and explaining this Paul said,
3 "Elders which stand-at-the-head well will be worthy of double honour,
4 especially those who toil in the word and in teaching."
5 But over this labour you have authority
6 both to lighten and to make heavier.
7 For if these things which are said not fixed in your mind,*[1]
8 or being fixed, in works you will not show them,*[2]
9 heavy upon us has been the labour*[3] because the toil is empty and vain.
10 But if we have gone astray*[4] you will make right,
11 and an example through works you will give;
12 and not a little will we be aware of our labour.
13 For the fruit*[5] that is born from our labour
14 does not allow the energy of the labour*[6] to be shown.

*[1] ܕܗܘܢܝܢ *B.L. Add. 14,612* ("your minds")
*[2] ܕܢܬܝܢ B.L. Add. 14,561 (error)[9]
*[3] ܗܝ *B.L. Add. 14,612* ("is the labour" [= Gk.])
*[4]om. ܕܢܚܛܝܢ *B.L. Add. 14,612* (om. "if we have gone astray"[= Gk.])
*[5]add. – ܕ *B.L. Add. 14,612* (does not affect sense)
*[6] ܕܥܒܕܢ *B.L. Add. 14,612* ("our labour" [B.L. Add. 14,561 = Gk.])

A sample from Homily 23 on the Gospel of John:[10]

1 *Πολὺς ὁ διάβολος ἔκειται*
2 *καὶ σφοδρώς*[*1] *παντόθεν πολιορκῶν τὴν σωτήριαν τὴν ἡμετέραν.*
3 *δεῖ τοίνυν ἐγρηγορέναι καὶ νήφειν*
4 *καὶ πανταχόθεν ἀποτειχίζειν*[*2] *αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔφοδον*
5 *κἂν γάρ τινος ἐπιλάβηται μικρᾶς*[*3] *ἀφορμῆς,*
6 *εὐρεῖαν ἑαυτῷ λοιπὸν κατασκευάζει*[*4] *τὴν εἴσοδον*
7 *καὶ ὅλην εἰσάγει κατὰ μικρὸν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν.*
8 *εἰ τοίνυν λόγος* [ ] *τις ἔστι*[*5] *τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς ἡμετέρας,*
9 *μηδὲ ἐν τοῖς μικροῖς αὐτὸν*[*6] *συγχωρήσωμεν* [ ][*7]
10 *ἵνα ἀπὸ τούτων τὰ μεγάλα προαναστείλωμεν.*
11 *καὶ γὰρ ἐσχάτης ἀνοίας ἂν εἴη,*
12 *ἐκεῖνον μὲν τοσαύτην ἐνδείκνυσθαι*[*8] *σπουδὴν*
13 *ὥστε τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀπολλύναι ψυχήν,*
14 *ἡμᾶς δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς* [ ] *ἑαυτῶν*[*9] *σωτηρίας*
15 *μηδὲ τὸ ἴσον εἰσάγειν*[*10] *μέτρον.*
16 *Ταῦτά μοι οὐχ ἁπλῶς εἴρηται ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ δέδοικα*
17 *μήποτε ἐν μέσῳ τῷ σηκῷ* [ ] *λύκος* [ ][*11] *ἕστηκεν*[*12]
18 *μὴ καθορώμενος ἡμῖν,*
19 *καὶ θηριάλωτον* [ ] *γένηται ἐντεῦθεν*[*13] *τὸ*[*14] *πρόβατον*
20 [ ].[*15]

*[1]sic B (D) C; *σφοδρά* M; *σφοδρός* reliqui
*[2]sic B M A D R; *ἐπιτειχίζειν* C J K N Migne
*[3]sic B M D; A *ἐπιλάβηται τινος* A; *μικρᾶς ἐπιλάβηται τινος* reliqui
*[4]sic B M D K; *κατασκευάζει λοιπόν* reliqui
*[5]sic Syr; *ἡμῖν τις ἔστι* B M; *τις ἔστιν ἡμῖν* D; *τις ἡμῖν ἐστι* reliqui

[9]On this variant, see 300.
[10]The Greek sample is from Boismard, *Évangile pré-johannique*, 1.1.150.

*[6]sic M; *αὐτῷ* B A D C J N Migne
*[7]sic B M; *συγχωρῶμεν ἡμῖν ἐπιέναι* reliqui (om. *ἡμῖν* D)
*[8]sic B; *ἐπιδείκνυσθαι* reliqui *[9]sic BM; *ἡμῶν αὐτῶν* reliqui
*[10]*ἄγειν* N Migne *[11]sic B M; *καὶ νῦν ὁ λύκος οὗτος* reliqui
*[12]sic B M; *ἑστήκει* reliqui; *ἑστήκη* (=*ἑστήκῃ*) Migne
*[13]sic B M; *ἐκ τούτου γένηται* reliqui *[14]sic B M; om. reliqui
*[15]sic B M; + *ῥᾳθυμίᾳ καὶ ἐπιβούλῃ πονηρᾷ ἀποβουκολήθεν τῆς ἀγέλης καὶ τῆς ακροάσεως* reliqui

B.L. Add. 14,561 and *B.L. Add. 14,612*[11]

1 ܣܓܝܐ ܡܬܚܝܠ ܗܘܐ
2 ܕܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܢ ܡܚܝܪ ܠܢ ܒܟܠܗ ܦܐܬܐ.*[1]
3 ܘܗܠܝܢ ܡܫܬܠܡ ܠܢ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܨܝܢܝܢ ܘܡܬܚܙܝܢ.
4 ܕܟܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܫܘܪܐ ܢܡܢܥ ܠܗ ܠܡܬܝܬܐ ܥܠܝܢ.
5 ܐܦܠܘ ܕܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܙܥܘܪܬܐ ܢܫܟܚ
6 ܡܫܬܠ ܡܬܚܫܒ ܐܝܟ ܢܥܠ ܥܠܝܢ.
7 ܘܟܠ ܚܝܠܗ ܡܠܬܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܢܥܐܠ ܥܡܗ.
8 ܐܢ ܡܫܬܠ ܕܢܛܪܝܢ*[2] ܠܢ ܡܢܝܢ
9 ܐܦܠܘ ܒܙܥܘܪܬܐ ܙܥܘܪܬܐ, ܠܐ ܢܫܒܩ ܠܗ ܠܡܬܐ ܥܠܝܢ.
10 ܕܒܗܠܝܢ ܡܢܝܢ ܐܦ ܪܒܬܐ ܢܡܢܥ.
11 ܐܦ ܠܡܢ ܕܡܬܝܬܝ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܡܚܫܒܐ.
12 ܗܠܝܢ ܡܢܝ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܨܝܢ
13 ܠܡܚܒܠ ܢܦܫܢ.
14 ܠܢ ܗܘ ܢܢ ܢܦܫܢ
15 ܐܦܠܘ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܢ ܡܫܬܠܡܐ ܥܡ ܡܫܬܠܡ.
16 ܘܡܠܝܢ ܗܘ ܠܐ ܡܢ ܡܢ ܡܬܝܬܝ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ. ܐܠܐ ܕܡܠ ܗܘܝܠ ܐܢܐ
17 ܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܝܬ ܠܝ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܐܢܐ.
18 ܕܐ ܠܝܬ ܕܡ ܢܢܢ.
19 ܕܡܢ ܐܝܟ ܢܢܢ
20 ܕܐ ܕܐ ܕܡܬܚܢܢܝܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܫܬܐ ܠܢ ܕܡ ܠܝܬ ܕܐܝܟ*[3]
ܢܦܫܢ.

1 Greatly assiduous is Satan
2 and on every side our salvation he has encircled.*[1]
3 It is right therefore that we be wakeful and watch
4 and on all sides, as with a wall, we prevent his onslaught toward us.
5 For even if a small occasion he should find,
6 then he will devise how he may enter against us,
7 and all his power, little by little, he will bring in with him.
8 If therefore we are careful*[2] about our salvation,
9 not even in the little things will we allow him to come against us,
10 so that through these also the big things we will prevent.
11 For indeed it is a deficiency of mind
12 that he will have this concern
13 to destroy our souls,
14 but we, for our souls
15 we will not also have diligence in the same measure.
16 And these things have not to no purpose been said by me, but because I fear

[11]The Syriac text is from B.L. Add. 14,561, folio 92[r]; *B.L. Add. 14,612*, folio 64[r].

17 lest in the midst of the fold this wolf happens to be,
18 hidden from our eyes,
19 and by him the sheep be corrupted—
20 when through negligence and evil desire outside the sheepfold and hearing*[3] he will lead astray.

*[1] *B.L. Add. 14,612* ("he encircles" [= Gk.])
*[2] *B.L. Add. 14,612* (does not affect sense)
*[3] *B.L. Add. 14,612* ("and the (baptismal?) mark" [B.L. Add. 14,561 = Gk.])

A sample of Homily 83 on the Gospel of John:[12]

1 *Πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἄτοπον,*
2 *εἰ ὁ μὲν Χριστὸς τοσαῦτα ὑπέμεινε διὰ σε*
3 *σὺ δὲ οὐδὲ ῥήματα πολλάκις φέρεις;*
4 *Ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἐμπτύεται,*
5 *σὺ δὲ καλλωπίζῃ ἱματίοις καὶ δακτυλίοις,*
6 *κἂν μὴ τῆς παρὰ πάντων εὐφημίας τύχῃς,*
7 *ἀβίωτον εἶναι νομίζεις τὸν βίον.*
8 *Καὶ οὗτος μὲν ὀνειδίζεται, σκώματα φέρει,*
9 *πληγὰς καταγελάστους κατὰ τῆς σιαγόνος·*
10 *σὺ δὲ πανταχοῦ τιμᾶσθαι βούλει,*
11 *καὶ οὐ φέρεις τὸν ὀνειδισμὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ.*
12 *Οὐκ ἀκούεις Παύλου λέγοντος·*
13 *Μιμηταί μοι γίνεσθε, καθὼς κἀγὼ Χριστοῦ;*
14 *Ὅταν οὖν σέ τις κωμῳδήσῃ, μνησθητί σου τοῦ Δεσπότου,*
15 *ὅτι μετὰ χλεύης αὐτῷ προσεκύνουν,*
16 *καὶ διὰ ῥημάτων, καὶ διὰ πραγμάτων διέσυρον,*
17 *καὶ εἰρωνείαν πολλὴν ἐπεδείκνυντο·*
18 *αὐτὸς δὲ οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἠμύνατο,*
19 *ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἠμείψατο,*
20 *πραότητι καὶ ἐπιεικείᾳ.*

B.L. Add. 14,562; B.L.Add. 12,161; *B.L. Add. 14,732*; and *B.L. Add. 14,727*[13]

1 ܐܝܟܡܐ ܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ.
2 ܐܡܝܢ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܢܝ ܕܠܡܢ ܣܒܠܬܐ ܗܢܐ:
3 ܗܘ ܕܡ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܐ ܕܬܡܢ ܡܫܬܒܚ ܗܘ.
4 ܗܢܐ*[1] ܡܬܪܩܡ, ܐܬܪܝܩ.
5 ܗܘ ܕܡ ܕܡܫܠܚ ܗܘ ܡܫܬܚܠܦ ܡܫܬܡܫ.*[2]
6 ܐܦ ܡܢ ܕܫܘܠܛܢܐ*[3] ܕܡ ܕܠܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܚܠ:
7 ܠܐ ܣܒܪ ܗܘ ܕܚܝܐ ܠܗܘܐ.
8 ܗܢܐ*[4] ܡܬܚܢܝܪ ܡܫܬܡܫ ܒܚܝܐ.*[5]
9 ܡܫܬܩܠܝܢ ܡܬܚܝܒ ܠܗܘܐ ܥܠ ܦܓܪܐ ܡܫܬܒܩ.
10 ܗܘ ܕܡ ܨܒܐ ܗܘ ܡܫܬܒܚ ܡܫܬܡܥ.
11 ܗܢܐ ܫܦܠ ܗܘ ܥܠܝ ܡܫܬܪܡ ܡܫܬܡܫ.*[6]

[12]The Greek sample is from *PG* 59.453; Savile, 906.

[13]The Syriac text is from B.L. Add. 12,161, folio 148[v]; B.L. Add. 14,562, folio 116[r]; *B.L. Add. 14,732*, folio 233[r]; and *B.L. Add. 14,727*, folio 47[r].

12 ܠܐ ܐܦܠܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܦܠܚܘܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܣܒܠ ܗܘܐ:*[7]
13 ܗܘ ܐܡܪܗ ܠܟܘܢ ܐܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘܝܬ*[8] ܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܬܝܢܝܢ.
14 ܟܕ ܡܬܠ ܗܢܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܢܡܠ*[9] ܘܢܬܘܢ. ܢܗܘܐ ܠܟ ܕܡܪܝ
15 ܗܘܝܢ ܠܗ ܡܫܬܡܫܝܢ ܠܡ ܡܪܝܐ ܠܗ.
16 ܗܘܝܢ ܟܠܗ ܗܘܝܢ ܡܬܚܝܢܝܢ ܠܗ ܒܡܠܬܐ ܘܒܥܒܕܐ.*[10]
17 ܘܥܒܕܘ ܠܗ ܫܘܝܐ ܪܒܐ ܠܡܪܝܐ.
18 ܘܠܐ ܗܘ ܠܐ ܒܥܐ ܠܡܬܒܥ ܠܐ ܐܬܬܝܠ
19 ܐܠܐ ܐܦ ܠܗܠܝܢ* ܕܡܬܚܠܦܝܢ ܥܒܕ.
20 ܒܡܬܢܝܬܐ ܘܒܡܬܢܝܬܐ.*[12]

1 For how is it not unseemly,
2 if Christ endured all these things on account of you,
3 and you also often will not bear words?
4 And he*[1] was spat upon,
5 but you are adorned with garments and rings.*[2]
6 And if you do not receive praises*[3] from everyone,
7 you do not think it fit to live.
8 And he*[4] is reproached and endures complaint*[5]
9 and blows equivalent to mocking he receives upon his jaw.
10 But you want in everything to be honoured
11 and you do not bear upon you the reproach of Christ.*[6]
12 Do you not hear Paul saying,*[7]
13 "Imitate me just as*[8] I Christ."
14 When therefore a person will deride*[9] and mock you, remember your Lord
15 whom with scorn they were worshipping,
16 and through words and through deeds they were ridiculing him,*[10]
17 and great mockery they were showing.
18 But not only did he not take vengeance,
19 but also these*[11] who were opposed he repayed
20 with humility and with kindness.*[12]

*[1]+ܡܢ *B.L. Add. 14,732* ; *B.L. 14,727* (+"on the one hand" [= Gk.])
*[2]om. line 5 and –ܘ ("and") of line 6 *B.L. Add. 14,732* (B.L. 12,161; B.L. 14,562; *B.L. 14,727* = Gk.)
*[3]sg. B.L. Add. 14,562; *B.L. 14,732*; *B.L. Add. 14,727* ("praise" [= Gk.])
*[4]+ܡܢ *B.L. Add. 14,732* ; *B.L. Add. 14,727* (+"on the one hand" [= Gk.])
*[5]pl. *B.L. Add. 14,727*; *B.L. Add. 14,732* ("complaints" [= Gk.])
*[6]+ܕܢܬܠ ܠܢ [. . .] ܕ ,ܡܢ[. . .]ܕܢ ܕܢܬܥܒܕ ܠܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ,ܡܢ ܕܢܬܩܒܠ ܠܢ *B.L. Add. 14,732* (+"namely, that we should endure sufferings because of Christ so that in [ ] to do mighty (works)" [B.L. 12,161; B.L. 14,562; *B.L. 14,727* = Gk.])
*[7]ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ B.L. 14,562 ("Paul who said" [B.L. 12,161; *B.L. Add. 14,732*; *B.L. 14,727* = Gk.])
*[8]ܗܠܝܢ *B.L. Add. 14,732* (synonymous)
*[9]ܟܕ ܢܡܠ *B.L. Add. 14,732* (invert: "will deride/you" [B.L. Add. 12,161; B.L. Add. 14,562; *B.L. Add. 14,727* = Gk.])
*[10]om. line 16 *B.L. Add. 14,732* (haplographice)
*[11]om. ܐܦ ܗܠܝܢ *B.L. Add. 14,732* (om. "also these" [B.L. 12,161; B.L. 14,562; *B.L. 14,727* = Gk.])
*[12]ܒܡܬܢܝܬܐ *B.L. Add. 14,732* ("in quietness" [B.L. 12,161; B.L. 14,562; *B.L. 14,727* = Gk.]; a scribe has accidentally omitted a letter to produce the variant)

A Sample of Homily 85 on the Gospel of John:[14]

1 ἂν δὲ τὸ σῶμα θεραπεύοντες,
2 τῆς ψυχῆς ἀμελῶμεν πολλὰ ἐκεῖ πεισόμεθα δεινά,
3 καὶ πολὺν ὀφλήσομεν γέλωτα.
4 Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡ τυχοῦσα ἀσχημοσύνη,
5 γυμνὸν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀπελθεῖν·
6 οὐδὲ οὕτω τὸ σῶμα ἄταφον ἐρριμμένον καταισχύνεται,
7 ὡς ψυχὴ
8 τότε γυμνὴ τῆς ἀρετῆς φαινομένη.
9 Ταύτην ἀμφιάσωμεν, ταύτην περιστείλωμεν,
10 μάλιστα μὲν παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον·
11 εἰ δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἠμελήσαμεν,*[1]
12 κἂν τελευτῶντες νήψωμεν, καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐπισκήψωμεν
13 συμπράττειν ἀπελθοῦσι δι' ἐλεημοσύνης ἡμῖν.
14 Οὕτω ὑπ' ἀλλήλων βοηθούμενοι
15 παρρησίας πολλῆς ἐπιτύχωμεν,*[2]
16 χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ,
17 μεθ' οὗ τῷ Πατρί, ἅμα τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι,
18 δόξα, κράτος, τιμή,
19 νῦν καὶ ἀεί, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

*[1] περιστείλωμεν μάλιστα. Παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἠμελήσαμεν Savile and some manuscripts
*[2] ἐπιτευξόμεθα Savile conjecture

B.L. Add. 14,562; B.L. Add. 12,161; *B.L. Add. 14,612*; and *B.L. Add.14,727*[15]

1 ܐܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܢܬܦܠܚ ܠܦܓܪܐ
2 ܢܬܚܢܢ ܕܠܐ ܢܬܪܚܩ ܡܢ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ ܡܕܡ ܣܓܝܐ
3 ܘܢܩܢܝܢ ܠܟ ܫܚܩܐ ܣܓܝܐ
4 ܠܝܬ ܗܢܐ ܕܒܝܫܬܐ
5 ܕܢܬܪܚܩ ܡܢ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܐܪܬܐ.
6 ܘܠܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܢܬܩܒܪ[1]* ܠܦܓܪܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܒܙܐ ܕܢܬܪܡܐ ܡܕܡ.
7 ܐܦܠܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܒܙܐ
8 ܠܐ ܡܬܟܣܝܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܢܬܪܡܐ ܡܢ ܫܘܒܚܐ[2]* ܡܢ ܫܘܒܚܐ.
9 ܠܡܗܘܐ ܢܠܒܫ ܢܬܪܡܐ
10 ܟܠ ܙܒܢܐ ܣܓܝܐ.
11 ܐܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܟܡܝܢ ܠܢ ܗܪܝܢ
12 ܟܠܗ[3]* ܕܢܬܪܝܢ ܢܬܚܢܢ. ܘܠܡܪܝܢ ܢܦܩܪ
13 ܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ ܠܢ[4]* ܠܡܬܝܗܒ ܒܪ ܫܘܒܚܐ.
14 ܗܕܐ[5]* ܡܬܬܪܝܢ ܡܬܬܐ ܡܢ ܢܝܗܪܐ
15 ܕܢܬܚܢ ܟܠܗ ܦܓܪܐ ܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ ܠܢ.
16 ܒܛܝܒܘܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ, ܕܥܡܗ ܠܐܒܐ
17
18 ܘܠܡܪܝܡ ܩܘܫܬܐ
19 ܠܥܠܡ ܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ.

[14]The Greek sample is from *PG* 59.468.

[15]The Syriac text is from B.L. Add. 14,562, folio 128[r]; B.L. Add. 12,161, folio 165[v]; *B.L. Add. 14,612*, folio 80[r]; and *B.L. Add. 14,727*, folios 54[v]–55[r].

1 And if while concerned about the body
2 we will neglect the soul,
3 many evil things we will endure and much ridicule,
4 for it is not a little ridicule
5 that when naked a person shall depart from righteousness;
6 and a body is not thus ashamed*[1] when exposed unburied,
7 like the soul
8 when it appears then naked*[2] of righteousness.
9 This let us clothe and dignify
10 also in all our lives.
11 And if we have neglected it formerly,
12 even if*[3] in our departure let us be awake and let us visit neighbours
13 so that they may be for us*[4] helpers through alms,
14 so that by*[5] being helped thus by one another,
15 great confidence we will have
16 by the grace and by the love of our Lord Jesus Christ,
17
18 to whom be glory
19 forever and ever. Amen.

*[1] ܕܚܝܢܘܬܐ B.L. Add. 14,562 (grammatical variant)
*[2] ܘܥܪܛܐ B.L. Add. 14,562 ("and naked" [B.L. Add. 12,161; *B.L. Add. 14,612*; and *B.L. Add.14,727* = Gk.])
*[3] ܐܢ *B.L. Add. 14,727* (om. "if" [B.L. Add. 14,562; B.L. Add. 12,161; *B.L. Add. 14,612* = Gk.])
*[4] om. ܠܢ B.L. Add. 14,562 (om. "for us" [B.L. Add. 12,161; *B.L. Add. 14,612*; *B.L. Add. 14,727* = Gk.])
*[5] ܒܟܝ ("and by being helped") *B.L. Add. 14,727* ("and by" [B.L. Add. 14,562; B.L. Add. 12,161; *B.L. Add. 14,612* = Gk.])

2. *Macro-Features of the Translation Style*

As the line divisions in the preceding samples help to show, the Syriac translator normally takes the Greek phrase as the unit of translation—a technical feature typical of sixth-century Syriac translations.[16] Sometimes the translator widens his focus to encompass the whole sentence as a translation unit, a technique typical of fifth-century translations. For example:

Homily 78
1 *Ὅταν γὰρ λέγωσιν,*
2 *ὅτι διὰ τοῦτο ἐσαρκώθη ὁ Υἱός, ἐπειδὴ καταδεέστερος ἦν τοῦ Πατρός,*
3 *ἐροῦμεν πρὸς αὐτούς,*
4 *Τί οὖν ἂν εἴποιτε περὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος;*

1 ܡܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܒܣܪܐ ܐܬܬܚܕ
2 ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܗܢܐ ܕܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܐܬܬܣܪܟ . ܡܛܠ ܕܙܥܘܪ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܡܢ ܐܒܘܗܝ .
3 ܢܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܡܢ ܡܢܐ ܠܡܐ .
4 ܡܢܐ ܢܐܡܪ ܠܟܘܢ ܥܠ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ .

[16]See Brock, "Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique," 12.

1 For when they say
2 that lesser is the Son than the Father, because he took flesh,
3 we say against them,
4 "What do you have to say about the Spirit, *who did not take flesh*?"

The order of clauses in the Syriac regularly parallels the Greek, with rare exceptions, as in Homily 62 where the Syriac transposes the following two clauses: *ὅπερ ἐποίησεν ὁ ἑκατόνταρχος καὶ ὁ ἄρχων ὁ βασιλικός, ἀπῆλθον πρὸς αὐτόν.*[17] Word order within Syriac clauses is typically also parallel to that of the Greek,[18] sometimes remarkably so,[19] but is liable to vary significantly. Minor discrepancies between Syriac and Greek word order are usually due to the requirements or preferences of Syriac grammar:[20]

Homily
62 *οἱ μὴ πονηροί, οὗτοι παρήσαν*
because the very ones who came had not in wickedness come

Not infrequently the discrepancies appear to be merely arbitrary. Occasionally the translator ignores the pressures of normal Syriac idiom and exhibits extraordinary respect for the word order of the Greek; his rationale for doing so is not obvious, since the Greek in such passages is not necessarily more difficult than anywhere else. With somewhat varying degrees of literalness, the Syriac translation represents all the Greek elements which its style is technically able to render, normally restricting itself to these elements. Some exceptions occur, due variously to the dynamism of the translation,[21] possibly to forms of the Greek text presently unknown, and other factors.[22]

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[17]*PG* 59.343; Savile 815.

[18]E.g. lines 13–5 of the sample from Homily 83.

[19]E.g. an instance in Homily 85:

Ταύτην ἀμφιάσωμεν, ταύτην περιστείλωμεν. . . .

("this let us clothe and render dignified")

The placement of , precisely like that of *ταύτη* at the beginning of the clause, is unusual for Syriac idiom.

[20]E.g. the primary position of ("fruit") in line 11 of the sample from Homily 22; also the re-ordering of elements in line 5 of the sample from Homily 23.

[21]See 249–53.

[22]E.g. the final doxology in the Syriac text of Homily 85 is significantly shorter than that of the Greek text. The stereotyped nature of doxologies in both Syriac and Greek traditions make them unsuitable for comparison of the sort required by this translation analysis (see the cautions signaled by Sauget, "Le manuscrit Sachau 220," 370–1). In this case, the Syriac text may derive from a Greek *Vorlage*,

According to all these features, the translation of HJn is more literal than HMt[A]. Compared to HMt[B], the translation of HJn is less likely to sacrifice Syriac idiom for the sake of close parallel word order. The style of the translations of HEpp is also more literal in this respect.

Regarding the inclusion of clauses and even the order of clauses, the Syriac text is a reliable witness to its Greek source text. However, because of the translator's chosen style, the translation is not very helpful for the evaluation of minor word-order differences within clauses.

C. Micro-Features of the Translation Style

1. Treatment of Particles and Conjunctions

Standard and predictable correspondences exist for many particles and conjunctions,[23] especially for *δέ*, *γάρ*, and *οὖν*. However, in comparison with the presumed Greek source text, the translation frequently substitutes less literal Syriac correspondencies than are available to it (e.g. ܗܠܝܢ [≈ *δέ*] for *καί*), often adds a conjunction where none exist in the Greek—especially ܘ (≈ *καί*), ܗܠܝܢ (≈ *δέ*), ܡܛܠ (≈ *γάρ*), ܐܠܐ (≈ *ἀλλά*), and ܗܠܝܢܐ (≈ *οὖν*)—and less often simply omits the Greek word. These discrepancies occur so often that they cannot all be the result of different Greek source texts than those which appear in the editions. Instead, it must be that the translator simply is inconsistent in rendering Greek particles and conjunctions. In many cases, it is obvious that the translator intends to smoothen or clarify transitions, although many "departures"seem purely arbitrary.

The translator shows no concern to render *μὲν* with the parallel ܗܠܝܢ, whether the particle stands on its own or as part of the *μέν. . . δὲ* construction.[24] The significance of these omissions for the translator's style is illustrated by the alternative means whereby sometimes he brings out the force of *μέν. . . δε* clauses:

Homily		
23	*οἱ μέν. . . οἱ δέ*	ܐܢܘܢ . . . ܐܢܘܢ some of them. . . and others of them
	ἀλλὰ νῦν μέν. . .	ܐܠܐ ܗܫܐ . . . ܐܠܐ ܗܫܐ

presently unknown, or it may be strictly a feature of the Syriac tradition.

[23]See 79 for the most important examples. For some discussion of the treatment of Greek particles on the part of Syriac translations, see the references in pp. 79–80, nn. 39–40. For the translator's method of bringing out the force of *ἄν*, see 234.

[24]Examples of both sorts of omissions occurs in the sample from Homily 22 (lines 1, 5–6).

	νῦν δέ	but one. . . and another
62	*αἱ μέν. . . αἱ δέ*	ܒܚܕܐ . . . ܒܚܕ
		there are some. . . and there are others

Where *μὲν* appears on its own, the translator normally makes no effort to represent its weak force; however, when its force is stronger, the translator may represent it dynamically as in the following examples:

Homily		
83	*ἐλάλησε μέν*	ܡܠܠ ܐܝܟ ("yes, he spoke")
	(response to rhetorical question)	
	τοῦτο μὲν	ܗܢܘ ܗܘܐ ("and behold, this")

The translation consistently uses ܗܘܐ ("and behold") to represent *καίτοι*; ܗܘ ("behold") also represents *μὴν* on occasion.

In this category, the translations of HEpp are measurably more literal.[25] The uneven treatment of particles and conjunctions in the translation of HJn suggests a date earlier than the late sixth century, but the fairly consistent representation of especially *δέ*, *γάρ*, and *οὖν* is consistent with developments not much earlier than the beginning of the sixth century.[26]

Because of the inconsistencies, the Syriac translation provides little reliable help for evaluating Greek variants involving particles and conjunctions.

2. Comparative Forms

The translation regularly uses normal Syriac comparitive constructions to represent Greek comparitive forms, with (ܚܕ)ܝܬܝܬ and an adjective, or with ܡܢ ("than") where objects of comparison are explicit. For example:

Homily		
62	*ἀσθενέστερος*	ܐܡܘܬ ܝܬܝܬ ("weaker")
.23	*τούτου μεῖζον*	ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܪܒܐ ("greater than this")

Where simple adjectives are not available, the translator may choose to construct a more elaborate phrase:

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[25]See 124–5.

[26]Brock, "Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique," 7–8. Regarding these three words in particular, Brock remarks that "prior to the sixth century there is only very partial correspondence in usage between the Greek originals and the Syriac translations" (ibid., 7); the correspondence in the translation of the Homilies on John is more than "very partial."

Homily		
62	ἀπιστότερος	ܒܗܝܡܢܘܬܗ . . . ܒܗ ("smaller in his faith")

Occasionally the translator ignores the comparative sense, employing a mere adjective or an adverb. For example:

Homily		
6	εὐληπτοτέραν	ܩܠܝܠܐ ("easy")
	εὐκολώτερον	ܒܩܠܝܠܘܬܐ ("easily")
22	τὴν σαφεστέραν γνῶσιν	ܩܒܝܠܘܬܗ ܕܝܕܥܬܐ ("its precise understanding")
23	τρανότερον	ܒܩܠܝܠܘܬܐ ("clearly")

Although an interesting aspect of the translation style, the Syriac's treatment of Greek comparatives is not particularly useful for understanding the Greek tradition, except to the extent it demonstrates that the translator does not achieve absolute consistency.

3. Adjectival Forms

The translation uses native Syriac adjectives or participial adjectives when adequate ones exist. Sometimes the translator forms circumlocutions:

Homily		
85	ἄταφον	ܕܠܐ ܡܩܒܪܢܐ ("being unburied")
22	ἄνυδρος	ܐܬܪܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܝܐ (literally, "place of droughts")

The edited homilies yield no special adjectival forms in ܩ– to render Greek adjectives, a translation technique increasingly productive throughout the sixth century.[27] However, such an adjectival form is used to render a Greek verb:

Homily		
62	γυναικίζονται	ܢܫܝܢ . . . ܩܢܝܢ ("are womanly")

The Syriac form is known to occur in late-sixth- and seventh-century translations, along with similar forms. Interpreting this single instance is difficult. One might expect a higher level of incidence of such adjectival forms in the texts of the eight whole homilies upon which this analysis depends, if the translation were made as late as this occurrence suggests. Perhaps this is an early use of this particular form, such

[27]See 81. E.g. in Homily 37, ܩܝܡܐ ܕܒܢܝܢܐ ܕܐܢܫܐ ("as of the community-of-humans") translates *ὅσον εἰς ἀνθρώπινον.*

as occurs in a translation of Basil's *Epistle 2*, to Gregory,[28] where *γυναικῶδες* is rendered ܕܐܢܬܬܐ ܡܢ ("of a woman") in a manuscript dated 534, but rendered ܐܢܬܬܝܬܐ ("womanly") in two other manuscripts, of the sixth and sixth or seventh centuries, respectively.[29] According to Brock's judgement, the texts themselves pre-date considerably the age of their manuscripts. In any case, one may put this occurrence in Homily 62 into perspective only after putting together all the evidence from the translation analysis.

The treatment of adjectival forms is a very important aspect of the translation style, but not immediately relevant for understanding specific passages of the Greek tradition.

4. Adverbial Forms

Predictable Syriac correspondences exist for common adverbs, although adverbs with subtle force sometimes have no representation in the Syriac.[30] Other adverbs are normally rendered by a Syriac formation with ܒܬܪ–. For example:

Homilies		
6, 23, 37, 83	*ἁπλῶς*	ܒܬܪܝܩܘܬܐ ("vainly")[31]

Some adverbs are rendered by adverbial phrases rather than formal adverbs, as in Homily 23, where *αἰνιγματωδῶς* ≈ ܒܡܫܠܐܝܬܐ ("in parables"). The translator may elect not to use the most literal means available to him for conveying the sense of an adverb. For example, in Homily 22, he uses ܡܕܡܝܢܘܬܐ ("immediately") for *τότε*, which gives a good sense in the context, but ܗܝܕܝܢ ("then") is standard in the translation. Similarly, the translator occasionally clarifies the force of an adverb by means of an expanded adverbial phrase:

Homily		
6	*μονονουχὶ λέγων*	ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܬܪܝܩܘܬܐ ܕܐܡ ܩܐܡ

[28]See *Saint Basile. Lettres*, ed. Yves Courtonne (Paris: Société d'édition *Les belles lettres*, 1957) 1.11.

[29]The manuscript dated 534 is B.L. Add. 12,175; the other two are B.L. Add. 17,144 and B.L. Add. 12,166, respectively (see Wright, *Catalogue*, 2.637, 653, 675). Less significantly, the parallel seventh- or eighth-century manuscript B.L. Add. 14,617 also has the form (see ibid., 2.741). The Syriac data come from Brock's unpublished collations.

[30]E.g. in two instances the translator ignores these two adverbs respectively: *ἐντεῦθεν* (Homily 23); *ἐκεῖ* (Homily 85).

[31]ܒܬܪܝܩܘܬܐ ("merely") also appears for *ἁπλῶς*; an example occurs in Homily 23.

83	*ὁμοφώνως*	as if he had plainly said this ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܒܚܕ ܘܒܚܕ. equally, as (if) with one voice

The translator normally uses ܒܚܕܝܢ ("especially") to represent the commonly occurring *μάλιστα*,[32] but occasionally ܟܕ ("very much") appears instead.

Although an interesting aspect of the translation style, the Syriac's treatment of Greek adverbs is not especially useful for understanding the Greek tradition.

5. Greek Compound Words

The Syriac translation is unconcerned with the formal representation of the coherent elements of Greek compounds.[33] For example, each of the edited homilies has *φιλανθρωπία*, rendered simply by ܪܚܡܐ ("mercy," or "love"),[34] not the more literal ܪܚܡܐ ܕܒܢܝܢܐ ("love [mercy] of humanity") which appears irregularly in HEpp[35] and eventually becomes standard. The Syriac renderings of Greek compound words tend to be formally parallel only when the idiomatic Syriac constructions happen to be parallel.[36] Only occasionally does a rendering pay greater respect to formal elements than is required or natural for Syriac. For example:

Homily		
23	*πολυειδῆ*	ܡܬܬܪܢ ܕܬܪܝܢ ("multi-form")
74	*ὁμότιμον*	ܫܘܝܐ ܕܝܩܪܐ ("sameness of honour")
62	*μικροψυχίαν*	ܙܥܘܪ ܕܪܘܚܐ ("smallness of mind")[37]

The translator usually does treat *α*-privative compounds literally. For example:

Homily		
83	*ἄτοπον*	ܠܐ ܫܝܐ ("unseemly")
22	*ἀπίστων*	ܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܡܗܝܡܢܝܢ ("of the unbelievers")

[32]As in the example of *τότε*, the translator may abandon formal literalness for the sake of the sense, as when he uses ܒܠܚܘܕ ("only") for *μάλιστα* in Homily 22. Also, ܒܚܕܝܢ gets ample and flexible use, illustrated by its occurrence for *ἐκ περιουσίας* with the sense, "additionally" (Homily 37).

[33]Unlike seventh-century translations (see Brock, "Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique," 12–3).

[34]Proportionally, most of the occurrences are in final doxologies, but not all.

[35]See 126–7.

[36]E.g. in compounds involving prepositional elements, where the Greek and Syriac prepositions are naturally parallel.

[37]The method of constructing this "compound" is formally literal, and the word is semantically equivalent in the context, but the ܪܘܚܐ ("mind") element is obviously not strictly parallel to *–ψυχ–*. Cf. in Homily 83, *ὁ μικροψυχῶν* ≈ ܕܡܙܥܪ ܪܘܚܗ ("he who diminishes his mind").

62	*ἀπιστίας*	ܟܦܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܠܐ ("unbelief")
22	*ἀμαθία*	ܟܦܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܠܐ ("ignorance")
23	*αὐτῶν ἀναισθησίαν*	ܕܠܐܡܬܚܫܝܢܘܬܗܘܢ ("their insensitivity")
37	*ἀλόγους*	ܕܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܝܢ ("unlikely")

In HEpp, words related to *φιλοσόφος* and *φιλοσοφέω* are rendered by ܦܝܠܘܣܘܦܐ (*pilosupha'*) and ܟܦܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܦܝܠܘܣܘܦܘܬܐ ("making *pilosophutha'*"). But in HJn, when used in the moral sense, these terms are typically rendered by words built on the root ܬܩܦ ("to be strong, constant"). However, the translator has a large repertoire from which to draw interpretive renderings: ܫܦܝܪܘܬܐ ("splendid things;" Homily 62), ܪܘܫܐ ("discernment;" Homily 62), ܟܦܪܢܘܬܐ ("self-control;" Homily 83), ܡܠܦ ܘܡܚܟܡ ܠܗܘܢ ("he teaches and makes them wise") for *φιλοσοφεῖ* (Homily 62), and even ܫܦܝܪܘܬܐ ܫܠܝܡܬܐ ("heavenly promises") for *τὴν ἄνω φιλοσοφίαν*.

According to this category, the translation of HJn is measurably less literal than that of HEpp.[38]

Although the translator's style of rendering Greek compounds is not usually directly relevant to the evaluation of Greek variants, it illustrates the degree of literalness (or of non-literalness) of the translation.

6. Prepositional Phrases

Idiomatic prepositional phrases are rendered by a corresponding Syriac idiom (e.g. *κατ' ἰδίαν* ≈ ܒܚܕܝܗ ["her alone"]). When a Syriac verb (or noun) would normally take a preposition where none is in the Greek or only one which is not formally parallel, the translation has the preposition which is natural to Syriac idiom.

The preposition *πρὸς* in phrases involving speech is sometimes represented by ܠܘܬ, a literal technique normally associated with sixth-century translations, particularly when applied consistently.[39] The following examples illustrate:

Homily
6 *ἐρεῖ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τοῦτο ὃ καὶ πρὸς Ἰωάννην εἶπεν. . . .*
ἃ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίος ἔφησε
. . . . ܗܘܝܢ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܘܬ ܝܘܚܢܢ . ܡܕܡ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܘܬ
ܝܗܘܕܝܐ ܡܪܝܢ ܕܢܚܢܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܝܢ
he says also unto him that which he also said unto John. . . .
what our Lord said unto the Jews

[38]See 126–7.

[39]Brock, "Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity," 82.

22 *ἠδύναντο πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγειν οἱ διακονησάμενοι*
ܐܝܟܝܠܝܢ ܠܡܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܫܡܫܘ ܗܘܘ ܕܝܢ
those who heard were able to say unto them

22 *τί δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἀρχιτρίκλινον εἶπεν ὁ νυμφίος*
ܡܢܘ ܕܝ ܠܪܫ ܡܫܬܝܬܐ ܡܪܝܐ
what the bridegroom said unto the head of the feast

37 *ὡς πρὸς ἰατρὸν φθεγγόμενος*
ܟܕܡܠܠ ܠܐܬܪܐ ܠܪܫܐ ܡܡܠܠ
like a person speaking unto a physician

The translator is not absolutely consistent in this rendering, but his usage is a sign of developing technical precision.

An instance of very literal usage occurs in Homily 62, where ܠܘܩܒܠ ܕܐܬܪܐ ("according to the place") renders *κατὰ τὸν τόπον*. This occurrence is not part of a consistent policy: in the same homily, *τὸ κατὰ φύσιν* is translated ܕܡܕܡ ܕܛܒܥܐ ("what is of nature," i.e. "natural") and *κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἡμέραν* by ܒܗܝ ܝܘܡܐ ("on that day").

In spite of occasional literal methods, the translator is not consistent in the usage of prepositions. For example, he uses both ܥܠ ܕܢܐ ܕܝܢ and ܥܠ ܕܢܐ ܕܝ to render *διὰ τοῦτο*, although the former is usual. Also, he occasionally departs from his standard policies to exhibit flexibility. This is well illustrated by the correspondence between *διὰ* and ܒܝܕ, which is quite regularly observed, but not in the following instances:

Homily		
62	*διὰ τῶν ἑξῆς*	ܒܗܝܢ ܕܐܬܝܐ ("by the following things")
83	*διὰ τῆς ὄψεως ἐκείνης*	ܒܚܙܘܬܗ ("in/by his vision")
22	*τῇ προσεδρίᾳ*	ܒܩܝܡܘܬܐ ܕܝܕ ("through constancy")

In the following examples, prepositions either occur where none exist in the Greek, when not necessarily required by Syriac grammar and idiom; or, the translation uses prepositions typically reserved for different ones than are actually in the Greek:

Homily		
23	*τὸ ἴσον μέτρον*	ܒܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܪܐ ("in the same measure")
23	*βαρὺς ὁ κόπος ἡμῖν*	ܟܒܝܪ ܠܢ ܠܢ ܥܡܠܐ ("the labour has been heavy upon us")

78	ἐροῦμεν πρὸς αὐτούς	ܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܘܬܗܘܢ	("we will say against them")
22	μέλος σώματος	ܐܒܪܐ ܕܦܓܪܐ	("member on the body")
62	αἱ παρ' αὐτοῖς γυναῖκες	ܢܫܝܗܘܢ	("their women")

Normally, such dynamic renderings are consistent with the sense of the Greek source text. However, in one case the sense of the Syriac prepositional phrase is quite different:

Homily			
83	ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐθνῶν	ܡܢ ܥܡܡܐ	("by the Gentiles")

In this category, it is seen once again that the translator regularly follows certain policies, but his flexible program does not insist on strict formal equivalence. The translator's use of prepositions is based on the exigencies of Syriac idiom; as a rule, it does not provide information useful to the evaluation of Greek readings.

7. Tenses of Greek Finite Verbs

a. The General Program of Translating Greek Verbs

The translation is fairly consistent in its representation of Greek verbal tenses. However, exceptions often occur, and its renderings vary according to the sense of the Greek, sometimes regardless of tense. Nor does the translation exhibit advanced techniques of marking tenses.[40]

The Greek **present tense** indicative is normally translated by means of a Syriac participle. But when the sense is future or past, the translation may use a form more semantically accurate. For example:

Homily			
23	εἰσάγει	ܢܥܠ	("he will bring in")
62	δεικνύς	ܚܘܐ	("he will show")[41]
83	ἐμπτύεται	ܡܬܪܩܩ ,ܡܬܬܪܩ	("in his face he was spat upon")

In one instance a present tense verb is rendered by a Syriac adjectival participle in a construction which is quite normal for Syriac idiom:

Homily

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[40]See ibid., 83.

[41]Cf. the translation of δεικνὺς in Homily 62 with ܚܘܝܢ ܕܐ ("showing").

23	πολὺς ὁ διάβολος ἔγκειται	ܣܓܝܐ ܡܫܬܕܠ ܗܘ ܣܛܢܐ very diligent (is) Satan

In the Syriac manuscripts, only a single point marks the formal difference between the common *pe'al* participle and certain perfect forms of verbs built on the same roots. Hence, the Syriac commonly has the pointing of a perfect tense verb where the Greek has a present tense verb, and vice-versa. The same applies to occurrences of imperfect and pluperfect forms. The significance of these apparent discrepancies should not be overestimated, since they are not so telling of the techniques of the translator as of the interpretive habits of scribes who may add or change pointing without reference to the Greek.

The Greek **future** indicative is also translated by means of a Syriac participle.

The Greek **imperfect tense** is normally translated by a participle followed by the auxiliary verb. Occasionally the translator elects to treat Greek imperfect tense verbs differently, adapting them to some aspect of their contexts. This happens most often with the common verbs of saying:

Homily		
6	ἔλεγε	ܕܐܡܪ ܕܐ ("saying")
22	ἔλεγε	ܐܡܪ ("he said")

The Greek **aorist tense** is rendered by the Syriac perfect tense. The Greek **perfect tense** is translated either by the Syriac perfect, or by Syriac participles, as in the following examples:

Homily		
22	εἴρηται	ܐܡܪܝܢ ("is said")
23	ἑστήκει	ܩܝܡ ("is found")
23	δέδοικα	ܕܚܠܬ ܐܢܐ ("I fear")

Greek verbs of the **subjunctive mood**, regardless of tense, are normally translated by the Syriac imperfect tense, accompanied by –ܕ usually only when the subjunctive clause has a conjunction or adverb like *ἵνα* or *ὅταν*. In several instances, clauses with *ἄν* are rendered by some form of ܡܫܟܚ ("to be possible"), as in the following example:

Homily		
23	οὐκ ἂν τὸν λόγον ἐδέξαντο	ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܝܢ ܠܡܩܒܠܘܬܗ ܠܡܠܬܐ they were not able to receive the word

Treating the subtle **optative mood**, the translator may try to bring out the sense of the mood, or simply ignore it, perhaps treating it as the subjunctive. For example:

Homily		
78	*τί οὖν ἂν εἴποιτε*	what do you have to say?
20	*εἰ μέλλοιμεν πράττειν*	if we do
23	*οὐδὲν ἂν ἀκριβολογησαίμην*	I will not quarrel
83	*θαυμάσειε ἄν τις*	(it is) to be wondered
83	*τί γένοιτ' ἄν*	what is there that is. . .

b. Techniques of Translating ἔχω and εἰμι

Forms of *εἰμι* are reliably translated with a Syriac idiom using the enclitic relationships, or by a form of ܗܘܐ or ܩܝܡ, augmented for tense.[42] The latter is predictable and needs no illustration; the former technique occurs in the following examples:

Homily		
69	*σῶμά ἐστιν ὁ Θεός;*	
62	*μύθους τὰ ἡμέτερα εἶναι νομίζουσιν*	

Participles are treated according to the same methods.[43]

The translator follows his standard techniques closely, but not strictly. For example:

Homily		
22	*ἐστιν*	("it was")
83	*ἀβίωτον εἶναι*	("it is not fit to live")

Sometimes the translator will supply explicitly one of these verbal forms where the Greek has no form of *εἰμι* due to its elliptical style, but he does not often do so. Compounds with *εἰμι* (many of them actually participles) are translated according to sense, not according to strict formal equivalence. For example:

Homily

[42]The translator employs the same techniques for *γίνομαι*.

[43]E.g. *οὖσα* ≈ ܗܘܝܐ ܕܐ ("you, being," Homily 62); *ἐν μέσῳ ὤν* ≈ ܕܐ ܩܡ ܒܡܨܥܬܗܘܢ ("when he was amongst them," Homily 83).

20	*παρόντα*	ܕܥܡܗܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܬܝܗܒ ("that he was near them")
62	*παρεῖναι*	ܐܬܘ ܡܬܚܙܝܢ ("they were coming")
62	*ἀνδρῶν παρόντων*	ܓܒܪܐ ܕܥܡܟܘܢ ("men surrounding you")

Ἔχω is normally translated by the normal Syriac idiom with –ܠ ܐܝܬ (e.g. *εἶχεν* ≈ ܘܠܗ ܐܝܬ ܠܡܐܡܪ). *Οὐκ ἔχω* may produce –ܠ ܠܐ. The translator can be quite literal in his representation of this word, as in Homily 62, where ܕܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܢܐܡܪ ("so that no one would have [occasion] to say") translates *ἵνα μηδεὶς ἔχῃ λέγειν.*

The translator does not use ܩܢܐ ("possess") to translate *ἔχω*, strongly preferring the idiom with –ܠ ܐܝܬ. However, as with *εἰμι*, the translator exhibits some flexibility in treating *ἔχω*, as in the following examples:

Homily		
22	*ἔχει*	ܠܩܚܐ ("he receives")
83	*οὐδεμίαν εἶχον*	ܡܢ ܕܠܐ ܫܘܬܦܘܬܗܘܢ ("after they deprived themselves of")

Also, the Syriac idiom with –ܠ ܐܝܬ rarely appears where the Greek has no form of *ἔχω*:

Homily		
62	*ἵνα μή τις ὑποπτεύσῃ*	ܕܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܫܘܟܠܐ so that no one would have a suspicion

Less remarkably, the translator may choose to represent *ἔχω* by a verb of being rather than one of having.[44]

c. Conclusions about the Methods of Translating Greek Verbs

This survey reveals that the translator employs regular methods of rendering Greek verbs, methods which do not approach the literal techniques of seventh-century translators. However, the translator applies the methods only inconsistently, often abandoning them when a less formal rendering of the Greek verb will more easily convey the sense of the source text to the Syriac reader. Even when treating *εἰμι* and *ἔχω*, for which he employs well-defined translation techniques, strict formal equivalence is not a high priority.

Where Greek variations involve the presence or absence of verbs (including

[44]E.g. in Homily 83, *ἐν τοῖς ὑπηρέταις ἔχει τὴν ἰσχύν* is rendered by (ܕܥܡܗ) ܡܠܝܢ ,ܥܡܘܪܐ ܕܚܝܠܗ ("its strength is in its servants").

εἰμι and *ἔχω*), or the basic verbal stem used, the Syriac is usually a reliable guide to the textual tradition. However, where variants involve different moods or tenses of the same verb, or even different persons in some instances, the Syriac text is not always helpful. Great care must be taken, both because of the formal limitations of the translation and because of the translator's occasional inconsistencies. Neither is the Syriac helpful where the distinction is merely one of pointing.

8. Infinitival Phrases

a. Methods of Translating Infinitival Forms

The translation of HJn uses various means of rendering Greek infinitival forms. Often, whether the Greek infinitive stands on its own or with a verb normally taking an infinitive complement, the Syriac translation uses a phrase with –ܕ and a finite verb in the imperfect tense. Just as often, the translator uses Syriac infinitives, as in the following instances:[45]

Homily		
22	*δηλῶσαι βούλεται*	ܡܬܚܘܝܢܐ ܨܒܐ he wants to indicate
37	*ἱκανὴ ἦν αὐτὸν κατατεῖναι*	ܡܫܬܪܝܢܐ ܠܗܘܐ ܡܢܝܢ was enough to torment him
62	*δεῖ αἰτεῖν*	ܡܫܬܐܠܐ ܫܦܝܪ it is right to ask

The translation sometimes uses nominal phrases with a form of ܠܗܘܝܐ. For example:

Homily		
85	*συμπράττειν*	ܕܢܗܘܘܢ ܡܫܬܘܬܦܝܢ that they may be helpers
23	*δεῖ ἐγρηγορέναι καὶ νήφειν*	ܕܢܗܘܐ ܠܢ ܡܫܬܘܬܪܝܢ ܘܢܫܬܗܪ it is right that we be wakeful and watch

b. Articular Infinitives

Very literal translations consistently render articular infinitives by means of –ܕ, ܡܢ and either a participle or finite verb in the imperfect tense, including

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[45]Cf. an example from Homily 22, where the translator is formal in his usage of the infinitive, but informal in his decision to omit *ποιῆσαι* and convert the adjectives into infinitives:

κοῦφον ποιῆσαι καὶ βαρύν ܠܡܩܠܠ ܘܠܡܬܩܠ
to lighten and to make heavy.

prepositions where relevant. The translations of HEpp follow this policy, and this rendering becomes standard in Syriac translations.[46] The translation of HJn uses a range of methods to translate Greek articular infinitives, including this literal one. For example:

Homily		
20	τῷ εἰπεῖν	ܒܡܐܡܪܗ ܕܐܡܪ in that he said
62	ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰπεῖν	ܡܢ ܡܐܡܪܗ ܕܐܡܪ from (the fact) that he said
83	τὸ ἐλθεῖν. . .τὸ εἰσελθεῖν	ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܡ . . . ܕܥܠܠ ܕܐܡ (the fact) that he came. . . (the fact) that he entered
22	τοῦ καλὸν γενέσθαι τὸν οἶνον	ܕܛܒ ܠܚܡܪܐ ܕܗܘܐ ܕܐܡ that the wine was good

Occasionally, the translator approximates the function of Greek infinitival phrases by using the preposition –ܒ. For example:

Homily		
83	τὸ ἐξιλεοῦσθαι. . .τὸ μετριάζειν	ܒܫܠܡܘܬܐ. . .ܒܫܠܝܡܘܬܐ by appeasing. . . by humbling yourself

The translator may defer to the Syriac reader by abandoning formal equivalence in order to make the sense of the Syriac match that of the Greek. Often he renders articular infinitives by noun phrases, perhaps with a form of ܡܠܬܐ. For example:

Homily		
22	τὸ λέγειν	ܡܠܬܐ ("word")
22	διὰ τὸ πονεῖν	ܡܛܠ ܥܒܝܕܘܬܐ ("because of the labour")
23	διὰ τὸ τρέφεσθαι	ܡܛܠ ܕܐܬܪܒܝ ("because he was raised")
62	τὸ ταῦτα πάσχειν	ܕܢܣܒܪܘܢ ܠܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܝܢ ("that they suffer these things")
62	τὸ ἀγανακτεῖν	ܕܢܬܪܥܡ ܒܪܢܫܐ ("that a person will complain")

Alternatively, the translator uses finite verbs in clauses constructed to parallel the meaning of the Greek, not the form:

Homily		
74	πρὸς τὸ δεῖξαι	ܠܡܚܘܝܐ ("to show")
62	μετὰ τὸ πιστεῦσαι	ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܡܗܝܡܢ ("after he believed")
62	τὸ μὲν οὖν εἰπεῖν	ܠܡܐܡܪ ܠܡܐܡܪ ("for, to have said")
22	τὸ πάντα διατιθέναι	ܠܡܣܕܪ ܟܠܗ ("to arrange everything")

More rarely, the translator uses a Syriac infinitive, as in one instance in Homily 62, where ܠܡܐܙܠ ("to go") translates τὸ ἀπελθεῖν.

[46]Brock, "Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity," 82–3.

c. The Use of Syriac Emphatic Infinitives

In this category, it is worth mentioning the translator's affinity for constructions employing the Syriac emphatic infinitive, presumably for emphasis. Such constructions are not unusual in the translation. Some examples:

Homily		
6	*μὴ μόνον μαρτυρούμενον*	ܠܐ ܡܬܡܪܝܢܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܐܝܬܝܢ not just to testify only
37	*οὐκ ἀνίστησι μόνον*	ܠܐ ܡܩܝܡ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܡܬܝܩܪ not only does he merely cause to stand
37	*μὴ μόνον ὑπερορᾷν*	ܠܐ ܢܫܘܬ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܒܙܥܘܪܐ he should not heed, not even in the slightest
23	*οὐκ ἐδίδασκε. . .* *ἀλλ' ἀναμίμνησκεν*	. . . ܠܐ ܡܠܦ ܡܠܦ ܐܝܬܝܗ ܠܐܠܐ ܡܬܬܕܟܪ ܐܝܬܝܗ he was not teaching at all, but only causing to remember

d. Conclusions about the Methods of Translating Greek Infinitival Phrases

These examples reveal that the translator is capable of using every conceivable technique for rendering Greek infinitives into Syriac. The great diversity and inconsistency of method indicates that the translator is far removed from the literal methods of the seventh century. Also, it reminds the reader that the Syriac may not always be a helpful guide to its Greek source text in this category, unless the relevant Greek variation involves simply the presence or absence of major elements, or other major discrepancies.

9. Greek Participles

The translator has a flexible attitude towards Greek adverbial and adjectival participles. The variety of method is illustrated by the range of examples given here.

a. Adverbial Participles

The translator normally employs Syriac participles to render Greek participles. Adverbial participles usually either appear with ܕܪ, or less often with –ܕܪ.[47]

Homily

[47]In the Syriac manuscripts, it is not unusual for ܕܪ with the perfect tense to occur for Greek present tense participles. However, these perfect tense forms are distinguished from participles only by the position of a single point and, especially where ܕܪ appears, it is not unlikely that the translator originally intended many of them to be read as Syriac participles rather than perfect tense verbs. Parallel manuscripts often have different pointing in such cases.

62	*ἐρχομένη*	ܕܢܦܩܐ ("while going out")
20	*ζητῶν*	ܕܡܒܥܐ ("while seeking")
83	*οὐ ὄντα πονηρόν*	ܕܠܝܬ ܒܝܫܐ ("in that he is not evil")

Sometimes the Syriac participles are accompanied by verbal augments in order to bring out a temporal quality. For example:

Homily

37 *οὐκ. . . δυσχεραίνοντες, ἀλλὰ. . . φθονοῦντες*
ܠܐܢܘܢ ܡܬܚܫܝܢ . . . ܠܐ . ܠܐܢܘܢ ܡܬܚܫܝܢ . . . ܕܠܐ
they were not being aggrieved. . . but they were being aggrieved

62	*οὐκ ὁρῶν*	ܠܐܢܘܢ ܠܐ ܚܙܐ ("when he was not seeing")
74	*βουλόμενος*	ܠܐܢܘܢ ܨܒܐ ("he was wanting")
83	*βουλόμενος*	ܠܐܢܘܢ ܕܨܒܐ ("in that he was wanting")[48]

Aorist participles are rendered by means of finite verbs of the perfect tense. For example:

Homily

37	*ἀναστήσας*	ܕܩܡܬ ("when he raised")
62	*παραθαρρύνας*	ܡܢ ܕܫܕܪ ܠܗܘܢ ("after he encouraged them")
6	*εἰπών*	ܐܡܪܬܝ ("I have said")
23	*εἰπών*	ܡܢ ܕܐܡܪ ܠܗ ("after he said")

When the participle indicates purpose or result, the translator often renders it as if it were an infinitive of purpose:

Homily

22	*τιμῶν*	ܠܡܝܩܪ ("to honour")
78	*τηρῶν*	ܠܡܛܪ ("to keep")
83	*δηλῶν*	ܠܡܚܘܝ ("to indicate")
83	*οὐ κατηγοροῦντες*	ܠܐ ܠܡܩܛܪܓ ("not to accuse")

Similarly, the translator may accommodate a participle to surrounding verbs:

Homily

22 *κἂν ἔλθῃς. . . καὶ προσελθὼν ἐρωτήσῃς*
ܐܢܬܐ ܕܬܐܬܐ ܘܩܪܒܐ . . . ܘ ܬܫܐܠܐ
and if you go. . . and you approach and you inquire

Most rarely, the translator departs from the preceding methods in even more dynamic attempts to render the sense of the participle,[49] perhaps by a straightforward

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[48]In the same context, *βουλόμενοι* is rendered with ܠܐܢܘܢ ܕܨܒܝܢ ("in that they were wanting").

[49]An unusual rendering occurs in Homily 22, where *μεταβάλλων οὐ*

prepositional phrase or an adverb, as in these examples:

Homily		
62	*συγκατιών*	ܥܕܘܕܘܕܢܐ ("in condescension")
62	*νομοθετηθέντα*	ܕܢܡܘܣܐ ("legally")

b. Adjectival Participles

Adjectival participles are also rendered by Syriac participles, accompanied either by demonstrative relative pronouns where the Greek has the definite articles, or by the relevant nouns. The relative –ܕ relates the participle to the Syriac sentence. For example:

Homily		
22	*τὰ λεγόμενα*	ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ these things which are said
22	*ὁ καρπὸς τικτόμενος*	ܦܐܪܝܐ ܕ– ܡܬܝܠܕ the fruit that is born
83	*Παύλου λέγοντος*[50]	ܦܘܠܘܣ ܕܡܐܡܪ[ܐ]ܝ Paul, who says

Aorist adjectival participles and participles of past tenses are normally translated by means of Syriac perfect tense verbs:

Homily		
62	*οἱ πέμψαντες*	ܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܫܕܪܘ those who were sent
62	*ἕτερον ἐρωτηθεῖσα*	ܡܕܡ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܫܐܠܘܗܝ another thing was asked
83	*τὸ λεχθέν*	ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܡܪܘ that which has been said
20	*τοὺς ἄλλους γεννηθέντας*	ܐܚܪܢܐ ܕܐܬܝܠܕܘ ܡܢܗܘܢ the others who had been born

The Syriac translation occasionally emphasizes the verbal element of adjectival participles by the addition of the pronoun phrase, –ܕ ܟܕ ("when"):

85	*τὸ σῶμα ἐρριμμένον*	ܦܓܪܐ ܕܟܕ ܡܬܪܡܐ a body, when it is thrown
85	*ψυχὴ φαινομένη*	ܢܦܫܐ ܕܟܕ ܡܬܚܙܝܐ the body, when it is seen

c. The Genitive Absolute

παύεται is rendered by the infinitival phrase ܠܐ ܡܫܬܠܡܢܐ ܡܢ ܠܡܫܢܝ ("he does not cease from to-change," i.e. "from changing").

[50]This phrase is not part of a genitive absolute contruction, but the object of *ἀκούεις*.

When rendering the common Greek genitive absolute, the translator uses a Syriac finite verb of the perfect tense and a temporal indicator, usually ܒܗ or –ܗ ܕܝ:

Homily		
22	*τῆς μητρὸς εἰπούσης*	ܒܗ ܐܡܪܬ ܐܡܗ when his mother said
37	*γενόμενος ὑγιής*	ܕܝ ܗܘܐ ܫܠܡܐ after he became well
83	*τοῦ Πέτρου παροξύναντος αὐτούς*	ܡܛܠ ܕܦܛܪܘܣ ܐܟܣܢ ܠܗܘܢ since Peter provoked them

Unlike more primitive translators, who prefer paratactic constructions, the translator of HJn uses hypotaxis in representing the Genitive Absolute.

c. Conclusions about the Methods of Translating Greek Participles

The translator generally follows a set program when rendering Greek participles. However, the orientation in this category is decidedly more towards the reader than the source text, because the translator employs several variations of his normal techniques, and further exceptions occur beyond that, all to make the text's sense more accessible.

Hence, the Syriac translation does not provide consistently reliable information for the evaluation of Greek variants involving subtle differences between Greek participial forms, or even for variants between participial and finite verbal forms.

10. Demonstrative and Relative Pronouns (including *τοσοῦτος*, *ὅσος*, *τοιοῦτος*, and *οἷος*)

Predictably, forms of *οὗτος* are rendered by forms of ܗܢܐ ("this"), and forms of *ἐκεῖνος* by forms of ܗܘ ("that").[51] However, many times the translation mixes the usual correspondences. Also, the demonstrative pronoun may be rendered only by an objective or possessive pronoun (e.g. ܠܗ). Syriac demonstrative pronouns are used where Greek definite articles stand alone pronominally.

Τοσοῦτος is rendered by a combination of ܗܢܐ ("this") and –ܟܠ ("all"); for example, *τοσαύτῃ σφοδρότητι* in Homily 23 is translated ܒܩܫܝܐܘܬܐ ܗܢܐ ܟܠܗ ("so much harshness"). The translator follows the policy regularly, although occasional exceptions occur.[52] Also, the Syriac construction may be used otherwise,

[51]The Syriac may use the singular where the Greek is plural, and vice-versa.

[52]E.g. in one instance in Homily 22, *τοσαύτην* is translated with only part of

as when it occurs at one point in Homily 83 to represent *οὕτω*.

Forms of *ὅσος* are usually rendered by –ܗ ܟܡܐ.

Οἷος and *τοιοῦτος* are rendered by combinations using ܟܡܐ ("like") and a form of ܗܢܐ ("this").[53] For example, ܡܢܝ ܟܡܐ ܕܡܫܬܝܬܐ ("of banquets like these") translates *τῶν τοιούτων δείπνων* in Homily 22.[54] However, the translator abandons formal equivalence when treating the adverbial *οἷον* used to introduce an example:

Homily
37 *ἑτέρως εἰπεῖν· οἷον, ὅτι οὐκ ἑκὼν τοῦτο ποιῶ*
ܠܡܡܠܠ ܠܐܝܟ ܕܠܐ ܒܨܒܝܢܝ ܠܐ ܠܡܥܒܕ ܗܢܐ .ܡܫܬܘܬܝ ܕܠܐ ܒܡܨܥܬܝ
to speak otherwise, like: "Not by my will I do this"

62 *τι δεινόν, οἷον ἢ ἀρρωστίᾳ περιπεσόντας, ἢ πενίᾳ*
ܡܕܡ ܕܚܝܠܐ ܐܘ ܕܡܬܪܦܐ ܒܚܠܝܐ ܐܘ ܕܡܬܪܡܐ ܒܥܢܝܐ:
something evil, either that he has fallen into sickness or destitution

The translator's consistence in this category makes his translation a reliable guide to his Greek source text where variations are involved.

11. Reflexive and Intensifying Pronouns

Where the Greek has intensifying personal pronouns, the Syriac regularly uses its own intensive personal pronouns.[55] For example:

Homily
23 *οὐ αὐτὸς ὑπέκειτο. . , ἀλλά. . . αὐτός. . . ἐπέθηκεν*
ܠܐ ܗܘ . . . ܐܠܐ . . . ܡܬܬܝܗܒ ܗܘ . . . ܐܬܝܗܒ ܠܗ
he himself is not subjected. . . for he himself established

23 *οὐκ οἶδα ἐγώ*
ܠܐ ܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܐܢܐ
I myself do not know

This policy is so consistent that the Syriac is quite helpful for evaluating the presence or absence of these pronouns in the Greek.

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the usual formulation, ܗܢܐ ("this").

[53]An exception occurs in Homily 22, where *τοιαῦτα* ≈ ܗܝܢܢܐ ("thus").

[54]However, in one instance in Homily 37, ܐܝܟ ܟܡܐ ("like, as") translates *οἷα*.

[55]Where *αὐτὸς* appears as an identical pronoun, the Syriac employs its own parallel idiom: *τὸν αὐτὸν καιρόν* ≈ ܒܗܝܢܐ ܙܒܢܐ ܕܗܘ ܙܒܢܐ ("at the same time," Homily 23).

The translator normally uses the Syriac idiom with ܢܦܫܐ ("soul," i.e. "self") to render Greek reflexive pronouns. Rarely is the term ܦܓܪܐ used, as in the following examples:[56]

Homily		
6	*μόνον ἑαυτόν*	ܒܠܚܕ ܦܓܪܗ ("himself only")
37	*ἑαυτόν*	ܦܓܪܗ ("himself")
37	*δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἐργάζεται*	ܗܘ ܦܓܪܗ ܥܒܕ ("he himself did")

Where the Greek has possessive reflexive pronouns, the translator sometimes uses the simple Syriac possessive suffix, without bothering to represent the Greek pronoun more literally. For example:

Homily		
23	*ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν*	ܟܠܗ ܚܝܠܗ ("all his power")
6	*τὴν ἀξίαν μονὸν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ*	ܒܠܚܕ ܝܩܪܗ ("his honour only")

The translator does not use the etymologizing renderings of the seventh century.[57] However, his overall consistency makes the translation a generally reliable guide to the presence of reflexive and intensifying or identifying pronouns in the Greek source text.

12. Lexical Items

This category has already been evoked by such renderings as *φιλανθρωπία* ≈ ܪܚܡܐ ("mercy") and various methods of translating words related to *φιλοσοφέω*. In both these instances, the imprecision and inconsistency of the translator suggests a technique exercised prior to the late-sixth century.

a. Occurrences of οἰκουμένη[58]

For *οἰκουμένη*, the translation uses the primitive ܥܠܡܐ ("the whole world") and even just ܥܠܡܐ ("world"). For example:

Homily		
37	*τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν*	ܥܠܡܐ ܟܠܗ ("all the whole world")
37	*τῆς οἰκουμένης*	ܥܠܡܐ ܕܟܠܗ ("of all the whole world")
83	*τῇ οἰκουμένῃ*	ܥܠܡܐ ("of the world")

[56]The term also appears in Homily 83 in a citation of John 5:26, thereby agreeing with the Peshitta.

[57]For a discussion about special techniques for literally rendering the Greek reflexive pronoun, see Brock, "Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity," 87.

[58]For the significance of this term, see 89.

The style of rendering *οἰκουμένη* shows no concern for formal equivalence that becomes prevalent by the seventh century.[59]

b. Occurrences of σωτηρία

In several instances, the translator uses the primitive ܚܝܐ ("life/salvation") to translate *σωτηρία*; this occurs in Homilies 6, 37, and 83. However, elsewhere in Homilies 37 and 83, the translator uses ܦܘܪܩܢܐ ("salvation"). In yet another instance, a dynamic rendering employs both terms:

Homily		
37	*διὰ σωτηρίαν τῆς κοινῆς φύσεως ἁπάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων*	ܥܠ ܕܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܚܝܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܒܪܢܫܐ because of the salvation of all nature and the common salvation

The style is obviously inconsistent and probably transitional, illustrating the technical changes occurring amongst Syriac translators between the late-fifth and late-sixth centuries.

c. Occurrences of ἀρετή

In Homily 23, the translator renders *τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀρετῆς* with, ܗܘܐ ܕܫܘܦܪܗܘܢ ("it was of their excellence"), using an equivalence which is regularly followed from the sixth century. HEpp regularly uses ܫܘܦܪܐ ("excellence"). However, throughout HJn, the translator uses a range of terms for *ἀρετή*, actually preferring ܫܘܦܪܐ ("splendour"). For example:

Homily		
6	*ἀγγέλου ἡ ἀρετή*	ܗܢܐ ܕܡܠܐܟܐ this is [the quality] of a messenger
23	*σημεῖον ἀρετῆς*	ܫܘܦܪܐ ܕܫܘܪܐ ("sign of splendour")
37	*ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς*	ܫܘܦܪܐ ܥܠ ("concerning righteousness")
83	*διὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀνάβασιν*	ܫܘܦܪܐ ܕܣܠܩܐ ܥܠ on the ascension of splendour
84	*πᾶσαν ἀρετήν*	ܫܘܦܪܐ ܟܠܗ ("all the splendour")

As with the preceding term, the translator's flexibility and inconsistency in rendering this term suggest a date prior to the late sixth century.

[59]Cf. the occurrence in HEpp (see 135).

d. Occurrences of ὁμοούσιος[60]

The term *ὁμοούσιος* occurs in three places which survive in Syriac translation:[61]

Homily	
69	*καὶ ἐντεῦθεν τὸ ὁμοούσιον δηλῶν*
	ܘܡܢܗܝܢ ܕܡܬܚܘܝܐ ܗܘ ܚܕ ܒܗ ܘܒܐܒܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ
	and hence, that one is the nature of him and of the father he has indicated
74	*ἀλλὰ τὸ ὁμοούσιον παραστῆναι βουλόμενος εἶπεν*
	ܐܠܐ ܕܚܕ ܒܗ ܘܒܐܒܐ ܡܬܚܘܝܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܨܒܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܡܪ
	but since he was wanting to show that one is the nature, he said
74	*πρὸς τὸ δεῖξαι τὸ ὁμότιμον καὶ ὁμοούσιον*
	ܠܡܚܘܝܐ ܕܚܕ ܒܗ ܘܕܝܩܪܐ ܘܕܡܬܚܘܝܐ
	to show the sameness-of-honour and that one is the nature

The occurrence in Homily 69 is accompanied by, "of him and the father," which makes explicit that which the sentence implies. All three occurrences show that ܚܕ ܒܗ ܘܒܐܒܐ ("one is the nature") serves as a technical phrase corresponding to *ὁμοούσιος*—the component *ὁμο–* is paralleled by ܚܕ ܒܗ ("one is"), while ܒܗ ("nature") corresponds to *οὔσια*.[62] The phrase as it appears in HJn is more literal than the archaic ܒܪ ܒܗ (literally, "son-of-the nature," meaning "of the same nature"), due to the formal precision attempted in the correspondence *ὁμο–* ≈ ܚܕ ܒܗ ("one is"). A comparison with the translation ܒܪ ܐܝܬܘܬܐ ("son-of-the essence," or "of the same essence"), regularly found in West Syrian sources from A.D. 500,[63] complicates the picture. On the one hand, ܒܪ ܐܝܬܘܬܐ ("son of the essence") is less formal than ܚܕ ܒܗ ܘܒܐܒܐ ("one is the nature") in the same way that ܒܪ ܒܗ ("son of the nature") is less formal: namely, ܚܕ ܒܗ ("one is") is a more literal representation of *ὁμο–* than ܒܪ ("son") is. Yet the phrase from HJn retains the archaic ܒܗ ("nature"), which is less satisfactory as a formal representation of *οὔσιος* than ܐܝܬܘܬܐ ("essence"). These factors make it difficult to plot the

[60]For the significance of this term, see 132–3.

[61]The texts are preserved in B.L. Add. 12,161 and B.L. Add. 14,562.

[62]An occurrence of *οὐσία* on its own in Homily 6 is also rendered ܒܗ ("nature"); in the same context, the Syriac word represents *φύσις*. Also in Homily 22, ܒܗ ("nature") renders *οὐσία*.

[63]De Halleux, "La philoxénienne du symbole," 301. East Syrians retained the primitive formulation (Brock, "Christology of the Church of the East," 131; see Bethune-Baker, *Nestorius and His Teaching*, 217).

occurrence of ܗܘܝܐ ܚܕ ܡܕܡ in the well-documented line of Syriac translation development of the term *ὁμοούσιος*.

The occurrence of ܫܘܝܝܘܬܐ ܕܝܩܪܐ ("sameness-of-honour") ≈ *ὁμότιμον* in the second passage from Homily 74 dramatically shows that the means was available to the translator for constructing a calque on *ὁμοούσιος* such as appears as early as Narsai (ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܚܕ—"same in *ousia*"),[64] and that the tendency to do so was perhaps present[65]—but the influence of the technical term ܗܘܝܐ ܚܕ ܡܕܡ ("one is the nature") appears too strong. This suggests that the phrase may have been standard in some circles, and in fact acquired status as an acceptable rendering for *ὁμοούσιος*, although the Syriac phrase is given no notice in the *Thesaurus Syriacus*.[66] The significance of the phrase to this translation analysis is elusive, but by comparison with alternative methods we may speculate that the phrase fits into refinements of Syriac translation technique developing around 500.

e. Occurrences of Words Related to σαρκωθέντος[67]

Words related to *σαρκωθέντα* occur in christological contexts at five places in HJn:[68]

Homily		
5	*σαρκωθέν*	ܦܓܪܐ ܠܒܫ ("he clothed himself with a body")
13	*σαρκωθείς ἦν*	ܠܒܫ ܠܒܫ ܓܘܫܡܐ ("he clothed himself with a *corpus*"[69])
24	*Πῶς ἐσαρκώθη;*	ܐܝܟܡܐ ܗܘܐ ("How was he made corporeal?")
78	*αὐτὸς ἐσαρκώθη*	ܦܓܪܐ ܠܒܫ ܡܕܡ ("he clothed himself with a body")
78	*ἐσαρκώθη ὁ Υἱός*	ܦܓܪܐ ܠܒܫ . . . ܒܪܐ ("the Son took a body")

The translator is inconsistent in his translation of words related to *σαρκωθέντα*.

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[64]See De Halleux, "La philoxénienne du symbole," 302.

[65]However, in Homily 6, *τῶν ἡμετέρων ὁμοδούλων* ≈ ܥܒܕܝܢ ("our fellow servants").

[66]See *Thesaurus Syriacus*, 1.1703 (and *Supplement*).

[67]For the significance of this word, see 133–4.

[68]The Syriac texts for the passages from Homilies 5, 13, and 24 are from B.L. Add. 14,561; the texts from Homily 78 are from B.L. Add. 12,161 and B.L. Add. 14,562.

[69]The English translations distinguish ܓܘܫܡܐ ("*corpus*") from ܦܓܪܐ ("body"), although the actual meaning of the Syriac terms cannot always be distinguished in this way.

Sometimes he uses ܦܓܪܐ ("body"), at other times he uses words associated with ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ("*corpus*").[70] At one point he employs ܐܬܬܓܫܡ ("he was made corporeal"), using a term which came into general use before 500 as an improvement over the vague phrase, ܠܒܫ ܦܓܪܐ ("he clothed himself with a body").[71] Yet it is exactly the archaic Christology of ܠܒܫ ("he clothed himself")[72] which is the favourite of the translator of HJn since the word occurs in four out of five cases, albeit with two different objects. The word occurs not because it gives a literal translation in these cases, but because of its influence as a standard translation. Nevertheless, some variety exists in the translations listed above, demonstrating that absolute consistency is not required by the translator. The choice of words in particular cases seems to have no bearing on context, but is basically arbitrary. The lack of consistency, and especially the preference of ܠܒܫ, suggest the Syriac translation was probably made prior to A.D. 500. Even before this date, concern for more precise Syriac translation terminology begins to affect translations and, after 500, refinements become quite widespread.

13. The Holy Spirit and Gender

In the few places where its gender can be determined, the Holy Spirit is treated as grammatically masculine, according to a relatively later policy than appears in HMt^{A}.

14. Consistency in Rendering

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[70]In Homily 6, *σάρκα* ≈ ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ("*corpus*"). In Homily 22, it translates *σῶμα*.

The term ܠܒܫ ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ("he clothed himself with a *corpus*") displays a rare usage which occurs in the writings of Jacob of Serugh, Narsai, Dadisho', and in the translation of a letter attributed to Cyril of Alexandria. See *Homiliae selectae Mar-Jacobi Sarugensis*, ed. Bedjan (Paris: 1906) 2.361; Narsai, *Homilies of Mar Narsai* (San Francisco: Patriarchal Press, 1970) 2.344; *Commentaire du Livre d'Abba Isaïe (logoi i–xv) par Dadišo Qatraya*, ed. René Draguet (*CSCO* 326; Louvain: Secrétariat du *CSCO*, 1972) 122; and R.Y. Ebied and L.R. Wickham, "An Unknown Letter of Cyril of Alexandria in Syriac," *JThS* 22 [1971] 429. In what appears to be a later version of the letter, the phrase ܠܒܫ ܦܓܪܐ ("he clothed himself with a body") appears instead (ibid., 423–4, 432).

[71]De Halleux, "La philoxénienne du symbole," 302–4.

[72]For the significance of this terminology, see Brock, "Clothing Metaphors as a Means of Theological Expression in Syriac Tradition," in *Typus, Symbol, Allegorie bei den östlichen Vätern und ihren Parallelen im Mittelalter*, ed. Margot Schmidt (*Schriftenreihe der katholischen Universität Eichstätt* 4; Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1981) 16–7; on the term's perceived unsuitability, see ibid. "The Resolution of the Philoxenian/Harclean Problem," in *New Testament Textual Criticism: Its Significance for Exegesis. Essays in Honour of Bruce M. Metzger*, eds. Eldon J. Epp and Gordon D. Fee (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981) 329–331.

The more literal the translation, the more consistent it is, not only in the application of methods, but also in choices of vocabulary and word class. The previous categories of analysis have revealed that the translation of HJn is fairly consistent in the application of methods, although the methods themselves may not be especially literal. Yet the translator does not attempt absolute consistency, departing regularly from his preferred methods. Also, he appears unconcerned to employ parallel word class when translating Greek words.

In a third measure of consistency, a discordance in quantity between Greek and Syriac vocabulary produces inconsistent usage of terms, in which the variety of the source text is not always well reflected in the chosen Syriac terminology.[73] For example, the Greek often uses distinct words within one context, for which the Syriac translator provides a single term:

Homily				
6	*οὐσία*	*φύσις*		ܟܝܢܐ ("nature")
22	*πόνος* (thrice)	*κόπος* (twice)		ܥܒܝܕܬܐ ("labour")[74]
23	*βίον*[75]	*πόνους*	*ἔργων*	ܡܢܗܓܐ ("customs")[76]
37	*ἀθυμία*	*τραγῳδίας*		ܥܟܬܐ ("distress")
37	*διορθώθη*	*ἐθεραπεύθη*		ܐܬܐܟܝܡ ("he was healed")
62	*τελευτάω*	*θνῄσκω*		ܡܝܬ ("he died")
62	*οἰκείωσιν*	*εὔνοια*		ܪܚܡܐ ("love")
83	*χείμαρρος*	*ποταμός*		ܢܗܪܐ ("stream")

As one might expect, this sort of diversity occurs often when the analysis is broadened to incorporate different contexts.[77]

Less often, the translator uses different Syriac word to represent one Greek

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[73]See Sauget, "Une homélie de Proclus," 10. It must be observed that in some cases, more literal options were open to the translator, but for some reason he has produced a less consistently parallel translation vocabulary than he could have.

[74]In one other instance in this homily, *πόνος* ≈ ܥܒܝܕܬܐ ("toil"); the latter appears also for *τῶν ἱδρώτων* in the same context.

[75]In one instance in Homily 22, *βίος* ≈ ܥܠܡܐ ("world"); in another in Homily 62, *βίος ἄριστος* ≈ ܕܬܬܢܗܓܘܢ ܛܒܬܐ ("that you conduct yourselves steadfastly").

[76]Actually, *πόνους* ≈ ܥܒܝܕܬܐ ܕܡܬܚܡܠܢܘܬܐ ("customs of endurance").

[77]E.g., throughout the homilies, *φησι* may be translated by ܐܡܪ (most often) or ܐܡܪܐ; in Homily 20, *μυριάκις* ≈ ܙܒܢ ܣܓܝܐ ("myriad of times") and in one instance in Homily 83, *μυρία* ≈ ܣܓܝܐ ("myriads of"), but elsewhere in Homily 83, *μυρίων* ≈ ܣܓܝܐܝܬ ("many"); in Homily 23, *ἐσχάτης ἀνοίας* ≈ ܚܣܪܘܢ ܡܕܥܐ ("deficiency of mind"), but in Homily 6, *ἐσχάτης βλασφημίας* ≈ ܫܘܬܦܐ ܪܒܐ ("great blasphemy").

word occurring more than once within the same context. For example:

Homily		
22	*δημιουργός*	ܥܒܕܐ ("maker") ܒܪܝܐ ("creator")
23	*διατρίβω*	ܩܝܡ ("is [present]") ܡܬܩܝܡ ("remaining")
62	*πίπτω*	ܐܬܩܛܠ ("he was killed") ܢܦܠ ("he fell")
83	*καταγέλασ(τ)ον*[78]	ܒܙܐ ("show contempt for") ܩܛܝܪ ("laugh at")
20	*πρόρρησιν*	ܩܕܡܝܘܬܐ ܕܝܕܥܬܗ ("priority of his knowledge) ܩܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܝܕܥܬܗ ("his prior knowledge")

On a number of occasions, the translator could have chosen literal consistency, but simply elects a more dynamic rendering. The following examples illustrate:

Homily

37 *ἀλγεῖς. . . ; Ἀλγεῖν ὄντως χρὴ ἡμᾶς ἐφ' οἷς πάσχομεν κακοῖς*
ܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܕܬܣܒܠܘܢ ܗܘܝܢ ܠܟܘܢ ܕܥܠ ܡܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܠܢ . . . . ܠܡܐ ܠܟ
. . . hurtful to you? For it is right for you to suffer at those things which evilly happen to us.

62 *οἱ οὐδεν εἰδότες, τὰ τῶν εἰδότων· οἱ δὲ εἰδότες, τὰ τῶν ἀγνοούντων*
ܐܝܢܘܢ ܕܠܐ ܝܕܥܝܢ ܡܕܡ. ܕܝܕܥܝܢ ܡܕܡܝܢ. ܐܝܢܘܢ ܕܝܕܥܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܠܐ
ܝܕܥܝܢ:
Those who are in no way wise. . . of those who are wise; and those who know, what is (characteristic) of those who do not know.

These instances illustrate the fact that formal consistency is not a high priority for the translator. The translation does not approach the technical stereotyping present in seventh-century translations.

The results of this analysis are important for understanding the significance of the Syriac to the Greek text. Since the Syriac does not employ consistent patterns of rendering particular words and phrases, it cannot be assumed that because a Syriac translation represents a certain Greek word or phrase in one context, that it does so everywhere, or even typically.

15. Dynamic Renderings

Many of the examples adduced so far illustrate the level of dynamism characteristic of the translation. The translator tends to represent only the elements of the Greek source text, but he is quite capable of producing translations which have elements unparalleled in the Greek—essentially, "additions;" or he may create a remarkably non-literal translation. Occasionally, such passages may commend themselves as possibly derivative from a lost Greek text. More typically, they simply

[78]Variation exists within the Greek tradition.

further illustrate the translator's dynamic style. These instances may be grouped into several categories.[79]

a. Making Explicit what is Implicit

Very often, under the pressures of Syriac idiom, the translator produces elements not found in the Greek which are not strictly required by Syriac grammar. That is, the translator could—and often does—choose not to include such readings, but they are natural to idiomatic Syriac and he includes them. These include especially the explicit provision of subjects, objects, and possessors. The readings do not represent acts of addition so much as a instances of a lack of conscious repression. Some examples of this category:

Homily		
22	*τῶν πόνων*	("*our* labour")
23	*αὐτοῦ τὴν ἔφοδον*	("his onslaught *toward us*")
62	*ποιούσης*	("to do *to him*")
62	*ἅπαντα τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς*	("all **their** *things*")
85	*τελευτῶντες*	("at *our* departure")
37	*ψύχρας*	("insipid *reasons*")
22	*τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις*	("foreign *creatures*")
23	*τῶν ἄλλων ἑκάστου*	("**the rest of good deeds**")

The translator frequently fills out ellipses:

Homily

22 *ἐχρῆν ἔδει δοθῆναι τὸν νόμον, . . . καὶ τὴν χάριν*

it was right furthermore that the law be given, . . . also the grace *of our Lord's coming with it*

37 *οὕτω Ἰακὼβ ὁ Ἡσαῦ, οὕτω τὸν Ἰωσὴφ οἱ ἀδελφοί*

thus *his* brothers *sold* Joseph, and Esau *begrudged* Jacob

62 *πῶς τεταρταῖος ὁ Λάζαρος;*

How *had* Lazarus *had* four days *since he died*?

83 *πολὺ μέγα τὸ γινόμενον ἦν*

great was *the miracle* which had been done

b. Making the Style Smoother

[79]In the following examples of dynamic renderings, the translations of additions are *italicized* and the translations of free renderings are in **bold type**.

Apart from filling out ellipses, the translator often provides easier readings than would be produced by a literal rendering of the Greek. A favourite target for this sort of dynamism is the rhetorical question and the rhetorical transition, but the translator smoothes out other sorts of passages as well. For example:

Homily

22 *Τίνος ἕνεκεν εἰπών. . . , ἔπραξεν ὅπερ εἶπεν ἡ μήτηρ;*
ܡܢܐܝܢ ܡܢ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܐܡܗ ܕܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ . . . ܡܢܐ ܕܗܘ ܥܒܕ ܠܗ
Why when he says. . . , *afterwards* did he do what *his* mother told *him*?

37 *τί οὖν ὁ Χριστός;*
ܡܢܐ ܗܝܢ ܡܪܝܢ ܠܡܐ ܐܡܪ .
And what *did* **our Lord** *say to him*?

83 *πῶς τοῦτο ἐδήλου;*
ܐܝܟܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܘܕܥ ܡܢ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܡܪ .
how was he indicating this *by what he said*?

62 *ὅτι ἀναστάς, κἂν πάλιν ἀποθάνῃ, οὐδὲν πείσεται*
ܕܐܢ ܡܬܩܝܡ ܗܘܐ ܠܐ ܢܬܩܛܠ ܕܡܬܩܛܠ ܠܐ ܡܕܡ ܢܬܥܒܕ ܠܗ
"**If he dies after he rises**, nothing will happen *to him*"

62 *οὐχ ἡγῇ τῷ Θεῷ προσκρούειν;*
ܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܠܟ ܕܐܢܬ ܡܟܥܣ ܠܐܠܗܐ ,ܠܐ
It does not occur *to you* that **you are angering** God?

83 *τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰρημένων τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι*
ܕܡܬܚܘܝܢ ,ܡܠܝܢ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܩܫܬܐ
to show the truth **of Christ's words**

c. Amplifying the Greek

The translator frequently intensifies or clarifies the Greek by means of some addition or alteration. For example:

Homily

6 *νῦν δὲ λέγων*
ܘܬܘܒ ܡܬܡܠܠ ܡܬܬܡܪ ܕܐܡܪ
and again *in another place* he said

6 *τῶν πολλῶν*
ܕܐܢܫܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ
of people

22 *ἕκαστα*
ܟܠ ܚܕ ܘܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ
each *and every one of them*

22 *τὸ θαῦμα ὕποπτον ποιεῖς*
ܡܬܬܥܒܕ ܬܡܗܐ ܕܡܬܩܒܠ ܒܥܘܬܟ ܡܬܬܚܙܐ ܠܡܬܬܡܗ
a miracle **that came at your request would seem strange**

22 *κρήνας καὶ πηγάς*
ܡܢܒܥܐ ܘܡܝܐ ܕܡܢ ܪܡܐ ܢܦܩܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܕܡܝܐ ܘܡܝܐ
springs **or** streams *whose waters are discharged from the height*[80]

23 *οὐ σφόδρα διισχυρίζεσθαι ἀναγκαῖον εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ*
ܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܠܝ ܕܢܬܚܘܢ ܒܬܪܥܝܬܐ ܘܡܬܩܝܡܝܢ ܕܗܢܐ ܐܘ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܩܕܡܝܐ ܗܘܐ
it does not seem to me that **by debate I should assert and prove** *that this or another is the first*

37 *τὸ προμείμενον χωρίον*
ܗܢܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܫܘܚܠܦܐ
this account *of the paralytic*

62 *πείσεται*
ܢܬܬܠܘܢ ܠܗ ܒܝܫܐ
something evil will happen to him

23 *μὴ καθορώμενος ἡμῖν*
ܕܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܠܢ
being hidden *from our eyes*

62 *ὅτι δὲ οὐκ ᾔδεισαν, δῆλον καὶ ἐκ τοῦ εἰπεῖν. . .*
καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπαγαγεῖν
. . . . ܕܐܠܗܐ ܗܘܐ . ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܝܕܥܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܬ ܗܝ
ܕܒܚܝܠܗ ܕܡܬܦܠܚ ܗܘܐ . ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܠܐ ܚܟܝܡܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܬ ܗܝ
For *(the fact) that he is God* they did not know, in that they said, ...
And *of (the fact) that he was acting by his own power, they were not wise*, in that she said. . . .[81]

78 *Τί οὖν ἂν εἴποιτε περὶ τοῦ Πνεῦματος;*
. ܡܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܕܬܐܡܪܘܢ ܥܠ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܠܐ ܢܣܒ ܦܓܪܐ
What do you have to say about the Spirit, *who did not take flesh*?

83 *οὐκ εὐχὴ ἦν, ἀλλὰ λαλία διὰ τοὺς μαθητὰς γινομένη*
ܠܐ ܨܠܘܬܐ ܗܘܬ ܐܠܐ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܠܬܠܡܝܕܐ . ܕܡܬܬܚܙܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܨܠܘܬܐ
it was not a prayer, but a **teaching** to **the apostles** *in the guise of a prayer*

83 *οὐχ ὑβρίζει τὸν προδότην*
ܠܐ ܡܫܬܡܥ ܠܗ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܡܩܪܐ ܠܗ
he does not revile *nor does he call him* "traitor"

d. Double Translations

In a particular sort of amplification, the translator sometimes provides two terms or phrases where the Greek has only one. As in HMt,[82] these double translations are not designed necessarily to explain difficult terms, but function

[80]The expansion probably exists to distinguish the two virtually synonymous Greek terms.

[81]In preceding lines, the Greek (and Syriac) has statements including *Θεὸς ἦν* and *οἰκείᾳ δυνάμει καὶ αὐθεντίᾳ*.

[82]See 75.

simply as pleonastic intensifiers. For example:

Homily

83 *τὸ καταγέλαστον* ܚܙܝܬܐ ܘܚܫܐ
shame and absurdity[83]

83 *οὐ κρατεῖ* ܠܝܬܗ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܠܐ
he does not **have power and rule**

37 *ὑπερβαίνων τὸν νόμον* ܡܥܒܪܢܐ ܕܢܡܘܣܐ ܘܡܬܚܢܢ ܗܘ
transcending and overcoming the law

83 *σέ τις κωμῳδήσῃ* ܢܫܬܚܩ ܠܟ ܡܢܝܢ ܕܢܗܘܐ
someone will **mock you and ridicule**

37 *παρατηρεῖν* μετὰ ἀκριβείας*
ܕܢܚܙܝܢ ܒܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܘܒܫܚܪܐ ܕܡܕܡ ܕܢܚܘܣܘܢ
to *recognize clearly and* observe accurately

**παρατηρῆσαι* some manuscripts

d. Conclusions about the Dynamic Renderings

The extensive lists of preceding examples represent only a sampling of the many dynamic readings offered by the Syriac translation. They illustrate that, in this category, the translation of HJn is not nearly so literal as the translations of HEpp, nor even as HMt^{B}. Many of the readings are reminiscent of the dynamism characterizing HMt^{A}, though the translation of HJn is more reserved than the former.

Since the translator's style occasionally leads him to depart significantly from the Greek text, one must exercize extreme care when positing a hypothetical Greek source text on the basis of a unique Syriac reading, where no such Greek reading is known to exist. Only where unique readings are not explicable on the basis of the patterns of dynamic style will such positions be credible. Numerous examples have been given here in order to depict the contours of those patterns. Any suggestion that a Syriac reading is "original" must be cautious and tentative.

D. Conclusions Drawn from the Translation Analysis

1. General Observations

It is obvious that the witnesses to the Syriac translation of HJn available for inspection, whether commentary manuscripts or collections, attest to the same

[83]Elsewhere, the translator does not use a double translation to render *καταγέλαστος*.

translation, although some variation exists.

A survey of the edited homilies and several passages from a few other homilies has produced data which enable the construction of a profile of the translation technique. In summary, the Syriac translation represents the text and meaning of the Greek source text quite well. The translator adopts preferred methods and often follows them with a fair amount of consistency. However, he is less consistent in applying some, and in no category of analysis does he approach absolute consistency. He is willing to depart from his preferred methods in order to make meaning more accessible to his readers. His dynamic techniques of representation usually change form without significantly changing content, but he often changes both form and semantic content to produce a sense similar but not precisely parallel to that of the source text. This means that one must exercize caution when using the Syriac evidence as a tool for understanding the Greek tradition. Only a comprehensive knowledge of the translation technique will allow one responsibly to perceive the relationship between the Syriac and the Greek, and even then certainty may not be possible, both because of the limitations of Syriac in representing Greek and because of the translator's inconsistencies and occasional creativity.[84]

2. Dating the Translation

A *terminus ante quem* for the translation is set by the dates of the manuscripts themselves, either to the sixth or seventh century. The likelihood that Philoxenus' florilegium cites from the same translation suggests a revised probable hypothetical *terminus* of 482–4.[85] The translation analysis of this Chapter also provides very helpful corroborating indicators. First, in virtually every category, the style is seen to be definitely not a style characteristic of seventh-century translations, again requiring a *terminus ante quem* prior to the end of the sixth century. The translation exhibits few signs of very literal techniques; the rendering *διὰ τοῦτο* ≈ ܥܠ ܗܢܐ ܕܝܢ ("because of this") and the occurrence of the adjectival form ܢܫܝܬܐ ("womanly") are ostensibly features of sixth-century translation. Especially in the latter case, the extreme rarity of such forms in the translation make the evidence inconclusive—certainly the translation does not have the range and number of similar adjectival forms that one would expect from a translation made in the mid- to late-sixth century.

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[84]See Chapter VIII.

[85]See 9 and Appendix 2.

More common are features suggestive of an earlier date, such as the absence of *μέν* ≈ ܟܕ, and the inconsistent ways of handling *ἀρετή*, *σωτηρία*, and words related to *φιλοσοφέω*. The translator's means of rendering words related to *σαρκωθέντα* also suggests a date prior to 500, whereas his unusual translation of *ὁμοούσιος* is not inconsistent with that dating, but may also fit into the sixth century.

The translation's dynamic features are stylistically consistent with fifth-century translations, although its dynamism is more restrained than that of HMt[A]—indeed, HMt[B] shows that fifth-century translators could be quite literal in this regard. Nevertheless, measured according to translation style, HJn is developmentally later than HMt[A].[86] In the other direction, HJn is in most categories less literal than the translations of the HEpp;[87] i.e. the former are developmentally earlier than the latter.

Taken together, the internal and manuscript evidence suggests that the translation of HJn was made no earlier than the last part of the fifth century, but by the middle of the sixth. On the weight of the evidence, an earlier rather than later date within this range is preferable. Adding the evidence of the florilegium, a probable date prior to 485 is set, and it is important to observe that the translation technique is not inconsistent with that dating.

3. Distinguishing Characteristics of the Translator

The translator's style has some interesting special features. Listing here the most unusual may provide clues for identifying his work, or the work of other translators pursuing a very similar style. They include: frequent use of the infinitive absolute; the treatment of words related to *φιλοσοφέω*, particularly the preference for words built from ܬܩܦ ("to be strong, constant"); *φιλανθρωπία* ≈ ܬܢܝܚܘܬܐ ("mercy"); and especially *ὁμοούσιον* ≈ ܚܕ ܡܗܘܬܐ ("one is the nature").

E. The History of the Greek Tradition and the Syriac Homilies on John

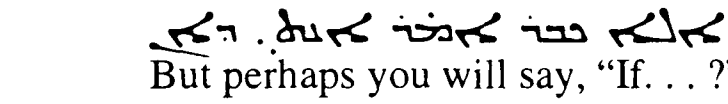
This topic is treated mainly in Chapter VIII.

Here it will suffice merely to draw attention to some passages in which the Syriac appears to preserve some primitive readings which do not appear in the printed

[86]For information on the dating of this translation, see 93–4.
[87]For the dating of these translations, see 137–9.

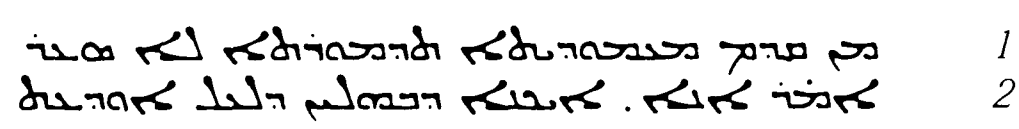
Greek texts, perhaps no longer in the Greek tradition at all. In light of the preceding analyses, the discrepancies between Syriac and Greek are not easy to account for merely on the grounds of translation technique (e.g. highly dynamic renderings).

Homily
6 *Εἰ τοίνυν*



But perhaps you will say, "If. . . ?"

23 1 *πρὸ τοῦ βαπτίσματος οὐδὲν ἐθαυματούργησε,*
2 *καὶ ἔμπροσθεν ἐδηλώσαμεν*

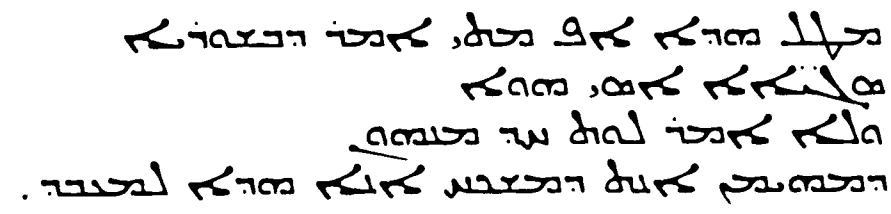


1 before the baptism he did no miracle,
2 *I say*, **as I have shown by the things above**

In the following, the sense of the two texts is so different, it is obvious that some confusion has occurred. Yet the confusion may not have been in the mind of the translator, but somewhere in the Greek tradition:

Homily
37 *Διὸ* καὶ οὐ παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν σημείων ὁ Ματθαῖος εἰσάγει τοῦτο τὸν Χριστὸν εἰρηκότα, ἀλλ' ὅτε πολλοὺς ἐθεράπευσε, πρὸς μόνους τοὺς δύο τυφλούς.*

**Διὰ τοῦτο* Savile



Because of this also **Matthew said that in the beginning**
he had healed many
and he did not say to any of them,
"Do you believe that I am able to do this?"

In the following, some of the Syriac translation's dynamic features are comprehensible on the basis of translation style, but the long addition of the second clause is not:

Homily
83 1 *Τῆς αὐτῆς ἕνεκεν αἰτίας.*
2
3 *Καὶ γὰρ καὶ ἐνταῦθα μέγα κατόρθωμα διηγεῖται,*
4 *ὅτι, πάντων ἀποπηδησάντων,* αὐτὸς ἐπηκολούθει.*

**ἀναχωρησάντων* some manuscripts

1 ܒܬܪܝܗܘܢ ܡܕܡ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܡܛܠ ܬܪܝܗܘܢ ܗܢܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܒܩܕܡ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܡܪܝܢ ܡܛܠ ܪܚܡܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܗܘܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܗܢܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܗܘܐ ܡܡܠܠ ܥܠ ܓܒܪܘܬܗ ܕܝܠܗ ܡܛܠ ܕܟܠ ܬܠܡܝܕܐ ܐܬܪܚܩܘ ܗܘ ܠܚܘܕܝܗ ܗܘܐ ܡܬܒܥ ܠܝܫܘܥ

1 **There is one** reason **for both**,
2 for *as in the former he exhibits the confidence which he had regarding our Lord due to love,*
3 *similarly* here also *it was because* he was telling about *his* fortitude,
4 since after all *the (other) disciples* had fled, he himself was following (Jesus).

F. Revisions in the Homilies on John

The phenomenon of revision in the Syriac translation tradition has already been introduced.[88] Revision or re-translation may be detected on the basis of differences between the texts which various witnesses preserve—differences of style where the texts are not parallel, or, more securely, differences between actual readings where the texts are parallel. According to both modes of detection, it has been observed that all the available witnesses with parallel texts of the Syriac HJn attest to the same basic translation; hence, there is no evidence in the extant tradition for radical revision or thoroughgoing re-translation. Throughout the centuries, users of the tradition appear to have been essentially satisfied with the text of the original translation. However, numerous minor variations exist amongst the various witnesses. The edited texts and translations (Chapters XIII and X) provide the data, which the following description interprets.[89]

Many of the variants are orthographical, and some of the collections in particular are distinguished by late orthography. Some variations involve errors producing nonsense texts, while even more involve readings which technically make sense but are obviously the product of errors due to inner-Syriac scribal confusion. The commentary manuscript B.L. 14,562 has a remarkable number of such errors. Very frequent are variations in pointing, either distinguishing number (substantives) or, more often, tense (verbs), for which no pattern emerges; that is, in such cases no witness is more likely to be remarkably closer to the Greek. Similarly, a number of variations occur involving conjunctions and particles, but again, with only one

[88]See 94–6.
[89]See also Chapter XII (2.4–6).

exception, detailed below, there is no pattern indicating conscious revision. These variations are mainly indicative of the original translation style and of inner-Syriac scribal phenomena. Time and again, comparisons with the Greek show that the commentary manuscripts generally have better texts (i.e. more primitive) than the collections.

Some of the collections have abbreviated texts, deliberately shortened in places in order to adapt them to their contexts. These are *B.L. Add. 14,612*, *B.L. Add. 14,727*, *B.L. Add. 14,732*, *B.L. Add. 14,516*. This sort of conscious revision is not of interest to this analysis.

Some instances of variation are of greater interest because they involve more significant variants. In a few cases, a difficult word has been omitted. Others involve Biblical citations. Numerous other types of small variations could be adduced. Often in these cases, one witness or a group of witnesses has a text closer to that of the Greek. However, although with some variants it is not easy to see how the variation originated, or even which (if any) variant is original, most of the significant variants are easily explicable on inner-Syriac grounds. Most important, the occurrences are sporadic and inconsistent, and the readings of distinct witnesses exhibit no identifiable patterns indicative of conscious revision with reference to a Greek text.

A further indication of inner-Syriac phenomena is seen in the texts of Homily 37, where the homiliaries *B.L. 14,515* (893) and *B.L. Add. 14,516* (9th century) share many minor agreements. Most of the agreements cannot be related to the Greek; of those which may, they are fairly evenly split between readings which agree with the Greek against B.L. Add. 14,561, and those which depart from the Greek against the same. The pattern is indicative of an inner-Syriac homiliary phenomenon, without direct reference to the Greek. Similarly, in Homily 83, B.L. 12,161 and Sin. syr. NF Sp. 47 are in close agreement; B.L. Add. 14,562 is basically in agreement with the latter two, but has numerous idiosyncrasies. The thirteenth-century homiliary *B.L. Add. 14,727* has many distinctive readings which often set it apart from the other three, yet it is the twelfth-century anthology *B.L. Add. 14,732* which is most distinctive, regularly setting itself against all the other witnesses. Yet throughout, the variants are typically minor and all these manuscripts obviously share the same translation, albeit attesting to textual differences. But the differences are not of a sort that need be the result of any conscious reference at some stage to a Greek text, and

the absence of patterns renders suspect any hypothesis of conscious revision.

The only exceptions to this characterization are in the texts of the anthology *B.L. Add. 14,732* and the homiliary *B.L. Add. 14,727*. Containing abbreviated forms of the last portion of Homily 83, the texts have an unusual feature which is explicable only on the grounds of reference to the Greek: in two places, their texts have ܡܢ, corresponding to *μὲν* in the Greek text, where the other Syriac manuscripts have no such correspondance, in keeping with the translation style. Particles and conjunctions were amongst the first targets for revisors wanting to make their texts more like the Greek, but the texts of *B.L. Add. 14,732* and *B.L. Add. 14,727* do not generally show themslves to be the product of a revisor. The texts are essentially the same as that of the other Syriac witnesses. Taking *B.L. Add. 14,732* as an example, aside from the abbreviations, it has a number of minor unique readings, including a sizable addition, but in only one other instance (involving the omission of ܘܐܦ ≈ *καί*) does it agree with the Greek except where one or more of the other witnesses do so as well.[90] If the text in *B.L. Add. 14,732* is the product of conscious revision, the revisor's point of reference seems not to have been the known Greek text primarily. The character of *B.L. Add. 14,727* is much the same. Yet the particle ܡܢ (≈ *μέν*) could not have been inferred from context; its introduction must be the result of direct reference to some Greek text.

One can only speculate about the circumstances producing a text with such an unusual literal feature pointing to revision. Perhaps a compiler of the Syriac collection worked on the basis of a Greek collection, but used existing Syriac translations where available, rather than re-translating the Greek segments.[91] However, reference to the available Greek structural model would have brought to his attention the particles (*μέν*) absent from the Syriac, and he corrected the small but (to him) outstanding omissions, while nevertheless utilizing the existing Syriac translation for the text of the collection's segment. Determining whether others of the readings of either *B.L. Add. 14,732* or *B.L. Add. 14,727* derive from reference to such a Greek model would require even more speculation.

These collections are reminders that the larger tradition of Chrysostom's

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[90]Nor is any noteworthy pattern of agreement with Syriac witnesses perceptible.

[91]Probably not an unusual process (see Sauget, "L'homéliaire du vatican syriaque 253," 347).

Homilies on the New Testament consists not only of the main tradition of Greek and Syriac manuscripts of the homilies proper, but also of Greek and Syriac sub-traditions, such as those to which the collections belong; sub-traditions with relationships and developments of their own. A text within a sub-tradition may be idiosyncratic, or even exhibit its own relationship to a Greek text, as in the case of *B.L. Add. 14,732* and *B.L. Add. 14,727*, but the overall tradition provides no evidence that the Syriac translation of HJn ever underwent revision or re-translation with reference to a Greek text, or that the extant commentary manuscripts have any but the essentially original translation.

VII. BIBLICAL CITATIONS IN THE HOMILIES ON JOHN

A. Introduction

A full analysis of the Biblical citations, adaptations, and allusions in the Syriac Homilies 6, 20, 22, 23, 37, 62, 83, and 84 on John will make it possible to depict the contours of the translator's methods more precisely than was possible for HMt and HEpp.

The study reveals several basic aspects of the corpus of Biblical references within HJn. First, in contrast to the portions of HMt and HEpp surveyed, the internal citations in HJn refer mainly to the Biblical texts with which each homily is principally concerned and only rarely to other passages. In the eight homilies, there are only four references to six Old Testament verses and eleven references to as many non-Gospel New Testament verses. Only 25 references to 26 non-Johannine Gospel verses occur (three of which involve New Testament citations of the Old Testament). Turning to John itself, 18 citations make reference to 16 verses in John which fall outside the passages with which the homilies are primarily concerned. But of the latter passages, to which the homilies refer verse-by-verse continuously, references are made (often repeatedly) to the following: 1:6–8; 1:43, 45–9; 2:3–13, 16–20, 22; 5:6–13; 11:1–5, 7–9, 11–2, 14–6, 18–27; 18:1–5, 7–26, 28–40; 19:1, 4–7, 10–15; involving scores of separate instances. References are rarely of more than one verse, and typically only of part of a verse. The study includes eight initial citations of ten verses. For reasons which will become clear, citations Johannine citations occurring in lower-numbered homilies are analyzed separately from those in higher-numbered homilies.

Second, many of the internal Greek citations use precise Biblical wording, but with certain major modifications on the macro-level, involving phrases and clauses. Occasional expansions or additions occur, usually rhetorical or explanatory—even exclamatory, but more frequent are condensations omitting portions of the Biblical text. The Syriac typically follows the Greek in such instances. Just as one cannot presume that a short Greek citation witnesses to an authentic short Biblical text, one must be very cautious when using short Syriac citations as a textual guide to long

Greek ones, and vice-versa, because of this common mode of citation, primitive in the tradition.

Third, in Greek and Syriac, introductory formulae (e.g. "and Pilate said to them") typically precede citations or link elements within larger citations. Although the formulae often resemble the Biblical text because of parallel elements, they often do not match any form of the Biblical text but are typically paraphrastic. Hence, they must not be considered as part of the Biblical text cited and are normally discounted from this analysis.

Not many of the Biblical references in HJn are indicated by *φησὶ* in the Greek or the parallel ܐܡܪ in the Syriac. A number have introductory formulae which identify the references as citations from scripture. However, such indications (or the lack thereof) are not a helpful guide to the qualities of the citations.

The following study presents numerous examples. Where the Greek comparison text derives from Boismard's edition, this is noted by: B; where the text derives from Migne and Savile, this is noted by: SM.

B. Internal Citations

1. Old Testament Citations

The few Old Testament citations occur towards the ends of homilies, in the *ethika*. They exhibit varied techniques. The following is close to the Greek, showing no special deference to the Peshitta:

Psalm 36/7:4 (Homily 22; SM)

1 *Κατατρύφησον γὰρ τοῦ Κυρίου,* φησί,*
2 *καὶ δῷη σοι τὰ αἰτήματα τῆς καρδίας σου·*

**γὰρ τούτου* alii

B.L. Add. 14,561 and *B.L. Add. 14,612*

1 ܐܬܬܪܥܢܘ *[1] ܠܡܪܝܐ ܒܟܠ ܠܒܟܘܢ
2 ܘܢܬܠ ܠܟ ܒܥܠܬܟ *[2] ܕܠܒܟ.

1 For, "Take delight,"*[1] it says, "in the Lord,
2 and he will give you the request*[2] of your heart."

*[1]ܐܬܬܪܥܢܘ *B.L. Add. 14,612* (plural imperative)
*[2]ܒܥܠܬܟ *B.L. Add. 14,612* (plural; variation in pointing)

Peshitta

1 ܐܡܪ *[1] ܒܡܪܝܐ ܒܟܠ ܠܒܟ

2 ܗܘܐ ܠܝ ܥܒܝܠܬܐ*[2] ܕܠܒܐ .

1 Hope*[1] in the Lord
2 and he will give you the requests*[2] of your heart.

*[1]ܣܒܪܘ 7a1 10t4 (plural imperative)
*[2]ܥܒܝܠܬܐ 6t1 8a1 8ti 10t4 12t1—> (singular)

The Syriac of the following loose citation partially accommodates to the Biblical text (i.e. Peshitta[1]) in line 3, but in line 1 departs from the Greek homily and Peshitta texts in a way which suggests that the Syriac reflects a more primitive Greek text:

Ezekiel 14:20 (Homily 84 SM)
1 *Νῶε, καὶ Ἰώβ, καὶ Δανιὴλ*
2
3 *τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῶν οὐ μὴ ῥύσονται.*

B.L. Add. 12,161 and B.L. Add. 14,562
1 ܢܘܚ ܕܢܐܠ .
2 ܠܒܢܝܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܢܦܨܘ .

1 Noah and Daniel
2
3 would not save their sons and daughters.

Peshitta
1 ܐܦܠܘ ܢܘܚ ܕܢܐܠ ܗܘܘ ܒܗ .
2 ܐܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܡܪܝ ܡܪܝܐ .
3 ܠܐ ܒܢܝܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܒܢܬܗܘܢ ܢܦܨܘܢ .

1 Even (if) Noah and Daniel and were in it,
2 (as) I live, says the Lord of Lords,
3 neither son nor daughter would they save.

In the following citation, the Syriac citation appears to be more primitive than the Greek in scope, although its wording is exactly like that of the Peshitta:

Psalm 49/50:16, 20 (Homily 83; SM)
1 *Τῷ γὰρ ἁμαρτωλῷ φησιν ὁ Θεός,*
2 *Ἱνατί σου ἐκδιηγῇ τὰ δικαιώματά μου,*
3 *καὶ ἀναλαμβάνεις τὴν διαθήκην μου διὰ στόματός σου;*
4 *Καθήμενος κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου κατελάλεις.*

B.L. Add. 12,161, B.L. 14,562, *B.L. Add. 14,727*, and Peshitta
(Psalm 49/50:16b) 1 ܠܚܛܝܐ ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ* .
2 ܡܕܡ ܕܐܢܬ ܡܦܪܩ ܦܘܬܓܡܝ .
3
(Psalm 49/50:20a) 4 ܐܬܬܒܥ ܐܚܘܟ ܒܛܝܡܐ ܗܘܝܬ .

[1]Most LXX witnesses have a text-form like that of the Peshitta; none match that of HJn.

1 For* to the sinner God says,
2 "What have you to do with the scriptures of my commandments?
3
4 You were sitting and plotting against your brother."

*om. ܠܡܐ Peshitta (om. "for")

Two citations are of Old Testament passages also cited in the New Testament,[2] both of which are introduced as words of the prophets. Neither shows particular affinities with the Peshitta Old Testament.

With so few examples, and ones of relative diversity, it is not possible to describe the translator's method of citing the Old Testament *per se*. It is clear at least that the Syriac can be useful for detecting secondary developments which appear in the printed Greek texts.

2. Non-Johannine New Testament Citations

a. Non-Gospel Citations

Non-Gospel citations in the Syriac HJn are infrequent and tend to follow the Greek homily text according to a conservative translation style (i.e. without dynamic expansion or radical modification). They rarely exhibit influence from Syriac Biblical versions, and allusions are not expanded according to the familiar Biblical text. For example:

Romans 12:15 (Homily 37; SM)
χαίρειν μετὰ χαιρόντων, καὶ κλαίειν μετὰ κλαιόντων

B.L. Add. 14,561, *B.L. Add. 14,515*, and *B.L. Add. 14,516*
ܠܡܚܕܐ ܥܡ ܐܢܫܝ ܚܕܘܬܐ . ܘܠܡܒܟܐ ܥܡ ܐܢܫܝ ܒܟܝܐ .
to rejoice with those which rejoice and to weep with those which weep

Peshitta
ܚܕܘ ܥܡ ܚܕܝܢ . ܘܒܟܘ ܥܡ ܒܟܝܢ .
Rejoice with those who rejoice and weep with those who weep.

1 Timothy 5:17 (Homily 22; B)
1 *οἱ καλῶς προεστῶτες πρεσβύτεροι διπλῆς τιμῆς ἀξιούσθωσαν**
2 *μάλιστα οἱ κοπιῶντες ἐν λόγῳ καὶ διδασκαλίᾳ.*

*om. line 1 B M

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[2]Malachi 3:1 (Mark 1:2) in Homily 6 and Micah 5:2 (Matthew 2:6) in Homily 20.

B.L. Add. 14,561, *B.L. Add. 14,612*, and Peshitta

1 ܩܫܝܫܐ ܕܫܠܝܛܝܢ ܗܘܝܢ ܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ *1ܠܡܬܩܢ ܬܪܝܢ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ *2.ܡܬܝܩܪܝܢ

2 ܕܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܒܡܠܬܐ ܘܒܬܠܡܝܕܘܬܐ.*3

1 Elders who stand-at-the-head*1 well will be esteemed worthy*2 of double honour,
2 especially those which labour in the word and in teaching.*3

*1ܡܫܠܝܛܝܢ Peshitta ("who lead") *2ܡܬܝܩܪܝܢ Peshitta ("will be worthy")
*3ܕܒܡܠܬܐ Peshitta (synonym based on same root)

In the last example, although the Syriac homily text is naturally like that of the Peshitta—the Greek text is similar—the literal method of translating *προεστῶτες* shows that the translator works directly from the Greek here; he has chosen a term independently. In another example of the translator's reliance on the Greek, he follows the transposed order of his source text:[3]

2 Corinthians 5:20 (Homily 20; SM)
1 *Ὑπὲρ Χριστοῦ γὰρ πρεσβεύομεν, φησίν,*
2 *ὡς τοῦ Θεοῦ παρακαλοῦντος δι' ἡμῶν.*

B.L. Add. 14,561

1 ܡܛܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܡܠܬ ܡܬܚܢܢ ܠܟܘܢ
2 ܐܝܟ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܬܚܢܢ ܒܝܕܢ ܠܟܘܢ.

1 "For on behalf of Christ," he says, "we beseech you,
2 as if God through us were beseeching you."

Peshitta

1 ܐܝܟ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܬܚܢܢ ܒܝܕܢ ܠܟܘܢ.
2 ܡܛܠ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܬܚܢܢ ܠܟܘܢ.

1 And as if God were beseeching you through us,
2 on behalf of Christ therefore we beseech.

The tendency to follow the Greek homily text requires that special attention be given to those citations which depart from that text yet also do not accommodate themselves to a Syriac Biblical version or other Syriac witness. For example:

1 Corinthians 13:3 (Homily 37; SM)
1 *Ἐὰν τὸ σῶμά μου παραδῶ ἵνα καυθήσωμαι,*
2 *ἀγάπην δὲ μὴ ἔχω, οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦμαι.*

B.L. Add. 14,561, *B.L. Add. 14,515*, and *B.L. Add. 14,516*

1 ܕܐܢ ܦܓܪܝ ܐܬܝܩܕ ܠܢܘܪܐ:
2 ܠܝܬ ܠܝ ܚܘܒܐ ܕ.* ܠܐ ܡܬܪܒܚ ܠܝ ܡܕܡ.

[3]B. Aland (*Neue Testament in syrischer Überlieferung*, 2.2.109) uncovers no other examples of such restructuring.

1 Even if my corpus I give to the fire,
2 but love be not in me,* I have profited nothing.

*ܠܝ *B.L. Add. 14,515* and *B.L. Add. 14,516* ("but love I have not")

Peshitta

1 ܐܢ ܐܦܠܓ ܦܓܪܝ, ܕܢܐܣܪܘ:
2 ܘܐܝܢܐ ܠܝ ܪܚܡܐ ܒܝ. ܡܕܡܐ ܠܝ ܠܐ ܡܬܦܥܢܐ.

1 And if I surrender my body to be burned,
2 and love be not in me, I profit nothing.

The use of ܒ ("in me") instead of ܠ ("I have") in the citation is an accommodation to the Peshitta, although it is difficult to decide whether it is secondary, or whether a scribe changed it to ܠ, accidentally or as an intentional "improvement." The rest of the text relies on the Greek—except the phrase "give to the fire," which is unlike the Greek homily and Syriac (and Greek) Biblical texts.[4] Perhaps it is a loose translation, but such looseness is not characteristic of the translation of these citations, and it is not unlikely that the translation is based on a Greek text slightly different from the edited texts.

In conclusion, it is clear that the Syriac text can be useful for ascertaining the scope and text of primitive Greek non-Gospel New Testament citations in HJn.

b. Non-Johannine Gospel Citations

The translator regularly translates these citations directly from the Greek, without referring to the Peshitta or another Syriac Biblical version. For example:

Matthew 3:15 (Homily 6; B)
ἄφες ἄρτι, οὕτω γὰρ πρέπον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν πληρῶσαι πᾶσαν δικαιοσύνην.

B.L. Add. 14,561

ܐܦܠܝ ܗܫܬܐ. ܗܟܝܠ ܠܝ ܗܘܝܠܐ ܕܢܡܠܝ ܟܠܗ ܙܕܩܬܐ.
for us to fulfill all righteousness. [5]Allow (it) now, for so it is proper

Peshitta and Old Syriac (Sinaitic and Curetonian)

ܐܦܠܝ ܗܫܬܐ. ܗܟܝܠ ܠܝ ܗܘܝܠܐ ܕܢܡܠܝ ܟܠܗ ܙܕܩܬܐ *3ܗܝ ܠܝ *2ܗܘܝ *1ܗܝ ܕܢܡ
Allow (it) now,* for*[1] so it is fitting*[2] for us to fulfill all righteousness.

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[4]Although *LG*, 8 (col. 192) also has ܐܬܝܗܒ ("I give"), and Aphrahat, *Dem* 2.16 (col. 81) also has ܡܬܦܥܢ ("I have profited").

[5]It is possible that the wording here, ܗܝܠܐ ("it is proper"), derives from the Old Syriac (Curetonian), but in view of the lack of other contacts, it is likely that the agreement is coincidental; both ܗܝ and ܗܝܠܐ are equally suitable for *πρέπον*.

*[1]pr. –ܗ Old Syriac (grammatical variant; matches B.L. Add. 14,561)
*[2]ܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ (om. ܠܗ) Old Syriac ("because so;" omit "for")
*[3]ܝܐܬܝܐ Curetonian ("it is proper")

Luke 12:47 (Homily 84; SM)
1 *Ὁ γὰρ εἰδὼς τὸ θέλημα τοῦ κυρίου αὐτοῦ,*
2 *καὶ μὴ ποιήσας, δαρήσεται πολλάς·*

B.L. Add. 12,161 and B.L. Add. 14,562
1 ܡܢ ܕܝܕܥ ܨܒܝܢܗ ܕܡܪܝܗ
2 ܠܐ ܥܒܕ. ܢܬܠܩܐ ܣܓܝܐܬܐ.

1 For that one knowing his master's will
2 and does not do (it) is beaten many (times).

Peshitta
1 ܐܒܠ ܡܢ ܕܝܕܥ ܨܒܝܢܗ ܕܡܪܝܗ
2 ܠܐ ܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܨܒܝܢܗ. ܢܬܠܩ ܣܓܝܐܬܐ.

1 But the servant who knows his master's will
2 and has not prepared it according to his will will be beaten many (times).

The following Greek adaptation is the second of two occurrences, whose form departs from the Biblical text but is the model that the translator follows:

Matthew 12:39 (Homily 23; SM [B][6])
οὐ δοθήσεται ὑμῖν σημεῖον, εἰ μὴ τὸ σημεῖον Ἰωνᾶ

B.L. Add. 14,561 and *B.L. Add. 14,612*
ܠܐ ܢܬܝܗܒ ܠܟܘܢ ܐܬܬܐ ܐܠܐ ܐܬܬܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ ܢܒܝܐ
no sign will be given to you, except the sign of Jonah *the prophet*

Peshitta and Old Syriac (Sinaitic and Curetonian)
ܠܐ ܢܬܝܗܒ ܐܬܬܐ *ܠܗ ܐܠܐ ܐܬܬܐ ܕܝܘܢܐ ܢܒܝܐ
a sign will not be given to it except the sign of Jonah the prophet

*+ ܠ Old Syriac (does not affect sense; matches Syriac homily text)

The last example shows that the translator may sometimes allow himself to be influenced by familiar Biblical wording (i.e. "the prophet"), illustrated also by the following:[7]

Matthew 26:52 (Homily 83; SM)
Πάντες οἱ λάβοντες μάχαιραν ἐν μαχαίρᾳ ἀπολοῦνται.

B.L. Add. 12,161, B.L. 14,562, *B.L. Add. 14,727*, and Peshitta

[6]Boismard gives partial evidence in *Évangile pré-johannique*, 2.1.20.
[7]It is possible that a scribe has added *seyame* to create plural forms, not the translator.

ܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܢܣܒܘ ܚܪܒܐ *2ܠܡܐ *1ܕܢܡܘܬܘܢ .
*1All those which*1 have taken *swords* will die by *swords*.

*1+ܠ Peshitta (+"for") *2ܕܢ Peshitta ("who")

The translator's method is normally to translate non-Johannine Gospel citations directly from the Greek, with perhaps only occasional, slight, and unconscious accommodations to the Peshitta text. This method sometimes allows a confident recovery of a more primitive text than is preserved by the edited Greek texts, when a Greek citation has been accommodated to familiar forms. For example:

Matthew 8:8; Luke 7:7 (Homily 62; SM)
Εἰπε λόγῳ, καὶ ἰαθήσεται ὁ παῖς μου

B.L. Add. 12,161, *B.L. Add. 14,516*, and Peshitta
*ܡܐܡܪܘ ܡܠܬܐ ܘܐܬܐܣܝ
speak the word and he* will be healed

*+ܠܝ Peshitta ("my child/servant")

The Greek homily text conforms to the Greek of Matthew 8:8 shared by most New Testament witnesses, but the Greek presupposed by the Syriac would be that of Greek Family 1, the Old Latin k, and some Coptic versions.[8]

One remarkable translation involves a phrase taken from Jeremiah 7:11 in Mark 11:17; Matthew 21:13; Luke 19:46, occurring three times in Homily 23: *σπήλαιον λῃστῶν*.[9] The Syriac (B.L. Add. 14,561 and *B.L. Add. 14,612*) has ܡܥܪܬܐ ܕܓܢܒܐ ("den of thieves") in each instance, using terminology occurring in the Peshitta of Jeremiah 7:11 and in the Old Syriac (Sinaitic) of Mark 11:17; the more usual phrase is ܡܥܪܬܐ ܕܠܣܛܝܐ ("den of *leṣṭaye*").[10] It is unclear why the translator would not choose the usual phrase, since it would be quite familiar and is very literal; unless he is referring (unconsciously) to the Old Syriac of Mark or, less likely, to Jeremiah.

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[8]See NA[27].

[9]In the second occurrence, only Savile has *σπήλαιον λῃστῶν*; Migne and manuscripts B and M have only *σπήλαιον* (this portion of Homily 23 is in Boismard, *Évangile pré-johannique*, 2.1, which presents only the texts of manuscripts B and M).

The LXX witnesses are unanimous, with the sole exception of the secondary witness Clement of Alexandria, who has *σπήλαιον ὕαινης*.

[10]This is the phrase in the three Peshitta New Testament contexts and the Old Syriac (Curetonian) of Matthew 21:13. The Old Syriac of Luke 19:46 (Sinaitic and Curetonian) has ܡܥܪܬܐ ܕܓܢܒܐ ("den of a robber").

3. Johannine Citations

a. Johannine Citations of Passages not Treated Verse-by-Verse in these Homilies

The homilies often refer to Johannine passages which fall outside the series of verses treated by the specific homilies under consideration, i.e. verses "out of sequence." The translator's method is the same as in the previous category: he tends to translate directly from the Greek, without filling out allusions or relying on the Peshitta. For example:

John 5:34 (Homily 6; B) — three occurrences
1 *ὅτι οὐ**[1] *παρὰ ἀνθρώπου τὴν μαρτυρίαν**[2] *λαμβάνω*
2,3 *παρὰ ἀνθρώπου τὴν μαρτυρίαν οὐ λαμβάνω*

*[1]sic M D; om. *οὐ* Migne; *οὐχ ὅτι* reliqui [Syriac = M D reliqui]
*[2]+*οὐ* Migne

B.L. Add. 14,561
ܕܠܐ ܡܢ ܒܢܝܢܫܐ ܩܒܠ ܐܢܐ ܣܗܕܘܬܐ 1
that, "Not from men do I receive testimony."

ܡܢ ܒܢܝܢܫܐ ܠܐ ܩܒܠ ܐܢܐ ܣܗܕܘܬܐ 2
from men I do not receive testimony

ܐܢܐ ܕܠܝ ܠܐ ܩܒܠ ܐܢܐ ܡܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܣܗܕܘܬܐ 3
as for me, testimony from a man I do not receive

Peshitta and Old Syriac (Curetonian)
ܐܢܐ ܕܠܝ ܠܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܡܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܣܗܕܘܬܐ
But as for me, it is not from a man (that) I receive testimony

Although in the first two instances, the translator's "men" suggests a slightly different source text,[11] otherwise the translator follows the edited Greek text as his source. The third instance is like neither the Greek homily nor the Syriac Biblical traditions. It may be an example of the translator's inconsistence of method, although the context introduces it in much the same way as the other citations. It may be that the Greek source text differed from that which the edited texts have. More examples:

John 7:5 (Homily 22; B)
οὐδὲ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπίστευον εἰς αὐτόν

B.L. Add. 14,561 and *B.L. Add. 14,612*
ܐܦ ܠܐ ܐܚܘܗܝ ܗܘܘ ܡܗܝܢܝܢ ܒܗ
not even his brothers were believing in him

[11]It is likely that the Greek source text originally had *ἀνθρώπων* since this reading occurs in codex Bezae and a few other manuscripts (see *NA*[27] and Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 1.792).

Peshitta and Old Syriac (Sinaitic and Curetonian)
ܡܛܠ ܕܠܐ ܐܦܠܘ ܐܚܘܗܝ ܡܗܝܢܝܢ ܒܗ
for not even his brothers had believed in him

In the following example, it appears certain that the distinctive Syriac homily text preserves a more primitive form than the edited Greek text, which has the Biblical form:

John 17:14 (Homily 83; SM)
οὐκ εἰσὶν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου, καθὼς ἐγὼ οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου

B.L. Add. 12,161 and B.L. Add. 14,562
ܐܢܬܘܢ ܠܐ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܥܠܡܐ ܗܟܝܠ ܕܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܥܠܡܐ*.
You are not of this world, just as I also am not.

*om. ܠܐ B.L. Add. 14,562 ("am not")

Peshitta
ܗܢܘܢ ܠܐ ܡܢ ܥܠܡܐ ܗܟܝܠ ܕܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܡܢ ܥܠܡܐ.
They were not of the world as I have not been of the world.

In a similar occurrence, the Syriac homily text appears to preserve a primitive adaptation which has been assimilated in the Greek texts to the Biblical form:

John 7:20; 8:48 (Homily 84; SM)
Δαιμόνιον ἔχεις· καί, Σαμαρείτης εἶ συ·

B.L. Add. 12,161 and B.L. Add. 14,562
ܫܐܕܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ ܘܐܦ ܣܡܪܝܐ ܐܢܬ.
he has a demon; and, he is a Samaritan

Peshitta
ܫܐܕܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ 7:20
you have a demon

ܣܡܪܝܐ ܐܢܬ ܘܫܐܕܐ ܐܝܬ ܠܟ 8:48
you are a Samaritan and you have a demon

The translator's method ensures that this sort of Syriac citation is valuable for detecting corruptions in the Greek texts.

b. Citations of Passages Treated Verse-by-Verse

Most Biblical citations in HJn fall into this category. However, it is important to distinguish the lower-numbered homilies, which often concern themselves with small portions of the Bible text, from the higher-numbered ones which typically cover large portions of text. For example, Homily 6 treats John 1:6–8 and Homily 37, John 5:6–14; whereas Homily 62 treats John 11:1–27 and Homily 84, John 18:35–19:15.

The basic structure of all the homilies tends to be the same: exegesis followed by exhortation in the *ethikon*. Also, although the exegetical portions of the higher-numbered homilies are naturally longer, they are not proportionately longer than in the lower-numbered ones; that is, Biblical citations actually make up a greater percentage of their text than in the lower-numbered homilies. The style of the exegetical portions of the higher-numbered homilies is more that of a running commentary with systematic and brief treatment of Biblical text. In the lower-numbered homilies, citations and allusions are more likely to be formally incorporated and adapted. The foregoing description focuses on differences and should be qualified by noting that the methods of including citations in both lower- and higher-numbered Greek homilies are often the same and that the partial "shift" is not sudden, but gradual. Whatever the reasons for the so-called shift, the differences in style are not enormous but they are significant.

As seen in Chapter VI, the Syriac translation of the lower-numbered homilies cannot be distinguished stylistically from that of the higher-numbered ones. Yet in handling this category of citation they are distinguishable, not because of essentially different translation techniques or even different translators, but due to the slightly different style characterizing the Greek texts. In the lower-numbered homilies, the translator tends to follow his Greek source, although Peshitta influence is greater than in the other categories of citation already surveyed. Citations in the higher-numbered homilies show more Peshitta influence.[12] This could indicate separate translators, but it is plausible that the same translator found it easier to correlate the source text with his Syriac Bible in these homilies because of their more systematic and regular method of citing the passages with which each homily is especially concerned. This matter is discussed further amongst the conclusions below.

1) Citations from Lower-Numbered Homilies

A) Citations Following the Greek Source Text

The translator typically produces a text like that of the Peshitta where the Greek homily and Peshitta texts are essentially identical. Where the Greek text is unlike the Peshitta, the translator normally follows the Greek source text and the

[12]In many cases, the text is not like the Peshitta exclusively, but departs from the Greek homily text to resemble the Greek (or Syriac) Biblical text; it is safest to assume that the source of the discrepancies is the Peshitta, rather than that the translator was working with a primitive source text whose (presently lost) Greek citations happened to be more like the Greek New Testament.

ensuing translation shows no signs of the influence of Syriac Biblical versions. For example:

John 1:45 (Homily 20; B) — two occurrences
ὃν ἔγραψε(ν)[1] Μωϋσῆς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ*[2] καὶ οἱ προφῆται εὑρήκαμεν*

*[1]+*φησίν* first occurrence
*[2]om. *ἐν τῷ νόμῳ* (first occurrence) R Cr; om. same (second occurrence) B

B.L. Add. 14,561 (both occurrences) and Peshitta
ܗܘ ܕܒܗܘ ܟܬܒܘ ܡܘܫܐ ܒܢܡܘܣܐ ,ܘܢܒܝܐ *ܟܬܒܘ ܐܫܟܚܢܢ ,

He about whom Moses wrote in the law, and the prophets (wrote),* we have found

*ܘܒܢܒܝܐ Peshitta ("and in the prophets")

John 1:48 (Homily 20; B)
1 *πόθεν με γινώσκεις;*
2 *λέγει· πρὸ τοῦ σε Φίλιππον φωνῆσαι, ὄντα ὑπὸ τὴν συκῆν εἶδόν σε.*

B.L. Add. 14,561 and Peshitta
1 ܡܢ ܐܝܟܐ ܕܝܕܥܬܢܝ ܠܝ .
2 ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝܐ ܩܕܡ ܕܠܐ ܩܪܐ ܠܦܝܠܦܘܣ* ܕܗܘܝܬ ܬܚܬ ܬܐܢܬܐ ܕܬܐܢܐ .
ܚܙܝܬܟ .

1 "Whence do you know me?"
2 He said to him, "Before Philip called you,* while you were under the fig tree, I saw you."

*ܡܪܝܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܕܠܐ ܩܪܐ Peshitta (Jesus said to him, "When Philip had not called you")

In the following example, the Syriac has a non-Peshitta reading which is present elsewhere in the Syriac Biblical tradition, but for its source in the Syriac translation, one need look no further than the Greek text evident in the margin of Savile's edition:[13]

John 5:8 (Homily 37; SM)
1 *ἔγειραι, φησίν, ἆρον*[1] τὸν κράββατόν σου, καὶ ὕπαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου*[2]*

*[1]sic Migne Savile margin; *ἐγερθεὶς ἆρον* Savile text
*[2]sic Savile margin [= Syr]; *καὶ περιπάτει* Migne Savile text

2 *ἆρον*[1] τὸν κραββατόν σου, καὶ ὕπαγε εἰς τὸν οἶκόν σου*[2]

*[1]sic Migne Savile text [= Syr]; *ἔγειραι, ἆρον* Morel. Savile margin
*[2]sic Savile margin [= Syr]; *καὶ περιπάτει* Migne Savile text

B.L. Add. 14,561, *B.L. Add. 14,515*

[13]The phrase, "and go to your house," comes from the parallel in Matthew 9:6—hence its presence in Ephrem.

ܩܘܡ ܘܣܒܠ ܡܛܬܟ ܘܙܠ ܠܒܝܬܟ 1
rise, take up your bed and go to your house

ܩܘܡ ܘܣܒܠ ܡܛܬܟ ܘܙܠ ܠܒܝܬܟ 2
take your bed and go to your house

Peshitta, Old Syriac (Sinaitic and Curetonian), and Ephrem, *CDia*, xiii.2[14]
*[2]ܩܘܡ ܘܣܒܠ ܡܛܬܟ *[1]
rise,*[1] take up your bed and walk*[2]

*[1]+ܐܡܪ Ephrem (+"he says")
*[2]ܩܘܡ ܘܙܠ ܠܒܝܬܟ Ephrem ("and go to your house")
ܩܘܡ ܘܙܠ ܠܒܝܬܟ Curetonian ("walk [and] go to your house")

The translator is reluctant to fill out allusions or to expand condensed texts, tending instead to let his source text determine the scope of the citation. For example:

John 1:43 (Homily 20; B)
τῇ ἐπαύριον ἐξῆλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν*

**ἠθέλησεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐξελθεῖν* B M

B.L. Add. 14,561
ܘܒܬܪܝܬܐ ܢܦܩ ܝܫܘܥ ܠܓܠܝܠܐ
and the next day Jesus went out to Galilee

Peshitta and Old Syriac (Sinaitic and Curetonian)
ܘܒܬܪܝܬܐ *[2]ܡܨܐ ܠܡܦܩ *[1]ܝܫܘܥ ܠܓܠܝܠܐ
and the next day Jesus*[1] wanted to go out*[2] to Galilee

*[1]om. ܝܫܘܥ Old Syriac (om. "Jesus")
*[2]+ܡܨܐ Old Syriac (anticipatory pronoun)

John 2:9 (Homily 22; B) — second of two occurrences
1 *Ὡς δὲ ἐγεύσατο ὁ ἀρχιτρίκλινος*[1] καὶ εὗρεν*[2] τὸ ὕδωρ οἶνον γεγενημένον,*
2 *καὶ οὐκ ᾔδει πόθεν ἐστίν,*
3 *οἱ δὲ διάκονοι ᾔδεισαν,*
4 *φωνεῖ τὸν νυμφίον ὁ ἀρχιτρίκλινος.*

*[1]sic B M Migne; om. *ὁ ἀρχιτρίκλινος* reliqui [= Syr]
*[2]sic B M; om. *καὶ εὗρεν* reliqui [= Syr]

B.L. Add. 14,561 and *B.L. Add. 14,612*
1 ܟܕ ܕܛܥܡ ܡܪܝܐ ܕܡܫܬܝܐ
2 ܗܘܐ ܡܬܕܥ ܠܐ ܡܢܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ .
3 ܡܫܬܝܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܬܕܥܝܢ ܗܘܘ .

[14]Cf. Ortiz de Urbina, *Vetus evangelium syrorum*, 248 (also p. 97 [1227]). Also, *CDia*[A], xiii.2, ϥⲛⲱ ϩ ⲡⲡⲓⲛ ϩⲛ ("go to your house").

4 ܡܢܐ ܠܡ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܡܝܐ ܕܚܡܪܐ .

1 And when he tasted the water which had become wine,
2 and he did not know whence it was,
3 but the servants knew,
4 the chief of the feast summoned the bridegroom.

Peshitta

1 ܗܘܐ ܟܕ ܡܛܥܡ ܗܘ ܪܫܐ ܕܣܥܕܬܐ ܡܝܐ ܕܗܘܘ ܡܚܘܪܐ
2 ܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܡܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܢܐ ܕܡܝܐ .
3 ܐܝܢܘܢ ܕܡܠܘ ܡܝܐ . ܗܘܘ ܡܪܝܡ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܚܬܢܐ .
4 ܡܢܐ ܪܫ ܣܥܕܬܐ ܩܪܐ ܠܚܬܢܐ .

1 And when that head of the feast tasted that water which had become wine,
2 and he did not know whence it was,
3 but the servants knew, they who had filled them with water,
4 the head of the feast summoned the bridegroom.

B) Citations Pointing to a More Primitive Source Text

Occasionally the discrepancies are more significant, suggesting the possibility that the Syriac preserves the text of a different source than the Greek editions present, presumably more primitive:

John 2:4 (Homily 22; B)
τί ἐμοὶ καὶ σοί, γύναι; οὔπω ἥκει ἡ ὥρα μου

B.L. Add. 14,561, *B.L. Add. 14,612*, and Peshitta
ܡܢܐ ܠܝ ܘܠܟ .* ܐܢܬܬ ܐܡܐ ܠܝ ܠܐ ܡܛܐ ܫܥܬܝ .
What (is it) between me and you?* My hour has not yet come.

*+ܐܡܐ *B.L. Add. 14,612* and Peshitta (+"woman")

John 2:11 (Homily 23; B); two occurrences
1 *ταύτην, φησίν,*[1] *ἐποιήσεν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν σημείων*[2] *ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν Κανᾷ τῆς Γαλιλαίας*

*[1]om. *φησίν* A C J K N R Cr [= Syr]
*[2]*τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν σημείων ἐποιήσεν* D; *τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐποιήσεν* J

2 *τὴν γὰρ ἀρχὴν, φησίν, ταύτην ἐποιήσεν ἐν Κανᾷ*[1] *τῆς Γαλιλαίας*[2]

*[1]sic A D C J (K) N Migne (*silet*: Cr); *ἀρχὴν ταύτην, φησίν, ἐν Κανα* B M
*[2]*καὶ μὴ ἀρχὴν εἶναι ταύτην τῶν τοῦ Ἰησοῦ σημείων* R

B.L. Add. 14,561, *B.L. Add. 14,612*, and Peshitta
1 ܗܢܐ ܪܫܝܬܐ ܕܐܬܘܬܐ *[1]ܥܒܕ ܝܫܘܥ *[2]ܒܟܢܐ ܕܓܠܝܠܐ .
This* *first sign* *[1]Jesus did in Cana of Galilee.

*[1]+ܡܢ Peshitta, except 6 (+"is the") *[2]pr. –ܕ Peshitta ("which Jesus")

2 ܐܡܪ *1 ܗܢܐ ܩܕܡܝܬܐ *3 ܕܥܒܕ *4. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܡܪ *2 ܠܡܐ ܐܬܝܐ *1
"For,"*2 it says,*1 "this*3 *first sign* he*4 did."

*1 ܐܬܝܐ ܗܢܐ Peshitta (placement of "this")
*2 om. ܠܡܐ Peshitta (om. "it says") *3 om. ܡܛܠ Peshitta (om. "for")
*4 ܕܥܒܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܒܩܢܐ ܕܓܠܝܠܐ Peshitta ("which Jesus did in Cana of Galilee")

Boismard retroverts these Syriac readings into Greek and gives them as the original text which extant Greek witnesses have lost.[15] Differing markedly from the Peshitta[16] and from the Greek homily text, which is essentially accommodated to the Greek Biblical text, it is very likely that the Syriac here is more primitive in quality.[17] The second instance witnesses to an allusion which has been expanded in the Greek texts, and both witness to the distinctive phrase, "first sign."

C) Citations Favouring the Peshitta

Peshitta influence may be confidently detected only where significant correspondences exist that are not easily explained as the result of the common source text or translation technique.[18] A number of these citations exhibit Peshitta influence. In some instances, the presence of Peshitta influence is quite clear:

John 1:6 (Homily 6; B)
τὸ γάρ· ἐγένετο ἀπεσταλμένος παρὰ θεοῦ

B.L. Add. 14,561, Peshitta and Old Syriac (Curetonian)
ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܐܬܫܕܪ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ *ܠܡܐ ܡܛܠ
For it says,* "there was *a man* who was sent by God."

*om. ܡܛܠ ܠܡܐ Peshitta and Old Syriac ("for it says")

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[15]Boismard, *Évangile pré-johannique*, 1.2.26–7, 184–5. Whether this in turn attests to a "pre-Johannine" text of John's Gospel, as Boismard maintains, is a separate matter.

[16]Of interest for comparison is a reference in Ephrem, *CDia*, xii.2: ܒܪܫ ܐܬܘܬܐ ܕܚܘܪܐ ܥܒܕ ܚܡܪܐ ("at the head of the signs he made wine").

[17]In view of the translation technique, it is the afore-mentioned qualities which set the readings apart as more primitive; the phrase *τοῦτο. . . πρῶτον σημεῖον* later in the homily is not confirmation of this (*contra* Boismard), since the latter occurrence is merely a natural way of referring to "the sign" within the discussion.

[18]Boismard points to a citation of John 1:24 in Homily 16 as one example of Peshitta influence (*Évangile pré-johannique*, 1.2.29). Yet it is only a matter of the Syriac Homily and Peshitta sharing ܘܡ (≈ *δέ*) whereas the Greek homily text has *καί*. Boismard does not take into account the dynamic features of the translator's technique of treating such conjunctions and particles (see 225–6 above); it cannot be maintained that this correspondence is evidence for reliance on the Peshitta. His detection of Peshitta influence in the citation of John 1:40 (Homily 17) is much more sound (*Évangile pré-johannique*, 1.2.29–30).

John 5:14 (Homily 37; SM)
μηκέτι γάρ, φησίν, ἁμάρτανε, ἵνα μὴ χεῖρόν τι γένηται*

*+*σοι* Savile text [= Syr]

B.L. Add. 14,561 and *B.L. Add. 14,515*

For he says, "*Do not* sin, so that (something)* will not happen to you worse *than the first.*"

*+ܡܕܡܐ *B.L. Add. 14,515* (explicit "something")

Peshitta and Old Syriac (Curetonian and Old Syriac)
do not sin, lest something*[2] happen*[1] to you worse than the first*[3]

*[1]ܢܗܘܐ Curetonian ("occur")
*[2]om. ܡܕܡܐ Old Syriac (om. "something")
*[3]om. ܩܕܡܝܐ Sinaitic (om. "the first")

It is just possible that the Syriac HJn omits ܡܕܡܐ ("something") under the influence of the Old Syriac.

In many instances, longer citations do not have outstanding Peshitta readings, but there are many agreements with Peshitta wording which, taken cumulatively, cannot be coincidental. For example:

John 2:6–7 (Homily 22; B)
1 *Ἦσαν δὲ ἐκεῖ ὑδρίαι λίθιναι*[1] κείμεναι ἓξ*[2]*
2 *κατὰ τὸν καθαρισμὸν τῶν Ἰουδαίων,*
3 *χωροῦσαι ἀνὰ μετρητὰς δυὸ ἢ τρεῖς.*[3]*
4 *λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐμπλήσατε τὰς ὑδρίας ὕδατος*
5 *καὶ ἐνέπλησαν ἕως ἄνω.*[4]*

*[1]*λίθιναι ὑδρίαι* M
*[2]om. *κείμεναι* D; *ἓξ κείμεναι* B M
*[3]om. line 3 B M
*[4]om. lines 4–5 B M (D)

B.L. Add. 14,561, *B.L. Add. 14,612*, and Peshitta

1 And there were*[1] there six stone pots set
2 for the purification of the Jews,
3 which would*[2] hold two or three quadrantals each.
4 Jesus says to them, "Fill the pots with water."
5 And they filled them up to the top.

*[1]ܗܘܘ Peshitta (pl. for sg. verb)
*[2]om. ܚܙܝܢ Peshitta ("holding two or three")

John 5:12–3 (Homily 37; SM)

1 *Τίς ἐστιν ὁ εἰπών σοι, Ἆρον τὸν κράβαττόν σου καὶ περιπάτει;*
2 *Ὁ δὲ τεθεραπευομένος, οὐκ ᾔδει τίς ἐστιν.*
3 *Ὁ γὰρ Ἰησοῦς*[*1] *ἐξέκλινεν,*[*2] *ὄχλου ὄντος ἐν τῷ τόπῳ.*

*[1]*ὁ Ἰησοῦς γάρ* Savile text *[2]*ἐξένευσεν* Morel. Savile margin

B.L. Add. 14,561, *B.L. Add. 14,515*, *B.L. Add. 14,516*, and Peshitta

1 ܡܢܘ ܗܘ *[1]ܕܐܡܪ ܠܟ ܩܘܡ ܣܒܘܠܟ ܘܗܠܟ .
2 ܘܗܘ ܕܐܬܐܣܝܘ ܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܡܢܘ ܗܘ .
3 ܡܛܠ ܕܡܪܝܐ *[2]ܐܬܬܪܚܩ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܒܗܕܐ ܕܟܢܫܐ .

1 "Who is that one*[1] who said to you, 'Take up your bed and walk'?"
2 But that one who was healed did not know who it was.
3 For*[2] Jesus had withdrawn secretly into the great crowd that was in that place.

*[1]ܡܢܘ (6 ܗܘ) ܗܘ ܡܢ Peshitta ("who is this ["that" 6] man?")
*[2]ܕܡ *B.L. Add. 14,515 B.L. Add. 14,516* Peshitta manuscripts 9 17 ("and")

It is not unusual for passages to resemble the Peshitta, although the translator exhibits independence occasionally in his choice of terms. In addition to the examples already noted,[19] in Homily 22, he uses ܪܒ ܡܫܬܝܐ ("chief of the feast") consistently for *ὁ ἀρχιτρίκλινος* on five different occasions,[20] instead of the Peshitta's ܪܝܫ ܡܫܬܝܐ ("head of the feast"). Again, twice in Homily 23 he has ܫܪܐ ("destroy, loosen") for *λύσατε* instead of the less literal ܡܚܒܠܘ ("ruin, destroy") of the Peshitta. Yet the other wording in all these instances is essentially that of the Peshitta.

Despite the translator's reluctance to fill out or modify allusions, he does so occasionally, presumably under the influence of the familiar Biblical text. For example:

John 1:47 (Homily 20; B) — four occurrences
*ἴδε ἀληθῶς Ἰσραηλίτης ἐν ᾧ δόλος οὐκ ἔστιν**

*om. *ἐν ᾧ δόλος οὐκ ἔστιν* third and fourth occurrences

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[19]E.g. see 265.

[20]In one of these instances, B.L. Add. 14,561 has ܪܝܫ ܡܫܬܝܐ ("head of the feast"), but this may a scribal error; *B.L. Add. 14,612* has ܪܒ ܡܫܬܝܐ ("chief of the feast").

ܪܒ ܡܫܬܝܐ also occurs in Homily 37, to which B.L. Add. 14,561 and *B.L. Add. 14,515* witness.

B.L. Add. 14,561 (four occurrences) and Peshitta
ܗܘܐ ܕܢܬܚܙܐ ܠܝܣܪܝܠ ܕܠܝܬ ܒܗ *ܫܩܪܐ ܡܕܡ
behold, truly* a son of Israel, *in whom there is no deceit*

*om. ܫܩܪܐ B.L. Add. 14,561, second occurrence (om. "truly")

Laying aside the enigmatic one-time omission of ܫܩܪܐ ("truly"), the translator is seen to expand the short Greek text of the last two instances.

D) Citations Favouring another Syriac Version

Evidence for the influence of other versions is slight and only in some isolated instances is the evidence compelling, as in the citation of Mark 11:17; Matthew 21:13; Luke 19:46 (Jeremiah 7:11) discussed above.[21] Even stronger indications of Old Syriac influence in citations of John 1:31 attract attention:[22]

John 1:31 (Homilies 17, 21; B) — three occurrences
ἵνα φανερωθῇ[*1] *τῷ*[*2] *Ἰσραὴλ διὰ τοῦτο ἦλθον βαπτίζων*[*3]

*[1]*φανῇ* Cr (Homily 17, second occurrence)
*[2]*ἐν τῷ* B (Homily 21)
*[3]+*ἐν ὕδατι* Homily 17, first occurrence (*ἐν τῷ ὕδ.* A D)

B.L. Add. 14,561 and Old Syriac (Sinaitic and Curetonian)
1 and 3 (Homily 17, second occurrence; Homily 21)
ܕܢܬܚܙܐ ܠܝܣܪܝܠ ܕܐܬܝܬ ܐܢܐ ܒܡܝܐ *ܠܡܥܒܕ ܡܥܡܕܢܐ
so that it be made known to Israel* I have come that in water I might baptize

*+ܠܡܢܐ ܗܢܐ Curetonian (+"because of this")

Homily 17, first occurrence; and Peshitta
ܕܢܬܚܙܐ ܠܝܣܪܝܠ ܕܐܬܝܬ ܐܢܐ ܒܡܝܐ *ܠܡܢܐ ܗܢܐ ܠܡܥܒܕ ܡܥܡܕܢܐ
that it be made known to Israel because of this* I have come that in water I might baptize

*ܠܡܢܐ Peshitta (masculine rather than feminine pronoun)

Boismard says that in the first occurrence in Syriac Homily 17 the translator follows the Peshitta, based on a minor correspondence in word order (the placement of *ἐν ὕδατι*). More significant is the use of ܢܬܚܙ ("it be made known"), not an obvious rendering of *φανερωθῇ* and probably derived from the Syriac Biblical tradition, either the Peshitta or the Old Syriac. Even more significant is a double correspondence with

[21]See 268.
[22]*Évangile pré-johannique*, 1.2.30–1.

the Sinai manuscript in the other occurrences of the citation. First, it is unusual stylistically for the translator to use ܕܢܬܠ ܕ– for *ἵνα* (instead of ܕ–), a reading which it shares with the Old Syriac. Still, on its own this reading is not very remarkable. It is when taken with the second reading, omitting *διὰ τοῦτο*, that the two attract attention. A simple omission could be accounted for on the basis of a different source text, but no such possibilities present themselves in the critical Greek editions of John. The easiest way to account for the double matches with the Old Syriac and the occurrence of the same text in two different Syriac homilies is to suggest that an Old Syriac-type of text influenced the translator here.

Boismard has also noticed an interesting reading in a citation of John 1:46:[23]

John 1:46 (Homily 16, 20; B) — one occurrence, Homily 16; four, Homily 20
*ἐκ Ναζαρὲτ δύναταί τι ἀγαθὸν εἶναι;**

*om. whole line B M (Homily 20, first occurrence)

B.L. Add. 14,561 (Homily 20, four occurrences); and Peshitta
ܡܢ ܢܙܪܬ ܡܨܝܐ ܕܢܗܘܐ ܕܬܠܬ ܛܒܬܐ.*
From Nazareth is it possible for something good to be?*

*ܢܗܘܐ B.L. Add. 14,561, third and fourth occurrences; Peshitta, except 9 and 14 (imperfect tense instead of infinitive)

B.L. Add. 14,561 (Homily 16) and Old Syriac (Sinaitic)
ܡܢ ܢܙܪܬ ܡܨܝܐ ܕ*[1] ܕܬܠܬ ܛܒܬܐ.*[2]
From Nazareth is it possible for*[1] something good *to come out*?*[2]

*[1]om. ܕ– (om. relative pronoun)
*[2]ܠܡܦܩ Old Syriac (infinitive instead of imperfect tense)

The correspondence ܠܡܦܩ – ܢܦܩ ("to come out") between the citation in the Syriac Homily 16 and the Old Syriac is remarkable. The reading is unlike that of the Greek homily text and the Greek Biblical tradition is not known to have anything like it. However, three occurrences in Ephrem, *CDia*[FA], iv.19 each also use ܠܡܦܩ ("to come out"). Hence, it would appear virtually certain that the translator has been influenced by a text like that of the Old Syriac and that upon which Ephrem relies.[24]

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[23]Ibid., 1.2.31.

[24]Cf. *CDia*[A], iv.19, where *ի Նազարեթէ (է)ելն. . . ելից է* ("to come out. . . of Nazareth") occurs three times. The Armenian Bible has *ի Նազարեթէ. . . լինել* ("to be. . . from Nazareth"). See also Ortiz de Urbina, *Vetus evangelium syrorum*, 216 (cf. p. 26, 322).

Of these few instances, only the last two bear strong suggestions of reliance upon any non-Peshitta Syriac New Testament version (viz. the Old Syriac).[25] They are the only such examples occurring within the lower-numbered homilies surveyed in this study or by Boismard. It is difficult to know how to interpret them; for whatever reason, some heterogeneity in method exists in HJn as in HMt and one should be careful not to over-generalize about the quality of HJn's citations.[26]

The Syriac text has a reading unknown to the Greek Biblical tradition and known in the Syriac (Armenian) tradition only in Ephrem and in one Peshitta manuscript:[27]

John 2:5 (Homily 22; B)
*ὅ τι ἂν λέγῃ ὑμῖν ποιήσατε**

*om. citation B M

B.L. Add. 14,561, *B.L. Add. 14,612*, and Peshitta
ܡܕܡܐ ܕܡܐܡܪ ܠܟܘܢ *1 ܒܪܝ *2 ܥܒܕܘ.
That which my son*2 has told*1 you, do.

*1ܕܡܐܡܪ *B.L. Add. 14,612* and Peshitta ("which he tells you")
*2om. ܒܪܝ *B.L. Add. 14,612* and Peshitta, except 14 (om. "my son")

Since the Old Syriac manuscripts are defective here, it is tempting to speculate that one or the both of them may have had such a reading, now surviving only in a narrow strand of the Syriac Biblical tradition. However, the reading, "my son" does occur in Ephrem, *CDia*, v.2, in both the Syriac and the Armenian version.[28]

Finally, where the Greek citation of John 1:29 has *ὁ αἴρων* in Homily 17, the addition of ܗܐ ("behold") indicates the strong possibility of Old Syriac influence since both Old Syriac manuscripts have the reading.[29] The reading also occurs in the translations of Titus of Bostra, *Contra Manichaeos*, 4.59, and Eusebius of Caesarea, *On Theophania*.[30] The reading occurs in a few other Biblical witnesses[31]—

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[25]The citation of Mark 11:17 provides less strong evidence, though not so weak as the other passages noted.

[26]Boismard's conclusion that the heterogeneity confirms that the Syriac homily text consists of multiple layers is just such an over-generalization (see below).

[27]The Old Syriac manuscripts are defective at this point.

[28]On the basis only of its presence in the Armenian, Ortiz de Urbina gives it tentatively in his reconstruction of the Diatessaron (*Vetus evangelium syrorum*, 217 [see p. 27, 342]).

[29]See Boismard, *Évangile pré-johannique*, 1.2.31.

[30]*Titi Bostreni contra Manichaeos libri quatuor syriace*, ed. Paul Antony de

presumably because of the parallel statements in 1:29, 35; more significantly, the translator of HJn adds ܗܘܐ ("behold") no fewer than three times in Homily 23 where the extant Greek has nothing parallel to it (although none of these instances involve a Biblical citation).[32] Hence, Old Syriac influence here is uncertain but cannot be disregarded.

1) Citations from Higher-Numbered Homilies

A general picture of the quality of these citations has already been given.[33] The following sets of examples illustrate and clarify those conclusions.

A) Citations Following the Greek Source Text

Where these homilies merely allude to a Biblical passage, the Syriac may follow the Greek text, without filling out the allusion or otherwise accommodating the text to a familiar Syriac Biblical version. Especially remarkable adherence to the Greek is not particularly common, but the following examples illustrate that the translator does not always allow his familiarity with the Syriac Bible to interfere with his attention to the Greek:

John 11:14–5 (Homily 62; SM)
Ἀπέθανε, καὶ χαίρω δι' ὑμᾶς.

B.L. Add. 12,161, Peshitta, Old Syriac (Sinaitic), and Ephrem, *CDia*, xvii.3
ܡܝܬ *1. ܐܢܐ ܚܕܐ *2 ܥܠ ܡܬܝܠܬܟܘܢ.
He is dead,*1 and I rejoice*2 for your sake.

*1 +ܡܢ Peshitta Old Syriac Ephrem (+intensifier)
*2 +ܕܠܐ ܐܬܝܬ ܬܡܢ Peshitta (+"that I was not there")

In the last example, the Syriac follows the short Greek text.[34]

John 11:24 (Homily 62; SM)
Οἶδα ὅτι ἀναστήσεται ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ.

Lagarde (Berlin: Charles Schultz, 1859); *Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, on the Theophania*, ed. S. Lee (London: Society for the Publication of Oriental Texts, 1842) 109. Cf. Ortiz de Urbina, *Vetus evangelium syrorum*, p. 21, 253–5.

[31]See Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 1.750–01.

[32]The translator naturally uses ܗܘܐ for words related to *ἰδού*, but also consistently for *καίτοι* and even for *μὴν* on occasion (see 225).

[33]See 270–1.

[34]In view of the short Greek text, agreement of the Syriac homily text with the Old Syriac and Ephrem should be seen as coincidental.

B.L. Add. 12,161

ܝܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܕܩܡܐ ܒܐܚܪܝܬܐ ܝܘܡܐ

I know that he will rise in the last day

Peshitta and Old Syriac (Sinaitic)

ܝܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܕܩܡܐ *ܒܩܝܡܬܐ ܕܩܡܐ ܒܐܚܪܝܬܐ ܝܘܡܐ

I know that he will rise at the resurrection* in the last day

*ܒܩܝܡܬܐ Old Syriac ("that in the rising;" om. "he will rise")

Against the Greek and Syriac Biblical texts, the translator follows his Greek source text closely.

John 18:19 (Homily 83; SM)

1 *Ὁ οὖν ἀρχιερεὺς ἐρώτησε* τὸν Χριστὸν περὶ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ*
2 *καὶ τῆς διδασκαλίας.*

**ἠρωτήσε* Savile

B.L. Add. 12,161, B.L. Add. 14,562, and *B.L. Add. 14,727*

1 ܗܘܐ ܡܪܝܐ ܪܒܐ ܫܐܠܗ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ. ܥܠ ܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ،
2 ܘܥܠ ܬܠܝܡܘܬܗ.

1 Then the chief priest interrogated Christ about his disciples
2 and about (his) instruction.

Peshitta

1 ܗܘܐ ܡܪܝܐ ܪܒܐ ܫܐܠܗ ܠܝܫܘܥ ܥܠ ܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ،
2 ܘܥܠ ܬܠܝܡܘܗܝ.

1 And the chief priest interrogated Jesus about his disciples
2 and about his teaching.

John 18:22 (Homily 83; SM)

Εἷς δὲ τῶν παρεστηκότων ὑπηρετῶν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ῥάπισμα ταῦτα εἰπόντι.

B.L. Add. 12,161, B.L. Add. 14,562, *B.L. Add. 14,727*, and Sin. syr. NF Sp. 47

ܚܕ ܡܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܩܝܡܝܢ. ܡܚܐܗ ܠܗ *ܥܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܝܗ.

But one of those who were standing struck him* because he said these things.

*S.Sp. 47 leaves off here (fragmentary)

Peshitta

ܘܟܕ* ܡܠܝܗ ܐܠܝܢ. ܚܕ ܡܢ ܓܝܪܐ ܕܩܝܡ ܡܚܐ ܠܝܫܘܥ ܥܠ ܦܪܡܗ ܠܝܡܝܢܐ

And when* he said these things, one of the guard(s) who was standing there struck Jesus on his cheek

*om. ܟܕ Peshitta 4 17 23 26 36 41 (om. "when")

The Syriac form of the citation follows the Greek homily text's allusion. However, the omission from the Syriac of anything corresponding to *ὑπηρετῶν* indicates that it

was probably translated from a text lacking the term which was later expanded. The next category deals with a number of such occurrences.

B) Citations Pointing to a More Primitive Source Text

A higher proportion of apparently primitive readings exist in the higher-numbered homilies than in the lower; this is presumably because of the lesser quality of the Greek comparison texts (SM), and there can be little doubt that many of the distinctive readings noted here will find their Greek parallels if better editions are produced. In some cases, the Syriac better preserves allusions for which edited Greek texts have only corrupt forms accommodated to familiar Biblical norms:

John 11:5 (Homily 62; SM)
Ἠγάπα δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὴν Μάρθαν, καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς, καὶ τὸν Λάζαρον.

B.L. Add. 12,161
ܪܚܡ ܠܥܕܪܐ ܘܠܐܚܘܗܝ .
He loved *Lazarus and his sisters.*

Peshitta
ܘܪܚܡ ܝܫܘܥ ܠܡܪܬܐ ܘܠܡܪܝܡ ܘܠܥܕܪܐ .
And Jesus loved Martha and Mary and Lazarus.

John 11:3 (Homily 62; SM) — three occurrences
Ἴδε ὃν φιλεῖς ἀσθενεῖ.

B.L. Add. 12,161, occurrences one and two, and Peshitta
ܗܘܐ *ܕܐܢܬ ܪܚܡܬ ܐܝܢܘܢ ܚܠܝܢ .
Behold, the one whom you love is ill.

*+ܗܘ B.L. Add. 12,161, second occurrence (+intensifier)

B.L. Add. 12,161, third occurrence
ܗܘܐ ܪܥܝܬܟ ܚܠܝܢ
Behold, *your friend* is ill.

The third Greek occurrence probably had a distinctive text originally, but only the Syriac indicates the clause's original form. Other examples:

John 11:8 (Homily 62; SM)
Νῦν ἐζήτουν σε Ἰουδαῖοι λιθάσαι, καὶ πάλιν ὑπάγεις ἐκεῖ;

B.L. Add. 12,161
ܚܝܠܐ ܡܬܒܥܝܢ ܗܘܘܢ ܝܗܘܕܝܐ ܠܡܪܓܡܘܬܟ : ܗܢܐ ܐܢܬ ܗܘܝܬ ܬܡܢ .
Just now *you were there*, and *they* wanted to stone you.

Peshitta

ܗܫܐ ܢܛܠܘܢ ܠܟ ܝܗܘܕܝܐ . ܘܬܐܙܠ ܐܢܬ ܬܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ .

Just now the Jews wanted to stone you, and again you go there?

John 11:26–7

1 *Πιστεύεις τοῦτο; Λέγει ἐκείνῃ·*
2 *Πιστεύω ὅτι σὺ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ,*
3 *ὁ εἰς τὸν κόσμον ἐρχόμενος.*

B.L. Add. 12,161, *B.L. Add. 14,516*, and Peshitta

1 ܐܡܪܬ ܠܗ ܐܝܟܢܐ . ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܢܐ ܗܝܡܢܬ ܕܐܢܬ ܗܘܝܬ .
2 ܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܪܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ . ܐܢܐ *[1]ܡܗܝܡܢܢܐ
3 ܕܐܬܐ *[3]ܠܥܠܡܐ *[2]ܕܐܬܐ .

1 "Do you believe this?" She said to him, "*Yes, my Lord*;
2 I*[1] believe that you are Christ*[2]
3 who has come*[3] to the world."

*[1]ܐܢܐ ܡܗܝܡܢܢܐ ܐܢܐ Peshitta, except 14 (+emphatic pronoun)
*[2]ܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܪܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ Peshitta ("Christ the Son of God")
*[3]ܕܐܬܐ Peshitta ("who comes;" variation in pointing)

The last example illustrates the occasional complexity of the citations. In line one, the Syriac includes ܡܪܝ ܐܝܟܢܐ ("Yes, my Lord"), which looks like an expansion derived from the Biblical text, yet in line two it is the Greek which appears to have been expanded while the Syriac probably preserves a more primitive text. In such cases, it is difficult to be confident about the most primitive form of the Greek.

At times, the wording of the Syriac is like that of the Peshitta, but the scope differs from the Greek by being shorter. This suggests that the translator worked on the basis of shorter texts which were later expanded by Greek scribes, although the translator appears to have relied on the Peshitta for his wording. For example:

John 18:36 (Homily 83; SM) — two occurrences
first occurrence
1 *Εἰ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἦν ἡ βασιλεία ἡ ἐμή,*
2 *οἱ ὑπηρέται οἱ ἐμοὶ ἠγωνίσαντο ἄν,*
3 *ἵνα μὴ παραδοθῶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις.*

second occurrence
1 *Εἰ ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου τούτου ἤμην,*
2 *οἱ ὑπηρέται οἱ ἐμοὶ ἠγωνίσαντο ἄν,*
3 *ἵνα μὴ παραδοθῶ.*

B.L. Add. 12,161, B.L. 14,562 (both occurrences), and Peshitta

1 ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܗܢܐ ܥܠܡܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܟܘܬܝ .
2 ܡܫܡܫܝ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܢܬܚܪܘܢ
3 ܕܠܐ ܐܫܠܡ . *

1 If my kingdom were of this world,
2 my servants would fight
3 so that would not be handed over.*

*om. line 3 B.L. Add. 12,161 B.L. Add. 14,562 (second occurrence)

The distinctive Greek text in line one of the second occurrence is probably more primitive in nature than that of the Syriac. Yet it appears that the Greek has two secondary expansions: the first at the end of line three in the first occurrence; the second consisting of that entire line in the second occurrence. In such cases, the Syriac can be especially helpful for restoring the original scope of citations.

A remarkably distinctive but undoubtedly early reading occurs in a phrase cited twice in Homily 83, first in a longer citation of John 18:31–2, then on its own:

John 18:31 (Homily 83; SM) — two occurrences
λάβετε αὐτόν, ὑμεῖς, καὶ[*1] *κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὑμῶν κρίνατε*[*2] *αὐτόν*

*[1]om. *λάβετε. . . καὶ* second occurence *[2]*κρίνετε* second occurrence

B.L. Add. 12,161, B.L. Add. 14,562 (first occurrence); and Peshitta
ܐܢܬܘܢ ܢܣܒܝܢ *[2],ܘܩܛܠܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ *[1],ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ
You take him*[1] and *kill* him*[2] according to your law

*[1],ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ Peshitta 14 (grammatical variant)
*[2],ܘܡܕܝܢܗ Peshitta ("and judge him")[35]

B.L. Add. 12,161 and B.L. Add. 14,562 (second occurrence)
,ܘܩܛܠܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܢܣܒܝܢ ܐܢܬܘܢ
according to your law *kill* him

The reading "kill him" has not been found elsewhere in the Greek or Syriac Biblical tradition.[36] Its distinctness and double occurrence suggests that it represents a primitive Greek reading, a suggestion confirmed by the second context, a Syriac clause with distinctive word order.

C) Citations Favouring the Peshitta

As previously indicated, many of these citations exhibit Peshitta influence—a greater proportion than in the lower-numbered homilies. Some of the citations have

[35]The Old Syriac (Sinaitic) also has ,ܘܡܕܝܢ ("judge him").

[36]In another citation of the passage in Homily 84, both Greek and Syriac have ,ܘܡܕܝܢ ("judge him").

texts distinctive to the Peshitta, that is, they do not conform to known forms of the Greek New Testament text, and hence must be derived from the Peshitta:[37]

John 18:28 (Homily 83; SM)
ἵνα φάγωσι τὸ Πάσχα

B.L. Add. 12,161, B.L. 14,562, and Peshitta
ܕܢ ܐܟܠܝܢ ܦܨܚܐ
while (they were) eating the Passover

Old Syriac (Sinaitic)
ܕܢ ܐܟܠܝܢ ܦܛܝܪܐ
when (they were) eating the unleavened (loaves)

John 11:7
Εἶτα λέγει τοῖς μαθηταῖς· Ἄγωμεν εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν.

B.L. Add. 12,161, Peshitta, Old Syriac (Sinaitic), and Ephrem, *CDia*, xvii.1
ܐܡܪ *1 ܠܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ *2 ܠܡܐܙܠ ܢܬܐ ܠܝܗܘܕܝܐ *3 .
He*1 said to*2 his disciples, "*Come*, let us go*3 to Judea."

*1+ ܐܙܠ Ephrem ("then he")
*2om. ܠܡܐܙܠ Peshitta and Old Syriac (om. anticipatory object)
*3+ ܬܢܝܢ Peshitta (+"again")

These correspondences with the Old Syriac and Ephrem are interesting for comparison, but not remarkable in the same way as ܢܬܐ ("come"), for which one need look no further than the Peshitta.

John 18:15 (Homily 83; SM)
Ἠκολούθησε δὲ Πέτρος, καὶ ὁ ἄλλος μαθητής.

B.L. Add. 12,161, B.L. 14,562, *B.L. Add. 14,727*, and Peshitta
ܘܫܡܥܘܢ ܟܐܦܐ ܗܘܘ ܡܬܒܥܝܢ ܠܝܫܘܥ ܡܢ ܚܕ ܡܢ ܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ ܐܚܪܢܐ .
And Simon Cephas and *one of the other disciples were following* Jesus.

John 18:3 (Homily 83; SM)
1 *Ὁ δὲ Ἰούδας, παραλαβὼν τὴν σπεῖραν,*
2 *καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ Φαρισαίων ὑπηρέτας, ἔρχεται ἐκεῖ.*

B.L. Add. 12,161, B.L. 14,562, *B.L. Add. 14,727*, and Peshitta
1 ܗܘ ܡܢ ܝܗܘܕܐ ܕܢܣܒ ܟܬܐ .
2 ܘܡܢ ܪܒܢܐ ܕܟܗܢܐ ܘܦܪܝܣܝܐ ܐܝܬܝ ܟܬܐ . ܘܐܬܐ ܠܬܡܢ .

1 Then Judas himself brought a cohort
2 and from chief priests and Pharisees *he brought* guards, and he went there.

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[37]Postulating a hypothetical form of the Greek New Testament instead is an unnecessary extravagance.

Not all the citations exhibit distinctively Peshitta influence. Many depart from the Greek homily text to agree with the Peshitta and the Greek Biblical text, but in view of the previous examples it must be concluded that the Peshitta is the source of influence. Typically the citations do not precisely match the Peshitta but have variants agreeing with it and use Peshitta phraseology. For example:

John 11:2 (Homily 62; SM)
Ἦν δὲ Μαρία ἡ ἀλείψασα τὸν Κύριον μύρῳ*

**Αὕτη γὰρ ἦν, φησί, Μαρίᾳ* Savile mg. Migne mg. (i.e. *alii*) [= Syr]

B.L. Add. 12,161 and Peshitta
ܗܕܐ ܠܡܪܝܡ ܕܡܫܚܬ *1 ܠܡܪܝܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ *2 ܒܫܡܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ .
"For this Mary," he says,*1 "is that one who anointed (with)*2 oil *the feet of Jesus.*"

1 ܗܕܐ ܡܪܝܡ ܗܝ ܕܡܫܚܬ Peshitta, ("and this Mary;" also different word order); 8 and 40* om. ܗܕܐ (om. "this")
*2 pr. –ܒ Peshitta (explicit "with")

John 18:39–40 (Homily 84; SM)
1 *Ἔστι συνήθεια ὑμῖν, ἵνα ἕνα ἀπολύσω ἐν τῷ Πάσχα·*
2 *Βούλεσθε οὖν ἀπολύσω τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων,*
3 *Ἔκραξαν οὖν πάντες· Μὴ τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ τὸν Βαραββᾶν.*

B.L. Add. 12,161, B.L. Add. 14,562, and Peshitta
1 ܐܝܬ ܠܟܘܢ *1 ܕܢܫܒܩ ܠܟܘܢ ܚܕ ܒܦܨܚܐ *2 ܗܘܝܬܘܢ .
2 ܗܠܝܢ ܡܨܒܝܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܢܫܒܩ ܠܟܘܢ *3 ܗܫܐ *4 ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܝܐ .
3 ܟܠܗܘܢ ܩܠܝܢ ܘܐܡܪܝܢ . ܠܐ ܗܢܐ ܐܠܐ ܠܒܪܐ ܒܪܒܐ .

1 "You*1 have a custom that I release one *to you**2 on the Passover.
2 Do you want therefore now*3 that I release to you the*4 king of the Jews?"
3 And they all cried *and said*, "Not this one, but Barabbas!"

*1 +ܘ Peshitta (+"and") *2 om. ܠܟܘܢ Peshitta 7 (om. "to you")
*3 om. ܗܫܐ Peshitta (om. "now")
*4 +ܗܢܐ Peshitta, except 41 ("this king")

John 11:22 (Homily 62; SM)
Ὅσα ἂν αἰτήσῃ τὸν Θεόν, δώσει σοι

B.L. Add. 12,161 and Peshitta
ܗܫܐ ܐܦܠܐ ܝܕܥ ܐܢܐ ܕܡܕܡ ܕܬܫܐܠ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܢܬܠ *ܠܟ .
Even now, I know that whatever you ask God, he has given* you.

*ܢܬܠ Peshitta ("he gives;" pointing variant)

John 11:26 (Homily 62; SM) — second occurrence
καὶ πᾶς ὁ ζῶν καὶ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ, οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνῃ

B.L. Add. 12,161, *B.L. Add 14,516*, and Peshitta
ܘܟܠ ܕܡܢ ܕܚܝܐ ܘܡܗܝܡܢ ܒܝ ܠܥܠܡ ܠܐ ܢܡܘܬ
and everyone who lives and believes in me will not die *forever*

John 18:9 (Homily 83; SM)
Ἵνα ὁ λόγος πληρωθῇ, ὃν εἶπεν, ὅτι Οὐδεὶς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπώλετο.

B.L. Add. 12,161, B.L. 14,562, *B.L. Add. 14,727*, and Peshitta
ܕܠܡܠܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܕܠܐ ܐܒܕܬ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܚܕ*. ܕܝܗܒܬ ܠܝ ܐܢܘܢ ܠܝ.
To fulfill the word that said, "*Of those whom you have given me*, I will not lose even* one."

*ܚܕ for ܠܐ ܚܕ *B.L. Add. 14,727* (lexical variation)

John 19:10 (Homily 84; SM)
Οὐκ οἶδας ὅτι ἐξουσίαν ἔχω σταυρῶσαί σε;

B.L. Add. 12,161, B.L. 14,562, and Peshitta
ܠܐ ܝܕܥܬ ܕܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܐܝܬܝ ܠܡܫܒܩܘܬܟ ܘܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܐܝܬܝ ܠܡܨܠܒܘܬܟ.
Do you not know that I have authority *to release you and I have authority* to crucify you?

John 19:11 (Homily 84; SM) — two occurrences
μείζονα ἁμαρτίαν ἔχει ὁ παραδιδούς μέ σοι

B.L. Add. 12,161, B.L. Add. 14,562 (both occurrences); and Peshitta
ܗܘ* ܕܡܫܠܡܢܢܝ ܠܟ. ܚܛܗܗ ܡܪܒܐ ܡܢ ܕܝܠܟ.
That one* who betrayed me to you, his sin is greater *than yours*.

+ܗܘ Peshitta, except 4 9 11 40 41 17* 3* (+additional pronoun)

John 19:12 (Homily 84; SM)
Ὁ ποιῶν ἑαυτὸν βασιλέα, ἀντιλέγει τῷ Καίσαρι.

B.L. Add. 12,161, B.L. Add. 14,562, and Peshitta
ܟܠ ܡܢ* ܕܡܥܒܕ ܠܗܘܢܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܬܚܪܝ ܥܡ ܩܣܪ.
Everyone who himself king makes *is an opponent* of Caesar.

*+ܠ Peshitta (+"for")

It has already been observed that introductory formulae in the Greek homily text are typically unfaithful representations of the Biblical text. Normally, the translator follows the Greek source text in this regard, allowing it to determine the

scope of the citation as he presents it in Syriac, although he may rely on the Peshitta for the wording. Occasionally the translator fills out the introductory clauses as he does other allusions. For example:

John 18:23 (Homily 83; SM)
Καί φησιν· Εἰ κακῶς ἐλάλησα, μαρτύρησον περὶ τοῦ κακοῦ

B.L. Add. 12,161, B.L. Add. 14,562, *B.L. Add. 14,727*, and Peshitta
ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܝܫܘܥ *1ܐܡܪܝܢ ܐܢ ܫܦܝܪ ܡܠܬܐ ܡܠܠܬ ܒܝܫܬܐ *2ܡܣܗܕ ܠܗ ܒܝܫܬܐ .
Jesus answered and says*[1] *to him*, "If evilly I have spoken, testify*[2] about the evil."

*[1]ܐܡܪܝܢ B.L. Add. 14,562 Peshitta ("said;" pointing variant)
*[2]ܡܣܗܕ Peshitta (ܡܣܗܕ 9), grammatical variant

D) Citations Favouring another Syriac Version

As in the lower-numbered homilies, here some references have distinctive readings reminiscent of the Old Syriac version:

John 11:16 (Homily 62; SM) — two occurrences
*Ἄγωμεν, ἵνα καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀποθάνωμεν.**

*+*μετ' αὐτοῦ* second occurrence

B.L. Add. 12,161 (both occurrences), Peshitta, and Old Syriac (Sinaitic)
ܐܬܐ *1ܐܦ ܠܢ ܢܙܠ ܠܘܬ *2ܢܡܘܬ *3ܠܗ ܡܝܬܝܢ .
Come,*[1] let us go; also*[2] let*[3] us die with him.

*[1]om. ܐܬܐ Peshitta (om. "come")
*[2]ܠܘܬ ܢܙܠ ܢܢ Old Syriac (transpose "also/let us go")
*[3]pr. –ܐ B.L. Add. 12,161, second occurrence ("and let")

The repeated occurrence of ܐܬܐ ("come") suggests the influence of a text like that of the Old Syriac, also like that in Ephrem, *CDia*, xvii.2;[38] less likely, that the Peshitta text of John 11:7, also cited in Homily 62, has influenced the translator.

John 11:18 (Homily 62; SM)
Ἦν δὲ ἡ Βηθανία ὡς ἀπὸ σταδίων δεκαπέντε

B.L. Add. 12,161 and Old Syriac (Sinaitic)
ܐܝܟ ܕܡܬܪܚܩܝܢ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܥܢܝܐ *2ܗܘܬ ܐܝܟܢܐ *1ܗܘ

[38] ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܢܙܠ ܠܘܬ ܢܡܘܬ ܠܗ ܐܬܐ (For he says, "Come, let us go; let us die with him"). Cf. *CDia*[A], xvii.2, which has ⲉⲓϣⲓⲗⲉ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲁⲅⲕⲉ ("come, let us go"). Ortiz de Urbina gives this as Diatessaric (*Vetus evangelium syrorum*, 268 [cf. p.140, 1770]). The text is quite unlike that of *LibGrad*, 17 (col. 424), which has, ܢܙܠ ܢܚܐ ܢܡܘܬ ܠܗ ܠܘܬ ("let us go, let us die with him, that we may live with him").

now*[1] Bethany was *distant**[2] 15 *stadia*

*[1] ܗܫܐ Old Syriac ("and now;" and different word order)
*[2] +ܡܢ ܝܪܘܫܠܡ Old Syriac (+"from Jerusalem")

Peshitta
ܗܘܐ ܒܝܬ ܥܢܝܐ ܩܪܝܒ ܠܝܪܘܫܠܡ . ܪܚܩ ܡܢܗ ܐܪܒܥܣܪ ܣܛܐ .
now Bethany was beside Jerusalem, being removed from it about 15 *stadia*

The Syriac homily text essentially follows the Greek but chooses wording shared by the Old Syriac, and in particular adds the term, ܪܚܩܐ ("distant"), ostensibly under the influence of a text like that of the Old Syriac.

These two occurrences represent echoes of the Old Syriac influencing the translator.

C. Initial Citations

In both lower- and higher-numbered homilies, the initial citations essentially follow the Peshitta texts. It is impossible to determine whether the initial translator gave them their present forms or they were subjected to forces of accommodation later, but the former is not unlikely since the Peshitta influenced the translator's rendering of many internal citations. In favor of the latter is the fact that a number of the internal citations differ from the initial ones. Yet this becomes less significant when one remembers how much easier it would be to refer to the Peshitta for initial citations than for some of the brief and adapted internal ones, particularly in the lower-numbered homilies.[39] The following are the most striking examples:

John 2:11 (Homily 23; B)
Ταύτην ἐποίησε τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν σημείων ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐν Κανᾷ τῆς Γαλιλαίας*

**ἐποίησεν ἀρχήν* B; *τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐποίησεν* M

B.L. Add. 14,561, *B.L. Add. 14,612*, and Peshitta
ܗܕܐ ܣܝܡܐ ܩܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܒܩܢܐ ܕܓܠܝܠܐ *ܗܘ ܐܝܬ .
This *is* the first sign* which Jesus did in Cana of Galilee.

*om. ܗܘ Peshitta 6 (om. explicit "is")

John 11:1–2 (Homily 62; SM)

[39]See 270–1.

1 Ἦν δέ τις ἀσθενῶν Λάζαρος ἀπὸ Βηθανίας,
2 ἐκ τῆς κώμης Μαρίας καὶ Μάρθας τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτῆς.
3 Ἦν δὲ Μαρία ἡ ἀλείψασα τὸν Κύριον μύρῳ.

B.L. Add. 12,161 and Peshitta

1 ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܕܚܠܝܢ ܠܙܪܐ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܥܪܬܐ ܕܒܝܬܢܝܐ.
2 ܐܚܘܗܝ ܕܡܪܝܡ ܘܕܡܪܬܐ.
3 ܡܪܝܡ ܗܝ ܡܢ ܗܢܐ*1 ܐܝܬܝܗ. ܡܢ ܗܢܐ ܕܡܫܚܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ*2 ܒܫܡܢܐ, ܗܢܘܢ ܪܓܠܘܗܝ.

1 And there was one who was sick, Lazarus from *the village of* Bethany,
2 the brother of Mary and of Martha.
3 And *this**1 Mary *is she* who anointed (with)*2 oil *the feet of Jesus.*

1om. ܗܢܐ Peshitta 8 40* ("this")
*2add. –ܒ Peshitta (explicit "with")

Of the initial citations surveyed, only that for Homily 37 departs from the pattern, having a text which is more like the Greek than the Peshitta:

John 5:6–7 (Homily 37; SM)
1 Λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς· Θέλεις ὑγιὴς γενέσθαι;
2 Ἀπεκρίθη αὐτῷ ὁ ἀσθενῶν· Ναί, Κύριε· ἄνθρωπον δὲ οὐκ ἔχω,
3 ἵνα, ὅταν ταραχθῇ τὸ ὕδωρ, βάλῃ με εἰς τὴν κολυμβήθραν.

B.L. Add. 14,561, *B.L. Add. 14,515*, *B.L. Add. 14,516*, and Peshitta

1 ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܝܫܘܥ. ܨܒܐ ܐܢܬ ܕܬܗܘܐ ܫܠܡ*1.
2 ܐܫܒܚ ܗܘ ܡܟܝܪ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ, ܐܝܟ ܕܝܢ ܠܝܬ ܠܝ ܐܢܫ*3
3 ܕܟܕ ܡܬܙܥܥ ܡܝܐ ܢܫܕܢܝ ܠܒܪܟܬܐ.

1 Jesus*1 said to him, "Do you want to become well?"*2
2 The sick (man) answered and said, "Yes, my Lord, but a person I do not have*3
3 who, when the water has been stirred, will put me into the pool."

*1om. ܝܫܘܥ Peshitta (om. "Jesus")
*2ܫܠܡܬܗ Peshitta ("to be well")
*3ܠܝܬ ܠܝ ܐܢܫ Peshitta ("but I do not have a person")

In spite of this anomaly, it is clear that the Syriac texts of the initial citations for HJn are taken from the Peshitta, as a rule.

The precise scope of the initial citations in the Syriac do not always match that of the Greek. In the Greek editions, the initial citation to Homily 84 includes the final clause of John 18:37, which B.L. Add. 12,161 and B.L. Add. 14,562 omit. Similarly, the Greek initial citation to Homily 83 is John 18:1, while B.L. Add. 12,161, B.L. Add. 14,562, and *B.L. Add. 14,727* have only the first half of the verse. Finally, for Homily 20 some Greek witnesses have John 1:43 as the initial citation, whereas most have John 1:43–4; but B.L. Add. 14,561 stands alone, having only John 1:44. In each

case, the Syriac text is identical to that of the Peshitta.

D. Biblical Citations in HJn and the Greek Text

Many of the examples given in this chapter—particularly where Boismard's text has demonstrated considerable degree of variation—have shown that the Syriac may responsibly be associated with specific Greek variants amongst the Biblical citations. Beyond the matter of understanding the translator's methods of handling citations, it is obvious that the Syriac is important for the matter of understanding the history of the Greek tradition where citations are involved.

Where citations are from Biblical passages not being systematically commented upon within the homilies of their occurrence, they are potentially very helpful witnesses to primitive forms of citations. This is true even for such citations from the Gospel of John. However, one must still be vigilant for sporadic interference from the Peshitta, though even where Peshitta wording is present the Syriac may preserve the primitive scope of a citation more accurately than the medieval Greek texts.

Where citations are from passages upon which the homily in question comments, they are more likely to exhibit Peshitta influence, or even possibly the influence of other Syriac versions. This is especially true for such citations in higher-numbered homilies. Yet again, the Syriac not infrequently harbours what must be very primitive readings, both in regards to wording and especially in regard to scope.

The Syriac citations alone are not precise indicators of general Greek textual affiliation. Savile and Migne record so few Greek variants that they do not provide sufficient breadth of comparison material, although it is possible to detect an occasional special affinity for the Greek text of Savile's margin, as in a citation of John 5:8 in Homily 37. Boismard's edition allows greater accuracy of comparison, but the data gained thereby must be considered with that of the rest of the translation analysis.[40] On their own, the citations for which Boismard provides a comparison text show only that they regularly disagree with the distinctive readings of Greek manuscripts B and M.[41] The citations themselves show no special affiliation with

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[40]See 157, 322–3.

[41]See 1:46 in Homily 20 (279); the same may be said for the citations of John 2:5 in Homily 22 (341) and of 2:11 in Homily 23 (350).

Greek manuscripts A and D,[42] although these manuscripts have so few distinctive readings amongst the citations under consideration here that this negative conclusion is not weighty.

Initial citations in the Syriac HJn are basically unhelpful witnesses to the primitive Greek forms, because they rely on the Peshitta. They might occasionally prove to be of interest to the study of the development of the Peshitta.

E. Revisions of Internal and Initial Citations[43]

The earlier translation analysis established that no internal evidence exists to suggest that the Syriac HJn were ever subjected to systematic revision. Similarly, the Syriac witnesses to HJn produce no compelling evidence that revisors targeted the Biblical citations either. Not many instances of significant variation within citations distinguish one witness from others—indeed, the only clear pattern is one of basic unanimity between all the witnesses, commentary manuscripts, and collections.

Exceptions are most likely to occur in collections, which occasionally have accommodations to the Peshitta text. Amongst the examples given, instances of this occur in *B.L. Add. 14,612* with citations of John 2:4 and 2:5 in Homily 22;[44] and in *B.L. Add. 14,515* with a citation of John 5:14 in Homily 37.[45] However, it must be stressed that each of these collections occasionally have variants which actually make their text less like the Peshitta, though not necessarily more like the Greek; the most common types of these variants involve conjunctions or particles and minor adjustments in word order. In no case does it appear that a reviser has acted systematically; in many cases, not even consciously. For example, in two instances citing John 11:25 in Homily 62, B.L. Add. 12,161 and *B.L. Add. 14,516* have ܐܢܐ ܗܝ ܩܝܡܬܐ ܘܚܝܐ ("I am the resurrection and the life"), except that the collection has ܩܝܡܬܐ in the second occurrence, the term for "resurrection" the Peshitta uses; surely a scribe's unconscious slip to the familiar Peshitta text produced *B.L. Add. 14,516*'s reading.

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[42]Cf. Boismard, *Évangile pré-johannique*, 1.2.13.

[43]See 193–4 for a few remarks about method.

[44]See 339, 341. In a citation of Psalm 36/7:4 (348) *B.L. Add. 14,612* agrees with the Peshitta by having *seyame* to mark the plural form, but this is probably indicative of an error in pointing of B.L. Add. 14,561, not a revision in the collection.

[45]See 362.

Discrepancies between commentary manuscripts and collections show that other errors have occurred, though can be difficult to determine which is secondary.[46]

Only B.L. Add. 12,161 and B.L. Add. 14,562 allow comparison between forms of citations in commentary manuscripts. The text of the latter manuscript is more prone to scribal errors, especially the sort which actually make sense in context.[47] Of its variants from B.L. Add. 12,161 (and collections, where pertinent), they move towards or away from the Greek or Syriac texts in equal proportions; that is, they exhibit no discernable pattern. The following is an example of a text which in B.L. Add. 14,562 has been accommodated to the Peshitta because a scribe believed the original to have been erroneous:

John 18:20 (Homily 83; SM)
ἐγὼ παρρησίᾳ ἐλάλησα τῷ κόσμῳ

B.L. Add. 12,161, B.L. Add. 14,562, *B.L. Add. 14,727*, and Peshitta
ܐܢܐ ܠܝܡ ܕܠܐ *1 ܡܠܠܬ ܥܡ ܟܠܗ *2
I openly*1 (before) everyone have spoken with the world*1

*1 ܡܠܠܬ ܠܝܡ Peshitta ("I openly, plainly have spoken")
*2 ܟܠܗ B.L. Add. 14,562, *B.L. Add. 14,727*, and Peshitta ("the people")

The morphological similarity between ܟܠܗ ("world") and ܟܠܗ ("people") facilitates confusion.[48]

Less easy to evaluate is this instance:

John 18:34 (Homily 83; SM) — second occurrence
Ἄλλοι σοι εἶπον;

B.L. Add. 12,161, B.L. Add. 14,562, and Peshitta
ܐܢܬ ܠܟ ܡܢܘܢ ܐܡܪܬ ܗܕܐ *3 ܐܘ ܡܢ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܐܡܪܘ ܠܟ *2 ܐܢܬ *1 .
You,*1 on your own do you say*2 this,*3 or have others spoken to you about me?

*1 om. ܐܢܬ Peshitta (om. "you") *2 ܐܡܪܬ ("have you said")
*3 om. ܡܢ . . . ܗܕܐ B.L. Add. 14,562 (om. "You, on your own. . . say this")

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[46]This is true of the variations between B.L. Add. 14,561 on one hand and *B.L. Add. 14,515* and *B.L. Add. 14,516* on the other in a citation of 1 Corinthians 13:3 in Homily 37 (368); between B.L. Add. 14,562 and B.L. Add. 12,161 in a citation of John 17:14 in Homily 83 (398); and between B.L. Add. 14,561 and *B.L. Add. 14,612* in the variation ܕܢ ܡܢܟܠܗ / ܕܢ ܡܢܟܠܗ (277).

[47]For more about this characteristic of B.L. Add. 14,562, see 2.4–5 (in Chapter XII).

[48]The Old Syriac (Sinaitic) also has ܟܠܗ ("world").

One might presume that the shorter text is more primitive, since it has clearly been seen that the tendency in the Greek tradition is to expand brief references. In such a case, the text of B.L. Add. 12,161 has a secondary expansion in accordance with the Peshitta, matching the earlier occurrence of the passage in the homily, and that the text of B.L. Add. 14,562 is here more primitive (although the appearance of ܐܘ ["or"] here is anomalous). However, nowhere else in the surveyed citations do such dramatic differences exist between the two commentary manuscripts, which must be considered essentially unanimous.

Despite minor variations between witnesses, there is no evidence for systematic revision or multiple recensions within the citations.

F. Conclusions about Biblical Citations in HJn

A complete survey of select homilies and a presentation of representative examples has shown that HJn cite mainly from the Gospel of John. Where the few Old Testament citations occur, no clear pattern of Syriac rendering occurs. When translating non-Gospel New Testament passages and non-Johannine Gospel passages, the Syriac translator tends to follow his Greek source text without admitting any Peshitta influence; occasional exceptions to this are most likely to occur in the Gospel citations. Nevertheless, the Syriac typically constitutes a fine witness to the pre-medieval forms of Biblical citations in the Greek and even occasionally boasts more primitive readings than extant Greek witnesses have. Falling into the same category are citations from Johannine passages which are not the special object of comment within the homilies of their occurrence.

Turning to Syriac Johannine citations of passages with which homilies are especially concerned, it has been helpful to treat them in different categories. Those in lower-numbered homilies tend to follow the Greek, and some preserve more primitive forms of the citations than the extant Greek itself. Yet not infrequently the Peshitta has influenced the translator; even in such cases, the Syriac may be a helpful witness to the original scope of a citation.

In higher-numbered homilies the same sort of Johannine citations tend to exhibit more Peshitta influence, although the high-humbered homilies also offer many examples of valuable citation witnesses. This may indicate the work of another

translator, but in view of the otherwise homogeneous translation technique, a simpler solution ought to be preferred. It was earlier suggested that a possible explanation for the heightened Peshitta role is that the translator could more easily correlate his source text with the Syriac Bible because of the systematic and regular method of citing passages in the higher-numbered homilies, which proportionally cover more Biblical text.[49] One could suppose instead that the difference in Syriac styles is due to the fact that extant lower-numbered homilies reside in B.L. Add. 14,561, while the separate pair B.L. Add. 12,161 and B.L. Add. 14,562 have higher-numbered homilies, on the assumption that we have to do with two separate translations, perhaps even of different periods. Yet the differences in style of translating the citations are not dramatic, and the other categories of translation analysis (see Chapter VI) point to the overall unity in style amongst all the edited Syriac homilies. Finally, it must be borne in mind that it is the Greek texts that undergo the gradual shift in style of citation and comment, which the slight shift in Syriac translation method merely parallels; the Greek texts themselves must be the starting point for understanding this phenomenon.

It ought also to be observed that a different Greek comparison text exists for the lower-numbered homilies than for most of the higher ones. For Homilies 6, 20, 22, and 23, Boismard's edition of parts of the homilies presents a wider range of variation than exists in other printed editions. For Homilies 37, 62, 83, and 84, one must rely on the editions of Savile and Migne. It could be supposed that the perceived shift in method is actually due to the different qualities of the comparison texts. There can be no doubt that better editions (of all the homilies) would allow a more precise understanding of the Syriac citations, especially for homilies Boismard does not cover. But it is not the case that the alleged shift in translation method is due simply to the difference in comparison texts. First, although Savile and Migne provide the Greek comparison text for Homily 37,[50] the application of their evidence does not distinguish it in analysis from other lower-numbered homilies for which Boismard provides the text. Second, even Boismard's edition signals no significant variation for many of the citations in the lower-numbered homilies, so it is unjustified to assume that differing Greek texts exist for most citations. Citations in Savile, Migne, and Boismard often agree, yet a comparison of their texts with the Syriac does

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[49]See 270–1.

[50]They also provide the comparison text for portions of lower-numbered homilies Boismard does not cover, but these portions are typically of *ethikon* material which do not have many citations of the category under consideration here.

not provide evidence against the conclusions about methods presented here. Finally, even if it were true that the translator of the higher-numbered homilies were using a Greek text very different from those published in Savile and Migne, and that this accounts for the shift in the quality of the citations, then one must postulate a Greek text whose differences consistently bring it into general agreement with the Peshitta, which is far-fetched. It is possible that we have to do with two translators, but the differences are best explained as indicative of a different method used by the same translator, in response to or facilitated by the way in which the higher-numbered Greek homilies present Biblical citations.

So like other Syriac translators,[51] the translator of HJn exhibits heterogeneity of method. Some citations are more like the extant Greek, others are more like the Peshitta, and others are distinctive. Some patterns have been detected, as already indicated. Yet unevenness occurs in all parts of the homilies and therefore should be attributed to translation method and cannot responsibly be taken as evidence for composite layering or multiple recensions, i.e. the presence of different hands.

In connection with this, some Johannine citations exhibit the influence of other Syriac versions, presumably the Old Syriac or pre-Peshitta recensions with texts like the Old Syriac.[52] Yet the occurrences are few and slight. HJn could not be considered a particularly rich source for non-Peshitta Syriac versions. Nor should one use the isolated occurrences to build a comprehensive theory of thoroughgoing revision.[53] Viewed cautiously, it must be concluded that the more striking of these instances occur simply because of the translator's familiarity with the texts, presuming nothing about the reasons for this familiarity. The rather faint quality of the influence is due not only to the fact that it occurs in isolated instances, but that even the citations in which it occurs do not agree completely with the Old Syriac.

The Syriac tradition holds no evidence exists for conscious, thorough revision of citations, either towards the Greek or any Syriac version. This is consistent with the findings of the translation analysis in Chapter VI.[54] Variations between witnesses are sporadic and inconsistent, conforming to the Peshitta seemingly by sub-conscious accommodation due to familiarity, and to the Greek only by coincidence.

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[51]E.g. the translators of HMt^{AB} (see 194–6).

[52]See 278–81, 289–90.

[53]Cf. Boismard, *Évangile pré-johannique*, 1.2.31–3.

[54]See 257–60.

Οὐδὲ γάρ μικρὸν ἡμῖν καὶ τήμερον πρόκειται ζήτημα.

St. John Chrysostom, on the topic
at hand (*Homily 22 on John*)

VIII. M.-E. BOISMARD AND THE SYRIAC TEXT OF THE HOMILIES ON JOHN

A. Boismard's Contribution to the Our Knowledge of HJn

Over 40 years ago, P.W. Harkins recognized that the editions of Savile and Migne did not provide an accurate portrayal of the state of the Greek text of HJn.[1] But with so many manuscripts to collate, re-editing the homilies seemed a colossal task—one which Harkins bravely undertook, but which he was unable to see through to completion. Recognizing the problem, M.-E. Boismard is in the process of presenting new textual data on the Greek HJn.[2] It is good finally to have solid fresh material. Boismard's edition is quite useful because—for the text it covers—it presents a more diverse picture than any of its predecessors, and is therefore more representative of the whole Greek tradition. Also, Boismard has compared the Syriac of B.L. 14,561 with his Greek collations, making an attempt to relate the version to the Greek text. His efforts, and those of his collaborater A. Lamouille, are welcome and stimulating.

Unfortunately, Boismard does not aim to present the Greek text for its own sake and this sharply limits the usefulness of his work. First, he uses only a handful of manuscripts. In 1967, Harkins claimed to have examined 80 out of some 140 available Greek witnesses.[3] Boismard consulted only nine Greek manuscripts, augmenting them with Migne's text and using J.A. Cramer's edition of the catenae as a control.[4] This small group of witnesses is notable for its textual diversity, and it may be that it portrays in broad outline the overall shape of the extant Greek text, but these few bits of evidence cannot fill the void left by the vast quantity of textual data remaining unedited. Moreover, in volume two Boismard drops seven of the nine manuscripts, presenting his text on the basis of only two similar manuscripts, giving

[1]Harkins "Text Tradition of Chrysostom's Commentary on John," 1948; see also idem. (1958).

[2]This takes the form of the volumes in progress of *Un évangile pré-johannique*, of which volumes 1 and 2 have appeared.

[3]Harkins "Text Tradition of Chrysostom's Commentary on John" (1966) 217–8.

[4]*Catenae Graecorum Patrum*, ed. Cramer, vol. 2.

variants from Migne and Cramer for comparison. Second, Boismard is very selective about which homilies he edits and which parts of these homilies he presents: in volume one, parts of Homilies 6 and 16–23, according to seven Greek manuscripts; and according to two manuscripts, parts of Homilies 8 and 11–13 in volume one, parts of Homilies 23–35 in volume two.[5]

Obviously, Boismard's volumes are not critical editions of the Greek homily texts.[6] This is because for him the homily texts are only a means to another end, the identification and extraction of a "pre-Johannine" text of the Gospel of John.[7] Boismard believes that the homilies cite a form of the Gospel text which was current at Antioch before the canonical form had gained universal prominence. It is the presence of this hypothetical text-form that determines which homilies are to be edited, and which portions of even these homilies are to be ignored; it is the estimate that two manuscripts best preserve this presumably primitive text-form which causes Boismard to disregard the other witnesses.

These matters are not of primary concern for this thesis, but must be taken up by future editors of the Greek text and practitioners of Greek source criticism of Patristic texts—but especially by textual critics of the New Testament. However, this thesis is especially concerned with the Syriac version and its role in recovering the primitive Greek text. As previous chapters have illustrated, determining the exact form of the Greek source text of Syriac translations can be a complex business, often capable of only imprecise results.[8] Editors must take into account three controlling factors: 1) the linguistic limitations of Syriac in representing Greek; 2) the features of the translation technique(s) used to render the Greek; and 3) the forces at work within the transmission process. In my view, Boismard recognizes the importance of the first factor, the second he gives no special attention, and the third has been commandeered to serve the interests of his theory about the recensional history of the Syriac.

This chapter directs attention to the role which Boismard assigns the Syriac in confirming his views about the Greek text. The first part will take the form of a

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[5]Volume two continues in the middle of Homily 23 where volume one leaves off.

[6]It should also be noted that the text and study is riddled with minor errors, mainly of the typographical sort.

[7]Boismard, *Évangile pré-johannique*, 1.1.10.

[8]Highly literal seventh-century translations are exceptions to this rule.

critique of Boismard's methods of correlating the Syriac to the Greek text and of presenting the Syriac evidence, which are evident mainly in volume 1.1 of *Un évangile pré-johannique*. The second part will evaluate his theories about the development of the Syriac tradition, which he presents in the introduction to the *critique* and *reconstitution* volume 1.2.

B. Critique of Boismard's Use of the Syriac

1. Errors in the Presentation

Unfortunately the presentation is marred by blatant errors. In volume 1.1, note 4 on page 76 cites the Syriac for two conflicting variants, which is obviously contradictory. A reading of the apparatus for Homilies 6, 20, 22, and 23 yields other instances, of which the following occur in Homily 22 alone (volume 1.1):

Location	Boismard's Note	Actual Syriac Text
p.136, n.18	om. *σκόπει(τε) δέ* Syr	includes ܗܘܝ ܡܬܚܙܐ ("for consider")
p.138, n.16	om. *τοῦτο* Syr	includes ܗܢܐ ("this")
p.140, n.9	*βαλεῖν* Syr	ܠܡܣܒ ("to take")[9]
p.134, n.5	*δεικνύημεν* Syr	ܡܚܘܝܢ (?)

The last instance deserves some comment. Most of the Greek manuscripts have *δεικνύητε*; manuscript M has *δείκνυται*, which Boismard adopts for his text. He reads the Syriac as if it reflects *δεικνύημεν*. Yet the commentary manuscript B.L. Add. 14,561 clearly has ܡܚܘܝܢ, which, if correct, must be a second-person verb. It is difficult to see how the sense of the root ܚܘܐ ("to have difficulty" or "to prevail over") can fit in this context. One would expect the root ܚܙܐ ("to show"), which is in fact what the anthology *B.L. Add. 14,612* has here: ܡܚܙܝܢ ("you will show"). The form in B.L. Add. 14,561 is the result of an understandable mistake; in any case, it could not be taken as a first-person verb as Boismard has done.

Beyond errors in the apparatus, there are also errors in Boismard's discussions. On page 31 of volume 1.2, we find the following presentation of texts:

ChrSyr	ܡܙܒܢ ܡܪܝܡ ܕܐܠܗ ܠܒܢܝ
Syr^{P}	ܡܙܒܢ ܡܪܝܡ ܕܐܠܗ ܢܚܙܐ
Syr^{S}	ܡܙܒܢ ܡܪܝܡ ܕܐܠܗ ܠܒܥܐ
B.L. Add. 14,561	ܡܪܝܡ ܕܐܠܗ ܢܥܐ

[9]In this case, it appears that the note has been misplaced; it should properly refer to *δοῦναι*, not *λαβεῖν* as it does (see p. 341, n. 3).

The most obvious mistake is ܐܬ for ܐܝܬ, four times. The second involves ܢܦܫ, since the manuscript actually has the morphologically distinct ܢܦܫ. These errors are small, possibly typographical, but they do not inspire confidence in the accuracy of a presentation such as this, for which minute precision is necessary.

2. *Problems with the Method of Relating the Syriac to the Greek*

In many instances, it would appear that Boismard has misread the Syriac, but it is actually his manner of presenting the evidence which is the problem. Of course it is understood that the edition is of the Greek text and is not meant to present the Syriac evidence systematically. Yet the Syriac is clearly important to his work; it takes its place amongst the other (Greek) witnesses[10] and its *siglum* "Syr" appears regularly in the apparatus. But Boismard never clarifies his method of interpreting and presenting the evidence of the Syriac. The reader is easily mislead. This usually happens where the Syriac is not explicitly mentioned, which implies either that it agrees with the reading of the main text or that it is subsumed under the category of *reliqui*. Typically, one may trust the implication, but too many times the notes are misleading, producing errors by implication. Some examples:

Location	Implied Reading of Syriac	Actual Syriac Reading
p.32, n.5	om. *φησίν*	include ܐܡܪ (≈ *φησίν*)
p.32, n.6	*δὲ μή* (against *γάρ*)	ܐܠܐ (≈ *γάρ*)
p.114, n.21	om. *καί*	include ܘ (≈ *καί*)
p.138, n.8	om. *ἤδη*	include ܟܕ ("already")
p.140, n.19	include *καὶ προσέθηκεν*	om. same
p.148, n.4	om. *ἀλλ'*	include ܐܠܐ (≈ *ἀλλά*)

These examples show that Boismard's edition is not always a reliable guide to the Syriac as a textual witness. The seriousness of this state of affairs is magnified when one makes closer inquiry into the criteria used to determine when and where the edition will explicitly denote the Syriac (by means of the *siglum* "Syr"). Instances of Greek variation appear to be the primary control; that is, since the edition is of a Greek text, it makes mention of the Syriac when Greek variants occur, to indicate which reading the Syriac supports. Often, of course, it does not mention the Syriac explicitly in such cases; hence the errors by implication noted above. Otherwise, the method appears sensible—except for the fact that the Syriac evidence is so relatively primitive that it ought to be considered as a full and independent witness. It has already been shown that the Syriac version regularly features distinctive readings and

[10] *Évangile pré-johannique*, 1.1.24.

is capable of preserving very old readings which have vanished from the Greek texts currently known.[11] Boismard recognizes this, and in a few places advances the Syriac text as original. In some other places, he gives the distinctive readings of the Syriac only in the apparatus. However, most of the distinctive readings are ignored, and one wonders how Boismard has decided which are significant for comparing to the Greek. This problem raises another question, involving those cases where he does explicitly give the Syriac evidence: How has Boismard taken account of the special features of the translator's technique, which are particularly apparent in the distinctive readings typically ignored by the edition, and how does he expect the reader using the edition to do so? It is misleading to give the Syriac evidence only where it agrees with certain variants, unless the editor explains the problems associated with the three factors mentioned above[12] as they bear upon the particular texts he is using—and then makes some effort to observe them. This is especially true for translations which are not highly literal.

These are matters of method, relating both to the use of the Syriac as a witness and to the presentation and explanation of the data. Boismard indicates that he has some respect for the limitations of Syriac in representing Greek; this is apparent in those apparatus notes where a question mark (?) accompanies the *siglum* "Syr," few though they be.[13] However, in practice the edition is inconsistent, and no notice has been given of the limitations imposed by the translator's methods. Numerous examples cited in Chapters VI and VII show that the Syriac can responsibly be associated with Greek variants and is potentially a useful witness to the pre-medieval text—but only when handled carefully. On numerous occasions in Boismard's edition, the Syriac evidence is supposed to be more clear than it actually is. The following lists refer to notes in the edition which give apparent agreements between the Syriac and some Greek witness(es) but which are potentially misleading because the Syriac translation is not capable of supporting the identifications without some qualification.[14]

Many of the instances involve particles or conjunctions, even *ὅτι* ≈ –ܕ:

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[11]See 256–7 (also 268, 270, 274–5, 283–6).

[12]See 299.

[13]He ostensibly relates the Syriac to particular Greek variants only "quand elle peut rendre la différence" (*Évangile pré-johannique*, 1.2.23).

[14]In each case, the apparatus mentions the Syriac explicitly, so there is no chance of "error by implication."

Locations	Greek Variant with which the Syriac is Identified
p.62, n.4	*γὰρ* against *οὖν*
p.62, n.20	add *οὖν*
p.76, n.21	om. *οὖν*
p.66, n.4 and p.106, n.3	om. *καί*
p.74, n.6 and p.114, n.3	add *ὅτι*
p.78, n.18	add *δέ*
p.84, n.21 and p.88, n.7	add *καί*
p.106, n.14	*δὲ* against *γὰρ* and *οὖν*

Some instances involve fine points of word order:

Locations	Greek Variant with which the Syriac is Identified
p.56, n.5	*φησὶ γεγενήσθαι* against *γεγ. φησί*
p.90, n.7	*σπουδὴν τὴν πολλὴν* against *πολλὴν σπουδήν*
p.136, n.1	*μόνον τοῦτο* against *τοῦτο μόνον*

Some instances reflect little appreciation for the difficulties associated with distinguishing certain forms of the Syriac perfect tense from the participle:[15]

Locations	Greek Variant with which the Syriac is Identified
p.116, n.10	add *καὶ λέγει* (the Syriac has perfect-tense pointing)
p.142, n.22	*ποιεῖ* against *ἐποίησεν* (the Syriac has perfect-tense pointing)

Other sorts of instances could be noted:

Locations	Greek Variant with which the Syriac is Identified
p.74, n.7	add *αὐτοῦ* (abundant possessive suffixes are not very unusual)
p.62, n.15	*οὐδὲ* against *οὐ* (the translator is not totally consistent)

The last example is interesting because note 3 on page 146 (rightly) names the Syriac as an inconclusive witness ("Syr?") where the variants are *οὐδὲ* and *οὐκ*, yet the note on page 62 is unqualified.

It must be acknowledged that, *prima facie*, most of the identifications are accurate. But what is their significance? Issues of style are very important: the translator does not necessarily follow precise Greek word order within small phrases; Syriac idiom (and the translator's style) create seemingly superfluous possessive suffixes and relative pronouns (i.e. –ܕ ≈ *ὅτι*); and the translator is known to be inconsistent in the way he handles Greek conjunctions and particles, as are other

[15]See 236, 257, and 325.

translators of the same period.[16] These (and other) stylistic features complicate things. In instances of Greek variation, it is worth noting the Syriac agreements, as Boismard does. Yet this should not be done without qualifying the occurrence of certain kinds of agreements, on the basis that the identifications do not necessarily indicate that the translator read the Greek text with which he apparently agrees; some agreements are coincidental. The reader must be made acquainted with these facts before the Syriac evidence becomes truly useful.

Boismard's edition is so selective in its presentation of the Syriac that it is difficult to use the given evidence effectively and confidently. This is perhaps best seen in the exploration of the distinctive Syriac readings noted in the apparatus. Note 3 on page 30 shows that the Syriac adds a phrase equivalent to *καὶ διὰ τοῦτο* (ܥܠܬܗܢܐ ܗܕܐ); similarly, note 9 on page 136 shows that the Syriac reflects *διὰ τοῦτο* (ܥܠܬܗܢܐ ܗܕܐ) rather than just *τοῦτο*. These things are true, but why does the apparatus ignore most of the many other places at which the Syriac has distinctive transitions and rhetorical or explanatory phrases? Even confining ourselves to this phrase only, we would expect to see similar notes elsewhere, since the Syriac "adds" ܥܠܬܗܢܐ ܗܕܐ (≈ *διὰ τοῦτο*) twice more in Homily 20.[17]

The apparatus also mentions other sorts of distinctive Syriac readings, of which straightforward "additions" and "omissions" will be easiest to appreciate:

Location	Greek Equivalent to Syriac Text
p.26, n.16	om. *ὃς κατασκεύασει τὴν ὁδόν σου*
p.28, n.11	add *ἄκουε παρ' ἡμῶν*
p.104, n.15	add *ἀλλά*
p.110, n.11	om. *καὶ οὕτως*
p.112, n.3	om. *ἀληθῶς*

But again, one wonders why other comparable distinctive readings go unnoticed, such as the following:

Location	Distinctive Syriac Readings
p.28, line 34	add. ܒܐܬܪܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ ("in another place")
p. 32, line 74	om. *τοῦ τε μαρτυρουμένου καὶ τοῦ μαρτυροῦντός ἐστιν*
p.136, line 35	add. ܡܬܝܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܥܡܗ ("our Lord's coming with it")
p. 140, line 74 (n.22)	add ܠܡܕܡܐ ("to things"), against 1) *τοῖς θαυματουργοῖς*, 2) *τῷ θαύματι* and 3) the omission of any indirect object

These examples could be multiplied. Other apparent expansions, double translations,

[16]See 225–6.

[17]Lines 31 and 120 of the Greek edition (pp. 106, 114).

amplifications, and distinctive alterations warrant the same sort of notice given to the few which appear in the edition.[18]

In a few cases, Boismard puts forward the Syriac text as the only witness preserving the original text-form.[19] Generally, it is not difficult to see why he would assign such a value to most of the readings he selects; but it is difficult to see why many other interesting readings are given no notice at all. One category of such readings involves unnecessarily personal remarks[20] in the Syriac on the part of the preacher where the Greek is less personal:

Location	Distinctive Syriac Readings
p.28, line 21	add ܐܢܬ ܬܐܡܪ ܠܢ ("perhaps you will say")
p.28, line 29	add ܐܢܬ ܬܐܡܪ ܠܢ ܐܠܐ ("but perhaps you will say")
p.154, lines 43–4	ܐܢܐ ܬܐܡܪ ("I say"), against *ἔμπροσθεν ἐδηλώσαμεν*

The first two could be examples of the translator's clarifying rhetorical additions, but they could also be seen as primitive readings omitted for stylistic purposes at an early stage. In any case, Boismard's edition gives no indication of these readings.

In inter-textual analysis, there can be no substitute for direct reference to the Syriac text itself. Even when one has gained an appreciation for the general limitations of the Syriac in representing Greek, each translator's technique and every translation will contain fine and subtle features detectable only when one relies directly on the Syriac, features which supply crucial controls for the interpretation of the evidence. Not everyone will be able to consult the Syriac directly, and editions such as Boismard's are not intrinsically unhelpful. But it is all the more important that editions providing only indirect access to the Syriac do so according to a careful and consistent methodology which respects the three factors mentioned above.[21]

In the case of *Un évangile pré-johannique*, we have in essence a potentially helpful assortment of Syriac-Greek identifications, but they have not been assembled according to consistent criteria and without more general information about the Syriac version, the reader is left without any means to use the data responsibly. Moreover, although a direct reading of the Syriac evidence presumably underlies Boismard's own use of the data, even his own interpretation is beset by the sorts of

[18]For examples of such readings, see 249–53.

[19]See p. 40, n. 5; p. 42, n. 16; p. 76, n. 8; p. 150, n. 6; p. 152, n. 17.

[20]Syriac idiom requires more personal elements than the Greek but the personal additions noted above are not required by grammar or idiom.

[21]See 299.

methodological difficulties one would expect a reader of the edition to encounter. The implications of these misjudgements become clear in another section below.[22]

3. *The General Textual Affiliation of the Syriac HJn*

Boismard detects three main textual groups amongst the extant witnesses.[23] Without presuming anything about their inter-relationships, it is possible to set them forth according to the witnesses he uses:[24]

1) B: Vat. palatinus 32 (10th century), Homilies 9b–48
M: Athos, koutloumousiou 32 (10th century)
Cr: Cramer, *Catenae graecorum patrum*

2) A: Paris, bib. nat., gr. 705 (9th century)
D: Jer. gr. pat., n. 82 (11th century)
Syr: B.L. Add. 14,561 (6th or 7th century)

3) B^2: Vat. palatinus 32 (11th century), Homilies 1–9a
C: Paris, bib. nat., gr. 707 (11th century)
J: Vat., gr. 545 (11th century)
K: Moscow, bib. syn., gr. n. 94 (10th century)
N: Paris, bib. nat., gr. 713 (11th century)
R: Moscow, bib. syn., gr. n. 95 (11th century)
Migne

In Boismard's view, the two manuscripts in Group 1 have the so-called "short text" of the Greek homilies, with which the catenae are supposed often to agree; for this reason, Boismard uses Cramer's edition in Group 1 as a control.[25] Groups 2 and 3 constitute the "long text" but are separated from each other by sets of distinctive readings.

Boismard has used only a small fraction of the available Greek witnesses.[26] Harkins read many more Greek manuscripts and also detected Groups 2 and 3, which he designates Families A and B, respectively. As for Group 1, he read only Vat. palatinus 32 and decided that it was an idiosyncratic member of Family A (i.e. Group 2).[27] The work of both men makes it clear that these three groups exist, and Boismard's edition illustrates their differences.

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[22]See from p. 311.

[23]See *Évangile pré-johannique*, 1.2.13–27.

[24]The designations, "Group 1," etc. are my own.

[25]*Évangile pré-johannique*, 1.1.20–1.

[26]Cf. 2–3.

[27]Harkins was primarily concerned with higher-numbered homilies than is Boismard initially; according to Boismard, this partially accounts for Harkins' different estimate of Vat. palatinus 32's quality (*Évangile pré-johannique*, 1.2.11–2).

Boismard rightly associates the Syriac with the "long text" (i.e. Groups 2 and 3); the association is obvious and clear. But he also attempts a more precise identification of the quality of the Syriac text by putting it into Group 2 specifically,[28] the Greek part of which is in manuscripts A and D.[29] This is not unreasonable, since where A and D agree, the Syriac normally agrees with them, although the variants are usually small in significance. However, the picture is not simple. A survey of Boismard's apparatus shows that manuscripts A and D each have numerous distinctive readings and not infrequently one of them agrees with other witnesses against the other; in such cases, the Syriac shows no particular loyalty and may go any direction. In many instances, the Syriac agrees with one or more other manuscripts against either A or D, though not against both when they speak in unison. Manuscript J agrees with A, D, and the Syriac in some sections; in others, manuscript D actually agrees with witnesses belonging to Group 1. Harkins found some manuscripts difficult to classify "because of their confused condition,"[30] and Boismard speculates about the presence of still another recension in certain Group 3 manuscripts with anomalous texts, but decides that they are the result of mixture.[31] The Greek tradition is complex and the Syriac does not agree overwhelmingly with any of the Greek textual groups or their edited manuscripts.

More important than its relationship to manuscripts A and D is the fact that the Syriac occasionally agrees with Group 1 witnesses; on a number of occasions, the Syriac shares readings with Greek manuscripts B and M against the other Greek witnesses. Some of the agreements are quite significant:

Location	Greek Reading with which Syriac Agrees
p.28, n.3	add *ἴσως εἴποι τις ἄν* M (B deest)
p.46, n.18	om. *τὴν προφήτην* M B
p.54, n.10	om. *βαπτιστήν* M B Cr
p.62, n.3	*κηρῦξαι* against *δεῖξαι* M B
p.76, n.18	om. *ἀνθρώπων* M B
p.84, n.11	om. *ταῦτά εστι τὰ μαρτυροῦντα* B M
p.86, n.18	om. *ἐν πολλοῖς πολλάκις σπουδαῖον ὄντα* B M
p.138, n.24	om. *μὲν ὥστε καί* B M

[28]See Boismard, *Évangile pré-johannique*, 1.2.22–3.

[29]Harkins found other witnesses belonging to Family A (see "Text Tradition of Chrysostom's Commentary on John" [1948] 73–4).

[30]Idem. (1966) 218, n.1.

[31]Boismard, *Évangile pré-johannique*, 1.2.24.

Other agreements are less significant, but worth noting:[32]

Location	Greek Reading with which Syriac Agrees
p.48, n.15	om. *οὐκ ἄν* M B
p.52, n.12	om. *ὡς* M
p.56, n.3	om. *νῦν* M
p.56, n.14	*ἠπείγοντο* against *ἠπείγετο* M B
p.56, n.18	om. *πάλαι* or *πάλιν* M B
p.60, n.9	om. *τὰ* from *ἐδιδάσκοντο τὰ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* MB
p.74, n.17	om. *τινά* M
p.76, n.10	om. *μοι* M B
p.78, n.11	*αὐτὸς* against *οὗτος* M B
p.100, n.6	include *μόνης* M
p.108, n.16	om. *περὶ αὐτοῦ* M B
p.114, n.11	om. *δὲ* or *δή* B
p.138, n.13	*αὐτῷ* against *αὐτοὶ* and *οὗτοι* M
p.152, n.9	om. *οὕτω* M B

There are times when A and/or D agree with M and B[1], or where K agrees with M and B[1]; in either case, the Syriac again is liable to be in agreement. Of course, B and M share many more distinctive readings which the Syriac does not have, but the Syriac has obviously been influenced by a form of the Greek text somehow related to one which was at least partially responsible for creating B and M.

Therefore, a preliminary study shows that the Syriac agrees mainly with the "long text," perhaps Group 2 in particular, but that it also shares some readings peculiar to the "short text" of Group 1. In view of the age of the Syriac translation and manuscript, its textual quality is very important. Far from disregarding the Syriac, Boismard utilizes the apparent mixture in it as one component in a comprehensive theory about the development of the Greek HJn—a theory which in turn requires a complex history of development for the Syriac.

C. Boismard's Theory about the Multi-Stage Development of the Syriac Text

1. Boismard's Position

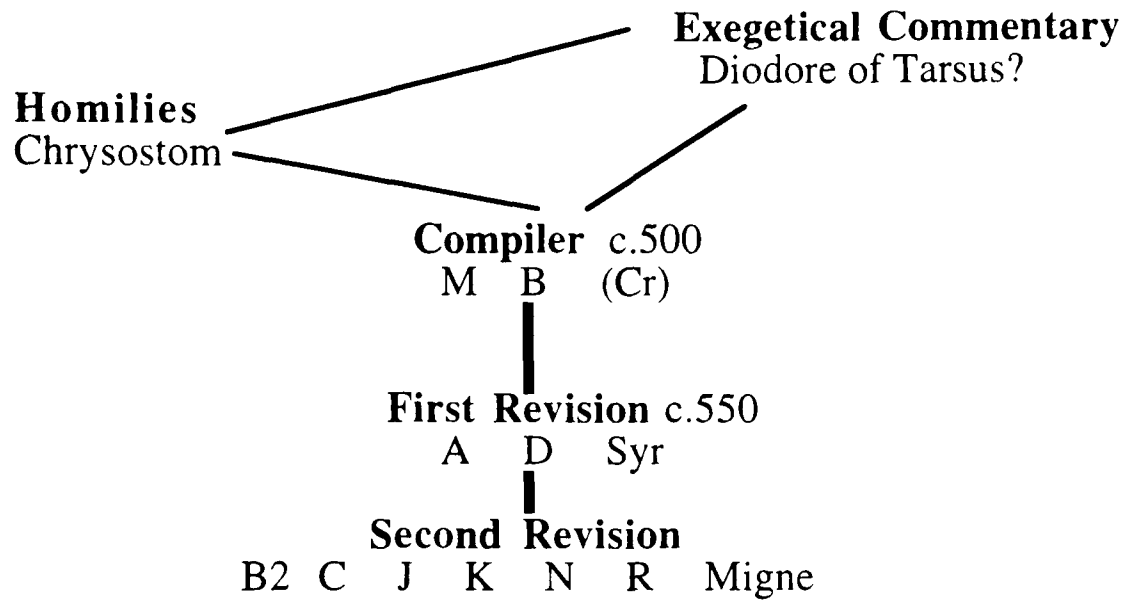
The broad patterns of textual grouping which Boismard and Harkins propose are quite reasonable, in view of the evidence. However, each also attempts to explain the relationships between the different groups. Harkins' position is easiest to summarize: Family A (Group 2) is the most primitive extant text-form; Family B (Group 3) represents a stylistically-motivated revision.[33] The only Group 1

[32]The list is representative, not exhaustive.

[33]Harkins, "Text Tradition of Chrysostom's Commentary on John" (1958) 411–2.

manuscript available to Harkins (Vat. palatinus 32) did not commend itself to Harkins as a legitimate independent text-form.[34] Boismard's position is considerably more complex and the following diagram summarizes its basic points:

Diagram 1: Development of the Greek Tradition of HJn (Boismard's Theory)



Boismard maintains that the Greek HJn underwent stages of compilation and revision. It is possible to summarize his conclusions as follows: 1) Someone other than Chrysostom prepared an exegetical commentary, probably Diodore of Tarsus.[35] 2) Chrysostom preached some homilies on John's Gospel, using the commentary as a source. 3) A compiler, working at about the end of the fifth century, rescued the commentary from oblivion by uniting it with Chrysostom's homilies and added some of his own glosses. The "short text" manuscripts (viz. B and M) are supposed to be witnesses to this layer of the tradition. 4) A revisor added more material, some authentic Chrysostom and some of his own glosses, accommodating the Biblical citations to a Koine form and standardizing the style overall. The manuscripts of Group 2 are the best witnesses to this layer of the tradition. On the basis of the date of the Syriac manuscript, Boismard believes this work would have been done by 550

[34]See 214; cf. *Évangile pré-johannique*, 1.2.12.

[35]Boismard insists that the exegetical commentary could not have been Chrysostom's work, pointing to alleged inner contradictions, discrepant themes, and diverse forms of Bible citations (*Évangile pré-johannique*, 1.2.191–6). He lists several reasons for suggesting Diodore, but ultimately appears to do so by default, perhaps on the grounds that no one else is as likely to have been in the right place at the right time to produce such a work and to influence Chrysostom (see ibid., 1.2.196–205).

at the latest. 5) Finally, not content to let things alone, another editor modified things yet again, as editors will, thereby producing the text surviving essentially in Group 3 witnesses.

If Boismard is right, then we have possibly discovered the work of an important thinker of the early church and must extract it and place it within its proper context. However, before it is possible to evaluate Boismard's work, it must be put into context. Boismard is not concerned primarily with Diodore, or even Chrysostom, but with New Testament textual criticism. It is his belief that the homilies cite a "pre-Johannine" text of the Gospel of John, i.e. a primitive recension of the Gospel which was current at Antioch before the canonical text of John gained universal prominence.[36] Identifying and establishing this "pre-Johannine" text is Boismard's principal aim, and it is his convictions concerning it which seem to supply the perspective from which Boismard interprets the Greek evidence. Yet it is possible to understand the situation differently, as Harkins shows; his views imply that the "short text" would be a secondary development, perhaps the result of abbreviation. Either way, when relying solely on Greek witnesses, one can penetrate no further than the 9th century, and most witnesses are from the 10th–11th.

This is why the early Syriac text is so important to Boismard. However, its textual quality turned out to be problematic: one must account for the apparent mixture of "long" and "short text" elements. Boismard hit upon an explanation which not only accounts for the mixture but actually strengthens his theory of the development of the Greek text—if the explanation is accurate. Assuming the priority of "the short text," Boismard suggests that the extant Syriac witness to these homilies, viz. the text in B.L. Add. 14,561, is itself a composite entity. He posits a Syriac tradition of multiple layers: an early Syriac translation of "the short text," later augmented by another translator on the basis of the "long" Greek text.[37] The "short text" elements reveal the hand of the first translator who translated a Greek text essentially like that of Group 1 witnesses. When the "long" Greek text began to circulate (Group 2), a second translator revised the original Syriac translation by augmenting and correcting it according to his "long text" source. His revision was not completely perfect, leaving us with a somewhat mixed Syriac text-form.

It is this aspect of Boismard's theory which is of special concern for this

[36]See ibid., 1.2.20–1 and especially 1.2.315–27.
[37]See ibid., 1.2.26–34.

thesis; much of the rest is a matter of the source criticism of the Greek texts. If Boismard's conclusions about the Syriac are seen to be well-founded, then the Syriac text might support his theory and help it all hold together; if not, then we must account for this very early "mixture" in some other way. In order to test Boismard's hypothesis, it will be necessary to evaluate any supporting evidence.

2. *External Syriac Evidence*

Judging from the age of the commentary manuscripts, the breadth and date of pertinent collection manuscripts, and translation style, it is very likely that the Syriac HJn had been produced in their present form well before 550.[38] This puts some strain on Boismard's reconstruction; the citations in Philoxenus' florilegium suggest the existence of the same version of HJn in the late fifth century,[39] threatening Boismard's construct with virtual collapse. But since it is not possible to set a precise *terminus ante quem* for the extant Syriac version of HJn, it can only be said that Boismard has less time for the evolution of "short" to "long text" than he prefers.

The broader Syriac tradition makes no mention of two or more distinct translations.[40] Nor do the extant manuscripts have any but the single Syriac version of the HJn; even slight revisions are rare.[41] If an earlier translation was made, it has left no independent impact on the surviving tradition. In the absence of corroborating external evidence, we must explore the internal evidence for double translation and distinct layers of recension.

3. *Internal Syriac Evidence*

As evidence for his hypothesis, Boismard draws attention to two features of the Syriac text itself: unevenness in the character of its Biblical citations; and a dislocation occurring in Homily 16. The following analysis will study the latter subject first.

a. The Dislocated Paragraph in Homily 16

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[38]See 254–5.

[39]See 9.

[40]For instance, see the notices of 'Abdisho' and *Chronicle of Seert* (7 and 12 above).

[41]This is true of the commentary manuscripts (or the one, B.L. Add. 14,561, where the homilies edited by Boismard are involved) as well as the collections having parallel passages (see 257–60).

The dislocation which Boismard notices is very significant for his theory about the Syriac translation tradition.[42] A presentation of the pertinent Greek and Syriac texts, with their immediate respective contexts, will facilitate a full textual analysis. As in previous chapters, Boismard's text and apparatus are given as they appear in the edition:[43]

1) The Greek and Syriac Texts

Homily 16 on John[44]

1 καὶ οἱ ἀποσταλέντες*[1] ἦσαν ἐκ τῶν Φαρισαίων, φησί.*[2]
2 καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ·*[3] τί οὖν βαπτίζεις;
3 *[4][[εἰ σὺ οὐκ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς οὔτε Ἠλίας οὔτε ὁ προφήτης;
4 ὁρᾷς ὡς οὐ μάτην ἔλεγον ὅτι εἰς τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἐναγαγεῖν ἠβούλοντο.
5 καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν αὐτὸ οὐκ ἔλεγον
6 ἵνα μὴ κατάφωροι γένωνται ἅπασιν.
7 εἶτα ἐπειδὴ εἶπεν· οὐκ εἰμὶ ὁ Χριστός,
8 πάλιν ἐκεῖνοι συσκιάσαι βουλόμενοι ἅπερ ἔνδον ἐτύρευον
9 ἐπὶ τὸν Ἠλίαν ἔρχονται καὶ τὸν προφήτην.
10 ὡς δὲ ἔφησε μηδὲ ἐκείνων τις εἶναι,
11 ἀπορούμενοι λοιπὸν καὶ τὸ προσωπεῖον ῥίψαντες,
12 γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ τὴν δολερὰν αὐτῶν ἐμφαίνουσιν γνώμην λέγοντες·
13 τί οὖν βαπτίζεις εἰ σὺ οὐκ εἶ ὁ Χριστός;
14 εἶτα πάλιν συσκιάσαι βουλόμενοι,
15 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους προστιθέασι, τὸν Ἠλίαν [ ]*[5] καὶ τὸν προφήτην·
16 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ κολακείᾳ οὐκ ἴσχυσαν ὑποσκελίσαι,
17 ἐγκλήματι προσεδόκησαν αὐτὸν δύνασθαι ἀναγκάζειν
18 εἰπεῖν ὅπερ οὐκ ἦν.*[6] ἀλλ' οὐκ ἴσχυσαν.]]
19 Ὦ τῆς ἀνοίας! ὦ τῆς ἀλαζονείας καὶ τῆς ἀκαίρου περιεργίας!
20 ἀπεστάλητε μαθησόμενοι παρ' αὐτοῦ τίς εἴη καὶ πόθεν,
21 οὐχὶ καὶ νόμους αὐτῷ θήσοντες;*[7]
22 τοῦτο γὰρ πάλιν ἀναγκαζόντων ἦν ὁμολογῆσαι ἑαυτὸν Χριστόν.
23 ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδὲ νῦν ἀγανακτεῖ
24 οὐδὲ λεγέι τι τοιοῦτον [ ]*[8] οἷον εἰκός·
25 ὑμεῖς [ ]*[9] διατάττεσθε [ ].*[10]
26 ἀλλὰ πολλὴν πάλιν τὴν ἐπιείκειαν ἐπιδείκνυται.

*[1]sic B M K; ἀπεσταλμένοι reliqui *[2]om. A D Syriac
*[3]sic Syriac; ἠρώτησαν αὐτὸν λέγοντες B M (ἐπηρώτησαν K D); ἐπηρώτησαν αὐτὸν καὶ εἶπον αὐτῷ reliqui.[45]
*[4]The text in double brackets (lines 3–18 in the Greek) is absent from B M K and given according to A D J R Syriac.[46]
*[5]sic A D J R Syriac; add. λέγω C N Migne

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[42]Boismard, *Évangile pré-johannique*, 1.2.32.

[43]The Greek witnesses are: B M K; and A D Syr; and C J N R Migne.

[44]The text is from Boismard, *Évangile pré-johannique*, 1.1.42, 44.

[45]Boismard's reading of the Syriac here is incorrect; the Syriac represents (ἐπ)ηρώτησαν.

[46]Boismard's note is not precisely accurate, since the Syriac block of text does not include line 3.

*[6]sic A D J R Syriac; 2 3 4 1 C N Migne *[7]θήσετε Migne
*[8]sic B M K; add. πρὸς αὐτούς reliqui
[9]sic B; add. ἐμοί reliqui; ἐμοὶ ὑμεῖς A (Syriac?)
*[10]sic B M K; add. καὶ νομοτεθεῖτε reliqui

For purposes of discussion, the foregoing line numbering will be treated as standard.

B.L. Add. 14,561[47]

1 ܘܐܠܝܢ ܕܐܬܝܢ ܡܢ ܦܪܝܫܐܐ ܗܘܘ
2 ܘܫܐܠܘܗܝ ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܗ . ܡܢܘ ܗܟܝܠ ܡܥܡܕܝܬ
3 ܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܢܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܠܐ ܐܠܝܐ ܘܠܐ ܢܒܝܐ .
19 ܘܐܝ ܠܟ ܠܡܬܝܗ ܕܚܟܡܬܐ .* ܘܠܡܢܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ ܕܚܟܡܬܐ
20 ܐܬܝܬ ܠܡܒܥܐ ܡܢܘ ܗܘܐ ܘܡܢܐ ܐܝܟܐ .
21 ܠܐ ܡܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܦܩܝܕ ܕܢܢܡܘܣ ܠܗ .
22 ܡܛܠ ܕܗܢܐ ܕܒܥܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܐܠܝܢ ܕܡܒܥܝܢ ܠܗ ܕܢܐܡܪ
ܕܐܢܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ .
4 ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܦܪܝܫܝܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܝ . ܕܒܡܪܝܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܢܐ ܗܘܘ ܫܠܝܚܝܢ ,
5 ܘܫܐܠܘܗܝ ܘܐܡܪܝܢ ܠܗ ܡܢܘ ܗܟܝܠ ܡܥܡܕܝܬ ·
6 ܗܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܡܫܬܠܚ ܘܡܦܩܝܢ .
7 ܡܢ ܕܬܡܢ ܗܘ ܗܘܐ ܗܘ ܐܠܝܐ ܗܘ ܐܠܝܐ ܕܢܐܡܪ .
8 ܕܗܢܐ ܡܛܠ ܡܢܐ ܕܗ ܕܡܬܬܠܝܢ ܕܡܗܝܡ ܕܒܕܝܢܐ ܡܢܐ ܗܘܘ
ܡܫܕܪܝܢ .
9 ܠܗܘ ܡܪܝ ܗܘܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܠܝܐ ܕܢܢܡܘܣ .
10 ܕܗ ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܐܢ ܠܐ ܡܢܐ ܐܢܬܡܘܢ ,
11 ܕܬܘ ܦܪܝܫܝܐ ܘܠܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܗܘ ܐܢܐ .
12 ܡܫܬܠܚܝܢ ܗܘܝܢ ܒܡܪܝܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܐܡܪܝܢ
13 ܕܐܢܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܡܢܐ ܐܢܬ . ܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܢܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܐܢܐ .
14 ܕܗ ܗܘ ܡܫܕܪ ܕܡܝܐ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ
15 ܐܦ ܡܢܐ ܐܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܥܡܕܝܢ ܠܡܝܐ ܕܢܝܚܐ .
16 ܕܠܡܢ ܠܗ ܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܠܚ ܠܗ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܗܘܝܢ ,
17 ܕܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܢ ܡܬܬܝܗ ܡܢ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܝܐ ܠܡܝܐ
18 ܗܘܐ ܕܡܪܝ ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܡܢܐ . ܐܠܐ ܠܐ ܐܝܟܢܐ .
23 ܡܢ ܗܘ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܡܛܠ ܕܡܪܝ .
24 ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܡܪܝ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܠܡܢ ܗܘܘ ܡܫܬܠܚܝܢ ܠܡܐܡܪ .*[2]
25 ܗܢܘܢ ܠ ܦܪܝܫܐ . ܘܡܢܘ ܡܬܝܗ ܐܢܬ ܠ .
26 ܐܠܐ ܕܡܢܘ ܕܡܫܬܠܚ ܠܡܐܡܪ ܕܐܢܐ .

1 And these who were sent were from the Pharisees,
2 and they asked him and said to him, "And why do you baptize,
3 if you are not the Christ, nor Elijah, nor the prophet?"
19 O the folly and the arrogance!*[1] And for the sake of[48] vain cunning
20 you were sent to learn who and whence he was;
21 and was it not also to impose law upon him?
22 For again this (question) was of those compelling (him) to say about himself that he is the Christ.

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[47]The text is from f. 64[va]–65[ra].

[48]The Syriac text has a comparatively superfluous ܠܡ (≈ περί) before ܦܪܝܫܢܘܬܐ (≈ περιεργία), as if the translator read an additional περί, perhaps even by accident. The Syriac is legitimate but has quite a different sense.

4 You see that I was saying not vainly that by this they were wanting to make him fall.
5 And at first this is not what they said,
6 so that their wile would not be evident to everyone.
7 But after he said, "I am not the Christ,"
8 again these very ones, being diligent to conceal that which by their device they were plotting,
9 come to that about Elijah and the prophet.
10 And after he said that he also was not one of these,
11 they fell into a state of uncertainty and they dropped their mask,
12 and they openly expressed their evil mind and said,
13 "Why then do you baptize, if you are not the Christ?"
14 Wanting still to conceal (their intent),
15 they also add these others: Elijah and the prophet.
16 For since by flattery they were unable to ensnare him,
17 thence through accusation they were expecting to be able to force him
18 to say the thing that he was not; but they were unable.
23 But that one thus was not indignant,
24 and neither did he tell them what would have been appropriate for him who preaches to say:*[2]
25 "You command me, and you impose laws upon me,"
26 but he again exhibits great calmness.

*[1]punctuation . (strong break [!]) supplied by editor
*[2]ܡܐܡܪ ("to say") is written in the original hand over an erasure of about seven letters (at the beginning of the line)

2) The Distinct Texts and their Inter-relationships

Three things are immediately noticeable about these texts. First, whereas most Greek texts have lines 3–18 in the position given, Greek manuscripts B, M, and K lack the material altogether.[49] Second, the Syriac contains the material, but in a slightly different position. In the Syriac, the block consists of lines 4–18 (line 3 remains in place after line 2, a discrepancy which Boismard neglects to point out), but it is placed between Greek lines 22 and 23. The line numbering which accompanies the Syriac text clarifies this, even if Boismard does not. Hence there are three extant forms of text: the long Greek text (manuscripts A, C, D, J, N, R, and the printed editions), the short text (B, M, and K), and the Syriac text. Third, all three text-forms make sense as they are;[50] only with the assistance of pre-conceived notions could one form of text be defended as original on the basis of content.

In order to evaluate Boismard's position it will be necessary to pursue the matter in detail. We must entertain four possibilities: either one of the three extant

[49]In the first part of Homily 16, manuscript K often agrees with B and M.

[50]If the displaced block in the Syriac were lines 3–18 instead of lines 4–18, then it would not make sense, because line 2 must follow line 4 (or perhaps be combined with line 13) in order to make sense.

text forms is essentially original, or the original form is presently unknown in extant witnesses; the preferred possibility should account for all three extant text forms. Boismard maintains that the shortness of the short text is not a result of deliberate abbreviation, but is in fact original.[51] In his view, instead of having suffered numerous intentional omissions, the short text was essentially the primitive textual base which an editor later expanded to produce the long text. But for the case in Homily 16 under consideration, we must ask: Which long text-form does the editor produce—that of the Greek, or that of the Syriac? Whether the former or the latter, it becomes very difficult to explain why a parallel dislocation would have occurred subsequently in the other long text, unless some of the expansions originally circulated as detached units or as set of notes keyed to specific points in the existing early short recension, to be read alongside or copied into it. In this imaginative scenario, the dislocation would occur when scribes copied the expansion into different places, thereby producing the two similar long text-forms, Greek and Syriac.

Boismard avoids this problem by moving from the realm of Greek transmission into that of the Syriac, suggesting that the extant Syriac text is the result of two translations. The first Syriac translation was of the short Greek text; when the long Greek text became available a later translator expanded the Syriac on the basis of it. Sewing these two elements together in the Syriac created the present dislocation when the second translator slightly misplaced the block of text. Yet despite Boismard's implication that the displacement would have been accidental,[52] the anomaly involving line 3 indicates that the Syriac form of text is at least partially the result of intentional activity. Perhaps the editor/translator decided that the block of text ([3]4–18) gave a better sense when inserted between lines 22 and 23 instead of between lines 2 and 19, but he had to detach line 3 from the block in order to keep that line connected to line 2, since line 3 is the second half of a Biblical citation (John 1:25) and makes sense only following line 2 directly. Alternatively, one could suppose that the entire block (lines 3–18) had been dislocated, but a later scribe (Greek or Syriac) noticed the disjunction involving line 3 and moved it only to its proper place, thereby producing the text presently reflected in the Syriac. Therefore, the theory that the short text is original is troubled by complications and requires some imagination, but it is plausible.

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[51]Boismard, *Évangile pré-johannique*, 1.2.32.

[52]"Le réviseur a inseré le texte. . . à une mauvaise place" (ibid.).

Two other possibilities must be considered: that either the long Greek form or the Syriac form best represents the original text. The notion that the Syriac form may be original is cast into serious doubt by the fact that both Greek forms are in agreement as to the scope of the block of text in question (lines 3–18), and the placement of line 3 in the Syriac, although problematic, is easier to explain if the Syriac form is secondary; in other words, it is very difficult plausibly to explain both the long and short Greek texts as derived somehow from the dislocated form of text underlying the Syriac. The Syriac text-form is not original. However, it is plausible to suppose that the long Greek text-form is primitive and the other two arise from it. In this scenario, the absence of the block of text from the short text, and its dislocation in the Syriac, would have occurred because of an accidental omission, perhaps a misplaced leaf.[53] This incident produced two streams in the tradition: one without the block (the short text), and another which had undergone a correction that replaced but slightly dislocated the block (the Syriac text-form), in connection with which line 3 was detached and re-joined to line 2.

According to this theory, the omission would be of a different sort than the numerous other "omissions" of the "short text." Deliberate omission does not recommend itself highly in this case in Homily 16. On the one hand, many smaller "omissions" occur throughout the short text of the homilies; this pattern characterizes the short text and cannot generally be considered accidental. On the other hand, in the homilies edited by Boismard, an "omission" of comparable length occurs in only one other place, Homily 17.[54] In that passage, the Syriac agrees with the Greek long text form against the short text (B and M[55]). So these two "omissions" occupy their own class, because the other "omissions" of the short text are characteristically much

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[53]There are no other obvious causes of accidental omission (e.g. homoioteleuton). Such errors are known to have happened. Compare the famous transposition of Ecclesiasticus 30:25–33:13a and 33:13b–36:16a, large enough to involve an entire quire (see *Sapientia Iesu filii Sirach*, ed. Joseph Ziegler [*Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum* 12.2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1965] 267–93, and the discussion in Sidney Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968] 307).

Even modern editors can make this sort of mistake—discovery of some Syriac Sahdona fragments by Brock ("A Further Fragment of the Sinai Sahdona MS," *Muséon* 81 [1968] 139–54) revealed that de Halleux had (understandably) ordered the text inaccurately (see *Martyrius (Sahdona), Oeuvres spirituelles*, vol. 1, *Livre de Perfection*, ed. de Halleux [*CSCO Scriptores Syri* 86–9; Leuven: Secrétariat du *CSCO*, 1960–5] 200, 201, 214–5, 252–5).

[54]The text involved is actually about 30% longer than that in Homily 16 (see Boismard, *Évangile pré-johannique*, 1.1.66).

[55]K is defective.

shorter, consisting of words, brief phrases, sometimes a sentence[56]—and the case in Homily 16 is actually unique, because dislocations in the Syriac like that in Homily 16 occur nowhere else amongst the edited homilies. If the short text is secondary, the two lengthy omissions could be accidental and need not be the result of an editorial policy of abbreviation which must otherwise have been at work to produce the short text as it now is.

Therefore, the present state of the text in this passage can *a priori* be explained on the basis of either an original short Greek text-form or an original long Greek text-form, the Syriac text-form being secondary in either case. Respecting the three extant text-forms and the nature of their inter-relationships, it becomes obvious that the fourth option, the positing of a hypothetical (lost) Greek text underlying them all (a text which must in turn explain the origin of each of the three extant forms) would actually multiply the complications and should be avoided.

The issues surrounding the dislocation are bound up with issues concerning the transmission history of the Greek HJn, which is complex and cannot be resolved here. Adequately explaining the variant forms of the single passage will require background consisting of a complete analysis of the Greek tradition and a theory which comprehensively interprets the relationships between the diverse forms of the extant Greek text. However, it is the Syriac text which this thesis seeks to interpret, and this study will not stray farther into the territory of the Greek tradition here than is necessary to gain an accurate appreciation of the Syriac.

As for Boismard's conclusion that the extant Syriac is a composite of two translations, it has been shown on the basis of the textual criticism of the passage that his explanation for the diverse text-forms is plausible. Yet the opposite explanation is just as plausible—perhaps more so, since Boismard's theory requires an elaborate multi-recensional development in both Greek and Syriac traditions.

It remains to adduce other evidence for or against the notion that a late version of the "long text" supplanted an early Syriac version of the "short text," and that the two translations have been interwoven to create the Syriac HJn inhabiting existing manuscripts.

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[56]The largest are of about 30% of the length of our passage; two occur in Homily 16, another in Homily 17, and one in Homily 29 (see Boismard, *Évangile pré-johannique*., 1.1.40, n. 12; 42, n. 5; 56, n. 22; 2.1.120, n. 14).

3) The Translation Style of the Dislocated Paragraph.

Boismard adduces such evidence, having to do with a Biblical citation in the dislocated paragraph. Before discussing this particular aspect of translation style, it will be helpful to study other more general stylistic features. If the dislocated paragraph is definitely the work of a second translator working many years after the first translator of the "short text," then one would hope to find stylistic differences.

However, the translation style of the dislocated paragraph is consistent with that seen throughout the Syriac HJn.[57] The translator takes as his translation unit the Greek phrase or clause. In most clauses, the Syriac word order is quite close to that of the Greek (e.g. line 17), but in others he departs from the Greek order unnecessarily (e.g. line 6). His representation of particles and conjunctions is imprecise: he does not attempt to translate *μὲν* (line 5); he uses ܕܝܢ (≈ *δὲ*) for *εἶτα* (line 7); he adds –ܘ (≈ *καί*) to render a participle (line 12); and he adds ܡܬܬܡܐ ("thence") as a linking element (line 17). The methods of rendering participles, finite verbs, and infinitival phrases do not set the text apart from the style described in Chapter VI; certain inconsistencies exist, but even there are consistent with the method used elsewhere. Line 8 provides an example of the occasionally less literal renderings which crop up in the Syriac HJn.

Not only are these features consistent with the overall style of HJn, but they constitute a style no different from that occurring in the immediate context (viz. lines 1, 2, 19–26), which belongs to the "short text" and is supposed to be that of an earlier translation. The translation in these lines is not more literal—compare the interpretive phrase in line 24 or the use of ܕܝܢ (≈ *δὲ*) for *ἀλλὰ* in line 23; nor is it less literal—compare the remarkably faithful word order in line 20. There is no indication that the dislocated paragraph has been rendered by a different translator.

It is possible to question the significance of the foregoing conclusion: What if two translators, working not many years apart, have employed very similar methods, so that the works of distinctive hands would not be of such a distinctive character? Or, has the possibility been overlooked that the acknowledged inconsistencies of style in the Syriac HJn are due precisely to the work of multiple hands? In response, it must first be remembered that the stylistic inconsistencies in HJn are no greater than in other Syriac translations of the same period, so it is unnecessary on grounds of

[57]See Chapter VI.

style to suggest anything other than a single translator. Second, supposedly definite representatives of the hypothetical first and second translators have been studied, namely the dislocated paragraph and its immediatiate context, but without discovering any distinguishing features of style. Finally, if it is to be maintained that the two translators have very similar styles or that the distinctive qualities of each have been effectively erased or heavily obscured in the process of fusion and revision, we are left to wonder where is the evidence for two translations and multiple Syriac layers.

The only stylistic evidence Boismard offers involves a minor variation in the citations of John 1:25.[58] The occurrences are in lines 2–3 and 13 above, but it will be helpful to compare their texts here to the Syriac Biblical versions:

John 1:25 (Homily 16)

2 . . . . τί οὖν βαπτίζεις;[59]
3 [[εἰ σὺ οὐκ εἶ ὁ Χριστὸς οὔτε Ἠλίας οὔτε ὁ προφήτης;

13 τί οὖν βαπτίζεις εἰ σὺ οὐκ εἶ ὁ Χριστός;

B.L. Add. 14,561

2 ܐܝܟܢܐ ܡܥܡܕܝܢ . . . .
3 ܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܢܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܐ ܐܠܝܐ ܠܐ ܢܒܝܐ ܡܢ ܗܘܝܬ .
13 ܠܡܢܐ ܡܥܡܕܝܢ . ܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܢܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ .

2 . . . . "And why do you baptize,
3 if you are not the Christ, nor Elijah, nor the prophet?"

13 "Why then do you baptize, if you are not the Christ?"

Peshitta

1 ܠܡܢܐ ܡܥܡܕܝܢ
2 ܐܢ ܠܐ ܐܢܬ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܐ ܐܠܝܐ ܠܐ ܢܒܝܐ ܡܢ ܗܘܝܬ .

1 "Why then do you baptize,
2 if you are not the Christ, nor Elijah, nor the prophet?"

Old Syriac (Sinaitic and Curetonian)

1 ܠܡܢܐ ܡܥܡܕܝܢ*[1] ܗܢܐ
2 ܐܢ *[2]ܐܢܬ ܠܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܐ ܐܠܝܐ ܠܐ ܢܒܝܐ .

1 "Why *[1]then do you baptize,
2 if you*[2] were neither Christ nor Elijah and not the prophet.

*[1]Sinaiatic resumes here *[2]+ܐܢܬ Sinaitic (+explicit subject pronoun)

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[58]Boismard, *Évangile pré-johannique*, 1.2.32–3.

[59]The text in double brackets (lines 3–18 in the Greek) is absent from B M K and given according to A D J R Syriac.

Boismard draws attention to the fact that in the supposed "short text" material of line 2, the translator has rendered *τί οὖν* with ܘܡܢܐ ("and why"), whereas within the paragraph in question (line 13) the Syriac has ܠܡܢܐ ܗܢܐ ("why then") in agreement with the Greek homily text, the Peshitta, and the Old Syriac. This is taken to show that different translators are at work, the earlier giving a distinctive form of the citation and the later giving a form accommodated to the norm of the Syriac Bible. Yet this conclusion takes no notice of the fact that this sort of "discrepancy" between the Syriac and Greek happens frequently in this translation, especially where conjunctions are concerned,[60] and transitions involving *τί* are particularly vulnerable to expansion and alteration.[61] Biblical citations are not immune. Furthermore, Boismard chooses to ignore the rest of the Syriac homily text in line 13, which has a very distinctive form of the citation reminiscent of the supposedly distinctive style which he claims belongs to the first translator, associated with line 2 and the "short text." So, according to the controls brought by the translation itself and according to the method implied by Boismard's own observation, this particular occurrence does not offer substantial evidence for the theory of two translations.

b. Old Syriac Citations and the First Translation

Boismard observes that translators of the period handle Biblical citations in three different ways: they may translate the Greek directly; they may rely on the Biblical version with which they are familiar; or they may adopt an intermediate method, respecting the variants of their Greek source texts but using the phraseology of a familiar version.[62] He also provides examples of each method from the Syriac text of HJn, highlighting the fact that the translator sometimes exhibits signs of Peshitta influence. Yet he assumes that a translator will have been influenced by only one Biblical version and that echoes of the Old Syriac in HJn indicate, "que cette traduction provient en fait deux niveaux différents."[63]

Out of nine homilies, Boismard draws attention to nine instances of citation in four of them, although the instances involve only three passages of Scripture. The one instance involving John 1:29 suggests Old Syriac influence, but two instances

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[60]See 225–6.

[61]Boismard himself notices a similar occurrence elsewhere in Homily 16, where ܘܡܢܐ ("and what?") renders *τί οὖν* in connection with a Biblical citation, (see ibid., 1.1.40; 1.2.33). See 231, 251 for other examples.

[62]Boismard, *Évangile pré-johannique*, 1.2.27–30.

[63]Ibid., 1.2.31.

involving John 1:31 and one involving John 1:46 indicate strongly the presence of Old Syriac influence. After having read the Syriac more broadly, it is possible to add a few more such instances.[64] These Old Syriac contacts are striking. However, the homilies cite many other scriptures, nearly all of which show no such influence. Whether appearing in "short" or "long text" material, they tend to follow the pattern described above in Chapter VII, which is why Boismard was able only to detect a few echoes of the Old Syriac.

Such a relatively tiny handful of distant echoes of do not necessitate the identification of two separate translations. The echoes are neither strong nor consistent enough to build a pattern allowing separation into distinct groups of text. As in the Syriac HMt and elsewhere, the influence of the Old Syriac version crops up sporadically in early Syriac literature and need not delineate separate hands. The early period of the development of Syriac Biblical versions is shrouded in a tantalizing haze of mystery typically broken for a moment by just such enigmatic occurrences. Also, translators are never absolutely consistent—even when they try to be, which is rare enough. When comparing Syriac translation styles and practices, particularly prior to the seventh century, a few exceptions are not sufficient to support a theory requiring distinct translations. If we are to believe that a more definite pattern no longer exists, save in faint and inconsistent echoes, only because of the normalizing hands of a later translator, we are still bereft of solid evidence and must again wonder where is the basis for a theory of multi-layer translation.

D. Conclusions

Only one aspect of Boismard's position remains to be discussed before the evaluations of this chapter are brought to a conclusion. In the Greek tradition, witnesses to the "short text" (Group 1) and manuscript D, which is supposed to have "short text" influence, refer to the homilies with the term *λόγος* instead of *ὁμιλία* like "long text" manuscripts.[65] The Syriac uses the term ܡܡܪܐ (*memra*, i.e. "discourse, homily") for individual homilies and ܦܫܝܛܐ ("commentary") for the volume, which Boismard associates with the sense of *λόγος* in the "short text" that consists largely of exegetical commentary.[66] Yet the two Syriac terms are absolutely standard; they are generic and so common in the Syriac exegetical and homiletical

[64]See 278–81, 289–90.
[65]See Boismard, *Évangile pré-johannique*, 1.2.26.
[66]Ibid., 1.2.33–4.

genres that nothing can be made of their occurrence in HJn.

Boismard's work is useful for the information it presents about the Greek tradition and as a first step towards understanding the Syriac version but his treatment of the Syriac is troubled by several problems. Beyond the simple errors, inconsistencies in the manner of presentation make it very difficult to use the Syriac evidence or even to feel confident that the editorial policies underlying the presentation are trustworthy. The textual affiliation of the Syriac in broad terms is clear enough, but the Greek tradition is so complex that it is impossible yet to be precise. Two things must happen before precision will be possible: first, the full texts of all the Greek homilies must be edited according to a much broader spectrum of the manuscript evidence; second, the whole extant Syriac text must be made available to facilitate a complete comparison.

As for Boismard's suggestion that the Syriac HJn consists of two separate translations, his is an unnecessarily complex accounting of the evidence. The position that two translations of the Syriac were made, or that the Syriac text consists of multiple layers, is unsubstantiated. The dislocated paragraph presents some problems, but it is easier to explain as a Greek dislocation underlying the Syriac rather than a Syriac dislocation; it cannot sustain the weight of a theory of thoroughgoing revision. Also, Boismard's disregard for translation technique not only compromises the usefulness of his edition but further brings his theory into question. Before one can understand fully the significance of the text of a translation, one must take into account features of translation technique. This is true for Biblical versions as well as Patristic versions. It is true of homily material as well as Biblical citations, although the latter often warrant special treatment because of the more widely diverse forces acting upon them.

The problems of method are apparent in Boismard's interpretation of the forms of Biblical citations in the Syriac HJn, especially the echoes of the Old Syriac. Those labouring to extract Biblical citations from Patristic works know well the problems which can arise if one does not take into account the context of the citation, including the immediate textual context and the broader context of the author's manner of quoting, and so forth. However, when working with translations of Patristic texts, they must also pay heed to another dimension of context—that consisting of the features of the receptor language and the translator's own style. The

danger is to treat Biblical citations as separate entities and to rely on the Greek Biblical text and the texts of Biblical versions for criteria of interpretation, ignoring important controls offered by the translation itself, such as the translation technique. Measured according to translation style, the two supposedly distinct texts ("short" and "long") appear to be identical. The presence of some diverse forms of citations do not negate this fact. The version exhibits a certain unevenness in style, but no more than is usual for Syriac translations of the period; essentially, we find a single, coherent method of translation—hardly compatible with a theory of multi-layer translations.

A proper application of controls shows that the support for Boismard's theory about the Syriac is so slender that it cannot uphold the bulk of his elaborate reconstruction. The significance of this is not inconsiderable, since his understanding of the Syriac under-pins his views on the Greek tradition. If Boismard is to be rejected it remains to explain how the Syriac can agree so frequently with the "short" Greek text, while agreeing mainly with the "long text," when the translation style in the two sets of material is the same. The answer depends on the future publication of complete Greek and Syriac texts according to as broad a representation of the manuscript evidence as possible.[67] But perhaps the best answer will turn out to be the simplest: that the pre-medieval Greek text on which the Syriac is based was not precisely like either of the two main streams surviving in Greek manuscripts, but more like the longer than the shorter. In other words, the Syriac has the form it does simply because its Greek source text had such a form.

At present, it can only be said that Boismard's explanation of the Syriac is unfounded and lends no support to his hypothetical reconstruction of the development of the Greek HJn. Instead, the oldest extant evidence (viz. the Syriac version) witnesses to a "mixed" text in the late fifth or early sixth century. In any case, it is clear that before we can read the Greek HJn with confidence we must resolve the issues of the Greek tradition and that doing so demands reference to the Syriac.

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[67]The problems highlighted here refer specifically to the Greek HJn, but HMt and HEpp have their textual problems which should be addressed more fully than they have, and to which the Syriac versions may again speak.

IX. SELECT HOMILIES ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN—PRELIMINARIES TO THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION

The English translation is of the Syriac text presented in Chapter XIII, the introduction to which is Chapter XII. Information about the edited Syriac manuscripts can be found in Chapters XII and II.

The English translation strives for literalness, but it must be read with extreme caution if used as the primary source for comparing the Syriac to the Greek. Care has been taken not to add elements in the English which do not occur in the Syriac unless they are required by the exigencies of English grammar (e.g. articles and prepositions). Where the sense requires additional words, they appear in parentheses. Wherever possible, the translation maintains consistency of word class, i.e. translating Syriac nouns by English nouns, Syriac adverbial words and phrases by English adverbial words and phrases, etc. Good English style is not the primary aim, but neither is the rendering a slavish one and the preferences of English grammar are observed. The primary purpose of the translation is to serve as a guide to the Syriac text and to give the meaning of the Syriac. Good English grammar and style demand the regular restructuring of word order and the transformation of various elements, especially particles, conjunctions, and demonstrative and relative pronouns, as well as more complex elements and phrases. Such transformations are necessarily frequent and occur tacitly. In passages where clarity is essential, e.g. especially where variants occur in the Greek, the apparatus gives more literal translations or explanatory notes. Yet it must be stressed that the only completely reliable guides to the relationship between the Syriac and Greek texts are the texts themselves.

The translation is divided into numbered paragraphs corresponding to those of the Syriac text. Bold-face numbers in brackets refer to the beginnings of pages in the Syriac edition in volume 2, e.g. **[46]**. Italicized *sigla* with numbers in parentheses designate the beginnings of pages or columns in the Greek comparison editions, e.g. (*b32*).

Verbal correspondences in Biblical citations, adaptations, and close allusions are italicized in the text. Loose allusions are not italicized. Biblical references for

citations and allusions are in bold-face script within parentheses.

Superscript numbers refer to notes in the textual apparatus. It consists mainly of textual variants, including all variations which affect the sense and can therefore be represented in English translation. It should be remembered that many Syriac variants cannot be represented accurately in English, including some which are significant for comparing Syriac with Greek. Notes in the apparatus attempt to clarify matters. The apparatus also occasionally discusses translation or editorial choices, but only when it is believed that two or more equally legitimate possibilities exist, or when it is suspected that the translation has not made clear the relationship of the Syriac to the Greek in particular instances of Greek textual variation. Similarly, the apparatus also notices points at which the Syriac is believed to have a different relationship with the Greek than Boismard's edition claims. The apparatus is not a textual commentary nor does it draw attention to every point conceivably of interest for comparing the Syriac with the Greek; apart from consulting the Syriac text directly, the best guide to the relationship between the Syriac and Greek texts is the English translation itself.

Where the translation apparatus notes variation amongst Syriac manuscripts, it also indicates which reading is closest to the Greek, where distinctions can be made. Where no such indication occurs, it is because neither reading may confidently be described as closer. It is important to remember that these indications presume nothing about the relationship between the variant and the Greek. Also, Syriac witnesses contain subtle variations which necessarily go unrepresented in the English translation and apparatus, many of which bear correlation to the Greek. Finally, some correspondences are much more significant than others. A variation in sense may arise due to a mere difference in pointing, which is not as weighty as more formal variation (e.g. finite verb vs. participle, or plural vs. singular).[1] Hence, the indication, "= Gk." must be interpreted cautiously.

The apparatus designates Greek witnesses according to the *sigla* of the Greek editions. Where there is no further qualification, "the Greek" designates all the witnesses. Wherever possible, Boismard's Greek edition provides the comparison text.[2] It covers the range of variation amongst the extant Greek witnesses more

[1]The note [point.] is meant to be a reminder of this.

[2]I.e. for the initial portions of Homiles 6, 20, 21, 22, and 23, the study relies on *Évangile pré-johannique* 1.1; for the second part of Homily 23, volume 2.1 gives only the evidence of manuscripts B and M, and is used in this study.

adequately than any other edition; however, it treats only a few homilies and does not cover the whole text of any homily. Savile and Migne serve as the primary comparison text only where Boismard is deficient. For the remainder of the text, Savile's edition and Migne as a secondary text. The latter two editions are very close textually and provide a narrower range of Greek readings than Boismard's edition. Hence, they are much less useful in approximating the Greek source text underlying the Syriac translation, and often there is less confidence that the Greek source text is in fact available for comparison in the passages for which the earlier editions are used.

Table 13: *Sigla* and Abbreviations Used in the English Translation

A	B.L. Add. 14,561	[base manuscript for Homilies 6, 20, 22, 23, 37]
B	B.L. Add. 12,161	[base manuscript for Homilies 62, 83, 84]
C	B.L. Add. 14,562	
D	*B.L. Add. 14,612*	
E	*B.L. Add. 14,515*	
F	*B.L. Add. 14,516*	
G	*B.L. Add. 14,727*	
L	*B.L. Add. 14,732*	
M	Sinai Syr. NF Sp. 47	
P	Sinai Syr. NF Sp. 28	
Q	Sinai Syr. NF Sp. 74	

*	the reading of the original hand
$(\,)^{1}$	correction by original hand or a contemporary corrector
$(\,)^{c}$	correction by later hand
$(\,)^{c1,2}$	correction by subsequent hands
[ ]	indicates beginning and end of lacuna
¬	beginning of text to which the apparatus refers
_	text written with red ink
+	addition
=	designates equivalence
≈	designates approximate equivalence
?	reading or point of reference uncertain
s	pages in Savile's edition
m	columns in Migne's edition
b	pages in Boismard's edition

add.	addit, addunt	pl.	plural
Gr.	Graecum	[point.]	designates variation in pointing
mg.	(in) margine	r	recto
n., nn.	note/s	sg.	singular
om.	omittit, omittunt		
p., pp.	page/s	v	verso

X. SELECT HOMILIES ON THE GOSPEL OF JOHN—ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Memra 6

(*b26*; *m59*; *s583*) **[8]**

There was a man who was sent by God; his name (was) John (**John 1:6**).

1. After he taught us about God the Word at the beginning of his discourse, proceeding with the account as one who speaks in an orderly fashion, he went on to speak about the preacher of the same Word, whose name is also John. Now when you hear, "By God he was sent" (**John 1:6**), do not suppose that there is anything human in his words, for the things which he said are not his own but (belong to) that one who who sent him. Because of this, he was also called "a messenger," and the (nature) of a messenger is this: to say nothing on his own. And as for this that he said, "*there was*" *a man*, it is not explaining that he was born, but expounds (the phrase), *who was sent*. For he says,*there was a man who was sent by God* (**John 1:6**); and that (means): that "there was" one who by God was sent.

2. How then do they say about that (scripture), *he is like God* (**Philippians 2:6**), that it is not explaining about his equality with his Father since there is no addition (of the article) to that same (word) "God?" For behold here also he speaks in the same way: (*a man who*) *was sent by God* (**John 1:6**); and is it not about the same God—unless perchance he does not speak about the Father here since this addition (of the article) does not occur in either (place)? And what will we say to the prophet who says, *"Behold, I myself send my messenger before you"* (**Malachi 3:1**; **Mark 1:2**), for that (phrase) "my messenger" and "before you" signify to us two persons?

(*B28*)

3. *This one came for testimony, to testify about the light* (**John 1:7**). Perhaps you will say, "What is this—the servant testifies about the master?" And when you observe that not only does he testify about him, (*m60*) but also that Christ himself came to him and is baptized by him with the Jews, will you not wonder even more and be in a state of great anxiety? Now do not be troubled and perturbed, but wonder at his unspeakable grace. But if a person should continue being shaken and troubled

by the wonder of this thing, he also says unto him what he said even unto John: *"Allow it now, for so it is proper for us to fulfill all righteousness"* (**Matthew 3:15**). And if even after this he will remain in a state of trepididation, hear from us what our Lord said unto the Jews: *"Not from men do I receive testimony"* (**John 5:34**).

4. Yet perhaps you say, "If testimony from men was not required, why was John sent by God?" Not because he had need of testimony, for this is great blasphemy. But why was John himself testifying about him? He said, *"So that everyone might believe through him"* (**John 1:7**). And also Christ himself **[9]** who said, *"From men I do not receive testimony "* (**John 5:34**), wants to heal fools, so that in their eyes he would not appear as someone who speaks against his (own) word by saying, *"There is another who has testified about me, and I know that his testimony is true"* (**John 5:32**)—for he was saying this about John.

(b30)

5. And again in another place he said, *"I do not receive testimony from man"* (**John 5:34**).[1] And by this (proclamation) which he added, he resolved the dispute easily, saying, *"But these things I say for you, that (m61) you may be saved"* (**John 5:34**), as if to say, "I am God and the genuine Son of God and I am of that glorious and incorruptible nature, and on account of this I do not need a man to testify about me. For even if no one testifies about me, my nature is diminished in nothing by this (lack of human testimony). But since I am concerned about the salvation of men, I have come down to such humility so as to allow a man to testify about me." For because of the earthliness of the Jews and the feebleness of their mind, only in this way could faith in him become easy for them. For just as he put on a body so as not to destroy everyone at his coming when his divinity is revealed, thus he also sent before him a human preacher so that (people) would come unto faith (more) easily when hearing a voice akin to them.

But (to demonstrate) that he did not need the testimony of that (man): if he had wished, it would have sufficed only to show his person and reveal his glorious nature and to make everyone wonder greatly. But he did not do this on account of what I said before, for he would have destroyed everyone since no one would have been able to survive before the brightness of his light. For this reason, as I have said, he was also veiled with a body and to one of our colleagues he committed the

[1]Or, "*the testimony of a man*."

testimony about himself, since by every means he was doing everything for the salvation of men, not respecting his honour (*s584*) only, but also how he would be received and benefit those who were listening to him.

6. For he was hinting at this by saying, *"But these things I say for you, that you may be saved"* (**John 5:34**), (*b32*) which the evangelist also explained, speaking as his Lord. For after saying, (*m62*) *to testify about the light*, he added and said, *that everyone might believe through him* (**John 1:7**), and (it is) as if he had clearly said this: "Do not," he says, "suppose that John the Baptist came to testify in order to add something regarding this matter of the trustworthiness of our Lord." He says, "It was not because of this, but so that through him the fellow members of his race might believe." Now to show that he said the things that he said because he wants to nullify this suspicion, he explained by adding, *that one*, he says, *was not the light* (**John 1:8**). For if he had not been wanting to do this and nullify that superstition, it would have been considered superfluous to speak about the light again—and this would (indeed) be a repetition of what had been said and not an interpretation of the teaching.[1]

[10]

7. I have said, *he was sent to testify about the light* (**John 1:7**). Why was it necessary to say further, *that one was not the light* (**John 1:8**)? (He says it) not casually or without reason, but because amongst us, for the most part, he who testifies is greater than him whom the testimony is about, and often (the former) also seems more trustworthy than (the latter). So that no one would think this about John, from the beginning (the Evangelist) repressed this evil suspicion and pulled it up by its root, showing who this one is who testifies and who that one is whom the testimony is about, and how much difference there is between them. Now after he does this and has shown (Christ's) greatness to be incomparable, afterwards he thenceforth narrates the rest of his account without fear (of misunderstanding). (*b ends*) And after he removed from the minds of fools all the contradictory things which were standing against his discourse, thus with ease and without hindrance he piled up in (their minds) the word(s) of his teaching, one after another.

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[1]This punctuation is to be preferred over that of the manuscript, which has, "and not an interpretation of the teaching I have said. That *he was sent to testify*. . . ."

8. Hence, let us pray so that along with the revelation of this thought[1] and with correctness of teaching, we will also have pure conduct and resplendent lives, since there is no benefit from these things if we do not have good deeds. For even if there be in us all faith and understanding of scriptures, yet we be barren and naked of (good) deeds, there is nothing to prevent us from going to the Gehenna of fire and from being burnt up forever by that unquenchable flame. For as those who have done good things rise to life eternal, so also those who have dared the opposite rise to eternal torment that never has an end. On account of this, let us have all diligence so that we will not spoil by our hateful deeds the benefit that we have from correct faith, but let us also be glorious here, so that we may confidently look on Christ—for there is nothing equal to this bliss. And may it be that all of us will receive the very things that have been said and do everything for the glorification of God, to whom be glory, with his only-begotten Son and the Holy Spirit, forever and ever. Amen.

(The memra) is ended.

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[1]Or, "with the uncovering of this opinion."

Memra 20
(*b104*; *m123*; *s633*) **[11]**

Now Philip was from Bethsaida, from the city of Andrew and of Simon; (**John 1:44**); and that a person should rejoice that our Lord has come to the world—that is, to keep his commandments.

(*s634*)

1. Christ says, *"He who seeks finds"* (**Matthew 7:8; Luke 11:10**). And because of this, it does not occur to me to wonder whence Philip follows Christ. For Andrew heard from John and Peter from Andrew, but this one did not learn anything (about Christ) from anyone (else); instead he heard this only from Christ, who said to him, *"Follow me"* (**John 1:43**). And he was convinced immediately and did not go away but even became a preacher to others, for he ran unto Nathanael and said to him, *"We have found him about whom Moses wrote in the law and prophets"* (**John 1:45**). You see how that he had a thoughtful mind and constantly was meditating on the writings of Moses and was waiting expectantly for the coming of Christ, for this (exclamation), "*We have found him*," belongs to them who were always seeking.

2. *And the next day Jesus went down to Galilee* (**John 1:43**). For he calls no one before someone had joined him; and it is not casually (that) he did this, but according to his wisdom and according to his knowledge. For if he on his own had drawn them before anyone had followed him of their own will, they would possibly have deserted after a brief (time); but now that they had chosen this by themselves, they would remain firmly. But our Lord himself called Philip (*B106*) because it seemed that he was also acquainted with him. For he recognized our Lord (*m124*) as one who was born and raised in Galilee.

3. Then he took his disciples and went thence to the hunt for the others. He attracted both Philip and Matthew unto himself, but we should not marvel at this, for news of Jesus had been going out into all Syria. But what was wonderful about Peter and James and Philip is not only that they were convinced prior to the signs, but that they also were from Galilee, a land from which "no prophet has arisen" (**John 7:52**) and whence "it was not possible for anything good to be" (**John 1:46**). For the

inhabitants of that land were like stupid and dense (people). But Christ also demonstrated his power even in this, for he had chosen (his) principal champions from a country that had not been bearing even a single fruit.

4. For it seemed that Philip and those of Peter's house who saw and heard from John followed our Lord because of this. For often Christ's voice itself also accomplished something in the calling of Philip, for he knew which ones were going to be useful for his gospel. And this Evangelist explains these things briefly. Now, that Christ was going to come, (Philip) knew, but he was not convinced that this was Christ. And I say that he learned this either from Peter or **[12]** from John. And John also spoke of his village, so that you may learn that *God has chosen the lesser ones of the world* (**1 Corinthians 1:27**).

5. *Philip finds Nathanael and said to him, "We have found him about whom Moses wrote in the law and prophets; he is Jesus, son of Joseph, who is from Nazareth"* (**John 1:45**). Now he said these things in order to confirm (*b108*) the preaching of Moses and of the (*m125*) prophets, and to persuade the hearers of this. For since Nathanael was not (going to be convinced) by these things which occurred in an ordinary way, but would (only) be convinced by everything (that occurred) wisely and truly, as Christ also testifies and the event showed, (Philip) rightly refers (Nathanael) unto Moses and the prophets so that he would receive in this way him who (was being) preached. And if he calls him the son of Joseph, do not be disturbed, for still he was thought to be this (man's) son.

6. "And whence is it evident, O Philip, that this is that (Christ)? What sign do you give us? For it does not suffice for a person just to say it. What sign have you seen, or which miracle? It is not safe for a person to believe such things haphazardly. So what proof do you have?" (Philip) says, "That which Andrew also showed." For this very (man), not having (the ability) to show that wealth which he had found, and being unable to reveal its treasures unto him with words, brought his brother to that which had been found. This one also did likewise. But as for how (it is evident that) this is that Christ, and also how the prophets had preached about him beforehand, he did not say. But (Philip) brings him unto Jesus, being confident that he would not then depart from him once he heard his words and his teaching.

7. *Nathanael says to him, "And is it possible for something good to be from Nazareth? Philip says to him, "Come and see."* (*s635*) *And Jesus saw Nathanael coming toward him and said, "Behold, truly a son of Israel, in whom there is no deceit"* (**John 1:46–7**). What is this? Because (Nathanael) said, *"Is it possible for something good to be from Nazareth?"* (Jesus) praises him and marvels at him, whereas he ought to have been condemned? No! For these words were not (those) of a man who does not believe, and they were not worthy of condemnation but of praise. How and why? Because this one was better trained in the prophets than Philip , and it had been heard by him from the scriptures that Christ comes from Bethlehem and from the village of David; and this was handed down amongst the Jews, and the prophet (*b110*) was saying previously, *and you Bethlehem, you are not small in the tribe of Judah, for from you will proceed a ruler who will pasture my people Israel* (**Matthew 2:6**). Therefore, he was troubled because he heard, "from Nazareth," and he fell into a state of uncertainty when he saw that Philip's statements were not in agreement with the prophet's word.

8. Now also consider him in his perturbedness, how his humility and his wisdom are evident. For he did not say immediately, "You are leading me **[13]** astray, O Philip, and you are lying. I am not convinced by you and I will not come. It is taught me by the prophet that Christ comes from Bethlehem, but you say, "from Nazareth.' Therefore, this is not that (Christ)." But he did not say even one of these things. What instead? He came with Philip, and so by not accepting about him that the Christ is from Nazareth, he showed the expertise which he possessed in the scriptures and he demonstrated that he was not being carried away by (just) any words. But by not scorning him who said this, he revealed that desire which he had for Christ's coming. For he thought it had happened that Philip did not understand well about the place (whence Christ would come).

9. And observe how he humbly made his refusal in the form of a question. For he did not say, "Galilee does not bring[1] anything good," but, "*How is it possible for something good to be from Nazareth?*" (**John 1:46**). And Philip also was very wise, for he was not enraged or angry as one who has been scorned and rejected, but he perseveres, endeavouring to get (Nathanael) to come. And from the beginning

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[1]The Syriac "brings" is actually closer to φέρει than ἐκφέρει, against Boismard, but either could underly the Syriac word.

(*b112*) he has shown us the longsuffering befitting an apostle. Because of this Christ said, *"Behold, a son of Israel in whom there is no deceit"* (**John 1:47**).

10. Thence (it is obvious that) the deceitful son of Israel does exist, but this one was not such a one, for his mind's discernment is not prejudiced (*m126*) by hatred or by flattery, as if impaired by a bribe, and nothing he said was like (that of) a man suffering from these things. And behold the Jews had been asked, "Where will the Christ be born?" and they said, "From Bethlehem," bringing the testimony and saying, *"You are not small in the tribes of Judah"* (**Matthew 2:5–6**). But before they had seen (him) they were testifying thus, and after they saw (him), out of their envy they concealed the testimony; and they say, *"As for this one, we do not know whence he is"* (**John 9:29**). Now Nathanael was not like this, but that opinion which he had formerly had, this he retained firmly and kept, namely that (the Christ) was not from Nazareth.

And how were the prophets calling him "Nazarene?" From his upbringing there and because he was continually in (Nazareth). And (Jesus) left out saying, "I am not from Nazareth, as Philip told you, but from Bethlehem," so as not instantly to create doubt in the matter. And also besides this, even if he had convinced (Nathanael) of this, he would have been giving no great sign that he was Christ, for it would have been possible that he would not be the Christ (though) being from Bethlehem, like others who had also been born there.

11. Therefore, (Jesus) leaves this out and was doing what (Nathanael) could comprehend,[1] and shows that he was near them while they were speaking. For after (Nathanael) said, *"Whence do you know me?"* (Jesus) said to him, *"Before Philip called you, when you were under the fig tree, I saw you"* (**John 1:48**). Consider (this) sober and solid man. For when Christ said, **[14]** *"Behold, truly a son of Israel, in whom there is no deceit"* (**John 1:47**), (Nathanael) was not made slack by the praise nor did he run after commendation, but he persisted in the enquiry, searching with precision, and wanting to learn (the truth) clearly.
(*b114*)

But he was still asking as if of a man, and Jesus was replying like God. For (Jesus) did not say to him, "I know you from before, both your conduct and your gentleness," which would have been possible even for a man who had formerly been

[1]Literally, "doing that which was possible for his comprehension."

intimate with him [1]to know. But (he said), "Just now I saw you under the fig tree when no one was near there except Philip only, and you were speaking about these things amongst yourselves" (**John 1:48**).

12. Because of this it was said,[2] "He saw him from afar and said, *'Behold, truly a son of Israel, in whom there is no deceit'*" (**John 1:47**), so that he would learn that Christ was speaking these things before Philip approached our Lord, (*s636*) so that there would be no suspicion about the testimony. Because of this, he indicates the place and the tree and the time. For if he had said only this: "Before Philip came to you, I saw you," (Nathanael) would have thought that (Jesus) himself sent him, and on account of this was not saying anything great. But now, by speaking about the place in which (Nathanael) was when he was being summoned by Philip, and (by reporting) the name of the tree and the time in which they spoke, he indicated that concerning his priority of knowledge no room for doubt exists.[3]

13. And it was not only his prior knowledge that he revealed, but he also conferred understanding upon him in another way. For he brought him to the remembrance of these things that had been said there, namely, *"Is it possible for something good to be from Nazareth?"* (**John 1:46**). For our Lord was being accepted by Nathanael particularly because of this: that even though (Nathanael) said these things, (Jesus) did not reprove him, but praised him[4] and marvelled at him. And from this (Nathanael) perceived that he is truly Christ: from what (Jesus) had said about him before, and (from the fact that) he had precisely searched Nathanael's mind (*b116*) and shown that he was conversant even with the things that he had in his heart. And furthermore, even though (Nathanael) spoke against him, he did not reprove him but praised him. Hence, (Jesus) said that Philip called him, but he omitted what they had said to each other, leaving this to (Nathanael's) conscience and not wanting to rebuke him greatly.

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[1]The fragment Q begins here.

[2]Q ends here.

[3]The translation presumes an emendation of the Syriac text, which has "he showed," to the morphologically similar word parallel to *οὖσαν* in the Greek.

[4]The translation presumes an emendation of one letter of the Syriac text, having "he allowed/forgave him," to a term parallel to *ἐπῄνεσε*.

(*m127*)

14. What then—did he see (Nathanael) only before Philip called him? And had he not also seen him thus before? He had seen him with the eye that does not sleep, and no one doubts this. But for the moment this is what was necessary to say (and nothing more). [1]Because (Nathanael) **[15]** received[2] a manifest sign of his foreknowledge, immediately he came to confession, showing by his former impediment that he was not being carried away by just any words. And also by agreeing later, he showed the excellence of his mind, for *Nathanael answered and said, "Rabbi, you are the Son of God; you are the king of Israel"* (**John 1:49**). (*b ends*) You see that (his) soul was filled with joy immediately, and how it embraces Christ with its statements: "You were that one whom everyone was expecting and seeking." You see how he rejoices and exults and dances from his eagerness!

15. Thus we also ought to rejoice that we have been found worthy to know the Son of God, and not to rejoice in our minds only, but also to show this very thing by actions. And what is (typical) of them which rejoice? To be convinced by him who has become known. And as for these who are convinced, what is it that they do? What that one wants. And otherwise, if we do things to anger him, whence will we show that we rejoice? Do you not see also in homes, when a person welcomes one of his friends, how he does everything with joy, rushing about on all sides, and if it should happen that he has to expend everything, he spares nothing to please that one who has come to him? And even if, though inviting, the person will not listen and does nothing agreeable to (the guest), although he says ten thousand times that he rejoices at his coming, (the host) will never be believed by him who is welcomed, and rightly so. For it is necessary to show a sign of this by action.

Let us also demonstrate unto Jesus that we rejoice, and let us do none of the things that anger him. Let us set in order the house to which he has come, for this is (typical) of them who rejoice. Let us prepare that meal which he wants to eat, (*m128*) for this is the action of them who rejoice. And what is this meal? He himself said, *"My food is to do the will of him who sent me"* (**John 4:34**). Let us nourish him who has hungered; let us give him who has thirsted (something) to drink. Even if you give a cup of cold (water), he will receive (it), for he himself loves you.

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[1]The fragment P begins here.

[2]"Had received" P.

16. And the thing that is[1] given by them who are loved, even if it be small, seems great to them who love. Only you do not be reluctant; even if you put in two small coins he does not turn away his face, but accepts (them) as great wealth. For since it is not needful (for him) and he receives (it) not because of any use (it may have), he defines everything justly, not by the measure of the things given but by the willingness of him who gives. Only show that you love him who has come and[2] that[3] you are diligent in everything because of this, and that you rejoice at his coming. Observe how he himself loves you. He laid down his life for you, and even after this **[16]** he has not refused to beseech you. For he says, "*On behalf of Christ we beseech you, as if God beseeches you through us*" (**2 Corinthians 5:20**).

And he says, "Who was so mad that he would not love his Lord?" For this also I myself say, (*s637*) and I know that each and every one of you will not deny this verbally or mentally, but he who loves wishes this to be seen not only in words but also in actions. For if we will talk and not do what those who love do, this is ridiculous; and not with God only but also with men is this so. Therefore, since to confess through words only and through actions to act in opposition is not only of no advantage, but also harmful, let us then add a confession through actions, so that we may receive from him a confession on that day when before his Father he confesses those who are worthy of him, to whom be glory, and to his Father with the Holy Spirit, forever and ever. Amen.

(The memra) is ended.

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[1]Om. "that is" P.

[2]Sic A[1] P; om. A.

[3]Om. P.

(Memra) 22[1]
(*b134*; *m133*; *s641*) **[17]**

"What have I to do with you, woman? My hour has not yet come" (**John 2:4**); and that we should not feast excessively at banquet.[2]

1. There is labour in the Word, and to show this Paul said, "*Let elders who stand well at the head be considered worthy of double honour, especially they which toil in the word and in teaching*" (**1 Timothy 5:17**). Yet over this labour you have authority both to lighten and to make heavy. For if the things which are said will not be firmly fixed in your mind,[3] or being fixed you will not show them[4] by actions, then the labour has been heavy[5] upon us because the toil (is) empty and vain. But if we have gone astray,[6] you will set (us) aright and will give a demonstration through works and we will not be even a little aware of our labour; for the fruit born from our labour will not allow the intensity of the labour[7] to appear.

Therefore, if you want to awaken our earnest desire and not quench it[8] and make it become weak, show us fruits so that when we see that your fields are fertile and we are nourished by the hope of their abundance (and)[9] calculate your riches, we will not grow weary after[10] we pursue this good endeavour. For indeed it is no

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[1]"Memra of Mar John, Bishop of Constantinople, from the Commentary on the Blessed John the Evangelist, (number) 22" D (a corrector has provided "from the Commentary" in the margin).

[2]Pl. D. [point.]

[3]Pl. D.

[4]The translation follows D's reading (= Gk., except M). A has confused two letters to produce, "you will not fortify them." Boismard's edition incorrectly states that A has the equivalent to *δεικνύημεν*.

[5]"Is heavy" D (= Gk.). [point.]

[6]Om. "we have gone astray" D. The omission indicates for the remaining verb the meaning (in D), "if you will do rightly" (= Gk.).

[7]"Our labour" D (A = Gk.).

[8]"Not hinder it" D (A = Gk.). A misreading of two letters has produced D's reading.

[9]Explicit "and" D.

[10]"When" D.

small question that is set for us to ask today. For when his mother said to Jesus, *"They have no wine"* (**John 2:3**), he said to her, *"What have I to do with you?*[1] *My hour has not yet come"* (**John 2:4**). And after he said this, he did what his mother said; and this is no less a question than the first one. Therefore, let us beseech the very one who did this miracle, and then we will come to the solution of our question.

(*b136*)

2. For this is said not only here, but also in another place the Evangelist said, *they were not able to seize him, because his hour had not yet come* (**John 8:20**), and again, *no one laid hands on him, for his hour*[2] *had not arrived* (**John 7:30**); and again, *"The hour* **[18]** *has come, glorify your son"* (**John 17:1**). What is this that has been said? For on account of this I have collected many (examples) to effect one solution for them all. What then is this? It is not because Christ is subjected to the necessity of time or to the keeping of seasons—(not) because of this did he say, *"My hour has not yet come"* (**John 2:4**). For how is the maker of times and of seasons and the creator of worlds set under these things? He wants to show[3] that he did everything at the right time and not all at once. For confusion (*s642*) and disorder would have occurred if he mixed everything—the birth and the resurrection and the judgement, and they would not have been done at the proper time. For consider:[4] it was right that the creation should come to be, but not all at once; and also (that) the man (be made) with the woman, but neither did he make (them) at once. Furthermore, it was right for him to decree that the human race should receive the judgement of death, furthermore that a resurrection[5] would occur. But the interval between these two was long, for it was right that it be this way. Furthermore, it was right that the law be given, but not also with it the grace of our Lord's coming. Instead, (*m134*) each one of them was brought forth at its[6] (proper) time. Hence, he was not subjected to the necessity of time, for he himself established (*b138*) the

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[1]+ *"woman?"* (= Gk. [and Peshitta]).

[2]The translation follows D's reading. A's *its hour* is erroneous.

[3]"But he wants to show this," D (= Gk.).

[4]Sic Syriac, against Boismard.

[5]"And a resurrection furthermore" D.

[6]Om. D.

order[1] of the times since he is also their maker.

3. On account of this he said here, *"My hour has not yet come"* (**John 2:4**), and what he means is this: he was not known to many, for he did not even have the whole band of disciples yet. Only Andrew had joined him, and he who went with him—that is, Andrew—and Philip,[2] but as for others,[3] not even one. And it was also (the case) that none of these very ones knew him[4] as they ought, not even his mother nor his brothers. For after (Jesus had done) many miracles, then the Evangelist said, *neither were his brothers believing in him* (**John 7:5**).

But neither did those at the wedding feast know him. For if they had been aware of him, they would have approached and asked him when they were in need. Because of this he said, *"My hour has not yet come"* (**John 2:4**). Now that is, "I am not yet known," he says,[5] "to these who are invited,[6] and neither do they know that the wine is lacking. First, let them become aware of this,[7] for it was not right that I hear these things from you, for you are (my) mother and a miracle that comes at your request[8] would seem strange. **[19]** For it was right that those who are in need should approach me and ask, not that I need this, but so that they themselves will accept what happens[9] without doubting. For he who knows that he is in need is very grateful when he has help, but[10] he who is not aware of his need will also not be truly and clearly aware of his help."

4. Why then when he says,[11] *"My hour has not yet come"* (**John 2:4**) and he has declined (the request to help), did he subsequently do what his mother told him?

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[1]Pl. D. [point.]

[2]"And he who went with Andrew, and Philip" D.

[3]Sg. D (= Gk.). [point.]

[4]"And none of these very ones knew him" D (= Gk.).

[5]Om. "he says" D (= Gk.).

[6]"I do not yet know these who are invited" D (A = Gk.).

[7]Sic Syriac, against Boismard.

[8]"Through your request" D.

[9]"That which happens" D.

[10]"For" D (A = Gk.).

[11]"He said" D (A = Gk.). [point.]

Mainly to give a great demonstration to those who are quarrelsome and think that he is under time to the effect that he is not (*b140*) subjected to time. For if he was subjected, how was he doing[1] what he did when the proper season had not come? And again (he did it) to honour his mother, so that he would not seem always to be standing against her word and that he did not revere his mother in the presence of all those that were invited; for indeed she brought the servants to[2] him. And again, when he says to the Canaanite (woman), *"It is not right to take[3] the children's bread and put (it down) for the dogs"* (**Matthew 15:26**), afterwards he gave (her) that bread because he was persuaded by her persistent boldness. For behold, with that (statement) he also said this: *"I have not been sent except to the sheep that have wandered from the house of Israel"* (**Matthew 15:24**). But even though he said these things, he healed that woman's daughter.

Hence we learn that although we are unworthy, through constancy we are esteemed worthy to receive. Because of this his mother also was persistent and wisely brought the servants so that her request would be made in the presence of many, saying, *"Do what my son has told you"* (**John 2:5**).[4] For she was convinced that his refusal was not due to weakness, but so that he would not be like the proud[5] and seem like a person who gives himself to things rashly. Therefore, because of this she brought the servants to him.

5. *And there were six waterpots of stone there that were set for the purification of the Jews,* (*m135*) *which held two or three quadrantals each. Jesus says to them, "Fill the waterpots with water." And they filled* **[20]** *them to the top* (**John 2:6–7**). Not without reason did he say, *set for* (*b142*) *the purification of the Jews.*, but so that none of the unbelievers would think that the dregs (from wine) remained inside (the vessels) and water was put on them and thus weak wine came into being. Because of this he said, *for the purification of the Jews*, to show that these vessels had never been receptacles for wine. For since Palestine was a dry place and

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[1]"Had he done" D. [point.]

[2]"Unto" D^c (A D* = Gk.).

[3]Boismard's note (*Évangile pré-johannique*, 1.1.140, n. 9), asserting that the Syriac presumes *βαλεῖν*, is incorrect and properly refers to *δοῦναι* rather than *λαβεῖν*.

[4]*"Do what he tells you"* (om. "*my son*") D (= Gk.). [point.]

[5]Sg. D. [point.]

it was not easy to find springs or streams whose waters come down from the hills,[1] they would constantly fill these waterpots with water[2] so that they would not (need to) rush to the rivers when defiled, but would have a means of purification nearby.

6. And why (*s643*) did he not do this sign before they filled them, for this would have been greater and more wonderful? For it is one thing for a substance[3] to be changed to something else, and it is quite another thing for the same substance to come into being from nothing. But although the latter would have been more wonderful than the former, to many it would not appear valid. For on account of this often he decreased[4] the greatness of (his) miracles, when he wanted[5] them to be better received.

7. "And why," someone says, "did he not both pour the water himself and then show the wine, but ordered the servants (to do it)?" For the same reason, and to make the very ones who drew (the water) witnesses to what happened. And that which had been done was not an illusion. For if people were doubtful afterwards about this that happened, those who served would be able to say to them, "We drew the water; we filled the waterpots."

8. But even along with what has been said, he also uprooted[6] teachings that were springing up against the church. For since there are people who say, "The maker of the world is another, and these visible things are not his works but those of another, opposing god," he also shut the mouth of these (people's) madness. Thus[7] he did the majority of (his) miracles with these (visible) substances. (*b144*) For if he had been an opposing creator, he would not have used foreign created things to demonstrate his power. But now to indicate that it is he himself who transforms the

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[1]Literally, "from the height."

[2]The translation follows D's text, since the order of A's text appears to be confused.

[3]Literally, "nature;" also in the next clause.

[4]"He decreases" D (= Gk.). [point.]

[5]"Wanting them" D. [point.]

[6]Om. "he uprooted" and "that were springing up" D (A = Gk.); yet D leaves space for the words.

[7]Om. D (A = Gk.).

water in the vines and changes the rain within the roots[1] into wine, he did instantly at the wedding feast that which takes a long time in vine branches.

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9. And because[2] they filled the water pots, they said[3] to them, *"Draw (the water) therefore and bring (it) to the head[4] of the feast." And they brought (it). And after the chief of the feast tasted that[5] water which had become wine—and he did not know whence it had come, but the servants knew, for it was they who had filled them with water—the chief of the feast summoned the bridegroom and said to him, "Everyone brings (out) the good wine first, and when (the guests) have become drunk, then they bring (out) the inferior. But you have kept the good wine to the last"* (**John 2:8–10**). Here[6] again some find fault and say, "Those people reclining at the table were so drunk, and the sense of them who were judging this was so spoiled and unable to discern what was happening and to test the things being done, so that they would not even know whether what had come into being was water or wine. For the chief of the feast himself said that they were drunk." Now this is also ridiculous, and yet the Evangelist even cuts[7] off this suspicion of theirs. For he did not say that the guests[8] themselves were the investigators[9] of what happened, but (he spoke) about the chief of the feast who was from among them, and nothing had yet been tasted by him. (*m136*) For you know this to be so: those to whom is assigned the administration of such banquets are more clear-minded than any one else, for they have one task—to arrange everything in order and in calmness. Because of this, he called upon that watchful sense as the witness of what happened. For he did not say, "Pour the wine for the guests," but, *"Bring (it) to the chief of the feast"* (**John 2:8**).

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[1]Sg. D (= Gk.). [point.]

[2]"And after" D (Gk. = ἐπειδή).

[3]"He said" D (= Gk.). A's reading is probably erroneous.

[4]"The chief of the feast" D; A's reading is imported from the Peshitta.

[5]"*This*" D (A = Gk.).

[6]"Hence again," D.

[7]"Cut off" D (= Gk.). [point.]

[8]"The ones reclining at the table" D[c].

[9]The translation is based on the conjecture for A's corrupt reading (cf. τοὺς ψηφιζομένους). D has the nonsense, "builders," perhaps meant to be, "those who discern," based on a root similar in appearance.

10. *And after he tasted the water which had become wine—and he did not know whence it had come, but the servants knew—the chief of the feast summoned the bridegroom* (**John 2:9**). And why did he not summon the servants? For in such a way the miracle would also have been revealed. Because Jesus himself[1] had not even revealed what had happened, but was (*b146*) wanting the power of the signs to become known quietly and gradually. **[22]** For if this had been mentioned immediately, not even[2] the servants themselves would have been believed when they told about this. Instead, they would seem insane to be testifying such things about an ordinary man who at that time was equal with every man. For[3] (although) they themselves knew the truth[4] by (their own) experience and they could not doubt their hands, yet they were not capable of persuading others.

11. Because of this, neither did he himself reveal (the miracle) to everyone, but only to him who was able to discern what had happened. And for a subsequent time he kept back the precise[5] understanding of this miracle, for after the demonstration of the rest of the signs, this one was also going to be confirmed. Therefore, when (Jesus) was about to heal the centurion's son, the Evangelist showed that (the miracle) had indeed become better revealed (since its occurrence). For on account of this, that (centurion) summoned him, because he knew that (prior) sign. For John revealed this and said, *where he had made the water (into) wine* (**John 4:46**).

12. And he did not (*s644*) make ordinary wine, but good wine. For such are the miracles of Christ: they[6] are much more seemly and splendid than things that are done naturally. It is the same with the other (miracles). When he was restoring a disabled member on the body, he would make (the restored) one more comely than the healthy ones. Therefore, not only the servants but also the bridegroom and the

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[1]Om. D (A = Gk.).

[2]The Syriac witness is closer to *οὐδὲ* than to *οὐκ* (cf. Boismard).

[3]"And" D (A = Gk.).

[4]"Knew truly" D (A = Gk.).

[5]Om. D (A = Gk.).

[6]+"for" D (A = Gk.).

chief of the feast were going to testify that it was wine—and good wine—which came into being; and those who drew the water would testify that it happened through Christ. Therefore, although the miracle was not revealed at that time, yet in the end it could not be silenced. Thus[1] (*b148*) he piled up in advance many testimonies useful at later times. For he had the servants as witnesses that he made the water wine; and the chief of the feast and the bridegroom would testify that the wine which came into existence was good.

13. And the bridegroom himself also replied to the things he heard as often (as he was spoken to), but the Evangelist (omits his responses because he) was hastening to explain (more) pressing things; he only touched on the matter of this sign and passed on. For this is what was necessary: to learn that he made the water (into) wine, **[23]** and good wine. It[2] did not appear necessary to him to add what the bridegroom said to the chief of the feast.[3] (*b fin.*) For many signs, when known dimly at first, after time were more clearly revealed and known when proclaimed by the very ones who had seen them exactly.

14. Therefore Jesus made wine from water at that time. And[4] both then and now he does not stop changing minds that are loose and that flow hither and thither. For there are people who are no different than water; thus[5] (they are) weak and loose and never stand (still). Therefore let us bring[6] those who are like this unto our Lord so that he may change their mind to the flavour of wine and they will no longer be tasteless and loose, but the flavour will be strong[7] in them, and they will be the cause of pleasant sweetness both for themselves and for others.

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[1]+"also" D (A = Gk.).

[2]"But it" D (= Gk.).

[3]Boismard's coverage of the Greek text ends here. The editions of Savile and Migne provide the comparison text for the remainder of the homily.

[4]Om. D (A = Gk.).

[5]"And thus" D (A = Gk.).

[6]The translation follows D's reading, which is parallel to the Greek, instead of A's difficult, "therefore he has brought."

[7]Om. D. D's scribe leaves space for the corresponding word, but has perhaps omitted it as an apparent mistake since the root is only rarely used in the sense required here.

15. And who are these that are insipid and[1] captivated (*m137*) by the fleeting and passing affairs of this world? Those who do not scorn the pleasure of this world; these who long for glory and power. For all these things are like a stream of water that does not stand in (one) place, but pours down the slope with great turbulence. For indeed he who is rich today becomes poor tomorrow. He[2] who appears today with herald and yoke and chariot[3] and with many rod-bearers, so often lives in the prison after a day, when he has left this appearance[4] that is not of his will for another.[5] Furthermore, he who feasts excessively and is dissipated by gluttony, when he bursts his belly is not able to hold in it even for one day the supply by which he was filled with these things. But when his food is dissipated he is compelled to put other (foods) on it, being no different than a torrent.

For as (mentoned) above, when the first flowing water **[24]** will give up (its) place other (water) follows it again, thus also here: when the first (portion) of food has given up (its) place, another is required by us again. For[6] the nature of this world's affairs is like this: not to remain in (one) place, but to be constantly flowing and carried off. But with excesses it is not this (problem) only, that they will be flowing and transient, but they also do in us many injuries. For by passing by us with a violent rushing they erode the body's strength and they sweep away the soul's manliness. And[7] flowing[8] rivers are not so accustomed to cut and crumble the earth over which they pass as pleasures and luxury swiftly sweep away the pillars of our strength.

16. And if you go to a physician's house and approach and inquire, you will find that the causes of almost all illnesses (arise) from pleasures. For plainness and a

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[1]Om. D. This and D's punctuation produces: "Who are these that are insipid? Those who are captivated. . . ." Migne has ἤ, which Savile omits.

[2]"And he" D (A = Gk.).

[3]"Heralds and yokes and chariots" D (A = Gk.). [point.]

[4]The translation follows the emendation of A's mistaken reading (≈ τῆς φαντασίας). D's reading apparently represents a different attempt to rectify the error, having "vapour."

[5]Pl. D (A = Gk.). [point.]

[6]"And" D (≈ δέ).

[7]+"and"(≈ δέ) D (A = Gk.).

[8]Om. D (A = Gk.).

scanty table are the mother of healths. Because of this, when a person is not full, even physicians have designated this "health," calling sparseness of food "the mother of health."[1] Now if hunger is the mother of health, it is evident that fullness is the mother of illness and[2] of weakness and gives birth (*m138*) to diseases which overcome even the skill of the physicians. For indeed, disease of the head and disease of the feet and dimness of the eyes and constriction of the hands and trembling and paralysis and jaundice and the long and burning fever, and many more others than these—for there is not time to recite everything—are not usually produced by scarcity and by plain food, but by gluttony and by a full stomach.

17. And if you also want to look at diseases of the soul which spring up from this cause—and they are (*s645*) greed and stupidity and slackness and insanity and slothfulness and licentiousness and indiscipline—they (all) take their beginning from here. For no different from beasts are souls fattened at such tables, that are torn to pieces by so many wild beasts. I would also tell how many griefs and groanings they have, but it is not possible for me to tell of them all. Yet[3] I will put[4] the whole matter under one heading so that it may be seen. For from this same sumptuous table they have never tasted with desire. For hunger, as it is the mother of health, so (it is) also (the mother) of desire; and fullness, just as (it is the mother of) illness, so it is also **[25]** the mother and root of non-desire. For when there is fullness, desire can not exist; and where there is no desire, how will there be pleasure? Because of this, we find not only that the needy are more intelligent and healthier than the rich, but also that (their) pleasure is doubly greater.

18. Therefore let us consider all these things and flee from slackness[5] and excess,[6] not only[7] from that which is on the table, but also from that which is found

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[1]Pl. D (A = Gk.). [point.]

[2]Om. D (A = Gk.).

[3]"For" D (A = Gk.).

[4]Literally, "make."

[5]"Drunkenness" D (= Gk.). A's erroneous reading results from similarities between the two roots and the occurrences of the root for "slackness" in the preceding context.

[6]Pl. D (A = Gk.). [point.]

[7]Om. D (A = Gk.).

in the business[1] of this world. And let us exchange for this drunkenness the pleasure coming from spiritual things, and like the prophet, let us take pleasure in the Lord. For he says, *take pleasure*[2] *in the Lord, and he will give you the request*[3] *of your heart* (**Psalm 36/7:4**), so that we might take pleasure both in the good things here and in the coming things, through the grace and mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom and with whom be glory to the Father and to the Holy Spirit, now and always and[4] forever and ever. Amen.

(The memra) is ended.[5]

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[1]Pl. (i.e. "affairs") D (= Gk.). [point.]

[2]Pl. imperative D (= Gk.).

[3]Pl. D (= Gk.). [point.]

[4]Om. "now and always and" D (= Gk.).

[5]Om. "(The memra) is ended" D.

(Memra) 23[1]

(*b150*; *m137*; *s645*) **[26]**

This is the first sign which Jesus did in Cana of Galilee (**John 2:11**);
and on the diversity of teaching.

1. Satan is very assiduous and has surrounded[2] our salvation at every place. Therefore, we must be watchful and vigilant and prevent his onslaught against us on all sides, as if in a fortress. For if he should find even a small opportunity, then he will devise how to enter in upon us and little by little he will bring in all his power with him. Therefore, if we care about our salvation, we will not allow him to come upon us even in little things, so that through these (little things) we will also prevent the big ones. For indeed it would be a matter of folly that he should have such concern to destroy our souls, but we do not have care for our salvation in the same measure.

2. And these things are not said by me without reason, but because I fear that maybe this wolf is present in the midst of the enclosure, hidden from our eyes, and that the sheep will be corrupted by him when through negligence and evil desire he leads (them) astray outside of the sheepfold and (outside) of hearing.[3] For if our bruises were visible and it was the body that was taking the blows,[4] it would not be difficult to perceive such injuries. But since the soul is invisible and it is what takes the bruises, great vigilance is required by us, so that each and every one of us (*m138*) should examine himself. For no one knows what is in a person except the person's spirit in him (**1 Corinthians 2:11**).

Therefore, the word is spoken with[5] every person and medicine is placed in the sight of every person and is a common (application) for those who need (it). And

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[1]"Now from the same (author), (Memra) 23" D.

[2]"And surrounds" D (= Gk.). [point.]

[3]"(Outside) of the (baptismal?) mark" D (A = Gk.). It is just possible that D's variation resulted from a misreading of the text preserved in A.

[4]Sg. D (A = Gk.). [point.]

[5]"Over" D.

it is up to each and every one of these who hear to take what is profitable for his sickness. I myself do not know which are ill nor which are healthy. Because of this I recount all words suitable for all diseases. Sometimes I denounce avarice[1] and sometimes pleasures.[2] And again (there are times) when I am pained by licentiousness; and again (other times) when I compose praise for compassion and for the rest of good deeds. For I fear lest when our words are persistent[3] about a single thing I will err by healing a particular wound while you are injured by other things. **[27]** And again, if it were one person coming here, I would not think it so very necessary to speak a multi-form discourse; but since in such a crowd there are often many diseases, not (*s646*) unsuitably do we vary the teaching, for by every means the word that is spread over everyone will find its[4] use.

On account of this, also many are the forms of scripture because it speaks about many things; for it speaks to our common human nature since in such a crowd all passions necessarily exist, albeit not all of them in everyone. Therefore, let us cleanse ourselves of them and so hear the divine words with a mind (*m139*) inclined toward attentiveness,[5] and let us hear these things that have been read to us today.

3. And what are these things? *This first sign Jesus did in Cana of Galilee* (**John 2:11**). I have said previously that there are people who say, "Is this truly the first sign! For what will become of this that is joined to it: *in Cana of Galilee*?" For he says, *this first sign he did*, and I for one (*b154*) will not quarrel with this. But after the baptism he began with signs, and I say that before the baptism he did no miracle, as I have shown by these things above.[6] Therefore, whether this sign or another was the first of these done after his baptism, it does not seem to me that by debate I should assert and prove that this or another is the first.[7]

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[1]"Greed" D (A = Gk.). D's reading is based on a distinct but morphologically similar root; in this context, the two words are nearly synonymous.

[2]Sg. D (= Gk.). [point.]

[3]"Are spoken" D (A = Gk.). Confusion over one letter has produced D's reading.

[4]Om. D (A = Gk.).

[5]"Prayer," D (A = Gk.). The addition of a single letter has produced D's reading.

[6]Om. D (A = Gk.).

[7]+"sign" D.

4. And it says, *he manifested his glory* (**John 2:11**). How and in what form? For behold, not many were giving heed to what happened; only the servants and the chief of the feast and the bridegroom. How therefore did he manifest his glory in that which he did on his own? For although at that time what had happened was not made known, nevertheless at another (time) everyone was going to hear (about) this miracle, for behold up to the present it is preached and has not been concealed. And that not everyone had been aware of it on that day is evident from the things that follow, for after he said, *he manifested his glory*, he added, *his disciples believed in him* (**John 2:11**), these which also were marvelling at him before this. You see that it was especially necessary to do the signs at that time, when these that were giving heed to what happened with a good mind[1] would be present! For it was they who were going to believe readily and pay heed exactly **[28]** to the things that happened. For because of this, often in many places the Evangelists were saying[2] that he did no signs because of the stupidity of the people that were there.

5. *After these things he*[3] *went down to Capernaum, he and his mother and his brothers and his disciples. And they were there not many days* (**John 2:12**). Why therefore did he go down with his mother to Capernaum? For behold he did not do (*b156*) even one miracle there and the inhabitants of that city were not of these whose minds were sound so that they should look on him pleasantly, but these were (people) who were very corrupt. And this Christ himself made known, saying, *and you, Capernaum, that have been lifted up to heaven, will be lowered down to Sheol* (**Luke 10:15**). Why then did he go down? Thus it seems to me: because shortly he was going to go up to Jerusalem, because of this he went down to Capernaum at that time, so that he would not be making his mother and his brothers go around everywhere. Therefore, after he went and was there a short time in order to honour his mother, then he proceeded again with the miracles after he had escorted and left his parent. Because of this, he said, *after a few days he went up to Jerusalem* (**John 2:12–3**).[4] (*bfin.* [*b2.1.10* begins])

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[1] +"and" D (A = Gk.).

[2] "The Evangelists say" D (= Gk.).

[3] "*Jesus*" D (A = Gk. and Peshitta).

[4] Boismard's comprehensive coverage of the Greek text ends here. For the remainder of the homily, the Greek comparison text is provided by the editions of

6. Therefore, he was baptized a few days before the Passover. And when he went up to Jerusalem, he did a thing full of great authority, for he drove out those dealers who were selling bulls and doves and were changing money and were there constantly for this. And another Evangelist said that when he was driving them out he said, "Do not make the house of my father a den of thieves" (**Mark 11:17; Luke 19:46; Matthew 21:13**), but this one said, *"a house of commerce"* (**John 2:16**), not speaking in contradiction but showing that (Jesus) did this two times, (*m140*) and that the two did not occur at the same time but one (*s647*) at the beginning (of his ministry) and the other when he had come to the Passion. For also because of this he used harsh words and calls[1] (it) "a den of thieves." But here at the beginning of the miracles[2] (he did) not (speak) thus, but is gently indignant, so that from this it appears that this occurred two times.

7. (Someone) says, "Why did Christ do this same and use so much harshness against them, which in no place else has he been seen to do, even when he was being vilified and reviled and called by them "Samaritan" and "demoniac"? **[29]** For he is not satisfied[3] with words only, but he also took whips[4] and thus drove them out." Now it was when others were benefitting from him that the Jews were accusing (*b.2.1.12*) and standing in rage against him, but when the matter would require that they be angry because he was indignant with them, they employed humility. For (here) they were not enraged with him nor vilified him, but say to him, *"What sign do you show us, that you do these things?"* (**John 2:18**) You see the envy beyond measure, and how the benefit of others was arousing their anger more!

8. One[5] time he said, *"You have made the temple a den of thieves"* (**Mark 11:17; Luke 19:46; Matthew 21:13**), showing also that the things which were being

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Savile and Migne and, for only manuscripts B and M, partially by Boismard, *Évangile pré-johannique* 2.1.10–20.

[1]"Called" D (A = Gk.). [point.]

[2]Sg. D (A = Gk.).

[3]"Was not satisfied" D (= Gk.).

[4]Sg. D (= Gk.).

[5]"Therefore, one time" D (= Gk.).

sold there had come by theft and plunder and greed, and[1] (that) by others' griefs they were becoming rich. And another time he called it *a house of commerce* (**John 2:16**), and would show that their haggling is shameless.[2] But it is right to say, "Why did he do these things?" Since he was going to heal on the Sabbath and do many such things which amongst them seemed (to indicate) that he transgressed[3] against[4] the law, so that he would not seem as if he were opposed to God and had come against the Father from the opposing side, and hence he did these things to correct their suspicion. For it was not possible that he who showed so much diligence for the house would be standing against the Lord of the house who is served in it.

And even the former years in which he lived lawfully were sufficient to show how much he was holding the lawgiver in reverence, and that he did not come to establish opposing laws.[5] But because it had happened that these (years) had been forgotten due to the length of time—for not everyone would have been aware of them since he was brought up in a poor and mean house (*b2.1.14*) —thenceforth when many were gathered because the festival was near he did this as one giving[6] himself to danger. For not merely had he driven them out, but he had overturned the table[7] and had poured out their money, to give them to reckon from these things that it would not be possible **[30]** for him who had thrown himself into danger on behalf of the adornment and order of the house[8] to fight with the Lord of the same house. For if he were doing this hypocritically, he needed only to give admonition, but this—to stand in danger—he did[9] only because of the truth. For it was no small matter to hand himself over to the anger of the dealers and festal assemblies and to rouse against him a crowd full of the fury of the people constantly selling provisions, by abusing and hurting (them). Therefore, he did not do this like a man who acted[10]

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[1]Om. D (A = Gk.).

[2]"'*Commerce,*' to show their shameless haggling" D (= Gk.).

[3]"Transgresses" D. [point.]

[4]Om. D.

[5]Sg. D. [point.]

[6]"One who gave" D. [point.]

[7]Pl. D (= Gk.). [point.]

[8]"The same house" D (A = Gk.).

[9]"He was doing" D. [point.]

[10]"Acts" D. [point.]

deceitfully, but like one who accepts it on himself to bear everything on account of the orderliness becoming to the house.

9. Because of this, he shows his agreement with the lawgiver, not only by the things that he did but also by the things that he says,[1] for he did not say, "the holy house," but, *"the house of my Father"* (**John 2:16**). Behold, he even calls him, "Father," and they are not wrathful, for they were thinking that he had spoken[2] generally. But because when he goes on with the same discourse[3] he speaks clearly , so that they might receive that idea about him which he explains concerning his equality, it is then that they stand in rage.

And what do they say? *"What sign do you show us?"* (**John 2:18**) Woe because of (their) senseless heart! (*m141*) For a sign was required in order for someone to prevent these evil things that had been happening and to free the house from so much disgrace! And was it not a great sign of magnificence that a man should have so much zeal for the house of God?

(*b2.1.16*)

10. And indeed these who were in possession of good minds[4] were distinguished here, for it says, *and his disciples recalled that it is written, "The zeal of your house has devoured me"* (**John 2:17**). But these (others) did not remember the prophecy but had said,[5] *"What sign do you show us?"* Now they were saying this because he was paining them, in that their polluted profits were being cut off, and another thing: they were thinking that by this they would stop him. And furthermore, they were wanting him to do a miracle and to scoff when it happened.

11. Because of this neither did he give them a sign; for indeed when they had approached him previously and requested from him a sign, this same thing **[31]** he said:[6] *"An evil and adulterous generation seeks a sign, and no sign will be given to*

[1]"Said" D (A = Gk.). [point.]

[2]"He was speaking" D. [point.]

[3]+"and" D^c (A D* = Gk.).

[4]Sg. D. [point.]

[5]"But were saying" D.

[6]D places a paragraph break here, disassociating the following citation from the preceding clauses.

it, except the sign of Jonah"[1] (**Matthew 16:4**). But then (he said it) clearly, whereas now as if by a hint. (*s648*) And he does[2] this because of their imperceptibility, for it would not be possible for him who anticipated his petitioners and gave signs, to turn his face away from them who ask, unless he had seen their mind, that (it was) evil and wily, and their heart, that sickness was waiting in ambush within it. For consider how full of wickedness the request itself was, for when they should have been praising him because of his concern and zeal, and marvel that he had so much care for the house, they accuse (him), saying, "It is permissible to carry on commerce here," and "It is not permissible for this to be stopped unless a person shows a sign."

12. But Christ says to them, *"Destroy this temple, and I will erect it after three days"* (**John 2:19**). He[3] said many such things that were not revealed to those who were listening then but[4] were revealed to those who (came) afterwards. And why did he do this? So that it would be made known (*b.2.1.18*) that he knows in advance what is going (to be), when what he says in advance will have been completed in fact—which indeed is what happened with this prophecy. For it says, *after he arose from the dead, his disciples remembered that he had said this, and they believed the scriptures and the word which Jesus spoke* (**John 2:22**). But when it was being said, they did not know how they would see what was said, for some of them were doubtful, saying, *"This temple was built (over) forty-six years, and you will erect it after three days?"* (**John 2:20**) Now they were saying forty-six years about its latter building, for the former was finished in twenty years' time.

13. But why did he not resolve the parable and say, "I am not speaking about this temple, but about my body?" Instead the Evangelist in another (place) while writing the Gospel explains what was said, and our Lord himself was silent then. Therefore, why **[32]** was our Lord silent then? Because they were unable to accept the word; for if the disciples were not yet competent to understand what was said, how much more (unable were) the crowds! For it says, *after he arose from the dead,*

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[1]+ *"the prophet,"* D (A = Gk.).

[2]"Did" D (A = Gk.). [point.]

[3]"And he" D (A = Gk.).

[4]Om. D (A = Gk.).

at that time they remembered and believed the scriptures[1] *and the word* (**John 2:22**). For[2] now there were these two things that[3] they were not perceptive enough to bring out: one, that of the resurrection,[4] and the other one greater than this, (i.e.) whether it was God who dwells within him. For he indicated these two things parabolically, saying, *"Destroy this temple, and I will erect it after three days"* (**John 2:19**), (a thing) which Paul also said[5] is a great sign of divinity, speaking thus: *and the Son of God was made known with power and with the Holy Spirit by the resurrection from the dead of Jesus Christ our Lord* (**Romans 1:4**).

14. But why (*b.2.1.20*) did he give this as the sign both there and here, and saying everywhere, *"When* (*m142*) *you have lifted up the Son of Man, then you will know that I am"* (**John 8:28**), but now, *"No sign will be given to you except the sign of Jonah the prophet"* (**Matthew 12:39; Luke 11:29**), and again here, *"I will erect it after three days"* (**John 2:19**)? This was what especially reveals about him that he is not a mere man: that he would be able to take the victory over death and dissolve its long ascendency and its harsh war so easily. And because of this he says,[6] *"Then you will know."* Then? When? He says, "When I have arisen and drawn the whole world to me, then you will know that I was doing these things even as God and the true Son of God."

15. But why did he not say, "What signs are required, sufficient to stop what is wickedly done?" but instead promised that he would give a sign? Because if he had spoken this way, he would have roused their anger, but by this (which he actually said) he frightened them rather. But nevertheless, even though thus they[7] said nothing against this, for indeed in their eyes he appeared like a man who says

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[1]Sg. D (= Gk.). [point.]

[2]"But" D (A = Gk.)

[3]"And" D^c (A D* = Gk.). The addition appears designed to clarify D's confused text in this sentence, but is only partially helpful.

[4]"First" D. Confusion over one letter and the provision of another has produced D's reading. This error may have prompted other adjustments in this sentence, involving the previous note and different punctuation.

[5]"Says" D (= Gk.). [point.]

[6]"Said" D (A = Gk.). [point.]

[7]"He said" D (A = Gk.).

something unbelievable, they did not take it upon themselves even to ask him about this, but passed it by like something which cannot be. **[33]** But if there had been intelligence in them, even if at that time it seemed to them that it could not happen, yet after he did many signs they would have approached and asked him and requested that he resolve this question for them. But since they were without intelligence, they were paying utterly no heed to some of the things and the other things they were receiving with an evil mind. And on account of this, Christ was speaking[1] with them in parables. (*b.2.1. fin.*)

16. Yet it is asked, "How did the disciples not know that he would rise from the dead." Because they had not yet been deemed worthy of the grace[2] of the Spirit. And on account of this, though they were constantly hearing the words about the resurrection, they were understanding nothing but were thinking amongst themselves, "What then is this?" for what was said was indeed very new and difficult, namely that man would be able to raise himself, and raise (himself) in this way so amazingly. Because of this, Peter also was reproved, for when he knew nothing about the resurrection, he says,[3] (*s649*) *"May it not happen to you!"* (**Matthew 16:22**).

And not even Christ himself revealed[4] the thing to them clearly before it happened, so that they would not be offended at him in[5] the beginning by doubting what is said because it was very new and because they did not yet clearly know our Lord, who he is. For[6] a person is not doubtful of things about which facts shout aloud, but often a person is doubtful about believing things that are spoken in words. Because of this, he formerly left this utterance to be obscure, but[7] after he had affirmed by experience the things which had been said, at that time he thenceforth gave also the meaning of the words and he poured out so much grace of the Spirit so that they might receive everything all at once. For he says, *"He will remind you*

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[1]"Had spoken" D (A = Gk.).

[2]"The preparation" D (A = Gk.). A scribe has transposed some letters to make D's reading.

[3]"He said" D (= Gk.). [point.]

[4]The translation follows D's reading, in agreement with the Greek. A has: "and not even Christ himself, before it happened was the thing revealed to them."

[5]"From" D (A = Gk.).

[6]"And" D (A = Gk.).

[7]"For" D (A = Gk.)

about[1] *everything"* (**John 14:26**). For these who were in awe of him, from whom he removed the awe in one evening and[2] they left and fled and said they do not even know him, how would they be able to remember the things that had been done and said all that time, unless they received the grace of the Spirit?

[34]

17. "And if," one says, "they were going to hear from the Spirit, why was it necessary for them to go about with Jesus, since they were not going to retain the things said?" Because the Spirit was not teaching them at all, but was only causing (them) to remember the things that Christ said[3] before. It was no little thing, for this would bring glory to Christ, since by the Spirit they were returned to their remembrance of the things that were said.[4] Therefore, in the beginning it was of the grace of God that the grace of the Spirit should come upon them liberally and richly, but afterwards it was of their excellence that they would keep the gift of the Spirit. For they shone in their conduct, and displayed great wisdom and[5] mighty conduct of endurance, and they despised this temporal life, and they considered human affairs as nothing but have trodden above everything. And like lightweight eagles that soar on high, they reached heaven through their conduct and received the incomprehensible grace of the Spirit.

18. Therefore, let us also imitate them, and let us not quench (*m143*) our lamps but let us keep them burning through compassion—(for) so the light of this fire continues. Therefore, let us collect oil in our vessels while we are here, for neither is it possible to buy it when we go beyond nor to get (it) from another place. But through the hands of the poor; let us therefore collect it quickly here in great abundance, if we want to enter with the bridegroom. Otherwise, it is necessary (*m144*) that we be found outside the bridechamber, for it is impossible—again it is

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[1]"Of" D.

[2]Sic A D^c; om. D* (A D^c = Gk.).

[3]"Had said" D (A = Gk.).

[4]Or, "since they were returned to their memory of what had been said by the Spirit." D has, "since they were returned to their memory of what had been said in the beginning," probably due to an error.

[5]"Of" D (A = Gk.).

not possible—to step before the gates[1] of the kingdom without (showing) compassion, even if we do many good things. Because of this, let us get this (oil) abundantly, so that we may be made worthy of these good things that are hidden, that it may happen that we receive them, by the grace and by the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom and with whom be glory to the Father and to[2] the Holy Spirit, forever and ever. Amen.

(The memra) is ended.[3]

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[1]Sg. D (A = Gk.). [point.]

[2]"With" D (= Savile.).

[3]Om. "(The memra) is ended" D.

Memra 37
(*s702*; *m207*) **[35]**

Jesus says to him, "Do you want to be whole?" The sick (man) answered and said, "Yes, my Lord; but I have no one to put me into the pool when the waters have been stirred (**John 5:6–7**); and about envy.[1]

1. Great is the profit from the divine scriptures and unending help comes from them. And Paul shows this, saying, "*For all these things*," he says, "*were written for us, upon whom the end of times has come, so that by*[2] *the patience and by the comfort of the scriptures we might* [3]*have hope*" (**Romans 15:4**). For the divine sayings are a treasury of all (sorts of) medicines; and if it should happen that[4] a person would need either to extinguish pride, or to lull desire to sleep, or to trample the love of possessions, or to change distress and acquire joy and patience, he will find hence a great resource.

For[5] who of those is it that has been struggling long with poverty or (who) of those is it that has been seized by a difficult sickness[6] who will not receive great comfort when he reads this account of the paralytic? For although he was paralyzed thirty-eight years, and every year that passed[7] he was watching[8] others delivered from their diseases but (saw) himself[9] still bound by the sickness, even so he did not give up and despair. For it was not (only) distress about the things that had passed, but[10] despair regarding future things, that was enough to torment him.

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[1]E and F omit the citations, having, "From the same Holy Mar John, Memra about the Paralytic (+"which our Lord Healed" F); and about envy."

[2]Om. A E (F = Gk.).

[3]"We have" E (A F = Gk.)

[4]Om. "it should happen that" F (= Gk.).

[5]"And" E (A F = Gk.).

[6]Pl. E (A F = Gk.). [point.]

[7]Om. "that passed" E F (= Gk.).

[8]"He watches" F.

[9]"But except for himself, who was still" E (A F = Gk.).

[10]+"also" E F (= Gk.).

2. But hear what he said and learn the magnitude of his distress, for because Christ said to him,[1] *"Do you want to be* **[36]** *whole?" he replied and said, "Yes my Lord, but I have no one to put me into the pool when the water has been stirred"* (**John 5:6–7**).[2] What is there that is more piteous than these words, (*S703*) or that[3] deserves sorrow more than this disease? You see a heart broken by long sickness.[4] You see how he humbles all pride. For he said nothing that is blasphemous, like we hear many say in their tribulations when adversities are upon them. He did not curse the day on which he was born; he did not rage at the question; and he did not say, "Will you come to jest?" and, "Have you come to mock me, and (for this reason) you ask whether I want to be whole?" But calmly,[5] in great humility, he said, *"Yes my Lord,"* when he did not even know who it was that was asking,[6] nor that he was about to heal him. And even so he narrates everything[7] with calmness and he does not demand anything else like a person speaking to a healer (would), and he wants only to tell (about his) disease. For perhaps he was considering[8] Christ would be useful to him for this (purpose)—to put him into the water of the pool—and he was wanting to attract (Christ) to himself through these words.

3. And what did our Lord tell him? *"Rise, take your bed, and go to your house"* (**John 5:8**). There are people who think that this is that (paralytic) who is in Matthew, but it is not (so), (*m208*) and this is evident from many things. First, because he was lacking carers, for that (other) one had many who were concerned about him and who were carrying him, but this one (had) no one at all; for because of this he was saying, *"I have no one."* And next, from (his) response,[9] for that (other)

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[1]F leaves off here due to a missing folio.

[2]Om. *"when the water has been stirred"* E (A = Gk.).

[3]Om. E.

[4]"Disease" E.

[5]+"and" E (= Gk.).

[6]"That spoke to him," E (A = Gk.).

[7]Om. E (A = Gk.).

[8]"He considered" E (= Gk.).

[9]"Next, what (was his) response?" E (A = Gk.). A scribe has added a letter

one said nothing, but this one narrates[1] all his sufferings. And furthermore from the day and time,[2] for this one (is healed) at a festival and on the Sabbath, but that (other) one **[37]** on another day. And again[3] the places of the two are different, for that (other) one was healed in a house, but this one beside that place of the pool. And the manner of the healing is also changed,[4] for there he said, *"My son, your sins are forgiven you"* (**Matthew 9:2**), but here he first tightened (the paralytic's) limbs and then showed concern for his soul. And there (he spoke of) forgiveness, for he says, *"Your sins are forgiven you,"* but here there is warning and rebuke, to elucidate the things afterwards, for he says, *"Do not sin, so that (something)[5] more evil than the first will not happen to you"* (**John 5:14**). And the reproofs of the Jews are also changed, for here they complain that the deed occurred[6] on the Sabbath, but there they were accusing him of blasphemy.

4. But as for you, consider the loftiness of God's wisdom, for he did not raise him at once, but first through the question offers him his love, in order to prepare for him the paths[7] to faith. Nor does he only raise him, but also he ordered him to take up his bed, in order to confirm the miracle that had happened[8] so that no one would think that what had happened was an illusion or (had happened only) apparently. For neither would it have been possible for him to carry his bed unless his limbs had truly been tightened.

And Christ often did this[9] additionally, to shut the mouth of them wanting to be audacious. For (he did this) also with the bread; so that no one would say that (the people) had merely been satisfied and what had happened was an illusion, he made there to be many fragments of bread left over. And also to that leper who was

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to produce E's reading.

[1]"Was narrating" E (= Gk.).

[2]"Because the time and day are different" E (A = Gk.).

[3]"But also" E (= Gk.).

[4]"Altered" E.

[5]E has an explicit "something" (Gk. = τι) only implied by A.

[6]"Occurs" E. [point.]

[7]Sg. E. [point.]

[8]+"and" E (= Gk.).

[9]Om. A (E = Gk.). The translation follows E's text.

cleansed, he said, *"Go, show yourself to the priests"* (**Matthew 8:4; Mark 1:44; Luke 5:14**), so that he would give certain proof of his cleansing; and furthermore along with this (reason, he did it) to shut the shameless mouths[1] of them that say that (Jesus) makes a law opposing God. Again, he also did the same with the wine, for he did not merely show the wine but made it to be given to the chief of the feast so that when (the latter) acknowledged (it), he who was not aware **[38]** of (even) one of the things that had happened would testify to it (with) testimony beyond suspicion. For because of this, the Evangelist also[2] was saying[3] that the chief of the feast did not know whence it was (**John 2:9**), in order to make clear the purity of the testimony. And again, after (Jesus) raised the dead, he said, "Give[4] him to eat" (**Mark 5:43; Luke 8:55**), so as to give a sign that he had truly raised him. And through all these[5] things (he was trying) to persuade fools that he was no fraud and that he was not showing illusions but had come for the salvation of all (human) nature and for the common redemption.

(*m209*)

5. But what is this, that he did not require of him that faith which he did of others, saying, *"Do you believe that I am able to do this?"*[6] (**Matthew 9:28**)? (It is) because (the paralytic) did not know our Lord, who he was,[7] [8]for he seemed to have done this after miracles, not before miracles. For those who saw his[9] power at another (occasion)[10] would rightly hear this (question), but of those who did not yet know him but were about to know him because of signs, faith was required of them after the signs. Also because of this Matthew said that in the beginning he had healed many (*s704*) and he said to none of them, *"Do you believe that I am able to do*

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[1]Sg. E (A = Gk.). [point.]

[2]Om. E (A = Gk.).

[3]"Had said" E (Migne = *εἶπεν*; Savile = *φησιν*). [point.]

[4]"They gave" E.

[5]Om. E (A = Gk.).

[6]*"These things"* E (A = Gk.).

[7]Om. "who he was" E (A = Gk.).

[8]F resumes here.

[9]"Its" A (E F = Gk.). A is erroneous.

[10]Pl. E F.

this?" (**Matthew 9:28**).

6. But you also thus consider the paralytic's faith. For when he heard, *"Take your bed and go to your house"* (**John 5:8**), he did not laugh, nor did he say, "What[1] is this? An angel comes down and stirs the water and heals only one. Are[2] you, who are a mere man, confident that by a verbal command[3] **[39]** you are able to do greater things than[4] the angel? These (presumptions) are arrogant and proud and ridiculous!" But he said none of these things, nor did he think (them), but he arose at the same time as he hears,[5] and after he became whole he did not stand in disobedience against him who had commanded him. For at the very moment that he became whole, *he took up his bed and was walking* (**John 5:9**).

7. And[6] thereafter he did (even) greater things than these. For in the beginning, when no one was quarreling with him, it was not such a great thing that he was obedient to the command. But it was (a matter of his) great fortitude when afterwards the Jews were mad and were pressing[7] upon him on every side, and were surrounding and accusing (him) and saying, *"It is not lawful for you to carry your bed"* (**John 5:10**), that he should not[8] heed their frenzy, not even in the slightest, but with great confidence should proclaim his benefactor in the midst of them all and should restrain (their) bold tongue.

For it says *"That day was*[9] *the Sabbath of the Jews"* (**John 5:9**). And when they say to him, *"It is the Sabbath; it is not permitted you to take up your bed"* (**John 5:10**), hear what he says (to them): *"That (man) who made me whole, he is the one who told me, 'Take up your bed and walk'"* (**John 5:11**); all but (proclaiming) this

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[1]+"then" E F (= Gk.).

[2]"But are you" E (= Gk.).

[3]Literally, "by a command of word;" E and F have, "by a command and a word" (Gk. = ἀπὸ ἐπιτάγματος ψιλοῦ καὶ ῥήματος)

[4]+"the things of" E F.

[5]"Heard" E F (= Gk.). [point.]

[6]"For" E F (A = Gk.).

[7]"Setting" E F (Gk. = ἐπικειμένων).

[8]Sic A E F^c; om. "that. . . not" F*

[9]"Is" E (A F = Gk. [i.e. Savile]).

which he did not say to them plainly: "You are very impertinent and mad, ordering[1] that I should not reckon as Teacher him who removed me[2] from a sickness that (was) so long and was difficult,[3] and that I not be obedient to everything which[4] he commands."[5]

8. And behold, if he were wanting[6] to behave in an evil way,[7] he could have **[40]** spoken otherwise. For example, (he could have said): "I do this not by my will, but another has commanded me; and if it is (a cause for) accusation, accuse him who commanded me and I will put down the bed and furthermore I will conceal the healing." For he was well aware that their pain was not so much[8] about the breaking of the Sabbath as about (the fact) that the sickness was healed. But he neither hid this (healing) nor said that (which is put forth above), nor did he ask of them forgiveness, but in a clear voice he was professing the benefit (which he had received) and proclaims (it).

9. Now the paralytic (behaves) in this way, but consider how these (other people) speak craftily, for they did not say, "Who is he that has made you whole?" but they were silent about this. But above and below they were bringing forward what was supposed to be a transgression, and saying, *"Who is he that told you, 'Take up your bed and walk?'" And he who was healed did not know who it was, for*[9] *Jesus had withdrawn himself into the great crowd that was in that place* (**John 5:12–3**). (*m210*) Now why did Christ conceal himself? First, so that when he was away the testimony would be without suspicion, for he who became aware of his[10]

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[1]The translation of the remainder of the sentence follows the punctuation of E and F since A's is very awkward.

[2]Om. E F (A = Gk.).

[3]"From such a sickness that was long and difficult" E F.

[4]"To what" E F (A = Gk).

[5]"He has commanded" E (A E = Gk.). [point.]

[6]"He wants" E; "he had wanted" F (A = Gk.).

[7]Pl. ("in evil ways") E.

[8]Om. "so much" E F (A = Gk.).

[9]"*But*" E F (A = Gk.).

[10]Om. F (= Gk.).

recovery was a true witness of the same benefit. And next, so that he would not make the anger of those (people) more inflamed, for even the sight of him who is envied usually inflames a fire in them who envy. Because of this he departed, leaving the deed itself to contend with them, and he would not say anything about himself, but the very ones who had been healed and those who accuse would tell (about him).[1]

10. For even those (accusers) presently testify to the miracle, for they did not say, "Why have you commanded these things to happen on the Sabbath?" but, "Why are you doing these things on the Sabbath?" not having been aggrieved because of the transgression[2] **[41]** but having been aggrieved[3] at the redemption of the paralytic. And behold, in human terms,[4] what that paralytic did was a work, but what our Lord did was only a word. Here therefore he ordered[5] another[6] to break the Sabbath, but in another place he did[7] it himself, when he mixes clay and anoints[8] the eyes (of a blind man). And he did these things, not breaking the law, but transcending and overcoming the law. And regarding these things he makes a defense in (the comments) that follow, for he did not make a defense in the same manner everywhere when he was being accused by them of (breaking) the Sabbath. And we ought to recognize this clearly and observe (it) accurately.

11. But for now let us see how evil is envy, and how it blinds the eyes of the soul and acts against the soul of him who has been seized[9] by it. And just as those who are insane often stab themselves with a sword, (*s705*) so also they who envy look for only one thing: the grief[10] of him who is envied; they are contemptuous of

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[1]Om. "would tell (about him)" F (= Gk.).

[2]"At the transgression" E (A F = Gk.).

[3]"Envious" E F (= Gk.).

[4]Literally, "according to humanity."

[5]"Orders" E (= Gk.). [point.]

[6]Pl. E F (Migne = ἑτέρως; Savile = ἑτέρῳ). [point.]

[7]"Does" E (= Gk.). [point.]

[8]"And puts (it) on" F E^{c} (Gk. = ἐπιχρίων).

[9]"Who is seized" E.

[10]Pl. E (A F = Gk.). [point.]
The Syriac, meaning "grief" or "hurt," could be a translation of λύμην or

their own salvation. These (envious people) are even more brutal than wild beasts, for (beasts) arm themselves against us (only) when needing food or having first been provoked by us, but often those (envious people) do what is evil to their benefactors even when they have had[1] (something) good (from them). Therefore, they are more harsh[2] than beasts and resemble devils, but are perhaps even more brutal than these, for (demons) have irreconcilable hostility[3] towards us, but they do not harm the members of their own kind. On account of this (fact), also Christ had muzzled[4] the mouth of the Jews since they were saying "He casts out demons by Beelzebub" (**Luke 11:15; Matthew 12:24**). But those (envious people) **[42]** have neither refrained due to (respect for) sameness of nature, nor have they spared themselves. For they punish their own souls before (punishing) them who are envied, filling them with tumult and grief, needlessly and pointlessly. For why, O man, are your neighbour's good things hurtful to you? For (instead) you[5] ought to suffer because of evil things happening to us,[6] not because of the things for which we see others being honoured.

12. Because of this, this sin is deprived of all forgivenesses.[7] For the fornicator has lust of which to speak, and the thief poverty, and the murderer anger—reasons that are insipid and unlikely, but even so they have them to allege. But you (envious person), what reason do you have of which to speak, tell me? Not even one, not from anywhere,[8] except from[9] (that of) immeasurable wickedness only. For if we are commanded to love our enemies, what judgement will we suffer when we hate even our friends? And if he who loves his friends is in no way more

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λύπην, although the Syriac word in question typically translates the latter Greek term.

[1]"When they have (something)" E F. [point.]

[2]"Wilder" or "more evil" F (A E = Gk.).

[3]"(Demons) have merciless hostility" E* (A F E[1] = Gk.).

[4]"Was muzzling" E F (= Gk.). [point.]

[5]"We" E F (= Gk.).

[6]Literally, "because of things happening to us evilly."

[7]Minor differences in two words in E F produce a meaning which can be rendered, "this sin has exceeded all punishments" (A = Gk.).

[8]"Not anywhere" F.

[9]Om. E F.

excellent than pagans,[1] then what forgiveness or consolation will he[2] have, he who curses[3] them by whom he is not been wronged in anything?[4]

13. Hear what Paul says: *Even if I give my body to the fire, but love is not in me,*[5] *I have gained nothing* (**1 Corinthians 13:3**). And it is evident to all that where there is envy and jealousy, the things of love are done away with.[6] This passion[7] is more evil than both fornication and adultery,[8] for these things reach as far as him (*m211*) who has done[9] them and stay (there), but the tyranny **[43]** of envy has torn down sound churches and has hurt the whole world. This (envy) is the mother of jealousy. Thus Cain murdered his brother; thus (Joseph's) brothers sold Joseph, and Esau begrudged Jacob; thus Satan has slain all people.

14. Although now you do not murder, nevertheless you do many things[10] worse[11] than murder, praying that your brother may be in disgrace, and laying snares for him[12] on every side, so that you pour out[13] his labour for[14] righteousness,

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[1]Sg. E (A F = Gk.). [point.]

[2]"They" E* (A E[1] F = Gk.).

[3]"Who provokes" A (Gk. = *ἐπηρεάζων*) A's reading is probably the result of a copyist's error.

[4]"Them who have not wronged them in anything" E F.

[5]"*Love I have not*" E F (= Gk.; A = Pesh).

[6]The meaning of the Syriac sentence is unclear. The Greek text is not difficult: *ὅτι δὲ ὅπου φθόνος καὶ βασκανία, τὰ τῆς ἀγάπης ἀνῄρηται.*

The Syriac text may have suffered an early corruption producing, "held in honour." No obvious candidate for the original word suggests itself, but the term meaning "brought to nothing" is parallel to *ἀνῄρηται* and formally similar to the term now in the manuscripts. The awkward sentence could have prompted a subsequent scribe to alter "where" (in F) by adding a letter to produce "in order to" (in A and E).

[7]The translation follows the punctuation of E and F, which is precisely like that of the Greek. A's punctuation involves grammatical difficulties, doubtlessly associated with the problems detailed in the prevous note.

[8]"Adultery and fornication" E F (A = Gk.).

[9]"Who does" E F. [point.]

[10]"You do much that is" F (A E = Gk.). [point.]

[11]"More evil" E F (A = Gk.).

[12]Om. "for him" E F (= Gk.).

[13]Or, "so that you make his labour for righteousness abound" (Gk. = *ἐκλύωι*

suffering because he has pleased[1] the Lord of the whole world. And you war not with that (person), but with that (Lord) who is honoured through him, and you despise (the latter), for you choose even your own glory over his. And what is worse than everything is that this sin seems to be ordinary, and yet it is worse than the others.

Whether you love or keep vigil or fast, you who envy your brother are more impure than any one.[2] And this is evident from the following: a man from amongst[3] the Corinthians fornicated upon a time, but he was rebuked and quickly was restored. Cain envied Abel but was not restored, and although God was constantly healing his wound, the pains wounded (Cain) more and the waves (of pain) pressed him hard to commit murder. (*b212*) So this passion (of envy) had been worse[4] than that one (of fornication), and it does not quickly give place to healing.

15. Nevertheless, let us be watchful.[5] Therefore,[6] let us uproot it by its root from[7] every place, remembering that as[8] we anger God when pained by the good things of others, so we are resplendent when rejoicing with them, and we make ourselves sharers in those good things prepared for the labourers of pleasing things. Because of this Paul also commands (us) **[44]** to rejoice with them which rejoice, and to weep with them which weep (**Romans 12:15**), so that from both we may amass great[9] profit.[10] Therefore, thinking about these things—(namely, that) even if we do not labour but rejoice with him who has laboured, (then) we have become sharers with him in his crowns—let us cast out all envy from our minds and let us

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τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἀρετῆς πόνους).

[14]"From" E F (A = Gk.).

[1]"He pleases" F (= Gk.). [point.]

[2]"Than any" E.

[3]Om. E (= Gk.).

[4]"Was worse" E F.

[5]"It does not quickly give place to healing unless we are watchful" E F (= Gk.).

[6]Om. E; "and therefore" F (A = Gk.).

[7]Sic A E[1] F; om. E*.

[8]"Remembering that (fact), that as" E F (= Gk.).

[9]Om. F* (A E F[1] = Gk.).

[10]"From both great profit will amass to us" E (A F = Gk.).

plant love in our souls; so that by assisting those of our brethren who are resplendent, we will be esteemed worthy of the future good things by the grace and by the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom and with whom be glory to the Father and to the Holy Spirit, forever and ever. Amen.

Memra 37 is ended.[1]

[1]Om. "Memra 37 is ended" F; "(The memra) is ended" E.

Memra 62
(*s 815; m341*) **[45]**

And there was a certain (man) sick, Lazarus from the village Bethany, the brother of Mary and of Martha. Now this Mary was she who anointed Jesus' feet with perfume (**John 11:1–2**);

and about those (women) who mourn immeasurably.

1. Many amongst men, when they have seen that something evil has come upon one of those who are pleasing to God, either that he has fallen into sickness or destitution or some such thing, are offended, not knowing that it is (typical) of those who are special friends of God to suffer these things. For behold even Lazarus was also a friend of Christ and (yet) he was sick. For those who had sent (the message to Christ) were also saying this, *"Behold, he whom you love is sick"* (**John 11:3**). For it says, *there was a certain (man) sick, Lazarus from the village Bethany* (**John 11:1**). It was not casually nor without reason he mentioned whence Lazarus had been, but for the reason which he declared after these (remarks). But for now let us pursue that which is set (before) us to speak.

(*m342*)

2. Now he also teaches us fittingly about (Lazarus') sisters, for he says, *This Mary was she who anointed Jesus' feet with perfume* (**John 11:2**). Here some people demand, "How does Christ allow the woman to do such things to him?" Now first, it is necessary to learn the fact that this is not she who is in Matthew, nor she who is in Luke, but this is another (woman). For those women were harlots, full of many evil things, but this (woman) was diligent in good things, for she also showed her concern in (her) reception of our Lord (into her home). And also the Evangelist indicates that (Lazarus') sisters loved Christ as well; and even so, he let Lazarus die.

And why did they not leave (*m343*) their brother when he was sick and come to our Lord, (as) the centurion did and the ruler did, but sent (others) instead? They were greatly trusting Christ and had great love towards him; (*s816*) also, they were weak women and were seized by sorrow. For that it was not because they were scorning him that they did this, they showed in another (place). Therefore, it is

evident that this (Mary) is not that (harlot).

"But," one says, "why did Christ accept that (harlot)?" To abolish (her) wickedness and to show his mercy towards men and so that you may learn that there is no sickness (capable of) overcoming his goodness. Therefore, do not observe this only, that he received (the harlot), but also consider how that he changed her.

3. Why does the Evangelist remind us of this account? To indicate that this (woman) was loved by Christ. And he continually says, "he loved Lazarus and his sisters" (**John 11:5**), to teach us that we should not be indignant if sicknesses befall diligent people and God's friends.

"Behold, he whom you love is sick" (**John 11:3**). They wanted to turn Christ towards pity, for they were still regarding him as a man, and (this) is evident from what they said, *"If you had been here, he would not have died"* (**John 11:21**), and (because) they did not say, "Behold, Lazarus is sick," but, "Behold, your friend is sick." And what (did) Christ (say)? *"This sickness is not* **[46]** *one of death, but for God's glory, that God's Son might be glorified"* (**John 11:4**). You observe again how that he said[1] that his glory and that of his Father are one, for after he said, "for God's glory," he introduced afterwards, "that God's Son might be glorified."

"This sickness is not one of death" (**John 11:4**); for since he was going to wait two days and then go, for the moment he drives away the very ones who were telling (him) this (news). Now (we ought) to marvel at his sisters, for when they heard that (the sickness) was not one of death, and they saw that he had died, they were not offended as if it were a contrary event, but they approach Christ and do not think that he is being false.

And as for this (statement), "that he might be glorified," it is not said here as the cause (of the sickness), but because it is the result of the event. For the sickness came from something else, but God used it for glory.

4. And after he said these things, he waited two days (**John 11:6**). Why did he wait? So that (Lazarus) would be buried and stink, so that no one would have (occasion) to say, "He raised him when he was not yet dead," or that it was a headache and was paralysis; (i.e.) it was a submersion (into heavy sleep) and it was not death. Because of this he stays so long, so they would say, "He stinks."

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[1]+"and" B[1], producing, "how that his glory and that of his Father are one, and he said (it himself), for after he said" (B* = Gk.).

He said to his disciples, "Come, let us go to Judea" (**John 11:7**). What is this, since nowhere (else) did he tell this (intention) beforehand? (The disciples) were very afraid; because of this he said (it) beforehand, so as not to frighten them suddenly. They say to him, "You were there just now, and they were seeking to stone you" (**John 11:8**). Now they were also afraid for him, but they were afraid with such great fear (mainly) for themselves, for they were not yet perfect. Thomas says, *"Come, let us also go; let us die with him"* (**John 11:16**). For he was weaker than the others, and was small in his faith.

5. But how does Jesus encourage them? *"Are there not twelve hours in the day?"* (**John 11:9**). Therefore he said either this: "To him who is not aware within himself of something evil, nothing evil will happen; but to him who does detestable things, something evil will happen. Thence it is not right to be afraid, for neither have we done anything deserving death." Or (he means this): "He who sees the light of this world is in safety, and if he who sees the light of this world is in safety, how much more he who is with me, if he does not remove himself (*m344*) from me." After he encouraged them with this, he also told (them) the reason for which it was pressing that he go there,[1] and shows that they were not about to go to Jerusalem again, but to Bethany.

6. He says, *"Lazarus has fallen asleep, and I am going (there) to awaken him"* (**John 11:11**). And that (means), "I am not going (there) to do the same things, and converse with and oppose the Jews, but to awaken our friend." *They say to him, "If he has fallen asleep, he will be saved"*[2] (**John 11:12**). And this (is why) they were saying these things: in order to prevent his going there. They say, "You have said that he is asleep and ill. Then there is no urgent **[47]** reason to go." And behold, on account of this he himself said, "our friend," to show that (the need for) going was pressing.

Therefore, because (*s817*) they were delaying and reluctant, then he said, "He is dead" (**John 11:14**). For he says the former (statement) to show his lack of boasting, but since they did not understand, he said, "He is dead, and I am glad for your sake" (**John 11:14–5**). Why for our sake? "Because I have told (about his

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[1]The Syriac has nothing corresponding to *οὖσαν* (cf. Savile).

[2]Or, *"he will live."* The Syriac follows the Greek homily text (*σωθήσεται*), not the Peshitta, *"he will recover."*

death) beforehand, not being there, and furthermore when I raise him, neither will there be a single suspicion (of trickery)." You see how the disciples were still not perfect and were not recognizing his power as was necessary. And the terrors (present) amongst (them) were doing this, which were troubling their souls and disquieting (them).

7. And when he said, *"He has fallen asleep,"* he said, *"I am going (there) to awaken him"* (**John 11:11**); but when he said, "He is dead" (**John 11:14**), he did not add, "I am going (there) to raise him," for he was not wanting to foretell with words what was going to be affirmed by the deed, teaching everywhere that we should not be siezed by the love of glory, and that we should not promise thoughtlessly. And if he had done this with that centurion when he was asked by him—for he said, *"I will come and heal him"* (**Matthew 8:7**)—to show the faith of that one. And if someone will say, "Whence did the disciples think that it was sleep, and did not also understand from this that it was death, from what he said, *'I am going (there) to awaken him'* ?"—for indeed it would be stupid for them to expect him to go fifteen stadia (merely) to awaken him—we have (the following) to say: "They were thinking that this was a parable, like many he was telling."

8. Therefore, they were all afraid of the violence of the Jews, and Thomas more than any other. Because of this, he was also saying, *"Come, let us also go and let us die with him"* (**John 11:16**). There are those who say that he was also desiring himself to die, but it is not (so), for this was a statement of fear. But he was not rebuked, for (Christ) was still supporting their weakness. Nevertheless, elsewhere (Thomas) became stronger and mightier than all of them, so that no one conquered him. For this is more wonderful than everything: that we see this one who was so weak before the cross became more fervent than all of them after he believed in the resurrection. So great is the power of Christ. For the same one who was afraid to go with Christ to Bethany was afterwards running eagerly through the whole world, while he was not seeing Christ, and was going about amongst the nations who were bloodthirsty and seeking to kill him.

9. Now if Bethany was fifteen stadia distant (**John 11:18**), which is two miles, how had Lazarus had four days (in the tomb) since he died? (Christ) waited two days, and before those two (days), someone had come and spoken to him on the

day that he died, and (Christ) came on the fourth day. Because of this also he waited: to be summoned; and he did not go when (the news) was told **[48]** to him, so that no one would have a suspicion about the thing when it happened. And neither did his sisters whom our Lord loved come themselves, but others are sent.

Now Bethany was fifteen stadia distant (**John 11:18**). From this it is evident that many had indeed come from Jerusalem. For immediately (the Evangelist) brought (the fact) forward and said, "many Jews were coming to comfort them" (**John 11:19**). How do the Jews console (*m345*) them whom Christ loved, (since) behold, they had established amongst themselves that if someone confesses that he is Christ, they would throw him out of the synagogue? (It happened) either because of the force of the grief, or because they were being reverenced by them as (coming) from an excellent family,[1] or because the very ones who came had not come in wickedness. Thence, many of them believed. And the Evangelist says these things to confirm that Lazarus had died.

10. And why did (Martha) not take her sister when going out to the meeting with Christ? Because she was wanting to meet him alone and tell him what had happened. And since he brought her to a good hope, then she goes and summons Mary, and (Mary) went out to meet with him, while (her) sorrow was still at its (full) strength. You see how fervent was her love. This is she about whom he says, *"But Mary has chosen the good portion"* (**Luke 10:42**). How then does her sister appear to be more fervent than (Mary)? It is not that (Martha) was more fervent than (Mary), but Mary had not heard, for Martha is weaker than her. Now it was this same (Martha) who had heard such great things (who) says to him, *"My Lord, behold, he stinks, for he has had four days (in the tomb)"* (**John 11:39**). But even though Mary had not heard such a thing, she said nothing, but believed: *"My Lord, if you had been here, my brother would not have died"* (**John 11:21**).

Presently consider the steadfastness of the women,[2] although their minds were weak; for when they saw Christ, they did not fall into distress nor into wailing nor into mourning, as (*s818*) happens to us when we see one of our acquaintances who enters upon our grief. But immediately they marvel at the Teacher, for they believed in Christ; but not rightly, for they were not yet recognizing that he was God,

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[1]Literally, "as from excellent people by family."

[2]"The woman" B. The translation follows the emended pointing.

nor that he was doing these things by his own power and by his authority—both these things he taught them. For they did not know that he is God, in that they said, *"If you had been here, my brother would not have died"* (**John 11:21**). And they were not wise of (the fact) that he was acting by his own power, in that she said, *"Even now I know that whatsoever you ask of God, he has given you"* (**John 11:22**), speaking as if about an excellent and splendid man.

11. But what? Christ said to her, *"Your brother will rise"* (**John 11:23**). Presently he nullifies (the remark), "Whatsoever you ask," for he did not say, "I will ask," but, *"Your brother will rise."* For to have said, "O woman, you are still looking below; I have no need of other help, **[49]** I do everything of my own accord," would have been very difficult (for her), and she would not have received it gladly. But to have said, "He will rise," is (the statement) of one who was crafting a saying that[1] would be intermediate. And also by the things that follow he directs (our) attention to the things which I have said, for[2] after she said, *"I know that he will rise in the last day"* (**John 11:24**), to show his authority all the more he said, *"I am the resurrection and the life"* (**John 11:25**), indicating that he has no need of other help, if he himself is the life. And if he were in need of another, how could he himself be the resurrection and the life? Therefore, in this way he does not speak (clearly), but he just hints at it. And when she said, "Whatsoever you ask," he said, *"Everyone who believes in me, even if he dies he shall live"* (**John 11:25**), showing that he himself is the giver of good things, and that one ought to ask of him.

12. *"And everyone who lives and believes in me"* (**John 11:26**). You see how he elevates her mind,[3] for this was not (the only thing) required, (*m346*) for Lazarus to rise, but it was necessary that both the same (woman) and those others nearby learn also about the last resurrection. Because of this, before the resurrection he teaches and gives them wisdom through words. Now if he is the resurrection and the life, he is not confined to (a single) place, but being everywhere, he is able to heal (everywhere). Now if they had said, as the centurion also says, *"Speak the word, and*

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[1]F begins here.

[2]"And" F (B = Gk.).

[3]From here F omits about 8 lines by abbreviation.

he will be healed" (**Matthew 8:8**; **Luke 7:7**), he would have done this. [1]But because they summoned him to them and asked him to come, because of this he had come, that they might rise from (their) baseness of mind. Now[2] once he came to the place,[3] even when he had arrived, he also shows (this to be) so, that even when distant he is able[4] to heal. Also on account of this he delayed,[5] for the grace would not have been evident if it had been given immediately; and if the odour of the stench had not been emanating, whence would the woman have known about the coming resurrection?[6] She heard Christ many times speaking about the resurrection, but even so she now desired to see (it).

13. [7]Now observe how she is still occupied (with things) below, for when she heard, *"I am the resurrection*[8] *and the life"* (**John 11:25**) neither did she speak thus: **[50]** "Raise him," but what (did she say)? *"I believe that you are Christ, the Son of God"* (**John 11:27**).

Jesus said to her, *"He who believes in me, even if he dies he shall live"* (**John 11:25**); (by this) he spoke about this death of Lazarus. *"And everyone who lives and believes in me will never die"* (**John 11:26**); (by this) about the common death[9] he spoke. "Therefore, since I am the resurrection, do not be troubled that your brother is dead—this is not death." Since at this point he comforted her concerning what had occurred, and he gave her hope, both by saying, "He will rise," and by saying, "I am the resurrection," and, "If he dies after he rises, nothing will happen to him," thence (we) ought not to be afraid of our death. Now what he says is like so: "This one is not dead, nor will you yourselves die."

"Do you believe this?" She said to him, "Yes, Lord, I believe that you are the

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[1]F resumes here.

[2]Sic A F[1]; om. F*.

[3]Literally, "according to the place" (cf. Savile).

[4]"He was able" F (B = Gk.).

[5]"Delays" F (= Gk.).

[6]From here F omits about 2 lines by abbreviation.

[7]F resumes here.

[8]Only in this citation, and against B, F uses the word for "resurrection" which appears in the Peshitta.

[9]From here F omits about 9 lines by abbreviation.

Christ who has come to the world" (**John 11:26–7**). And the woman appears to me not to have understood what was said. Now that it was a great thing, she did discern, but she did not [1]recognize (it) fully. Because of this, she was asked one thing and she replied with another thing. But for now (the women) have gained this, that they turned loose of their mourning,[2] for such is the power of Christ's words. And on account of this, that (Martha) also went first, and this (Mary) followed her, for (their) love toward the Teacher (*s819*) was not allowing them to feel their (sorrowful) passion strongly; therefore, the minds of these women were also strong with grace.

14. But presently, with other evils this sickness of women is also prevalent: they exhibit ostentation in mourning and in wailings, making their arms bleed and tearing out their hair and ripping their cheeks and making furrows in them with their scratchings. There are some (who do it) from sorrow, there are some (who do it) for show and ostentation, and others from lasciviousness, uncovering their arms in the middle of the market-places. What are you doing, O woman? You uncover yourself disgracefully in the middle of the market-places, being a member of Christ, while men surround you. And you tear out your hair and cry out with intense wailings and leap about; and you gather others with you and show in yourselves a resemblance to tumultous women—and it does not occur to you that you are angering God?

15. Will not the pagans surely mock? Will they not surely think that (the beliefs) associated with us[3] are fables? They will say, "There is no resurrection, but (the beliefs) associated with the Christians constitute trickery and deception and enticement. As if (*m347*) there is nothing after (this life), so their women wail and mourn. I have no regard for the words inscribed in their books; they are fables, and these (women) make it obvious. For if they believed that the one who died was not dead, but has departed to a better life, they would not be mourning as for one who is no more; the inflammation (of such passion) would not be falling on them in this way; they would not be shouting with such cries full of unbelief, **[51]** 'I will not see

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[1]F resumes here.

[2]F omits the rest of the homily by abbreviation, resuming in the middle of Homily 63.

[3]Literally, "our things" ("their things" in the next sentence), specifying the vague content of *τὰ ἡμέτερα*.

you again! I will not receive you again!' All the things associated with them[1] are fables, for where (their) chief good is set in doubt by them in this way, how much more will they also be in doubt about the other good things which they have."

16. But the pagans are not so womanly. For indeed, many amongst them have been strong, and (one) woman amongst them who heard that her son fell in battle immediately asked, "And the affairs of the city, how are they?" And also another philosopher, being crowned, heard that his son had been killed for the sake of (his) country, and he took the crown from his head, and after asking, "Which of the two?" and learning which one it was who fell, immediately he put the crown back on his head. And many have given up both sons and daughters to death, honouring the devils. And the Laconian women also counsel their sons (either) to be valiant with their shields and not drop them in battle, or (that) their corpses be brought (back) on them. Because of these things, I am ashamed that the pagans are strong, and we ourselves are a disgrace. Those who are knowledgeable in nothing about the resurrection do what is (characteristic) of those knowledgeable (about it); and those who know, what is (characteristic) of those who do not know!

17. And the thing they do not accomplish on account of God, they often accomplish on account of the shame of men. But women who are wealthy do not let down[2] their hair, nor do they uncover their arms, which is itself also a harsh accusation. It is not that they do not uncover, but because they do not do this from modesty but so that they are not seen as dishonouring themselves. Therefore, shame overcomes (their) mourning, but the fear of God does not overcome. And how could these (women) not deserve harsh accusation? For what rich (women) do because of (their) wealth, the poor should do because of the fear of God. But now it is the opposite, and those (rich women) are strong because of vainglory, and these (poor women) are a disgrace because of stupidity. What could be worse than this confusion? We do everything because of men and because of the things that are here, and words full of insanity and great blame are spoken.

18. And our Lord said, *"Blessed are they who mourn"* (**Matthew 5:4**), speaking about those who mourn on account of their sins. And there is no one who

[1]Literally, "all their things."

[2]The translation follows the conjectured correction.

mourns that (sort of) mourning, nor is he anxious about his lost soul. But we have not been commanded to mourn this (other sort of) mourning, yet we mourn it. "And what?" someone says, "Is it possible for one who is human not to weep?" For I do not forbid this, but I forbid you to be disgraceful. I am not so brutal and cruel; I am aware that (human) nature is broken and sees to (its) customs and daily companionship. It is not possible for a person not to be sad. Christ also showed this, for he wept over Lazarus. This you do also, weep, but (do so) with modesty and with soberness and with the fear of God. If you weep in this way, you are doing it not as a person who doubts this resurrection, but as a person not **[52]** enduring the separation (from) him who goes away. For over those travelling we also shed tears when they depart, but we do this not as though (*s820*) despairing. As for you, weep in the same way, like a person seeing off one who is travelling away.

19. I do not say these things as one laying down the law, but in condescension. (*m348*) [1]For if he who has died was a sinner, and has much[2] angered God, it is right to weep—and that is, not to weep only, for this thing does not benefit him, but[3] to do the things that are able to produce for him comfort, alms and offerings.[4] But it is also right to rejoice at this (death), since the causes of his wickedness have been cut off. And if he was righteous, again it is appropriate to exult, since his treasures are (now) kept in safety, and he has escaped from a life full of fear. Also (it is appropriate to exult) whether he was old or young; if he was young, since he has escaped quickly from the evils all around; and if he was old, since he has had enough of what is reckoned desirable and then left. But you have neglected to think about these things, and have treated your maidservants contemptuously, as if you were honouring him who had gone, which (deed) is (actually) great dishonour. Now [5]the honour of the dead is not lamentations and wailings, but hymns and psalms, and that you conduct yourselves virtuously. For he

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[1]D begins here. Rubric: "The same, from Memra 62, the Commentary (+"of the Holy John" C^1 mg.) of the Gospel of John."

[2]"Greatly" D (B = Gk.).

[3]Om. D (B = Gk.).

[4]From here D omits about 9 lines by abbreviation.

[5]D resumes here.

who has parted[1] will be accompanied by angels, even if no one accompanies his corpse.[2] But if a person is impure, even if the whole city accompanies him, he gains nothing.

20. Do you want to honour him who has left? Honour him differently, doing alms.[3] For what gain (comes) from great weeping? And I have also heard another very grievous thing, that many (women) attract lovers to themselves through the intensity of their mourning, preparing for themselves the opinion that they were loving their former husbands through the fervour **[53]** of their lamentation. Woe because of the devices of the devil! Woe because of the plans of Satan! For how long will we be dust and ashes, for how long blood and flesh? Let us lift our eyes up to heaven; let us bring to mind something spiritual. How are we be able to rebuke the pagans or to console them while we do such things? How will we not speak about the resurrection, or about the other spendid things? How will we live without fear? For death comes out of grief and clouds the soul's vision, not allowing it to see what it ought, and there is great injury because of this. For so (by doing the one) we anger God, and we render no benefit to our soul nor to the one who has parted from us. And so (by doing the other) we also please God, and are distinguished amongst people, for if we do not give ourselves up to grief, he will also quickly remove from us the rest of (our) grief. But if we complain and are aggrieved, he will surrender us through distress. If we give thanks, we will not suffer.

21. And someone says, "How is one able not to be sad, when he has buried his son or his wife?" I do not say, "Let no one be grieved," but that you should not do this (grieving) immeasurably. For if we bring to mind (the fact) that God has taken him, that the son and husband we had were mortal, we quickly obtain comfort. For the person who will complain with these things (in his possession) is one who demands something more exalted than his (own) nature. You have been born human and mortal. Why then do you suffer because what is natural has happened? Do you suffer because you are fed and grow strong? Do you seek to live without food? Therefore also (it should be) the same way with death: do not seek immortality now.

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[1]Om. "who has parted" D (B = Gk.).

[2]"His birth" D (B = Gk.). D's reading is the result of a scribal error.

[3]D ends here.

Because you were mortal, this (death) has been fixed (to occur) one time. Therefore, do not suffer nor be broken (in heart), but endure these things that have been extended to everyone alike as a law, and be grieved for the sake of your sins, for this is proper grief, this is what is full of great discernment. Therefore, let us mourn in this way constantly, so that we will receive the joy above, by the grace and by the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, forever and ever. Amen.

Memra 62 is ended.

Memra 83[1]
(*s901; m447*) **[54]**

Jesus said these things, and went out with his disciples across the stream of Cedron

(**John 18:1**);

and that we ought to persevere when we are reviled.

1. Very fearful is death and full of great terrors,[2] but not to those knowing the heavenly promises. For he who is not convinced certainly about what is coming, but thinks that death is a dissolution hence and the end of life, rightly quakes and is terrified at the report of death, as though he were going to end up as nothing.[3] But we who are worthy by God's grace to taste of his wisdom and to know his hidden and his secret things—and learning that for those which[4] are departing it is as if they are going on a journey—we ought to rejoice and exult that we are leaving this world full of hurts for another more excellent and better and brighter than it, of which there is no end.[5]

2. And because Christ would teach us these things by (his) action, he reached (his) passion by his own will and not by compulsion. It says, *these things Jesus told them, and he went out with his disciples across the stream of Cedron, (to) the place where there was a garden which he and his disciples had*[6] *entered. Now the traitor Judas also*[7] *knew that place, because Jesus used to gather there often with his disciples* (**John 18:1–2**). In the middle of the night he travels and crosses the stream and hastens to arrive at the place which the traitor knew, to reduce the labour of them plotting against him, and so that those opposing him might be freed from

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[1]G's title reads, "Memra 83 of the Commentary on the Gospel of John of the holy Mar John." The marginal notation has, "22: the first nocturnal office."

L's title is not extant.

[2]Sg. C G (= Gk.). [point.]

[3]"He were not going to remain" G (om. "thing").

[4]"These who" C.

[5]"And it has no end" C (= Gk.); "and there is no end" G.

[6]Om. C (= Gk.).

[7]Om. C (B G = Gk.).

trouble—and to show his disciples that by his own will he was giving himself to the cross, for[1] this was especially sufficient to comfort them. Because of this, he confined himself in the garden as if in a prison.

3. *These things Jesus told them* (**John 18:1**); and behold, he was speaking [55] with his Father as in prayer. Why then did (the Evangelist) not say, "After he stopped (his) prayer he came there"? Because it was not a prayer, but a teaching to the apostles in the guise of a prayer.

"And he and his disciples entered the garden" (**John 18:1**). Thus he drove from them all fear, for they were entering with him into the garden without anxiety. And whence did Judas know that (Jesus) would come there at that moment, unless it had been our Lord's custom that he would go out there during the nights and remain in prayer and in teaching? For if (Jesus) used to stay in a house, the one wanting to seize him would not go out to the isolated place, but would go to the house where he knew that (Jesus) would be found sleeping. And[2] when you heard, "he went to the garden," so that you will not think that he went into it to hide himself, he said, *Judas knew that place,* and not only this, but *many times Jesus used to gather there with his disciples*[3] (**John 18:2**). For he often used to speak[4] with them alone about those things which are necessary and it was not permitted for others to hear them. Now he used to do this in mountains[5] and in gardens, and[6] he would choose clear and isolated places, so that the minds of the hearers would not wander.

4. *Then Judas brought the band, and he brought guards from the chief priests and Pharisees, and he came there* (**John 18:3**). And behold, these (chief priests and Pharisees) also had often sent (soldiers) to seize (*m448*) him, and were unable (to do so); from this it is obvious on that occasion he surrendered himself.

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[1]Om. C (= Gk.).

[2]The translation follows the text of C and G. B has, "and also when. . . , do not think" B (C G = Gk.).

[3]"*There, he and his disciples*" C (B G = Gk.).

[4]"He often spoke" G (= Gk.).

[5]Sg. C (B G = Gk.). [point.]

[6]Om. G (= Gk.).

And how did the Jews persuade[1] the band to pursue him? They were[2] soldiers, used to doing everything for money.
(*s902*)

And Jesus, who knew everything coming upon him, went out and said to them, "Whom do you seek?" (**John 18:4**), indicating that it was not by their coming to him that he also knew their business, but he knows[3] all which was was going to happen even before the action; and (to show) that he was saying and doing everything without (inner) disturbance. But they went out against him with arms because they were afraid of those following him; they came against him at night also because of this.

5. It says, *he went out and said to them, "Whom do you seek?" And they said to him, "Jesus the Nazarene"* (**John 18:4–5**). You see (his) mighty power, how when **[56]** he was amongst them he dimmed their eyes against knowing him. For (to show) that it was not on account of the darkness, the Evangelist said this happened temporarily, since they had torches[4] with them. And even if there had been no torches with them, they would have been able to recognize him by his voice. And even if they did not know him, how did Judas not know him, he who was with him constantly? For even when he was standing in their midst, (Judas) did not recognize him, but also fell backwards with them. Now Jesus did this to indicate that they were not only unable to seize him, but not even to recognize him, unless he permitted them.

Again he said to them, *"Whom do you seek?"* (**John 18:7**). O (their) stupidity! His word threw them backwards, but they did not cease, not even when they had learned that such was the greatness of his power. But (only) after he completed his own (intentions), then he surrendered himself.

6. *Jesus says*[5] *to them, "I have told you that I am he"* (**John 18:8**). *And Judas who was betraying him was also standing with them* (**John 18:5**). Now regard

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[1]"How did Judas persuade" C (B G = Gk., except that the Greek has no explicit subject).

[2]Om. "they were" G (B C = Gk.).

[3]"Knew" C G. [point.]

[4]"Lamps" G (= Gk.).

[5]"Said" C (B G = Gk.). [point.]

the Evangelist's kindness, how he does not revile (Judas) nor call[1] him "traitor," but is diligent merely to narrate the deed only, to show that (Jesus) himself allowed all (these) things to happen. And so that no one would think that he made them assail him, in that he allowed (it) and in that he showed them himself, he first demonstrated to them his power, which was enough to keep them back; and after they deprived themselves of excuse, by persisting in their audacious actions,[2] then he allowed them to seize him, when he said,[3] *"If you seek me, let these go"* (**John 18:8**), to show until the end his mercy towards them. For he says,[4] "If you seek me, abandon these, for behold, I surrender myself to you."

7. *To fulfill the saying which said, "Of those whom you have given me, I have not lost even one"* (**John 18:9**). The loss he pronounces is not this one of death, but that (loss) from eternal life, but the Evangelist took the saying also to refer to the present time. Now it is a wonder how they did not seize (the disciples) with him, or kill them with him, and especially since Peter provoked them by cutting off that servant's ear. What then was preventing them? Nothing other than that power which threw them backwards. The Evangelist also indicates this, **[57]** that what left the disciples alone was not of their own mind but of the power and of the command of him whom was seized. On account of this, he said, "To fulfill the saying, 'He would lose[5] none of them.'"

8. Because of this saying, and because of (*m449*) the things which had happened, Peter felt confident and armed himself against them who had come against him. And how did he who was ordered not (to have) a bag nor even two garments have a sword? It seems to me that because he was afraid of the affair, he prepared himself ahead of time. And[6] if you will say, "How did he who received the command not to strike a blow presume to kill a man?"[7], I say that the command

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[1]"Called" C. [point.]

[2]Sg. C (= Gk.). [point.]

[3]"Says" C G (= Gk.). [point.]

[4]Om. "he says" C (B G = Gk.).

[5]"He lost" C (= Gk.). [point]

[6]"For" C (B G = Gk.).

[7]"Servant" C. C's reading arose because of formal similarities between two

(Jesus) gave[1] was that he should not seek vengeance for himself, whereas this one sought vengeance for his master. And it is true that they were not yet perfected and completed. And if you want to see Peter's self-control, see him afterwards beaten and unprovoked, and suffering myriads of evils and not angry.

But Jesus also performed a miracle here and[2] healed that (servant's) ear, to teach that we ought to do good things even for our malefactors; and also[3] by this (miracle) to show them his power.

9. And he said to Peter, *"All who have taken up swords will die by swords"* (**Matthew 26:52**); and (he said) this to restrain the exuberance of his love, as he did when he wanted to wash (Peter's) feet. Now the Evangelist added the servant's name because the miracle performed was great, not only because he healed him, but also because he did this for one who was coming to seize him and shortly thereafter was going to strike him with a blow; and[4] by means of this sign, he prevented the war that was mounting against the disciples. And because of this the Evangelist set down that servant's name (*s903*): so that when (the people) of that time read (it), they would enquire and investigate whether the things that were said had truly happened.

And not without reason did he add, "the right ear"[5] (**John 18:10**), but I think he wants to highlight the apostle's impetuosity,[6] since he was trying to take off (the servant's) **[58]** head. And Jesus did not restrain (Peter) with a rebuke only, but he also soothed him by saying, *"Shall I not drink the cup which my Father has given me?"* (**John 18:11**), to show[7] that it was not by their own power that they were doing these things with him, but by his concession; and also to indicate that he is not opposed to God, but is obedient to the Father unto death.

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sets of letters.

[1]+"him" C.

[2]"Because he" G.

[3]Om. C (= Gk.).

[4]Om. C (B G = Gk.).

[5]Om. "the right ear" G (B C = Gk.).

[6]"The impetuosity of the apostleship" B; "the Apostle" G (C = Gk.). The translation follows C's reading.

[7]"And (to) show" C (B G = Gk.).

10. Then *they seized Jesus and bound him and brought him to Annas* (**John 18:12–3**). Why did they bring him to Annas? They were boasting out of the fervour of their joy, and were taking him around everywhere, like people who raised up an emblem[1] of victory.

Now this Annas was Caiaphas' father-in-law; and *Caiphas was he who had counseled the Jews that one man should die on behalf of the people* (**John 18:13–4**). Here the Evangelist recalls[2] the prophecy to demonstrate that these things were being done for the sake of redemption. And the truth had possessed[3] such power that even its enemies were prophesying about it. For so that the hearer would not be troubled when (the Evangelist) spoke about his bonds, he recalls[4] the prophecy to indicate that (Jesus') death was the salvation of the world.

11. *And Simon Cephas and one of the other disciples were following Jesus* (**John 18:15**). Who is that other disciple? The same one who wrote these things. And why did he not speak about himself (more plainly), for if he concealed himself justifiably when he laid upon Jesus' breast, why here? There is one reason for both (instances), for as in the former he exhibits the confidence which he had regarding our Lord due to love,[5] similarly here also it was because he was telling about his fortitude,[6] since after all the (other) disciples had fled, he himself was following (Jesus). He conceals himself in order to put Peter first. Now he was compelled, albeit in a hidden way, to tell more than the other (Evangelists)[7] about the things done inside the court, since he was inside. And consider how he minimizes his own praise. For that it would not seem that it was so that someone might wonder at him and proclaim his valour and fortitude that he said[8] they all fled but he himself **[59]**

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[1]"A head" C (B G = Gk.). A scribe has confused two letters to produce C's reading.

[2]"The Evangelist brings to light" C (B G = Gk.). A scribe has confused two sets of two letters to produce C's reading (cf. also n. 4 below).

[3]"Was possessing" (?) C. [point.]

[4]"He brings to light" C (B G = Gk.). Cf. n. 2 above.

[5]"The confidence which our Lord had regarding us due to love" G.

[6]"He was exalting himself with regard to his fortitude" (?) G.

[7]"Other (Evangelist)" (sg.) G. [point.]

[8]"They said" G.

remained and entered the court and Peter waited outside, (the Evangelist) said, *the high priest knew him* (**John 18:15–6**).

12. Now he placed the wonderment upon Peter, for although so much fear was set[1] in his heart and all his companions had fled, he came as far as the court. (*m450*) Therefore, (the fact) that he came was due to love, and[2] (the fact) that he did not enter was due to fear and terror. For the Evangelist wrote these[3] very things on account of this: to make ready in advance an excuse for Peter's denial. For it was not as a thing of praise that he set down about himself that, "the high priest knew him ." But since he had said that he only entered with Jesus, he set forth the reason[4] so that no one would think that he did this on account of his valour. And that Peter would also have entered if someone had let him, he showed by the things (occurring) afterwards. For[5] after (John) came out and told the door-keeper that she should let (Peter) come in, he immediately entered. And why did (John) not bring him in himself? Because he was keeping close to Jesus and was following him; on account of this he told the woman to bring (Peter) in.

13. And the woman said[6] to him, *"Are you not also one of this man's disciples?" He said to her, "No"* (**John 18:17**). What are you saying, O Peter? Shortly beforehand, were you not proclaiming, "If it is my (lot) to lay down my life for you, I will lay (it) down"? What then has happened to you, that you have not endured even the questioning of a door-keeper? For was it a soldier who questioned you? Was it one of those who seized our Lord? It was just a door-keeper, a mean[7] and wretched woman. And neither was the questioning itself threatening, for she did

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[1]"Was contained" C.

[2]Om. C (B G = Gk.).

[3]"All these" G.

[4]"The account" C (B G = Gk.). A scribe has confused two letters to produce C's reading.

[5]"And" (≈ δέ) G (Gk. = γοῦν).

[6]"And she said" (om. "woman") C (B G = Gk.).

[7]"Senseless" B (C G = Gk.). A scribe has transposed two letters to produce B's reading.

not say, "Are you[1] the disciple of this imposter and corrupter?" but, *"of this man,"* which could have been spoken both in compassion and in pity. But Peter did not endure even these (queries).

As for this that she said, *"Are you not also one?"* it was because John was inside; so she was speaking peacefully. But Peter did not take any one of these things into his heart nor perceived them, not on the first occasion, nor on the second, nor on the third. But when the cock crowed, not even then did he understand on his own, until Jesus gazed at him—and then he wept bitterly. And he himself was standing with the servants of the high priest and warming himself (**John 18:18**), but they were holding Christ bound inside. Now we say these things not to accuse Peter **[60]** but to show the truth of Christ's words.

(*s904*)

14. Then the high priest questioned Christ *about his disciples and about (his) teaching* (**John 18:19**). O the wickedness! Although he was constantly listening in the temple, for (Jesus) was admonishing the crowds and was[2] teaching openly with boldness, now he wants to learn. For since they had no accusation to bring against him, they were inquiring about his disciples; perhaps[3] (asking) where they were and for what (purpose) he was gathering[4] them, and what he was seeking and why. And he was saying this like someone seeking to convict (Jesus) of agitation and disorder,[5] and as if no one were persuaded by (Jesus) except those (disciples) only, and as if it were a band of malefactors. But to nullify this, Christ said, *"I have spoken with the world*[6] *plainly,"* and that is, not only amongst the disciples, *"I*[7] *have taught openly in the temple"* (**John 18:20**). What then? Did he speak nothing

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[1]Om. "are you" C (B G = Gk.).

[2]Om. C.

[3]Om. G (B C = Gk.).

[4]"He gathered" C. [point.]

[5]"Convict (Jesus) as an agitator and inciter of disorder" C (= Gk.).

[6]"*With the people*" C G (B = Gk.; C G = Peshitta). The two words are similar morphologically.

[7]"*But (I)*" B C (G = Gk.). The Syriac forms for "but" and "I" are easily confused.

secretly? Yes, he spoke (in secret), but not in the way that these[1] were thinking, like one who is afraid and is gathering[2] a mob, but when these (words) were being uttered, they were elevated above the hearing capacity of many.

15. *"Why do you ask me? Ask them that heard"* (**John 18:21**). These are not the words of one who is unyielding, but of him who is convinced of the truth of the things that had been said. What he said when he was starting out,[3] *"If I testify about myself, my testimony has not been true"* (**John 5:31**), this he suggests now, wanting all the more to make the testimony[4] sure. For because (Annas) mentioned the disciples, what did[5] he say? "Do you ask my own about my own? Ask (my) enemies and adversaries, and let [6]them who have seized me and bound me speak." For this testimony is a demonstration about which there is no doubt, when a person will call enemies as witnesses[7] to what he says. **[61]** And[8] what does the high priest (do)? He should (*m451*) have made inquiry in this way, but[9] he did not do this.

16. And one of those who were standing (nearby) struck him[10] because he said these things (**John 18:22**). What is more audacious than this? Marvel, heavens, and tremble,[11] [12]earth, at the long-suffering of the Lord and at the injustice of the servants.[13] For what was it that was said? It[14] was not as one who declines to speak that he said, *"Why do you ask me?"* (**John 18:21**) but in order to cut off all the

[1]"They" C (B G = Gk.).

[2]"One then gathering" C (B G = Gk.).

[3]"Was explaining" C (B G = Gk.).

[4]"The matter" C (B G = Gk.).

[5]"Does" G (= Gk.). [point.]

[6]The highly fragmentary M begins here (viz. M[a]^{ra}).

[7]"As testimony" C (B G M = Gk.).

[8]"For" C (Gk. = *οὖν*).

[9]+equivalent to *μέν* G (= Gk.)

[10]M(a)^{ra} breaks off here.

[11]"And let the earth tremble," G (B C = Gk.).

[12]M(b)^{ra} begins here.

[13]Sg. C G (B M = Gk.). [point.]

causes[1] of their injustice. And although he was[2] buffeted for this and was able to shake and to overturn everything, he did not do any of these things, for he speaks words capable of soothing all brutality.[3]

Jesus answered and says[4] *to him, "If I have spoken evilly, testify to the evil"* (**John 18:23**). That is, "If you have (the ability) to find fault with the things that have been said, show (it). But if you do not have (that ability), why do you strike me?" You see how the court of judgement is full of confusion [5]and disorder and rage and disturbance. The chief priest inquired deceitfully and as if in ambush, and Jesus replied correctly and as was appropriate. What should properly occur afterwards? Either to refute or to accept what was said.[6] But this was not done, and the servant beats him. So, it was not a court of judgement, but [7]the deeds done were arrogance and insolence.

Therefore, after they[8] had not even in this way found something against him, they sent him bound unto Caiaphas[9] (**John 18:24**).

[62]

17. *And Simon Cephas was standing and warming himself* (**John 18:25**). It is a wonder how immersed was[10] that fervent one[11] who had changed in his love, when Jesus was being led away. [12]For after these things, he did not even move[13] from his

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[14]"For it" C (= Gk.).

[1]M(b)[ra] breaks off here.

[2]"Is" C (= Gk.).

[3]"Audacity" C (B G = Gk.).

[4]"Said" C. [point.]

[5]M(a)[rb] begins here.

[6]"What he said" C (B G M = Gk.).
M(a)[rb] breaks off here.

[7]M(b)[rb] begins here.

[8]"He" G (B C M = Gk.).

[9]"They sent him unto Caiaphas, saying" C (B C M = Gk.).

[10]M(b)[rb] breaks off here.

[11]"Wise one" C (B G = Gk.). A scribe has confused two letters to produce C's reading.

[12]M(c)[rb] begins here.

place, but was still standing and warming himself, so that you may learn how great is (our) nature's weakness when God lets go (his) hands. And when he was asked[1] again, he denied it.

One servant of the high priest, the kinsman of him whose ear Simon had[2] *cut off, spoke to him,* feeling hurt about what had happened: *"Did I not see you with him in the garden?"* (**John 18:26**). And neither did (the mention of) [3]the garden induce him to the remembrance of what was said, nor the great love which he showed there through those[4] mighty words, but he left behind and forgot all these things because of fear.[5] Now why have the Evangelists equally, as if with one voice, written about this? Not to condemn the disciple, but because they were wanting to teach us [6]how severe it is when a person will not entrust everything to God but will rely on himself.

But as for you, marvel at the teacher's concern, because even when he was captured and bound, he was taking[7] great care with[8] his disciple; since through his gaze [9]he was raising (Peter) from (his) fall and was drawing him unto tears.[10]

18. Then they led him from the house of Caiaphas[11] unto Pilate (**John 18:28**). Now this happened[12] so that the multitude of judges would demonstrate, albeit unwillingly, **[63]** the test of the truth.

And it was (early) morning (**John 18:28**). Thus, before (*s905*) the cock

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[13]"He did not even stir" C; "he does not even stir" G.

[1]M(c)[tb] breaks off here.

[2]Om. C.

[3]M(a)[va] begins here.

[4]Om. C.

[5]M(a)[va] breaks off here.

[6]M(b)[va] begins here.

[7]"He had taken" C? G M (B = Gk.). [point.]

M(b)[va] breaks off here.

[8]"Over" C.

[9]M(c)[va] begins here.

[10]"Unto the teaching" C[c] (B G M = Gk.; C* illegible).

[11]"From before Caiaphas" C (B G M = Gk.).

[12]"This happened thus" C (B G M = Gk.). A scribe has misread a set of two letters to produce C's reading.

would crow[1] he was being led unto Caiaphas, and in (early) morning unto Pilate. Now by these things the Evangelist shows that while (Jesus) was being questioned by Caiaphas throughout half the night [2]he was being refuted in nothing,[3] and on account of this they sent him away unto Pilate. But (the Evangelist) left these matters for the others to tell, and himself spoke[4] about the things (that happened) afterwards.[5]

Also consider the shame and absurdity[6] of the Jews. They took up arms and seized an innocent,[7] but did not enter the praetorium, *so that they would not be defiled*, it says[8] (**John 18:28**). And what is the defilement, tell me—to enter a court of justice when evil people are receiving punishments,[9] or [10]to kill one who is without blame? Those titheing mint and dill, when they were[11] thirsting for blood unjustly, did not think that they would be defiled; but if they were to enter a court of judgement,[12] it was decided by them that they would be defiling themselves.[13]

19. And why did they[14] not kill him, but brought him unto Pilate? First,

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[1]"Would be crowing" C M.

M(c)[va] breaks off here.

[2]M(a)[vb] begins here.

[3]"He mentioned nothing" C (B G M = Gk.).

[4]"Speaks" C (= Gk.). [point.]

[5]From here G omits about 104 lines by abbreviation (cf. 235).

[6]"Blasphemy" C (B M = Gk.). A scribe has misread a set of two letters to produce C's reading.

[7]"Seized the mighty one" C (B M = Gk.). A scribe has added a letter to produce C's reading.

[8]Om. "it says" C (= Gk.).

M(a)[vb] breaks off here.

[9]Sg. C. [point.]

[10]M(b)[vb] begins here.

[11]Om. "they were" C (= Gk.)

[12]Om. "but if they were to enter a court of judgement" C (B M = Gk.).

[13]M breaks off here (viz. M[b][vb]).

[14]"And because of this they" C (B = Gk.).

because the majority of their power and dominion were from that time[1] broken, their affairs having been subjected to the Romans. And also, they were afraid lest they receive punishment afterwards, having been condemned by him.

But[2] what (does it mean), *while they were eating the Passover* (**John 18:28**)? And behold, (*m452*) he actually kept it on the first Day of Unleavened Bread. Therefore, either (the Evangelist) calls the whole festival "Passover," or they were keeping the Passover, but (Jesus) himself kept it one day previously, holding back his death for the Day of Preparation, when the ancient Passover also took place. They, although they were bearing arms, which **[64]** was not permitted, and were endeavouring to shed blood, they were being careful[3] about the place so that they would not be defiled; and they bring Pilate out unto them.

20. And when he came out, *he said to them, "What accusation do you have against this man?"* (**John 18:29**). You see how he is separate from their zeal and their love of dominion, for when he saw (Jesus) bound and led[4] by many and come unto him, he did not think about them that they had a sure refutation concerning the accusation[5] (with) which they were accusing (him), but he inquires, saying, "It is hateful that they should snatch (the prerogative of) judgement and permit me (to administer) punishment[6] without examination or questioning." They answered and said to him, *"If he were not an evildoer, neither would we have given him over to you"* (**John 18:30**). O the stupidity! For why do you not tell what evil he has done, but conceal (it)? Why do you not refute the evil? You see them, how everywhere they refuse (to make) a straightforward accusation and are unable to say anything. He asked about (Jesus') teaching, and after he had listened, he sent him unto Caiaphas; and after he himself interrogates (Jesus) again, and found nothing, he sent him unto Pilate. Pilate says, *"What accusation do you have against him?"* (**John 18:29**), and

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[1]Om. "from that time" C (B = Gk.).

[2]Om. C (B = Gk.).

[3]"Are careful" C (= Gk.).

[4]"And broken" C (B = Gk.). A scribe has accidentally omitted a letter to produce C's reading.

[5]"Refutation (about) every accusation" C (B = Gk.). A scribe has misread one letter to produce C's reading.

[6]"And pass sentence of punishment for me" C (B = Gk.). A scribe has added a letter to produce C's reading.

not even here do they have anything to say, but again lay hold of unlikely reasons.

21. Also neither does he receive them in this way, saying, *"Take him yourselves and kill him according to your law." They said to him, "It is not lawful for us to kill a person," in order to fulfill the word Jesus spoke, indicating by what sort of death he was going to die* (**John 18:31–2**). And how was he indicating this by what he said, *"It is not lawful for us to kill a person"*? The Evangelist said this either because (Jesus) was going to be killed not only by (the Jews) alone but also by the Gentiles, or because it was not permitted to them to crucify. But if they say, *"It is not lawful for us to kill a person,"* they are talking about that time, for that they were killing, and indeed were killing in a different manner, Stephen shows, being stoned. But they were desiring that (Jesus) be crucified, so that they might also proclaim the manner of his death as if in mockery.

22. Now Pilate, since he was wanting to escape the burden, did not give himself to a lengthy trial, but he entered and asked Jesus and said, *"Are you the king of the Jews?" And he said to him, "Do you say*[1] *this on your own,* **[65]** *or have others said (this) to you about me?"* (**John 18:33–4**). Why does Christ ask this? Because he was wanting to expose the evil mind of the Jews. Now this (claim) had been heard by Pilate from many, but since they had nothing to say, so as not to make the questioning lengthy he was wanting to bring into the open (the accusation) which was always being repeated. But because he told them, *"Kill him according to your law"* (**John 18:31**) wanting to show that the sin which was done was not of the Jews, they say, "It is not lawful for us, for he has not sinned according to our law, but the charge is a general one." Pilate also understood this, and as one who was himself also going to come into peril he said, *"Are you the king of the Jews?"* (**John 18:33**). Then it is not as one who was not known by Christ[2] that he asks,[3] but it was because he was wanting (*s906*) the Jews also to be accused by him that he said, *"Do you say*

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[1]"*Have you said*" (?) C (B = Gk.).

[2]The two manuscripts read, "one who did not know Christ," but this produces an unsatisfactory meaning (e.g. *ὁ Χριστὸς* is the subject in the Greek). The emendation assumes that a passive form was mistakenly read as an active, which in this case would have been easy to do.

[3]"Asked" C (B = Gk.). [point.]

this on your own,[1] *or have others said (this) to you about me?"* (**John 18:34**). About this Pilate explains, saying, *"I am not a Jew, am I? The people of your nation and the chief priests have handed you over to me. What have you done?"* (**John 18:35**). Here it is because he was wanting to free (Jesus) that he spoke this way.

23. But because he said, *"Are you the king of the Jews"* (**John 18:33**), to reprove him Jesus said to him, "For you have heard this from the Jews. Why do you not inquire (more) precisely? (*m453*) They have said that I am an evil doer; ask what evil I have done. But you are not doing this, and[2] you are fabricating reasons without cause. Do you say these things on your own, or from elsewhere?" And that one is unable to say immediately that he has heard[3] it (from someone else), but is merely drawn after the people, saying, *"They have handed you over to me.* Therefore it is necessary to ask you, *What have you done?"* (**John 18:35**).

Jesus said to him, "My kingdom was not of this world" (**John 18:36**). He is elevating Pilate upwards, since he was not a very evil man nor was he like them; and he wants to show that **[66]** he was[4] not a mere man, but God and the Son of God. And what[5] did he say? *"If my kingdom were of this world, my servants would have fought so that I would not have been handed over"* (**John 18:36**). He nullified that of which Pilate was afraid, namely the suspicion of rebellion.

"And what (does this mean)?" someone says, "Is not his kingdom of this world?" Yes, it is. "And how did he say that it is not?" It is not that he does not have power and rule here also, but that his kingdom is from above and is not human, but is much greater than this one and more excellent. "If then it is greater, how were you seized[6] by this one?" (He replies), "Because I was willing and because[7] I handed myself over."

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[1]Om. "*Do you say this on your own*" C (= Gk.).

[2]Om. C (B = Gk.).

[3]"He hears" C (B = Gk.). [point.]

[4]"He is" C (B = Gk.). C's reading is probably a corruption of B's truly verbal form which typically represents ἔστιν.

[5]"What is it he said?" C (B = Gk.).

[6]"He seized" C.

[7]Om. C (B = Gk.).

24. But he does not reveal this now. What did he say[1] instead? *"If my kingdom were of this world, my servants would have fought"* (**John 18:36**). Here he shows the weakness of this kingdom amongst us, that[2] its strength is in its servants, but that which is above is sufficient to itself, needing no one. Hence the heretics[3] take up arguments and say that he is foreign to the creator. And what do they say when he says, *He came to his own* (**John 1:11**), or when he says, "You are not of this world, as I also am not[4] of this world" (**John 17:14**)? Thus also he spoke about his kingdom, that it was not of this place, not to deprive the world of his authority and his power, but to show, as I said, that (his kingdom) is not human and[5] corruptible.

Pilate said to him, "Then you are a king." Jesus said to him, "You have said that I am a king; I was born for this" (**John 18:37**). Therefore, if he was born a king, (then) also all the other things (associated with him) were born, and he has nothing which he got by addition. Therefore, when you hear, *"As the Father has life in himself, thus he has also granted the Son to have life"* (**John 5:26**), think (that it means) nothing else except birth, and likewise also about these other things.

"And for this I have come: to testify about the truth" (**John 18:37**); and that (means), "That I may speak this very thing, and I will teach and convince[6] everyone."

[67]

25. But you, O man, [7]when hearing these things and seeing your Lord bound and them taking [8]him back and forth,[9] do not think that these passing affairs are anything. For how is it not disgraceful if Christ endured such things for you, but

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[1]"Does he say" C (= Gk.). [point.]

[2]Om. C.

[3]"The ignorant" C (B = Gk.). A scribe has accidentaly omitted a letter to produce C's reading.

[4]Om. C (B = Gk.).

[5]Om. C (B = Gk.).

[6]Sic B C^c (= Gk.); "convince and teach" C*.

[7]G resumes here.

[8]L begins here.

[9]Literally, "them leading him and bringing."

you often will not also endure (abusive) words? And he[1] was spat upon in his face, but you are adorned with clothes and with rings;[2] and[3] if you do not receive accolades[4] from all people, you do not think it worth living. And he[5] is scorned and endures ridicule[6] and receives on his face blows worthy of dishonour; but you want always to be honoured, and you do not accept upon you the scorn of Christ.[7] Do you not hear Paul, saying, *"Imitate me, as I (imitate) Christ"* (**1 Corinthians 11:1**)? Therefore, when someone will deride and scorn you, remember your Lord, that they were worshipping him in mockery; both through words and through actions they were ridiculing him, and they were showing great derision. But he, not only did he not take vengeance, but he even recompensed them oppositely,[8] with humility and with gentleness.[9]

26. Therefore, let us also emulate this (Christ), for in this way we will be able to flee from all inordinate occurrences. For it is not the one who abuses,[10] but the one who is small of mind[11] and suffers from the abuse, that causes the abuse (*m454*) and makes it to be painful; for if you do not suffer, you have not[12] been abused.[13]

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[1]+ equivalent to *μὲν* L G (= Gk.).

[2]Om. "but you are adorned with clothes and with rings" L (B C G = Gk.).

[3]Om. L (B C G = Gk.).

[4]Sg. C G L (= Gk.). [point.]

[5]+ equivalent to *μὲν* L G (= Gk.).

[6]Pl. G L (= Gk.). [point.]

[7]L adds clauses, the text of which is difficult to make out due to defects in the manuscript. Their sense seems to be, "namely, that we should endure sufferings because of Christ so that [through him we might do] mighty (works)" (B C G = Gk.).

[8]Om. "even. . . them" L (B C G = Gk.).

[9]"And with quietness" L (B C G = Gk.). A scribe has accidentally omitted a letter to produce L's reading.

[10]"Who is abused" B; "who has been abused" G (C L = Gk.). The translation follows the text of C and L as that which makes the most sense and is most like the Greek.

[11]Literally, "who diminishes his mind" (= Gk.); "who has trampled his mind" L.

[12]"Neither have you" C G L (B = Gk.).

[13]"Neither has he been abused" L.

For it is not from those doing evil things, but from those suffering them that they cause pain harshly.[1] Now why **[68]** do you also[2] suffer? If he has abused (you) accidentally, about this one[3] it is especially right not to get angry, but to feel sorry for him;[4] and if (you have been abused) justly, all the more is it right to be silent. [5]For just as (*s907*) if you were a rich man and he called you poor his abuse would not apply to you, in the same way, if he should abuse you and say something that is not (true), his scorn does not apply to you. But if your conscience is set aright by the things said, do not show that you are suffering at the words.

27. And I say these things about true abuse; but if he scorn you for poverty and (contempt of base) lineage, feel contempt toward him again, for these (matters) are not the scorn of (their) hearer but of (their) speaker, for he appears as a fool. "But," someone says, "when these things[6] are said in the presence of many who do not know (the truth), my wound is truly mightier than my strength." And behold, this (circumstance) is (even) slighter, when many spectators are near, by whom you are accepted, and they praise you but they blame and reprove him. [7]For it is not he who avenges his abuse, but he who has said nothing, this is he who is admirable to people full of discernment. [8]But if no one of those who happen to be there has discernment, laugh all the more at him in this (event), and be delighted at the spectacle. Now in heaven it is not so, but everyone will marvel at us and praise; and even one angel will be enough for you, when your Lord himself shall proclaim your triumphs.

28. [9]Let us train ourselves in these ideas. For it is not weakness for a person to be silent when abused, but on the contrary, it is (weakness) to avenge his abuse

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[1]"That they suffer harshly" L.

[2]Om. L (= Gk.).

[3]Om. C G L (= Gk.).

[4]"Sorry about that" C.

[5]From here G omits about 18 lines by abbreviation; L omits about 12 lines similarly.

[6]"When they" C (B = Gk.).

[7]L resumes again here.

[8]From here L omits about 10 lines by abbreviation.

[9]G resumes again here.

when abused. For if it were weakness for a person to endure in silence the things said, Christ would not have said, *"If someone*[1] *strikes you on the right cheek, turn to him that*[2] *other one"* (**Matthew 5:39**). [3]Therefore, he who will say things that are not (true), **[69]** due to this[4] let it also grieve us[5] concerning him, because the punishment of the accusers drops[6] upon his soul, [7]and neither has he been found worthy to read the scriptures. "For to the sinner God says, 'What have you to do with the scriptures of my commandments? You were sitting and plotting against your brother'" (**Psalm 49/50:16, 20**). [8]But if (your abuser) will say things that are (true),[9] even so he deserves mourning, [10]for even that Pharisee was saying things that are (true), but even so, not even a little did he injure him who was being spoken about evilly, but indeed he helped him; but himself he deprived of many good things, for he was sunk through this accusation. [11]On both sides, then, he is the one harmed,[12] not you.[13] But as for you, if you are vigilant, you will gain[14] doubly,[15] by appeasing God with your silence and by being humble with regard to human glory, you will receive an opportunity from the things that have been said to correct your

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[1]Om. C G (i.e. "*If he strikes*"). B L = Gk.

[2]"The" C.

[3]L resumes again here.

[4]Om. "due to this" and "also" L (B C G = Gk.).

[5]"Let it grieve you" L (B C G = Gk.).

[6]"Has dropped" G. [point.]

[7]From here L omits about 3 lines by abbreviation.

[8]L resumes again here.

[9]Om. "that are (true)" C^{c} (B C* G L = Gk.).

[10]From here L omits about 3 lines by abbreviation.

[11]L resumes again here.

[12]"The indulgent one" C (B G = Gk.). A scribe has transposed two letters to produce C's reading.

[13]Om. "he is the one wronged, not you" L (abbreviation?).

[14]"It is doubly better" C (B G L = Gk.). A scribe has joined together two words into one, producing C's reading.

[15]"You will gain two-fold" G. The Syriac synonyms are based on distinct but formally similar roots, easily confused. It is impossible to know which is original.

deeds.[1] [2]For[3] indeed it is from this that we have pain: because many incline toward the opinion of fools.

29. If then we want to persevere, in this way let us learn truly that human affairs are nothing.[4] Then let us recognize our faults and let us reflect upon (them) and correct (them) over a period of time—this month, let us heal one fault, and another in that which follows, and another again in that after it. And we ourselves will determine to correct these (faults), and so as if by steps[5] we will ascend and arrive **[70]** at heaven through Jacob's ladder. For indeed, that ladder seems to me also to indicate this in[6] his vision; and that is, (to indicate) the gradual ascent[7] of glory, through which it is possible to ascend from earth to heaven, not using tangible steps, but by progressing in conduct and correcting one's self. Therefore, let us begin this course and this climb, so that *(m455)* when we arrive at heaven, we will also enjoy the good things which are there, by the grace and by the mercy of our Lord *(m456)* Jesus Christ, to whom be glory forever and ever. Amen.

Memra 83 is Ended[8]

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[1]"His deeds" L.

[2]From here L omits the rest of the homily.

[3]Om. G (B C = Gk.).

[4]Sic B C G^c (= Gk.); "something" G* (om. "no").

[5]Sg. (i.e. "step by step") G . B C = Gk. [point.]

[6]Om. "in" (so, "seems to me, that his vision also indicates this") G (B C = Gk).

[7]"The opposite" C (B G = Gk.). A scribe has transposed some letters and added one to produce C's reading.

[8]"The Discourse of Mar John is Ended" L.

Memra 84
(*s907; m455*) **[71]**

"I was born for this, and for this I have come to the world: to testify about the truth" (**John 18:37**);

and about humility, and that in suffering we ought to read the scriptures.

1. Long-suffering is a thing of wonder, and it causes the soul to rest as if in a calm harbour, removing it from billows[1] and from evil winds. And Christ teaches us this very long-suffering everywhere, but especially here,[2] when he is judged and led off and dragged from place to place. For even when he went unto Annas, he replied with great pleasantness; and unto that attendant who struck him, he spoke a word which was able to demolish all (his) pride. And when he came thence unto Caiaphas, and again from Caiaphas' presence[3] unto Pilate, and he had spent the whole night in interrogations, he demonstrated his humility in all these (instances). And[4] when they (were) saying, "He is an evildoer," and they were not able to prove (it), and he was standing silent. But when he was asked about his kingdom, then he spoke with Pilate, teaching him and drawing him unto the glorious things.

But why does Pilate not conduct the interrogation before them, but between (the two of) them instead, entering the governor's residence? He had a great suspicion[5] concerning (Jesus), and he was wanting to learn everything accurately without the Jews troubling (him).

2. And when he said to him, *"What have you done?"* (**John 18:35**), he also said nothing about this, but about that which Pilate was desiring to hear—and that is, about the kingdom—about it he talks, speaking thus: *"My kingdom was not of this world"* (**John 18:36**). And that (means), "I am a king, but not like so, as you suppose, but a king that is much more glorious than earthly ones," showing through

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[1]"Things" C (A = Gk.). A scribe has mis-read one letter to produce C's reading.

[2]"And most (of all) when he is judged" C (B = Gk.).

[3]"From this one's presence" C.

[4]"Who" or "because" C.

[5]"Residence, in the great suspicion which he had" C (B = Gk.).

this (statement) and through those (which he spoke) afterwards[1] that nothing detestable is done by him. For he who said, *"I have come for this: to testify about the truth"* (**John 18:37**), shows that nothing evil is done by him. And in that he said, *"Everyone who is of the truth hears*[2] *my voice"* (**John 18:37**), **[72]** he draws and persuades him through the[3] (words) to become a hearer of the things that are said. For he says, "Everyone who is of the truth and desires this, by all means listens to me."

3. And so he captured him by (these) few words, so that he would say, *"What is truth?"* (**John 18:38**). But for the present he was hastening to that which was pressing, for he understood that this inquiry needed much time, but for now it was necessary to snatch (Jesus) from the violence of the Jews. And because of this he also goes out and says,[4] *"As for me, not even one fault do I find in him"* (**John 18:38**). And consider how wisely he spoke, for he did not say, "Since he has sinned and deserves death, give him freely to the feast," but first he removed (Jesus) from all accusations, and then he asked superfluously on his behalf, whether they would not want to let him go as pure,[5] (or) even if as guilty, to forgive him because of the feast. And because of this, he presented and said, *"You have a custom that I release one (prisoner) to you at Passover,"* and again in a way to induce shame, *"Therefore, do you want me now to release to you the king of the Jews?" And they all cried and were saying, "Not this one, but Barabbas!"* (**John 18:39–40**).

O (their) impure mind! They were requesting them that resembled themselves and were releasing the guilty, but were seeking to bring punishment against him who was not guilty. For this was their former custom.

4. As[6] for you, through all these things consider our Lord's compassion.

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[1]Om. C (B = Gk.).

[2]"*Has heard*" C (B = Gk.). [point.]

[3]"These" C (= Gk.). The two pronouns are formally similar and easily confused.

[4]"Said" C. [point.]

[5]"As to remission" C (B = Gk.). One letter has been added to produce C's reading.

[6]"But as" C (= Gk.).

And after these things *Pilate scourged Jesus* (**John 19:1**); perhaps[1] he was wanting by this (action) to calm and to mollify the envy of the Jews. For because by these former things he was not able to deliver (Jesus) from them,[2] like a person who is in a hurry to restrain the evil by this, he scourges him. And the things that were done he permitted to be done (*m456*); and the purple robes and the crown which they put upon him, he allowed, in order to soften their anger. And because of this, when the crown was set upon him, (Pilate) brought him out unto them, so that when they saw the disgrace which had happened to him, they would be refreshed from their passion, if even just a little, and would keep their bitterness in check. And how were the soldiers doing these things, unless it was their chief's command? For the sake of pleasing the Jews. For indeed in the beginning they were not ordered by him and went in the night (to seize Jesus), but in order to please the Jews, on account of money they were daring anything.

5. But even[3] although these and such things were being done, (Jesus) himself **[73]** was standing silent, which he also did at (the time of) his standing (before the judges), and he had not replied. But as for you, not only should you just hear these things, but also let them be in your mind continuously, and when[4] you see the king who holds the whole world and reigns over all the angels, and he is mocked by soldiers both in words and in (*s909*) actions, and he endures everything in silence, imitate (him) yourself in deed.

For because Pilate called him "the king of the Jews," also thence they clothe him with the attire of mockery. And after he brought him out, he said, *"I do not find in him even one fault"* (**John 19:4**). Then he came out, having the crown on (**John 19:5**). And not even in this way was their anger extinguished, but they were crying, *"Crucify him, crucify him"* (**John 19:6**). And when Pilate saw that he was labouring in everything to no avail, he said to them, *"You yourselves take and crucify him"* (**John 19:6**), from which it is evident that he had allowed the former things to happen because of their madness, for he says, *"Not even one fault do I find against him"*

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[1]"When he was wanting" C (B = Gk.). One letter has been misread and another subsequently dropped to produce C's reading.

[2]"From their hands" C.

[3]Om. C.

[4]"Inasmuch" C (B = Gk.). C's reading results from the misreading of one letter.

(**John 19:4**).

6. See through how many words the judge defends[1] him, constantly exempting him from blame, but not even one of these things shamed these dogs. For indeed (the statement), *"You yourselves take and crucify him"* (**John 19:6**), is that of him who was doing this[2] without being contented, and of one who was allowing them to do something that was not permitted them. Therefore, they themselves brought (Jesus) so that this would happen by the judgement of the governor, but the opposite happened,[3] and by the leader's judgement he was declared guiltless.

And because they were ashamed, they say, *"As for us, we have a law, and according to our law, he deserves death, because he made himself the Son of God"* (**John 19:7**). And how, when the judge says,[4] *"You yourselves take him and judge him according to your law,"* were you saying, *"It is not lawful for us to kill a person"* (**John 18:31**), but here you[5] flee unto the law? And consider the accusation: they say, *"He made himself the Son of God."* Tell me then, is this a (legitimate) charge, that when doing the things that are of the Son of God, he should say about himself that he is the Son of God?

But as for Christ, even while they were speaking, he himself was being silent, fulfilling[6] that prophecy,[7] "He did not open his mouth; in his humiliation, his judgement was taken away" (**Isaiah 53:7–8**).

[74]

7. Therefore[8] Pilate was afraid when he heard "He makes[9] himself the Son[10] of God," (**John 19:8**) and he was alarmed lest the thing that was said be true

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[1]"Defended" C (B = Gk.). [point.]

[2]Om. C.

[3]Om. C (B = Gk.).

[4]"Said" C. [point.]

[5]"They" C (B = Gk.).

[6]"To fulfill" C (B = Gk.).

[7]"That (saying) of the prophecy" C (B = Gk.).

[8]"But" C (B = Gk.).

[9]"Made" C (= Gk.). [point.]

[10]"The very Son" C (B = Gk.).

and he should be a law-breaker. But they who had learned this through (his) words and deeds did not shudder, but they kill him on account of this[1] for which they ought to worship him. Because of this, no more does (Pilate) ask him, "What have you done?" but, quaking, again he interrogates[2] him afresh and says,[3] "Are you the Christ?" But (Jesus) did not reply, for he who heard, *"For this I was born and for this I have come"* (**John 18:37**), and, "My kingdom was not from here" (**John 18:36**), also ought to have taken a stand against them and released him; this he did not do, but he was led[4] after their anger.

And those (people), because everywhere their mouth (*m457*) was being shut, bring the matter unto (the point of being) a charge regarding external rules, saying, *"Everyone who makes himself a king is Caesar's opponent"* (**John 19:12**). Then he ought to have inquired about this accurately, (to determine) whether (Jesus) was wanting to establish a rebellion and was wanting to topple Caesar from his kingdom, but he did not ask accurately. Because of this, (Jesus) did not respond to him, and because he knew that (Pilate) was speaking to no purpose. And also in that (his) deeds were bearing witness, he was not seeking to triumph by words and compose a defense, in order to show that he came to this (circumstance) by his own will.

8. And because he was silent, Pilate said, *"Do you not know that I have authority to release you and I have authority to crucify you?"* (**John 19:10**). You see how he condemns himself beforehand. "For if the whole thing is in your hands, why did you not release (him), since you did not find even one fault?" Therefore, because (Pilate) brought out (and) decreed judgement against himself, then (Jesus) said to him, *"As for him who delivered me to you, his sin is greater than yours"* (**John 19:11**), to show that even (Pilate) himself was guilty of sin.[5] And to drag and tear down[6] his pride and his pomp, he says[7] to him, *"You would have no authority over*

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[1]"These things" C (= Gk.).

[2]"Interrogated" C (B = Gk.). [point.]

[3]"Said" C. [point.]

[4]"Nor was he led" B (C = Gk.). An inserted letter has produced B's secondary reading.

[5]"Ready for sin" C (B = Gk.). A scribe has misread one letter to produce C's reading.

[6]"And to elevate" or "and to take away" C (B = Gk.). The addition of a small letter has produced C's reading.

me if it [75] *were not given to you from above"* (**John 19:11**), indicating that this (circumstance) is not occurring just ordinarily and according to the usual pattern of other (such events), but is being done mysteriously.

And when he heard, *"If it were not given to you from above,"* so that he would not think that he is absolved from every accusation,[1] on account of this he said, *"As for him who delivered me to you, his sin is greater than yours"* (**John 19:11**). "And behold, if it were given, neither the one nor the other should be under accusation." You speak these (words) in vain, for here, "what is given[2] to you" indicates, "what he has allowed," as if a person would say, "He allowed[3] these things to happen, but not on account of this have you yourselves been exempted from wickedness."

9. He terrified (Pilate) through (these) words, and he produced for him an obvious defense.[4] Because of this, he was wanting to release him, but they were crying again and saying, (*s910*) *"If you release this (man), you have not been Caesar's friend"* (**John 19:12**). For because by bringing charges[5] from the law they gained nothing, they knavishly rush unto the external laws, saying, *"For everyone who makes himself a king is Caesar's opponent"*[6] (**John 19:12**).

And where has this (man) been taken captive in rebellion, and whence do you have (the evidence) to prove this? From the purple (robes) or from the diadem? Either from the chariot or from the soldiers? Was he not walking about alone, with (only) twelve disciples, always conducting himself austerely, in food and in dress and at table and in dwelling?

And O the wretched mind and empty cowardice of Pilate! For in that he was thinking he would then be in danger if he were to disregard these (words), he came out like one who was going to investigate the matter—for (the fact) that "he sat

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[7]"Said" C (B = Gk.). [point.]

[1]"That he passes by every accusation" C (B = Gk.).

[2]"What he gave" C (B = Gk.).

[3]"Would say, 'Allow'" C.

[4]"But through an obvious defense he brought him out" C (B = Gk.); "but" supplied by C[c].

[5]Sg. C (B = Gk.). [point.]

[6]Om. *"for everyone who makes himself a king,"* C (B = Gk.).

down" was indicating this (**John 19:13**). But without having inquired[1] even a little, he surrendered (Jesus), because he was thinking to shame[2] and silence them. For (to see) that he was doing this with this intention, hear what he said: *"Behold your king."* But since they had said, *"Crucify him!"*, he replies[3] again and says, *"Shall I crucify your king?"* But they were saying, *"We have no king except Caesar"* (**John 19:14–5**).

10. By their own will they placed themselves under punishment. Because of this, God also let them fall into the judgement which they judged, and he gave them over, **[76]** after they had first removed themselves from his care and his concern. And[4] because they all with one voice rejected his kingdom, he let them fall into the judgement which they judged. And behold, the things that were spoken were able to deflect them from their wish,[5] but they were afraid, lest when he was let go he would again gather the multitudes, for[6] they were doing all these things on account of (preventing) this. For the love of primacy is very evil and it is able to destroy the soul. On account of this also, they never listened to him.

But Pilate was wanting to release him on the basis of mere words, and they were pressing[7] (him) and saying, "Crucify him!" Now why were they wanting to kill him in this way? Because this (sort of) death would be shameful. Therefore, since they were afraid, lest (*m458*) afterwards there be a remembrance of him, they took pains to bring him to an accursed punishment, not knowing that through impediments[8] truth is exalted. For (to prove) that they were thinking this, hear what they say: *"We have heard that that deceiver said, 'After three days I will rise'"* (**Matthew 27:63**). Because of this, they were causing trouble and were confusing

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[1]"Despised" C (B = Gk.). C's reading results from the misreading of one letter.

[2]"Thinking they would be assuaged and to" C (B = Gk.).

[3]+"to them" C (B = Gk.).

[4]Om. C (B = Gk.).

[5]"Their desire" C.

[6]"But" C.

[7]"Crying" C^c (B = Gk.; C* is illegible).

[8]Sg. C (B = Gk.). [point.]

everything, so as to injure[1] the things that would happen afterwards. And persistently they were calling out, "Crucify him!", an excited people corrupted by its leaders.

11. But as for us, let us not only read these things, but let us also remember (them) in our mind—the crown of thorns and the robes in which they clothed him; and the rod which they made him hold; and the blows[2] with which they beat him; and the wounds upon his head, and the spitting and the mocking. For by their continual remembrance, these things are able to pull down our anger from us, and whether we are mocked or something comes[3] upon us inordinately, let us constantly say, *"The servant is not greater than his master"* (**John 13:16**); and let us bring to our mind the things that were being said by the Jews, the things that they were saying while mad: "He has a demon and is a Samaritan" (**John 7:20; 8:48**), and, "By Beelzebub he casts out demons" (**Luke 11:15; Matthew 12:24**). Because of this he endured all (these) things, so that we ourselves would proceed in his footsteps, which is able to make us bear insult and to refrain from insult.

12. But although he himself had endured[4] these things, he was not only acting (for his own sake), but also[5] he was bearing everything to deliver them[6] who were doing these things from the punishment reserved for them. **[77]** And he sent the Apostles for the sake of the salvation of those (people)—you hear them saying, "We know that you did these things in ignorance" (**Acts 3:17**), and they draw them through these (words) to repentance; therefore, let us also imitate these things. For nothing so appeases God as (when) someone will love his enemies and will do what is good to those who mistreat him. When someone mistreats[7] you, it is not at him

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[1]"To conceal" C (B = Gk.). A letter has been reduplicated in a confused form to create C's reading.

[2]Sg. C (B = Gk.).

[3]"Happens to us" C.

[4]"He himself was enduring" C (= Gk.). [point.]

[5]Om. C (B = Gk.).

[6]"Them" C.

[7]"Brings an accusation" C (B = Gk.). Two letters have been transposed and another added to produce C's reading.

you should look, but at the demon which moves him; and pour out all your wrath upon that one, but also feel sorry for (the person) who is moved by that (demon). For if falsehood is from the devil, that someone would be angry without reason is from there all the more. Therefore, when (someone) derides and abuses you, consider that it is the devil who moves him, for deriding and abusing is not (characteristic) of a Christian.[1] For he who has been commanded to mourn, and has heard,[2] "Woe to them which laugh" (**Luke 6:25**), but ridicules and casts aspersions and speaks everything which comes to his mouth, he does not deserve to be despised by us, but to be lamented, for even Christ, when he saw Judas who was so hateful,[3] also[4] felt sorry for him.

13. Therefore, all these things let us strive for in action,[5] for if we do not accomplish these things, we have come to this world vainly and to no effect— (*s911*) and that (means), to our detriment, for our faith is insufficient to bring us into the kingdom. Instead,[6] by this it even condemns us all the more, when we have evil[7] conduct. For, *"He who knows[8] his master's will and does not do (it) is beaten many times"* (**Luke 12:47**); and again he says, *"If I had not come and spoken with them,[9] they would not have had sin"* (**John 15:22**).

Then what excuse will we have, who have entered the king's house and have been made worthy to gaze[10] into the Holy of Holies and have been made worthy of its mystery, when we make ourselves lower than the pagans who have not been made worthy of (even) one of these things. For if they for the sake of vainglory have

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[1]Pl. C (= Gk.). [point.]

[2]"And hears" C. [point.]

[3]"Who assailed (him)" C. The two Syriac words are almost identical formally.

[4]Om. C.

[5]"Let we ourselves also strive for, for if" C^c (B = Gk; C* is illegible.).

[6]Om. C (B = Gk.).

[7]"Harsh" C (B = Gk.). A scribe has misread the first two letters, and added one in compensation, to produce C's reading.

[8]"*Knew*" C. [point.]

[9]"*With you, you would not*" C (B = Gk.).

[10]"To inhabit" C (B = Gk.).

endured with so much fortitude, how much more, if for the sake of pleasing God, is it appropriate to pursue so much splendour? But presently neither do we despise riches. And those (pagans) have often despised even themselves and have given their children in war to the madness of demons, and have (thereby) despised (human) nature for the sake of **[78]** devils; but you (have not despised) even money[1] for the sake of Christ, nor anger for the sake of God's will. (*m459*) Instead, our mind is swollen, and we are made more feverish than those who are ill with fever. And just like them, who when they are seized by the worst part of the fever become inflamed, so also are we if we are afflicted by anger, and at no point are we able to stop the lust[2] and we increase the anger and the love of money.

14. Because of these things I am ashamed and amazed, for I see that amongst the pagans many have been contemptuous of money and of riches, but amongst us everyone is agitated. For even if we could also find people who despise money, nevertheless they are seen to be guilty of other things—of fury, of jealousy—and it is a difficult business to find someone whose[3] conduct is clean of all these things.

And the cause? (It is) because we do not endeavour to take remedies from divine scriptures, and we do not read them with pains[4] and hurts and groans, but casually and carelessly. Because of this, when an overflowing of[5] a great inundation of worldly things comes, it inundates everything, and if there be some profit, (the flood) destroys it. For neither if a person has an injury and puts a bandage on it, and does not tie[6] it well but allows it to fall off, and opens himself up to all those things which will damage his wound[7]—water, and dust, and dryness, and many other things, (neither) will he have any profit. But it is not because of the inadequacy of the bandage, but because of his own negligence. This also happens to us very regularly (*m460*), when we meditate a mere moment on the divine words, but we constantly

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[1]"Riches" C (B = Gk.).

[2]"Anger" C (B^c = Gk.; B* is illegible). The two Syriac words are similar in appearance.

[3]The translation follows the conjectural addition of this pronoun.

[4]Sg. C (= Gk.). [point.]

[5]Om. "an overflowing of" C (= Gk.).

[6]"Accuse" B (C = Gk.). A scribe has added a letter to produce B's reading.

[7]"Infirmity" C (B = Gk.). The two Syriac words are formally similar.

surrender ourselves wholly to worldly things. For in this way all the seed is choked and all will be without fruits.

15. Therefore,[1] so that this will not happen, let us lift our eyes just a little and look to heaven. And furthermore, let us also peer into the tombs[2] and let us consider those who have departed, for indeed the same end is also reserved for us, and by necessity we are about to go on this journey. Often even before evening death arrives upon us. And let us therefore be prepared for this departure, for we also need many supplies, for very great is the heat[3] there, and the dryness,[4] and the solitude—no staying at the inn **[79]** and no buying (provisions), if we have not taken everything hence. For hear what these virgins say: *"Go to them* [5] *that buy"* (**Matthew 25:9**), but they who went did not find (anything). Hear what Abraham said: "Between us and you there is a chasm" (**Luke 16:26**). Hear what Ezekiel said, "Noah and Daniel would not deliver their sons and daughters" (**Ezekiel 14:20**). But may it never be that we hear these words; instead, having taken hence supplies sufficient for eternal life, with boldness may we see Christ our Lord, to whom be glory forever and ever.[6] Amen.

Memra 84 is Ended.

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[1]"Thence" C (B = Gk.). A scribe has altered one letter to produce C's reading.

[2]Sg. C (B = Gk.).

[3]"Love" B; "wisdom" C (Gk. = *τὸ καῦμα*). The translation follows the conjecture. One letter has been changed to produce B's reading, a different one to produce C's reading. Perhaps "heat" was deemed unsatisfactory in this context.

[4]"Illness" C (B = Gk.). The two Syriac words are similar in appearance.

[5]"These" C.

[6]Om. "and ever" C (B = Gk.).

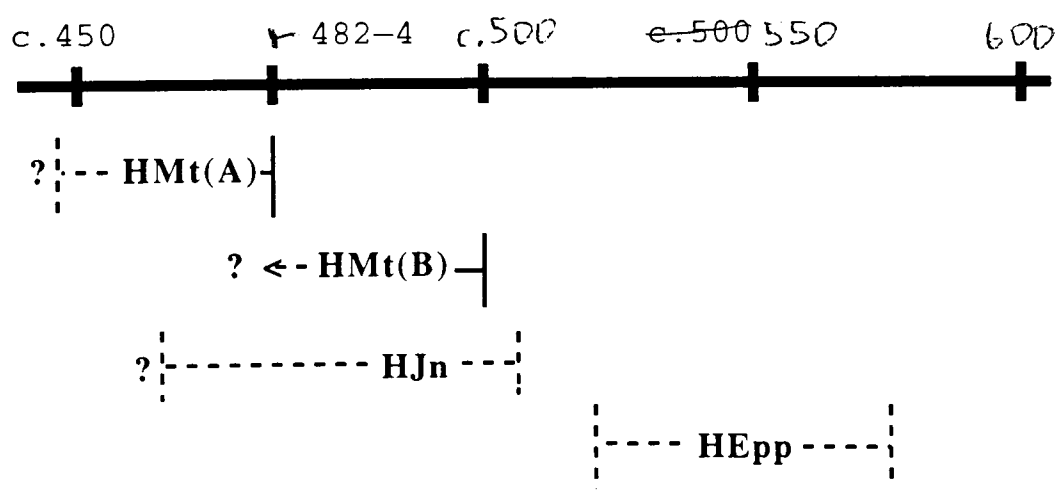
These are the excellent accomplishments of John,
as well as the misrepresentations and injuries done to him.

Barhadbeshabba 'Arbaia, *Ecclesiastical History*, 18

XII. CONCLUSION

These studies in the Syriac versions of Chrysostom's Homilies on the New Testament have uncovered the rich qualities of this textual tradition by delving into many different manuscripts, interpreting their data, and even editing a few homilies. The Syriac versions stand not only as monuments to the great translation enterprise in the fifth-sixth centuries, but also as sources for the diverse application of the Syriac homilies throughout the theological literary tradition for many centuries following. Besides the great early commentary manuscripts, many books of different sorts and ages have portions of the homilies, but there is no evidence for drastic revision or re-translation of any of the homily sets (HMt^B represents a partial exception). The sources of this great tradition are the original translations. External and internal evidence together indicate the relative dates of the translations as follows:

Diagram 2: Relative Dates of the Translations



These texts provide much information about the development of Syriac translation techniques during the century c.450–c.550. The information could be useful for the dating and analysis of other Syriac versions. Moreover, the translators' handling of certain Christological terms shows varying levels of developing concern amongst Syriac-speaking theologians of this period for terminological precision.

The texts also illustrate the extent to which non-Peshitta versions of the

Gospels continued to have slight influence on translators in this period. The translators working prior to the mid-sixth century also exhibit a declining tendency to accommodate the forms of Biblical citations to Peshitta norms.

It has become obvious that these texts also have great significance for editors and students of the Greek homilies. Because of the dates of the translations and principal manuscripts, the Syriac versions carry our knowledge of the homily texts back into the pre-medieval period, well beyond that offered by the Greek tradition generally. Analyses confirm that the medieval Greek texts tend to be very like those underlying the Syriac translations, but they also indicate the need for fresh editorial work taking account of the vast Greek manuscript evidence currently available. The Syriac witness should be an integral part of any further Greek textual studies. The Syriac HEpp are the most immediately useful as textual witnesses, but HJn (and HMt^{B}) are also very useful; HMt^{A} are least useful as a witness to the Greek.

In any case, interpreting the Syriac requires some care. The translation analyses provide important controls for the task of relating these and similar Syriac translations to their (possibly hypothetical) Greek source texts. In principal, and aside from straight-forward text-critical matters, it is vital to understand the limitations of Syriac in representing Greek and the particular features of a translator's style, or of translators working within a given period. This thesis applies these principals and attempts to produce and interpret data in a way which may prove useful for the study of other Syriac translations of similar periods.

In connection with this, it has become apparent how necessary it is to remember these principals when studying Biblical citations of a Patristic witness in translation. Biblical citations should be treated first of all as expressions of translation technique, thereby giving their host literature its proper respect before beginning to sift and sort citations according to foreign criteria. Several aspects of context affect Biblical citations—including that of translation technique. Also, every possible source of influence must be taken into consideration before one may speak confidently about the origin of a particular form of citation. Although Boismard's work is valuable and helpful, his interpretation of the Syriac citations in HJn and his reconstruction of the history of the homily text does not take into account features of translation style. In fact, the Syriac component does not actually support his theory about the composition of the Greek text, as he maintains.

In summary, these studies highlight the value of the Syriac versions as bearers of a double treasure—monuments enriching our appreciation for both the vast Syriac and Greek literatures handing down the New Testament homilies. Published editions of the Syriac homilies would convey the value even further.