

# Jacob of Edessa and the Syriac Culture of His Day

*Edited by*  
Bas ter Haar Romeny

BRILL

## Jacob of Edessa and the Syriac Culture of His Day

# Monographs of the Peshitta Institute Leiden

Studies in the Syriac Versions of the Bible and  
their Cultural Contexts

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Bas ter Haar Romeny



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#### ABBREVIATIONS

For abbreviated titles of series and periodicals, see S.M. Schwertner, *Internationales Abkürzungsverzeichnis für Theologie und Grenzgebiete* (2nd ed.; Berlin–New York 1992), also published as the *Abkürzungsverzeichnis* of the *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*.

## PREFACE

As early as in the nineteenth century a well-known scholar of Syriac, the abbot J.P.P. Martin, called Jacob of Edessa (c.640-708) the most learned Christian of the early days of Islam. The reader of this volume will find this idea confirmed on all pages. The monk and bishop Jacob of Edessa was active in the fields of historiography, canon law, text and interpretation of the Bible, language and translation, liturgy, Christian doctrine, philosophy, and the sciences. He is the author of many works in all these fields, and also demonstrated his vast knowledge in his correspondence with a network of scholars. In addition, he took the time to answer members of his community who had questions on the right behaviour, among other things, with respect to the representatives of the then new religion of Islam.

In April 1997 Dr Konrad Jenner and Professor Lucas Van Rompay organized a small symposium at Leiden University under the same title as that of the present volume: *Jacob of Edessa and the Syriac Culture of His Day*.<sup>1</sup> Various new research projects concerning Jacob had been started and the organizers wanted to offer scholars an opportunity to present their work, while inviting others to make a more general contribution or to discuss the present state of research on Jacob's works. It was in the wake of this meeting that the idea of publishing a volume on Jacob of Edessa first came up.

The scope of the symposium had been limited, however: not all scholars working on Jacob of Edessa could be invited, nor could all fields of his activity be discussed. Over the years since this event, the idea ripened that the envisaged volume on Jacob should try to cover the full breadth of the vision and works of this extraordinary polymath. Together with Konrad Jenner, I planned a volume that would discuss Jacob's biography as well as his position in early Islamic Edessa, and would give as complete a picture as possible of his various accomplishments as a scholar and clergyman. In combination with a full bibliography to Jacob and his works, the articles would also have to present a key to present-day research on Jacob and his time.

Unfortunately, Jenner had to withdraw as editor, and it appeared less than easy to bring together articles on all the subjects we had listed.

<sup>1</sup> K.D. Jenner and L. Van Rompay, 'Short Report on the Symposium: "Jacob of Edessa (c. 640-708) and the Syriac Culture of His Day"', Leiden University, 4-5 April 1997', *Hugoye* [<http://syrcom.cua.edu/Hugoye>] 1.1 (1998).



I am happy to say, however, that the task was completed this year, 2008. This volume then marks the 1300th anniversary of Jacob's death.

I am pleased to express my thanks to the contributors of this volume for their cooperation and patience. Where necessary they were also kind enough to bring their contributions up to date. However, this publication would not have been possible without the assistance of Dianne van de Zande, who helped me with the editorial work, the typesetting of the articles, and the preparation of the indexes. Her precision and dedication have saved me from many errors, and I owe her a special debt of gratitude. I also wish to thank Dirk Kruisheer and Geert Jan Veldman. Both helped to convert or retype the Syriac quotations, and the former also gave invaluable advice and support to this project. Although my colleague Dr Konrad Jenner was eventually not able to act as editor of this volume, together we devised the scope of the volume, selected the subjects of the articles, and invited the authors. In addition, he has also helped to edit a number of the articles. I am very grateful to him for this.

Bas ter Haar Romeny

*Leiden, 3 October 2008*

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## JACOB OF EDESSA'S LIFE AND WORK: A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

*Alison Salvesen*

Jacob, Bishop of Edessa (c.633–708 CE), is one of the most significant figures of Syriac Christianity, especially in the Syrian Orthodox Church of which he was an adherent. He lived in Syria during the establishment of Islamic rule and culture, a time and a place that proved pivotal in terms of both history and culture. As both a churchman and a polymath, his contribution to Syriac culture was unmatched until the time of Barhebraeus (1225/26–1286), who himself was indebted to Jacob's works.

### 1. *Jacob's Life*

Two much later Syrian Orthodox historians, Michael the Syrian (1126–1199 CE) and Barhebraeus,<sup>1</sup> report that Jacob was born in the province (*chora*) of Antioch, in a village called 'En Deba, the Well of the Wolf, in the district of Gumyah. He received elementary training in the Scriptures and doctrine with the respected chorepiscopus Cyriacus before entering the monastery of Aphthonia (Qenneshrin). It is more than likely that his teacher there was the famous scholar Severus Sebokt. Certainly it was at this stage that he began his education in the Greek language that was later to be of such importance in his life, and is said to have pursued the study of the Greek Psalter, the reading of Scripture, and 'correct language', perhaps referring to the literary use of Syriac. He subsequently travelled to Alexandria to complete his studies before returning to Syria. In Edessa he became well known and was consecrated bishop of the city by the Patriarch Athanasius II of Balad, who had also studied at Qenneshrin under Severus Sebokt. (Jacob's consecration must therefore have occurred after 684 CE, the date when Athanasius became patriarch.) Jacob remained in his see for only four years, because of persistent difficulties with local clergy whose uncanonical behaviour

<sup>1</sup> J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche (1166–1199)* (Paris 1899–1924), ed. 4:445 col. c, trans. 2:471–472. J.B. Abbeloos and T.J. Lamy, *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon Ecclesiasticum 1* (Leuven 1872), 289–294.



*The Site of the Monastery of Tell 'Adda (photograph by the author)*

had caused him to bar them from ministry or even expel them from the Church. He also fell out with the Patriarch Julian and his fellow bishops over their lack of enforcement of ecclesiastical law. They wished him to be more flexible in his approach, but his utter refusal to compromise led him to resign from his see. He went so far as to burn a copy of the canons outside the patriarchate as a protest at the disregard in which he believed they were being held. It is hardly surprising that he was replaced as bishop by an older, more accommodating man, named Habib.

With two disciples, Daniel and Constantine, he retired to the convent of Mar Jacob of Kaisum. There he wrote two sermons on admonition, one against the higher clergy and the other against transgressors of canon law. Jacob was then invited to revive the teaching of Greek at the convent of Eusebona, where he remained for eleven years, instructing them in the Greek Psalter and the reading of the Scriptures in Greek. However, some monks who intensely disliked 'the Greeks' stirred up trouble, and Jacob was forced to leave. He settled in the great convent of Tell 'Adda with seven of his students. Jacob remained there for nine years, engaged in 'correcting' the Old Testament. But when Habib died, Athanasius and the Edessenese pressured the patriarch to bring Jacob back to serve as bishop again. He did return to Edessa, but for a mere

four months: on a visit to Tell 'Adda to assemble his books and his students he died on 5 June of the year 1019 (708 CE), and was laid to rest there.

Considering the tumultuous events that took place in the Middle East during the course of Jacob's lifetime, it is surprising how few direct indications we have of them in his own writings. Robert Hoyland describes the changes that Jacob surely witnessed, especially with regard to his diocese of Edessa. He suggests that the greatest time of transition for Jacob and his Syrian Christian contemporaries would have been the Second Arab Civil War (683–92 CE), which probably coincided with the short period when Jacob was bishop for the first time. The need of the Arab Muslims for support meant that Christians were initially courted, but the accession of 'Abd al-Malik led to a greater emphasis on Arabic as the language of administration and the adoption of Islamic coinage, as well as the imposition of a poll tax on Christians. Jacob's response to Islam is muted, though he gives some guidance in his letters on social and religious interaction with Muslims, and on how clergy should deal with the problem of Christian converts to Islam who then wish to return to the church. In letters to John the Stylite, Jacob also discusses the Muslim view of the Virgin Mary, and is the first writer to refer in an informed manner to the *qibla*, the direction towards which Muslims face when they pray. So although Jacob spent most of his life in the segregated environment of the monastery, his works occasionally provide glimpses of the great changes in the world beyond the cloister.

## 2. *Jacob's Works and Scholarship*

Though many of Jacob's writings have been preserved for posterity, it is unlikely that we have everything that he produced: for instance, his version of the Old Testament is only partially preserved, and his letters often survive in the form of excerpts. Even so, it is possible to perceive the astonishing range of Jacob's activities, which covered canon law, biblical scholarship, liturgy, translations of ecclesiastical and philosophical works from Greek to Syriac, the study of grammar, and the relationship of scientific knowledge to the Bible. The scale of his achievement is evident from a perusal of the bibliographical *Clavis* at the end of the present volume and produced by Dirk Kruisheer. It covers both editions of Jacob's works and modern scholarly studies. Some of these areas overlap: for instance, there are notes on biblical exegesis in the margins of Jacob's revision of the Syriac translation of Severus of Antioch's *Homiliae Cathedrales*, and Jacob offers opinions on church law in letters to his correspondents.

It is difficult to define the essence of Jacob's scholarship. In some respects he was a purifier and reformer, removing later accretions from the liturgy and insisting on the maintenance of canon law. In other ways he can be seen as a harmonizer, for instance in the version of the Old Testament that he composed, representing an attempt to combine the Syriac Peshitta and Greek Septuagint traditions. This trait may also be seen in his work on the Six Days of Creation, the *Hexaemeron*, which to a greater extent than its predecessors reconciles the biblical text with the scientific knowledge acquired by Greek thinkers.

Thus it is probably impossible for any one scholar today to comment in depth on Jacob's works. Hence the desirability of a volume of papers by different scholars covering aspects of the range of his preserved output.

### 3. *Jacob as a Historian and Correspondent*

Jacob himself was an empirical historian, as Witold Witakowski notes. His *Letter on the Divine Economy* gives a Syriac Christian view of history, but it is his *Chronicle* that is best known, even though it has not been preserved in its entirety. The single most important witness, a damaged manuscript in the British Library, probably contained the whole work at one time. Excerpts from it are cited by Michael the Syrian, and also by Elias of Nisibis, who although he was from the Church of the East, evidently thought highly of Jacob's historiography. According to its own title the *Chronicle* was intended to be a continuation of that of Eusebius of Caesarea, and originally ended in 710 CE, after Jacob's death. Therefore as in the case of Jacob's *Hexaemeron*, completed after his death by his friend George, Bishop of the Arabs, the last years of the *Chronicle* must have been the work of another hand. On the evidence of a remark of Elias of Nisibis, Witakowski believes that Jacob also wrote a calendrical treatise or *kroniqon* and a menologion.

In comments to his correspondents who wrote with questions on biblical matters, whether exegetical or historical, Jacob frequently cites Jewish pseudepigraphical works. William Adler places this practice in the context of a period when earlier concerns about the distinction between canonical and non-canonical writings had dissipated. Thus Jacob could accept a degree of factual authority (as opposed to divine inspiration) in works such as Enoch and Jubilees. Jacob termed the latter composition the 'Jewish Histories', and the version that he knew appears to have differed in certain respects from the one that we have, though Jacob also seems to have made his own exegetical elaborations of the text. Adler compares the text of Jubilees with Jacob's remarks

on the episode of Abraham's departure from Ur, in his *Letter* 13 to John the Stylite. Jacob's support for the 'Jewish Histories' as a reliable account was instrumental in ensuring its acceptance by later Syriac writers.

Jan van Ginkel notes the wide variety of genres covered by Jacob's surviving correspondence, which amounts to around fifty letters, scattered in different manuscripts and often only preserved as fragments and excerpts. They are not casual missives: some are written in twelve or seven-syllable verse, and most are carefully structured compositions reflecting the Graeco-Roman influence on Syriac Christian epistolography. In fact one of his correspondents, George, Bishop of the Arab tribes, commented on Jacob's difficult style. In terms of content, the letters deal with a variety of subjects, including biblical exegesis, Syriac orthography, theology, chronology, and liturgy. Others are responses to questions on canon law, prefaced by an introductory letter.

#### 4. *Jacob as a Jurist*

The brief biography of Jacob given by Michael the Syrian and Barhebraeus mentioned above tells us that he resigned after only a few years as bishop of Edessa out of frustration with the clergy's lack of respect for ecclesiastical canons. So it is hardly surprising that Jacob was famed in the Syrian Orthodox Church for his contribution to canon law. Herman Teule's survey of Jacob's work in this area notes that many of the canons ascribed to him derive from a later period, being later adoptions of Jacob's answers to questions sent to him by those who sought his advice. Those who consulted him include John the Stylite of Litarba and the priest Addai. His opinions cover liturgical practice, asceticism, the clergy, the eradication of superstitious practices, and the regulation of relations with various groups of outsiders, including Muslims. Despite Jacob's reputation as a hardliner in this sphere, Teule demonstrates that Jacob was in fact a pragmatist, leaving the final judgement of human actions to God.

Konrad Jenner investigates the relationship between Jacob's interest in the Bible and his canonical prescriptions. He compares his approach with that of John bar Cursus, the Miaphysite bishop of Tella in 519–38. John frequently uses quotations from Scripture to legitimize his strictures on Christian lifestyle. In contrast, Jacob rarely refers to the Bible at all in relation to his pronouncements on ecclesiastical matters. Jenner believes that this was to avoid possible arguments with Muslims who disputed the authority of the Christian Scriptures, while building a positive Christian identity that was distinctively different from



Jews, Armenians, Chalcedonians, ‘Nestorians’, Arabs, and pagans in the changing circumstances of the era.

5. *Jacob as an Exegete and Reviser of the Peshitta*

Jacob worked for several years on his own Syriac version of the Old Testament, though only single manuscripts of certain books (Pentateuch, 1–2 Kingdoms/1–2 Samuel, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel) have come down to us. Richard Saley’s close analysis of those verses in Jacob’s version of 1–2 Kingdoms, where a comparison between Peshitta, Septuagint, and Syro-Hexapla is possible, reveals that it is the Peshitta that formed the basis for his work rather than the Syro-Hexapla. Septuagint influence seems to have come directly from Jacob’s employment of Greek manuscripts, particularly those of a rather conservative Lucianic character. In addition, there are readings which cannot be traced to the major Greek and Syriac traditions. Some are stylistic changes introduced by Jacob, while others are more substantive but also derive from him or possibly from textual activity within the Syrian Orthodox Church of the time.

Jacob’s version of 1–2 Kingdoms was used as a textual witness for the Larger Cambridge edition of these books at points where the editors believed that he had included readings that may have stemmed from a Greek Septuagint text. Alison Salvesen provides an assessment of Jacob’s readings that were cited by Brooke and McLean. The lack of affinity with the Syro-Hexapla, as demonstrated by Saley, coupled with the variety of Jacob’s sources and his tendency to provide explanatory or stylistic glosses, means that his own version is of secondary value at most for the study of the Septuagint. However, it may prove to be of some utility in textual criticism of the Peshitta of Samuel.

Jacob’s version of Genesis is preserved along with most of the rest of the Pentateuch revision in a manuscript in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. In it Bas ter Haar Romeny finds similar features to those in the Samuel revision. There is agreement with the Greek rather than the Syro-Hexapla, and also the use of a vulgar, non-Hexaplaric text form similar to that used by Antiochene exegetes. Romeny rejects the possibility that other, apparently unaligned material could derive from later, aberrant Peshitta manuscripts. Instead, Jacob created paraphrases and textual ‘adjustments’ to produce a text comprehensible to the reader. This was in addition to his changes to the Syriac idiom of the Peshitta, because of developments in Syriac language in the five hundred years since the original translation. Romeny also notes such stylistic and linguistic changes in the citations included by Jacob in his earlier works,

the *Commentary in Short* and the *Scholia*, while Greek influence in them appears to come via earlier commentaries by other authors. The Genesis citations in the *Scholia* display less influence from the Septuagint than in Samuel (though this may be due to the greater textual distance between the Greek and Peshitta versions of Samuel which Jacob needed to address). A comparison with the approach of Philoxenus reveals that Jacob was less reverent towards the letter of the Greek text and more attentive to its actual sense. This would also explain why he rarely adopts Syro-Hexaplaric readings. Jacob's frequent preservation of both Septuagint and Peshitta readings, either in the main text or margin, reflect an exegetical maximalism like Origen's. Romeny speculates that his tendency to preserve the Peshitta may be linked to his belief that Hebrew was the primordial and sacred language and that Syriac was closely related to it.

#### 6. *Jacob as a Grammarian and Translator*

One area in which Jacob was undoubtedly a pioneer was his grammatical work. This is expressed in his partially extant treatise 'The Correction of the Mesopotamian Language', his letter to George of Serug on Syriac orthography, various notes in other writings, discussions of terminology in his philosophical works, and his essay on vowels and accents. The late Rafael Talmon discusses previous scholarship on Jacob as a grammarian and assesses Jacob's actual contribution to the study of Syriac grammar, suggesting that some of Jacob's treatments filtered through to the early Arab grammarians prior to Sibawayhi. He also provides a list of the grammatical terms defined by Jacob, from phonetics to syntax.

Syriac translations of Greek texts are often important since in many cases the Greek original is no longer extant. This is the case with the *Homiliae Cathedrales* of Severus, Patriarch of Antioch between 512 and 518 CE, of which only Homily 77 and some fragments survive in Greek. They were first translated into Syriac in the mid-sixth century, and since we are in the fortunate position of having portions of this earlier rendering, a comparison with Jacob's revision of 700/701 CE is possible. Lucas Van Rompay's close analysis of samples of the text reveals Jacob's aims, and highlights the precision he aimed at in terms of precisely reflecting the syntax, nuances and lexicon of the Greek source. At the same time Jacob had a solid base from which to work in the form of his predecessor's translation. Jacob's highly accurate rendering provides an invaluable guide to reconstructing the form of the original Greek text, but the earlier Syriac translation is often of help in understanding the actual sense of Severus' work.

### 7. *Jacob as a Philosopher*

The Syriac version of Aristotle's *Categories* is the only non-religious translation that Jacob worked on, and like much else of his translational activities, it is a revision of an earlier rendering rather than a fresh translation. Henri Hugonnard-Roche sets it in the context of the activities of the Qenneshrin school, under the influence of Severus Sebokt. Here several scholars including Athanasius II and George, Bishop of the Arabs, revised translations of Aristotle's works. Thomas of Harkel and Paul of Edessa were also associated with Qenneshrin. Jacob's revision of the Syriac *Categories* is much less paraphrastic and is more consistent in the technical philosophical terms employed. Thus the text becomes more intelligible because certain concepts were clearly distinguished. Hugonnard-Roche compares Jacob's rendering to his related work, the *Encheiridion* or Handbook, which provides a brief guide to the philosophical terms used in christology and how the definitions of such terms vary depending whether they are used in Christian or secular contexts.

Aristotle was an important influence not only on Jacob but also on the Syrian Orthodox Church more generally. Marina Wilks shows how Jacob based the scientific aspects of his *Hexaemeron* on the Aristotelian theory of the four elements, which for him fills in the details that Moses passed over. Jacob also adopts Aristotle's theory of four concentric spheres of the elements, which interprets as relating to the biblical description of the firmament and the upper waters. Though much of Jacob's cosmology is a development of ideas found in Basil of Caesarea's *Hexaemeron*, Gregory of Nazianzus' *Carmina Arcana*, and John Philoponus' *De Opificio Mundi*, he is both more systematic and more complete in his treatment than his predecessors. However, the combination of theology with Greek cosmology (principally derived from Plato and Ptolemy) results in Jacob placing the sun at the furthest point of the cosmos, of which the earth is the centre. One happy result of this system is that it undermines the very basis of astrology, as the stars are lower than the sun and therefore cannot be said to affect human lives.

### 8. *Jacob as a Liturgist*

A revision of the Syriac rendering of the Anaphora of St James is attributed to Jacob of Edessa. The first version probably predates the Council of Chalcedon (451 CE), while the second recension, attested by the manuscripts, was apparently produced by Jacob from a comparison with the Greek manuscripts. Baby Varghese compares this new recension with commentaries on the eucharist attributed to Jacob, one addressed

to Thomas the Presbyter and the other to George the Stylite of Serug, and with the structure of the anaphora known to Moses bar Kapa in the ninth century. The differences lead Varghese to believe that the present form of the recension attributed to Jacob may be in fact a later development. He argues that the new recension is unlikely to have been the work of Jacob, since the formula of fraction included in it proved controversial among some Syrian Orthodox writers, who alleged it was 'Nestorian'.

### 9. *Jacob's Importance*

Jacob's impact as churchman and scholar was immense. The force of his uncompromising personality is clear from the brief biographies preserved in works written half a millennium later, where we are presented apparently with his *ipsissima verba* in the cry, 'I burn these canons that you trample and disregard as superfluous and useless!' Yet he was evidently deeply respected, hence the move to have him returned to his see on the death of his successor Habib. His love of Greek learning aroused admiration and defiance in equal measure among his fellows. His belief in the importance of the Syriac language was just as strong, and he took considerable steps to ensure that it was correctly written and understood, though it is hard to know whether he perceived the imminence of the threat from Arabic to its status as a vernacular. His contemporaries asked his advice on matters of ecclesiastical law and biblical exegesis in particular, and his authority only increased among his co-religionists in later generations, hence the preservation of what were considered to be the key items in his correspondence. His biblical version was less fortunate, being less successful ultimately than even the Syro-Hexapla which he evidently did not favour, despite its Greek origins. In many ways Jacob's *Hexaemeron*, written in the very last years of his life, is the greatest expression of his immense learning, both Christian and classical, but its very erudition may have limited its impact compared with his prescriptions on orthography and canon law, his liturgical activity, and his historiographical work. These had a more practical application for his community, as Islam increased its dominance. However, his contribution to the preservation of Greek culture in Syriac form is probably unparalleled. Moreover, he is not a mere tradent or synthesizer of earlier knowledge, from whatever source, but out of his reflection on the older writings he studied, he created works that convey a sense of freshness and authenticity even today.

What he believed would become of his church and the region is unknown. He apparently operated in the present, with its immediate

concerns, and preserved the best of the traditions he had inherited, but naturally enough there is no hint of foreknowledge of what would become of Christian communities in the Near East before too long. Given that much of his life was spent in the cloister, even the challenges of the present may have seemed rather remote compared to the companionship of his books and the demands of his students. Modern scholars are not in a position to criticize him for this, and have a good deal to learn from him.

# JACOB AND EARLY ISLAMIC EDESSA

*Robert Hoyland*

## 1. Introduction

Both as the seat of an independent monarchy (first cent. BC–AD 213) and as a city of the Roman/Byzantine Empire (AD 214–639) Edessa was the capital of the province of Osrhoene (north-west Mesopotamia). This was bounded to the west, north-west and south-west by the mighty Euphrates river and was situated in the frontier area between the great superpowers of Rome/Byzantium and Iran, both factors giving it considerable strategic importance. For this reason numerous Iranian kings and generals strove to take Edessa, though most failed, thwarted by its strong fortifications and, it was said, by a promise from Jesus guaranteeing its impregnability. And many Christian rulers and commanders, including the emperors Constantius in 360 and Heraclius in 637, would use it as their military headquarters.<sup>1</sup> In 590 the Persian king Khusro II, fleeing to Constantinople from a mutiny at home, stopped off at Edessa and was entertained in a sumptuous manner by its notables, and in 628 Heraclius entered the city in triumph having brought to a successful conclusion a protracted war with Iran.<sup>2</sup>

Byzantine jubilation was, however, shortlived, for all their successes were soon reversed at the hands of the Muslims. The capable general ‘Iyād ibn Ghanm defeated Byzantine forces in a number of engagements, allowing him to gain control of much of Syria in the years 634–635, a fact which prompted some Byzantine officials to adopt a more conciliatory approach:

In this year (636) John surnamed Kataias, the governor of Osrhoene, came to ‘Iyād at Chalcis (near Aleppo) and covenanted to pay him every year 100,000 *solidi* on condition that he (‘Iyād) would not cross the Euphrates either peacefully or by force of arms as long as that amount of gold was paid to him. Thereupon John returned to Edessa and, having collected the annual tax, sent it to ‘Iyād. When Heraclius heard of this, he judged John to be guilty for having done such

<sup>1</sup> J.B. Segal, *Edessa ‘The Blessed City’* (Oxford 1970), 110–117.

<sup>2</sup> J.-B. Chabot, *Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens* 1 (CSCO 81, Syr. 36; Paris 1920), 216, 221–223; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, *Theophanis Chronographia* 1 (Leipzig 1883), 328–329, trans. C. Mango and R. Scott, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History, A.D. 284–813* (Oxford 1997), 459.

a thing without the Emperor's knowledge, and, having recalled him, condemned him to exile. In his stead he appointed a certain general called Ptolemaeus.

Ptolemaeus himself was determined to challenge 'Iyād, a policy which had disastrous results:

'Iyād crossed the Euphrates with his whole army and reached Edessa. The Edessans opened their gates and were given terms, including their territory, their military commander, and the Romans who were with him. The Saracens went on to Constantina (Tella), which they besieged and took by force and killed 300 Romans. From there they went on to Dara, which they also took by force and slew many people in it. In this way 'Iyād captured all of Mesopotamia'.<sup>3</sup>

Numerous versions of the terms given to the Edessans are provided by Muslim writers, but these are likely to be retrojections of a later situation; as certain noblemen of the city pointed out at a subsequent date when the state attempted to change their fiscal status, 'you are now ignorant, as we are now ignorant, of how things were at the beginning'.<sup>4</sup> All we can say with some degree of certainty is that the generally low level of destruction caused by the Muslim conquests, as evidenced by the archaeological record, is likely to be valid for Edessa as well, which probably sustained little or no damage to its buildings. Moreover, the Muslims initially made very few demands, leaving non-believers to manage their own affairs and to conduct themselves according to their own laws and beliefs as long as they paid a special tax (*jizya*) to demonstrate their twin shame of having been conquered and having rejected the true religion of the Prophet Muhammad. As one north Mesopotamian resident, writing in the 680s, recalls: 'Of each person they required only tribute, allowing them to remain in whatever faith they wished'.<sup>5</sup>

## 2. Edessa during the Lifetime of Jacob

Jacob was born towards the end of the Muslim conquest of the Middle East, and it is interesting to speculate on what changes he would have witnessed. Most obviously Edessa and its province suffered a drastic reduction of status. The frontier between the Muslim and Byzantine

<sup>3</sup> Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. De Boor, 340; see also R. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It* (Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 13; Princeton 1997), 586–587.

<sup>4</sup> Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-kharāj* (Bulaq 1885), 41; see C.F. Robinson, *Empires and Elites after the Muslim Conquest: the Transformation of Northern Mesopotamia* (Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization; Cambridge 2000), 2–32.

<sup>5</sup> John bar Penkaye, *Ktābā d-rēš mellē*, ed. A. Mingana, *Sources Syriacques* (Leipzig [1908]), 2:147, trans. 2:175; also translated by S.P. Brock, 'North Mesopotamia in the Late Seventh Century: Book XV of John Bar Penkaye's *Rīš Mellē*', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 9 (1987), 61.

empires was further to the north and west, and the heartlands of the Muslims, for the first few decades of their rule at least, were further to the south, at Qinnasrin to the south-west and Mosul to the south-east. Furthermore, no new cities were built in north Mesopotamia for the settlement of Muslims as had been done in Iraq and the Levant, so there was less cause for Muslim rulers and writers to take much notice of the region. But though it was no longer a focus of state visits and patronage, the region was, for that very reason, the better able to preserve its traditions and character.

Existing patterns of government and tax-collection were left mostly intact, entrusted to the same local aristocracies in former Sasanid territory and still the preserve of Greek-educated Christians in ex-Byzantine lands.<sup>6</sup> In the 690s we find as governor of Edessa one Anastasius bar Andreas,<sup>7</sup> at Samosata an Elustriya of Harran with his tax-collector Sergius; and at Dara another Elustriya, whose daughter Patricia was a benefactress of the convent of Qartmin.<sup>8</sup> These were very likely Melkites, and at Anhel, the principal village of Tur ʿAbdin, we encounter a Melkite dynasty of local governors, whose members were instrumental in rebuilding the castle of Tur ʿAbdin in 684 and in the construction of a new church at Nisibis in 706.<sup>9</sup>

In addition, Syriac language and culture remained strong. Throughout the seventh century inter-sectarian debate raged with undiminished vitality, and the study of Greek learning that took off in the late fifth century under such figures as Philoxenus of Mabbug and Sergius of Reshʿaina continued to flourish. Severus Sebokt (d. 665), bishop of the convent of Qenneshrin, wrote much on mathematical and philosophical subjects, and subsequent products of that institution—notably Athanasius of Balad, future patriarch of Antioch (683–687), Jacob himself, and George, Bishop of the Arabs (688–724)—were responsible for numerous translations and commentaries of Greek texts.<sup>10</sup> And this activity con-

<sup>6</sup> ‘The Christians were still the scribes, leaders and governors of the lands of the Arabs’, notes the *Chronicon ad 1234*, ed. Chabot, 294, with reference to the period of governorship of Muḥammad ibn Marwān (691–710) in Mesopotamia. Competence in Greek was essential as long as it remained the language of bureaucracy.

<sup>7</sup> *Chronicon ad 1234*, ed. Chabot, 294, which also names Mardanshah bar Zarnosh and his son as governors of Nisibis, and Simeon bar Nūn as governor of Haluga.

<sup>8</sup> A. Palmer, *Monk and Mason on the Tigris Frontier* (Cambridge 1990), 165–167 (citing the *Life* of Theodotus of Amida, d. 698).

<sup>9</sup> Palmer, *Monk and Mason*, 162 (citing the *Life* of Simeon of the Olives, d. 734).

<sup>10</sup> See S.P. Brock, ‘From Antagonism to Assimilation: Syriac attitudes to Greek learning’, in N.G. Garsoïan, Th.F. Mathews, and R.W. Thomson (eds.), *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period* (Washington, DC 1982), 17–34; S.P. Brock, ‘Syriac Culture in the Seventh Century’, *Aram* 1 (1989), 268–280.



tinued through into the eighth and ninth centuries by virtue of the efforts of such figures as Phocas son of Sergius of Edessa (*fl.* eighth century), Theophilus of Edessa (d. 785), Theodore Abu Qurra (born at Edessa c.760), Theodosius of Edessa (*fl.* 803), and Job of Edessa (*fl.* 817).<sup>11</sup> And even into the tenth century Muslim and Christian writers remarked upon the strength of Christianity in Edessa and its environs, the numerosness of its monasteries and monks, and the beauty of its churches.<sup>12</sup>

For the first half century after the conquest of Edessa Arabic sources are virtually silent about Muslim intervention, and Christian sources only note that the Caliph Mu‘āwiya (661–680) ordered the restoration of a church in the city after an earthquake and that a fiscal agent of Mu‘āwiya, ‘Abdallāh ibn Darrāj, arbitrated in a case of demon possession at the monastery of Qenneshrin. Towards the end of the seventh century, however, we can begin to detect signs of change. Jacob’s stint as bishop of Edessa coincided with the second Arab civil war (683–692), and it is particularly this conflict which acted as a catalyst for change.

In the first place the protagonists, in their struggle for victory, were obliged to win over as many allies and to assert their authority over as many places as they possibly could. Whether as clients or slaves, Christians were enrolled in Muslim armies; and those with influence were courted for their favour. Thus the general ‘Ubaydallāh ibn Ziyād, seeking a foothold in Nisibis, promised John of Dasen, metropolitan of that city: ‘If you will accompany me, I will depose him (the patriarch Ḥnanisho‘) and establish you in the patriarchate in his place’.<sup>13</sup> And governors were appointed over territories previously only ruled from afar; thus one Ḥātīm ibn al-Nu‘mān al-Bāhīlī served as governor of Harran, Edessa, Samosata, and their environs for the rebel leader Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ashtar (685–690).<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> W. Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature* (London 1894), 93, 163–164, 203; Segal, *Edessa*, 210–212. See also W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since the Year 1838* (London 1870–72), 1:38, 122; 2:590, 768, 912 (manuscripts written at Edessa in the eighth and ninth centuries); R.W. Thomson, ‘An Eighth-Century Melkite Colophon from Edessa’, *JThS* 13 (1962), 249–258.

<sup>12</sup> E.g. Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, trans. A.E. Dostourian, *Armenia and the Crusades, Tenth to Twelfth Centuries: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa* (Lanham, MD 1993), § 19 (12,000 monks at Edessa); M.J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca geographicorum arabicorum* (Leiden 1870–1894), 1:76 (Iṣṭakhrī), 2:154 (Ibn Ḥawqal), 3:141, 147 (Muqaddasī), 5:50, 106, 134, 255 (Ibn Faqīh al-Hamadhānī), 6:161 (Ibn Khurradādhbih), 7:83 (Ibn Rusteh), 8:144 (Mas‘ūdī).

<sup>13</sup> John bar Penkaye, *Rēš mellē*, ed. Mingana, 156, trans. 184 (trans. Brock, ‘Book XV’, 65).

<sup>14</sup> Aḥmad ibn Yahyā al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-aṣrāf* 5, ed. S.D.F. Goitein (Jerusalem 1936), 251 (Ḥātīm).

In the second place the fragmentation and dissension which the Muslim empire had suffered during the civil war prompted the victorious ʿAbd al-Malik to make a show of his authority and to put matters on a firmer footing. He ordered the minting of Islamic-style coins rather than Byzantine and Iranian imitations, and the replacement of Greek and Persian with Arabic as the administrative language of the empire.<sup>15</sup> And he began to take account of regions that had previously been neglected:

Mesopotamia had belonged (administratively) to (the province of) Qinnasrin (near Aleppo), but ʿAbd al-Malik made it a separate province (*jund*), that is, he made its soldiers take their allowance from its tax.

In the year 1003 (AD 691/92) ʿAbd al-Malik carried out a census on the Syriac Christians (in Mesopotamia). He issued a harsh decree that everyone go to his region, village, and father's house and register his name, his lineage, his crops and olive trees, his possessions, his children, and everything he owned. From this time tax began to be levied *per capita*; from this time all manner of evils were visited upon the Christian people. For until this time kings had taken tribute on the land rather than on the person . . . And this was the first census that the Arabs carried out.<sup>16</sup>

And in the third place the civil war led to an increasing professionalization of the army, a gradual division of the Muslims into soldiers and civilians, which in turn stimulated Muslim settlement outside the garrison towns.<sup>17</sup> Ever since the first civil war (656–660) military men had begun making their way into Mesopotamia; for example Banū Arqam, a sub-tribe of Kinda, settled in the Edessa region in the reign of Muʿāwiya. But after the second outbreak civilian figures tend to crop up with increasing frequency: Edessa had a Muslim tax-collector in the 690s, and soon thereafter its own Muslim scholar: Zayd ibn Abī Ānisa (d. 744), a client of Ghanī of Qays.<sup>18</sup> Further afield we hear of Muslims as well as Christians responding to the appeal of Theodotus, Bishop of

<sup>15</sup> M. Bates, 'History, Geography and Numismatics in the First Century of Islamic Coinage', *Revue Suisse de Numismatique* 65 (1986), 231–261 (coins); A.A. Duri, 'Dīwān i', in *EI*<sup>2</sup> (Leiden 1960–2001) (Greek and Persian to Arabic, a process which varied according to region).

<sup>16</sup> Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, *Liber expugnationis regionum* (Leiden 1866), 132 (Mesopotamia constituted a province); J.-B. Chabot, *Incerti auctoris Chronicon pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum* 2 (CSCO 104, Syr. 53; Leuven 1933), 154 (census).

<sup>17</sup> P. Crone, *Slaves on Horses. The Evolution of the Islamic Polity* (Cambridge 1980), 37–41.

<sup>18</sup> Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb, *Kitāb al-muḥabbar*, ed. I. Lichtenstadter (Hyderabad 1942), 295 (Banū Arqam); Michael the Syrian, ed. J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche (1166–1199)* (Paris 1899–1924), 4:448, trans. 2:476 (tax-collector named Muḥammad); Khalifa ibn Khayyāt, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*, ed. S. Zakkar (Damascus 1967), 2:822, and Abū Zurʿa, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. Sh. al-Qujani (Damascus 1980), 252 (Zayd).

Amida (690s), for money to ransom some captives seized from the town; and also of Simeon, Bishop of Harran (700–734), building a mosque and school at Nisibis for the Muslims in gratitude for their allowing him to build a church there.<sup>19</sup>

### 3. *The Regulation of Relations between Christians and Muslims*

As Christians and Muslims came into closer contact with one another, the need to regulate relations between them became more pressing, and Jacob is one of the first authorities we know to have responded to this.<sup>20</sup> He produced seven cycles of legal decisions, two existing simply as lists of rulings on various issues, the other five taking the form of judgements of Jacob given in response to questions posed by some correspondent.<sup>21</sup> His stint as a bishop and his authority make it likely that much of the material reflects real problems encountered by and put to Jacob, but the question-answer style which these cycles adopt is also a popular literary device. Moreover, a question and its answer will often vary in length in different manuscripts, for their pithy nature meant they could easily be compressed, amplified and transposed.

The subject matter is diverse, but a large proportion is taken up with the issue of purity, both in liturgical and social practice. In the latter sphere this meant caution in one's dealings with heretics and unbelievers. Thus one should not make altar-coverings, priests' garments or drapes from cloth on which is embroidered the Muslim profession of faith (ܩܘܕܝܫܘܬܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ);<sup>22</sup> an altar used by Arabs (ܩܘܕܝܫܘܬܐ) for eating off must first be washed and purified before fit for re-use;<sup>23</sup> one should lock the church doors during a service lest 'Muslims (ܩܘܕܝܫܘܬܐ) enter and mingle with the believers, and disturb them and laugh at the holy mysteries';<sup>24</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Palmer, *Monk and Mason*, 167 (Theodotus), 162 (Simeon).

<sup>20</sup> Two contemporaries of Jacob, the East Syrian Catholicos George I (661–681) and the Melkite monk Anastasius of Sinai (d. c.700), also show concern for this issue; see Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 92–103, 193–195. — On Jacob's regulations regarding contact with Muslims, see also Herman Teule's contribution to this volume, esp. pp. 96–99.

<sup>21</sup> A. Vööbus calls the former 'canons' and the latter 'resolutions' (*Entscheidungen*). This distinction has some validity, especially for the form of the material, but note that what was once a resolution may appear in later collections as a canon (this is true for almost all the material from Jacob in Barhebraeus' *Nomocanon*). See the article of Herman Teule in this volume, pp. 86–87.

<sup>22</sup> Jacob of Edessa, *Canons (BH)*, 12 (For complete references, see abbreviations below). Ibrāhīm al-Bayhaqī, *Kitāb al-maḥāsīn wa-l-masāwī*, ed. F. Schwally (Giessen 1902), 498–499, may well then be right that it was 'Abd al-Malik who first had Muslim slogans printed on cloth as well as on coins and documents.

<sup>23</sup> Jacob, *Letter to Addai*, Question (Q.) no. 25.

<sup>24</sup> Jacob, *Letter A to John the Stylite*, Q. no. 9.

and one should not go ‘before the leaders of the world (ܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ) or before the pagans’ for the settlement of disputes.<sup>25</sup> Jacob does, however, recognize that one must sometimes bow to constraint, and nowhere does he recommend martyrdom. Usually one should not eat with a non-orthodox, but if a Chalcedonian or Muslim governor orders it, then ‘need allows it’.<sup>26</sup> If in dire need a deacon may serve soldiers on campaign,<sup>27</sup> and if compelled by the Arabs, a monk or a priest may participate in battle, though he faces suspension if he kills someone.<sup>28</sup> And Jacob is willing to be lenient in matters that ‘do no harm’. Christians may attend the funeral processions of pagans and Jews, and the latter may reciprocate, if out of philanthropy.<sup>29</sup> Priests may give the blessing of the saints to Muslims or pagans (ܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܫܢܝܐ),<sup>30</sup> and may teach the children of Muslims, Harranians and Jews.<sup>31</sup> They may pardon and give the eucharist to (presumably repentant) apostates<sup>32</sup> in danger of dying,

<sup>25</sup> Jacob, *Canons*, no. 30. This ruling is found in much briefer form in the collection preserved in Ms. Damascus Patr. 8/11, which is edited and translated by A. Vööbus, *The Synodicon in the West Syrian Tradition 1* (CSCO 367–368, Syr. 161–162; Leuven 1975), ed. 272, trans. 247. At a synod convened by the Catholicos George I in 676 it was similarly urged that ‘those to be judged should not go outside the church before the pagans and non-believers’ (J.-B. Chabot, *Synodicon orientale ou Recueil de synodes nestoriens* (Paris 1902), 219–220).

<sup>26</sup> Jacob of Edessa, *Letter to Addai*, Q. nos. 56–57.

<sup>27</sup> Jacob, *Letter to Addai*, Q. no. 79. The questions begin: ‘A deacon of that time of hunger and want (ܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܫܘܥܐ ܕܩܘܕܫܐ)’, seeming to intend a specific occasion, perhaps the ‘unparalleled plague and famine’ of AH 67/AD 687 described by the contemporary John bar Penkaye, *Rēs mellē*, ed. Mingana, 159–164, trans. 186–192 (trans. Brock, ‘Book XV’, 68–71). Jacob’s reply is sympathetic: ‘The fact that as soon as his situation eased he immediately fled from evil and hastened to his former position of indigence, shows that it was out of necessity that he did what he did’.

<sup>28</sup> Jacob, *Letter to Addai*, Q. no. 80. Again a specific occasion seems meant: ‘When our bishop of Mardin was attacked by those from the outside (ܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ), the Arabs, who are ruling on the inside (ܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ), ordered that everyone go out to the wall to fight and did not exempt anyone from going out, not even the priests. Then a priest or a deacon, when the battle was in full swing (ܩܘܕܫܐ), threw a stone from the wall and struck and killed one of the fighters attempting to scale the wall. How is it right to deal with him as regards the canons? . . .’ Jacob’s answer is: ‘The fact that they have been forced to go out against their will shows that they are free [of recrimination] from these things which have been committed’, though the priest who killed must at least be suspended for a time ‘for the sake of penitence’. Note that this answer appears abbreviated and without its question in Jacob, *Canons* (BH), 42.

<sup>29</sup> Jacob, *Letter to Addai*, Q. nos. 62–63.

<sup>30</sup> Jacob, *Letter B to John the Stylite*, Q. no. 6.

<sup>31</sup> Jacob, *Letter to Addai*, Q. nos. 58–59.

<sup>32</sup> The text has ܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ; one could see this as a hendiadys, the whole phrase meaning apostate to Islam, but Vööbus translates it as ‘a Muslim or a pagan’, and the same distinction is made elsewhere (see the previous sentence in the text and the

and bury them after their death if no bishop is in the vicinity.<sup>33</sup> And in the thorny area of apostasy Jacob also shows himself accommodating, probably wishing to play down the problem:

We should not rebaptize a Christian who becomes a Muslim or pagan (ܘܢܝܘܢܝܘܢ ܘܢܝܘܢܝܘܢ) then returns, but the prayer of penitents is to be said over him by the bishop and a period of penance enjoined upon him.<sup>34</sup>

A woman who is married to a Muslim and who says that she will convert to Islam (ܘܢܝܘܢܝܘܢ) unless she is given the host, should be granted it, but with a penalty that is appropriate for her to receive.<sup>35</sup>

These two rulings demonstrate how early apostasy to Islam became a serious issue, a fact vividly illustrated by a contemporary apocalypse which laments that ‘many people who were members of the church will deny the true faith of the Christians, along with the holy cross and the awesome mysteries, without being subjected to any compulsion, lashings or blows’.<sup>36</sup> But though he probably wished to declare to renegades that they would be taken back, Jacob was not advocating a policy of ‘anything goes’. Around the first case he drapes a veiled threat, intimating that such apostasy may deprive one of the grace of baptism; and in the latter instance he insists that ‘even if there is not fear of her apostatizing’ some ‘rebuke’ was necessary ‘so that other women fear lest they too stumble’.

#### 4. *Islam in the Seventh Century*

The material so far considered conveys information on Christian dealings with Muslims. A couple of Jacob’s letters go further and give us some insight into the nature of Islam in the late seventh century, or at

ensuing quotation) so that one should probably read ܘܢ here. Since new converts to paganism, as opposed to die-hard pagans, are unlikely around Edessa at this time, one assumes that indulgence in pagan (i.e. generally reprobate) beliefs/practices is meant (e.g. Jacob, *Letter to Addai*, Q. no. 36, on those who murmur incantations, tie knots, make amulets etc.: though they say they pray, they are not Christians).

<sup>33</sup> Jacob, *Letter to Addai*, Q. no. 116 (in Vööbus, *Synodicon* 1, ed. 261, trans. 238).

<sup>34</sup> Jacob, *Letter B to John the Stylite*, Q. no. 13 = Jacob, *Canons (BH)*, 22. For the sake of space I give Barhebraeus’ version, but note that as well as being much shorter it appears without John’s question.

<sup>35</sup> Jacob, *Letter to Addai*, Q. no. 75 = Jacob, *Canons (BH)*, 41. Again I give Barhebraeus’ version (except that I correct ܘܢܝܘܢܝܘܢ to ܘܢܝܘܢܝܘܢ, as appears in Ms. Harvard Syr. 93, fol. 26b, where there is mention of the woman’s husband), but again note that Barhebraeus’ version is considerably shorter and omits the question.

<sup>36</sup> G.J. Reinink, *Die syrische Apokalypse des pseudo-Methodius* (CSCO 540–541, Syr. 220–221; Leuven 1993), XII.3.

least one Christian's understanding thereof.<sup>37</sup> Jacob's most frequent correspondent was John the Stylite from Litarba near Aleppo, and in one of his many exchanges with his friend, while attempting to demonstrate that the Virgin Mary is of the house of David, Jacob presents the Muslim view of Jesus and Mary:

That therefore the Messiah is, in the flesh, of the line of David ... is professed and considered fundamental by all of them: Jews, Muslims and Christians ... To the Jews ... it is fundamental, although they deny the true Messiah who has indeed come ... The Muslims too, although they do not know nor wish to say that this true Messiah (Jesus), who came and is acknowledged by the Christians, is God and the son of God, they nevertheless confess firmly that he is the true Messiah who was to come and who was foretold by the prophets; on this they have no dispute with us ... They say to all at all times that Jesus son of Mary is in truth the Messiah, and they call him the Word of God as do the Holy Scriptures. They also add, in their ignorance, that he is the Spirit of God, for they are not able to distinguish between word and spirit, just as they do not assent to call the Messiah God or son of God.<sup>38</sup>

This passage shows remarkably close fit with the portrayal of Jesus in the Qur'an. There too he is referred to as Jesus son of Mary, as the Messiah,<sup>39</sup> and as the Spirit of God and Word of God (4.171). As in Jacob's letter, the Qur'an stresses that Jesus is not God nor the son of God (5.72, 75). And in general, Jesus is a very prominent figure in the Qur'an: though a mortal (3.58), he works miracles (3.48), both confirms (3.49) and receives Scripture (57.27) and, most importantly, he foretells the coming of Muḥammad (61.6).<sup>40</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Outside of his correspondence Jacob's observations on Muslims are limited to three references in his *Chronicle*, edited by E.W. Brooks in *Chronica minora* 3 (CSCO 5, Syr. 5; Paris 1905), 306 ('Mahmet went down for trade to the land of Palestine, Arabia and Syrian Phoenicia', 'the kingdom of the Arabians, those whom we call Tayyaye, began when Heraclius, king of the Romans, was in his eleventh year and Khusrau, king of the Persians, was in his thirty-first year', 'the Arabs began to carry out raids in the land of Palestine') and one reference in a tract against the Armenians to the effect that the Arabs 'make three genuflections to the south while offering sacrifice and performing circumcision' (C. Kayser, *Die Canones Jacob's von Edessa übersetzt und erläutert* (Leipzig 1886), 35).

<sup>38</sup> Jacob, *Letter* 6, to John the Stylite, ed. 518–519, trans. 523–524; see also P. Crone and M. Cook, *Hagarism: The Making of the Islamic World* (Cambridge 1977), 11–12.

<sup>39</sup> In the Qur'an, however, the term is devoid of the redemptive significance that a Christian would understand by it; see G. Graf, 'Wie ist das Wort Al-Masīḥ zu übersetzen?', *ZDMG* 104 (1954), 119–123.

<sup>40</sup> A similarly healthy respect for Jesus seems to have been held by Mu'āwiya who, upon his accession to the caliphate, proceeded to pray at Golgotha, Gethsemane, and the grave of the Virgin (noted in a Maronite chronicle edited and translated by Th. Nöldeke, 'Zur Geschichte der Araber im 1. Jahrh. d. H. aus syrischen Quellen', *ZDMG* 29 (1875), ed. 90, trans. 95). And in general, Jesus is a revered figure in Muslim tradition (see G.C. Anawati, 'Īsā', in *EI*<sup>2</sup>, esp. xiv).

After setting out a proof by logic—the Prophets said the Messiah will be of the lineage of David; the son of Mary is the Messiah; so Mary is descended from David—Jacob continues:

It is by means of such a compelling and true syllogism that we should show to any Christian or Muslim who inquires, that Mary the holy Virgin and begetter of God is of the race of David, although this is not illustrated by the Scriptures . . . What I have said is sufficient to demonstrate clearly to a Christian or Muslim who discusses this subject that the holy Virgin Mary . . .<sup>41</sup>

Muslims then, more so than Jews, are to be engaged in debate. The reason is found in the passage quoted above: whereas the Jews deny that Jesus is the Messiah, the Muslims actually call him such as a matter of course and say much about him that accords with Christian sentiments, yet stopped short of saying he was the son of God. That this frustrated Jacob is clear from his repeated reference to it in the first passage above,<sup>42</sup> and some Christians may well, as Jacob implies, have tried to win the Muslims round to their view of Jesus.<sup>43</sup>

In another letter John the Stylite asks Jacob why the Jews pray facing south, and receives the following reply:

Your question is vain . . . for it is not to the south that the Jews pray, nor either do the Muslims. The Jews who live in Egypt, and also the Muslims there, as I saw with my own eyes and will now set out for you, prayed to the east, and still do, both peoples—the Jews towards Jerusalem and the Muslims towards the Ka'ba. And those Jews who are to the south of Jerusalem pray to the north; and those in the land of Babel, in Hira and in Basra, pray to the west. And also the Muslims who are there pray to the west, towards the Ka'ba; and those who are to the south of the Ka'ba pray to the north, towards that place. So from all this that has been said it is clear that it is not to the south that the Jews and Muslims here in the regions of Syria pray, but towards Jerusalem or the Ka'ba, the patriarchal places of their races.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Jacob, *Letter 6*, to John the Stylite, ed. 519–520, trans. 525–526.

<sup>42</sup> Similarly, in a commentary on 1 Kings 14:21–22, Jacob says that like the Jews handed over to Pharaoh for the wickedness of Reheboam, 'so also the Messiah has surrendered us, because of our many sins and perversities, and subjected us to the harsh yoke of the Arabians who do not acknowledge him to be God and the son of God and the Messiah to be God His son' (G. Phillips, *Scholia on Passages of the Old Testament* (London 1864), ed. ۱۳, trans. 42).

<sup>43</sup> That Christians sought to debate with Muslims at an early date is suggested by Anastasius of Sinai, who says: 'Before any discussion at all, we must first anathematize all the false beliefs of which our adversaries suspect us. Thus, when we wish to debate with Arabs, we should commence by anathematizing whoever asserts two gods or that God has carnally begotten the son, or whoever worships as god some celestial or terrestrial being' (K.H. Uthemann, *Anastasiū Sinaitae Viae dux* (CCSG 8; Turnhout 1981), 9).

<sup>44</sup> Jacob, *Letter 14*, to John the Stylite, fol. 124a; translated also by Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*, 173 note 30, who transliterate the places in Babylonia as ܗܝܘܠܝܘܬܐ and

Jacob had studied in Alexandria as a youth and so would have been in a position to observe the Muslims there at first hand, and, as pointed out above, there were Muslims resident in Edessa while he was bishop of that town. That Muslims pray towards the Ka'ba is only stated ambiguously by the Qur'an and the other early Christian sources, and Jacob therefore constitutes our first specific reference to the Muslim *qibla*.<sup>45</sup> His point is that the direction in which the Muslims pray depends upon where they are in relation to the Ka'ba. What and where this is are left vague, and one can deduce little more than that it had some connection with Abraham or some such patriarchal figure and lay in the Sinai–Palestine–Jordan–Hijaz area.<sup>46</sup> Interestingly, John the Stylite's question features in two other seventh-century Christian texts, where it occurs along with two topics also of relevance to both Jews and Muslims: circumcision and hostility towards veneration of images.<sup>47</sup> This unprecedented preoccupation with these three issues is perhaps best accounted for by assuming that the inhabitants of the former Byzantine provinces took note of the fact that the newly victorious Arabs were, like the Jews, circumcised, praying towards the south and contemptuous of images, and began to raise questions about the relationship of imperial defeat to Christian practice, and even to ponder whether the Christians might not be the ones in error.<sup>48</sup>

ܕܝܗܪܐ—these are almost certainly Hira (read *het-yod* not *nun-het*) and Bašra (often spelt with a *waw* in Syriac; e.g. Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, ed. Chabot, 4:449), the *taw* conveying Arabic *tā-marbūʿa*.

<sup>45</sup> The term 'Ka'ba' occurs only once in the Qur'an: 'God has established the Ka'ba, the Sacred House, as a support for man' (5.97). An anonymous Nestorian chronicle of c.670 edited by I. Guidi in *Chronica minora* 1 (CSCO 1, Syr. 1; Paris 1903), 38, mentions that the Arabs worship at the 'dome of Abraham'; John bar Penkaye, *Rēš mellē*, ed. Mingana, 155, trans. 183 (trans. Brock, 'Book XV', 64), knows that there is 'a certain locality in the south where their sanctuary was', the Muslims' 'House of God'.

<sup>46</sup> Crone and Cook, *Hagarism*, 23–24, argue for a north-west Arabian location, but see Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 562–575.

<sup>47</sup> G. Bardy, *Les trophées de Damas: controverse judéo-chrétienne du VIIe siècle* (PO 15.2; Paris 1920), 193–194, 245–250, 252; *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*, PG 28, 617D–624B, Q. nos. 37–41. All three topics also appear in the mid-eighth-century *Disputation* of a monk of Beth Hale monastery with an Arab notable (Ms. Diyarbakır Syr. 95, fols. 2b, 5a, 7b), and in John of Damascus, *Expositio fidei* 85, 89, 98, ed. B. Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos* 2. *Ἐκδοσις ἀκριβῆς τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως – Expositio fidei* (PTS 12; Berlin 1973). Jacob, *Letter to Addai*, Q. no. 96, also asks 'why do we prostrate before images?'

<sup>48</sup> Cf. *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*, PG 28, 624B, Q. no. 42: 'How is it evident that the Christians have a faith superior to all the faiths under heaven?'



5. *Conclusion*

The writings of Jacob illustrate well that as early as the 690s the Muslim presence was making itself felt in numerous ways, even outside the principal areas of Muslim settlement, and that Islam was appreciated as a distinctive religion by Christians. The attitude to this presence is difficult to assess. Jacob himself inveighs against the oppressiveness of the Muslim yoke,<sup>49</sup> and this is a perennial theme in the many Christian apocalypses composed in the first century of Islam.<sup>50</sup> On the other hand, the Muslims were in this period often generous in their dealings with the Christians: Mu‘āwiya rebuilt the church of Edessa when it was damaged by an earthquake in 679,<sup>51</sup> and many Muslim governors showed indulgence towards and even established friendships with various Christian authorities.<sup>52</sup> Jacob also tells us of how some Muslims, pricked by their consciences, had presented to him sacred vessels that they had taken from ‘the land of the Greeks’ and which he subsequently restored to their owners.<sup>53</sup>

But for church leaders such as Jacob, it would have been the religious rather than the physical pretensions of the Muslims that provoked

<sup>49</sup> See note 42 above.

<sup>50</sup> See especially F.J. Martinez, *Eastern Christian Apocalyptic in the Early Muslim Period* (Ph.D. thesis, Catholic University of America; Washington, DC 1985); G.J. Reinink, ‘Ps.-Methodius: A Concept of History in Response to the Rise of Islam’, and H.J.W. Drijvers, ‘The Gospel of the Twelve Apostles: A Syriac Apocalypse from the Early Islamic Period’, both in A. Cameron and L.I. Conrad (eds.), *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East 1. Problems in the Literary Source Material* (Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 1; Princeton 1991), 149–187, 189–213.

<sup>51</sup> Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle*, ed. Chabot, 4:436–437, trans. 2:457. John bar Penkaye, *Rēš mellē*, ed. Mingana, 146–147, trans. 175 (trans. Brock, ‘Book XV’, 61), describes at length the peace and prosperity that obtained in Mu‘āwiya’s reign; the apocalypses put into the mouths of the two early seventh-century Egyptian church leaders Pisuntius of Qeft (A. Perier, ‘Lettre de Pisuntios, évêque de Qeft, à ses fidèles’, *ROC* 19 (1914), ed. 302, trans. 446) and Samuel of Qalamun (J. Ziadeh, ‘L’Apocalypse de Samuel, supérieur de Deir el-Qalamoun’, *ROC* 20 (1915–17), ed. 378, trans. 394) speak of an initial period of peace between Muslims and Christians.

<sup>52</sup> Gabriel, bishop of Qartmin (633–648), apparently obtained concessions from, and enjoyed good relations with, the local governor (Palmer, *Monk and Mason*, 155–159); so also did Rabban Theodore, ascetic and former teacher at Kashkar, Mar Emmeh, bishop of Niniveh and subsequently catholicos, and Sabrisho‘, metropolitan of Beth Garne (A. Scher, *Histoire Nestorienne* (PO 13.4; Paris 1918), 598–599, 630, 632–633). And ‘Amr ibn al-‘As (d. 663) and ‘Abd al-‘Azīz ibn Marwān (d. 704) are said to have honoured the patriarchs Benjamin and Isaac respectively (B. Evetts, *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria* 2 (PO 1.4; Paris 1907), 496–497; E. Porcher, *Vie d’Isaac Patriarche d’Alexandrie de 686 à 689, écrite par Mina, évêque de Pchati* (PO 11.3; Paris 1914), 363–385).

<sup>53</sup> Jacob, *Letter A to John the Stylite*, Q. no. 23; note how remote appear Jacob’s feelings towards Byzantium.

greatest alarm. With the completion in 691 of the Dome of the Rock on the Temple Mount in Jerusalem, and the circulation of coins in 697 proclaiming that ‘God is One, God is the Eternal, He did not beget nor was He begotten’ and that ‘Muḥammad is the messenger of God whom He sent with guidance and the religion of truth that he might make it victorious over all religions’, Islam presented itself as distinct from and a rival, even successor, to Christianity. The latter was forced onto the defensive, obliged to redefine and re-assess itself. The apocalypses produced at this time, the concern with legislation shown by the Quinisext Council of 691 and by Jacob of Edessa, the iconoclast venture promoted by the emperor Leo III (717–741), and the *Expositio fidei* of John of Damascus (d. c.750) are all responses to the same challenge, that posed by the emergence of a new and vigorous faith in a world of which Christians had considered themselves masters.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

*Letter to Addai*, Q. nos. 1–73 = Ms. Harvard Syr. 93, fols. 1–18a (lacking nos. 1–12), and Ms. Mardin 310, fols. 178a–191a (lacking nos. 1–5, 37–49) of the eighth century.<sup>54</sup> Nos. 1–71 are found in Ms. Paris syr. 62 of the ninth century; they have been edited by P.A. de Lagarde (*Reliquiae iuris ecclesiastici antiquissimae* (Leipzig 1856), 117–144), and by T.J. Lamy with a Latin translation (*Dissertatio de Syrorum fide* (Leuven 1859), 98–171), and translated into German (Kayser, *Canones*, 11–33) and French (F. Nau, *Canons et résolutions canoniques* (Paris 1906), 38–66).

*Letter to Addai*, Q. nos. 74–98 = Ms. Harvard Syr. 93, fols. 25a–33b. Mardin 310, fols. 195b–199a, contains only nos. 74–80. All these questions and some of the answers thereto are translated in Hoyland, *Seeing Islam*, 606–610.

*Letter to Addai*, Q. nos. 99–116 = Vööbus, *Synodicon* 1, ed. 258–269, trans. 235–244, nos. 1–3, 6, 8–21. This collection, found in Ms. Damascus Patr. 8/11 written in 1204, contains 51 questions of Addai with Jacob’s replies thereto, but only eighteen are new: nos. 4, 5, 7 and 22–51 correspond to 83, 85, 87, 1, 3, 5–7, 10–28, 31–34, 36 and 80 of the above questions of Addai.

*Letter A to John the Stylite*,<sup>55</sup> Q. nos. 1–27 = Vööbus, *Synodicon* 1, ed. 233–245, trans. 215–225.

<sup>54</sup> The contents of Harvard 93—formerly no. 85 in Rendel Harris’ private collection—are listed in J. Rendel Harris, *The Gospel of the Twelve Apostles* (Cambridge 1900), 8–11; for the new reference, see M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, *Syriac Manuscripts in the Harvard College Library* (Missoula 1979), 75–76. On Mardin 310, see A. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonensammlungen. Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkunde* 1. *West-syrische Originalurkunden* 1B (CSCO 317, Subs. 38; Leuven 1970), 447–452; this manuscript is accessible via Ms. Mingana syr. 8, which is a late copy made in 1906 (compare *ibid.*, 449–452, with A. Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts* 1 (Cambridge 1933), 25–37).

<sup>55</sup> The *Letters A and B to John the Stylite*, as well as the *Letter to Addai* mentioned above, are lists of questions and answers rather than letters in the strict sense (even

*Letter B to John the Stylite*, Q. nos. 1–16 = Ms. Harvard Syr. 93, fols. 37a–44b.

All but the last of these questions are found in Ms. Damascus Patr. 8/11 (with two new questions: nos. 8 and 14) and are edited and translated by Vööbus, *Synodicon* 1, ed. 245–254, trans. 225–233.

*Letter 6*,<sup>56</sup> to John the Stylite = Ms. British Library Add. 12172, fols. 87b–91a; ed.

F. Nau, ‘Lettre de Jacques d’Édesse sur la généalogie de la Sainte Vierge’, *ROC* 6 (1901), 517–522, trans. 522–531.

*Letter 14*, to John the Stylite = Ms. British Library Add. 12172, fols. 122a–126b.

*Canons*, nos. 1–31 = Ms. Harvard Syr. 93, fols. 18a–25a. Nos. 1, 3–6, 8–20, 22–24, 30 appear in abbreviated form in Ms. Damascus Patr. 8/11 (with two new canons: nos. 5 and 23), and have been edited and translated by Vööbus, *Synodicon* 1, ed. 269–272, trans. 245–247.

*Canons (BH)* = Barhebraeus, *Nomocanon* (ed. P. Bedjan; Paris 1898). The material pertaining to Jacob is edited and translated by Kayser, *Canones*, ed. 5–28 (back), trans. 35–46, and translated by Nau, *Canons et résolutions*, 69–75.

though in some manuscripts they are accompanied by an introductory letter). For this reason they are disregarded in Jan van Ginkel’s classification given in this volume (pp. 78–81). The numbers 6 and 14 below do refer to his listing.

<sup>56</sup> According to Jan van Ginkel’s numbering, which follows the order of the main collection of Jacob’s letters in the Ms. BL Add. 12172. See note 55 above.

## THE CHRONICLE OF JACOB OF EDESSA

*Witold Witakowski\**

Jacob of Edessa (d. 708) was the most outstanding Syriac intellectual of the early Muslim era, and, it seems, one of the most important scholars of the Christian-Aramean tradition. A universal mind, to be placed beside only a few, such as Barhebraeus who lived 500 years later, he is known for exceptionally broad learning, for his knowledge of Greek and—according to some modern scholars at least—even Hebrew,<sup>1</sup> as well as for a prolific literary or rather scholarly production, covering such disciplines as grammar, theology (including Bible translation, biblical exegesis, canon law, and liturgy), philosophy, astronomy, geography, zoology, botanics, and anatomy—the last five subsumed in his *Hexaemeron*.<sup>2</sup> On top of all this he also made his name known in the field of studies in and reflection on history. As far as the latter is concerned one should mention his *Letter on the Divine Economy*, which provides a sketch of sacred history, valuable for the study of the Syriac Christian view of history.<sup>3</sup> Yet in this area Jacob is mostly known for his *Chronicle*.

\* Abbreviations used in this article:

EbSh (= Elias bar Shenaya) – E.W. Brooks, *Eliae metropolitae Nisibeni Opus chronologicum* 1 (CSCO 62\*–63\*, Syr. 21–23; Paris 1910); J.-B. Chabot, *Eliae metropolitae Nisibeni Opus chronologicum* 2 (CSCO 62\*\*–63\*\*, Syr. 22–24; Paris 1909–1910);

JacEd (= Jacob of Edessa) – E.W. Brooks, ‘Chronicon Iacobi Edesseni’, in E.W. Brooks *et al.*, *Chronica minora* 3 (CSCO 5–6, Syr. 5–6; Paris 1905–1907), ed. 261–330, trans. 197–258; corrigenda in ed. 305–306.

ME (= Michael the Elder (ܡܝܚܐܝܠ), also known as Michael the Syrian) – J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d’Antioche (1166–1199)* (Paris 1899–1924), quoted by volume number, pages, columns: a – central, b – innermost, c – outermost, and lines.

<sup>1</sup> Thus, among many others, I. Ortiz de Urbina, *Patrologia syriaca* (2nd ed.; Rome 1965), 177; but see now A. Salvesen, ‘Did Jacob of Edessa Know Hebrew?’, in A. Rapoport-Albert and G. Greenberg (eds.), *Biblical Hebrew, Biblical Texts: Essays in Memory of Michael P. Weitzman* (JSOT.S 333; London 2001), 457–467.

<sup>2</sup> Text: J.-B. Chabot, *Iacobi Edesseni Hexaemeron seu in opus creationis libri septem* (CSCO 92, Syr. 44; Paris 1928); Latin translation: A. Vaschalde, *Iacobi Edesseni Hexaemeron seu in opus creationis libri septem* (CSCO 97, Syr. 48; Leuven 1932).

<sup>3</sup> *Letter* 49 in Dr Jan van Ginkel’s classification (see his article ‘Greetings to a Virtuous Man: The Correspondence of Jacob of Edessa’ in this volume, esp. p. 81).

1. *Manuscript Basis, Editions, Translations, and Studies*

Jacob's *Chronicle* became known to the scholarly world through W. Wright's catalogue of the Syriac manuscripts in the British Library, in which he provided a short description of the manuscript of Jacob's *Chronicle* and published the text of the introduction.<sup>4</sup> The first general description of the *Chronicle* known to me was provided by C. Kayser in 1886,<sup>5</sup> i.e. before the whole text was published. In 1899 E.W. Brooks published the Syriac text of the chronological tables, together with an English translation,<sup>6</sup> to which S. Fraenkel and the editor himself soon added some corrections.<sup>7</sup> Later the whole text (1905) was published again by Brooks with a Latin translation (1907) in one of the first volumes of the CSCO.<sup>8</sup> So far, however, no special study has been devoted to the work, although in general accounts of Syriac literature (like those by W. Wright,<sup>9</sup> R. Duval,<sup>10</sup> A. Baumstark,<sup>11</sup> J.-B. Chabot,<sup>12</sup> I. Ortiz de Urbina<sup>13</sup>) and especially in those of Syriac historiography (by S.P. Brock,<sup>14</sup> D.S. Wallace-Hadrill,<sup>15</sup> W. Witakowski,<sup>16</sup> L.I. Conrad<sup>17</sup>

<sup>4</sup> W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since the Year 1838* 3 (London 1872), 1062–1064.

<sup>5</sup> C. Kayser, *Die Canones Jacob's von Edessa* (Leipzig 1886), 72–73.

<sup>6</sup> E.W. Brooks, 'The Chronological Canon of James of Edessa', *ZDMG* 53 (1899), 261–327.

<sup>7</sup> S. Fraenkel, 'Zur Chronik des Jacob von Edessa (ZDMG. 53, 261 ff.)', *ZDMG* 53 (1899), 534–537; E.W. Brooks, 'Errata in "The Chronological Canon of James of Edessa" (ZDMG. 53, pp. 261 ff.)', *ZDMG* 53 (1899), 550; idem, 'The Chronological Canon of James of Edessa (ZDMG. 53, 261 ff.)', *ZDMG* 54 (1900), 100–102.

<sup>8</sup> Here referred to as JacEd, see the first footnote above.

<sup>9</sup> W. Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature* (Amsterdam 1966; repr. of London 1894), 147–149.

<sup>10</sup> R. Duval, *La littérature syriaque* (3rd ed.; Anciennes littératures chrétiennes 2; Paris 1907), 190.

<sup>11</sup> A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluß der christlich-palästinensischen Texte* (Bonn 1922), 254.

<sup>12</sup> J.-B. Chabot, *Littérature syriaque* (Paris 1934), 85.

<sup>13</sup> Ortiz de Urbina, *Patrologia*, 208–209.

<sup>14</sup> S.P. Brock, 'Syriac Sources for Seventh-Century History', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 2 (1976), 19 (reprinted in his *Syriac Perspectives on Late Antiquity* (London 1984), Ch. VII); idem, 'Syriac Historical Writing: A Survey of the Main Sources', *Journal of the Iraqi Academy, Syriac Corporation* 5 (1979–1980), 8 (reprinted in his *Studies in Syriac Christianity* (Aldershot 1992), Ch. I); idem, 'Syriac Culture in the Seventh Century', *Aram* 1 (1989), 269–270.

<sup>15</sup> D.S. Wallace-Hadrill, *Christian Antioch: A Study of Early Christian Thought in the East* (Cambridge 1982), 55.

<sup>16</sup> W. Witakowski, *The Syriac Chronicle of Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahrē: A Study in the History of Historiography* (Studia semitica upsaliensia 9; Uppsala 1987), 80.

and P. Nagel<sup>18</sup>), more or less basic information on the work has been provided. E. Riad in her book of 1988 analysed the preface to Jacob's *Chronicle*.<sup>19</sup> In 1991 O.J. Schrier published a paper in which he dealt with chronological problems concerning both Jacob's life and his *Chronicle*.<sup>20</sup> Recently A. Palmer translated a fragment of the *Chronicle* covering the Muslim epoch.<sup>21</sup> There are also other smaller contributions by L. Bernhard<sup>22</sup> and W. Adler.<sup>23</sup>

The state of the preservation of Jacob's work is deplorable. In independent transmission it is known from one manuscript only, Add. 14685 (fols. 1–23) from the tenth or eleventh century, preserved in the British Library.<sup>24</sup> The manuscript is in a bad condition, it has many lacunae, which in the standard edition could only to a degree be completed by means of quotations from Jacob's *Chronicle* found in the works of two later Syriac historians, Michael the Elder (also known as Michael the Syrian) and Elias bar Shenaya of Nisibis.<sup>25</sup>

## 2. *The Identity of the Author of the Chronicle*

The name which is provided in the title of the *Chronicle* in the London manuscript is actually 'Jacob the Laborious' or better 'Philoponus' (ܐܒܝ ܩܝܡܘܨܐ),<sup>26</sup> whom however W. Wright, without actually

<sup>17</sup> L.I. Conrad, 'Syriac Perspectives on Bilād al-Shām during the Abbasid Period', in M.A. al-Bakhit and R. Schick (eds.), *Bilād al-Shām during the Abbasid Period (132 A.H./750 A.D. – 451 A.H./1059 A.D.): Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on the History of Bilād al-Shām, 7–11 Sha'ban 1410 A.H./4–8 March 1990* (Amman 1991), English and French section, 27.

<sup>18</sup> P. Nagel, 'Grundzüge syrischer Geschichtsschreibung', in F. Winkelmann and W. Brandes (eds.), *Quellen zur Geschichte des frühen Byzanz (4.–9. Jahrhundert): Bestand und Probleme* (Berliner byzantinistische Arbeiten 55; Berlin 1990), 255.

<sup>19</sup> E. Riad, *Studies in the Syriac Preface* (Studia semitica upsaliensia 11; Uppsala 1988), 106.

<sup>20</sup> O.J. Schrier, 'Chronological Problems concerning the Lives of Severus bar Mašqā, Athanasius of Balad, Julianus Romāyā, Yoḥannān Sābā, George of the Arabs and Jacob of Edessa', *OrChr* 75 (1991), 62–90.

<sup>21</sup> A. Palmer, S.P. Brock, and R. Hoyland, *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles* (Translated Texts for Historians 15; Liverpool 1993), 36–42.

<sup>22</sup> L. Bernhard, 'Die Universalgeschichtsschreibung des christlichen Orients', in A. Randa (ed.), *Mensch und Weltgeschichte: zur Geschichte der Universalgeschichtsschreibung* (Forschungsgespräche des Internationalen Forschungszentrum für Grundfragen der Wissenschaften, Salzburg 7; Salzburg 1969), 120–123.

<sup>23</sup> W. Adler, *Time Immemorial: Archaic History and its Sources in Christian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 26; Washington 1989), 48.

<sup>24</sup> See above, note 4.

<sup>25</sup> Here abbreviated as ME and EbSh, respectively, see the first footnote above.

<sup>26</sup> JacEd ed. 261,1–2, trans. 199.

giving any reasons, identified with Jacob of Edessa (ܝܥܩܘܒ ܥܕܥܣܐ).<sup>27</sup> This evoked criticism on the part of François Nau (1898) who regarded Jacob of Edessa and Jacob Philoponus as two different authors.<sup>28</sup> He argued that:

- (a) the actual *Chronicle* of the London manuscript attributed to Jacob the Laborious was too short to be the work of Jacob of Edessa;
- (b) there was no agreement between the *Chronicle* of the London manuscript and the quotations from Jacob of Edessa's work found in Michael the Elder's *Chronicle*, moreover,
- (c) Philoponus' work was merely a continuation of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, whereas, according to Barhebraeus, that of Jacob should also contain a translation or a reworking of Eusebius' work,<sup>29</sup> a fact apparently corroborated by a Garshuni manuscript of the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, attributed to Jacob and containing sections on pre-Constantinian history;<sup>30</sup>
- (d) the works of the two had never been confused, nor the authors identified with each other by any scribe or reader.

While one cannot reproach scribes or readers for not having done for us the job of identifying the two names as referring to one man, the other arguments are more serious.

As has already been pointed out by E.W. Brooks, what was preserved in the London manuscript was only part of Jacob's work, and thus the notion of the existence of two chronicles can hardly be accepted solely on the basis of differences between the preserved text and the testimony of later historians.

As to the name of the author, Brooks pointed out that Jacob was the bishop of Edessa for four years only (684–688), and that once having given up his episcopacy, he certainly would not regard it proper to sign his works as ܝܥܩܘܒ ܥܕܥܣܐ, Jacob of Edessa. Rather he would use his former sobriquet, ܝܥܩܘܒ ܦܝܠܘܦܘܢܘܨ, Philoponus, which is, in fact, known from Jacob's autograph manuscript of his revision of the translation of Severus of Antioch's hymns (BL Add. 17134<sup>31</sup>), written before Jacob became

<sup>27</sup> Wright, *Catalogue* 3, 1062: '... composed, as it would seem, by Jacob of Edessa ...'

<sup>28</sup> F. Nau, 'Notice sur un nouveau manuscrit de l'Octoëchus de Sévère d'Antioche et sur l'auteur Jacques Philoponus, distinct de Jacques d'Édesse', *JA* 9.12 (1898), 346–351.

<sup>29</sup> E. Pococke, *Historia compendiosa dynastiarum* (Oxford 1663), 33 (*non vidi*; Nau, 'Notice', 350).

<sup>30</sup> Ms. syr. 306 attributed to ܝܥܩܘܒ ܦܝܠܘܦܘܢܘܨ. We shall return to this text below.

<sup>31</sup> Wright, *Catalogue* 1 (London 1870), 336.

bishop of Edessa. F. Nau argued again of course that this manuscript did not contain what was otherwise known to be the work of Jacob of Edessa, but simply that of Jacob Philoponus. Since however this and another collection of the hymns attributed to Jacob the Edessene differ by the presence of one hymn only, which could have obviously been added to the collection later, Nau's entire hypothesis can hardly be admitted. It would lead us to accept that there were two contemporary authors by the name of Jacob, living at the end of the seventh century, both of whom made a revision of Paul of Edessa's translation of the hymns of Severus of Antioch, and both of whom wrote a chronicle, and so on.<sup>32</sup>

As we now have both Michael's and Elias of Nisibis's works published, comparison between them on the one hand and the *Chronicle* in the London manuscript on the other is simpler. And in fact common lemmata for Jacob Philoponus' work and Michael's *Chronicle* can be found,<sup>33</sup> and since Michael called the author from whom he copied the lemmata 'Jacob the Edessene', the identification of ܐܘܒܪܗܡ ܕܥܕܝܣܝܐ with ܪܡܝܘܪ ܕܥܕܝܣܝܐ (var. ܡܝܘܪܐ ܕܥܕܝܣܝܐ) may be accepted.

We can also add another argument in confirmation of this. Michael the Elder, writing of the death of Dionysius bar Salibi (d. 1171), a prominent figure of the Syriac Renaissance of the twelfth century, says that this 'eloquent doctor, the star of his generation' can be called 'the friend of toil (ܐܘܒܪܗܡ ܕܥܕܝܣܝܐ) in the likeness of Jacob of Edessa (ܕܥܘܒܪܗܡ ܕܥܕܝܣܝܐ)'.<sup>34</sup>

Leaving for a moment the question of Jacob's translation or reworking of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, we may briefly comment that F. Nau wrote his critique not only before Jacob's *Chronicle*, but also before that of Michael the Elder was published, at any rate in its original language, and it is clear that in these circumstances he could easily err.

### 3. *The Title of the Work*

In the London manuscript the work is titled *Chronicle*, in Syriac ܕܥܘܒܪܗܡ ܕܥܕܝܣܝܐ, which is the calque of the Greek *χρονολογία*. The full title reads: *The Chronicle which is a continuation of that of Eusebius of Caesarea* (ܕܥܘܒܪܗܡ ܕܥܕܝܣܝܐ ܕܥܘܒܪܗܡ ܕܥܕܝܣܝܐ ܕܥܘܒܪܗܡ ܕܥܕܝܣܝܐ).

In his *Catalogue* of Syriac writers and their works, a kind of history of Syriac literature, 'Abdisho', the East Syrian metropolitan of Nisibis (d.

<sup>32</sup> Brooks, 'The Chronological Canon', 264.

<sup>33</sup> Compare for instance ME ed. 4:76a,1-78 end, trans. 1:118-120 = JacEd ed. 278,14-283,19, trans. 209-212.

<sup>34</sup> ME ed. 4:698c,4 from the bottom-699,1, trans. 3:344.



1318) informs us that Jacob of Edessa wrote *ܩܘܢܝܩܘܢܐ ܕܘܩܬܐ*.<sup>35</sup> J.S. Assemani, who published the *Catalogue*, translated this as *Chronicon seu annales*, but, as has already been pointed out by C. Kayser,<sup>36</sup> two works are meant here. What we call a ‘chronicle’ is referred to by the expression *ܩܘܢܝܩܘܢܐ*, lit. ‘on times’ or ‘on periods of time’, which may however be understood as an abbreviation of *ܩܘܢܝܩܘܢܐ ܕܘܩܬܐ*. On the other hand the word *ܩܘܢܝܩܘܢܐ* (*krōnīqōn*) should rather be understood as a ‘calendar’ of some sort, or as a treatise on computing dates of festivals and on other calendar problems. Such an understanding would be in accordance with the meaning of the title of a *mēm̄rā* by George, Bishop of the Arab Tribes, on epacta, lunar and solar cycles, and the calculation of church festivals,<sup>37</sup> or with that of the treaty on heortology by Shem‘on Shanqlāwaya, also entitled *ܩܘܢܝܩܘܢܐ* (thirteenth cent.).<sup>38</sup> Consequently, since this meaning of the term *ܩܘܢܝܩܘܢܐ* is attested in the East Syrian usage in the thirteenth century, ‘Abdisho’<sup>c</sup>’s use of the same term should be taken as referring to such a computistic or calendrical treatise of Jacob, and not to his *Chronicle*. That George of the Arab Tribes shared Jacob’s interests also in this sphere does not come as a surprise.

It is difficult however to be more specific about the character of this apparently lost work of Jacob. There exists in fact a calendar, or a menologion, which is attributed to Jacob.<sup>39</sup> The attribution, as S.P. Brock has remarked, seems however false since the calendar in question

<sup>35</sup> Edition in J.S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana* 3.1 (Rome 1725), 229.

<sup>36</sup> Kayser, *Canones*, 72–74.

<sup>37</sup> R. Payne Smith (ed.), *Thesaurus Syriacus* 1 (Hildesheim 1981; repr. of Oxford 1879), col. 1815; Baumstark, *Geschichte*, 258. A Syriac manuscript preserved in Germany contains a work titled *ܩܘܢܝܩܘܢܐ ܕܘܩܬܐ*, which J. Assfalg (*Syrische Handschriften: syrische, karšunische, christlich-palästinische, neusyrische und mandäische Handschriften* (Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland 5; Wiesbaden 1963), 62) translates as *Berechnung des Chronikon*, but which might perhaps be better rendered as *Computus*. The term is also used in the presentation of the contents of a treatise on the computing of the date of Lent of the eleventh cent.: J.E. Dean, ‘The Old Syriac Calendar’, *JAOS* 54 (1934), 130. In ‘The Old Syriac Calendar’, 130, note 2, Dean brings a testimony of Ms. BL Or. [Add.?] 14713, fol. 161, line 17, where the term is defined as meaning ‘the reckoning of the year’.

<sup>38</sup> F. Müller, *Die Chronologie des Simeon Šanqlāwājā nach den drei Berliner Handschriften dargestellt* (Leipzig 1889), 9.

<sup>39</sup> Published by S.P. Brock (‘A Calendar Attributed to Jacob of Edessa’, *ParOr* 1 (1970), 415–429) on the basis of two manuscripts: Vat. Borgianus sir. 124, one folio only (F. Nau, *Un martyrologe et douze ménologes syriaques* (PO 10.1; Paris 1912), 132–133), and Mingana Syr. 234, to which a third may be added: Berlin 233 (Sachau 39); cf. E. Sachau, *Verzeichnis der syrischen Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin* 2 (Berlin 1899), 703–704.

does not have much in common with the group of other calendars or menologia known to have been composed in the Qenneshrin monastery, where Jacob spent his student years.<sup>40</sup> However, there is also another indication suggesting that Jacob was the author of such a work: the *Martyrology* known as that of *Rabban Sliba* (*Ṣlibā*).<sup>41</sup> It too is attributed to Jacob, but is different from the calendar mentioned above. It is much later (fourteenth cent.) than the epoch in which Jacob lived, and thus it cannot be his. It may however have been based, as its editor, P. Peeters, suggested,<sup>42</sup> on a work of Jacob that has subsequently been lost.<sup>43</sup>

Nevertheless there is some evidence that Jacob's *ܟܘܢܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ* mentioned by 'Abdisho' was not a calendar of a menologion or martyrology type. The reason for thinking this is not because the *Martyrology of Rabban Sliba* is actually titled *ܟܘܢܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ* ...<sup>44</sup> *ܟܘܢܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ* 'a list ... of festivals' (and not *ܟܘܢܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ*),<sup>45</sup> but rather because of the evidence from the *Chronography of Elias bar Shenaya of Nisibis* (d. 1046).

Elias, who utilised Jacob's *Chronicle* as a source for his work, uses various titles when referring to Jacob's work or, as we shall argue, works. In addition to a general *ܟܘܢܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ*, Jacob of Edessa, we find three titles: *ܟܘܢܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ*, which is the equivalent of Jacob's own title, *ܟܘܢܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ*, 'the canons of years', and *ܟܘܢܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ*. However, in order to specify what is meant by these terms, we have first to consider the historiographical genre of the work and its morphology.

<sup>40</sup> Brock, 'A Calendar', 427.

<sup>41</sup> P. Peeters, 'Le Martyrologe de Rabban Sliba', *AnBoll* 27 (1908), 127–200.

<sup>42</sup> Peeters, 'Rabban Sliba', 129.

<sup>43</sup> It does not seem that the basis of R. Sliba's *Calendar/Menologion* was the one published by Brock, since the difference between the two consists not only in copious additions in Sliba's (most of the days of the year are 'covered' with feasts, against only few per month in the one attributed to Jacob), but also in the fact that some of the festivals in the latter are celebrated on other days than in the former, or are missing.

<sup>44</sup> The manuscript: *ܟܘܢܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ*, the word is also spelled *ܟܘܢܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ*. This is the usual term referring to 'calendars' as lists of festivals dedicated to the saints etc., met also for instance in the *Maronite Calendar* published by J.-M. Sauget ('Le Calendrier Maronite du manuscrit Vatican syriaque 313', *OCP* 33 (1967), 230,1: *ܟܘܢܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ*). However, the title of the oldest Syriac calendar, the so-called *Martyrologium Syriacum* (end of the fourth century), does not employ any technical term but describes its contents periphrastically: 'The names of our lords confessors and victorious (martyrs), and the days on which they acquired the crowns (of martyrdom)' (*ܟܘܢܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ ܕܟܘܢܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ ܕܟܘܢܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ ܕܟܘܢܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ*): Nau, *Un martyrologe*, 11.

<sup>45</sup> The full title reads (Nau, *Un martyrologe*, 132): *ܟܘܢܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ ܕܟܘܢܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ ܕܟܘܢܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ ܕܟܘܢܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ ܕܟܘܢܝܘܢܝܘܬܐ* 'The list showing the festivals of the Lord and the commemorations of the saints in the yearly cycle, in the arrangement of Mar Jacob of Edessa.'

#### 4. *The Historiographical Genre of the Work and its Morphology*

Jacob's work was written as a continuation of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius of Caesarea, and consequently according to its pattern. Although the latter's work did have both pre-Christian antecedents (Hellenistic chronography, e.g. Eratosthenes, third cent. BC) and Christian (Sextus Julius Africanus, d. 202), it was Eusebius who left an indelible imprint on the genre. His work was copied, continued, criticized, and corrected; perhaps because of all these activities on the part of later chronographers it did not survive in its original form in Greek. We do have, however, a pretty good idea of what it was like, thanks to Jerome's Latin translation, the anonymous Armenian translation, and the material preserved in Syriac chronicles.<sup>46</sup>

The full title of Jacob's work presents it, as we have already seen, simply as a continuation of that of Eusebius. There is however information in the *Chronicle* of Michael the Elder, based on the lost historiographical work of Theodosius of Edessa (ninth cent.), that Jacob translated Eusebius' work from Greek into Syriac (ܩܒܠܐ ܠܚܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܫܒܝܘܫ ܕܩܝܫܐܘܬܐ ܕܩܥܫܐܝܪܐ ܕܩܥܫܐܝܪܐ ܕܩܥܫܐܝܪܐ).<sup>47</sup> Such a translation is however not extant and nothing more is known about it, whereas 'Abdisho' attributes the translation of Eusebius' *Chronicle* into Syriac to one Simeon of Beth Garmay, an East Syrian of the sixth century.<sup>48</sup> The problem of the identity of the translator cannot be solved here, but notwithstanding the testimony of Theodosius it seems more than doubtful that the translator was Jacob. If this had been the case, one might expect Jacob to refer to it, for instance in the introduction to his *Chronicle* in which he presents the work of his famous predecessor, but nothing of the kind can be found there. Jacob also refers to the *Chronicle* of Eusebius in his *Hexaemeron*,<sup>49</sup> but he does not mention there either that he was the translator.

No matter however whether Jacob did translate it or not, his own work is very closely modelled on that of Eusebius. The latter contained two parts, the so-called *chronography*, which had a narrative form though broken up by numerous lists of patriarchs, high priests and rulers, and the canons organized in the form of tables. To the *chronography* the

<sup>46</sup> W. Witakowski, 'The *Chronicle* of Eusebius: Its Type and Continuation in Syriac Historiography', *Aram* 11–12 (1999–2000), 419–437.

<sup>47</sup> This is embedded in a scholion of Theodosius of Edessa, a historian of the beginning of the ninth century whose work, not preserved, was used by the Patriarch Dionysius of Tel-Mahre (818–847), the latter's work in its turn being used by Michael the Elder; ME ed. 4:128 inner col., *scholion*, lines 5–6, trans. 1:255.

<sup>48</sup> Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 3.1, 633.

<sup>49</sup> Jacob of Edessa, *Hexaemeron*: 'the universal chronicle' (ܩܒܠܐ ܠܚܘܢܐ ܕܥܘܫܒܝܘܫ ܕܩܝܫܐܘܬܐ ܕܩܥܫܐܝܪܐ ܕܩܥܫܐܝܪܐ ܕܩܥܫܐܝܪܐ); ed. Chabot, 60a, 28–29, trans. Vaschalde, 48.

so-called *series regum*<sup>50</sup> was appended, that is lists of the rulers of various nations, Old Testament patriarchs and the like, in addition to the lists already mentioned in the main text of the *chronography*. Whereas Jerome translated (into Latin) only the canons, the Armenian version contains both parts. The Syriac translation must have had both parts as well, a fact to which the form of Jacob's *Chronicle*, and also that of the *Chronicle* of Elias of Nisibis, testify.

The second part of Eusebius' *Chronicle*, the *Canons*, is what has become the very essence of chronicle writing for subsequent generations of chronographers. In Eusebius it consisted of several vertical columns, called *fila regnorum*, arranged in parallel, each presenting the sequence of the years of the rulers of various countries and peoples, for instance, of Egypt, of the Hebrews, and the like, according to the actual historical situation. In a separate column the current years according to the era of Abraham were provided. Eusebius came to the conclusion that in view of the known discrepancies between the available sources it was impossible to present a reliable unified chronology of the history of mankind from the Creation, at any rate up to Abraham, and that is why he started to count years only from the birth of this patriarch. The era of Abraham does not exhaust Eusebius' chronological construction, for in addition to this another counting system, that of the Olympiads, was provided, starting from the 1240th year of Abraham. There are also indications that Eusebius marked the decades.<sup>51</sup>

Between the columns of the *fila regnorum*, or—in another redaction—on both sides of them (the latter arrangement is known from the Armenian version and was adopted by the Syrian chroniclers as well), there was room for notes (lemmata) on events which the chronicler regarded worthy of being recorded: this is the so-called *spatium historicum*. The notes were not dated separately, but their exact placement opposite a given year marked in the *fila regnorum* was expected to provide dates for them.

Jacob of Edessa's work is constructed in a similar way. It also consists of two parts. In the *chronography*, after the preface which is of the so-called objective type (i.e. introducing the reader directly *in medias res*),<sup>52</sup> Jacob presents the work of his famous predecessor and corrects

<sup>50</sup> There are some doubts about its authenticity. It may have been added by a later editor of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius. In any case both the Armenian and the Syriac translations contained it.

<sup>51</sup> On the form of Eusebius' *Chronicle*, see A.A. Mosshammer, *The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition* (Lewisburg 1979), 67–69; see also his reproductions of some folios from a manuscript of Jerome's *Chronicle*, 22–23, 25–26, and an attempt at a graphical reconstruction of the Greek original, 27.

<sup>52</sup> According to E. Riad's classification, see above, note 19.

what he regards to be Eusebius' error, namely three years which the latter is said to have added in his reckoning. In fact the title of this section reads: 'On the canons which Eusebius made, and on the three years at its end with which he leads (us) into error (ﻣﺴﺎﻟﺔ)' (JacEd ed. 265,1–2, trans. 201). After this very learned introduction Jacob gives the lists of the Macedonian rulers (from the eponym Macedon until Aranes and then from Karanos until Alexander the Great, of which only the second part was provided by Eusebius<sup>53</sup>), then that of the Ptolemies until Cleopatra,<sup>54</sup> and that of the Roman emperors of whom the last mentioned is Maximinus (235–238), all the others being lost in a lacuna.<sup>55</sup> Then comes a chapter on post-Hellenistic kingdoms, which were beyond the scope of Eusebius,<sup>56</sup> among them Parthia, Armenia, and Osroene.<sup>57</sup> This part also contained a list of the Sassanid kings of Persia, which is now lost.<sup>58</sup> The chronographical part is completed with the synchronisation of the years of the Roman and Persian monarchs.

The subsequent canons, kept in the form of tables, start with only two *fila regnorum*, in which the regnal years of the Roman emperors and of the Persian kings are counted, but ends with three, the third being that of the Arab 'kings'. To the (reader's) right of these *fila regnorum* (i.e. before them, in the direction of reading) another column is provided which gives the numerical sequence of years in what may be called Jacob's era (see below).

On both sides of the columns, but quite often also breaking across them, the actual lemmata containing historical information are provided. These are rather badly preserved, which of course makes the analysis of the contents problematic.<sup>59</sup> (A page of the London manuscript is reproduced in Fig. 1.)

<sup>53</sup> Eusebius of Caesarea, *Chronicon*, trans. J. Karst, *Die Chronik* (GCS 20, Eusebius Werke 5; Leipzig 1911), 108–109, 150–151.

<sup>54</sup> Karst, *Die Chronik*, 79–80, 152–153.

<sup>55</sup> In Brooks' edition it is restored on the basis of Michael the Elder's *Chronicle*.

<sup>56</sup> JacEd ed. 278,9–279,11, trans. 209–210; entitled: 'The kingdoms which existed before the completion of the canon of Eusebius, contemporary with the kingdom of the Romans, but which Eusebius did not treat in full, and those (which came into being) after the canon was finished.'

<sup>57</sup> On which see L. Van Rompay, 'Jacob of Edessa and the Early History of Edessa', in G.J. Reinink and A.C. Klugkist (eds.), *After Bardaisan: Studies on Continuity and Change in Syriac Christianity in Honour of Professor Han J.W. Drijvers* (OLA 89; Leuven 1999), 269–285.

<sup>58</sup> Brooks has reconstructed this list in his edition of Jacob's *Chronicle*; he admits however that there are discrepancies between what has been preserved of this list by Elias and by Michael the Elder respectively. Elias' list is not attributed to Jacob in the Syriac text, but only in the Arabic version.

We now have to return to the titles by which Elias of Nisibis refers to the work of Jacob. These are ܩܘܠܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܘܢܐ, ܩܘܠܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܘܢܐ, and ܩܘܠܘܢܐ, in addition to mere ܩܘܠܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܘܢܐ (e.g. Ibas of Edessa's death, EbSh 1 ed. 115,8–11, trans. 55<sup>60</sup>).

A closer analysis has shown that with reference to ܩܘܠܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܘܢܐ only lemmata on the succession of the Roman emperors are provided (e.g. Honorius' death, EbSh 1 ed. 112,11, trans. 54; JacEd – not preserved, or Anastasius' death and the accession of Justin, EbSh 1 ed. 118,6–9, trans. 56; JacEd ed. 317, trans. 239), which means that by this term Elias did not understand the whole of Jacob's *Chronicle*, but only the *fila regnorum*, or the *series regum* in the *chronography*. Elias' lemmata which come from ܩܘܠܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܘܢܐ tell us about such things as Constantius building Amid (EbSh 1 ed. 101,5–7, trans. 49; JacEd ed. 293, left col., 1–3, trans. 218), Ephrem's death (EbSh 1 ed. 105,15–18, trans. 50; JacEd ed. 299, left col., 3–6, trans. 223), and the installation and death of Rabbula of Edessa (EbSh 1 ed. 111,17–20, trans. 53; JacEd – not preserved): these are clearly drawn from Jacob's *spatium historicum*. It thus seems that Elias used Jacob's work very conscientiously and gave his references to both parts of the canons, the *fila* and the *spatium*, very precisely. Jacob's ܩܘܠܘܢܐ as a source of Elias occurs only once, for lemma A.Gr. 915, which is about a lunar eclipse (EbSh 1 ed. 125,2–4, trans. 60). The lemma is not present in Jacob's extant chronicle and since there is no lacuna where it would fit, its absence should be regarded as an additional argument confirming our hypothesis that Jacob's ܩܘܠܘܢܐ was a separate work on calendrical and, apparently, astronomical problems. The lemma could not however be placed in the *Calendar* of the martyrology or menologion type, discussed above, which leads us to the conclusion that it must have been still another work of Jacob that contained it. Elias of Nisibis brings additional testimony to its existence. In the second part of his *Chronography*, which is itself a treatise on various calendar problems and on computing the dates of festivals, he writes (EbSh 2 ed. 99,23–26, trans. 111) that Jacob 'composed a *calendrical treatise* (ܩܘܠܘܢܐ) which follows the *calendrical treatise* (ܩܘܠܘܢܐ) of Anios (= Annianos) and the *calendrical treatise* (ܩܘܠܘܢܐ) of Andronikos in the *computation of the festivals* (ܩܘܠܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܘܢܐ). In it, and in the *canon of the years* (ܩܘܠܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܘܢܐ) that he composed, he showed that Eusebius erred in several places . . .'<sup>61</sup>

<sup>59</sup> The first 80 years of the canons are relatively well preserved with few lacunae only. For the subsequent nearly 100 years there are more lacunae than the preserved text, whereupon again a part has been relatively well preserved.

<sup>60</sup> This lemma is added by a later hand; EbSh 1 ed. 115, note 1.

<sup>61</sup> EbSh 2 ed. 5,20–23, trans. 2; italics added.

In another place Elias confirms the scholarly interests of Jacob in this sort of problems, writing (EbSh 2 ed. 5,20–23, trans. 2) that Jacob showed that during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphos (third cent. BC) some Alexandrians discovered the year to have 365 days.

To sum up: even if we do not have the actual work, there is sufficient evidence for us to believe that Jacob, in addition to his *Chronicle* and a calendar of the menologion or martyrology type, also wrote a treatise on calendrical problems, known as *ܟܪܘܢܝܩܘܢ* (*Krōnīqōn*).

The terms by which Michael the Elder refers to Jacob's *Chronicle* are rather general and in most cases do not bring any specific information as to the character and construction of the work. The most often occurring reference is the mere *ܟܬܝܒܐ ܕܝܥܘܒ* (e.g. ME ed. 4:82a,15, trans. 1:126) or *ܟܬܝܒܐ ܕܝܥܘܒ* (e.g. ME ed. 4:90a,25, trans. 1:142), i.e. to the author, but he also has a reference to the work (ME ed. 4:450, *scholion*, lines 3, 6, trans. 2:482): *ܟܬܝܒܐ ܕܝܥܘܒ*, lit. 'writing, text',<sup>62</sup> which is however to be regarded as an abbreviation of *ܟܬܝܒܐ ܕܝܥܘܒ ܕܝܥܘܒ* 'chronicle', which term in Michael's epoch replaced Jacob's own *ܟܬܝܒܐ ܕܝܥܘܒ*. Only once in Michael's *Chronicle* (ME ed. 4:377,35, trans. 2:377) a periphrastic expression appears: *ܟܬܝܒܐ ܕܝܥܘܒ ܕܝܥܘܒ ܕܝܥܘܒ ܕܝܥܘܒ ܕܝܥܘܒ* 'books on the reckoning of years of holy Mar Jacob of Edessa', which does not come from Michael's pen but from that of an editor of his work. Since the editor writes that with the help of these 'books' Michael was able to organize his own work, it is most probably Jacob's canons that he has in mind here. Sporadically the term canon appears too (ME ed. 4:129, title, trans. 1:256).

Two other Syriac historians who refer to Jacob as an author of a chronological work use the terms *ܟܬܝܒܐ ܕܝܥܘܒ* 'the succession (or: series) of years', so Dionysius of Tel-Mahre (see below), and *ܟܬܝܒܐ ܕܝܥܘܒ* 'the calculation of years', so the author of the *Chronicle to the year 1234*.<sup>63</sup> Both expressions refer, it seems, to the canons and more specifically to the columns of dates of the *fila regnorum*, but are descriptive rather than technical.

### 5. *The Chronological Systems Used*

In a chronicle of the Eusebian type, the consequent and unified chronological system, or era, constitutes, so to speak, the skeleton of the canons, with which the regnal years of the rulers in the *fila regnorum* can be

<sup>62</sup> On this term see: W. Witakowski, *The Syriac Chronicle of Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre* (Uppsala 1987), 149–150.

<sup>63</sup> See below, notes 99 and 104 respectively.

matched. Since Jacob patterned his work so much on that of Eusebius it might seem natural that he should also adapt the latter's era. He did not do so. If for Eusebius this skeleton was the era of Abraham, Jacob had his own, which can be termed the *era of Jacob*. It starts in A.Gr. 637 (= Jacob's year 1), which is synchronized with the 21st year of Constantine (AD 327)<sup>64</sup> and the 20th of Shapur (AD 329).<sup>65</sup> The preserved part of the canons (the *fila regnorum*) ends with the 306th year of Jacob's era, which, according to him, is the 21st year of Heraclius I (AD 630), the 2nd of Ardashir III of Persia (AD 629), and the 3rd of Caliph Abu Bakr (AD 634).

It is strange that Jacob did not use the Seleucid era as the chronological backbone, but created his own. Nevertheless dates in the Seleucid era do also occur, but only in the *spatium historicum*. These are provided irregularly, probably depending on whether their sources contained them or not. There are also present the dates A.Gr. 830, 860, 920, 940 without lemmata, which fact suggests that Jacob intended to provide synchronisms with the Seleucid era more or less regularly, perhaps by decades, as did Eusebius, but only few such dates have been preserved.

Jacob also knows other eras but he does not employ them in the canons. He used them only once, in order to anchor his own system in the most important time reckoning systems that were used in the Near East in antiquity. Just before he started his canons he meticulously synchronised his own system with the Seleucid era (with the result that the first year of his era corresponds to the year A.Gr. 637), the Antiochene (= 374), and that of Diocletian (= 42)<sup>66</sup> (JacEd ed. 287,14–19, trans. 214).

Curiously enough the Olympiad reckoning too is used, breaking the *fila* each fourth year. This system is quite artificial and anachronistic, since the Olympic games themselves were not held after the end of the fourth century. Nevertheless Jacob retained the system, probably because the Olympiad reckoning had in his eyes the status of a technical chronological tool with no connection to the actual games, as it had been used by Eusebius. The canons start with the 276th Olympiad and end with the 352nd.

<sup>64</sup> Constantine's reign: 25 July 306–22 May 337, according to V. Grumel, *La chronologie* (Bibliothèque byzantine: Traité d'études byzantines 1; Paris 1958), 355.

<sup>65</sup> Shapur's reign: 310–379, according to Grumel, *La chronologie*, 376.

<sup>66</sup> It is worthwhile pointing out that the *Era of Diocletian* (counted from the first year of his reign, 284/85) was used only in the Coptic and Ethiopian Churches. It is also known as the *Era of Martyrs*, as it was associated with the memory of the persecution of the Christians by Diocletian.



It is not clear how Jacob dated the birth of Christ. The preserved text of the *Chronicle* does not contain such a date and, since the work started with Constantine, it is probable that such information was never present there. Other sources do tell us about it but the data are confusing. Michael the Elder says in one place<sup>67</sup> that Jacob accepted AM 5500 as the date of the birth of Christ, which is the year established by Hippolytus of Rome and Julius Africanus on theological, namely typological, grounds.<sup>68</sup> But in another place Michael says that according to Jacob the Seleucid era began in AM 5149,<sup>69</sup> and this date is repeated by Barhebraeus.<sup>70</sup> It would make the birth of Christ fall in the year 5461, or rather 5458, if the date of the year A.Gr. 309 be accepted for the event, as is usual among the Syrians generally, and is moreover attested by Jacob's *Letter on the Divine Economy*.<sup>71</sup> In view of Jacob's technical, chronological approach, which strongly suggests that he, like Eusebius, was an empirical historian, the latter date is to be accepted.

These dates of the birth of Christ do not tally with another testimony of Barhebraeus who quotes Jacob for his opinion on the date of the death of Jesus. This appears to be AM 5550.<sup>72</sup> In accepting the date of Jesus's birth reported by Michael, Jacob would thus seem to have considered the length of Jesus's life to be 42 years. As is well known, arithmetic was never a *forte* of the Syriac historians, no matter who in this case—Jacob, Michel the Elder, Barhebraeus or a scribe—was responsible for the dates that we today find in the texts discussed.

### 6. *The Period Covered by the Chronicle*

The period covered by the chronicle is a matter of discussion. Let us start with the end as it seems to be clearer, even if not certain. The text extant in the London manuscript ends, in its present state of preservation, with the year 306 of Jacob's era, i.e. A.Gr. 942 (= AD 631). From a scholion

<sup>67</sup> ME ed. 4:90a,25, trans. 1:142.

<sup>68</sup> On the ideas behind this date see W. Witakowski, 'The Idea of *Septimana Mundi* and the Millenarian Typology of the Creation Week in Syriac Tradition', in R. Lavenant (ed.), *V Symposium Syriacum 1988: Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven, 29–31 août 1988* (OCA 236; Rome 1990), 93–109.

<sup>69</sup> ME ed. 4:75a,1–2, trans. 1:116.

<sup>70</sup> E.A. Wallis Budge, *The Chronography of Gregory Abū'l-Faraj 1225–1286, the Son of Aaron, the Hebrew Physician, Known as Bar Hebraeus, Being the First Part of his Political History of the World* (2 vols.; Amsterdam 1976; repr. of London 1932), ed. 2:13rb,4, trans. 1:40.

<sup>71</sup> I am indebted for this information to Dr Jan van Ginkel. See also note 3 above.

<sup>72</sup> Budge, *Chronography*, trans. 1:49. This fragment is missing from Budge's facsimile edition; see P. Bedjan's edition, *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon Syriacum* (Paris 1890), 47, last line.

in the *Chronicle* of Michael we know however that Jacob's canons ended in A.Gr. 1021 (= AD 710),<sup>73</sup> which is two years after our chronicler's death. Consequently the work must have been continued by somebody else, perhaps one of Jacob's pupils (so Michael) or colleagues, maybe George of the Arab Tribes himself, who, as is known, completed Jacob's *Hexaemeron*.

The date when Jacob himself stopped writing is not clear. It is often accepted, after Elias of Nisibis, that it was the year A.Gr. 1003 (= AD 692). This would leave the last eighteen years as the work of the continuator.<sup>74</sup> There may have been two editions of the *Chronicle*, the first being Jacob's work only, the second extended by a continuator. It would then seem that Elias had at his disposal the original version, without the posthumous supplement.

It may very well have been so, but it is not at all sure that Elias is talking about the *Chronicle*. He says: 'In the year 1003 of Alexander (= AD 692) Jacob the Edessene composed a *ܩܢܘܢܐ* which follows the *ܩܢܘܢܐ* of Anni(an)os and the *ܩܢܘܢܐ* of Andronikos in the calculation of the feasts (ܩܢܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܕܐܢܐ).'<sup>75</sup> As nothing of the kind can be found in the extant *Chronicle* it appears that Elias is once more referring to Jacob's work on heortology and calendar problems, the *ܩܢܘܢܐ*, and not to the *Chronicle* (ܩܢܘܢܐ ܕܩܘܪܕܐܢܐ). This consequently leaves us with the date AD 710 as that of the last entry of the *Chronicle* as known to Michael the Elder, but with no clue as to when Jacob stopped and the continuator started.

No agreement has been reached as to whether Jacob's work originally included pre-Constantinian material. A. Baumstark's opinion was that Jacob's work included *eine Üb[er]s[etzung] oder Bearbeitung des Eusebianischen Kanons*,<sup>76</sup> until the 20th year of Constantine, whereupon the original part of the *Chronicle* would follow. If Jacob ever made such an *Übersetzung oder Bearbeitung*, it has not been preserved. Baumstark did not present any argument on which to base the assertion, but may have been influenced by 'a few lines recording the deaths of Licinius and Martin, which must be supposed to form the conclusion of a version of the Chronicle of Eusebius'.<sup>77</sup> It is however not at all certain—and indeed Brooks has his doubts too—whether these 'few lines' after which the text of Jacob's *Chronicle* begins were written by Jacob, or, we may add, whether they indeed belonged to the Syriac version of the

<sup>73</sup> ME ed. 4:450, *scholion*, lines 11–12, trans. 2:483.

<sup>74</sup> Schrier, 'Chronological Problems', 70.

<sup>75</sup> EbSh 2 ed. 99,22–25, trans. 111; italics added.

<sup>76</sup> Baumstark, *Geschichte*, 254. Cf. also the arguments of Nau, 'Notice', 350–351.

<sup>77</sup> Brooks, 'The Chronological Canon', 261.

work of Eusebius. Brooks tended however to accept this view because he believed, following in this case F. Nau,<sup>78</sup> that fragments concerning the pre-Constantinian epoch were extant. They appeared to be present in the Paris Garshuni manuscript in the possession of the Bibliothèque nationale (syr. 306, fols. 77–82). This allegedly contained Jacob's *Chronicle* since its title stated the provenance of its contents to be: **ܩܘܼܪܼܬܼܐ ܕܼܝܼܫܼܘܼܢܼܐ ܕܼܝܼܫܼܘܼܢܼܐ ܕܼܝܼܫܼܘܼܢܼܐ** 'From the history of Jacob the Edessene'. Today we also know of another, more complete, manuscript of the same Arabic chronicle (Ms. Leeds University, Syr. 7, fols. 8r–12v) and since its historiographical narrative, fragmentary as it is, reaches the year AD 1031, it is clear that the attribution is false. In fact R.Y. Ebied and M.J.L. Young, who published the Garshuni fragments,<sup>79</sup> established that they contain excerpts from the Arabic translation of Michael the Elder's *Chronicle*.

Michael, however, did include in his *Chronicle* some pre-Constantinian material which he attributed to Jacob. These are almost exclusively lemmata on the succession of the Jewish high priests, which in addition to being present in the body of the *Chronicle*<sup>80</sup> are also gathered into a separate list at its end.<sup>81</sup> This list is not to be found in the extant text of Jacob's work, but was most probably part of Jacob's *chronography*, just as the preserved lists of the Macedonian kings, Roman emperors, and the like, are, the latter lists being extant while the former disappeared in one of the numerous lacunae.<sup>82</sup>

The rest of Jacob's pre-Constantinian material in Michael comes from other works of the former, most probably letters. The passages in question are two. The first presents Jacob's and John of Litarba's opinion that Hebrew was the first language (ME ed. 4:10a,8–11, trans. 1:20). The presence of the name of John of Litarba, known to be Jacob's friend and correspondent, suggests that this piece of information comes from one of Jacob's letters. Moreover, the problem of the first language,

<sup>78</sup> Nau, 'Notice', 350–351.

<sup>79</sup> R.Y. Ebied and M.J.L. Young, 'Extracts in Arabic from a Chronicle Erroneously Attributed to Jacob of Edessa', *OloP* 4 (1973), 177–196.

<sup>80</sup> E.g. Aaron etc., ME ed. 4:28c,11–17f. trans. 1:50; Josedek, ME. ed. 4:37c,24–28, trans. 1:64.

<sup>81</sup> ME ed. 4:741–742, trans. 3:427–428. It is juxtaposed here with a similar list of Andronikos.

<sup>82</sup> Neither does the *Chronicle* of Elias of Nisibis, although better preserved than that of Jacob, have such lists. There too they must have been lost as many folios of the chronographical part are missing from the manuscript. Yet the presence of the lists of patriarchs of the main sees (not well preserved either), for which the list of the Jewish high priests constituted a sort of pre-history, strongly suggests that they once were to be found there.

or the language of Adam, was usually discussed by Bible commentators and not historians.<sup>83</sup> The second lemma, repeating Jacob's opinion that the Magi were the descendants of Elam and twelve in number (ME ed. 4:89b, 19.28, trans. 1:140–141), is known to come from one of his letters, and was published as far back as 1881.<sup>84</sup>

When positive arguments for the existence of either Jacob's translation or of his summary of Eusebius' *Chronicle* thus lose their strength, it seems extremely unlikely that he ever provided one. Finally, the actual title of the work, *The Chronicle which is a Continuation of that of Eusebius*, suggests that it could hardly contain a translation of that which it claims to be the continuation. A possibility that the text of the London manuscript was the work of an editor who omitted the pre-Constantinian part, and gave it its title himself, cannot be accepted on the testimony of Michael, who clearly says that Jacob's canon began where we see it in the extant *Chronicle* (ME ed. 4:129a title, trans. 1:256).<sup>85</sup> Consequently there is no reason to accept that, except for the lists in the *chronography*, it ever had a pre-Constantinian part. It also means that the London manuscript of the *Chronicle*, before it lost many of its folios and generally deteriorated, had contained Jacob's complete work.

### 7. Sources Used

Jacob writes that until his epoch nobody had ventured to continue what Eusebius started. While this may be true for chronographical writing in Syriac, things were different for Greek chronography. In any case Jacob's statement cannot be understood in the sense that he had no sources. It is true that for the last years covered by his *Chronicle* his own notes may have been sufficient, although even so he certainly had access to notes in one library or another in which he had the opportunity to work.

Jacob does not inform us about his sources, and in order to find out what they were a regular source analysis of the *Chronicle* should

<sup>83</sup> Cf. the Syriac and Christian Arabic material in M. Rubin, 'The Language of Creation or the Primordial Language: A Case of Cultural Polemics in Antiquity', *JJS* 49 (1998), 306–333, esp. 322–330.

<sup>84</sup> By E. Nestle, *Brevis linguae syriacae grammatica, litteratura et chrestomathia* (1st ed.; Porta linguarum orientalium 5; Karlsruhe 1881), pp. ~~25~~–~~26~~; an English translation of the relevant fragment in W. Witakowski, 'The Magi in Syriac Tradition', in G.A. Kiraz (ed.), *Malphono w-Rabo d-Malphone: Studies in Honour of Sebastian P. Brock* (Piscataway, NJ 2008), 809–843, esp. 822. Michael's passage on the Magi comes from Dionysius bar Salibi's *Commentary on the Gospel* (ed. I. Sedláček and J.-B. Chabot, *Dionysii bar Šalībī Commentarii in Evangelia* 1.1 (CSCO 15, Syr. 15; Paris 1906), 89,8–19, trans. (CSCO 16, Syr. 16; Rome 1906), 67.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. also the scholion on the margin of the same page, ME trans. 1:256, note \*.

be undertaken, which however cannot be provided here. Michael the Elder naming his own sources in the introduction to his *Chronicle* says that 'Saint Jacques d'Édesse fit d'eux tous un abrégé'.<sup>86</sup> It is not clear, however, which historians Michael meant. If he is to be taken literally, Jacob's sources would include all the historians whom Michael has named before the note cited, that is, Julius Africanus, one Jesus (or Joshua), Hegesippus, Annianos, Eusebius, Zosimus (more probably Sozomen is meant), Socrates, Theodoret of Cyrrihus, John of Antioch (perhaps Malalas is meant here), John of Jebel, Theodore Lector, Zachariah of Melitene (Mitylene is meant), John of Asia, and Gouria. Out of these Jesus, John of Jebel, and Gouria are unknown, whereas accepting the pre-Eusebian historians or chronographers is unnecessary in view of our deduction concerning the beginning of Jacob's work. All the other historians *may* at least have been used by Jacob, and in many cases we can be sure that such was the case.

The sources suggested by Michael are to be supplemented with some additional ones. In the first place the *Chronicle of Edessa* should be added, as well as lists of the kings of Rome, of Persia, and of the bishops of important cities. Another source that Jacob may have used is the work of the Alexandrian chronographer Annianos (beginning of the fifth cent.), through whom material from some other sources could have reached him.<sup>87</sup>

In his English translation E.W. Brooks<sup>88</sup> provided references to parallel *loci* in later Byzantine chronographies: *Chronicon Paschale*, the *Chronicle* of Theophanes, and others, although the parallels between them and Jacob could only have been caused by their possessing common sources.

One such source common to Jacob's *Chronicle* and that of Theophanes is not preserved in an independent manuscript tradition, but has been established by *Quellenkritik*. It was found already by J. Bidez and termed the *Arian Historiographer*,<sup>89</sup> but recently R. Burgess identified even more of its lemmata. It is a chronicle continuing that of Eusebius, and covering 25 years after its end. Burgess, having perceived that it must be of Antiochene provenance, renamed it *Continuatio*

<sup>86</sup> ME trans. 1:2 (no Syriac text; the introduction is known only from the Armenian version of Michael's work).

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Brooks's introduction to his translation, JacEd trans. 198.

<sup>88</sup> Brooks, 'The Chronological Canon'. Cf. also the list he gives in the introduction to his CSCO translation, JacEd trans. 198.

<sup>89</sup> 'Fragmente eines Arianischen Historiographen', in J. Bidez, *Philostorgius. Kirchengeschichte: mit dem Leben des Lucian von Antiochien und den Fragmenten eines arianischen Historiographen* (3rd ed. by F. Winkelmann; GCS 21; Berlin 1981), 202–241.

*Antiochiensis Eusebii*.<sup>90</sup> Burgess's reconstruction is based mainly on common lemmata found in the Byzantine *Chronicle* of Theophanes, Jerome's Latin translation<sup>91</sup> and continuation of Eusebius' *Chronicle*, and the Syriac *Chronicle to the year 724*.<sup>92</sup> It is clear that the three witnesses named could not depend on each other, but had to have a common source, not preserved in independent manuscript transmission. It is not clear how this chronicle found its way into Syriac historiography, but in any case lemmata from the *Continuatio* are present in several Syriac historiographic works, some of them in Jacob's *Chronicle*.<sup>93</sup> Jacob probably did not use the *Continuatio* directly, but it is difficult to say what the intermediary link was: perhaps the Greek chronicle of Annianus.

This and the whole question of the Jacob's sources in general will however require further investigations.

### 8. Influence on Later Historians and Chronographers

We have already discussed two chroniclers who used Jacob's *Chronicle*: Elias of Nisibis and Michael the Elder. Whereas Elias copied 21 lemmata from Jacob in the period A.Gr. 660–997 (AD 348/49–685/86), Michael says he copied the whole of Jacob's work.<sup>94</sup> Although only a thorough analysis will show if this is true, it is clear that Michael's work contains much more material from Jacob than any other Syriac historian.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>90</sup> R.W. Burgess (with the assist. of W. Witakowski), *Studies in Eusebian and Post-Eusebian Chronography 1. The Chronici canones of Eusebius of Caesarea: Structure, Content, and Chronology, AD 282–325; 2. The Continuatio Antiochiensis Eusebii: A Chronicle of Antioch and the Roman Near East during the Reigns of Constantine and Constantius II, AD 325–350* (Historia Einzelschriften 135; Stuttgart 1999).

<sup>91</sup> Five lemmata are interpolated into the period covered by Eusebius.

<sup>92</sup> 'Chronicon miscellaneum ad annum Domini 724 pertinens', ed. E.W. Brooks, *Chronica minora 2* (CSCO 3, Syr. 3; Paris 1904), 77–155; trans J.-B. Chabot, *Chronica minora 2* (CSCO 4, Syr. 4; Paris 1904), 61–119.

<sup>93</sup> Burgess, *Studies*, 119–122 (lemmata 27:1–2, 32, 34, 47–48), see also the graph on 132.

<sup>94</sup> ME ed. 4:450, *scholion*, lines 3–4, trans. 2:482.

<sup>95</sup> Schrier ('Chronological Problems', 70) writes that Michael has more material than what we find in the London manuscript (he is not talking about the losses due to the lacunae in it), particularly the excurs on Eusebius' chronological faults in ME ed. 4:42a1–44, end, trans. 1:71–73. If this was true, it would mean that the London manuscript contained an abbreviated version of Jacob's *Chronicle*. It seems however that the excurs in question comes not from the *Chronicle* but from another work of Jacob's, probably one of his *Letters*. My argument here is that Jacob already has a discussion of Eusebius' chronological errors in JacEd ed. 265,1–274,2, trans. 201–206, which concerns the Hellenistic period. Thus a second discussion of the same problem, even if it concerns another epoch (the chronology of the kings of Israel and Juda) would be superfluous if not contradictory to what we find in the *Chronicle*.

If the use of Jacob by Michael seems only natural, this cannot be said of Elias, who belonged to the ('Nestorian') Church of the East. It is thus worth pointing out that notwithstanding the official 'enmity' between the two Syriac-speaking churches, the intellectuals on both sides of the confessional border did keep contact with each other and exchanged books. Elias expressly states his high esteem for Jacob: the latter had corrected Eusebius' chronological faults.<sup>96</sup> What however was even more important was that Elias wrote a chronicle of the same—Eusebian—type.<sup>97</sup> We may thus surmise that the work of Jacob was for him not a simple source but also, at least to a degree, a pattern, even though he modified it.

These two historians do not exhaust the list of its certain and probable users. Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre should be named as the first of them chronologically speaking, his *Chronicle* (known also as the *Chronicle of Zuqnin*) having been composed in 775. He does not state that he used Jacob's work—he names only his (four) main sources—but source analysis done so far on his work suggests that he did use it.<sup>98</sup>

Two later West Syrian historians whose works have not survived used Jacob's *Chronicle*, which we know thanks to Michael the Elder who himself used their works. The first of them was patriarch Dionysius of Tel-Mahre (d. 845), the author of a comprehensive historiographic work. Michael the Elder quotes his introduction in which he provides a sketch of Syriac historiography, and among the historians he knows of, Jacob is named as an author of the 'succession of years' (ܩܠܘܠܐ ܕܫܢܝܢ).<sup>99</sup> The fact that Dionysius knew Jacob's work suggests that he used it, at least for the beginning of his chronicle, which started with the reign of Maurice (582).<sup>100</sup>

The other is Ignatius, Metropolitan of Melitene (ord. 1063, d. 1104), the author of a *Chronicle* (ܩܠܘܠܐ ܕܫܢܝܢ) which began with the epoch of Constantine the Great.<sup>101</sup> Michael has copied the *Prooimion* of Ig-

<sup>96</sup> EbSh 2 ed. 99, trans. 111; Nagel, 'Grundzüge', 255.

<sup>97</sup> See W. Witakowski, 'Elias BarShenaya's Chronicle', in W.J. van Bakkum, J.W. Drijvers, and A.C. Klugkist (eds.), *Syriac Polemics: Studies in Honour of Gerrit Jan Reinink* (OLA 170; Leuven 2007), 219–237.

<sup>98</sup> See W. Witakowski, 'The Sources of Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Mahre for the Second Part of his Chronicle', in J.O. Rosenqvist (ed.), *Συμῶν: Studies Presented to Lennart Rydén for His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Acta Universitatis upsaliensis: Studia byzantina upsaliensia 6; Uppsala 1996), 181–210; W. Witakowski, 'Sources of Pseudo-Dionysius for the Third Part of His Chronicle', *Orientalia Suecana* 40 (1991), 252–275.

<sup>99</sup> ME ed. 4:378,24, trans. 2:358.

<sup>100</sup> J.-B. Chabot in the introduction to ME, 1:xxxii.

<sup>101</sup> ME ed. 4:546c,1–3, trans. 3:115; and ed. 4:121, new ch., 7–14, trans. 1:240.

natus,<sup>102</sup> in which the latter clearly says that he used Jacob's work, quoting it sometimes verbally.<sup>103</sup>

The anonymous Edessene author of the *Chronicle to the Year 1234* mentions Jacob in his preface as an author of a 'calculation of years' (ܡܚܘܠܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ).<sup>104</sup> There are no references to it in the text of the *Chronicle* and an explanation could be that what the anonymous chronicler writing after 1234 has in mind is Jacob's ܡܚܘܠܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ rather than his ܡܚܘܠܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ, which conclusion is suggested by the context, namely the reference to George Bishop of the Arab Tribes. This does not mean that the *Chronicle to 1234* is to be regarded as devoid of any material originating from Jacob (after all he had been the metropolitan of the city where the author lived and Jacob's works would surely have been available in the city's library) but it remains to be found.

Gregory Barhebraeus also names Jacob in the preface to the ecclesiastical part of his *Chronicle*<sup>105</sup> (which apparently has become a *topos* in the introductions to Syriac historiographic works of the late epoch), but not in that to the secular part. He quotes him twice however in the latter:<sup>106</sup> for the dating of the beginning of the Seleucid era, and for the date of Jesus's passion which we have mentioned above.<sup>107</sup>

These mentions do not represent the entirety of Jacob's material in the historiographical works named, but more research will be required on these (and other) historians before a full account of Jacob's influence in Syriac historiography after him can be provided. Nevertheless it seems clear that his work was appreciated by most of the later Syrian historians.

It is worth pointing out that Jacob is celebrated in the West Syrian liturgical calendars as a saint. This honour is corroborated by Michael the Elder who writes that many posthumous miracles happened at Ja-

<sup>102</sup> ME ed. 4:545c,13–14, trans. 3:114; ed. 4:546c,9–13, trans. 3:115.

<sup>103</sup> Michael the Elder's Book 17, Ch. 7, provides an excerpt from the twelfth-century *Chronicle* of Basil, Metropolitan of Edessa, which excerpt is attributed to Jacob (ME ed. 4:639a,29, trans. 3:278). The attribution (by a scribe?) is erroneous, however, as the chapter includes material on the history of Edessa in an epoch that could not have been dealt with by Jacob. Therefore, and in view of the title of the chapter, the correct attribution should read 'Basil of Edessa'.

<sup>104</sup> J.-B. Chabot, *Anonymi auctoris Chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens* (CSCO 81 and 109, Syr. 36 and 56; Paris 1920 and Leuven 1937), ed. 26,25, trans. 17.

<sup>105</sup> J.B. Abbeloos and Th.J. Lamy, *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon ecclesiasticum* 1 (Leuven 1872), ed. 3–5, trans. 6.

<sup>106</sup> Barhebraeus' third reference, according to the index (p. 545), to Mar Jacob is not to Jacob of Edessa but to his namesake of Serug, Budge, *Chronography*, trans. 1:270.

<sup>107</sup> See above, notes 70 and 72.



cob's tomb.<sup>108</sup> His commemoration days, according to some menologia, fell on the 29th<sup>109</sup> or 31st of May,<sup>110</sup> and on the 5th of June,<sup>111</sup> but according to the *Martyrology of Rabban Sliba* his memory was celebrated three times a year (19 Feb., 5 June, 29 July).<sup>112</sup> It is not often that a historian can boast of such an achievement.

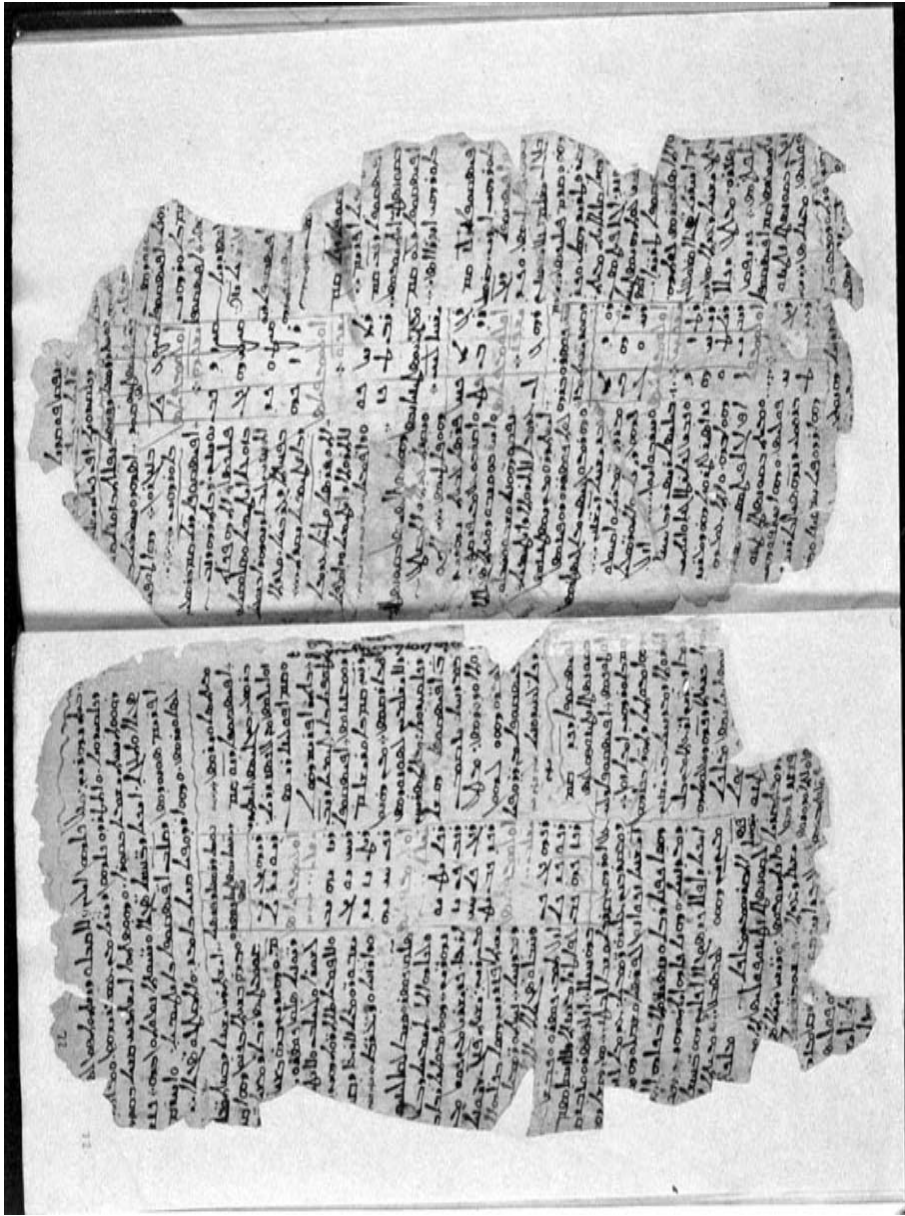
<sup>108</sup> ME ed. 4:446c,31–32, trans. 2:472.

<sup>109</sup> Nau, *Un martyrologe*, 78,7–8.

<sup>110</sup> Nau, *Un martyrologe*, 41,9; 100,5; 110,14–15.

<sup>111</sup> Nau, *Un martyrologe*, 79,5; 105,7–8; 122,6–7.

<sup>112</sup> Peeters, 'Rabban Sliba', ed. 147,27, trans. 175; ed. 154,26–27, trans. 186; ed. 157,12–13, trans. 189 respectively. The first celebration should perhaps be assigned to Jacob of Serug, since it is a poet Jacob who is named here, together with Ephrem and Isaac (of Nineveh), rather than 'Jacob the Interpreter' (ܝܫܘܥܐܘܠܐܢܐ), as in other places.



Two folios of Jacob of Edessa's Chronicle: Ms. London, British Library, Add. 14685, fols. 21v-22r.  
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## JEWISH PSEUDEPIGRAPHA IN JACOB OF EDESSA'S LETTERS AND HISTORICAL WRITINGS

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In a letter to John of Litarba examining a wide range of issues associated with biblical interpretation, Jacob of Edessa takes up a question put to him by John and his fraternity: 'Is it true, as it is said, that neither writing nor books existed before the time of Moses?'<sup>1</sup> In his reply, Jacob insists that writing, indispensable for human development and prosperity, must have been discovered long before Moses' time. To document his claims about pre-Mosaic literacy, Jacob refers John to the Jewish apocalypse known as the *Book of Enoch*. Granted, Athanasius had challenged the authenticity of the book on the grounds that 'neither writing nor anything written existed before the flood'. But even the esteemed Athanasius was capable of error, in this case pronouncing an ill-considered judgment against a work that was known and quoted even by one of the apostles.<sup>2</sup>

Jacob's defense of *Enoch* illustrates a point often overlooked in studies of the Christian appropriation and use of the Jewish pseudepigrapha. In the early Church, much of the debate over this literature evolved out of doubts about its status. Were they sources of secret higher wisdom, or spurious Jewish compositions prone to abet heresy? Paradoxically, the sharpening of the distinction between 'canonical' and 'apocryphal' in the fourth century may have actually enhanced the standing of certain Jewish pseudepigrapha that were at the center of this controversy. This is in fact what Jacob suggests in his defense of *Enoch*. Because of the threat of heresies rampant in his day, he writes, Athanasius had no choice but to proscribe all the secret books to which they had appealed, regardless of whether or not these books were genuine. Now that the danger had abated, it was possible, he says, to take a more objective look at a book that had once enjoyed a high standing in the early Church.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Syriac text of this letter (hereafter *Ep.* 13) and an additional letter of Jacob was published by W. Wright, 'Two Epistles of Mār Jacob, Bishop of Edessa', *Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record* NS 10 (1867), 430–433 and ٤٢–٤٣. For French translation of these two letters, see F. Nau, 'Traduction des lettres XII et XIII de Jacques d'Édesse', *ROC* 10 (1905), 197–208, 258–282.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep.* 13.2 (114v; trans. Nau, 207).

<sup>3</sup> *Ep.* 13.2 (114v; trans. Nau, 207).

The result of the later ‘rediscovery’ of Jewish pseudepigrapha is that some of the best witnesses to works like *Enoch* and *Jubilees* are often found in Christian sources of relatively late date. Jacob’s own appeal to these same sources underscores the textual complexities associated with the later Christian use of this literature. In his letter to John, Jacob refers at length to extra-biblical legends closely related to *Jubilees*’ own account of events from Noah to Abraham. But he never cites the work according to one of the several names by which it was conventionally known. Instead, he identifies his source only as *Jewish Histories*.<sup>4</sup> More to the point, the Jewish traditions that Jacob found in this source exhibit several striking variants from the parallel version in the preserved text of *Jubilees*. Do these variants belong to the hand of a later editor bent on improving the value of *Jubilees* as a supplement to Genesis? Or is it possible, as has been suggested elsewhere, that Jacob knows a work both independent of and earlier than *Jubilees*? In either case, a better grasp of Jacob’s knowledge of *Jubilees* and related pseudepigrapha will contribute to our knowledge of the preservation and transmission of these sources in Syriac Christianity.<sup>5</sup>

### 1. *From Noah to Abraham in the Book of Jubilees*

The one segment of *Jubilees* probably most often cited by Christian authors was that work’s narration of the progressive decline of the social and moral order after the flood. Here *Jubilees* describes how Noah attempted to promote harmony among his offspring by dividing by lot the land that his three sons would possess and swearing them to an oath ‘to curse each and every one who wanted to occupy the share which did not emerge by his lot’.<sup>6</sup> In defiance of this oath, Canaan refused to settle in the land of his inheritance, dwelling instead ‘in the

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, *Ep.* 13.1 (113r; trans. Nau, 203): ‘Jewish histories’ (ܩܫܘܬܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܐܝܢܐ); 13.2 (115r; trans. Nau, 207): ‘written histories adduced by the Jews’ (ܩܫܘܬܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܐܝܢܐ ܕܘܫܘܒܐ ܕܝܗܘܕܐܝܢܐ).

<sup>5</sup> For a survey of Jewish sources and traditions in Syriac Christianity, see S.P. Brock, ‘Jewish Traditions in Syriac Sources’, *JJS* 30 (1979), 212–232. Brock was also the first scholar to comment at any length on Jacob’s *Jewish Histories*; see his ‘Abraham and the Ravens: A Syriac Counterpart to *Jubilees* 11–12 and its Implications’, *JSJ* 9 (1978), 135–152. Brock considered Jacob’s source to be both independent from and possibly older than *Jubilees*. For an opposing view, see my earlier essay, ‘Jacob of Edessa and the Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Syriac Chronography’, in J.C. Reeves (ed.), *Tracing the Threads: Studies in the Vitality of the Jewish Pseudepigrapha* (Early Judaism and Its Literature 6; Atlanta 1996), 143–171. The present essay refines and in some cases retracts claims that I have set forth in my previous article.

<sup>6</sup> *Jub.* 9:14. The English translation of *Jubilees* used here is that of J.C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (CSCO 510–511, *Scriptores Aethiopiici* 87–88; Leuven 1989).

land of Lebanon, on the east and west, from the border of Lebanon and on the seacoast'.<sup>7</sup> *Jubilees* ascribes much of the ensuing disorder to the seductions of demons. Most ominously, Serug's generation witnessed the manufacture of 'statues, images, and unclean things', in which effort they were assisted by demons sent from Mastema. At that time, men also began to sell male and female slaves and build fortified cities, one of which was the city of Abraham's birth.<sup>8</sup>

Later commentators had no difficulty in recognizing that Canaan's transgression and the impieties of Serug's generation anticipated Abraham's subsequent crusade to restore order to the world. Like other Jewish compositions of the Hellenistic period, *Jubilees* celebrates the honour that Abraham's accomplishments gained for him from his fellow countrymen in Ur. Because of his success in expelling the ravens feeding on the seed, Abraham's reputation, even as a young man, 'grew large throughout the entire land of the Chaldeans'.<sup>9</sup> But, consistent with the xenophobic tone of much of the work, the author of *Jubilees* dissociates Abraham from the religion and demonic wisdom of the Chaldeans. Already at the age of fourteen, Abraham separated himself from his father and prayed to God for protection from the pollution of idolatry. Even after repudiating this practice and leaving Ur, Abraham continues observing the stars in Haran, 'in order to see what would be the character of the year with respect to the rains'.<sup>10</sup> But as with the manufacture of idols, he soon disowns the science of astrology as well. In its place, Abraham receives a divine wisdom originating in books written in Hebrew, 'the language of the creation'.<sup>11</sup> Abraham's spiritual awakening thus restores a body of wisdom that was lost at the time of the division of tongues.

## 2. *Jubilees*' 'Narrative Exegesis' of Abraham's Migration from Ur

One of the most distinctive characteristics of *Jubilees* is its narrative expansions of problematic or unexplained verses in Genesis. The story of Abraham's flight from Ur was ripe for this sort of elaboration. From Genesis' brief but suggestive account of events in Ur, Jewish and Christian commentators speculated at length about what must have occurred in Ur on the eve of Abraham's migration. The words of Gen. 15:7 ('I am the Lord who brought you from Ur of the Chaldeans') implied that Abraham departed in response to either a divine call or an

<sup>7</sup> *Jub.* 10:29.

<sup>8</sup> *Jub.* 11:2-6.

<sup>9</sup> *Jub.* 11:21.

<sup>10</sup> *Jub.* 12:16.

<sup>11</sup> *Jub.* 12:26.

act of deliverance. But if this was so, why did Gen. 11:31 say that it was Terah who led his family from Ur? Something momentous must have happened in that city to persuade other members of Abraham's family to leave with him.

A puzzling verse about the premature death of Abraham's brother Haran 'before his father Terah in the land of his birth, in Ur of the Chaldeans' provided a possible clue.<sup>12</sup> Since the account of the departure of Terah and his family from Ur followed soon after this verse, interpreters assumed that Haran's death bore in some way on his migration from that city. One Jewish tradition, known to Jerome, claimed that Haran was constrained by his fellow countrymen to venerate the Chaldean fire. Consumed in its flames, he died 'in the sight of his father Terah'. Although Abraham was also compelled to worship the fire, God, as Genesis would later state, 'brought him out of the "fire of the Chaldeans"'. Terah himself, witness to Haran's death, then departed with his family from his homeland.<sup>13</sup>

Certain features of *Jubilees*' own account of Abraham's life in Ur and the manner of Haran's death indicate that its author also drew on an older legend whose purpose was to connect Terah's migration from Ur to Abraham's estrangement from idolatry and the fiery death of Terah's son Haran. Although Terah was privately supportive of Abraham's revulsion with idols, he opposed any public action against them likely to provoke the citizens of Ur. Abraham thus took matters into his own hands and set fire to the temple of idols in Ur. When Haran 'was burned in the fire and died in Ur of the Chaldeans before his father', Terah buried him and sometime thereafter departed Ur with his family.<sup>14</sup>

When Jacob later recalled these same episodes in his letter to John, he theorized that Abraham's actions in Ur explained why Terah and the rest of his family accompanied him from that city. Once Abraham destroyed the temple and Haran perished, Terah had no choice but to leave. Otherwise, an angry citizenry would have killed him.<sup>15</sup> But this cuts against the grain of the narrative. According to *Jubilees*, no one, not even Abraham's father, knew that he caused the fire. 'He burned

<sup>12</sup> Gen. 11:28.

<sup>13</sup> Jerome, *Hebraicae Quaestiones in Genesim* ad 11:28, ed. P. Antin, *S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Opera* 1.1 (CCSL 72; Turnhout 1959), 15. For the same tradition, see also *Gen. Rab.* 38.13, ed. J. Theodor and Ch. Albeck, *Bereschit Rabba* 1 (Berlin 1912), 363–364. The interpretation turned on the verbal identity between the city of Ur and the Hebrew word for 'fire' (אֵשׁ). For other Jewish witnesses to this tradition, see R.H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees* (London 1902), 90–91 (note on *Jub.* 12:1–14).

<sup>14</sup> *Jub.* 12:1–14.

<sup>15</sup> See below, pp. 60–61.

everything in the temple,' *Jubilees* states, 'but no one knew (about it).'<sup>16</sup> If Abraham was not under suspicion, then Terah and his family could not have been forced out of Ur. Indeed, by interposing a hiatus of some three years between Haran's death and the subsequent migration from Ur, *Jubilees* implies that their departure was voluntary.<sup>17</sup> Even after they had left the city and settled in Haran, the citizens of Ur do not suspect Abraham of foul-play. When Abraham prays to God in Haran, he asks, 'Shall I return to Ur of the Chaldeans who are looking for me to return to them?'<sup>18</sup> One can hardly imagine that Abraham would have entertained thoughts of returning to the city if its citizens were seeking retribution against him.

By presenting the burning of the temple as an act committed secretly by Abraham, *Jubilees* thus robs the story of what must have been its original intent, namely to supply a motive for Terah's decision to lead his family from Ur. Why would the author have done this? In my view, it has at least partially to do with a pervasive concern of *Jubilees* to absolve biblical patriarchs of any suggestion of wrongdoing arising from their actions. Viewed from one perspective, Abraham's conduct in Ur was hardly exemplary. His ardor against idols, however laudable, alienated him from his father and brothers. Even worse, it brought grief to his family both by threatening Terah's livelihood and by costing the life of one of Abraham's brothers.

*Jubilees* mitigates these doubts about his character by insisting that Abraham's religious zeal never outweighed his concern for the welfare of his father and family. When, for example, his brothers rebuke him angrily for dealing so harshly with their father, Abraham decided to keep his opinions to himself.<sup>19</sup> For the same reason—that is, to avoid any public actions likely either to shame his family or to put them at risk of violence from the citizens of Ur—Abraham burned the temple secretly. In its concern to protect Abraham's reputation, *Jubilees* thus characterizes Abraham's conduct in the temple as a private act of conscience, not one of public recklessness. Since no one, not even his own family, knew that Abraham was to blame for the fire, he had neither brought dishonour to his father's reputation nor jeopardized his

<sup>16</sup> *Jub.* 12:12.

<sup>17</sup> See *Jub.* 12:12–16, 26. According to *Jub.* 12:12, Abraham set fire to the temple in the fourth week of the 40th jubilee (= AM 1936). *Jub.* 12:15, 28 states that after dwelling in Haran for fourteen years, Abraham departed from there in the seventh year of the sixth week of the 40th jubilee (= AM 1953). The migration from Ur would thus have occurred about three years after the incident in the temple.

<sup>18</sup> *Jub.* 12:21.

<sup>19</sup> *Jub.* 12:8.



life. Admittedly, Haran did perish in the fire, but this was only because of his rash attempt to salvage the idols. At the same time, however, the author's concern to rid Abraham of the suspicion of disrespect or improvidence severs any connection between the incident in the temple and Terah's flight from Ur. And so the question that underlay the story of the burning of the temple remains unanswered: If no one knew that Abraham was behind it, why did Terah feel compelled to leave?

This same concern explains the existence of another older tradition left dangling in the *Jubilees* narrative—namely, its statement that Abraham was 60 years of age when he set fire to the temple. This unexplained chronological detail originates in a famous problem in the chronology of Genesis. Since Genesis' notice of Terah's death at 205 years preceded its account of the departure of Abraham to Canaan, many commentators drew the common-sense conclusion that Terah was already dead when Abraham received his call from God to 'go forth from your country and your kindred and your father's house to the land that I will show you'.<sup>20</sup>

But anyone with a head for numbers could immediately see an objection to this assumption. According to Gen. 11:26, Terah was 70 years of age when he fathered Abraham, Haran and Nahor. Since Gen. 12:4 explicitly stated that Abraham was 75 years of age at the time of his departure from Haran, Terah could only have been 145, not 205, years of age at that time. That would mean, of course, that he was still alive, with another 60 years of his life still remaining. To resolve the contradiction, one school of Jewish interpretation theorized that Abraham's physical age when he left Haran was actually 135. Moses, however, recorded his years as only 75, because the first 60 of these years were spent in idolatry in Ur. In this way, there was no chronological contradiction in having Terah's death precede Abraham's departure from Ur.<sup>21</sup>

It can hardly be sheer coincidence that *Jubilees* also assigns 60 years to Abraham at the time of the temple fire. Recognizing this, commentators, both ancient and modern, have assumed that the work must have been familiar with the same school of interpretation.<sup>22</sup> But if this is so (as does seem likely), the author has for some reason inserted into the narrative details that end up undermining its exegetical value.

<sup>20</sup> Gen. 11:32–12:1.

<sup>21</sup> Jerome, *Hebraicae Quaestiones in Genesim ad 12:4*, ed. Antin, 15 (citing the same Jewish tradition referred to above, n. 13): '... quod Abraham babylonio uallatus incendio, quia illud adorare nolebat, dei sit auxilio liberatus et ex illo tempore ei dies uitae et tempus reputetur aetatis, ex quo confessus est dominum, spernens idola Chaldaeorum.'

<sup>22</sup> *Jub.* 12:12. See Brock, 'Abraham and the Ravens', 142–145, and below, pp. 56–57.

For one thing, *Jubilees* states that Terah was still alive when Abraham departed from Haran.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, *Jubilees* makes it clear that Abraham had renounced idolatry long before his 60th year and the incident in the temple; even as a child, Abraham came to understand 'that everyone was going astray after the statues and after impurity'.<sup>24</sup> Why, then would the author of the work have adopted an older chronological tradition, only to void it of meaning? Here again, the importance of safeguarding Abraham's reputation was paramount. *Jubilees* could not abide the thought that Abraham squandered his first 60 years in idolatry. Nor could the author leave unexplained the circumstances of Abraham's departure from Haran. And so to quash any suggestion that Abraham behaved disloyally in abandoning his father, the author has Abraham promising his father that he would return to him after he saw the land of Canaan. In response, Terah gives Abraham his blessing: 'Go in peace. . . . And if you see a land that, in your view, is a pleasant one in which to live, then come and take me to you. . . . Then all of us will go with you.'<sup>25</sup> Such a display of filial honour would of course have been impossible, had Terah already died before Abraham's departure.

*Jubilees'* rendering of events surrounding Abraham's burning of the temple and his subsequent departure from Haran might have satisfied its thematic aims. But in seeking to protect Abraham's reputation, it also left unexplored the exegetical implications of older traditions that it had imported into the narrative. It fell on later Christian interpreters, Jacob among them, to tease out from the narrative information more in line with their own concerns. The results make for a fascinating chapter in Christian exegesis of Genesis.

### 3. *The Christian Reinterpretation of Jubilees 12*

Although *Jubilees* was barely known to Christian authors of the first three centuries, quotations and traditions originating in that work turn up later in a wide array of sources.<sup>26</sup> A reference from *Jubilees* by an anonymous commentator on Genesis reflects the authority that at least some Christian authors assigned to the work. There, the author cites *Jubilees* according to a formula typically reserved for sacred Scriptures:

<sup>23</sup> *Jub.* 12:28–31.

<sup>24</sup> *Jub.* 11:16.

<sup>25</sup> *Jub.* 12:29–31.

<sup>26</sup> For text and translation of some of this material, see VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, text, 257–300; trans., 328–68. For an earlier and still useful collection of witnesses, see H. Rösner, *Das Buch der Jubiläen* (Leipzig 1874), 252–384.

καθὼς γέγραπται ἐν τῷ Ἰωβηλαίῳ.<sup>27</sup> The increasing prominence of biblical exegesis characteristic of the late patristic period has much to do with *Jubilees*' resurgent prestige. Τὰ λεπτὰ τῆς Γενέσεως ('The Details of Genesis'), the name by which *Jubilees* was most commonly known in Greek, is an apt description of a work whose primary value was thought to be its use in expanding upon the sometimes sketchy and enigmatic narrative of the book of Genesis. One of the most outstanding examples of this was the story of Abraham's migration from Ur.

Christian commentators on this passage had to contend with an additional witness unrecognized by their Jewish counterparts. This was Stephen's speech in *Acts of the Apostles*. In his recitation of events in Israelite history, Stephen had told the Jewish council that 'when he was in Mesopotamia, before he lived in Haran' God said to Abraham, 'Leave your country and your relatives and go to the land that I will show you.'<sup>28</sup> Abraham must, therefore, have received two calls from God, the first in Ur (so Acts), the second in Haran (so Genesis). The subsequent verse in Stephen's speech further constrained interpreters by stating expressly that Abraham departed from Haran 'after his father died'.<sup>29</sup>

Amidst a truly bewildering range of harmonizing explanations, certain commentators sought clarification on these matters from Jewish extra-biblical sources and traditions, including *Jubilees*. Origen, one of the first Christian writers to consider the problem, ventured a solution identical to the one provided by Jerome's informants. In the case of Abraham, he wrote, 'the 60 years before his knowledge of God (πρὸ τῆς θεογνωσίας) are not reckoned to him.'<sup>30</sup> In this way, Origen believed he could explain how Terah's death at 205 could have preceded Abraham's departure from Haran. An anonymous writer cited in the *Catena on Genesis* endorsed the same interpretation, only in this case citing as proof the story in *Jubilees* about Abraham's burning of the temple of idols:

Haran died in the conflagration in which Abram set fire to the idols of his father, when he went in to rescue them. Abraham was at that time 60 years of age when he burned the idols; *these years are not counted in the years of his life, because he was up to then in unbelief, just as is written in Jubilees* [my italics].<sup>31</sup>

In his zeal to confirm his explanation of the chronological problem, the author fails to mention that according to *Jubilees*, Abraham's knowledge

<sup>27</sup> See the catena fragment cited below, on p. 56.

<sup>28</sup> Acts 7:3.

<sup>29</sup> Acts 7:4.

<sup>30</sup> Cited in F. Petit, *La Chaîne sur la Genèse 2* (TEG 2; Leuven 1993), 93 (no. 648, on Gen. 6:10).

<sup>31</sup> In F. Petit, *La Chaîne 2*, 218 (no. 867, on Gen. 11:28).

of God preceded the incident in the temple by many years. Indeed, the only real support that the author could derive from *Jubilees* is its assertion that Abraham was 60 years of age when he set fire to the temple. But this was apparently enough to justify the desired outcome: Since Moses excluded the first 60 years of his life, Abraham was actually 135 years of age at the time when he left Haran. In this way, the author circumvented the chronological problem posed by Terah's age when Abraham left Haran.

Another example of the rewriting of *Jubilees* for exegetical purposes appears in the early ninth-century universal chronicle of George Syncellus. Here again the author found in the story of Abraham's burning of the temple the clue to unravelling the problems associated with his migration from Ur. When Abraham was still residing in Ur, writes Syncellus, he received a call from God. This is stated explicitly in Stephen's speech and confirmed, he says, by a report 'circulating in many places'. According to this latter report, Abraham, while he was still in his native land, 'dedicated himself to God and turned away from the idols of his father, which he burned at night'. Subsequently, Terah and the rest of his family, 'recipients with Abraham of the promise, also journeyed together with him to the land of Canaan, just as Scripture states, especially if we suppose that the patriarch Abraham was encouraging them'.<sup>32</sup> Notice how Syncellus has recreated the story for his purposes. Although *Jubilees* does describe how Abraham came to know God in Ur, it says nothing about him receiving a divine call to leave from that city. Nor does *Jubilees* mention anything about Terah and his family's participation in this call, or Abraham's exhortation to them to leave the city. Syncellus simply drew these inferences in order to answer two questions: What were the circumstances of Abraham's first call in Ur. And why did Terah and other members of his family accompany Abraham?

For much the same reason, Syncellus refashioned the story of Abraham's migration from Haran to Canaan. According to *Jubilees*, this departure was harmonious, with Terah blessing his son and bidding him to return for him at some later time. Syncellus conjures up an entirely different sequence of events. Upon arriving in Haran, he writes, Terah repudiated the divine call, changed his mind and reverted to his previous livelihood. As a result, Abraham abandoned Terah and other members of his family to their depravity and moved on to Canaan.

Here again Syncellus' story of Terah's spiritual disintegration in Haran was dictated by an exegetical consideration: how could Terah

<sup>32</sup> George Syncellus, *Ecloga Chronographica*, ed. A.A. Mosshammer (Bibliotheca Teubneriana; Leipzig 1984), 107,12–29.

have died before Abraham's departure, when the chronology seemed to indicate otherwise? But in this case, Syncellus drew upon another theory, this one also originating in an older Jewish tradition. According to a school of interpretation attested in *Genesis Rabbah*, Moses recorded Terah's death first so as to convey a deeper message about Terah's spiritual decline and Abraham's relationship with his father. Although Terah had originally intended to accompany Abraham to Canaan, he was overcome by the blandishments of idolatry and elected to remain behind in Haran. By reverting to idolatry, Terah could no longer be counted among the living. To drive home the point, Moses reversed the chronological sequence, placing Terah's death before Abraham's departure. When, therefore, Abraham left his father in Haran, he had not really dishonoured him; at least in the spiritual sense, Terah the idolater was already dead.<sup>33</sup>

Syncellus found the notion of Terah's spiritual death the ideal solution to the chronological problem raised by Genesis 12 and Stephen's speech. And so he replaced *Jubilees'* story of Abraham's cordial departure from Haran with an account of Terah's reversion to idolatry. When Abraham saw that Terah and other members of his family had 'died in their soul and . . . were faithless to God', he was resettled by God in the land of Canaan. In this way also our Lord knows that those who do not believe in him are dead, even if they live a temporary life, as he says in one place, 'Let the dead bury their own dead.'<sup>34</sup> After Abraham left, Terah may have continued to live in the purely physical sense. But his reversion to idolatry in that city meant that he was dead in his soul. To convey this same message, Moses recorded Terah's death before recounting Abraham's migration from Haran.

#### 4. *Jacob's Account of Abraham's Migration from Ur*

In his letter to John of Litarba, Jacob refers to the same cycle of stories about Abraham in the course of addressing what he knows to be an especially difficult problem in Genesis: Why had God delayed the realization of his promise to Abraham and subjected the Israelites to a cruel captivity in Egypt for 400 years? A satisfactory resolution of a problem as complex as this one, Jacob writes, must first explore the motives behind God's prior dealings with Abraham. Why, for example, had God chosen Abraham from among all the men who existed on the

<sup>33</sup> See *Gen. Rab.* 39.7, ed. Theodor and Albeck, 1, 369 (on the authority of R. Isaac).

<sup>34</sup> Syncellus, *Ecl. Chronographica*, ed. Mosshammer, 107,29–108,5; cf. Matt. 8:22.

earth in that time? Why had he chosen Ur of the Chaldeans? What was the nature of the call of Abraham from Ur? Why did Abraham leave Ur with Terah? And finally why did they go to Haran? Like the other writers we have already discussed, Jacob discovered answers to these questions ready to hand in the *Jubilees*-based legend about Abraham's early life in Ur.<sup>35</sup> But Jacob's own version of events oriented the story in an entirely different way. For Jacob, Abraham's growing estrangement from idolatry and his actions against the temple in Ur were only one act in the unfolding of a great divine drama.

After Canaan had violated the terms of Noah's testament and expropriated land lawfully in the possession of the descendants of Shem, God, Jacob writes, did not redress the transgression immediately. He chose instead to measure out his responses according to a carefully devised plan. In this way, he both confirmed the faith and endurance of Abraham and his descendants, and granted time for the Canaanites to repent. The critical moment in the realization of this plan was the migration of Abraham from Ur. God chose to place Abraham in this city, Jacob writes, because after the confusion of tongues this was the only city that preserved Hebrew, the language of Adam.<sup>36</sup> During a violent famine in the land, Abraham's father Ur sent Abraham, at the age of fifteen, to protect seed being devoured by ravens. Exhausted by repeated and unsuccessful efforts to drive off the crows, Abraham finally received assistance from God.

A comparison with the parallel account in *Jubilees* will demonstrate how Jacob's version of events has been tailored to satisfy the demands of exegesis. Consider, for example, the affair with the ravens. In *Jubilees*, God plays an almost incidental role in the unfolding of events. It is Mastema, not God, who sends the ravens to consume the seed. Abraham's own wisdom and understanding, and not a divine revelation, brings about his initial estrangement from idols. Since Abraham's confrontation with the ravens follows immediately after his prayer to God, one might infer that Abraham owed his success against them to the assistance of God. But the narrative invites an entirely different conclusion. For one thing, Abraham's prayer to God is for protection from the pollutions of idolatry, not for deliverance from the ravens. Nor do we learn how, or even if, God answered Abraham's prayer. Abraham's success in expelling the ravens is mainly the fruit of his own efforts and ingenuity in designing an attachment to a plow designed to protect

<sup>35</sup> *Ep.* 13.1 (112r; trans. Nau, 199–200).

<sup>36</sup> Cf. *Jub.* 12:26. This was for Jacob an important point since it confirmed his own position, stated elsewhere in the same letter (*Ep.* 13.14), that Hebrew was the primeval language.

the seed from future attacks.<sup>37</sup> The overall impression is unmistakable, and of a piece with *Jubilees'* general treatment of biblical patriarchs. In *Jubilees*, the role of the divine is subordinated to an overriding concern to celebrate Abraham's wisdom and piety, his ingenuity and commitment to the welfare of Ur, and his resulting ascent to fame among his countrymen.

By contrast, Jacob's story of Abraham's encounter with the ravens assigns a much more visible and active role to God, all but stripping Abraham of his autonomy. God himself is responsible for the ravens devastating the countryside. There is no mention of Abraham's success in driving off the birds on his own or his renown in Ur as an inventor of an agricultural tool. Abraham's prayer to God is not an appeal for protection from idolatry, but rather a plea for help from a desperate man humbled by unavailing efforts to expel the ravens. When God does come to Abraham's aid, he also reveals himself as the one who had sent the crows in the first place:

God . . . chased the ravens from the field of Abraham and said to him gently and kindly: 'Abraham, Abraham, I am the one to whom you called. I have heard you and have chased the ravens from your field because, as you have said, I am the God who made the heaven and the earth. . . . I am the one who sent these ravens to you, and because you have invoked me and known my name, I have heard you and have chased the ravens from the field.' *This was the first call of Abraham from God* (אֱלֹהִים הוֹדִיעַ אֶת אַבְרָהָם בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה) [my italics].<sup>38</sup>

Even though *Jubilees* nowhere characterizes the episode as a divine call, Jacob had a good reason to conceive of it in these terms. In the first place, it grounded historically Stephen's obscure reference to God's call to Abraham when he was still in Ur. And by characterizing the patriarch as an instrument for the accomplishment of the divine will, Jacob established how the episode disclosed God's deeper intentions. All of the events in Ur leading up to Abraham's migration, Jacob tells John, were causally linked elements in a providential plan to redress Canaan's transgression. In order to set this plan in motion, God needed to precipitate the crisis with the ravens.

Now sealed in his faith, Jacob writes, Abraham launched his drive against idolatry. He first urged his father and brother Nahor to abandon their devotion to the idol Cainan, and serve the only true god. Then at age 60, Abraham secretly set fire to the idol temple, in the course of which his brother Haran met his death. Once the citizens of Ur learned what Abraham had done, they demanded that Terah deliver his son to

<sup>37</sup> *Jub.* 11:23.

<sup>38</sup> *Ep.* 13.1 (113v; trans. Nau, 203).

them; otherwise they would kill Terah himself and burn his house in retribution. 'Terah, thus pressed, departed from Ur during the night, and secretly led away his son Abraham and Lot, the son of Haran, his grandson, and Sara his daughter-in-law, and he came to Haran in Mesopotamia and stayed there. Later, Nahor the brother of Abraham came to join them.'<sup>39</sup> Although this account adheres in its overall outline to the *Jubilees* narrative, it is markedly different in particulars. When in the latter version Abraham lectures his family about idolatry, he speaks to both of his brothers, not only Nahor. And *Jubilees* says nothing about a later departure of Nahor for Haran, or about an angry mob whose demands for vengeance forced Terah to escort his family out of the city under the cover of night.

The reason for all of these expansions is that they helped to produce a more rounded and self-contained narrative, and one much better suited to the exegetical questions at hand. For example, *Jubilees* mentions nothing about an idol-god Cainan against whom Abraham waged his crusade. It does, however, mention a figure of this name in another context. Cainan is said in *Jubilees* to have discovered and transcribed an antediluvian monument, on which the Watchers had inscribed their astrological wisdom.<sup>40</sup> It would not have taken a great leap to have concluded that this Cainan, one of the ancestors of the Chaldeans, introduced them to the science of astrology, in recognition of which he was honoured by them as a god.<sup>41</sup> Abraham's destruction of Cainan's temple—a blow both against idolatry and the demonic wisdom of the Chaldeans—thus marked a fitting conclusion to his campaign against the corruptions of his homeland.

The internal logic of the narrative virtually mandated Jacob's other elaborations. Since Haran was the only one to rush into the temple to rescue the idols, he *must* have been excluded from Abraham's conversations with other members of his family about the evils of idolatry. And even though *Jubilees* says nothing about it, the citizens *must* have been enraged by Abraham's destruction of their temple. In conjuring up an angry and threatening reaction from the citizens of Ur, Jacob's version of events thus offered a perfect explanation for the questions that had

<sup>39</sup> *Ep.* 13.1 (114v; trans. Nau, 204).

<sup>40</sup> *Jub.* 8:1–4.

<sup>41</sup> This is in fact precisely the connection that Barhebraeus makes: 'And according to what is said, it was he [Cainan] who invented CHALDĀYŪTHĀ [Chaldaism]. His sons worshipped him as a god, and set up an image of him; thence began the worship of idols' (trans. E.A.W. Budge, *The Chronography of Gregory Abū'l Faraj, the Son of Aaron, the Hebrew Physician, Commonly Known as Bar Hebraeus* 1 (London 1932), 7; ed. [P. Bedjan], *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon Syriacum* (Paris 1890), 7).



thwarted so many interpreters of Genesis 11:27–31. Sons often predecease their fathers, Jacob writes in a scholium on these verses. There must, then, have been a good reason why Genesis chose to record, as if exceptional, the premature death of Haran. Genesis' description of the death of Haran 'before his father Terah', he suggests, 'marks secretly and mysteriously, and indicates the cause of the exodus of Terah and his son from the land of the Chaldees.' But it was the supplementary record found in his *Jewish Histories* that detailed what actually happened.<sup>42</sup>

It should be emphasized that Jacob probably did not glean all of these amplifications of the *Jubilees* narrative from the text of his *Jewish Histories*. The report about Nahor, for example, appears to be an interpretive gloss by Jacob himself. Like other commentators, Jacob assumed that although Gen. 11:31 does not mention Nahor among the members of Terah's family who accompanied him from Ur, he must have at some point rejoined his family in Haran. Otherwise, how could Genesis later identify Rebecca as Nahor's grand-daughter?<sup>43</sup> In his letter to John, Jacob addresses this issue by supposing that Nahor arrived in Haran sometime after the departure of Terah and the rest of his family.<sup>44</sup> But in his scholium on these verses of Genesis, he draws a different conclusion. There, Jacob suggests that although Nahor disapproved both of Abraham's violent actions against the temple and of Terah's decision to flee from Ur, he was 'forcibly pressured' to leave with them. For that reason, Jacob writes, Scripture chose to omit Nahor's name from the list of those who departed with Terah.<sup>45</sup> The two conflicting accounts about Nahor's departure suggest that both originated in the mind of Jacob himself, and not in his source.

<sup>42</sup> Trans. G. Phillips, *Scholia on Passages of the Old Testament by Mār Jacob, Bishop of Edessa* (Edinburgh 1864), 4–5; ed. 𐤒𐤃.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Gen. 24:15.

<sup>44</sup> This is also the opinion set forth by Barhebraeus in his scholium on Gen. 11:28: 'That he [Terah] took Nahor, however, and Melkâ his wife, is not written; but that they did not remain behind in Ur of the Chaldaeans is known from this, that from 'Ārām-Nahrīn, the city of Nahor, Rebecca, the daughter of B<sup>e</sup>thū'ēl the son of Nahor, was brought as wife to Isaac. And it appears that Nahor and his wife left after the departure of Terah and Abram and Lot' (trans. M. Sprengling and W.C. Graham, *Barhebraeus' Scholia on the Old Testament 1. Genesis–II Samuel* (The University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 13; Chicago 1931), 49; ed. 48,13–17).

<sup>45</sup> 'Since therefore Terah was pressed by them [the citizens of Ur], he took flight from the land of the Chaldees with all his house. But of Nahor, though he did not acquiesce in those things which took place, (as to which neither did Haran himself, who died) either in the burning of the temple, or in the flight of Terah from his land; but as he was violently pressed, he went forth with his father and brother. Wherefore Holy Scripture hath not made mention of his name in these words; nor doth it say that he went forth with them, although it is well known that he was with them in Haran' (trans. Phillips, 5; ed. 𐤒𐤃).

His explanation of the crisis with the ravens invites the same conclusion. In his letter to John, Jacob states three times that God's revelation to Abraham after the crisis with the ravens was his 'first call'.<sup>46</sup> But this is not the way other Syriac versions of the same event treat the incident. Most notably, the *Catena Severi* represents the scourge of the ravens as a form of divine chastisement inflicted on the citizens of Ur for their idolatry.<sup>47</sup> Given Jacob's purposes in his letter to John, we may suppose that the *Catena* more closely approximates the version of events put forth in Jacob's *Jewish Histories*. The source that Jacob used intended the incident with the ravens to describe how Abraham first came to learn of the folly of idolatry. It was Jacob himself who imposed the added theological meaning on the story, thereby establishing a firmer connection with Stephen's reference to God's call in Ur, and at the same time molding the story more tightly to the question that John had put before him.

The demands of exegesis also inspired some later Syriac embellishments of the narrative. In a scholium on Genesis, Barhebraeus' recitation of events subsequent to the temple fire in Ur adheres closely to Jacob's. But he invents an entirely different scenario of events in Haran. In his own account of Terah's death in Haran, Jacob, without further commenting, states that Terah died after fourteen years in Haran, and that Abraham, in obedience to an order from God, then left Haran for Canaan.<sup>48</sup> More attentive to the chronological inconsistency raised by this ordering of events, Barhebraeus offers a much richer reconstruction of the circumstances of Terah's death. Because Terah's own inclinations to paganism discouraged him from continuing on to Canaan, he writes, Abraham departed at age 75 without him. Later Abraham returned to his father and remained there 'until 205 years were completed to Terah'. As Barhebraeus himself acknowledges, these were only his own ruminations on the subject, motivated by what he knows is 'much uncertainty'

<sup>46</sup> *Ep.* 13.1 (112v–113r; trans. Nau, 202–203).

<sup>47</sup> For English translation of the relevant material from the *Catena Severi*, see S.P. Brock, 'Abraham and the Ravens', 137.

<sup>48</sup> Since this differs from *Jubilees*' account (see above, pp. 54–55), Brock ('Abraham and the Ravens', 144–145) theorized that Jacob's source solved the chronological problem posed by Terah's death by assuming that the underlying theory was the same as Jerome's Jewish tradition (see above, p. 54); that is, the first 60 years of Abraham's life, spent in unbelief, were not included in the reckoning of his age when he left Haran. Nothing like this, however, is stated in the narrative; and it would appear to be countermanded by the fact that Jacob's source, following the *Jubilees* narrative, recounts Abraham's conversion well before his 60th year, at the age of fifteen (not fourteen, as in *Jubilees*).

concerning the chronological sequence of Terah's death and Abraham's migration to Canaan.<sup>49</sup>

5. *Jacob's Jewish Histories and the Later Christian  
Transmission of Jubilees*

In their later Greek transmission, *Jubilees*-based legends often resurfaced under other names, including the *Antiquities* of Josephus.<sup>50</sup> Jacob's *Jewish Histories* would appear to be another example of the same process. It is clear that at some point Jacob's source passed through a Greek redaction. The account of Noah's testament and its subsequent violation by Canaan betrays the hand of a Greek editor interested in harmonizing the chronology of *Jubilees* with the longer chronology of the Septuagint. The orthography of biblical names, and Jacob's citation of critical passages in Genesis also reveal the influence of a Greek intermediary.<sup>51</sup>

One of the chief conduits of traditions and excerpts from Jewish pseudepigrapha preserved by Syriac chronographers was the chronicle of the fifth century Alexandrian monk Annianus.<sup>52</sup> Jacob, as he demonstrates in another of his epistles, was quite familiar with the chronicle of Annianus.<sup>53</sup> Since Annianus was also a source of Jewish pseudepigrapha for Greek chronographers, we should thus expect to find some affinities between this source and the numerous citations from *Jubilees* preserved in Byzantine sources. But the chronological and narrative elaborations of *Jubilees* found in Jacob's *Jewish Histories* show little resemblance to the citations of parallel material from *Jubilees* in the Greek chronicles.

Indeed, it is striking that Jacob's source seems curiously out of step with the dominant trends in later Christian interpretation of Genesis. Already by the late fourth century, Christian commentators were consumed by two issues associated with Abraham's migration from Ur: the two calls of Abraham mentioned in Acts and Genesis, and the chronological problems raised by Terah's death. Although Syriac Christian

<sup>49</sup> Trans. Sprengling and Graham, *Barhebraeus' Scholia*, 49; ed. 48,25.

<sup>50</sup> See, for example, Syncellus, *Ecl. Chronographica*, ed. Mosshammer, 111,13–17, who cites Josephus as a source for the *Jubilees*-based story of Abraham's life in Ur.

<sup>51</sup> For discussion, see Brock, 'Abraham and the Ravens', 146; Adler, 'Jacob of Edessa', 150–151, 158–159.

<sup>52</sup> On Annianus as the source of the Syriac excerpt from the *Book of Enoch* preserved by Michael Syrus, see S.P. Brock, 'A Fragment from the Book of Enoch in Syriac', *JTS* (1968), 626–631. Brock suggests, with admittedly little evidence, that Michael may have gotten the excerpt from a Syriac intermediary, perhaps the chronicle of John of Litarba.

<sup>53</sup> On Jacob's knowledge of the chronicle of Annianus, see F. Nau, 'Lettre de Jacques d'Édesse à Jean le Stylite', *ROC* 5 (1900), 590–591.

commentators proved to be no less alert to this problem than their Greek counterparts, the pattern of revision in *Jewish Histories* seems to be largely unaffected by these trends in Christian exegesis. If our characterization of the source is correct, the dominant interest of the work was chiefly to explain how Abraham's estrangement from idolatry embroiled his family in a crisis with the citizens of Ur and ultimately forced them out of the city. What this can tell us about the identity and date of the Greek author/editor of that work is something that must await further study.

A comment that Jacob makes later in his letter to John conveys some sense of the high regard in which he held this work. One should credit, he writes, the tradition that Amram taught his son Moses writing and Hebrew books when he was still a young man in the house of Pharaoh. This is because 'written histories' of the Jews, the source of that tradition, are 'not falsehoods (ܦܫܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ)'.<sup>54</sup> Jacob's endorsement secured for the work continued prominence in Syriac literature. Excerpts from it appear later in Syriac catenae, scholia and chronicles.<sup>55</sup> Jacob's *Jewish Histories*, like many later works fashioned out of narrative in *Jubilees*, thus functioned in much the same way that the various versions of *Jubilees* did in Greek sources, that is, as a supplement to Genesis, and as narrative raw material for universal history.

<sup>54</sup> *Ep.* 13.2 (115r; trans. Nau, 207). Cf. *Jub.* 47:9.

<sup>55</sup> See Brock, 'Abraham and the Ravens', 146–149; Adler, 'Jacob of Edessa', 164–166.



GREETINGS TO A VIRTUOUS MAN  
THE CORRESPONDENCE OF JACOB OF EDESSA

*Jan J. van Ginkel*

1. *Introduction*

Wenn denen, die in der Gegenwart für weise und einsichtsvoll gehalten werden, oder die in Wahrheit weise und einsichtsvoll sind, und die wegen ihres natürlichen Scharfsinns sehr gerühmt werden, und die wegen ihrer großen Arbeitsliebe sich eifrig mit den göttlichen Lehren beschäftigt haben, und die in den zwei Sprachen, der griechischen und der syrischen, hinreichend bewandert sind, und die auf das Studium der verschiedenen Wissenschaften, der christlichen [eig. internen] wie der profanen [eig. externen], sehr bedacht sind, vieles von dem, was der heilige Jakob verfaßt und in Schriften typisch behandelt hat, schwer und unverständlich ist, und zwar Stellen, die seiner Meinung nach einfach und leicht sind, wie kannst du da von mir, der ich ein Laie und ungelehrt und in den Disciplinen, wo du es wünschest, nicht bewandert und der ich nicht einmal in der einen Sprache, meinem schwerfälligen Syrisch, hinreichend bewandert bin, verlangen, daß ich dir die Lösung und die Erklärung der schweren Stellen geben soll—ich meine der Sprüchwörter und Gleichnisse, die der Heilige mit Bedacht zusammengestellt und geschrieben und gesandt hat zu Leuten sowohl hoher Augen als weiten Herzens und die sich für kundig und einsichtsvoll hielten: als da sind Glaubensgenossen oder Nichtchristen, Kinder der Welt oder Kinder einer anderen Lebensanschauung?<sup>1</sup>

Thus George, Bishop of the Arabs,<sup>2</sup> a scholar and friend of Jacob of Edessa, described the epistolary exploits of Jacob when asked by John the Stylite<sup>3</sup> to explain some of the less clear passages in one of Jacob's letters. The answer is highly rhetorical and ironic. George himself was a

<sup>1</sup> V. Ryssel, *Georgs des Araberbischofs Gedichte und Briefe* (Leipzig 1891), 64–65: from a letter entitled 'Über einige für ihn [i.e. John the Stylite] schwerverständliche Stellen in den Briefen des Bischofs Jacob von Edessa'.

<sup>2</sup> A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluß der christlich-palästinensischen Texte* (Bonn 1922), 257–258; C.D.G. Müller, 'Georg der Araberbischof', *TRE* 12 (Berlin 1984), 378–380; F. Rilliet, 'George, Bishop of the Arabs', *Encyclopedia of the Early Church* (Cambridge 1992), 343–345; K.E. McVey, *A Homily on Blessed Mar Severus, Patriarch of Antioch by George, Bishop of the Arabs* (CSCO 530–531, Syr. 216–217; Leuven 1993).

<sup>3</sup> A. Baumstark, *Geschichte*, 258–259; K.-E. Rignell, *A Letter from Jacob of Edessa to John the Stylite of Litarab concerning Ecclesiastical [i.e. Ecclesiastical] Canons* (Lund 1979); J.G. Blum, 'Johannes v. Litharb', *LThK* 5 (Freiburg 1996), 931; Pascal Castellana, 'Les stylites autour de Qalat Siman', in I. Peña, P. Castellana, R. Fernandez (eds.), *Les stylites syriens* (Publications du Studium Biblicum Franciscanum. Collectio minor 16; Milan 1975), 85–159, esp. 126–132 (Jean d'Athareb).

well-known scholar, trained in both Syriac and Greek. His ‘complaint’ about the complex nature of Jacob’s writing, both in style and in content, is presented in much the same intricate style as Jacob himself employed. Just like the quotation from George’s letter, Jacob’s work needs careful study.

The following article is only intended to be a general characterization of the epistolary activities of Jacob of Edessa. A comprehensive interpretation will have to wait until all the letters have been carefully studied.<sup>4</sup>

Within the ancient Greco-Roman system of rhetoric—as well as in our modern time—there is no clear definition of the genre of letters. The epistolary genre was discussed in the rhetorical tradition of Antiquity, although not extensively.<sup>5</sup> A letter should be brief, clear, phrased like a conversation (‘homilia’) with an absent friend, and should treat serious topics with elegant expression.<sup>6</sup> Based on the Greek epistolary theorists and actual Greek practice, John L. White came to the following definition:

The letter is a written message, which is sent because the corresponding parties are separated spatially. The letter is a written means of keeping oral conversation in motion. . . . [O]n most occasions, the sender had a . . . specific reason for writing; desiring either to disclose/seek information or needing to request/command something of the recipient. As far as the form is concerned, the letter consists of an opening, a body and a closing. These epistolary elements connect integrally, in turn, to the aforementioned reasons for writing. Thus the opening and closing conventions convey prayers/wishes for health, along with assurances of the sender’s own welfare, greetings and related expressions which enhance the maintenance of contact. The body on the other hand, conveys the more specific occasions of the letter.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> This article is part of a four-year project funded by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) for the edition and translation of all known letters by Jacob of Edessa.

<sup>5</sup> See for example H. Koskeniemi, *Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes bis 400 n. Chr.* (AASF Series B, 102.2; Helsinki 1956); K. Thraede, *Grundzüge griechisch-römischer Briefftopik* (Zetemata 48; München 1970); M.L. Stirewalt, Jr, *Studies in Ancient Greek Epistolography* (SBL.SBS 27; Atlanta, GA 1993); A.J. Malherbe, *Ancient Epistolary Theorists* (SBL.SBS 19; Atlanta, GA 1988). For a collection of forms of letters in the later Syriac tradition see Ms. Mingana 16, fols. 51a–60b (A. Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts, Now in the Possession of the Trustees of the Woodbrooke Settlement, Selly Oak, Birmingham* 1. *Syriac and Garshūni Manuscripts* (Cambridge 1933), 52).

<sup>6</sup> P. Gallay, *Gregoire de Nazianze. Lettres* 1 (Paris 1964), 66–68 (lettre LI).

<sup>7</sup> J.L. White, ‘The Greek Documentary Letter Tradition: Third Century B.C.E. to Third Century C.E.’, *Semeia: An Experimental Journal for Biblical Criticism* 22 (1981), 89–106, especially 91.

Letters were seen as an opportunity to present ideas and opinions to a broader audience, not just the addressee. They were often written with the intention of collecting them and—sometimes after re-editing the text—publicizing them.<sup>8</sup> This tradition was handed down to the Christian teachers of Late Antiquity and adapted to the propagation of Christian beliefs in the various Christian languages. Most known corpora contained several hundred letters at least, sometimes even a thousand or more.

## 2. *Preserved Material*

Although Jacob of Edessa himself is part of this tradition, there are no traces of an edited collection of his correspondence like the books of letters by Severus of Antioch or Jacob of Serug.<sup>9</sup> Nor are there any references in the Syriac tradition to a letter by Jacob referred to by number and book of a now lost collection like some of the letters of Severus. Although his position within West Syrian culture and society would make it highly likely that his correspondence was originally very extensive,<sup>10</sup> there are traces of only fifty different letters by Jacob to be found in the Syriac manuscript tradition. Many of these letters are only known to us as references, excerpts or fragments, preserved in florilegia manuscripts or in the works of later authors to illustrate a certain exegetical, liturgical or chronographical topic.<sup>11</sup> Of several other letters only one manuscript has been preserved, often containing no more than a large fragment of the letter.

There are two exceptions to this rule, both with regard to their state of preservation and the number of manuscripts containing their

<sup>8</sup> For the origins of letter writing and letter collecting see Stirewalt, *Studies*, 16–17, referring to philosophers and, in their wake, ‘academics’.

<sup>9</sup> Letters by Severus of Antioch, translated into Syriac: E.W. Brooks, *The Sixth Book of the Select Letters of Severus Patriarch of Antioch in the Syriac version of Athanasius of Nisibis* (2 vols.; London 1902). Letters of Jacob of Serug: G. Olinger, *Iacobi Sarugensis epistulae quotquot supersunt* (CSCO 110, Syr. 57; Paris 1937).

<sup>10</sup> His various comments that he is lazy and has to be prodded to answer the letters which he received have a rhetorical ring to them.

<sup>11</sup> Literature: D. Kruisheer, *A Bibliographical Clavis to the Works of Jacob of Edessa*, in this volume, under ‘Letters’ and ‘Grammatical Works’. In addition, C. Kayser, *Die Canones Jacob’s von Edessa* (Leipzig 1886), 66–68; A. Baumstark, *Geschichte*, 248–257; A. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonensammlungen. Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkunde 1. Westsyrische Originalurkunden 1A* (CSCO 307, Subs. 35; Leuven 1970), 207–212. Several fragments and references can be found in the (partly unpublished) works of Moses Bar Kepa. On florilegia and their use see P. Gray, ‘The Select Fathers: Canonizing the Patristic Past’, in E.A. Livingstone (ed.), *StPatr* 23 (Leuven 1989), 21–36.



text: Jacob's *Letter on Orthography* (*Letter 19* in my survey; see the Appendix) and his *Letter on the Divine Economy* (*Letter 49*). The first has been preserved more or less *in extenso* in several manuscripts, usually in the context of several other tracts on Syriac grammar and related material.<sup>12</sup> As far as the latter letter is concerned, the reason for its particular position within Syriac literature is as yet uncertain. The preserved versions are all compiled by a later redactor (or redactors), but at its core there may be an authentic letter by Jacob.<sup>13</sup>

Only one manuscript contains a collection of letters, Ms. British Library Add. 12172.<sup>14</sup> It was written in the ninth or possibly the tenth century, two centuries after Jacob's death. It is the work of at least two copyists who seemed to have collected the letters themselves.<sup>15</sup> It is not an official and well-thought-out collection but a rather haphazard affair. It contains 27 letters by Jacob organised into smaller selections. The main group consists of 16 letters to John the Stylite and 1 to George the Deacon. This group of letters has been copied as a distinct group within the manuscript and each of these letters is numbered. The execution by the copyist of the other letters, located before this group, is at times of a lesser quality. These letters are not numbered and lack most of their introductions and closing formulas.<sup>16</sup> It is very likely that the letters to John the Stylite had been part of an older collection, possibly of material related to John.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>12</sup> At times it is also used as an introduction to Jacob's translation of the homilies of Severus, e.g. J.S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana* 1 (Rome 1719), 478–479.

<sup>13</sup> The work consists of an introduction, by Jacob, on the Divine Economy, and a large collection of quotations from Scripture and Church Fathers proving its existence. The last quotations are from the sixth century (Severus of Antioch and Philoxenus of Mabbug). They seem to originate from a Greek florilegium. Most preserved versions include material by Dionysius bar Salibi. Compare D. Loftus, *A Clear and Learned Explication of the History of our Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ [...] by Dionysius Syrus* (Dublin 1695). Although I have not yet had access to this publication, it seems to contain another version of this Letter.

<sup>14</sup> W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since the Year 1838* 2 (London 1871), 592–605 (DCCVII). It once belonged to the library of St Mary Deipara (or Deir es-Suryānī) in Egypt.

<sup>15</sup> One of the collectors may have been John of Hisn Kepa from the convent of Mar Yaba (colophon BL Add. 12172, fol. 78b).

<sup>16</sup> For example, a letter to Kyrisuna of Dara (*Letter 29*) is crammed, in a badly written hand, onto the latter third of a folio which had initially been left empty (BL Add. 12172, fol. 78a).

<sup>17</sup> BL Add. 12172, fol. 79a, preserves a title to this second part of the collection of letters by Jacob—'Furthermore letters of the venerable and holy Mar Jacob, Bishop of the city of Edessa, to the priest John the Stylite of Litarba'—, which may have been copied from the source.

Jacob also wrote several works belonging to the genre of the *ḥarāʿ* 'questions'.<sup>18</sup> They are closely related to works of the responsa genre in Jewish literature and the *erotapokriseis* in Greek or *quaestiones* in Latin literature.<sup>19</sup> These works consist of listings of canons and resolutions by Jacob in response to questions on specific judicial, ethical, and liturgical problems.<sup>20</sup>

Since these long lists of questions and answers are not letters *per se* but rather documents which were at times accompanied by an introductory letter,<sup>21</sup> they will be disregarded for the moment. In this article the focus will be on those texts which are called 'letter' (*ḥayyā*) in the manuscripts and were written by Jacob of Edessa.<sup>22</sup>

### 3. General Remarks

In general, Jacob's letters are brief and elegantly written. They display a great variety in topics, style, form and language.<sup>23</sup> Some of them are metric—twelve syllabic and seven syllabic—some are clearly personal correspondence—a reply to an invitation for a visit—, and others are more like essays or homilies for a broader audience—for example the *Letter on Orthography*. As far as their contents are concerned, only a few letters explicitly deal extensively with other contemporary religious groups—'Nestorianism', Chalcedonism—, although there are some brief references in others. References to the newly arrived religion of Islam are very sporadic. However, these references are among the earliest proofs

<sup>18</sup> A. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonensammlungen. Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkunde 1. Westsyrische Originalurkunden* 1B (CSCO 317, Subs. 38; Leuven 1970), 273–298. See also H. Teule's contribution to this volume.

<sup>19</sup> H. Dörries, s.v., *RAC* 6 (Stuttgart 1966), 342–370; B. Studer, 'Die theologische Literatur vom 4. bis zum 7. Jahrhundert: Spätantike mit einem Panorama der byzantinischen Literatur' in L.J. Engels, and H. Hofmann (eds.) *Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft* 4 (Wiesbaden 1997), 355–402, especially 391–392.

<sup>20</sup> R.G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It. A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish, and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam* (Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 13; Princeton 1997), 161–163, esp. Excursus A: The Canons and Resolutions of Jacob of Edessa, 601–610 (with references to manuscripts and modern works).

<sup>21</sup> For a clear example see Rignell, *Letter from Jacob*, 48, where the Syriac text indicates that the end of the letter is missing! The remainder of the text is a list of questions and answers according to the *ḥarāʿ* genre.

<sup>22</sup> Note that some texts are sometimes called *ḥayyā* 'letter', sometimes *ḥayyā* 'treatise' in the manuscripts. Mingana (Mingana, *Catalogue*, 254 (Mingana 104); 351 (Mingana 152); 961 (Mingana 522)) calls the letter on the Divine Economy—and several others—a 'treatise', even though the Syriac uses the term *ḥayyā*.

<sup>23</sup> See the Appendix to this article.

of in-depth knowledge among Christian authors of parts of Islamic Theology.<sup>24</sup> Most of the preserved letters are concerned with internal West Syrian matters such as liturgy and chronological and exegetical learning. Topics raised include the works of the Fathers (especially Ephrem), commentaries on (pseudo-)biblical books and passages, chronological questions related to the Bible—dates of the Nativity, how to compute Passover, calculation of the world year—, and Predestination.

Most of the addressees of the letters belong to the West Syrian clergy. They are usually only known from the letters addressed to them.<sup>25</sup> One hesitates to call these letters a ‘correspondence’ since often only one letter to the addressee in question has been preserved. However, since these letters are usually of similar format and content to the letters which were part of a real correspondence, presumably they were once part of a now lost correspondence.

There are three people who are known to have received several letters from Jacob.<sup>26</sup> First, a certain Stephen received at least three letters. They were preserved in Ms. Seert 81, which seems to have been lost during the turmoil of World War I.<sup>27</sup> Second, Eustatius, Bishop of Dara, received six more personal letters and, finally, John of Litarba (d. 737/8), priest and stylite, received 18 letters. John was a contemporary of Jacob and a well-known biblical scholar and historian in his own right.

<sup>24</sup> See R.G. Hoyland’s article in this volume, esp. pp. 18–21, as well as his ‘Jacob of Edessa on Islam’, in G.J. Reinink and A.C. Klugkist (eds.), *After Bardaisan: Studies on Continuity and Change in Syriac Christianity in Honour of Professor Han J.W. Drijvers* (OLA 89; Leuven 1999), 149–160, and in general Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It*.

<sup>25</sup> However, it is possible to make some hypothetical remarks:

Constantine: disciple of Jacob of Edessa; *Hexaemeron* and a *memra* (referred to by Moses bar Kepa (Wright, *Catalogue*, 2:854 (BL Add. 14731)) dedicated to him; virtual (?) bishop of Bithynia, bishop of Emesa, later bishop of Edessa. See Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* 11.15, ed. J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche Jacobite d’Antioche (1166–1199)* (Paris 1899–1924), 4:445–446, trans. 2:472; 11.17, ed. 4:450, trans. 2:480; 11.20, ed. 4:459, trans. 2:496.

George the Stylite: George, Bishop of Serug (?).

Eustatius of Dara: see Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* 11.17, ed. Chabot, 4: 451, trans. 2:481, where he buries the Christian-Arab martyr.

Priest Abraham: Arab, who also received a letter by George of the Arabs (?).

Deacon Barhadshabba: also received a letter from George of the Arabs.

Priest Addai: also received a letter from George of the Arabs (?).

Daniel: possibly a disciple of Jacob of Edessa, later bishop of Emesa (successor to Constantine) (see Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* 11.15, ed. Chabot, 4:445–446, trans. 2:472; 11.17, ed. 4:450, trans. 2:480) or a priest of the Arab Tu‘ites, who received a letter from John the Stylite (BL Add. 12541).

<sup>26</sup> A certain Kyrisuna of Dara also received at least two letters, nos. 29 and 30.

<sup>27</sup> In a personal conversation, Dr Abdul Massih Saadi (Lutheran School of Theology, Chicago) announced he had found another manuscript containing these letters.

John of Litarba conversed extensively with Jacob of Edessa on biblical and historical matters. A third member of this intellectual discussion was George, Bishop of the Arabs (d. 724).<sup>28</sup> The scholarly exchanges between these three and their contacts with other scholarly interested contemporaries is reflected not only in Jacob's letters but also in those of George and John.<sup>29</sup> This group of scholars tried to stimulate each other's work and provide assistance where needed.<sup>30</sup> Since they were dispersed throughout Syria and northern Mesopotamia they had to rely on written communications, that is, letters.

Jacob's letters are not dated but this omission seems to be caused by the compilers rather than by Jacob himself. There seems to be consensus among modern scholars that the letters to John of Litarba originate from the later stages of Jacob's life.<sup>31</sup> This is in line with the fact that John of Litarba died around 738, about twenty years after Jacob's death, suggesting he belonged to a younger generation. He also seems to have been younger than George of the Arabs, to whom he refers as 'my father'<sup>32</sup> and who in one of his letters to John claims weakness due to his age.<sup>33</sup> George's letters to John are dated to the years 714, 715, and 718.<sup>34</sup> Since John is a priest in the letters he must have been at least in his thirties. This would strengthen the assumption that the letters date from the later years of Jacob's life, that is, around or after 700.

Jacob's method of argumentation is often a repetition of statements which are constantly viewed from different angles and corroborated by biblical quotations and sayings of the Fathers. Although in some cases the quotations of the Bible are very close to the Peshitta text, the phrasing of the quotations often indicates that Jacob used a text

<sup>28</sup> See the quotations at the beginning of this article and Ryssel, *Georg, passim*; Baumstark, *Geschichte*, 257–258 (cf. note 11 on page 257: George's correspondents).

<sup>29</sup> Scholarly exchange in this period has not yet been studied properly, but see Baumstark, *Geschichte*, 243–268; S.P. Brock, 'Greek into Syriac and Syriac into Greek', *Journal of the Syriac Academy* 3 (1977), 1–17; S.P. Brock, 'Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity', *GRBS* 20 (1979), 69–87.

<sup>30</sup> After Jacob's death his unfinished *Hexaemeron* was finished by George, Bishop of the Arabs; for the text, see J.-B. Chabot, *Iacobi Edesseni Hexaemeron seu in opus creationis libri septem* (CSCO 92, Syr. 44; Paris 1928); for a Latin translation, see A. Vaschalde, *Iacobi Edesseni Hexaemeron seu in opus creationis libri septem* (CSCO 97, Syr. 48; Leuven 1932).

<sup>31</sup> F. Nau, 'Traduction des lettres XII et XIII de Jacques d'Édesse – Exégèse biblique', *ROC* 10 (1905), 197–208, 258–282, esp. introduction.

<sup>32</sup> Most likely, however, reflecting his lower clerical status.

<sup>33</sup> Ryssel, *Georg*, 72. Jacob at times also refers to his age as an excuse for tardiness.

<sup>34</sup> Ryssel, *Georg*, 122, 'Tamuz des Jahres 1025'; Ryssel, *Georg*, 71, 'Adar des Jahres 1026'; Ryssel, *Georg*, 79 'Adar des Jahres 1029 der Griechen'.

which seems to have been influenced by a Greek text from the Lucianic tradition rather than the Peshitta.<sup>35</sup>

Jacob does use other sources in his letters, most notably the Church Fathers, Jewish apocryphal writings,<sup>36</sup> the so-called stories of Epiphanius,<sup>37</sup> and pagan authors like Porphyry. These quotations, however, originate most probably from works which were already in use within the Christian tradition. The quotations from Porphyry, for example, can all be found in Cyril of Alexandria's *Contra Iulianum*.<sup>38</sup>

#### 4. *Structure of a Letter*

Jacob's letters have a well-organized structure. There always is a very short salutation such as the following: 'to (the Godloving) Priest John Jacob the humble, rejoice'. Following convention, the addressee is always named first. This order has no significance with regard to the status of either the addressee or the letter-writer. The salutation is followed by a brief introduction consisting of more general remarks which have to do with maintaining contact and stimulating correspondence. Jacob often praises John's desire to learn and laments his own ineptitude in the face of the daunting task of answering all John's questions and suppositions. There are various references to earlier correspondence and apologies for not answering all the previous questions. He often uses topoi and metaphors, for example likening himself to a nursing mother who at times pushes away her demanding son (John), but filled with love always lets him return eventually.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>35</sup> E.g. fifteenth letter to John (*Letter* 16; BL Add. 12172, fol. 130b) quoting 1 Sam. 18:6–12. For some background to Jacob's Bible translation and his use of a Lucianic version of the Septuagint, see R.J. Saley, *The Samuel Manuscript of Jacob of Edessa: A Study in its Underlying Textual Traditions* (MPIL 9; Leiden 1998), as well as the articles by Saley, A. Salvesen, and R.B. ter Haar Romeny in this volume.

<sup>36</sup> E.g. twelfth letter to John (*Letter* 13; BL Add. 12172, fols. 113a–114a) using Jubilees on Abraham. W. Adler, 'Jacob of Edessa and the Jewish Pseudepigrapha in Syriac Chronography', in J.C. Reeves (ed.), *Tracing the Treads. Studies in the Vitality of Jewish Pseudepigrapha* (SBL Early Judaism and Its Literature 6; Atlanta, GA 1994), 143–171. Jacob acknowledges their Jewish origin and discusses their historical and theological value (twelfth letter to John (*Letter* 13; BL Add. 12172, fols. 114b–115a)). See also Adler's article in this volume.

<sup>37</sup> Twelfth letter to John (*Letter* 13; BL Add. 12172, fol. 118b): Jacob refers to a collection of texts known as 'The Lives of the Prophets', indicating he does not believe them to be by Epiphanius of Salamis, nor that they are reliable.

<sup>38</sup> A. Smith, *Porphyrii philosophi Fragmenta* (Bibliotheca Teubneriana; Stuttgart 1993), 315–318 (fragments 280, 282, 279). In Jacob's eleventh letter to John (*Letter* 12; BL Add. 12172, fols. 107b–108a).

<sup>39</sup> Seventh letter to John (*Letter* 8; BL Add. 12172, fols. 94b–97b). In the twelfth and thirteenth letters to John (*Letters* 13 and 14; BL Add. 12172, fols. 111b–121b

This introduction (exordium) is followed by the main body of the letter. The contents of the main body are informative and usually a specific response to questions raised by John in his previous correspondence. If necessary, less scholarly topics are mentioned at the end of the main body of the text.<sup>40</sup>

At the end of the letter there may be a peroration or epilogue which in content and style is similar to the introduction. Jacob usually expresses his own feebleness and the effort it took to write to John.<sup>41</sup> The letter ends with a farewell (similar to the salutatio), which in its briefest form runs as follows: 'May you be well in our Lord. Pray for me'. Often he adds a recommendation to consider the argument closely and to acknowledge the Words of the Spirit, that is, the Bible.<sup>42</sup>

As has been noted, the date is missing in all of the letters. It may be that the date was lost during the process of copying the text because several contemporary letters have been preserved with their dates.<sup>43</sup>

When examining these letters, we should first note the distinction between the beginning and end of the letter on the one hand and the main body on the other. The beginning and end of the letters have a more stereotypical character. They focus on the general aspects of the correspondence and function as a personal note to 'keep in touch'. The main body, on the other hand, expresses the specific reason(s) for writing.<sup>44</sup> The beginning and end are formulaic and allow a more ornate style when presenting the generally expected topoi of a correspondence. As far as the main body of the text is concerned there are two types of letters. On the one hand there are letters which focus on one general topic, usually initiated by a question from a correspondent—like the letters on the heresy of predestination. These letters show a resemblance to letter-essays, in the terminology of Martin Luther Stirewalt, Jr,<sup>45</sup> and are, in essence, treatises in the form of a letter. On the other hand, there are letters in which Jacob answers several, often unrelated, questions from John.

and 121b–126b), Jacob refers in his introduction and peroration to his replies to John's questions as if they were courses in a meal.

<sup>40</sup> Jacob ends the main body of the seventh letter to John (*Letter* 8; BL Add. 12172, fol. 96b) with a response to criticism for excommunicating a parishioner.

<sup>41</sup> Fifth letter to John (*Letter* 6; BL Add. 12172, fol. 90b–91a). F. Nau, 'Lettre de Jacques d'Édesse sur la généalogie de la Sainte Vierge', *ROC* 6 (1901), 512–531, using the image of an old woman making clothes.

<sup>42</sup> H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* 1 (HAW Abt. 12. Byzantinisches Handbuch 5; Munich 1978), 217 (note 17).

<sup>43</sup> See note 34 above.

<sup>44</sup> J.L. White, 'The Ancient Epistolography Group in Retrospect', *Semeia: An Experimental Journal for Biblical Criticism* 22 (1981), 1–14, esp. 7.

<sup>45</sup> Stirewalt, *Studies*, 18–20.

The latter group has sometimes distinctive ‘markers’ in its text. Jacob often begins a section with a reference to a question, which can run as follows: ‘Concerning topic A, I would say/it is fitting to say...’, or ‘Concerning topic B you ask...’, or with a direct quotation of the question from the correspondent’s letter. The section ends with a formulaic sentence like ‘Concerning the first question (which was in your letter my brother) this is all’.<sup>46</sup>

The style of the body text of Jacob’s letters, although not simple, is not elaborately ornate. It is filled with terminology like ‘it is known’, ‘it is clear’, ‘it is fitting’, which is not unknown in an epistolary context but which is also well known from biblical commentaries and forms part of the scholarly discourse.

The letters by Jacob clearly show their affinity to Greek letters in various ways. The structure corresponds to a standard Greek documentary letter.<sup>47</sup> In the salutatio formula Jacob even preserves the Greek verb *χαίρειν* translating it with an infinitive ‘pendens’, *ܠܡܨܢܐ*, in preference to the Semitic *ܥܠܐ* to be found in earlier Syriac letters.<sup>48</sup>

The resemblance in appearance can in part be explained by way of the educational system. During the secondary stage of the Hellenistic schooling system, pupils were instructed in the various types of texts using handbooks. In effect, the pupils copied the models presented to them in the handbooks.<sup>49</sup> It is likely that Jacob was instructed in the same manner when he learnt Greek.

In addition, starting with the Letters of Paul, James, Peter, John, and Jude, letters had been used to reach larger audiences throughout the history of Christianity. These letters were not only read by the intended audience but were preserved as documents of faith, and collected and published as an edifying work of literature. The authority of their authors intensified the impact on their audience both in content and in form. These letters, too, were often predominantly written by people trained in the Greco-Roman culture. The continuous reading of these letters also strengthened Greco-Roman influence on the epistolary genre in the Syriac tradition.

<sup>46</sup> E.g. twelfth and thirteenth letters to John (*Letters* 13 and 14; BL Add. 12172(b), fols. 111b–121b and fols. 121b–126b).

<sup>47</sup> For the structure of a Greek documentary letter and its markers, see White, ‘The Greek Documentary Letter’, 92–95.

<sup>48</sup> This reflects the tendency within Syriac culture of the seventh century to translate Greek sources as closely as possible, rather than paraphrase them; Brock, ‘Greek into Syriac’ and ‘Aspects of Translation’.

<sup>49</sup> For an example see Bologna Papyrus 5 (3rd or 4th cent.) where fragments of various types of letters are copied by a pupil. For a later Syriac example, see note 5.

Jacob's letters are first and foremost functional texts in what Stirewalt calls a normative setting.<sup>50</sup> They are intended to transport information across a certain distance from one person to another. Rather than being a literary work of art, these texts are part of a scholarly discussion, or rather a teaching session. At times the information is a well-argued and structured treatise 'poured' into the form of a letter. Often, however, the letters are a well-written series of short expositions on often unrelated topics. The scholarly discussion was intended to be reflected in the various treatises and books that the correspondents were in the process of writing—for example the various chronological questions were to be used by John the Stylite in his *Chronicle*.

### 5. *Epilogue*

This brief characterization of the letters of Jacob of Edessa will have highlighted some of the problems and challenges of the study of this material. Although Jacob seems to have had an extensive network of correspondents not many letters have survived, and even fewer unscathed. The preserved collection may not be completely representative of Jacob's correspondence since the academic discussion with John the Stylite dominates the corpus. However, the letters by John and George of the Arabs which have been preserved will help to put at least this academic circle into its historical and cultural context. Through the study of this exchange of letters we may in turn also learn more about Jacob and his less well-known correspondents.

<sup>50</sup> Stirewalt, *Studies*, 2: '... the sender writes in his own name, to addressees known directly or indirectly to him, in an actual, contemporary context. In these settings letter-writing is a social/political activity. ... [A] normative setting consists of relationships defined by the measure of acquaintance, the relative status, and reciprocal roles between two parties. This general social setting becomes particularized in the identity of the parties and in the subject addressed in the letter. The subject arises out of the relationship. It is a communicative exchange, a true correspondence, linking the parties and affecting an aspect of their lives. Even in a normative setting a writer may assume or intend that his message be shared by a larger audience than those people addressed.'



APPENDIX: LETTERS BY JACOB OF EDESSA<sup>51</sup>

1. To John of Litarba: on two homilies of Jacob of Serug, which are not by Jacob nor Ephrem (BL Add. 12172(b), fols. 79a–81a).
2. To John of Litarba: on medicine and its spiritual interpretation (BL Add. 12172(b), fols. 81a–81b).
3. To John of Litarba: on 2 Pet. 2:5 referring to Noah as the eighth person (BL Add. 12172(b), fols. 81b–83a).
4. To George the deacon: on Ephrem's *Madrasha* 25 on the Nativity of our Lord (BL Add. 12172(b), fols. 83a–85a).
5. To John of Litarba: on the feast of the Invention of the Cross and on Ephrem's *Madrasha* 44 on Faith (BL Add. 12172(b), fols. 85a–87b).
6. To John of Litarba: on problematic passages in the Gospels, e.g. descent of Christ from David (BL Add. 12172(b), fols. 87b–91a).
7. To John of Litarba: on calculating the age of the world (discrepancy between Eusebius and the calculation of Jewish Passover) and on why Jacob dated Christ's birth in A.Gr. 309 (against Eusebius A.Gr. 312; BL Add. 12172(b), fols. 91a–94b).
8. To John of Litarba: on the number of books by Solomon (five or three); why the books of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Tobit, Esther, Judith, and (1–3) Maccabees are not canonical; on the additional year in the calculation of the Alexandrians (AM 5181 or 5180); chronological, theological, and exegetical topics; on earlier authors (BL Add. 12172(b), fols. 94b–96b; followed by: *Scholion* on the book of Wisdom (fols. 96b–97b)).
9. To John of Litarba: on prayers, offerings, and alms on behalf of impious and sinful believers (BL Add. 12172(b), fols. 97b–99a).
10. To John of Litarba: on Predestination (BL Add. 12172(b), fols. 99a–104a).
11. To John of Litarba: on Predestination (addition to previous letter; BL Add. 12172(b), fols. 104a–110a).

<sup>51</sup> For editions and translations, see Kruisheer, *Bibliographical Clavis*, under 'Letters' and 'Grammatical Works'. Note that works belonging to the genre of *ḥadīṭā*, such as the answers to Addai and to John the Stylite in the *Synodicon*, have not been included (but see *Letter* 18). The numbering of the first seventeen items follows the order of the main collection in the Jacob manuscript bound in BL Add. 12172, in the second of the two hands (b). See p. 70 above.

12. To John of Litarba: on Ephrem's *Madrasha* 2 against false doctrines (*Shabbtāyē*, *Quqāyē*, Palut) (BL Add. 12172(b), fols. 110a–111b).
13. To John of Litarba, reply to eighteen questions: on Gen. 15:13, on literacy before Moses, on the Nubian woman in Num. 12:1, on the cause of Satan's fall, on Job 2:6, on Behemoth, the bird in Job 39:13 and Leviathan, on Zachariah in Matt. 23:35/Luke 11:51, on Jonah, Tiglath-Pileser and Jonah 3:4 (40 or 3 days), on the wild gourds (2 Kgs. 4:39), on Obadiah, on the articles carried away from the temple by the Babylonians, on the rock spouting water, on the authors of the Psalms, on the Hebrews and the antiquity of their language, on 1 Kgs. 4:32–33, on Song of Songs 3:7–8, on 1 Sam. 17:55, on Gen. 18:32 (BL Add. 12172(b), fols. 111b–121b).
14. To John of Litarba, reply to thirteen questions: on the composer of the Quqite hymns (Simeon the Potter); on the man in whose house our Lord celebrated the Passover; on 2 Cor. 12:7; on Philip, who baptised the eunuch of Candace; on John 19:25; on Peter the Fuller; on Timothy Ailouros; on the three people called Mar Isaac; on the Magi from Persia at the birth of Christ; on the direction of worship of Jews and Muslims; on Ezek. 37:1–14; on the distinction between ܩܘܩܝܐ, ܩܘܩܝܐ, and ܩܘܩܝܐ; and on the clause 'to judge the living and the dead' and Phil. 2:10 (BL Add. 12172(b), fols. 121b–126b).
15. To John of Litarba: on Acts 10:34–35 and Rom. 2:10–11 (BL Add. 12172(b), fols. 126b–129b).
16. To John of Litarba: on 1 Sam. 18:10; 15:35; 19:22–24; 28:3–20; 16:14–23; and 17:55 (BL Add. 12172(b), fols. 129b–134a).
17. To John of Litarba: on chronological, theological, and exegetical topics; on earlier authors (BL Add. 12172(b)); also Mingana 4: on the sinner and wicked; Mingana 9: Moses bar Kepa (quotations)).
18. To John of Litarba: introductory letter to a collection of canons (BL Add. 14493; Harvard Syr. 93; Mardin Orth. 322; Damascus Patr. 8/11).<sup>52</sup>
19. To George of Serug on Syriac orthography (BL Add. 7183, Add. 12178, Add. 17134; Mingana 104; Berlin 174 (Sachau 70); Vat. sir. 118).

<sup>52</sup> The collection of canons following the introductory letter varies considerably in the various manuscripts. See note 20 above, as well as H. Teule in this volume, pp. 91–92.

20. To an anonymous person: poetic exhortation to seek wisdom, not only in words, but also in deeds after reflecting on the three creative agencies: God, Nature, and Mind, and Jacob as a poet (seven-syllable metre: fragment; BL Add. 12172(a), fols. 65a–70a).
21. To Eustatius of Dara: on Jacob as an ascetic or a man of the world (fragment; BL Add. 12172(a), fols. 70a–72b).
22. To Eustatius of Dara: reply to an invitation to visit (fragment; BL Add. 12172(a), fols. 72b–73a).
23. To Eustatius of Dara: explanations to a previous poetic (twelve-syllable metre) letter (fragment; BL Add. 12172(a), fols. 73a–73b).
24. To Eustatius of Dara: on two letters of the Greek alphabet (ι and χ; fragment; BL Add. 12172(a), fols. 73b–74b).
25. To Eustatius of Dara: on Gibeonites and Joshua bar Nun (fragment; BL Add. 12172(a), fol. 74b).
26. To Eustatius of Dara: on the pros and cons of ‘East’ and ‘West’ (i.e. Byzantine Empire) (fragment (?); twelve-syllable metre; BL Add. 12172(a), fols. 74b–77a).
27. To the priest Abraham: allegory on viticulture (BL Add. 12172(a), fols. 77a–77b).
28. To the sculptor Thomas: questions to be put to Nestorians (BL Add. 12172(a), fols. 77b–78a).
29. To Kyrisuna of Dara: (fragment, in twelve-syllable metre; BL Add. 12172(a), fol. 78a).
30. To Kyrisuna of Dara: contains references to philosophy (Aristotelian ὁρῶς) and contains Greek sayings (fragment; referred to in a letter by George of the Arabs).<sup>53</sup>
31. To the priest Simeon the Stylite: on he who has doubts about his profession (BL Add. 17168).
32. To the deacon Barhadbshabba: on Chalcedonians (BL Add. 14631; compare George of the Arabs to Barhadbshabba).
33. To the priest Addai: baptism and blessing of water in the Night of Epiphany (BL Add. 14715).
34. To an anonymous person: brief sketch of history (BL Or. 2307).
35. To the priest Thomas: Syriac liturgy (BL Add. 14525, Vat. sir. 581, Mingana 3; also used by Dionysius bar Salibi (H. Labourt,

<sup>53</sup> Ryssel, *Georg*, 65–69. (Part of an unnumbered letter that Ryssel included in his collection under the title ‘Über einige für ihn schwerverständliche Stellen in den Briefen des Bischofs Jacob von Edessa’. Ryssel never published his text edition).

- Dionysius bar Šalībī. Expositio Liturgiae* (CSCO 13–14, Syr. 13–14; Paris 1903), ed. 6–12, trans. 36–40),
36. To Daniel (fragment; possibly a pupil of Jacob of Edessa and later (after Constantine) bishop of Emesa; Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* 11.15, ed. Chabot, 2:472; 11.17, ed. Chabot, 2:480).
  37. To Moses (fragment): Paul reaching the third heaven (possibly Moses of Tur Abdin; Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 1, 607; also quotation in Mingana 4).
  38. On the day of Nativity of Jesus (to Moses of Tur Abdin according to Dionysius bar Salibi, *Expositio Liturgiae*, ed. Labourt, 49, trans. 67).
  39. To Bar Hadad, Bishop of Tella (BL Add. 14731: quotation by Moses bar Kepa).
  40. Addressee unknown (ending of a letter; Berlin 201 (Sachau 165)).
  41. To Constantine (quoted by Moses bar Kepa; cf. the *Hexaemeron* which is dedicated to Constantine; possibly a pupil of Jacob of Edessa and later bishop of Bithynia, Emesa, later Edessa; cf. Michael the Syrian, *Chronicle* 11.15, ed. Chabot, 2:472; 11.17, ed. Chabot, 2:480; 11.20, ed. Chabot, 2:496; Oxford Syr. 142 (Marsh 101)).
  42. To George the Stylite (although possibly spurious; Jacob third person) (Berlin 188 (Sachau 218), Mingana 317).
  - 43–5. Three letters to Stephen (Seert 81; now lost (?)).
  46. To Lazarus: on the mysterium of the Incarnation (fragment; Mingana 4; Charfet Patr. 79, fol. 27a).
  47. To Isho‘yahb (fragment; BL Add. 7190).
  48. To Harran (‘Malakites’) (Berlin 116 (Sachau 12), Cambridge Add. 2889).
  49. On the Divine Economy (Oxford Syr. 142 (Marsh 101); Mingana 105, Mingana 152, Mingana 480 (1–13), Mingana 522; Vatican Borg. 147 and 108 (possibly related to Damascus Patr. 8/11)).
  50. To Paul of Antioch (fragment; Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 1, 477–478).



## JACOB OF EDESSA AND CANON LAW

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### 1. Introduction

One of the most important entries to the life and personality of Jacob of Edessa is undoubtedly the study of his activity in the field of canon law.

Jacob's respect for ecclesiastical canons is one of the most conspicuous features of the short biography of Jacob which can be found in the *Chronicle* of Michael the Syrian.<sup>1</sup> When Jacob was appointed bishop of Urhāy in 683/84<sup>2</sup> at the age of about 44, he rapidly came into conflict with the then Patriarch (Julian II Romāyā) about the observance of ecclesiastical canons. Although everybody in the entourage of the Patriarch advised him to accommodate himself to 'the circumstances of time', he brought a volume containing the ecclesiastical canons to 'the monastery of the Patriarch',<sup>3</sup> set fire to it, exclaiming: 'I set fire to these canons; trampled upon and despised by you they are superfluous and no longer necessary.' His abdication, only four years after his accession to the episcopal throne, was the logical consequence of this provocative gesture and he retired to the monastery of Mar Jacob at Kayshum, where, however, he continued to take an interest in juridical matters. According to Michael the Syrian, he there composed two different treatises, one, quite understandably, 'against the pastors of the Church', the other 'against those who transgress the law (ܠܘܝܐ) and the canons (ܩܢܘܢܐ) of the Church'.

Chabot points to the fact that parts of this latter treatise are to be found in two London manuscripts, British Library Add. 12154 and 17193.<sup>4</sup> In manuscript Add. 12154, a patristic anthology of miscellaneous

<sup>1</sup> J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche (1166–1199)* (Paris 1899–1924), ed. 4:445–446, trans. 2:472.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. O. Schrier, 'Chronological Problems Concerning the Lives of Severus bar Mašqā, Athanasius of Balad, Julianus Romāyā, Yoḥannān Sābā, George of the Arabs and Jacob of Edessa', *OC* 55 (1991), 62–90, esp. 74ff.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly the monastery of Qenneshrin, to which Julian belonged before his elevation to the Patriarchate. Jacobite patriarchs frequently continued to keep their former monastery as their normal place of residence. Cf. W. Hage, *Die syrisch-jakobitische Kirche in frühislamischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1966), table A and p. 141.

<sup>4</sup> W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since the Year 1938* 2 (London 1871), 984 (DCCCLX) and 996–997 (DCCCLXI).

character, dated by Wright to the end of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century, the title of this treatise of apparently canonical content is (fol. 164b): ‘A *mēm̄rā* of rebuke against some arrogant people, who transgress the law of God and trample under foot the canons of the Church.’ Unfortunately, the compendium only provides the text of chapter twelve, which, judging from the title (‘on what Christianity is, and on its being the oldest of all religions’), does not deal with canonical issues, although it must be said that one of Jacob’s concerns for composing canons was to provide some guidance with regard to contacts with members of other religions, such as pagans, Jews and Muslims. Ms. BL Add. 17193 (AD 874), too, a comparable compendium, only gives this chapter 12 (fol. 58a).

The same concern about ecclesiastical discipline is stressed in the account of Jacob’s life composed by Barhebraeus.<sup>5</sup> That Jacob himself did not entertain any illusions about the preparedness of people to observe the canons appears from the introduction to one of his letters to John the Stylite from the village of Litarba. Here Jacob states sadly: ‘In fact there is no need for even a single canon, since there is nobody to observe the canons.’<sup>6</sup>

This bitter and perhaps realistic attitude notwithstanding, he must be considered one of the most productive and original authors in the field of canon law of the Syrian Orthodox Church. He exerted his canonical activity along several lines.

## 2. *Jacob of Edessa’s Juridical Activity*

### 2.1 Translations

According to Baumstark,<sup>7</sup> followed by Vööbus<sup>8</sup> and Selb,<sup>9</sup> Jacob is the translator (from the Greek) of the entire juridical compilation normally referred to as the *Clementine Octateuch*. Kaufhold is more cautious in his judgement and limits himself to mentioning a West Syrian origin

<sup>5</sup> J. Abbehoos and Th. Lamy, *Gregorii Barhebraei Chronicon Ecclesiasticum* 1 (Paris and Louvain 1872), 289–294.

<sup>6</sup> K.E. Rignell, *A Letter from Jacob of Edessa to John the Stylite of Litarba Concerning Ecclesiastical Canons* (Lund 1979), 46.

<sup>7</sup> A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluß der christlich-palästinensischen Texte* (Bonn 1922), 252.

<sup>8</sup> For example, A. Vööbus, ‘Nouvelles sources de l’Octateuque clémentine syriaque’, *Le Muséon* 86 (1973), 105–109, esp. 105.

<sup>9</sup> W. Selb, *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht 2. Die Geschichte des Kirchenrechts der Westsyrer (von den Anfängen bis zur Mongolenzeit)* (Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse 543; Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für antike Rechtsgeschichte 6; Vienna 1989), 133.

of the Syriac translation.<sup>10</sup> There are several arguments in favour of Baumstark's claim. Firstly, Jacob shows himself to be familiar with the structure and content of the Syriac *Octateuch*. In one of his letters to John the Stylite he states: 'In the eighth *diataxis* concerning the canons (...), St Clement wrote that there are five books of Solomon, without further (...) mentioning which books they are.'<sup>11</sup> This is a clear reference to Book VIII of the Syriac *Clementine Octateuch*, which is called *diataxis* and contains a general mention of the five books of Solomon, whereas the corresponding Greek text only mentions three books and gives their names. Secondly, the Syriac translation of the *Clementine Octateuch* appears to be a critical one: the translator must have compared several Greek recensions, as we may infer from the title given to a canon on the remembrance of the dead, which is introduced as follows: 'By the Apostle Paul; but other collections ascribe this canon to the Apostle Jacob.'<sup>12</sup> This reminds us, of course, of the very critical way in which Jacob of Edessa dealt with other texts, for instance, biblical ones, where he also compared different recensions and versions. Thirdly, according to several manuscripts, Book II of the *Octateuch* was 'translated from Greek into Syriac by the humble Jacob in the year 998 of the Greeks'.<sup>13</sup> This year corresponds to 686/87 of the Christian era, in the period when Jacob, as Bishop of Edessa, had a keen interest in juridical matters, as appears from the fact that in this period he issued a number of canons and also from his correspondence with a priest Addai on some legislative matters.<sup>14</sup> Taking these three arguments into account, there is enough circumstantial evidence to credit Jacob of Edessa with the Syriac translation of the *Octateuch*.

According to Baumstark and Aphram Barsaum, Jacob would also be the translator of the Acts of the Council of Carthage held in the year

<sup>10</sup> H. Kaufhold, 'Octateuchus Clementinus', in J. Abfalg and P. Krüger † (eds.), *Kleines Wörterbuch des christlichen Orients* (Wiesbaden 1975), 282–283.

<sup>11</sup> F. Nau, 'Cinq lettres de Jacques d'Édesse à Jean le Stylite (traduction et analyse)', *ROC* 14 (1909), 427–440; this quotation, p. 428.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Book VI of the *Clementine Octateuch*, Canon VI, see F. Nau, *La version syriaque de l'Octateuque de Clément* (Paris 1913; re-edited by P. Ciprotti with a new introduction, Paris 1967), 87.

<sup>13</sup> Nau, *La version syriaque*, 68; cf. Mingana Syr. 12, in A. Mingana, *Catalogue of the Mingana Collection of Manuscripts Now in the Possession of the Trustees of the Woodbrooke Settlement, Selly Oak, Birmingham* 1. *Syriac and Garshūni Manuscripts* (Cambridge 1933), 45. — Book I and II of the *Octateuch* correspond to the *Testament of Our Lord*. H.J.W. Drijvers, 'The Testament of Our Lord: Jacob of Edessa's response to Islam', *Aram* 6 (1994), 104–114, convincingly shows that Jacob is even the author of the Introduction to the Syriac translation of the *Testamentum Domini nostri*.

<sup>14</sup> See *infra*, par. 2.2 and 2.3.



256.<sup>15</sup> On the basis of a note in Ms. Paris syr. 62, an important West Syrian ninth-century juridical compilation which contains the Syriac text of the Acts, we know that the translation from Greek into Syriac was also made in this year A.Gr. 998.<sup>16</sup> On the basis of the foregoing, it seems probable that it was also the work of Jacob.<sup>17</sup>

## 2.2 Canons

The second area of Jacob's juridical activity is that of his canons. At first sight, this field seems less hypothetical than the previous one. We have long since been accustomed to works like that of C. Kayser, entitled 'The Canons of Jacob of Edessa', published in 1886, or more recently, the study of Vööbus on the legislation regarding Syrian asceticism,<sup>18</sup> which gives the text of a set of monastic canons ascribed to Jacob of Urhāy. Jacob as the author or redactor of ecclesiastical canons therefore seems an established fact.

It is, however, necessary to provide some nuances.<sup>19</sup> In the case of Kayser's work, the title is misleading, since the author, besides a rather limited set of canons, mainly publishes Jacob's replies (ܩܘܒܘܠܘܬܐ) to a series of questions (ܩܘܪܘܢܐ) asked by the priest Addai. So in this case we are dealing with juridical decisions in the question-and-answer genre, as opposed to ܩܘܒܘܠܘܬܐ, juridical canons in the strict sense of the word. These ܩܘܒܘܠܘܬܐ are of a more abstract or general character and do not reveal the specific circumstances or problems which prompted the ecclesiastical authorities to issue them, or do so only indirectly. Decisions in the question-and-answer or question-and-commentary (ܩܘܪܘܢܐ) genre seem rather to reflect the personal opinion of a jurist regarding a certain problem, put forward and described by the correspondent.<sup>20</sup> This, of

<sup>15</sup> Baumstark, *Geschichte*, 252; I. Aphrām I Barsaam, *Kitāb al-lu'lu' al-manthūr fī tārikh al-'lūm wa l-adāb al-Suryāniyya* (4th ed.; Glane 1987), 298.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. H. Zotenberg, *Catalogue des manuscrits syriaques et sabéens (mandaites) de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris 1874), 24.

<sup>17</sup> Drijvers ('Testament', 108–109) even suggests a kind of self-identification of Jacob with Cyprian of Carthage, who presided the Synod of AD 256, on account of similar views concerning repenting apostates.

<sup>18</sup> A. Vööbus, *Syriac and Arabic Documents Regarding Legislation Relative to Syrian Asceticism* (Papers of the Estonian Theological Society in Exile 11; Stockholm 1960), 87ff.

<sup>19</sup> See also R.G. Hoyland, 'Canons and Resolutions of Jacob of Edessa', in his *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It. A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam* (Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 13; Princeton 1997), 601–610, esp. 601.

<sup>20</sup> But this distinction between 'canon' and 'personal opinion' is not absolute. Jacob's replies to John the Stylite are referred to as canons, for instance, by the

course, does not mean that this kind of personal decision could not be revalued to become a real canon of a more universal bearing in later times. This, however, presupposes a certain redactional activity of subsequent legislators and is not the work of the respondent himself.

As a matter of fact, many so-called canons ascribed to Jacob of Edessa seem to be such later adaptations. They are mainly found in the systematic juridical compilation of Barhebraeus known as the *Ktābā d-Huddāyē* (*Nomocanon*), but also in a non-juridical work, Barhebraeus' *Book of Ethics*,<sup>21</sup> which is rather a sort of treatise on the spiritual life, but which also contains an important number of juridical decisions, including adaptations of material by Jacob.<sup>22</sup> I shall give a few examples.

In *Ethicon* 1 VI 6 Barhebraeus quotes the following injunction by Jacob: 'Throughout the whole year the ascetics in the East fast seven weeks and take food seven weeks, until they arrive at the great fast.'<sup>23</sup> This injunction is found in a section which enumerates the days of fasting of the Syrian Orthodox Church and which is meant to describe an established practice that should be observed by the readers, with little room for discussion. As a matter of fact, Jacob's injunction was borrowed from one of his letters to John the Stylite of Litarba,<sup>24</sup> where Jacob himself refers to the practice of fasting by eastern ascetics in a much less peremptory way. Here we read: 'Truly, in the land of the East I know ascetic men and monks who during the whole year do as follows: they fast seven weeks and eat and drink seven weeks, until they arrive at the great fast.' Thus, a personal description by Jacob ('in the East I know some ascetic men . . .') is reformulated by Barhebraeus in a much stricter and more peremptory manner.

Another example: In *Ethicon* 1 I 9<sup>25</sup> one finds a series of prescriptions about the possibilities for solitaries and stylites to celebrate the Eucharist on their columns or in isolated places. Among the authorities invoked by Barhebraeus, he refers to three canons by Jacob. The first

copyist of Ms. Add. 14493 (= the letter edited by Rignell; cf. Rignell, *John the Stylite*, p. 38).

<sup>21</sup> The juridical material is found in Memra I, ed. and trans. H. Teule, *Gregory Barhebraeus: Ethicon, Mēmrā I* (CSCO 534–535, Syr. 218–219; Louvain 1993), and Memra II, ed. and trans. H. Teule, *Gregory Barhebraeus: Ethicon, Mēmrā II* (CSCO; Louvain forthcoming).

<sup>22</sup> H. Teule, 'Juridical Texts in the Ethicon of Barhebraeus', *OrChr* 79 (1995), 23–47, esp. 30–33 and 46–47.

<sup>23</sup> Teule, *Mēmrā I*, ed. 94, trans. 80.

<sup>24</sup> This letter, to be distinguished from the letter edited by Rignell, can be found in several juridical compilations, for example, in the *Synodicon*. For text and translation, see A. Vööbus, *The Synodicon in the West Syrian Tradition* 1 (CSCO 367–368, Syr. 161–162; Louvain 1975), ed. 238, trans. 219.

<sup>25</sup> Teule, *Mēmrā I*, ed. 22, trans. 19.

two are actually taken from his so-called ‘canons’, i.e. the normal series of **ܩܢܘܢ** by Jacob, which can be found in several juridical compilations.<sup>26</sup> The third, however, is again borrowed from one of the letters to John the Stylite.<sup>27</sup> The text in the *Ethicon*, which is also found in the *Nomocanon*,<sup>28</sup> reads as follows: ‘It is unlawful (**ܐܠܐ ܘܢܗܝܐ**, the same strong expression as also used in the preceding canons) that the sacred body be placed near the Stylite on the column, if there is someone to reach the sacrifice (Eucharist) to him.’ However, this short ‘canon’ formulated in this way, summarises a very balanced view of the reasons why it is preferable not to put the Mysteries on the column but also discusses the cases when exceptions to this rule are allowed.

A final example: in the set of monastic canons found in Chapter VII, par. 10 of the *Nomocanon* (on the ranks of the monks)<sup>29</sup> one finds the rather enigmatic injunction, that it is unlawful for a monk ‘to take a word/verse from the gospel (**ܠܗܝܘܬܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ**)’. As a matter of fact, Barhebraeus shortens one of Jacob’s replies to Addai. The question asked by the latter was whether monks or clerics are allowed to use a word taken from the gospel or the Scripture in general as a kind of malediction or curse against persons.<sup>30</sup> Only with this background is the canon as formulated by Barhebraeus understandable.<sup>31</sup>

By way of a preliminary conclusion we may say that many so-called canons, ascribed to Jacob in later juridical works, such as Barhebraeus’ *Nomocanon* or even his *Ethicon*, are in fact adaptations of material which the author extracted from Jacob’s juridical letters and which he could find in several legislative compilations.

Does this also apply to sets of canons ascribed to Jacob in other juridical collections? Did he compose them himself or should we consider them, too, as revisions or interpretations by younger jurists? Vööbus<sup>32</sup> mentions a series of 30 canons found in two juridical compilations (Ms. Mardin Orth. 310 and Ms. Harvard Syr. 93), which can both be dated

<sup>26</sup> Cf. the synopsis in Selb, *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht*, 120ff.

<sup>27</sup> Rignell, *John the Stylite*, 48–49; Vööbus, *Synodicon* 1, ed. 247, trans. 227.

<sup>28</sup> Ed. J. Çiçek, **ܐܠܐ ܘܢܗܝܐ ... ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ** cited as *Huddāyē* (Glanerbrug 1986), 67.

<sup>29</sup> Çiçek, *Huddāyē*, 67.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. C. Kayser, *Die Canones Jacob’s von Edessa übersetzt und erläutert* (Leipzig 1886), 22 (question 34).

<sup>31</sup> Another example is ‘canon’ 8, quoted in the same paragraph of the *Nomocanon* (Çiçek, *Huddāyē*, 67) which also summarises a reply to Addai concerning the participation of monks at festivals, cf. A. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonensammlungen* 1. *West-syrische Originalurkunden* 1B (CSCO 317, Subs. 38; Louvain 1970), 286, note 17.

<sup>32</sup> Vööbus, *Kanonensammlungen* 1.1A (CSCO 307, Subs. 35; Louvain 1970), 203.

to the eighth century. An analysis of their content<sup>33</sup> shows that they provide new material not found in Jacob's juridical correspondence (infra 2.3). Consequently, considering the age of the compendia (eighth century, Jacob died in the year 708) in which these canons are found, it is not unlikely that they were promulgated in the form of a canon already by Jacob himself. In the later juridical tradition they are also unambiguously recognised as composed by Jacob and are found as such in several juridical compilations.<sup>34</sup>

On the other hand, there is perhaps reason to be more hesitant about a second series, consisting of 28 canons of miscellaneous content. These are also found in a juridical handbook of venerable date (Ms. Mardin Orth. 309, eighth century), which is an argument in favour of their authenticity, but Mardin Orth. 309 seems to be the only compilation to give this series which, judging from the description and partial translation by Vööbus, discusses a number of issues also found in Jacob's letters.<sup>35</sup>

With regard to the first series of authentic canons, it would be interesting to know, whether from the fact that they are canons (כְּנִסְיָא) in the strict sense of the word, or official juridical decisions, one may infer that Jacob issued them when he was in a position to promulgate this kind of official act, i.e., when he was in function as Bishop of Urhāy. The expression found in the first canon: כְּנִסְיָא דְּאֵלֵּי אֵלֵּי אֵלֵּי . . . וְיָא, 'therefore I have determined that it is not right' (sc. to put all kinds of ornaments on the altar) possibly points to this situation.<sup>36</sup> If this assumption were right, the canons would provide a glimpse of the

<sup>33</sup> I was able to study this series of 31 canons (not 30, cf. Hoyland, 'Canons and Resolutions', 603) in Ms. Mingana 8. This synodicon was copied in AD 1911 (cf. Colophon fol. 247b and Mingana, *Catalogue*, col. 25–37, see supra note 13) from a manuscript of more than a thousand years old belonging to the Library of Deir al-Za'farān (this is Ms. Mard. orth. 310, see Vööbus, *Kanonessammlungen* 1.1B, 447). Most of this material (24 canons) can also be consulted in Vööbus, *Synodicon* 1, ed. 269, trans. 245. It should be noted, however, that the *Synodicon* gives an abbreviated recension of these canons and has partly new material.

<sup>34</sup> Vööbus, *Kanonessammlungen* 1.1A, 203; Selb, *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht*, 124–125. It seems strange that these canons are not found in such an important compilation as Ms. Paris syr. 69. As a matter of fact, the original (ninth-century) part of this manuscript breaks off exactly at the end of Jacob's replies to Addai. It may have contained the canons, since also in other compilations, these canons are normally not put before the correspondence with Addai, see H. Teule, 'Juridical Texts', 44–45.

<sup>35</sup> See Vööbus, *Kanonessammlungen* 1.1A, 212ff. Canon 15, for instance, is also found among the decisions sent to Addai (*Kanonessammlungen* 1.1B, 285).

<sup>36</sup> But this expression is only found in the *Synodicon* (cf. Vööbus, Vol. 1, ed. 299, trans. 245), dating from the beginning of the thirteenth century, but absent from Mingana 8, copied from the eighth-century Ms. Mardin Orth. 310).

ecclesiastical life of the city of Edessa and its immediate surroundings at the end of the seventh century, including its difficulties and abuses.

### 2.3 Personal Decisions in the Question-and-Answer (or Question-and-Commentary) Genre

The third channel through which Jacob exerted his legislative activity is his extensive correspondence. In several letters he tries to formulate answers to questions sent to him by different persons on canonical problems which they apparently did not feel capable of resolving themselves. Though the question-and-answer genre is a well known literary construction, firmly rooted in the Syriac tradition (witness Bardaisan's answers to his pupil Philip or, in the canonical field before Jacob, the ܩܘܪܫܘܨ, 'questions', addressed to John b. Qursos), the natural and personal style of Jacob's replies indicates that they really reflect what could be found in the original correspondence. A comparison between the style of his juridical replies and that of his other, non-judicial letters confirms this.<sup>37</sup>

In his canonical letters, Jacob, as a true jurist worthy of the name, considers all the arguments for and against a certain problem and refers to earlier jurisprudence, which for him is not Syriac but only Greek (Proclus, Epiphanius, Basil the Great, ps.-Dionysius Areopagita and the material of the *Clementine Octateuch*); for instance, he ignores, or does not refer to the Canons of b. Qursos (sixth century) or those for monks or the covenanters (ܩܘܪܫܘܨ) by Rabbula.<sup>38</sup> In order to put a certain practice of his own church into perspective, he refers incidentally to the customs of other communities, such as the church of Alexandria, or 'in the land of the Greeks'.

A good example of Jacob's balanced approach is the following reply to one of the questions asked by John the Stylite.<sup>39</sup>

First Question. John says: Why is the myron only consecrated on Maundy Thursday and not on some other day? (And he also asks) whether it is allowed to be consecrated on other days?

<sup>37</sup> See for example the letters, edited and translated by F. Nau, 'Lettre de Jacques d'Édesse au diacre George sur une hymne composée par S. Éphrem et citée par S. Jean Maron', *ROC* 6 (1901), 115–131; 'Traduction des lettres XII et XIII de Jacques d'Édesse (exégèse biblique)', *ROC* 10 (1905), 197–208 and 258–282; and supra note 11.

<sup>38</sup> This remark is, of course, only true for Jacob's *canonical* sources, of which not much was available in Syriac in Jacob's times. For his knowledge of Syriac writers in general, see L. Van Rompay, 'Past and Present Perceptions of Syriac Literary Tradition', *Hugoye* [<http://syrcom.cua.edu/Hugoye/>] 3.1 (2000), par. 11–23.

<sup>39</sup> Vööbus, *Synodicon* 1, ed. 234.

Jacob: On this matter even the great Dionysius, who has given instructions on all daily orders, has said nothing. Nor have the other teachers of the Holy Church who have transmitted to us this sacramental and holy service, taught us that it is not allowed on other days or that it would be forbidden (ܘܠܗܘܝܢ ܘܠܗܘܝܢ<sup>40</sup>), if one of the bishops should want this matter if there should be necessity to do so.

I know one of the bishops of our days who, while travelling on the road, came to one of the towns of the pagan barbarians. He stayed in the house of a Christian man who lived there (and) who was a deacon. And he was compelled to ordain this deacon and make him a priest, but travelling on the road, he did not have with him an altar nor holy oil with which to anoint the altar and on which he could perform the Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of God and then ordain him a priest. For this reason, since he was compelled to do so, one night, he sanctified and consecrated the holy oil, anointed and consecrated the altar and immediately performed on it the sacrifice of the holy mysteries, and made that deacon, the owner of the place, a priest.

This man, the bishop, did these things without therefore transgressing or neglecting the laws of the church by consecrating that mystical oil on a day other than the fifth day, which we call the Day of the Mysteries.

Therefore, as I said, it is neither allowed nor forbidden, if it is necessary for bishops to consecrate this holy oil. But it has been ordered (ܘܠܗܘܝܢ) that it should take place in the week of the Passion in order to be close to the Passion of Christ, since He Himself said about that woman who anointed Him 'she did this for my burial'. Another (reason) is that the oil be ready for those who are to be baptised on the Holy Feast (of Easter).

After first checking possible earlier jurisprudence in this matter, in this case in the work of ps.-Dionysius, Jacob explains the general rule and the reasons for the established practice, but accepts that in some individual cases it may be necessary to follow a different line of conduct.

Resolutions of this kind addressed to different correspondents, are found in several West Syrian juridical compilations.<sup>41</sup>

Firstly, two letters to John the Stylite, who lived on a pillar in the village of Litarba not far from Jacob's monastery of Tell 'Addā. The two men were regular correspondents, as appears from a set of seventeen letters preserved in the British Library Ms. Add. 12172.<sup>42</sup> This set, however, does not comprise the two letters ('A' and 'B') of the juridical compilations. Letter A is found in the *Synodicon*<sup>43</sup> and possibly in the *original* Ms. Paris syr. 62, which has reached us only in a mutilated state.<sup>44</sup> Barhebraeus also knew this letter A,<sup>45</sup> which in the *Synodicon* consists of 27 replies to questions on different issues.

<sup>40</sup> Vööbus, *l.c.*, reads ܘܠܗܘܝܢ.

<sup>41</sup> Vööbus, *Kanonessammlungen* 1.1B, 263–297; Selb, *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht*, 119ff.; Hoyland, 'Canons and Resolutions'.

<sup>42</sup> Wright, *Catalogue* 2 (supra note 4), 595–605 (DCCVII); see also the Appendix to J. van Ginkel's contribution to this volume (pp. 78–79).

<sup>43</sup> Vööbus, *Synodicon* 1, ed. 233–245, trans. 215–222.

<sup>44</sup> Teule, 'Juridical Texts', 44–45.

<sup>45</sup> Teule, 'Juridical Texts', 30–31.

Letter B is preserved in several juridical compendia, including the *Synodicon*, where it consists of 17 questions-and-answers. In cases where only the text of B is given (e.g. Ms. Harvard 93, fols. 37a–44b), it has the preface which in other collections is attached to letter A (*Synodicon*).<sup>46</sup> The letter to John the Stylite, edited by Rignell and found in a tenth-century *sacerdotale*, a handbook for priests, seems to be a selection of various resolutions by Jacob deemed important for priests. The material is taken from letter B, but also from Jacob's correspondence with Addai and possibly Thomas. In the form found in the *sacerdotale* it may not be the work of Jacob himself.

The next important name in the juridical correspondence of Jacob is Addai. In the titles of the questions sent by him to Jacob he is called a *ⲕⲏⲓⲟⲩ*, 'a priest', and even a *ⲕⲏⲓⲟⲩ ⲛⲓ ⲕⲏⲓⲟⲩ*, 'an industrious priest'. Judging from the problems brought up by him, he was firmly rooted in the pastoral practice of his days. The juridical compendia contain two different, be it closely related, series of questions by Addai. The first is very comprehensive and consists of no less than 71–73 questions-and-answers, depending on the compilation. The second provides another series of 5–25 sets.<sup>47</sup>

Addai possibly asked Jacob his questions when the latter was still in function as Bishop of Urhāy. In the the ninth-century juridical compilation Paris 62, Addai's first series of questions is introduced as follows: 'Questions asked by the Priest Addai . . . of Jacob, *Episqupa* of Urhāy.'<sup>48</sup> The same title is also found in the *Synodicon*, whereas this compilation ascribes the correspondence with John the Stylite to Jacob *malpānā*, when it introduces his correspondence with John Estunārā.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> It is this preface which is listed as *Letter 18* in Van Ginkel's Appendix. Van Ginkel does not regard the question-and-answer collections A and B as letters in the proper sense, and leaves them out of consideration.

<sup>47</sup> For the most clear and complete survey of the different sets of replies to Addai found in the juridical compilations, see Hoyland, 'Canons and Resolutions', 602–608. — It would be strange that an important compilation as the *Synodicon* would only have a set of 51 replies to Addai. It should be noted, however, that the original manuscript has a lacuna (cf. Vööbus, *Synodicon* 1, ed. xviii and 268) in the set of replies to Addai. The original text may have contained a more important number of Addai's questions.

<sup>48</sup> P. de Lagarde, *Reliquiae iuris ecclesiastici antiquissimi syriace* (Leipzig 1856), 117. The text of this set of (71) questions found in Ms. Paris 62 was also edited by Th. Lamy, *Dissertatio de Syrorum fide et disciplina in re eucharistica* (Louvain 1859), 98–170.

<sup>49</sup> There are two compilations (BL Add. 14493, the *sacerdotale* already mentioned, and Cambridge Add. 2023), which also in the case of Jacob's correspondence with John the Stylite call Jacob bishop of Urhāy. Both compilations contain however many additions by later redactors. Cf. Vööbus, *Kanonessammlungen* 1.1B, 292–294.

Among the other persons sending juridical questions to Jacob was a certain Thomas. The *Synodicon* gives the most extensive material,<sup>50</sup> and names him a recluse (ܩܘܪܒܐܢܐ). Other compendia such as Harvard 93 or Cambridge Add. 2023, which only contain the set of three questions found in *Synodicon* (Vol. 1, ed. 226, trans. 210), call him a priest.

Finally, we have questions asked by another recluse, Abraham about whose identity no further information is available. Apparently, the questions raised by him, apparently, did not greatly appeal to later legislators, since they are only found in two juridical compendia, among which the *Synodicon*.<sup>51</sup>

## 2.4 Conclusion

From the foregoing, it is clear that Jacob's canons and resolutions were one of the channels through which his influence was felt in later times in the West Syrian Church. In particular, this is due to the fact that his canons and juridical letters were incorporated into numerous juridical compilations, including Barhebraeus' *Nomocanon*. His juridical material was possibly also known to the Syrian Orthodox writing in Arabic. At least, this might be the case for the eleventh-century author Yaḥyā b. Jarīr, the author of the famous *k. al-Murshid* (the Book of the Guide), who, in chapter 32 (on the Myron), extensively uses material by Jacob.<sup>52</sup>

## 3. Content

At first sight Jacob's juridical material deals with a bewildering variety of subjects. On closer inspection it can be divided into five important fields of interest.

(1) Firstly, we have many resolutions concerning liturgical matters, frequently with quite specific regulations, the analysis of which I leave to liturgists. One of Jacob's original features was comparison of the liturgical practice of his church with that of the Chalcedonians in Syria and of the Copts in Egypt, whom he had had the opportunity to meet

<sup>50</sup> Vööbus, *Synodicon* 1, ed. 221: four questions concerning the Eucharist, one about baptism and one the blessing of the water (the latter two questions are however not explicitly ascribed to Thomas); the *Synodicon* then continues with the material of John the Stylite and three questions by Abraham (see infra). Next, it provides again a set of three questions by Thomas (ed. 256–258, trans. 234–235).

<sup>51</sup> Selb, *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht*, 126–27; Vööbus, *Kanonessammlungen* 1.1B, 298.

<sup>52</sup> With many thanks to Ray Mouawad who prepares a publication on *Yahya b. Jarir et la tradition syriaque*.



during his stay in Alexandria.<sup>53</sup> He is also very much aware of the contingency of certain liturgical practices, such as the blessing of the water, which he considers to be only a later development.

(2) Asceticism. Here, Jacob's juridical decisions probably give a picture which reflects the situation of the ascetic life of his days in Syria. Apart from one explicit canon for recluses (ܩܘܪܝܢܐ) found in the set of canons ascribed to Jacob in Barhebraeus' *Nomocanon*<sup>54</sup> and some casual allusions to them, he limits himself to giving injunctions for stylites and, incidentally, for monks, ܩܘܪܝܢܐ.<sup>55</sup> Apparently, the most current form of ascetic life was stylitism. The covenanters, ܩܘܪܝܢܐ, are nowhere mentioned.

The answers addressed to John the Stylite contain many general liturgical issues which are not directly related to stylitism. More characteristic in this respect is the discussion on whether stylites have the right to keep the consecrated bread on their pillar, since they are not able to attend the Eucharist in the church. Jacob's answer is again very balanced: as a rule it is not allowed, for normally there will be persons who can bring the Eucharist to the stylite's column. If this is not the case, exceptions are possible. An insight into the way in which stylites tried to interfere in ecclesiastical and worldly affairs is given in one of Jacob's most strongly worded rulings, also addressed to John.<sup>56</sup> The latter's question was, whether it is 'lawful for stylites to give a sermon or an admonition to the people or to administer judgements and decree laws employing the Word of God'. Jacob's answer, with a reference to St Paul (1 Cor. 6:12), is that it may be lawful, but that it is not as a result expedient, and 'if it is not expedient, it is certainly not right. They have ascended the column in order to live to please God through their ascetic works (...) and not in order to become judges of the people and to administer laws.'

In one of Jacob's 'canons' found in Barhebraeus' *Nomocanon*, the content of which seems absent from his letters, the same principle is

<sup>53</sup> E.g., replies to Thomas, cf. Vööbus, *Synodicon* 1, ed. 224, 230; trans. 208, 213; to John the Stylite (letter B), cf. *Synodicon* 1, ed. 251, trans. 230; to Addai, cf. *Synodicon* 1, ed. 261, trans. 238 (question 18).

<sup>54</sup> Vööbus, *Documents*, 95.

<sup>55</sup> In the answers to Addai, he gives instructions about the way of life of monks (cf. Vööbus, *Kanonessammlungen* 1.1B, 286). In the answers to John the Stylite he refers to the fasting practice of the ascetics (ܩܘܪܝܢܐ) and monks (ܩܘܪܝܢܐ), cf. *Synodicon* 1, ed. 238 (Vööbus' translation is misleading). In the set of Jacob's canons found in the *Nomocanon* (Vööbus, *Documents*, 95–96) the monks are mentioned several times, but, as said above, the wording of these canons may not be the work of Jacob himself.

<sup>56</sup> Vööbus, *Synodicon* 1, ed. 248–249, trans. 227–228. Cf. Rignell, *John the Stylite*, 50.

formulated in an even more stringent way: A stylite who opposes the bishop and writes anathema's against the villages under the latter's jurisdiction, shall himself be anathematized.<sup>57</sup>

In the injunctions for monks (ܩܘܠܘܢܝܐ) Jacob essentially warns them against accepting tasks, including pastoral ones, which bring them outside their monastery. Like the stylites, the monks, including their head, the ܩܘܠܘܢܝܐ, must know their place, and are also warned not to rebel against the bishop.<sup>58</sup>

(3) The clergy. Apart from a number of liturgical and para-liturgical resolutions intended for priests, deacons and readers, Jacob is much worried about the fact that some priests and deacons appear to misuse their function in order to obtain power or some material advantage. To begin with the latter point: both in the canons and in his replies to Addai Jacob forbids priests to ask money for their spiritual services (Canon 6), to take home portions of food offered to them during certain vigils (Canon 10), and to accept gifts on the occasion of promotion to a higher rank (Canon 9).<sup>59</sup> As to the first point, the general principle is given with the injunction, that priests have no right whatsoever to use the Word of God for worldly matters, even if they are done wrong by others.<sup>60</sup> This general principle is translated into some more specific canons, for example, condemning priests who compose curses and hang them in trees in order to prevent people from eating their fruits (reply 47).

(4) Struggle against superstitious and magic practices. Here Jacob had to be active on two fronts. Firstly, he had to combat pagan beliefs and customs, which apparently still enjoyed great popularity. In a reply to Addai he mentions people who murmur incantations, tie knots, make amulets, or compose short texts against diseases. People who indulge in such pagan practices are not considered as belonging to the Church of God, even if they belong to the priesthood.<sup>61</sup> Secondly, he had to fight against what could be labelled *Christian* superstition: magic powers, which are attributed to vessels of the altar or remnants of the liturgy (dust, oil, and water), so that they can be used to heal sick persons or to give protection to animals or crops. Thus, Jacob warns priests not to give the holy myron to the faithful as a remedy against possession by a

<sup>57</sup> Çiçek, *Huddāyē*, 67–68, cf. Vööbus, *Documents*, 96.

<sup>58</sup> Çiçek, *Huddāyē*, 68; cf. Vööbus, *Documents*, 96.

<sup>59</sup> See Vööbus, *Synodicon* 1, ed. 270, trans. 245–246.

<sup>60</sup> Kayser, *Canones*, ed. 132 and 136, trans. 23 and 26 (ܩܘܠܘܢܝܐ 37 and 48).

<sup>61</sup> Vööbus, *Synodicon* 1, ed. 268, trans. 244; Kayser, *Canones*, ed. 131, trans. 23. Cf. the condemnation of sorcery and in reply 40, *Canones*, ed. 133–134, trans. 25.

demon. It is not permitted to touch the sick parts of the body with the chalice used in the liturgy in order to heal them.<sup>62</sup>

The justification for these injunctions is that only what is done or received 'in faith' is effective. The same problem is found in the canon about the *كوز*, the wooden instrument that calls the faithful to church. Jacob denounces the practise of baptising it so that it can serve as an effective instrument against hail and thunder. The faithful are of course allowed to use it, but only to invite the people to repentance.<sup>63</sup> In the same manner, sick people can use the *سوس*, the mixture of oil, dust, and water taken from the altar or other Holy places (burial places of martyrs), or other remnants of the liturgy as a means of increasing their belief in Christ, who alone can heal them. The same fear of magic is the basis for the injunction, that when a priest performs the exorcism during baptism, he is not allowed to use anything material or created, since 'he who exorcises with anything else but God, will be ridiculed by the demons'.<sup>64</sup>

(5) Finally, the relations with people not belonging to the 'orthodox' Church. In this field, we find regulations concerning contacts with pagans, heretics (for Jacob the Chalcedonians), Jews and Muslims.<sup>65</sup>

The relationship with the Jews is not an important theme in Jacob's juridical writings. In the correspondence with Thomas the Recluse, we find one outspoken injunction forbidding the buying of food touched by the 'defiled hands of the Jews'. Jacob, however, allows for exceptions, for example, when it is impossible to find a Christian shop.<sup>66</sup> This is basically the same attitude as that adopted towards the pagans. Though their meat is not unclean in itself, one is only allowed to consume it, if one lives in a town with an insufficient number of Christian butchers.<sup>67</sup> In two replies to Addai,<sup>68</sup> Jacob allows Christian women to participate

<sup>62</sup> Reply 9 to Addai strongly disapproves of people who use particles of the Eucharist as amulets or *phylacteries*, or put them in beds or the walls of their house; reply 11: the Eucharist must not be celebrated outside the churches when this happens for the protection of cattle and crops; see also replies 12–14 with comparable injunctions (Kayser, *Canones*, 13ff.).

<sup>63</sup> Kayser, *Canones*, ed. 137–138, trans. 27–28 (reply 51–52).

<sup>64</sup> Vööbus, *Synodicon* 1, ed. 229, trans. 212.

<sup>65</sup> Kayser (*Canones*, 34–35) gives the text of a reply by Jacob to an anonymous pupil about ritual purity. Jacob's answer contains some interesting information about the Armenians, Chalcedonians, Jews, pagans and Muslims, but the text is not juridical and therefore not discussed here.

<sup>66</sup> Vööbus, *Synodicon* 1, ed. 257, trans. 235.

<sup>67</sup> Reply to John the Stylite, Vööbus, *Synodicon* 1, ed. 254, trans. 232.

<sup>68</sup> Kayser, *Canones*, ed. 141, trans. 30 (reply 62–63 to Addai).

in the funeral processions of Jews and pagans, and vice versa, Jews to attend the funerals of the Orthodox.

The relations with the Muslims are definitely more important, though they are certainly not Jacob's main preoccupation. Unlike the regulations concerning liturgical matters which are frequently grouped together, the problem of how to behave towards Muslims<sup>69</sup> is not dealt with in a systematic way; we get only a glimpse of Jacob's position from several injunctions dealing with a variety of subjects such as the question of ritual purity. The Muslims are frequently bracketed together with other non-Christian communities, such as the Jews, the Harranians or the *𐌸𐌹𐌸𐌰*, 'the pagans'.<sup>70</sup>

The first level of Jacob's rulings about Muslims is on the day-to-day contacts. Here Jacob does not see any problems: priests receive permission to instruct Muslim children, not only on account of the fact that it would be difficult to refuse, since the Muslims are, according to Jacob, in a position of power, but simply because it is not harmful and may even turn out to be useful.<sup>71</sup> A step further is that a priest is not entitled to refuse the Hagarenes a *𐌸𐌹𐌸𐌰*, 'blessing', or the *𐌸𐌹𐌸𐌰*, the mixture of oil, dust, and water taken from the altar, if they are sick or possessed by Evil Spirits. Apparently, Muslims frequently turned to priests in order to receive such blessings, which should be given to them with the words: 'This is what God has given to you for recovery.'<sup>72</sup> Even the Eucharist may be given to a Hagarene (*𐌹𐌮𐌹 𐌰𐌸*) if he is dying. In the absence of a bishop, priests are allowed to bury him.<sup>73</sup>

This latter canon brings us to the problem of apostasy. It is indeed difficult to imagine that the latter injunction would not be intended for repenting apostates (*𐌹𐌮𐌹 𐌰𐌸*, someone who has become a Muslim). This is confirmed by the end of this injunction which states that 'if he remains alive, he should be brought to the bishop, who must impose upon him some period of penance'. The problem of apostasy also appears in the following question by John the Stylite: 'Should a person who has become a Muslim, be rebaptised when he repents and returns?' The answer is in the negative and Jacob assures John, that the theological problem whether such a person was deprived of the grace of baptism

<sup>69</sup> On this subject, see also R.G. Hoyland, 'Jacob and Early Islamic Edessa', in this volume, pp. 16–18.

<sup>70</sup> Unlike in later texts, the *𐌸𐌹𐌸𐌰* are for Jacob not synonymous with Muslims, but indicates the *pagans*. He frequently makes allusion to typically *pagan* practices.

<sup>71</sup> Kayser, *Canones*, ed. 140, trans. 29 (reply 58 to Addai), cf. reply 59, with a comparable injunction about the right to teach pagans, Harranites and Jews.

<sup>72</sup> Reply to John the Stylite, Vööbus, *Synodicon* 1, ed. 249, trans. 228 (reply 6).

<sup>73</sup> Vööbus, *Synodicon* 1, ed. 261, trans. 238 (to Addai, reply 21).

during the period in which he had abandoned his faith, should be left to God's judgement.<sup>74</sup> The same problem of apostasy, or risk of apostasy, is perceptible in the canon, that a woman, who is married to a Muslim and threatens to adopt the religion of her husband if she is not accepted for Holy Communion, should not be refused the Eucharist. Afterwards, however, she should do penance. Apparently, the general principle is that such women are not allowed to receive communion, but in order to avoid further apostasy, exceptions are tolerated.

Finally, there are some injunctions which testify to the fact that Muslims were already in a position of power. Thus Jacob recommends that the doors of the Church should be closed on the days that the mysteries are offered so that no Hagarenes could enter, disturb the service and laugh at the mysteries.<sup>75</sup> Another ruling discusses the problem, whether the superior of a monastery is allowed to accept the invitation of a Muslim Emir. Though one should in principle decline the invitation, Jacob also recognises, that it is virtually impossible to act according to this principle and that the superior is therefore not guilty if he is compelled by necessity to accept.<sup>76</sup> The discussion of this problem has of course its rightful place within the general framework of the relationship between the ecclesiastical and official or worldly authorities and, in this respect, which attitude one can realistically expect from church leaders.

What Jacob himself thinks of this problem appears from another passage in the correspondence with Addai. Addai's question is about a heretical governor inviting an orthodox priest. In his answer Jacob formulates a general principle, which can also be applied to the relations between Orthodox Church leaders and Muslim rulers. He reasons as follows: in the times when the Orthodox possessed a certain degree of power (ܩܘܪܕܢܐ) and had the possibility to speak with ܩܘܪܕܢܐ, ܩܘܪܕܢܐ, ܩܘܪܕܢܐ, ܩܘܪܕܢܐ, ܩܘܪܕܢܐ, they were obliged to respect the canons and had no right to associate with the rulers (ܩܘܪܕܢܐ) of this world. This is the general principle, the law. However, having been brought into a position of subordination, a more pragmatic solution is allowed. It is interesting to see how this problem, which would later become an issue of vital importance for the church leaders, who often had to negotiate with the Islamic authorities, is already discussed in Jacob's juridical texts. In later times, however, Barhebraeus does not refer to them when he

<sup>74</sup> Vööbus, *Synodicon* 1, ed. 253, trans. 231–232 (reply 15). For Jacob, the grace of baptism and God's mercy will certainly be taken away from an apostate, when he perseveres and dies as a Muslim.

<sup>75</sup> Vööbus, *Synodicon* 1, ed. 237, trans. 219 (reply 9 to John the Stylite).

<sup>76</sup> Kayser, *Canones*, ed. 140, trans. 29 (reply 57 to Addai).

deals with the same problem in his book of Ethics.<sup>77</sup> Another ruling which bears witness to these new circumstances, is the question, again raised by Addai, whether it is sinful to obey when Arabs compel priests and monks to participate in warfare.<sup>78</sup> Here, the problem has to be set against the background of the general principle that monks, deacons and priests are not allowed to carry arms, not even for hunting or for a job with a weaponsmith.<sup>79</sup> But, again, the principle is mitigated by saying that monks who have been compelled by force to cast stones, are not to be blamed.

In his rulings about contacts with heretics, that is, the Chalcedonian Christians, Jacob leaves no room for ambiguity. The principle is that official contacts by priests and ascetics with these ‘strangers to the Church’ are to be avoided, since it is impossible to love both the Lord and the heretics.<sup>80</sup> The only exception to the law is that clerics and monks are allowed to take part in funeral processions, since this is a matter of *ܩܘܪܒܢܐ*, ‘philanthropy’. But in this case, too, the principle is upheld, since the clerics have to mingle with the lay people and not with the Chalcedonian clergy and must refrain from joining in the singing of psalms. In the same way, Orthodox clerics are never allowed to eat with Chalcedonian members of the clergy, apparently to avoid the discussion as to who should say grace.<sup>81</sup>

#### 4. *Concluding Remark*

When studying the canonical resolutions of Jacob, one is impressed by his uncompromising attitude on many points. He was clearly a man of principle, which to him meant: faithfulness to the gospel, the apostolic tradition and the Orthodox Fathers. It was this very attitude which had prompted him, as Bishop of Edessa, to denounce the laxity of the Patriarch and to burn a copy of the ecclesiastical canons. On the other hand, it would be untrue to see him as someone only interested

<sup>77</sup> H. Teule, ‘“La critique du prince”: Quelques aspects d’une philosophie politique dans l’œuvre de Barhebraeus’, in G.J. Reinink and A.C. Klugkist (eds.), *After Bardaisan: Studies on Continuity and Change in Syriac Christianity in Honour of Professor Han J.W. Drijvers* (OLA 89; Louvain 1999), 287–294.

<sup>78</sup> See Hoyland, ‘Jacob and Early Islamic Edessa’, 17.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. Vööbus, *Kanonessammlungen* 1.1B, 279 (note 61), 282 (note 97). Cf. *Nomocanon*, ed. Çiçek, *Huddāyē*, 67.

<sup>80</sup> Kayser, *Canones*, ed. 138–139, trans. 28 (reply 54). This ruling is in reply to a question whether it is allowed of lonely orthodox solitaries to live in the company of heretical solitaries only to support each other and without any concessions in religious matters.

<sup>81</sup> Kayser, *Canones*, ed. 138, trans. 28 (reply 53).

in upholding principles, at the expense of the people who had to live according to them. We have already given several examples where Jacob distinguishes between the principle, or the law, and the practical circumstances which may bring people to behave differently or to make concessions. In this respect, it is very meaningful that, in one ruling, Jacob states that a certain person undoubtedly transgressed the law, but that he is not to be considered guilty as a result. The same concern appears when he says that God alone is judge and that we should not pretend to judge the intentions of others.

Jacob is a good example of a jurist who judges according to the principle of *אֱלֹהֵינוּ*, *οἰκονομία*, the lenient interpretation of strict rules, not from clemency, but also on account of justice: what may be true and valid in general, may be invalid in individual circumstances.

## THE CANONS OF JACOB OF EDESSA IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE CHRISTIAN IDENTITY OF HIS DAY

*Konrad D. Jenner*

Jacob of Edessa has left behind a voluminous, impressive, and important collection of writings.<sup>1</sup> We may unreservedly say that his œuvre is evidence of a great zeal for biblical study in general as well as for the preservation of a reliable biblical text. Jacob's zeal and strenuous efforts in the field of biblical studies finally resulted in his revision of the Peshitta.<sup>2</sup> In the light of basic studies, starting with A. Baumstark's investigations, one may say that the Bible was of primary interest to Jacob. It is also the consensus that quite a few of the scholia of Jacob reveal ideas similar to those found in the commentaries of Ephrem. So it seems that Jacob was participating in an ancient and authoritative tradition of biblical interpretation.

<sup>1</sup> First and foremost, the present author is neither an expert in the canonical law of the Church and its history, nor in the juridical matters of any specific church. His contribution has but the very limited scope of drawing some firm conclusions about the relation between the Bible and the canonical lawgiving of Jacob of Edessa. He approaches this problem as an expert in the comparative and applied science of religion. So, this article is but to be taken as a short note, additional to the contributions of H. Teule, R. Hoyland, and B. Varghese in this book. The present author has benefited from some broader studies, including: K.-E. Rignell, *A Letter from Jacob of Edessa to John the Stylite of Litarab concerning Ecclesiastical* [i.e. Ecclesiastical] *Canons Edited from Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14,493 with Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (Lund 1979); W. Hage, *Die syrisch-jakobitische Kirche in frühislamischer Zeit: nach orientalischen Quellen* (Wiesbaden 1966); C. Kayser, *Die Canones Jacob's von Edessa* (Leipzig 1886); A. Palmer, 'Introduction', in A. Palmer, S.P. Brock, and R. Hoyland (eds.), *The Seventh Century in the West-Syrian Chronicles* (Translated Texts for Historians 15; Liverpool 1993), x–xiv; R. Hoyland, 'The Historical Context', in Palmer, Brock, and Hoyland (eds.) *The Seventh Century*, xi–xxviii.

<sup>2</sup> R.J. Saley, *The Samuel Manuscript of Jacob of Edessa. A Study in Its Underlying Textual Tradition* (MPIL 9; Leiden 1998); A. Salvesen, 'The Purpose of Jacob of Edessa's Version of Samuel', *The Harp* 8–9 (1995–1996), 117–126; and A. Salvesen, *The Books of Samuel in the Syriac Version of Jacob of Edessa* (MPIL 10; Leiden 1999), have given sufficient and convincing evidence for this consensus. See also A. Salvesen, 'The Genesis Texts of Jacob of Edessa: a Study in Variety', in W.Th. van Peursen and R.B. ter Haar Romeny (eds.), *Text, Translation, and Tradition. Studies on the Peshitta and its Use in the Syriac Tradition Presented to Konrad D. Jenner on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (MPIL 14; Leiden 2006), 177–188, as well as the articles by Saley, Salvesen, and Ter Haar Romeny in this volume.



Then, of course, two questions arise. The first question concerns the way in which and the extent to which Jacob may have used the Bible in his canonical lawgiving<sup>3</sup> and the liturgical prescriptions this may have caused. The second question is whether the Bible in some way may have influenced his criticism on the moral conduct of the laymen and clergy of his day. To come straight to the point: I did not find any reference or allusion to the Bible in the canons of Jacob of Edessa that could be taken as an obvious citation.<sup>4</sup> The number of vague allusions to the Bible seems limited to some twenty. This result is surprising. The aim of this contribution is to explain my initial amazement and to make it plausible that the lack of any full citation of the Bible in Jacob's canonical lawgiving was a matter of shrewd religious policy and the individual attempt of a learned bishop who aimed at saving the identity and lifestyle of Orthodox Christianity in the cultural and religious processes of ingroup-outgroup mechanisms of a radically changing world.

Canons generally reflect the established decisions of the Church in matters of conflicting opinions or competing customs.<sup>5</sup> They are required

<sup>3</sup> See the collections as published and commented on by P.A. de Lagarde, *Didascalia apostolorum, syriace* (Leipzig 1854); idem, *Constitutiones apostolorum* (Leipzig 1862); Th.J. Lamy, *Dissertatio de syrorum fide et disciplina in re eucharistica; accedunt veteris ecclesiae syriacae monumenta duo: unum, Joannis Telensis, Resolutiones canonicae syriacae nunc primum editae et latine redditae; alterum, Jacobi Edesseni, Resolutiones canonicae syriacae cum versione latina primum elaborata* (Leuven 1859); Kayser, *Die Canones*; F. Nau, *Les canons et les resolutions canoniques de Rabboula, Jean de Tella, Cyriaque d'Amid, Jacques d'Édesse, George des Arabes, Cyriaque d'Antioche, Jean III, Théodose d'Antioche et des Perses* (Ancienne littérature canonique syriaque 2; Paris 1906); A. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonensammlungen. Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkunde 1. Westsyrische Originalurkunden 1A–1B* (CSCO 307 and 317, Subs. 35 and 38; Leuven 1970). For a survey, see R.G. Hoyland, *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It: A Survey and Evaluation of Christian, Jewish, and Zoroastrian Writings on Early Islam* (Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam 13; Princeton 1997), 601–610, as well as H. Teule's contribution to the present volume.

<sup>4</sup> A passage has been taken as a citation if it consists of an extensive string of words and is identically found in the Bible, be it in the Peshitta or the Septuagint. Jacob's canons contain simple allusions to the following biblical passages: Lev. 2:13; 10:1–19; 15:16–33; 16:16–29; 22:30; 2 Macc. 12:40; Matt. 15:1–20; 18:7; Mark 9:48–49; Luke 5:34–35; Rom. 1:23, 28; 14:13–14; 1 Cor. 5:12; 1 Tim. 4:4; Jas. 5:14; 1 Pet. 5:8. Besides these allusions the canons of Jacob contain three very short passages which are spelled out, two from the Old Testament (Isa. 32:6 and Hag. 2:18) and one from the New Testament (Matt. 17:21). Since these are not identical with the Peshitta or the Greek textual tradition, I would not like to qualify them as citations. They would bring the total number of allusions to twenty.

<sup>5</sup> Kayser, *Die Canones*, note on p. 74: 'Wir machen in der Regel einen Unterschied zwischen "kirchlichen Entscheidungen" und "canones" je nach der Form, in der sie vorliegen, ob in Frage und Antwort oder als einfache Anordnung.' The present author does not support the difference between the two categories.

to solve problems of authority, authenticity, and identity. The canons of Jacob prescribed the observances of the clergy and the rules of conduct to which laymen had to adhere, for instance, the way they had to make the sign of the cross in order to be distinctive from other churches or sects. They also established the sentence in cases of transgression or neglect. Jacob did not make a secret of the fact that he did not appreciate that the canons were trampled on in his days and that this went unpunished. He condemned this attitude as being an insult to the authenticity and identity of the Church. So he advocated adhering to the strict observance of canons. He revitalized old canons and created new ones. In his opinion, they were the sole and simple remedy to the problems of his days. It was his purpose to abandon superstitious customs and to put a stop to the disintegration of the church as a whole as well as to the laxity and immorality of the clergy in particular.

In short, his strict adherence to the canons seems induced by his zeal for an authentic Christian identity. This attitude brought him in many ways into conflict with his church and some of his clergy.<sup>6</sup> In addition, the zeal for authenticity reveals itself in his efforts to reform liturgical practice and to change the pious mentality and attitude required. So he prescribed, for instance, that the Eucharist should not be used as an *amulet* for the protection of heart and home, as it apparently was, but as *food* for the heart and soul.<sup>7</sup> He (re-)installed canonical hours

<sup>6</sup> See W. Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature* (London 1894), 142.

<sup>7</sup> Jacob explicitly condemns and prohibits abuse of the Bible. Actually, however, he is a practical pastor. In his 34th reply to a question by Addai (see the editions by Lamy and Lagarde mentioned in note 3 above, as well as Kayser's *Canones*), he denounces some bad practices of the clergy. The priests or presbyters abuse the Bible as a book by using it to predict the positive or negative consequences of planned activities. According to Jacob, this foretelling of the future is a threat to Christian identity. Appealing to the Bible, they also practise sorcery, or compel women to share their bed with them (Question 49). This is against the Word of God that serves to reprimand the human soul and to prevent sin. The Church should condemn these priests as heretics or pagans. A similar verdict applies to presbyters reciting Psalms in order to prevent hail damage (Question 37), or saying a clandestine prayer to expel an evil spirit (Question 39). In such cases, Jacob prescribes excluding these people from the Eucharist. Moreover, priests will lose their rank, monks and scholars their grade of consecration. On the other hand, the Church may not exclude women from the Eucharist when they have borne a child (Question 5). These women are not unclean and they certainly may participate in the ritual of the Holy Supper. Beyond doubt, Jacob's only purpose is to guarantee that especially priests honour the holiness of the altar, the sacrament, the Eucharist, and the 'objects' on the altar. He aims at preventing abuses and unworthy acts. This is the spiritual tenor of the first twenty-two questions of Addai and the answers of Jacob. This makes him part of a long tradition, since the *Apostolic Constitutions* and Rabbula had already condemned and prohibited these abuses. Moreover, several councils have

of the ferial days and composed a calendar of feasts and saints.<sup>8</sup> These activities need not surprise us, since liturgy may have functioned as some sort of religious policy and as an authorization of the special conduct required in the ingroup-outgroup mechanism.<sup>9</sup> Jacob's management in church affairs seems to confirm this general assumption.

Taking into consideration that the Bible was of primary interest to Jacob, one may assume that he had taken this holy book as the indisputable standard for overcoming all serious controversies in the theology, liturgy, and moral conflicts of his days.<sup>10</sup> In line with this assumption one may search for some canon(s) that establish and explain the direct relationship between ecclesiastical canons, their authority, and their foundation in or being authorized by the scriptures. However, one searches in vain for such a canon. No doubt, the Septuagint, the Lucianic Version, and the Syro-Hexapla played their role in Syriac

formulated a canon against them (the Quinisext Council (AD 692, Canon 71), the Council of Venice (AD 465, Canon 16), the Council of Agathense (AD 506, Canon 42), the Aurelian Council (AD 511, Canon 30), and the Council of Autissiodorus (AD 568, Canon 4)).

<sup>8</sup> See Wright, *Syriac Literature*, 145–146. In a broader scope, this subject needs additional study. Two further aspects then need to be evaluated: (1) Jacob's stand in comparison with the Nestorian view on liturgy and festival days; (2) Jacob's role in the creation of the lectionary system(s). See A. Baumstark, 'Die nestorianischen Schriften "de causis festorum"', *OrChr* 1 (1901), 320–342; K.D. Jenner, *De perikopentitels van de geïllustreerde Syrische kanselbijbel van Parijs (MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, syriaque 341): een vergelijkend onderzoek naar de oudste Syrische perikopenstelsels* (Leiden 1993); K.D. Jenner, 'The Relation between Biblical Text and Lectionary Systems in the Eastern Church', in A. Rapoport-Albert and G. Greenberg (eds.), *Biblical Hebrew, Biblical Texts: Essays in Memory of Michael P. Weitzman* (JSOT.S 333; London 2001), 376–411. *Stricto sensu*, this is not the issue in Jacob's canons. However, in a letter he recommends observing the following order in public services: (1) Reading of the Holy Scriptures; (2) Praying; (3) Recitation of the Creed by the worshipping community; (4) Blessing of the community by the priests; (5) Service of the Eucharist; (6) Recitation of the Creed; (7) Giving thanks, and prayer with laying on of hands; and finally, (8) Dismissing the community. Thus, Jacob is adhering to the Greek rite.

<sup>9</sup> The opinion of Jacob concerning the arrangement of the ecclesiastical calendar and prescriptions for the observance of *horae canonicae* is present in a horologion and a liturgical calendar which tradition ascribes to him. However, we do not find any canon related to these matters and their mutual relationship.

<sup>10</sup> Pace P. de Lagarde's view, it is consensus now that the present Syriac Peshitta manuscripts (as enumerated in the *List of Old Testament Peshitta Manuscripts* (Leiden 1961) and representing the accepted and authoritative Old Testament of the Syriac Churches) do not reflect any ideological controversy. One cannot neglect the fact that modern Peshitta research has come to the conclusion that the nature of the variants does not allow us to stipulate a rigid differentiation into a Nestorian and a Jacobite, or an East Syrian and a West Syrian, or a Dyophysite and a Miaphysite biblical text, though it may be noted that liturgical Bibles make the picture more complicated than the results of textual criticism and textual history seem to imply.

commentary literature, liturgical practice, and theology. His exegetical and textual-critical work is evidence of his preference for the Greek version(s)<sup>11</sup> and his biblical manuscripts contain a lectionary system in the margins. Therefore, in the end, he created his own lectionary system and obviously preferred his own edition of the Old Testament as the authoritative source for reading in public services and in private religious activities. Nevertheless, his canons do not reveal any disapproval or recommendation of certain methods of interpretation of the Bible. His canons are wanting in any depreciation of the Peshitta or preference for the Septuagint (or Syro-Hexapla). In short, whether or not Jacob considered the canons the backbone of the Syriac Church and the solid foundation for its identity and fortune, he did not deem it necessary to establish a close relationship between Miaphysitism and any of the Versions of the Old Testament. Apparently, he did not deem it opportune to sanction such a relation with canonical authority.

If one compares the several collections of canons, one does indeed get the impression that it was not common practice to cite the Bible frequently in order to authorize canonical prescriptions and prohibitions. Usually, the Bible is vaguely alluded to and the number of allusions is limited. One scarcely meets citations

However, there is an exception to the rule: the canons of John bar Cursus, Bishop of Tella (519–538).<sup>12</sup> This Miaphysite bishop had an outspoken opinion about the function and authority of the Bible in matters of daily piety and religious life. He takes the Bible as the explicit foundation for his canons (recommendations, prescriptions, and prohibitions) and he extensively cites the Holy Books according to the Peshitta. He does especially so in the introductory paragraph of his collection of canons, where he condemns the heresies of the Council of Chalcedon and the Letter of Emperor Leo, and of Julian of Halicarnassus. John bar Cursus advocates his adherents to dissociate themselves from these heretics and he authorizes his claim with a full quotation of the first two verses of Heb. 12. Further he cites Psalm 10:3 in full to authorize his strong recommendation to avoid in general the company of heretic people. There can be no misunderstanding about the fact

<sup>11</sup> His scholia and his letters show that he has commented on a large number of biblical passages. It is from these sources and especially from his revision of the Peshitta that we have to reconstruct Jacob's exegetical and textual-critical position. That he considered the Wisdom of Jesus Sirach, Tobias, Esther, Judith, and three books of the Maccabees, belonging to the Greek tradition, as having no canonical authority is also known from his letters.

<sup>12</sup> See C. Kuberczyk, *Johannes bar Cursus. Canones e codicibus syriacis parisino et quattuor londiniensibus editi* (Leipzig 1901); Lamy, *Dissertatio*.

that the canons of John bar Cursus have a solid foundation in the Holy Scripture, and they are interlaced with quotations which are fully written out. John's intention cannot be misunderstood, since he explicitly expresses this intention in the introduction to his collection. He draws a line running from Adam via Moses to the Apostles. Adam did not observe the commandments he received from God. Moses received them for the second time. In this format they were the basis for the lifestyle of the Apostles and the Orthodox Fathers as well as for John himself. He *expressis verbis* cites 1 Cor. 14:37 in order to make explicitly clear that he and the fathers borrow their canons and precepts from the Holy Scripture.

In short, John bar Cursus has created in his canons a clear profile of what I prefer to define as a 'Christian identity'. The kernel of this identity is the divine command to scrupulously imitate the precepts of the Lord in the way the Apostles interpreted and practised them. It is remarkable that John finishes his collection of canons with an unbroken series of five canons. With these, John establishes and explains the mutual relationship between a pious way of life, attendance at church, celebration of the Mass and reading the Holy Scriptures. He recommends that Christians should read or sing Psalm 118 and the Song of Moses (Exod. 15:1–19) several times a day.<sup>13</sup> In the Holy Week the scriptures should be read from the ninth hour till the service in the evening. Laymen should attend these services and worship the Lord.<sup>14</sup> In that period, churches should be open in accordance with the quoted words of Ps. 54:1–18. During the whole week of the Resurrection, people should go to Mass. Each Sunday in the services the Holy Books of Old and New Testament should be read. He authorized his prescription with a quotation from 2 Tim. 3:16.

Therefore, we may conclude that the collection of canons of John bar Cursus is included between an introduction (implicit) and a conclusion (explicit), each of which has its spiritual and ideological foundation in both the Old and New Testaments. One may safely assume that in this way John bar Cursus aimed at giving his canons a divine authority and setting them free from mere subjective convictions.

No doubt, Jacob of Edessa aimed at dissociating himself from dissidents and adherents of the Jewish and so-called pagan religions. Being

<sup>13</sup> I.e. the so-called biblical Hymns or biblical Odes (in the terminology of the Leiden Edition these are labelled Odae).

<sup>14</sup> According to Jacob, there is no need to change the scene of the altar with respect to Good Friday. He only prescribes cleaning the antepodia and removing secular objects.

a defender of the Miaphysite belief system, he dissociates himself from the following groups:<sup>15</sup>

- (a) Jews. It is Jacob's opinion that Christians should not adhere to Jewish customs and prescriptions concerning (ritual) purity, since Jews consider all kinds of matter as defiled.<sup>16</sup>
- (b) Armenians. Jacob reproaches them that Jewish teachers have indoctrinated them, so that they adhere to Jewish prescriptions concerning purity; simultaneously, however, they are immoral, steal, are blasphemous and do all kinds of scandalous things.<sup>17</sup>
- (c) 1. Adherents to the Chalcedonian doctrine<sup>18</sup> who cross themselves with two fingers; 2. Nestorians who cross themselves with the full hand from right to left; 3. Arabs who make three times a genuflection to the South; 4. pagans who make an offering when they commemorate the day someone died.<sup>19</sup>

One cannot deny that the above list implicitly represents very well Jacob's idea concerning Christian identity and appropriate Christian piety. His arguments contain only the very small number of twenty allusions to the Bible. His rejection of other belief systems does not rest on biblical citations. So, contrary to John bar Cursus, Jacob of Edessa seems to take canonical lawgiving as a subjective activity for which in fact no biblical inspiration is needed. In this he seems to be in line with the Syriac Fathers.

Jacob of Edessa does not waste words on John bar Cursus' preference for the biblical foundation of canonical lawgiving. This is not in line with Jacob's usual strategy of either disputing with his opponents and in the end deliberately rejecting their ideas, or expressing his approval

<sup>15</sup> Ms. Paris, BnF syr. 111, fols. 192–193. Nevertheless, Jacob allows Orthodox priests to administer the sacraments in churches taken from heretics. In these cases, however, the senior priest is obliged to say a special prayer before administering the sacraments (Ms. Berlin 206 (Petermann I.23; Barhebraeus *Nomocanon*), fol. 10v; cf. Kayser, *Die Canones*). It is also his view that Orthodox priests may not refuse to administer the last sacraments to heretics and apostates in their dying hour, since common decency is the issue then.

<sup>16</sup> Jacob makes a vague allusion to Moses. The tone of the relevant prescriptions is remarkably anti-Jewish (see Ms. Paris, BnF syr. 111, fols. 192b–193, and Ms. London, BL Add. 14493, fol. 181b).

<sup>17</sup> Here, Jacob alludes to Rom. 14:14 and 1 Tim. 4:4 (Ms. Paris, BnF syr. 111, fol. 193a).

<sup>18</sup> Consequently, the Orthodox priest may not administer the Eucharist to Chalcedonians in the absence of their own priest, even if these heretics are in the possession of their own host (64th reply to a question by Addai; cf. note 7 above).

<sup>19</sup> See Ms. Paris, BnF syr. 111, fol. 193b.

of the opinion of kindred souls and 'political' sympathizers. The lack of such a condemnation or approval may tempt the historian to assume that Jacob had no knowledge of John's canonical corpus. This solution, however, does not meet the standards of positivistic historical study, since there is no source to prove this assumption. So, it is to be taken as mere speculation and an alternative explanation is needed.

There is an alternative explanation, indeed.<sup>20</sup> Jacob's position in biblical, canonical and liturgical affairs cannot be divorced either from the geographical position of Edessa or from the cultural, political, religious, and social changes which had taken place in ancient Syria and particularly in Syriac Christianity in his days.<sup>21</sup> As early as in the first centuries of Christianity, Edessa was an open trade centre, a melting pot of antagonistic, competing religious Christian and non-Christian activities and traditions with the serious temptation for mutual adaptation and assimilation. In these respects the role of Edessa seems similar to that of Antioch.<sup>22</sup> In the fourth and fifth centuries the balance of tolerance in Edessa, which was based on the coexistence of different belief systems, was gradually disturbed and replaced by a dominant and increasingly less tolerant Christianity. John bar Cursus and his canons would have represented this attitude. In the seventh century the situation in the area radically changed. The competing Christian and Jewish communities were confronted with the advance of Islam.

It is the consensus that, at least in the beginning of their hegemony, the Muslims took a moderate position towards the 'people of the book' who at first had welcomed them as liberators. Soon, however, the

<sup>20</sup> Methodologically this alternative is also speculative, but at least it is an attempt to positivistically put together the scanty pieces scattered over sources and scholarly literature. In its present state, it does not even deserve the status of assumption; it is but a proposal for further research and argumentation.

<sup>21</sup> See Palmer, Brock, and Hoyland (eds.), *The Seventh Century*.

<sup>22</sup> See H.J.W. Drijvers, 'Syrian Christianity and Judaism', in J. Lieu, J. North, and T. Rajak (eds.), *The Jews among Pagans and Christians in the Roman Empire* (London 1992), 124–146, esp. 128, 142–143. The following publications present further information about this process of cultural, political, and social change: H.J.W. Drijvers, *Cults and Beliefs at Edessa* (Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain 28; Leiden 1980); idem, *East of Antioch: Studies in Early Syriac Christianity* (Collected Studies Series 188; London 1984); idem, *History and Religion in Late Antique Syria* (Collected Studies Series 464; Aldershot 1994); J.M. Lieu, *Christian Identity in the Jewish and Graeco-Roman World* (Oxford 2004); W.J. van Bekkum, J.W. Drijvers, and A.C. Klugkist (eds.), *Syriac Polemics: Studies in Honour of Gerrit Jan Reinink* (OLA 170; Leuven 2007). See also R.B. ter Haar Romeny, 'Hypotheses on the Development of Judaism and Christianity in Syria in the Period after 70 C.E.', in H. van de Sandt (ed.), *Matthew and the Didache: Two Documents from the Same Jewish-Christian Milieu?* (Assen–Minneapolis 2005), 13–33.

paying of a religious tribute and the acknowledgement of Islam as the dominant religion guaranteed Christians and Jews to some extent freedom of religion. As a 'reward' for their submissive attitude the Christian power elite, especially the bishops, received the privilege of managing their own religious affairs. This position required a careful considering and utmost caution in the wording of official lawgiving for religious institutional practices and in individual pious conduct. For this, the seventh-century Christian power elite could fall back on a tried and tested tradition of religious lawgiving in the format of canons. The characteristic feature of this format was the lack of a provocative element in basing ecclesiastical canons on the Bible. Thus the Syriac churches had survived the hegemony or 'oppression' of the Roman, the Byzantine, and the Persian Empires. It was their serious opinion that they would similarly survive the hegemony of the Muslims.

Jacob of Edessa followed the line of thought of the Fathers and his contemporaries. However, in contrast to the latter, he did not underestimate the power of the moral appeal of Islam and the implicit strife for absolute and institutional dominance of this originally nativistic movement and its powerful revitalization. He may have feared that the limited freedom of religion would cease as soon as bishops provocatively based their rules for preserving Christian identity and lifestyle on the Bible. This would elicit provocation by Muslim theologians. They would start disputing the reliability and authority of the Christian (and the Jewish) Bible, and then of the canons. In the end they could break down Christian identity and lifestyle. Therefore, he attempted to adapt but not to assimilate Orthodox Christianity.<sup>23</sup> The severe competition for dominance, the morally disputable Christian lifestyle and conduct, and the abuse of the Bible within the inner circle of the several Christian

<sup>23</sup> Therefore, he is concerned about the correct use of holy spaces, objects, and sacraments. This issue takes the lion's share of Jacob's collection of canons. His recommendations, prescriptions, and prohibitions with related sanctions are concerned with the way the Christian distinguishes the holy from the profane, observes (ritual) purity, and abstains from all kinds of superstition. Nevertheless, he reveals a noticeably practical attitude in the following cases: (a) Officially, the abbot cannot have supper with the emir, nevertheless the political superiority of the latter forces Jacob to allow the former to accept such invitations; (b) Jacob permits Christians to teach Muslim children; (c) women involuntarily converted to Islam get Jacob's permission to share the Eucharist on two conditions: first, they should not have been caught in an act of adultery; second, they should have previously confessed their conversion. This all defines largely the true Christian identity as Jacob saw it. Aiming at the preservation of this 'pure' Christian identity he may have come into harsh conflict with his colleagues. For further details regarding Jacob's canons dealing with Islam, see the articles by Hoyland (esp. pp. 16–18) and Teule (esp. pp. 96–99) in this volume.



denominations, as well as the disputes about the quality and authority of the biblical text between Christians and Jews<sup>24</sup> may have induced his fear for the fall of Christian Orthodoxy.

The later debates between Muslim and Christian theologians<sup>25</sup> indeed confirm that Muslim scholars did accuse Christianity and Judaism of having perverted the Word of God in their Holy Scriptures. Though these debates concerning the reliability of the Jewish and Christian Bibles may be considered as fictitious and composed as *orationes pro domo* they nevertheless reveal that Muslim theologians made use of the Greek textual tradition.<sup>26</sup>

If this picture indeed meets the reality of Jacob's daily and spiritual life, it is hoped that these observations highlight the particular position of Jacob concerning canonical recommendations, prescriptions, and prohibitions. In my view, Jacob of Edessa paid much attention to the establishment of the best possible biblical text and its correct interpretation. In this respect he followed the example of many Fathers before him. The manuscripts attributed to him are a witness to the effort he put into this. At the same time, however, he was of the opinion that the canons were not the right instrument to stipulate rules for the establishment of the text or interpretation of the Bible. For reasons of (ecclesiastical) politics he deemed it less than opportune to integrate a biblical declaration of principles into his canons. It is only indirectly that we sense the presence of the Bible in this category of his writings.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> In this light, it is noticeable that Jacob initiated the tradition of the Syriac Masora, which according to the surviving manuscripts had its culmination in the ninth (East Syriac Tradition, initiator was Joseph Huzaya) and tenth centuries (West Syriac Tradition).

<sup>25</sup> See for a thorough and full evaluation G.J. Reinink, 'The Beginnings of Syriac Apologetic Literature in Response to Islam', *OrChr* 77 (1993), 165–187. It is beyond the scope of this contribution to review the cases where the present writer does not share Reinink's opinion; see further Palmer, Brock, and Hoyland, *The Seventh Century*, introduction; Hage, *Die syrisch-jakobitische Kirche*.

<sup>26</sup> Personal communication from Professor P.S. van Koningsveld, Leiden. The fear that Muslims could severely dispute the quality and reliability of the text of the Christian Bible was perhaps an extra motivation for Jacob at the end of his life to revise the Peshitta on the basis of Greek manuscripts (an addition to A. Salvesen's arguments in this volume). With the revision of the biblical text, he might have had a twofold purpose: first, this text would be acceptable to the Church, since it basically remained the Peshitta; second, having been 'scholarly' revised, it could also claim a high standard of quality in the discussions with Muslims and Jews. It is beyond the scope of this contribution to answer the question of whether Muslim theologians referred only to the Peshitta and the Syro-Hexapla, or also to the revised edition of Jacob of Edessa. That he had not finished his revision possibly explains the rare allusions to the Bible in the collection of his canons.

<sup>27</sup> The East Syrian Catholicos Timothy I (d. 823) advocated a similar point of view. He was convinced that canon law was influenced too much by the subjectivity

Jacob is not only to be portrayed as a person who closed a remarkable period in Syriac history and culture, but still more as someone whose aim it was to prepare Orthodox Syriac Christianity for a new era. In this respect it would seem reasonable to suppose that the role and position of Jacob of Edessa are to be compared with those of Maruta, Bishop of Maiperqat at the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century.<sup>28</sup>

of the author of the canons. Adopting rules for biblical interpretation in the canons would be a threat to the theological independence of the interpreter.

<sup>28</sup> K.D. Jenner, 'Canon, canones en liturgie. Het functioneren van kerkelijke macht en gezag in de Perzische kerk (einde 4e–begin 5e eeuw)', in K.D. Jenner and G.A. Wieggers (eds.), *Heilig boek en religieus gezag: ontstaan en functioneren van canonicke tradities* (Leidse studiën van de godsdienst 2; Kampen 1998), 184–207. A full comparison of the attitudes of Maruta, Jacob, and Timothy I towards Christian identity and the role of the canons and the Bible in it, would be an interesting subject for further study.—The author wishes to thank the editor of this volume for his critical reading of this article.



# THE TEXTUAL VORLAGEN FOR JACOB OF EDESSA'S REVISION OF THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL

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## 1. Introduction

Around 705 CE Jacob, Bishop of Edessa, finished his revision of the Old Testament, a highly conflate work on which he had laboured in retirement for nine years. It has been described by William Wright as 'a curious eclectic or patchwork text'.<sup>1</sup> Our concern here is with the Samuel manuscript,<sup>2</sup> which contains the text of Samuel according to the Lucianic division, that is, 1 Kgs. 1:1–2:11 forms the conclusion of 2 Samuel.

For this study into its underlying textual *Vorlagen*, it was decided that soundings from various sections of the manuscript were preferable to an exhaustive analysis of a restricted body of textual data. The texts chosen encompassed 305 verses:<sup>3</sup> 1 Sam. 1:1–5:12; 7:5–12; 16:13; 20:11–21:6;<sup>4</sup> 2 Sam. 6:1–6, 13–14; 7:1–17; 13:1–17, 19–39;<sup>5</sup> 21:1–22; 23:13–17; 1 Kgs. 1:1–49a. All passages where the Syro-Hexapla is known were included, a total of 142 verses.<sup>6</sup> Since we do not have the autograph

\* For a more thorough study on this subject, see R.J. Saley, *The Samuel Manuscript of Jacob of Edessa: A Study in Its Underlying Textual Traditions* (MPIL 9; Leiden 1998), and the companion volume, A. Salvesen, *The Books of Samuel in the Syriac Version of Jacob of Edessa* (MPIL 10; Leiden 1999).

<sup>1</sup> W. Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature* (London 1894), 17.

<sup>2</sup> London, British Library, Add. 14429. Cf. W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since the Year 1838* 1 (London 1870), 37–39 (no. 60).

<sup>3</sup> The versification of the Peshitta is employed.

<sup>4</sup> 21:5 in the Septuagint.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Sam. 13:18 is missing in the Peshitta.

<sup>6</sup> 1 Sam. 2:1–10: published by P.A.H. de Boer, 'A Syro-Hexaplar Text of the Song of Hannah: 1 Samuel ii. 1-10', in D. Winton Thomas and W.D. McHardy (eds.), *Hebrew and Semitic Studies Presented to Godfrey Rolles Driver in Celebration of His Seventieth Birthday, 20 August 1962* (Oxford 1963), 8–15; 1 Sam. 2:12–17, 22–24a; 16:13a; 20:27b–33; 2 Sam. 6:1–6a, 13–14: published by W. Baars, *New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts* (Leiden 1968), 104–114; 1 Sam. 7:5–12; 20:11–23, 35–42; 2 Sam. 7:1–17; 21:1–7; 23:13–17: published by M.H. [Goshen-]Gottstein, 'Neue Syrohexaplafragmente', *Biblica* 37 (1956), 175–183; 1 Kgs. 1:1–49a: published by P. de Lagarde, *Bibliothecae Syriacae* (Göttingen 1892), 190–192. The extracts from the Syro-Hexapla preserved in the *Ausar Rāzē* of Barhebraeus (P.E. Schlesinger,

of the Samuel manuscript of Jacob, but a copy from about fifteen years later, only the main text and not the marginal notations were considered.<sup>7</sup> The other primary texts consulted were the Peshitta and the Septuagint. For the Peshitta the Leiden edition was utilized.<sup>8</sup> The larger Cambridge Septuagint was the source for the major Greek textual families,<sup>9</sup> for which representative manuscripts were chosen: the uncial A and minuscules cx (376, 247) for the Hexaplaric tradition (G<sup>H</sup>); the uncial B with checking against ya<sub>2</sub> (121, 509) for the Egyptian family (G<sup>E</sup>); and the minuscules boc<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub> (19, 108, 82, 127, 93) for the Lucianic tradition (G<sup>L</sup>). The citations for the latter were, in addition, verified by checking the recent edition of the Antiochene text published by Fernández Marcos and Busto Saiz.<sup>10</sup>

In the study of the text, three major issues surfaced: (1) the relationship of the Peshitta, the Syro-Hexapla and the Greek witnesses in the Samuel manuscript of Jacob; (2) the relative presence of the major Greek textual families in the Samuel manuscript; and (3) the extent and nature in the Samuel manuscript of readings outside the major Syriac and Greek traditions.

*Scholia in Libros Samuelis* (Berlin 1897) and in the notes of Masius (cf. Lagarde, *Bibliothecae*, 31–32b) were too fragmentary for the purposes of this study, and hence were not used. The same was true of the Syro-Hexaplaric readings found in the Commentary of Išo'dad of Merv (cf. C. Van den Eynde, *Commentaire d'Išo'dad de Merv sur l'Ancien Testament 3. Livres des Sessions* (CSCO 229–230, Syr. 96–97; Leuven 1962–1963)).

<sup>7</sup> This is not to deny the possibility that the majority of the variants in the margins could have come from Jacob himself. Salvesen has studied all of the marginal notes in the manuscript, and though they appear to have been written by a hand different from that of the main text, is inclined to attribute most, if not all, to Jacob's authorship. See A. Salvesen, *The Books of Samuel*, xiii.

<sup>8</sup> P.B. Dirksen and P.A.H. de Boer, *The Old Testament in Syriac According to the Peshitta Version 2.2 Judges–Samuel* (Leiden 1978), and H. Gottlieb and E. Hammershaimb, *The Old Testament in Syriac According to the Peshitta Version 2.4 Kings* (Leiden 1976). For the purposes of this study in comparing the text of Jacob with the Peshitta, the Syro-Hexapla, and the Septuagint, the assumption was made that Jacob had a text of the Peshitta comparable to the Leiden Peshitta. In fact, as the late Dr Michael Weitzman kindly pointed out (personal communication), there is evidence of corruption within Jacob's copy of the Peshitta. Given the scope of this work, however, it was decided that such deviations as might occur would almost certainly prove to be inconsequential for the final conclusions drawn. (The same caution, of course, holds true for the texts of the Syro-Hexapla and the Septuagint employed here.)

<sup>9</sup> A.E. Brooke, N. McLean, and H.St.J. Thackeray, *The Old Testament in Greek 2. The Later Historical Books 1. I and II Samuel and 2. I and II Kings* (Cambridge 1927–1930).

<sup>10</sup> N. Fernández Marcos and J.R. Busto Saiz, *El texto antioqueno de la Biblia griega 1. 1-2 Samuel* (Textos y Estudios 'Cardenal Cisneros' 50; Madrid 1989).

2. *The Relationship of the Peshitta, the Syro-Hexapla  
and the Greek Witnesses*

Let us turn, then, to the first of the three issues, the relationship of the Peshitta, the Syro-Hexapla, and the Greek witnesses in the Samuel manuscript of Jacob. The inquiry is divided into two parts. The first deals with the question of whether J<sup>11</sup> is basically a revision of the Peshitta or of the Syro-Hexapla. The second, building upon the first, treats the relationship of the Syro-Hexapla and the Greek witnesses in J. The corpus at this point is limited to those passages for which the Syro-Hexapla is extant.

Goshen-Gottstein in a cautiously worded statement has proffered that the text of J is a revision of both the Syro-Hexapla and the Peshitta.<sup>12</sup> While seemingly giving preference to the former, he argues that the Syro-Hexapla was not everywhere the base which Jacob sought to revise, but as well, the means by which Jacob often revised the text of the Peshitta before him. The results of our research, however, point in a different direction. Those passages in J for which the Syro-Hexapla is extant contain 2,512 words. Of these, 1,659 words or 66%, agree exactly with the Peshitta. By contrast, only 1,236 words or 49%, are in exact agreement with the Syro-Hexapla. There is an overlap of 916 words which are held in common by J, the Peshitta and the Syro-Hexapla. Exact agreement by J with the Peshitta alone is 743 words, and with the Syro-Hexapla alone, 320 words. To be sure, this does not take into account the possible revision by Jacob of his Syro-Hexaplaric *Vorlage* for stylistic reasons. But neither does it take into account the numerous possibilities for agreement by J with the Syro-Hexapla resulting, not from the use of the Syro-Hexapla, but from the appropriation of a Greek, or Greek-based Syriac text, which contained Hexaplaric readings. Nor does it include those instances in which Jacob revised his text of the Peshitta for grammatical, orthographic or lexical reasons. Along this line, another 239 words were uncovered which showed partial agreement between J and the Peshitta which could not be the result of Syro-Hexaplaric influence. In other words, if all other texts but the Peshitta and the Syro-Hexapla were excluded from consideration, 1,898 words of 2,512, or 76% of J, could be accounted for on the basis

<sup>11</sup> In the following treatment of these issues, the siglum 'J' will be used to refer to the text of the Samuel manuscript, as well as in a more limited fashion, to the corpus of the manuscript which was studied. Also, when we speak of agreement with a Greek tradition, we are referring to the text type involved, not necessarily to the language of the exemplar before Jacob, which in any given case may have been Syriac.

<sup>12</sup> Gottstein, 'Neue Syrohexaplafragmente', 165.

of the Peshitta alone. Even more instructive, but difficult to analyse in a statistical manner, are the numerous passages in J which follow the Peshitta verbatim or nearly so, while agreement with the Syro-Hexapla is more limited or only sporadic.

With two of three readings in J showing complete agreement with the Peshitta, preference must be given to this as the source of borrowing when J agrees with both the Peshitta and the Syro-Hexapla. Moreover, the 320 instances of complete agreement by J with the Syro-Hexapla to the exclusion of the Peshitta compare to 853 non-Peshitta readings in J,<sup>13</sup> or to put it differently, only slightly over one-third (38%) of the total number of pluses and substitutions in J relative to the Peshitta agree with the Syro-Hexapla. The conclusion would seem to be inescapable: the base which Jacob sought to revise was the Peshitta, not the Syro-Hexapla!<sup>14</sup>

However, that realization deals only in part with the matter of Syro-Hexaplaric influence upon J. To determine more accurately the degree to which the Syro-Hexapla was possibly employed as a source in revising the Peshitta, the 853 non-Peshitta readings in J were examined in the light of both the Syro-Hexapla and the representative Greek texts. In addition to these pluses and substitutions, the 50 instances of minuses in J, that is, words in the Peshitta which Jacob has omitted, were included, raising the total to 903 readings.

The research for this was undertaken in distinct phases. The procedure followed was to compare the deviations in J from the Peshitta with the representative Greek texts, using basic categories which would reflect the data while not being overly restrictive. This was then repeated using the Syro-Hexapla, rather than the Greek texts, as the base for comparison. Finally, the results of both analyses were compiled in Table 1.

Totals for the Greek witnesses run down the page while those for the Syro-Hexapla run across the page. For example, there were 40 readings which had complete agreement with the Greek texts but only partial agreement with the Syro-Hexapla, and 5 which had complete agreement with the Syro-Hexapla but only partial agreement with the Greek texts. A word needs to be said about two classifications. The first is 'No

<sup>13</sup> By non-Peshitta readings, pluses and substitutions in J with reference to the Peshitta are meant. This includes those substitutions which evidence partial agreement between J and the Peshitta so as not to prejudice the data in favour of dependency upon the Peshitta.

<sup>14</sup> This conclusion is also borne out by those passages where the Syro-Hexapla is not extant. There, 2,076 of 3,341 words in J, or 62%, are identical to the Peshitta. The total overall, then, for the Sam.-Kgs. corpus is 3,735 of 5,853 words, or 64%, in complete agreement with the Peshitta.

TABLE 1  
 PATTERNS OF AGREEMENT WITH GREEK TEXTS AND THE SYRO-HEXAPLA:  
 NON-PESHITTA READINGS AND MINUSES IN J<sup>15</sup>

J Agrmt. with SH	J Agreement with G				
	Compl. Agrmt. G	Partl. Agrmt. G	Ambig. Agrmt. G	No Agrmt. G	Partl. Agrmt. J and P (G)
Compl. Agrmt. SH	268	5	2	16	68
Partl. Agrmt. SH	40	10	0	8	11
Ambig. Agrmt. SH	3	2	0	5	2
No Agrmt. SH	91	11	9	110	0
Partl. Agrmt. J and P (SH)	39	3	0	1	199
Total Readings = 903					

Agreement: SH' and its counterpart 'No Agreement: G'. These were readings which showed agreement neither with the text being used for comparison (the Syro-Hexapla or the Greek) nor with the Peshitta. The second classification is 'Partial Agreement: J and P (SH)' and its counterpart 'Partial Agreement: J and P (G)'. These were readings which did not have agreement with the text being used for comparison, but did have partial agreement with the Peshitta.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Abbreviations used in Table 1 are: G = Greek texts; SH = Syro-Hexapla; P = Peshitta; Compl. = Complete; Partl. = Partial; Ambig. = Ambiguous; Agrmt. = Agreement.

<sup>16</sup> For purposes of this study partial agreement between J and the Peshitta was confined to the following: deviation in regard to a prefixed *w*, *d* or preposition; the use of an optional grammatical construction; variation in the use of the verb 'to be' or the particle of existence; a difference in word order; a different form of the same word; the employment of a synonym; variation in a suffixed pronoun; and orthographic differences, primarily with proper names. A final small category of 'other' served as a catchall for those few additional deviations, less than 1% of the total, which could reasonably be classified as partial agreement. In considering this category as a whole, it needs to be remembered that it is relative to the non-Peshitta text employed for comparison, i.e., a reading in J would not be considered as having partial agreement with the Peshitta if it had agreement (complete, partial, or ambiguous) with the non-Peshitta text with which it was being compared.



Two patterns in Table 1 are of particular note. The first is that of the large number of readings, 268, which have complete agreement with both the Syro-Hexapla and the Greek. Despite the fact that these represent 30% of the total, they are of little value in assessing the matter of dependency. The simple truth is that, in most instances, we have no clear way of determining the source of borrowing when J shares readings with both the Syro-Hexapla and a Greek text.

The second pattern is that of readings having complete agreement with either the Greek or the Syro-Hexapla to the exclusion of any agreement with the other. Thus, there are 16 readings which have complete agreement with the Syro-Hexapla but no agreement with the Greek, and 91 readings which show the reverse, complete agreement with the Greek but no agreement with the Syro-Hexapla. Combined, these two groups of readings account for only 12% of the total. Still, the importance of 91 readings in J showing complete agreement with the Greek against the Syro-Hexapla, as opposed to 16 showing complete agreement with the Syro-Hexapla against the Greek, should not be minimized. Though one must look for a larger sampling before making a sweeping conclusion, the fact that 85% of the instances of clear accord side with the Greek against the Syro-Hexapla would seem to point to a substantially larger use of the Greek witnesses by Jacob than of the Syro-Hexapla.

### 3. *The Relative Presence of the Major Greek Textual Families*

Having treated the relationship of the Peshitta, the Syro-Hexapla and the Greek witnesses in J, let us move on to the second major issue, the relative presence of the major Greek textual families in the Samuel manuscript. For this inquiry, the entire corpus was utilized, not just those verses where the Syro-Hexapla is extant. In all, 1,076 variants from the Peshitta which had *complete* agreement with one or more of the representative Greek texts were found. Of these, 557 were pluses, 441 were substitutions and 78 were minuses. In each instance, note was taken of the Greek family or families with which J agreed. The results were tabulated in two tables, one for pluses and substitutions (which were combined for the sake of convenience) and one for minuses.

Together the pluses and substitutions provided a substantial sampling, 998 readings, and the patterns of agreement are easily perceptible. By contrast, the conclusions that can be drawn from the study of the minuses are rather inconsequential, as shall be seen below. The ratio of pluses to minuses of over 7 to 1, however, does clearly demonstrate the highly eclectic nature of Jacob's text.

In addition, a study was made of the additional 91 variants in J which exhibit *partial* agreement with the Greek witnesses. By definition, these are all pluses and substitutions, and the findings are parallel to those for the readings having complete agreement with the Greek texts.

4. *Pluses/Substitutions in Complete Agreement with the Greek*

In Table 2 the corpus of J is broken down into individual passages, or groups of passages, and the number of variants in complete agreement with at least one representative text of a Greek family, or combination of families, is given accordingly.

TABLE 2  
PATTERNS OF COMPLETE AGREEMENT WITH GREEK TEXTS:  
PLUSSES AND SUBSTITUTIONS IN J

Passages	G Textual Agreement						
	H	E	L	HE	HL	EL	HEL
1 Sam. 1-2	7	0	41 13%	5	19	4	243 76%
1 Sam. 3-5; 7:5-12; 16:13	2	0	11 6%	14	11	2	140 78%
1 Sam. 20:11- 21:6 (LXX 21:5)	2	0	12 13%	13	3	1	65 68%
2 Sam. 6:1-6, 13-14; 7:1-17	2	0	4 5%	6	0	2	60 81%
2 Sam. 13:1-17, 19-39	0	0	22 14%	22	6	0	102 67%
2 Sam. 21; 23:13-17	0	0	27 30%	8	4	0	51 57%
1 Kgs. 1:1 -49a	1	0	53 61%	2	3	1	27 31%
Totals	14 1%	0 0%	170 17%	70 7%	46 5%	10 1%	688 69%
Total Readings = 998							

For readability with the column headings, the 'G' has been dropped from the usual sigla employed for the Greek families. So, for example, in 1 Sam 1-2, there are 7 readings which have agreement only with Hexaplaric

texts ( $G^H$ ), 41 only with Lucianic ( $G^L$ ), 5 with both Hexaplaric and Egyptian ( $G^{HE}$ ), 19 with Hexaplaric and Lucianic ( $G^{HL}$ ), and so forth. The percentages apply only to the rows in which they appear. Thus, in 1 Sam. 1–2 again, the 13% in the ‘L’ column signifies that 13% of the variants in 1 Sam. 1–2 agree only with  $G^L$ .

The figures in the ‘Totals’ line are of note. Perhaps the most striking number is the 688 readings that agree with  $G^{HEL}$ . What this signifies must be understood in terms of the other patterns.

The extremely small number of readings, 14 of 998, in agreement with  $G^H$  alone is surprising. This, in itself, would preclude a Hexaplaric text as a base for J, and is confirmatory evidence for the conclusion reached previously that the basic text which Jacob sought to revise was the Peshitta, not the Syro-Hexapla.

The fact that not a single example of complete agreement with  $G^E$  alone was encountered is striking! It may safely be concluded that this textual family was not present in distinctive form in Jacob’s *Vorlagen*.<sup>17</sup>

The same is not true of  $G^L$ . The 170 readings in agreement with  $G^L$  alone stand in marked contrast to the 14 of  $G^H$  and the 0 of  $G^E$ . Moreover, in this light the 10 readings agreeing with  $G^{EL}$  should also be considered Lucianic, most likely as survivals of the Old Greek in the Lucianic witnesses. This raises to 18% the number of readings which are assuredly Lucianic.

By contrast, the 70 variants agreeing with  $G^{HE}$  must be regarded as Hexaplaric, and these serve to bolster the 14 found for  $G^H$  alone.<sup>18</sup> Still, the two categories combined represent only 8% of the total, or slightly less than half the number of readings clearly Lucianic. The two families come together in the 46 readings held in common by  $G^{HL}$ , which in the main represent, as far as  $G^L$  is concerned, instances of Hexaplaric revision.

This brings us back to the 688 instances of agreement by J with  $G^{HEL}$ . Though these may seem rather nondescript to us, from Jacob’s perspective they were Greek readings at variance with the Peshitta, and thus of importance. As for their origin, the simplest explanation is to regard these basically as Old Greek readings which have gone unrevised in all three families. Still, sight should not be lost of the fact that they

<sup>17</sup> This is consistent with the findings of Johnson in comparing J with distinctive readings in B; cf. B. Johnson, *Die hexaplarische Rezension des 1. Samuelbuches der Septuaginta* (Studia theologica lundensia 22; Lund 1963), 53.

<sup>18</sup> This is not to discount the fact that many of these represent readings from  $G^E$  which survived in  $G^H$ . In addition, certain *Kaige* readings doubtless have coincidental agreement with  $G^H$ . What is important for our purpose here, however, is that Jacob’s source for these was certainly a Hexaplaric text.

all occur in Lucianic texts, raising the percentage of complete agreement readings found in Lucianic texts ( $G^L$ ,  $G^{HL}$ ,  $G^{EL}$ ,  $G^{HEL}$ ) to 92%! This figure may be somewhat misleading, though, since the prevalence of  $G^{HEL}$  readings also means that 82% of complete agreement readings are found in Hexaplaric texts ( $G^H$ ,  $G^{HE}$ ,  $G^{HL}$ ,  $G^{HEL}$ ), and 77% in the Egyptian tradition ( $G^E$ ,  $G^{HE}$ ,  $G^{EL}$ ,  $G^{HEL}$ ). When the  $G^{HEL}$  readings are removed from the mix, though, the pattern becomes clearer. Of the remaining readings, 42% agree with Hexaplaric texts ( $G^H$ ,  $G^{HE}$ ,  $G^{HL}$ ), 26% with the Egyptian tradition ( $G^E$ ,  $G^{HE}$ ,  $G^{EL}$ ) and 73% with Lucianic texts ( $G^L$ ,  $G^{HL}$ ,  $G^{EL}$ ).

The conclusion to be drawn from the data, then, is that Jacob utilized manuscripts from the Lucianic tradition which, along with the older base, contained Hexaplaric revisions. This realization needs to be tempered by two facts. The one is that we have no way of knowing how many of the 998 readings showing complete Greek agreement came to Jacob by way of the Syro-Hexapla. Even when it is extant, it is almost impossible to determine the source of dependence when there is complete agreement with both the Syro-Hexapla and the Greek. It is not unreasonable, however, to assume that some of the Hexaplaric readings came not from Jacob's Greek *Vorlagen* but from the Syro-Hexapla.

The other fact is that J on numerous occasions does not have distinctive readings present in the Lucianic witnesses. Perhaps these were not found in Jacob's *Vorlagen*. It is more likely, however, that he chose not to include them in his rather curious process of weaving together different versions. In either case, what we have in J is a rather conservative representation of the Lucianic tradition.

One final item needs to be noted before moving on. The percentage of clearly Lucianic readings is by no means consistent throughout J. If we consider only the 'L' column in Table 2, for example, the percentages by grouping of passages are: 13%, 6%, 13%, 5%, 14%, 30%, 61%. One is immediately struck by the higher ratio of these readings in the *Kaige* section than in the non-*Kaige*. Tempting as it might be to see a connection, none is forthcoming. There would appear to be no reason for this apart from either the texts available to Jacob, or his methodological caprice in using them.

##### 5. Minuses in Agreement with the Greek Texts

There were 78 minuses in the corpus of the Samuel manuscript treated. These have been analysed in Table 3 in the same manner as the pluses and substitutions above.

TABLE 3  
 PATTERNS OF COMPLETE AGREEMENT WITH GREEK TEXTS:  
 MINUSES IN J

Passages	G Textual Agreement						
	H	E	L	HE	HL	EL	HEL
1 Sam. 1-5; 7:5-12; 16:13	0	0	0	0	1	1	33
1 Sam. 20:11- 21:6 (LXX 21:5)	0	0	0	0	0	0	14
2 Sam. 6:1-6, 13-14; 7:1-17	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
2 Sam. 13:1-17, 19-39; 21; 23:13-17	1	0	0	1	0	0	14
1 Kgs. 1:1-49a	0	0	1	0	1	0	3
Totals	1 1%	0 0%	1 1%	1 1%	2 3%	1 1%	72 92%
Total Readings = 78							

With 92% of the minuses supported by  $G^{\text{HEL}}$ , we must regard these basically as readings in the Peshitta which are not found in the Old Greek version. There is only one example each of agreement with  $G^{\text{L}}$  and  $G^{\text{EL}}$ . Of the two, one is marginal, although the other is a clear instance of a Lucianic minus. That notwithstanding, nothing of value regarding Jacob's *Vorlagen* can be gleaned from a study of the minuses.

#### 6. *Pluses/Substitutions in Partial Agreement with the Greek*

In Table 4 the corpus of J is again broken down as in Tables 2 and 3. By partial agreement we mean readings which are distinct from the Peshitta, and while not identical with the Greek, are sufficiently close that influence may be reasonably deduced. Many of the deviations from the Greek are modifications made in the interests of grammatical harmony when the texts of the Peshitta and the Greek were worked together. Others are the result of what appears to be loose translation. All are minor.

Table 4 contains the analysis of the 91 readings falling under this heading. The total number of partial agreement readings in Table 4 is less than one-tenth that of the complete agreement readings in Table 2.

TABLE 4  
 PATTERNS OF PARTIAL AGREEMENT WITH GREEK TEXTS:  
 PLUSES AND SUBSTITUTIONS IN J

Passages	G Textual Agreement						
	H	E	L	HE	HL	EL	HEL
1 Sam. 1-5; 7:5-12; 16:13	2	0	5	3	1	1	29
1 Sam. 20:11- 21:6 (LXX 21:5)	0	1	1	1	0	0	8
2 Sam. 6:1-6, 13-14; 7:1-17	0	1	2	0	0	0	2
2 Sam. 13:1-17, 19-39; 21; 23:13-17	0	0	6	4	2	0	15
1 Kgs. 1:1-49a	0	0	5	0	0	0	2
Totals	2 2%	2 2%	19 21%	8 9%	3 3%	1 1%	56 62%
Total Readings = 91							

Hence, the slight differences between the two tables with regard to percentages should not be considered significant. ( $G^E$  does have two readings here, contrary to Table 2 where there were none, but both are suspect as readings peculiar to the Egyptian textual tradition). The patterns are, in fact, the same and support the conclusions previously drawn with regard to readings in complete agreement with Greek texts (Table 2).

*7. Readings in J outside the Major Syriac and Greek Traditions*

Having treated the relationship of the Peshitta, the Syro-Hexapla and the Greek witnesses in J as well as the relative presence of the major Greek textual families, it is time to touch on the final issue, the extent and nature in the Samuel manuscript of readings outside the major Syriac and Greek traditions. These are most easily grouped under two headings, minor variants and substantive variants. Each represents about 8% of all variants encountered. The vast majority of the minor variants are stylistic additions, and as a whole the minor variants are best seen as Jacob's own activity upon the text as editor.

The substantive variants are mainly pluses, the immediate source of which is probably to be traced to the flurry of textual activity that characterized the Jacobite masoretic tradition of that time. The ultimate sources remain a mystery, though, and while the substantive variants are interesting, they are of questionable text-critical value.<sup>19</sup>

### 8. *Summary*

The time has come to sum up the major findings: the corpus of the Samuel manuscript that was studied is a revision of the Peshitta, not of the Syro-Hexapla. Jacob would appear to have made substantially larger use of Greek texts than he did of the Syro-Hexapla in revising the Peshitta. Readings in J in complete agreement with the representative Greek texts are predominately Lucianic, but these represent, so to speak, a conservative slice of the Lucianic pie. The readings in partial agreement with the representative Greek texts follow the same pattern as those in complete agreement, while the minuses are of little value in uncovering Jacob's sources. About 8% of all variants probably are due to Jacob's own editorial activity upon the text, while about another 8% would seem to have come from sources unknown to us, but of questionable text-critical value.

<sup>19</sup> Some evidence of the substantive variants was discovered in the scholia of Jacob, lending support to the view of Goshen-Gottstein that the texts reflected in the scholia represent a stage in the development of Jacob's own version of the biblical text; cf. [Goshen-]Gottstein, 'Neue Syrohexaplafragmente', 164, note 3. This view was adopted in the fuller form of this study (*The Samuel Manuscript of Jacob of Edessa*, 115, 117, 121), as it had been earlier by Salvesen and Kruisheer (cf. A. Salvesen, 'Spirits in Jacob of Edessa's Revision of Samuel', *Aram* 5 (1993), 485, 489; and D. Kruisheer, 'Reconstructing Jacob of Edessa's *Scholia*', in J. Frishman and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Interpretation. A Collection of Essays* (TEG 5; Leuven 1997), 190). More recent study by Salvesen, however, has convincingly demonstrated that such is not the case and that J and the scholia do not relate to each other in any consistent way (*The Books of Samuel*, xxi–xxv). Closely connected with this issue is the question of Jacob's purpose in producing his own version of the Old Testament. In the fuller form of this study (*The Samuel Manuscript of Jacob of Edessa*, 122) it was speculated that he intended it to be a new 'authorized' version, aimed at settling controversy within the ecclesiastical community. Once again, subsequent research by Salvesen has resulted in a more convincing, and in this case comprehensive, understanding: 'Jacob's aim in his Old Testament version is likely to have been . . . primarily the clarification of the biblical text as it existed in Syriac and Greek, rather than the creation of a new standard text' (*The Books of Samuel*, xv; cf. also A. Salvesen, 'Jacob of Edessa and the Text of Scripture', in L.V. Rutgers *et al.* (eds.), *The Use of Sacred Books in the Ancient World* (Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 22; Leuven 1998), 243–244; and A. Salvesen, 'Jacob of Edessa's version of Exodus 1 and 28', *Hugoye* 8.1 (2005), 7, 14).

Finally, a word of caution is in order. It needs to be stressed that these findings, replete with authoritative sounding numbers and percentages, are valid only for the particular mix of passages studied. Certainly, it would be a mistake to expect these findings to be duplicated with exacting precision in the four-fifths of the Samuel manuscript not studied, let alone in other passages of the Old Testament. If, thus, the methodology of Jacob and the unevenness of its application may be questioned from a scientific text-critical perspective, the prodigious nature of the undertaking and the dedication and energy which its completion represents may only be regarded with awe.





# JACOB OF EDESSA'S VERSION OF 1–2 SAMUEL: ITS METHOD AND TEXT-CRITICAL VALUE

*Alison Salvesen*

## 1. Introduction

Jacob of Edessa's Syriac version of the Books of Samuel and the first part of 1 Kings is one of the textual witnesses used in the apparatus of Brooke–McLean's edition of the Books of Kingdoms. In the introduction to their edition of 1–4 Kingdoms, Brooke and McLean write (p. viii):

The Syro-hexaplar Version (Ⲛ) of 1, 2 Samuel is lost, except for the few extracts from it contained in the *Auṣar Rāzē* of Barhebraeus and quoted by us (Ⲛ-ap-Barh) from the edition by P. E. Schlesinger (Berlin, 1897). A good many words and phrases belonging to this version are attested in the notes of Masius (Ⲛ<sup>m</sup>): see Lagarde, *Bibliothecae Syriacae*, pp. 21–32<sup>b</sup>. But another Syriac version, that of Jacob of Edessa, comes into account in dealing with the LXX text of 1, 2 Samuel. According to Dr Wright (*A Short History of Syriac Literature*, p. 17) “Jacob, Bishop of Edessa, undertook, when living in retirement in the convent of Tell ‘Addā or Teleda in 704–705, to revise the text of the Pēshīṭtā with the help of the Greek versions at his disposal, thus producing a curious eclectic or patchwork text.” His version of the books of Samuel and also of 1 K[ings] i. 1–49 is preserved to us in a British Museum MS. dated about A.D. 719 and numbered Add. 14,429 (see Wright's Catalogue, vol. 1. pp. 37–39). *From this version (Ⲛ<sup>i</sup>) we have quoted such readings as can reasonably be regarded as translations from a Greek Septuagint text [italics added].*<sup>1</sup>

The aim of the present essay is first to describe the nature of Jacob's version of Samuel, which is not at all straightforward, before presenting an assessment of its usefulness as a textual witness to the Septuagint of Samuel.

## 2. The Nature of Jacob's Version of 1–2 Samuel

According to the colophon at the end of 1 Samuel, Jacob composed his version of the first book of Kingdoms in 704/5 CE. Originally the whole work reflected the Lucianic division of books in that it covered 1 Samuel 1:1–1 Kings 2:11, but the end of the sole surviving manuscript is missing and terminates abruptly in the middle of 1 Kings 1:49. This slightly truncated copy is now kept in the British Library, and the

<sup>1</sup> A.E. Brooke, N. McLean, and H.St.J. Thackeray, *The Old Testament in Greek* 2. *The Later Historical Books* (2 vols.; Cambridge 1927–30).

superscription on the first folio says that it was written in 719 CE, so although it is not the autograph, it must have been copied from it.

The shortest and best description of the nature of the Samuel version is that just cited, from the nineteenth-century Syriacist William Wright: ‘a curious eclectic or patchwork text’. This it certainly is. It is clearly a mixture of Syriac and Greek Bible versions (though the language is Syriac), but the precise make-up, as well as Jacob’s aims in producing it, is not readily evident.

Now the nature of the Septuagint in the books of Samuel is itself the subject of much debate.<sup>2</sup> It is more or less accepted that there are three major textual families, i.e. the Egyptian, Hexaplaric, and Lucianic/Antiochene, plus a number of more ‘characterless’ manuscripts. The Egyptian group of manuscripts is represented by B (Vaticanus) ya<sub>2</sub> and also the Ethiopic version (Ⲭ); the text of Origen’s fifth column, the Hexaplaric recension, is found in A (Alexandrinus) cx and the Armenian version (Ⲙ), along with the sub-Hexaplaric manuscripts dlpqtz and efmsw; and the Lucianic/Antiochene recension is represented by manuscripts boc<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub>. The relationship of these groups to each other and to the Hebrew is still not wholly clear, but fortunately this is not of vital importance with regard to Jacob.

Jacob’s version of Samuel is of potential interest for two of the three recensions in particular. The Lucianic text type is named after the scholar and martyr Lucian of Antioch (250–312 CE) who is said by Jerome (*De viris illustribus* 77) to have worked on the biblical text. Certainly the citations of Christian writers from the Antiochene region (e.g. John Chrysostom and Theodoret of Cyrillus) do exhibit characteristic readings found only in a small group of biblical manuscripts, but because pre- or proto-‘Lucianic’ readings are found in earlier sources such as Josephus, some scholars prefer the term ‘Antiochene’. Since Jacob spent most of his life in the region of Syria, it would not be surprising if his version reflected knowledge of the Antiochene Greek text. In theory too he had another tool at his disposal: the Syro-Hexapla, which was a literal Syriac rendering of the fifth column of Origen’s Hexapla carried out by Paul of Tella in 616/7. The question is, precisely what sort of Greek texts did Jacob use in his version of Samuel?

<sup>2</sup> For 1 Samuel, see S.P. Brock’s 1966 doctoral work, *The Recensions of the Septuagint Version of 1 Samuel*, now published as Quaderni di Henoch 9 (Turin 1996). A brief general overview is provided in M. Harl, G. Dorival, and O. Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante : du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien* (Paris 1988), 168–171, and a longer study in N. Fernández Marcos, ‘The Lucianic Text in the Books of Kingdoms: From Lagarde to the Textual Pluralism’, in A. Pietersma (ed.), *De Septuaginta. Studies in Honour of John William Wevers on His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Ontario 1984), 161–174.

Twentieth-century scholarship has varied in its findings. Rahlfs mentioned Jacob's version briefly in his 1911 work on the Lucianic recension of the books of Kings. On the basis of his comparison of 1 Kings 1 in the Lucianic recension, the Syro-Hexapla [henceforth Syh]<sup>3</sup> and Jacob's version [henceforth JSam], Rahlfs concluded that Jacob was correcting the Peshitta [henceforth P] according to the Lucianic recension, sometimes creating double readings in the process. At other times Jacob added glosses of his own, or converted P readings to normal Syriac usage.<sup>4</sup> However, there was no trace of Hexaplaric influence. Rahlfs therefore urged that JSam should be included as a textual witness to the Lucianic recension, in the places where it deviated from P.<sup>5</sup> It is probably due to the influence of Rahlfs that Brooke and McLean included JSam in their edition of 1-2 Kingdoms (1927).

However, although in 1 Kings 1 Rahlfs had available Lagarde's edition of Syh for a full comparison of Greek and Syriac versions with JSam, very little of Syh survives for 1-2 Samuel, and in the first half of the twentieth century scholars had access to even less Syh material than we do now. This made it difficult to assess the relationship of the whole of JSam to P and Syh.

In 1956 Goshen-Gottstein published some new Syh fragments for Samuel and compared them with JSam.<sup>6</sup> He concluded from his research that Syh combined with the Peshitta was the basis for JSam, with sporadic readings from the Lucianic tradition.<sup>7</sup> This would imply that the direct influence of Greek manuscripts was weak, and that JSam was more of a witness to the Syh tradition than to that of the Septuagint.

<sup>3</sup> See P.A. de Lagarde, *Bibliothecae Syriacae* (Göttingen 1892), 190-192.

<sup>4</sup> Rahlfs cites the opinion of Ceriani on the Antiochene provenance of the Greek manuscripts used by Jacob: A.M. Ceriani, *Monumenta sacra et profana* 2.1 (Milan 1863), and idem, 'Le edizione e i manoscritti delle versioni siriane del Vecchio Testamento', in *Memorie del Reale Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere. Classe di Lettere e Scienze Morali e Politiche* 11 (= 3 S. 2; Milan 1869).

<sup>5</sup> A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien* 3 (Göttingen 1965), 50: 'In dessen [i.e. the examples of Lucianic readings in 1 Kings 1] hat Jakob von Edessa nicht überall konsequent nach  $\text{K}$  korrigiert, sondern manchmal  $\text{S}$  unverändert gelassen, wo  $\text{K}$  abweicht, oder auch wohl die einander entsprechenden Lesarten von  $\text{S}$  und  $\text{K}$  miteinander verbunden ... Man darf also Jakob von Edessa als Zeugen für  $\text{K}$  nur da heranziehen, wo er von  $\text{S}$  abweicht.'

<sup>6</sup> M.H. [Goshen-]Gottstein, 'Neue Syrohexaplafragmente', *Biblica* 37 (1956), 175-183: 1 Sam. 7:5-12; 20:11-23, 35-42; 2 Sam. 7:1-17; 21:1-7; 23:13-17.

<sup>7</sup> [Goshen-]Gottstein, 'Neue Syrohexaplafragmente', 165: 'J ist nicht nur eine Überarbeitung von Syh ... sondern auch von Pesch ... Syh ist nicht immer die Grundlage, die verbessert wird, sondern die textkritisch überlegene, aber unsyrische Rezension, auf grund derer Pesch. oft umgearbeitet wird.' *Ibidem*, p. 166: 'Für die Geschichte der LXX-Tradition ist es wichtig, dass der bereits von Ceriani festgestellte lucianische Einfluss kein Zufall ist, obgleich er nur sporadisch auftritt.'

So Goshen-Gottstein's conclusions on the nature of JSam were very different from those of Rahlfs.

Subsequently JSam was cited as a textual witness in Bo Johnson's 1963 work on the Hexaplaric recension of 1 Samuel, and in Sebastian Brock's 1966 doctoral thesis on the recensions of the Septuagint of 1 Samuel. Brock also analyzed 1 Sam. 13:1–8 and argued that JSam was a revision of the Peshitta on the basis of manuscripts of the Septuagint, one of which was Lucianic and another Hexaplaric.<sup>8</sup> Interestingly, JSam was not used by Natalio Fernández Marcos and José Ramón Busto Saiz or by Bernard Taylor in their editions of the Lucianic text of Samuel and Kings, even though JSam has strong affinities with the Lucianic text type.<sup>9</sup> In fact, the introductions to their editions do not mention JSam at all.

Although JSam was being regularly used as a textual witness for the Books of Samuel, the question of its textual basis was not finally settled until Saley wrote his Harvard PhD thesis in 1981, under the supervision of F.M. Cross. In the meantime De Boer had published the Song of Hannah in the Syro-Hexaplaric version in 1963,<sup>10</sup> and then Baars included several more Syh verses of Samuel in his 1968 edition of Syh fragments.<sup>11</sup> With the aid of a computer, Saley looked at all the fragments of Syh Samuel and compared them with JSam, and he also examined JSam's relationship to the major Greek manuscript families in Samuel. His sample covered about a fifth of JSam, and was therefore much larger than that of Rahlfs or Goshen-Gottstein. Saley concluded that the basis of JSam was clearly the Peshitta, with additional material being taken from the Septuagint. The major Greek influence was from the Lucianic recension, though there are also traces of a Hexaplaric text type.

Certainly Jacob was such a competent Greek scholar that he was capable of using Greek manuscripts directly in his revisional work without

<sup>8</sup> Brock, *Recensions*, 26–27: 'it is clear that among Jacob's manuscripts was one with a Lucianic text; another was strongly Hexaplaric (probably Syh) . . . On the whole Pe is adhered to closely, including many places where it differs markedly from LXX.'

<sup>9</sup> N. Fernández Marcos and J.R. Busto Saiz, *El texto antioqueno de la Biblia griega* 1. *1–2 Samuel* and 2. *1–2 Reyes* (Textos y Estudios 'Cardenal Cisneros' 50, 53; Madrid 1989, 1992); B.A. Taylor, *The Lucianic Manuscripts of 1 Reigns* 1. *Majority Text* and 2. *Analysis* (Harvard Semitic Monographs 50–51; Atlanta, GA 1992–1993).

<sup>10</sup> P.A.H. de Boer, 'A Syro-Hexaplar Text of the Song of Hannah: 1 Samuel ii.1–10', in D. Winton Thomas and W.D. McHardy (eds.), *Hebrew and Semitic Studies Presented to Godfrey Rolles Driver in Celebration of His Seventieth Birthday, 20 August 1962* (Oxford 1963), 8–15.

<sup>11</sup> W. Baars, *New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts. Edited, Commented upon and Compared with the Septuagint* (Leiden 1968): 1 Sam. 2:12–17, 22–24a; 16:13a; 20:27b–33; 2 Sam. 6:1–6a, 13–14. See also W. Baars, 'Ein neugefundenes Bruchstück aus der syrischen Bibelrevision des Jakob von Edessa', *VT* 18 (1968), 548–554.

relying on Syh. To some extent he may have been reacting against the style of Syh and defending his church's use of the Peshitta. Saley's results bear out the colophon of the JSam manuscript, that Jacob composed his own version from *that* of the Syrians (the Peshitta) and *those* of the Greeks. Saley's thesis has now been revised and published in the monograph series of the Peshitta Institute, and there is also now an accompanying volume by the present writer consisting of the edition and translation of Jacob's Samuel manuscript.<sup>12</sup> Although I was not able to go into the kind of detail that Saley has, as I worked on it I did check the entire manuscript against Brooke-McLean, and my findings certainly support those of Saley for his sample. So this seems a good time to make some comments about JSam as a textual witness to the Septuagint. But first it is imperative to make some general remarks about the nature of JSam, to illustrate why it is not a straightforward witness to the Greek text.

First, was Jacob trying to produce a fixed, authoritative text combining the Syriac and Greek? JSam is not the sole example of Jacob of Edessa's modification of the text of Samuel. He also worked over isolated passages from the book in his biblical scholia and in his revision of the Syriac translation of the *Homiliae Cathedrales* of Severus of Antioch. Close examination shows that in these earlier works there is no direct connection with JSam. In his revision of Severus' *Homilies*, the base text for the citations from Samuel is the Septuagint, but in JSam it is the Peshitta. As for the Samuel passages in Jacob's scholia, these are based on the Peshitta but are moving towards the Greek in a manner similar to the approach of JSam. We do not know the date of the scholia but the place names and personal names in JSam do appear to be more influenced by the corresponding Greek versions of those names than do those in the scholia. If the scholia predate the Samuel version, there may be some kind of linear development towards greater incorporation of Greek elements.<sup>13</sup>

Compared especially with the citations in Jacob's scholia and the Septuagint-based passages in Severus' *Homilies*, the main characteristic

<sup>12</sup> R.J. Saley, *The Samuel Manuscript of Jacob of Edessa. A Study in Its Underlying Textual Traditions* (MPIL 9; Leiden 1998); A. Salvesen, *The Books of Samuel in the Syriac Version of Jacob of Edessa* (MPIL 10; Leiden 1999). See also Saley's contribution to this volume.

<sup>13</sup> For the texts involved, see Salvesen, *Books of Samuel*, xvi–xxv. Jacob's Syriac revision of Severus' *Homilies* has been published in various volumes of the *Patrologia Orientalis* (see the list in D. Kruisheer's bibliographical clavis at the end of this volume, under J). For the scholia, see G. Phillips, *Scholia on Passages of the Old Testament by Mar Jacob, Bishop of Edessa* (London–Edinburgh 1864). Dirk Kruisheer is presently preparing a new edition of the scholia.

of JSam is a strong tendency to expand the biblical text. Many of the expansions are due to the inclusion of elements from both the Peshitta and the Septuagint, as if Jacob was reluctant to make a choice where the Syriac and Greek differed and decided to keep both if they were not mutually contradictory. Thus we often find two verbs or two nouns juxtaposed. Where a choice had to be made, for instance between alternative numbers of men slain in battle, or different names for the same place, often one of them will appear in the main text and the other in the margin.<sup>14</sup> In the main text, readings are sometimes combined for the sake of dramatic effect. This is the case in 1 Sam. 5:6, describing the Lord's affliction of the Ashdodites:

The hand of the Lord was heavy upon the Ashdodites, and he tormented them, and struck them with haemorrhoids, and made purulent boils erupt on their seats. In the middle of the territory of Ashdod mice swarmed forth, and there was a great stirring of death in the city.

This is a combination of the Peshitta with mostly Lucianic Greek material.<sup>15</sup> Further on, in v. 9, the Lord strikes the people of Gath: 'He struck the people of the city from least to greatest, and haemorrhoids broke out on them. The Gathites made themselves seats of *leather*.' The last element is Jacob's own: the Lucianic text speaks of seats of gold, an idea borrowed from the later verse where golden haemorrhoids are placed in the wagon with the Ark when it is sent back to Israel. Presumably Jacob decided that golden seats were too uncomfortable!<sup>16</sup>

There are more creative expansions in Jacob's text, where the Peshitta, and even the Greek, do not provide sufficient explanation

<sup>14</sup> There are over one hundred marginal notes in the manuscript, excluding lectionary markings. They appear to be in a slightly different hand, so may have been added after the main text was written. If they do not originate with Jacob himself, they certainly reflect his approach to the text. In more than half of the instances, the margin gives the Greek reading corresponding to the reading of the main text where the latter has been taken from the Peshitta. In most of the remainder of cases the converse is true, but in a few cases two different readings from the Greek (e.g. Hexaplaric versus Lucianic) are juxtaposed. Eight cases involve numbers, measures or troop figures (1 Sam. 4:18; 11:8; 15:4; 17:7; 18:25; 2 Sam. 6:1; 10:18; 14:26), 30 involve places (1 Sam. 4:1; 5:10; 9:4; 11:8; 13:5; 14:23; 17:2; 21:2; 22:5<sup>2</sup>; 25:1; 26:1; 27:10<sup>2</sup>; 31:13; 2 Sam. 2:16; 3:3; 6:6; 12:27; 13:23; 15:12; 17:16, 17, 18, 27; 18:23; 21:12, 14, 20; 1 Kgs. 1:9), and 16 involve personal names (1 Sam. 8:2; 14:49; 25:44; 2 Sam. 1:18; 2:5; 3:3; 5:14; 12:25; 13:3; 14:27; 20:24; 21:8, 18; 23:24, 39; 1 Kgs. 1:3).

<sup>15</sup> See Saley, *Samuel Manuscript*, 67, 85, 103. The phrase ܩܘܪܝܢܐ ܩܘܪܝܢܐ 'and made purulent boils erupt' must have been influenced by the Greek traditions of this verse, e.g. ἐξέβρασεν/-σαν (Lucianic), ἐξέζεσεν (B, A), ἐφαγγεδαίνυσεν (Aquila and Theodotion). See also Brock, *Recensions*, 72, 270.

<sup>16</sup> See Saley, *Samuel Manuscript*, 104.

in the narrative. For instance, in 2 Sam. 6:6 'Uzza puts out a hand to stop the Ark from wobbling, and is struck down by the Lord for his temerity: Jacob adds that the ox only tipped the Ark from the cart a very little (ܘܫܠܠ ܗܘ ܥܝܠܠܐ ܥܘܢܐ ܥܠܗܘܢ), implying that 'Uzza's action was unwarranted and the Lord's punishment justified'.<sup>17</sup> More complex is his treatment of 1 Sam. 21:2-7, where his version hints at the Eucharist, the canonical statements concerning physical purity before the altar, and the use of freshly baked bread for the sacrament.<sup>18</sup> In 1 Sam. 6:19, there is a theological gloss besides the combination of Greek and Peshitta. The first half of the verse is added from the Greek: 'The sons of Jecheoniah who were among the men of Beth Shemesh were not glad to see the Ark of the Lord', then Jacob returns to the Peshitta, 'and the Lord struck the men of Beth Shemesh', then adds his own gloss to repeat the reason: '*because they did not rejoice over the Ark of the Lord*'.

An explanation for a punishment is also supplied, this time by Jacob himself, in 2 Sam. 4:9-10, where David is addressing the assassins

Rekhab and his brother Banea, the sons of Remmon, the Berothites, and he said to them, 'As the Lord lives, who delivered my life from every affliction, the one who reported to me and told me, "Saul is dead", and behaved as someone bringing good news before me, *when he said that he himself had killed him* I seized him and killed him in Senqlag, instead of giving him something for the good news.'

The addition '*when he said that he himself had killed him*' is from Jacob, just in case the reader had forgotten the exact circumstances and was wondering why David had killed the messenger. Explanation is also inserted in 2 Sam. 14:32, into Absalom's speech to Joab: (v. 31) Joab said to Abshalom, 'Why did your servants set my field on fire?' Abshalom said to Joab, 'Look, I sent to you and said that you should come to me, so that I could send you to the king', Jacob then adds, '*but you refused to come. Because of this I told them to burn your field, so that you would come to me*'. Jacob often prefers the Peshitta rendering if it makes more sense than the Greek. For 1 Sam. 19:13 Jacob has 'Melkol took an image like that for a burial, and placed it on the bed. She put a goatskin on his pillow and covered them with a cloak' (this is in order to fool her father's men). To the Peshitta reading ܘܫܠܠ 'image', Jacob adds the phrase ܘܥܘܢܐ ܥܠܗܘܢ ܥܘܢܐ ܥܠܗܘܢ 'like that for a burial' to translate Greek τὰ κενotáφια,<sup>19</sup> but rejects the majority Greek reading ἦπαρ τῶν

<sup>17</sup> Compare Saley, *Samuel Manuscript*, 108.

<sup>18</sup> See Salvesen, 'An Edition of Jacob of Edessa's Version of I-II Samuel', in R. Lavenant (ed.), *Symposium Syriacum VII: Uppsala University, 11-14 August 1996* (OCA 256; Rome 1998), 13-22. Also Saley, *Samuel Manuscript*, 85, 106-108.

<sup>19</sup> Or possibly the corruption καινotáφια of some Lucianic manuscripts.



אִיגֹוֹן ‘goat’s liver’, in favour of Peshitta’s ܐܘܪܝܢܐ ܕܥܘܪܝܢܐ ‘goatskin’, which is much more suitable (and likely) in the context.

There are frequent additions of particles and adverbs such as ܐܘܪܝܢܐ ‘also’, ܕܥܘܪܝܢܐ ‘therefore’, ܐܘܪܝܢܐ ‘now’, which are usually due to the presence of καί, δὲ, νῦν in the Greek texts. Jacob may have been using them to make the text less terse. Among the many other small additions that Jacob makes are: relative pronouns, once again because of the influence of Greek syntax, though they often help to define the rather ambiguous Syriac ܐ; demonstrative pronouns to reflect the Greek definite article; ܐܘܪܝܢܐ ‘one’ to emphasize the indefinite state (the Syriac absolute case being employed even more rarely in Jacob’s time than in the Peshitta); the perfect of the verb ܐܘܪܝܢܐ added as an auxiliary to represent the Greek imperfect tense; ܐܘܪܝܢܐ with ܐܘܪܝܢܐ; the emphatic for the absolute with numerals.<sup>20</sup> Many of these traits are already found in Syh and non-biblical Syriac translations from Greek.

Other minor changes include the substitution of one word for another. Usually these do not reflect the Greek but represent an updating of the language of the Peshitta, for instance:

- (a) the replacement of the verb ܥܘܪܝܢܐ ‘chew, eat’ (probably regarded as rather vulgar in Jacob’s time) by ܥܘܪܝܢܐ ‘eat’.<sup>21</sup>
- (b) ܥܘܪܝܢܐ ‘show, tell’, is often replaced with ܥܘܪܝܢܐ ‘inform’ in the context of telling or informing, and there is no clear correspondence with Greek ἀπαγγέλλω/ἀναγγέλλω, so again there may have been a shift in the meaning of the Syriac words. Occasionally both Syriac words appear together.<sup>22</sup>
- (c) ܥܘܪܝܢܐ ‘man’ in the sense of ‘husband’ replaces Peshitta’s ܥܘܪܝܢܐ ‘husband/master’ in the story of Hannah,<sup>23</sup> but ܥܘܪܝܢܐ in the sense of the god Baal is retained.<sup>24</sup>

Greek influence has, however, resulted in some minor but widespread changes. ܥܘܪܝܢܐ ‘town’ is always replaced by ܥܘܪܝܢܐ ‘city, town’, which

<sup>20</sup> See Saley, *Samuel Manuscript*, 95–98.

<sup>21</sup> E.g. 1 Sam. 1:7, 9; 9:13; 20:24; 2 Sam. 9:13. Exceptions occur in 1 Sam. 2:36; 20:5; 2 Sam. 11:11, 13; 13:11, in situations describing feasting or where there is a strong sexual element present: e.g. Hannah feasting, Uriah dining with David, Amnon eating Tamar’s food.

<sup>22</sup> E.g. 1 Sam. 6:2; 14:33; 15:12 (passive); 18:2, 3; 19:7, 11, 19 (but not vv. 2 or 21); 20:9, 10; 2 Sam. 1:13; 4:9; 10:5; 11:5, 22. 1 Sam. 10:15 has ܥܘܪܝܢܐ for Peshitta’s ܥܘܪܝܢܐ, but in the following verse retains Peshitta’s ܥܘܪܝܢܐ. 1 Sam. 16:3 preserves ܥܘܪܝܢܐ where it means ‘show’. Other retentions of ܥܘܪܝܢܐ are at 2 Sam. 1:4, 5, 20.

<sup>23</sup> 1 Sam. 1:7, 22, 23; 2:19; 4:19.

<sup>24</sup> 1 Sam. 7:4; 12:10.

may reflect a change in the relative meanings of the Syriac words. However, the presence of  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma$  in those places in the Greek is probably the overriding factor.

It should be clear from the foregoing that Jacob's primary aim in producing his version of Samuel was clarification of the biblical text and that he used expansions and glosses to this end. He was not trying to create a Greek-based text that broke away from the Peshitta and he was not trying to 'heal' the Peshitta by comparison with a single Greek text, as Origen had done by using the Hebrew as a yardstick. Jacob took a maximalist approach: the more detail that resulted from a marriage of the two traditions, the better, as it helped the reader arrive at the meaning of Scripture. This is why his version cannot easily be used as a witness to the Greek text.

Having indicated the complex nature of JSam, in the following pages there are presented a handful of the clearer examples of JSam's relationship to the Greek text(s), taken from a sample of twenty-one chapters throughout the JSam manuscript. These are 1 Sam. 1-10, 2 Sam. 1-10, and 1 Kgs. 1:1-49: in other words, from the beginning, middle and end, in case Jacob's working methods or manuscripts changed in the course of his version. Anyone using JSam needs to subtract material that clearly comes from the Peshitta, though what is left could be Septuagint, Syh or Jacob's own glosses, or a hybrid of any of these three. So this is not an easy task. Brooke and McLean did an excellent job of sifting out the material pertinent to Septuagint textual criticism, though it is not surprising that there are occasional lapses or sometimes a lack of clarity: an apparatus is too succinct to point out ambiguity, hence the frequent use of '(uid)' there. The Greek examples below are selected readings taken from the main text and apparatus of Brooke-McLean, and compared with the readings of the JSam manuscript.<sup>25</sup>

### *3. Readings of JSam in Brooke-McLean Showing Its Affiliation to Greek Manuscript Families*

#### 3.1 Lucianic Influence

In many places where JSam introduces material from the Greek tradition, the reading is common to the major Greek families, Egyptian,

<sup>25</sup> The sigla used are those of Brooke-McLean, who present the text of B (Vaticanus) as their main text. This 'Egyptian' reading will therefore provide the lemma in most cases under discussion. The Greek lemmata cited in these examples are taken directly from the apparatus of Brooke-McLean, and I have therefore adhered to their practice of leaving them unaccented.

Hexaplaric, and Lucianic. Yet where his reading agrees with a particular family, it is often (though not exclusively) with the Lucianic tradition. The greatest number of these occur in the last chapter of the manuscript, 1 Kings 1, which is the one on which Rahlfs based his own study, hence his findings (this is why Rahlfs' results are not valid for the whole of JSam).<sup>26</sup>

1 Sam. 2:30<sup>27</sup> νυν] + ουχ ουτως bgoc<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub>Š<sup>i</sup> Thdt  
= JSam כחן לא 'not so!'

— ο εξουθενων] οι εξουθενουντες bcoc<sub>2</sub>(-δεν-)e<sub>2</sub>Š<sup>i</sup> Chr Thdt  
= JSam אלהם אלהם 'those who despise'

1 Kgs. 1:8<sup>28</sup> σεμει και ρησει και υιοι δυνατοι του] σαμαιας και οι εταιροι (ετεροι b'e<sub>2</sub>) αυτου οι (om b') οντες δυνατοι τω boc<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub>Š<sup>i</sup>  
= JSam א שמעון אומרים אלה המלכים המלכים  
'Shema'a and his companions who were David's mighty men'

1 Kgs. 1:20 συ κυριε μου βασιλευ] ει (om b') δια του κυριου μου του βασιλεως γεγоне το πραγμα τουτο οτι boc<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub>Š<sup>i</sup>  
= JSam ... אכן . כן כי אכן אכן אכן אכן אכן אכן  
'If this business was from my own lord the king, since...'

As Saley remarks, this is 'the longest example encountered of continuous Lucianic dependence'.<sup>29</sup>

1 Kgs. 1:47 λεγοντες] και εισεληλυθασι μονοι και ειπον boc<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub>Š<sup>i</sup>  
= JSam אלהם אלהם אלהם אלהם  
'They have gone into his presence separately and said'

NB: אלהם 'his presence' does not appear in the Lucianic reading: Saley terms it a stylistic addition in JSam.<sup>30</sup>

### 3.2 Non-Lucianic Readings

There are also many examples of readings in JSam that are non-Lucianic:

2 Sam. 3:15 φαλιτηλ] φαλιτου boc<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub> versus JSam אפאלתא 'Paltiel'

2 Sam. 5:21: JSam, Greek, and Peshitta read, 'They abandoned their idols there, and David and his men took them'. But JSam does not have

<sup>26</sup> Several other examples of Lucianic-type readings also appear in the category 'non-Syro-Hexaplaric' in 3.4 below.

<sup>27</sup> See also Saley, *Samuel Manuscript*, 66.

<sup>28</sup> Discussed more fully in Saley, *Samuel Manuscript*, 72–73.

<sup>29</sup> Saley, *Samuel Manuscript*, 74.

<sup>30</sup> Saley, *Samuel Manuscript*, 76–77.

the well-known Lucianic addition και λεγει [Δαυιδ] Κατακαυσατε αυτους εν πυρι 'and [David] said, "Burn them with fire"'.<sup>31</sup>

### 3.3 Syro-Hexaplaric Readings

The lack of Syh material for 1-2 Samuel means that we have few examples from those books compared with the beginning of 1 Kings. Where we do have Syh material for comparison, JSam is far from following Syh slavishly, and he even rejects certain readings, preferring to translate directly from the Greek. First I quote an example of a possible Syro-Hexaplaric reading:

2 Sam. 7:10: In a verse that is otherwise dependent on the Peshitta, JSam has ܡܗܘܢܐܢܐ ܠܗܘܢܐ ܠܗܘܢܐ ܠܗܘܢܐ 'son of unrighteousness to humble him', which is identical to the reading of Syh<sup>G</sup>.<sup>31</sup> Jacob may have taken it from the Greek directly (υιος αδικιας του ταπεινωσαι), but there is no way of telling.<sup>32</sup> Other examples exist at 1 Sam. 7:10; 20:17; 20:39; 2 Sam. 6:13; 7:2, 6.<sup>33</sup>

### 3.4 Non-Syro-Hexaplaric Readings

Examples of readings where JSam does not follow the Syro-Hexapla:

1 Kgs. 1:7 εβοηθουν οπισω αδωνειου (= Syh<sup>L34</sup> ܠܘܘܢܐ ܝܗܘ ܘܘܫܐ ܠܝܘܫܘܢܐ 'they were helping after Adonia')]] αντελαμβανοντο αυτου boc<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub>Š<sup>j</sup>  
= JSam ܡܠ ܘܘܫܐ ܠܘܘܢܐ 'they were assisting him'

JSam follows the Lucianic reading, and is clearly not dependent on Syh.<sup>35</sup>

1 Kgs. 1:4 θαλπουσα του βασιλεα (= Syh<sup>L</sup> ܠܘܠܐ ܠܘܘܢܐ 'warming the king')]] τω βασιλει συγκοιτος boc<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub>Š<sup>j</sup>  
= JSam ܠܘܘܢܐ ܗܝܘ ܠܘܠܐ 'for the king a bedmate'

The same applies here.<sup>36</sup>

1 Kgs. 1:9 ζωελεθει Bh\*a<sub>2</sub>] σελλαθ b' : ܗܝܠܘܫܐ Š<sup>j</sup> : εν σελλαθ bc<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub> : εν σελλαθ ο : ζωελεθ AMNh<sup>b7</sup> rell Š (ܗܠܘܝ) On : ܗܘܠܘܝܢ Š-ap-Barh  
As often, JSam is closer to the Lucianic tradition than to Syh.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Syh<sup>G</sup> = the fragments published by Goshen-Gottstein in 1956 (see note 6). These of course were unknown to Brooke and McLean.

<sup>32</sup> See Saley, *Samuel Manuscript*, 27.

<sup>33</sup> Discussed more fully by Saley, *Samuel Manuscript*, 24-27.

<sup>34</sup> Syh<sup>L</sup> = Lagarde's edition of the Syro-Hexapla (see note 3).

<sup>35</sup> See Saley, *Samuel Manuscript*, 91-92.

<sup>36</sup> See Saley, *Samuel Manuscript*, 90-91.

<sup>37</sup> See Saley, *Samuel Manuscript*, 73.

3.5 Influence of Chronicles?<sup>38</sup>

There are parallel passages to 1 Samuel 31 and parts of 2 Samuel in 1 Chronicles. So this is another potential source of readings in JSam, whether from the Peshitta or the Greek of Chronicles. However, with the exception of a few ambiguous readings,<sup>39</sup> there is no clear evidence of the direct influence of either Syriac or Greek Chronicles on JSam. Chronicles-type readings do occur, but they can all be explained by the influence of Greek Chronicles on the Lucianic text of Samuel, which Jacob demonstrably used. Why would he not have used Chronicles directly? The colophon at the end of 1 Samuel in JSam mentions only ‘*that* [version] of the Syrians’, which must be Peshitta Samuel, not Peshitta Chronicles as well. Additionally Chronicles was not at all highly regarded in the Syriac churches: in fact it was not regarded as canonical by the Church of the East, and in the Syrian Orthodox Church it was not covered by the ‘massoretic’ tradition or by the scholia.<sup>40</sup> Jacob certainly did know and make use of the book of Chronicles, at least in Greek. In JSam itself there is a scholion to the very first verse of 1 Samuel containing the genealogy of Samuel, drawn from the Greek of 1 Chr. 6:33–38. But this is quite separate from the main text. In one of his letters Jacob uses information from 1 Chr. 2:16–17 in Greek, or possibly from certain Greek texts of Samuel, to resolve another genealogical problem in 2 Sam. 17:25,<sup>41</sup> and this verse in JSam reflects the same knowledge. But otherwise he does not seem to have used Chronicles as

<sup>38</sup> I am grateful to Hugh Williamson for suggesting this possibility.

<sup>39</sup> At 2 Sam. 7:2 JSam has the addition ܠܫܘܢܝܢ, ‘(tent curtains) of hair’, which is not found in either the Peshitta or the Greek texts of Samuel. The word appears in the parallel passage in 1 Chr. 17:1. However, it also occurs in Peshitta ms 6h1 *ad loc.* This gives two possibilities: that Jacob knew of, or consulted, the passage in Chronicles (either in Hebrew or Greek); or that he used a Syriac manuscript of Samuel that, like 6h1, had this reading. The verb ܡܠܘ ‘turned, tipped it’ in Jacob’s version of 2 Sam. 6:6 may reflect ἐξέκλινεν of 1 Chr. 13:9, and the addition in 2 Sam. 8:3 ܘܡܘܬܘܘܢ ܕܥܝܢܘܢ ܕܥܡܘܢ ‘and killed some of them’ may reflect the Syriac of 1 Chr. 18:5 ܘܕܡܘܬܘܘܢ ܕܥܝܢܘܢ ܕܥܡܘܢ ‘and David killed of Edom . . .’ though this is more tenuous and Jacob may have just been glossing the verse independently.

<sup>40</sup> See M.P. Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament. An Introduction* (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 56; Cambridge 1999), 208, 258. R.T. Beckwith, in *The Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church* (Grand Rapids, MI 1985), 307–310, points out that several Syriac sources disputed the canonicity of Chronicles and that the sixth/seventh-century Milan Codex relegated Chronicles to the apocrypha at the end of the volume; see W.E. Barnes, *An Apparatus Criticus to Chronicles in the Peshitta Version with a Discussion of the Value of the Codex Ambrosianus* (Cambridge 1897), viii, on the vagueness of apparent citations from Chronicles in Syriac writers.

<sup>41</sup> In a letter to John the Stylite: see W. Wright, ‘Two epistles of Mar Jacob, Bishop of Edessa’, *Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record* ns 10 (1867),

a major source for his Samuel version. Another reason for the omission may be a practical one: he was already working from the Peshitta, the Syro-Hexapla, and at least one Greek text:<sup>42</sup> was it possible, given the speed at which he was working,<sup>43</sup> systematically to include readings from the Syriac and Greek texts of Chronicles? He no doubt felt that there was enough information for his version in the two traditions of 1-2 Kingdoms, and that Chronicles had little to add.

4. *JSam Readings Supplied by Brooke-McLean that are Irrelevant*

The following examples from JSam are also included in the apparatus of Brooke-McLean, but may not be relevant to Septuagint textual criticism, since they are neither translations of the Greek nor of Syh, but originate from the Peshitta or from Jacob himself.

1 Sam. 1:6  $\sigma\tau\iota\ 1^{\circ}$ ]  $\text{pr}$  και παρωργιζεν αυτην η αντιζηλος αυτης και γε παροργισμω δια το εξουθενειν αυτην  $\text{boe}_2$  Chr(uid):  $\text{pr}$  *prouocabat eam aemula eius etiam prouocando quia contemnebat eam*  $\mathfrak{S}^j$

= JSam .  $\sigma\lambda$   $\text{h}\alpha\sigma\ \text{r}\lambda\text{z}$   $\text{h}\alpha\sigma\ \text{r}\lambda\text{z}$   $\text{h}\alpha\sigma\ \text{r}\lambda\text{z}$   $\text{h}\alpha\sigma\ \text{r}\lambda\text{z}$   $\text{h}\alpha\sigma\ \text{r}\lambda\text{z}$

‘her rival used to provoke her exceedingly because she despised her’

Brooke-McLean include JSam’s whole phrase in Latin, but only the last few words are relevant ( $\text{h}\alpha\sigma\ \text{r}\lambda\text{z}$ ), as the rest is the same as the Peshitta.<sup>44</sup>

1 Sam. 1:24 (και προσηγαγον) ενωπιον (κυριου)]  $\text{pr}$  *et stetit*  $\mathfrak{S}^j$

= JSam  $\text{p}\alpha\alpha$

The reading in JSam, ‘and he stood’, looks suspiciously like Jacob’s gloss since it appears in no other witness, in MT or the Peshitta or 4QSam<sup>a</sup>.<sup>45</sup> Jacob may have wanted to make the boy Samuel more prominent in the dedication ceremony.

$\text{r}\lambda\text{z}$ , French translation by F. Nau, ‘Traduction des Lettres XII et XIII de Jacques d’Edesse’, *ROC* 10 (1905), 272.

<sup>42</sup> When the colophon at the end of 1 Samuel says that Jacob used ‘that [version] of the Syrians and those [versions] of the Greeks’, the Peshitta, which is evidently the base text, must be the version of the Syrians, and the Syro-Hexapla must be included among the versions of the Greeks, of which there must be at least one other. Apart from that it is hard to determine whether Jacob was using a single Greek manuscript of a mixed Hexaplaric/Lucianic type, or two manuscripts, one of each type.

<sup>43</sup> Jacob’s revision of the Old Testament is said to have taken around a decade. It is not known whether he produced a complete version of all the Old Testament books, but we have copies of his version for the Pentateuch, Samuel, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, Susanna, and Wisdom.

<sup>44</sup> See also Saley, *Samuel Manuscript*, 83-84.

<sup>45</sup> See also Saley, *Samuel Manuscript*, 99.

1 Sam. 10:3 εως της δρυος θαβωρ] *ad arborem proceram*  $\mathfrak{E}$ : *usque ad quercum illam electam et magnam*  $\mathfrak{S}^j$

= JSam כִּי־אֵין כִּבְּלֹאִים אֶל־אֵין כִּי־  
‘as far as the chosen great oak’

— θαβωρ] της εκλεκτης βοz(mg)c<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub>  $\mathfrak{I}^v$ : + της εκλεκτης i

The word ‘great’ probably reflects a tradition now preserved only in the Ethiopic text, but it could also be Jacob’s own addition since it resembles the type of contextual gloss that he often adds.

2 Sam. 1:4 και απεθανεν BA<sub>2</sub>C<sup>m</sup> $\mathfrak{E}^s$ ] om MNvb rell  $\mathfrak{A}C^{nw}\mathfrak{E}^a\mathfrak{S}^j$

This refers to the deaths of Saul and Jonathan, whose deaths are recorded separately, each with a singular verb, ‘he died’. But Jacob is not omitting this second verb with a group of Greek manuscripts so much as following the Peshitta, whose wording he has duplicated for most of the verse, and hence he has ‘Saul and Jonathan his son died’.

### 5. JSam Readings Supplied by Brooke–McLean that are Ambiguous

This category includes places where the evidence of JSam is ambiguous, especially in matters of names, word order, copulae, and tenses.

#### 5.1 Names

Place names and personal names in JSam are often influenced by the Lucianic/Antiochene Greek text, and can also appear as a hybrid of the Greek and Peshitta forms. Jacob frequently adds Syriac *matres lectionis* approximating to the Greek vowels to the consonantal structure of the Peshitta form. This represents a further development of the practice found in the Syro-Hexapla.<sup>46</sup>

Here are a few examples taken from 2 Sam. 17:25:

JSam	Peshitta	Greek
כְּעֵר־כְּעֵר	כְּעֵר	αμεσσει Ba <sub>2</sub> $\mathfrak{C}$ ] αμεσσα boxc <sub>2</sub> e <sub>2</sub>
<sup>47</sup> רֹבֵל־כֹּכ	רֹבֵל־כֹּכ	αβεσσαλωμ
כֹּכ	כֹּכ	ιωαβ
יִכְדִּיר	יִכְדִּי	ιοθωρ BAa <sub>2</sub> $\mathfrak{A}C^d\mathfrak{E}$ ] ιωθωρ crx $\mathfrak{C}^w$ : ιεθερ MN rell
כִּי־כֹכ	כֹּכ	αβειγαια(v)
כִּי־כֹכ־	כֹּכ־	σαρουια

<sup>46</sup> For a discussion of proper names in the Greek of 1 Samuel, see Brock, *Recensions*, 311–344. In 1 Sam. 30, Greek forms also appear in the margin for the places mentioned, perhaps to aid the reading of the many difficult names.

<sup>47</sup> Usually spelled רֹבֵל־כֹּכ in JSam.

Sometimes Brooke–McLean’s edition does not include names from JSam, no doubt because of their hybrid nature, but some do appear there, e.g.:

1 Sam. 1:1: JSam ܠܘܒܗ P ܠܘܒܗ B Θοοε, cf. θωε be<sub>2</sub>

In this name JSam has the guttural ܗet from the Peshitta, but the first vowel is from the Greek. It is unclear with which Greek manuscript group JSam is aligned here, partly because of this Syriac influence.

1 Kgs. 1:5 ἀδωνειαζ] ορνια boc<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub>ܣ<sup>i</sup> (cf. also 1 Kgs. 1:8)  
= JSam ܠܘܝܐܪ

1 Kgs. 1:9 ἀδωνειου] ορνια oc<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub>: ܠܘܝܐܪ ܣ<sup>i</sup>

The latter reading from JSam is a scribal error: there do seem to be a few copying errors with names in the manuscript, especially with Absalom and Hadra‘azar. The Peshitta reading for the name is ܠܘܝܐܪ, and this may have occasioned the slip.<sup>48</sup> But of course, the edition of Brooke–McLean includes textual corruptions in names occurring in Septuagint manuscripts also.

### 5.2 Copulae

E.g. 1 Sam. 2:2 ουκ 3<sup>o</sup>] pr και bc<sup>a?</sup>def-xza<sub>2</sub>c<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub>ܐܒܥܣ<sup>i</sup> Chr  
‘And’ is even less significant in Syriac than in Biblical Greek, and its use in JSam could be coincidental. Syriac, like Hebrew, seems to need conjunctions to hold the text together rather than indicate a connection with the sense of the preceding phrase.

### 5.3 Word Order

Since Syriac is a non-inflected language, word order is a little less flexible than in Greek. So word order in certain phrases may be of little significance.

1 Sam. 2:28 εμοι ιερατευειν] ιερατευειν εμοι boc<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub>ܐܣ<sup>i</sup>  
= JSam ܕ ܠܘܚܪܕܐ ‘to serve me as priest’

The reverse order would not be natural Syriac, so although ܣ<sup>i</sup> often lines up with the Lucianic recension, this may not be a good example of JSam supporting the Lucianic reading<sup>49</sup>

1 Kgs. 1:25 τους αρχοντας της δυναμεως] τον αρχιστρατηγον ιωαβ boc<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub>:  
*Ioab principem militiae* ܣ<sup>i</sup>  
= JSam ܠܘܒܐ ܐܝ ܐܪܠܐ ‘Joab, captain of the army’

<sup>48</sup> See Saley, *Samuel Manuscript*, 91.

<sup>49</sup> On this I disagree slightly with Saley (*Samuel Manuscript*, 66).



Brooke–McLean lists JSam separately from Lucianic manuscripts here, but JSam is surely derived from the Lucianic tradition: Syriac word order prefers to put the name first in such cases.

#### 5.4 Ambiguous Entries in the Apparatus

Sometimes the information given in the apparatus is ambiguous:

1 Sam. 2:36  $\text{οβολου]} \text{ εν οβολω } \text{bovz}^{a?} \text{c}_2\text{e}_2\mathbb{C}(\text{uid})\mathbb{I} \text{Cyp} : \textit{in quadrante uno}$   
 $\mathbb{S}^i(\text{txt})$

= JSam  $\text{ܐܘܢ ܕܥܘܒܘܠܐ}$  ‘with a single small coin’

*propter quadrantem unum*  $\mathbb{S}^i(\text{mg})$

= JSam (mg)  $\text{ܕܘܒܘܠܐ}$  ‘for the sake of’

Also in the same verse:

$\text{αργυριου]} + \text{και εν αρτω ενι } \text{Abdfgmpqtwxzc}_2\text{e}_2\mathbb{C}(\text{uid})\mathbb{C}^a(\text{mg})\mathbb{S}^i(\text{txt}) \text{Eus}$   
 Cyp-ed

= JSam  $\text{ܐܘܢ ܕܥܘܒܘܠܐ}$  ‘with a single loaf of bread’

+ *et propter placentam unam*  $\mathbb{S}^i(\text{mg})$

= JSam (mg)  $\text{ܕܘܒܘܠܐ}$  ‘for the sake of’

In both cases, only the preposition appears in the margin, in spite of the Latin given in the apparatus.<sup>50</sup> Does JSam here represent another Greek strand, now lost, or is he interpreting the meaning of  $\text{ἐν}$  in two different ways?

#### 6. JSam Readings Not Included by Brooke–McLean

There are some JSam readings that should have been included in the apparatus on the ground that they are likely to have derived from a Greek witness, since they agree with some Septuagint manuscripts and do not match the Peshitta reading. The following are not in Brooke–McLean’s apparatus, but are in fact relevant:

1 Sam. 4:7<sup>51</sup>  $\text{ܕܗܝܘܐ ܕܥܘܒܘܠܐ}$  ‘their god has come’

= (ουτος)  $\text{θεος αυτων ηχει } \text{boc}_2\text{e}_2$

1 Sam. 4:21  $\text{ܕܘܒܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܒܘܠܐ}$

cf. (ουαι)  $\text{βαριωχαβηλ } \text{bc}_2\text{e}_2$

1 Sam. 5:1  $\text{ܐܒܝܢܥܙܪ}$

cf.  $\text{αβεννεζερ ANmn rell} : \text{αβεναζερ cx} : \text{αβενεζερ dgqz On}$

<sup>50</sup> See also Saley, *Samuel Manuscript*, 50.

<sup>51</sup> Saley, *Samuel Manuscript*, 84–85.

1 Sam. 5:6<sup>52</sup> ܡܢܘܢ ‘and tormented’

= και εβασσανισεν bdhpc<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub>

1 Sam. 5:6 ܡܒܝܗܝ ܡܡܘܠܘܢ ‘and made purulent boils erupt’

= (και) εξεβρασεν ο (cf. 1 Sam. 6:1 ܡܡܘܠܘܢ = εξεβρασεν oz<sup>a2</sup>c<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub>)

1 Sam. 10:10 εις τον βουνον] pr βαμα boz(mg)c<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub>

At this point JSam does not follow the Greek but the Peshitta with ܡܘܨܘܝܢ ܡܘܨܘܝܢ ‘as far as the hill’. However, Brooke–McLean omits  $\mathfrak{S}^i$  from the list of witnesses to the addition found in some manuscripts:

+ των προφητων Acdpqtxz(txt): yet JSam has the equivalent, i.e. ܡܢܢܘܢ ‘of the prophets’.

2 Sam. 8:10 ܡܘܨܘܝܢ ‘hostile’

= (ανηρ) αντικειμενος bozc<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub>: αντικειμενος AMN rell

The JSam reading forms a doublet with ܡܘܨܘܝܢ ‘warlike’ from the Peshitta.

1 Sam. 2:18 (εφουδ) βαρ] lini  $\mathfrak{S}^i$ : om boc<sub>2</sub>e<sub>2</sub>

This reading in JSam (ܡܘܨܘܝܢ ܡܘܨܘܝܢ), ‘ephod of linen’) must be from Symmachus’ reading εφουδ λινου. Elsewhere in JSam, at 1 Sam. 13:1, there is a scholion of Severus of Antioch regarding Saul’s age when he began to reign, and this is based on Symmachus’ interpretation. Severus of Antioch is probably the intermediary for the reading at 1 Sam. 2:18 as well.

### 7. Conclusion

The examples given above should be sufficient to demonstrate that Jacob’s version of Samuel can be regarded as a textual witness to the Septuagint of Samuel and 1 Kings 1, but should not be placed in the same rank as versions such as the Syro-Hexapla, the Armenian, the Ethiopic, the Vetus Latina, and so on. This is for a number of reasons. First, he is not to be classed with those versions which translate continuously from the Greek. Secondly, it is difficult to pinpoint the origin of the material he uses, especially when he rewrites phrases. Thirdly, there is always the difficulty in retroverting accurately from Syriac to Greek. Jacob’s version has more in common with commentaries, such as those of Theodoret and Cyprian, where similar problems of citation and paraphrase exist. The siglum chosen for Jacob’s version of Samuel,  $\mathfrak{S}^i$ , or in the case of Johnson and Brock, Sy-j, is perhaps too similar to the sigla used for the Syro-Hexapla, and suggests an affinity with that version that

<sup>52</sup> See also Saley, *Samuel Manuscript*, 85.

is actually rather slight. No doubt all these scholars were stressing the Syriac nature of JSam by such symbols, but perhaps a better siglum for his version would be 'Jac'.

Interestingly, though the basis for Jacob's version of Samuel is clearly a Peshitta text, and JSam has a number of interesting agreements with various families of P manuscripts, it has not been used so far for Peshitta text-critical purposes. However, now that the Leiden edition of the Peshitta is near completion, the next stage of the Peshitta Institute's project will include a study of Jacob's version of the Old Testament, along with citations from the Fathers and the Syro-Hexapla.

JACOB OF EDESSA ON GENESIS:  
HIS QUOTATIONS OF THE PESHITTA AND HIS  
REVISION OF THE TEXT

*Bas ter Haar Romeny\**

Revising a Bible translation is an arduous task, but having one's modernized version accepted by a religious community is perhaps even more difficult. The revision made in the first decade of the eighth century by the West Syrian polymath Jacob of Edessa has never been able to fully replace the Peshitta. The latter version, translated directly from the Hebrew in the second century, is still the standard Bible of the Syriac-speaking churches; Jacob's work only survives in part in a small number of manuscripts.<sup>1</sup> For us, these manuscripts are a precious treasure, not so much because of their value for the constitution of the biblical text, but as a witness to the way one of the finest scholars of the Syrian Orthodox Church, comparable only with Jerome according to some, dealt with the text of the Bible and its different versions. In the 1990s, an edition and a study of Jacob's revision of Samuel were published.<sup>2</sup> These discuss questions such as: what exactly was the base text of his revision, which choices did Jacob make, and what was his purpose?

I think that additional material for answering such questions can be gathered if we broaden our view and include the book of Genesis in our study.<sup>3</sup> The advantage of Genesis over Samuel is that on this text more exegetical material by Jacob is available to us. Jacob's works on Genesis differ in genre, but also in the way they use the biblical text

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<sup>1</sup> See W. Baars, 'Ein neugefundenes Bruchstück aus der syrischen Bibelrevision des Jakob von Edessa', *VT* 18 (1968), 548–554, esp. 548–549.

<sup>2</sup> R.J. Saley, *The Samuel Manuscript of Jacob of Edessa. A Study in Its Underlying Textual Traditions* (MPIL 9; Leiden 1998); A. Salvesen, *The Books of Samuel in the Syriac Version of Jacob of Edessa* (MPIL 10; Leiden 1999). See also Saley's 'The Textual Vorlagen for Jacob of Edessa's Revision of the Books of Samuel', this volume, 113–125, and Salvesen, 'Jacob of Edessa's Version of 1–2 Samuel: Its Method and Text-Critical Value', this volume, 127–144.

<sup>3</sup> After I had finished writing this paper, I received the following article: A. Salvesen, 'The Genesis Texts of Jacob of Edessa: A Study in Variety', in W.Th. van Peursen and R.B. ter Haar Romeny, *Text, Translation, and Tradition: Studies on the Peshitta and Its Use in the Syriac Tradition Presented to Konrad D. Jenner on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (MPIL 14; Leiden 2006).

and in the actual form of the text which they quote. In this paper, I shall try to sketch Jacob's development on these points. An additional advantage of the choice of Genesis is that large parts of the Syro-Hexapla survive.<sup>4</sup> This translation of Origen's text of the Septuagint was made some ninety years before Jacob made his revision. In the scholarship of the last century, the most debated issue was the question of whether Jacob used this version while making his text.

### 1. Sources

First, let me briefly introduce the sources. Jacob's *On the Hexaemeron*, the Six Days of Creation, is his last work to deal with Genesis.<sup>5</sup> This book, which was left unfinished at his death in 708, strives to incorporate large parts of the scientific and philosophical knowledge of his time. The term 'commentary' would therefore not be very apt, but the work does of course contain a number of Genesis quotations. Jacob finished his revision of Samuel in 705 and that of Genesis in 704.<sup>6</sup> Three years earlier he had completed his revision of the Greek translation of Severus of Antioch's *Homiliae Cathedrales*, with numerous biblical quotations.<sup>7</sup> Then there are two works which are difficult to date, but were presumably written in an earlier period: the *Book of Scholia* and the *Commentary on the Octateuch* or *Commentary in Short*.<sup>8</sup> The *Book of Scholia* has been known since the publications of the Assemani brothers; it seems to have been an important source for the monk Severus,

<sup>4</sup> See W. Baars, *New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts* (Leiden 1968), for a number of texts and full references to earlier editions. In addition, Vööbus's facsimile edition should be consulted: *The Pentateuch in the Version of the Syro-Hexapla. A Facsimile Edition of a Midyat MS discovered in 1964* (CSCO 369, Syr. 45; Leuven 1975).

<sup>5</sup> For the text, see J.-B. Chabot, *Iacobi Edesseni Hexaemeron seu in opus creationis libri septem* (CSCO 92, Syr. 44; Paris 1928); for a Latin translation A. Vaschalde, *Iacobi Edesseni Hexaemeron seu in opus creationis libri septem* (CSCO 97, Syr. 48; Leuven 1932).

<sup>6</sup> The text of Jacob's revision of Genesis has been handed down to us almost completely, in a single Paris manuscript: BnF syr. 26. For the text of the colophon giving the date of A.Gr. 1015, see below (with note 14). For the revision of Samuel, also preserved in a single manuscript (BL Add. 14429), see Salvesen, *The Books of Samuel*. The text of the colophon at the end of 1 Samuel gives the date of A.Gr. 1016; *ibidem*, ix, ed. 90, trans. 67.

<sup>7</sup> Jacob's Syriac revision of Severus' *Homilies* has been published in various volumes of the *Patrologia Orientalis* (see the list in D. Kruisheer's *Bibliographical Clavis* at the end of this volume, under J). About this work, see now Lucas Van Rompay's contribution to this volume (with further references).

<sup>8</sup> In addition to the literature in the following footnotes, see also the short survey in R.B. ter Haar Romeny, 'Ephrem and Jacob of Edessa in the Commentary of the Monk Severus', in G.A. Kiraz (ed.), *Malphono w-Rabo d-Malphone: Studies in Honour of Sebastian P. Brock* (Piscataway, NJ 2008), 535–557, esp. 543–551.

who wrote his own commentary before 861. Independent collections of scholia survive in two London manuscripts.<sup>9</sup> The *Commentary in Short* may have concerned both the Old and the New Testaments, but now only the part on the Octateuch survives. After Anton Pohlmann's last publications on this work in the 1860s,<sup>10</sup> it had been forgotten. It does not appear in the surveys of Anton Baumstark or Aphrām Barsaüm, for instance, but it has recently been rediscovered by Dirk Kruisheer, who is presently finishing his edition of the Genesis section of this work and the *Scholia*.<sup>11</sup> Finally there is a collection of letters, often undated as well, some of which contain answers to exegetical questions.<sup>12</sup>

## 2. *The Textual Basis of Jacob's Revision*

William Wright's description of Jacob's revision as 'a curious eclectic or patchwork text' is still correct.<sup>13</sup> The manuscript itself ends the book of Genesis with the remark that the text has been 'rectified (ܥܝܪܩܐ) with care on the basis of two translations, (that is) the one found among the Greeks and the one found among the Syrians, by the reverend Jacob, Bishop of Edessa, in the year 1015 of Seleucus, in the great monastery of Tell 'Adda'.<sup>14</sup> The sources of the readings in the revision are not always clear, nor are Jacob's choices always evident or consistent. Richard Saley's study of the Samuel text has now made it certain, however, that Jacob's base text, the subject of revision, was the Peshitta.<sup>15</sup> This result has been corroborated by the soundings of Alison Salvesen, who edited the Samuel text.<sup>16</sup> In the assessment of sources of the Greek influence they seem to differ slightly. Neither of

<sup>9</sup> G. Phillips, *Scholia on Passages of the Old Testament by Mār Jacob, Bishop of Edessa* (London–Edinburgh 1864); cf. D. Kruisheer, 'Reconstructing Jacob of Edessa's Scholia', in J. Frishman and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Interpretation. A Collection of Essays* (TEG 5; Leuven 1997), 187–196.

<sup>10</sup> A. Pohlmann, *Sancti Ephraemi syri Commentariorum in Sacram Scripturam textus in codicibus vaticanis manuscriptus et in editione romana impressus* (Braunschweig [1862]–64), esp. 17.

<sup>11</sup> D. Kruisheer, 'Ephrem, Jacob of Edessa, and the Monk Severus: An Analysis of Ms. Vat. Syr. 103, ff. 1–72', in R. Lavenant (ed.), *Symposium Syriacum VII. Uppsala University, 11–14 August 1996* (OCA 256; Rome 1998), 599–605.

<sup>12</sup> For the letters, see now J. van Ginkel's contribution to this volume.

<sup>13</sup> W. Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature* (London 1894, repr. Piscataway, NJ 2001), 17.

<sup>14</sup> For the Syriac text, see [J.B.] Ladvoat, 'Notice d'un manuscrit oriental apporté à Paris en 1764', *Journal des sçavans* [Paris] (1765), 542–555, esp. 542.

<sup>15</sup> Saley, *The Samuel Manuscript*, 19–20, and 'Textual Vorlagen', 116.

<sup>16</sup> Salvesen, *The Books of Samuel*, x, and 'Jacob of Edessa's Version', 131.

them agrees with Goshen-Gottstein's idea that Jacob's version was an interrelated revision of the Peshitta and the Syro-Hexapla, with only minor traces of Lucianic influence.<sup>17</sup> Saley is more resolute, however, in steering clear of Rahlfs's position.<sup>18</sup> The latter scholar held the view that in 1 Kings 1, the passage he studied, Jacob combined the Peshitta with the Greek Lucianic text, without recourse to the Syro-Hexapla. Saley says that this view is indeed correct for 1 Kings 1, but not for the passages in Samuel he examined himself. For these passages he claims Syro-Hexaplaric influence and a less pronounced Lucianic flavour.<sup>19</sup>

Before going to Genesis, it is good to discuss the evidence presented in favour of Syro-Hexaplaric influence. Saley found 268 readings in Jacob's version having complete agreement with the Syro-Hexapla and most Greek texts.<sup>20</sup> He rightly says that these readings will not help us in determining dependency.<sup>21</sup> However, he also found 91 readings to agree completely with the Greek against the Syro-Hexapla and the Peshitta, and only 16 to agree with the Syro-Hexapla against the Greek<sup>22</sup> and the Peshitta. On this basis, he concludes that Jacob did make use of the Syro-Hexapla, although he had direct recourse to the Greek more often.

In itself, the small number of cases in which Jacob's version agrees with the Syro-Hexapla against the Greek is not telling us very much. Assuming that the Syro-Hexapla is a faithful translation of a Greek biblical text, it would be strange if we found many more than the 16 instances mentioned. In my opinion, it is the nature of these readings that counts. Given the fact that it is very possible that Jacob used the Syro-Hexapla, even a few cases where Jacob and the Syro-Hexapla exhibit a peculiarity which cannot be explained either from any Greek manuscript or from considerations of Syriac idiom would give us a clear indication that Jacob did indeed make use of this version.<sup>23</sup> Now the

<sup>17</sup> M.H. [Goshen-]Gottstein, 'Neue Syrohexaplafragmente', *Biblica* 37 (1956), 162–183, esp. 165–166.

<sup>18</sup> A. Rahlfs, 'Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher', in his *Septuaginta-Studien* 3 (Göttingen 1965), 48–50.

<sup>19</sup> Saley, *The Samuel Manuscript*, 121.

<sup>20</sup> For this figure and the following, see Saley, *The Samuel Manuscript*, 22–23, and 'Textual Vorlagen', 117–118.

<sup>21</sup> Saley, *The Samuel Manuscript*, 24, 118, and 'Textual Vorlagen', 118.

<sup>22</sup> In this case 'the Greek', Saley's siglum G, stands for a collection of manuscripts representative for the major Greek textual families; see Saley, *The Samuel Manuscript*, 15, and 'Textual Vorlagen', 114.

<sup>23</sup> In this case the *a priori* likelihood of Jacob's use of the Syro-Hexapla allows one to posit a relationship between the two versions above the level of polygenesis or convergence; the warning against 'the prosecutor's fallacy' does not apply. On this issue see my 'A Reply to "Points of Agreement between the Targum and Peshitta Versions of Kings against the MT" by Percy S.F. van Keulen', in P.S.F.

readings quoted by Saley are not of this nature. Saley himself already conceded that ‘some of the examples may represent no more than stylistic elements in J [i.e., Jacob’s version] which happen to coincide with SH [i.e., the Syro-Hexapla]’.<sup>24</sup> All instances quoted by him, which include such issues as the addition of a suffix or the verb *קָם*, can easily be explained in other ways.<sup>25</sup> Therefore we must conclude that Jacob’s use of the Syro-Hexapla, while not impossible, is certainly not a necessary assumption.

On the other hand, the agreement between Jacob’s version and Greek texts as against the Syro-Hexapla clearly points to the use of at least one Greek manuscript, which, considering Jacob’s excellent knowledge of Greek, should not be surprising. Saley’s study of the agreement of readings with the various textual families clearly indicates that this manuscript must have been a Lucianic one.<sup>26</sup> The few non-Lucianic Hexaplaric readings may point to the additional use of a Greek manuscript from this tradition or to Syro-Hexaplaric influence, but their scarcity leaves open other possibilities: they could come from Greek commentaries or they might have crept into the Lucianic manuscript used.<sup>27</sup> The strongest argument for a second Greek source (be it a Greek or a Syro-Hexaplaric manuscript) is the colophon of 1 Samuel, which says that Jacob composed his own version from *that* found among the Syrians and *those* found among the Greeks.<sup>28</sup>

Apart from this detail in the colophon—the one at the end of Genesis mentions just one Greek version—, I found that the situation in Jacob’s revision of the first book of the Pentateuch is comparable in many respects. In the chapters which I compared with the Syro-Hexapla I did not find readings which would put the use of this version beyond doubt.<sup>29</sup>

van Keulen and W.Th. van Peursen (eds.), *Corpus Linguistics and Textual History: A Computer-Assisted Interdisciplinary Approach to the Peshitta* (Studia Semitica Neerlandica 48; Assen 2006), 237–243, esp. 240–241.

<sup>24</sup> Saley, *The Samuel Manuscript*, 28.

<sup>25</sup> See Saley, *The Samuel Manuscript*, 28–29, for a number of examples.

<sup>26</sup> Saley, *The Samuel Manuscript*, 61, 119, and ‘Textual Vorlagen’, 121.

<sup>27</sup> The latter possibility is defended by Saley, who speaks of a manuscript or manuscripts from the Lucianic tradition which, along with the older base, contained Hexaplaric revisions.

<sup>28</sup> Salvesen, *The Books of Samuel*, ix–xi, and ‘Jacob of Edessa’s Version’, 130–131.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. now Salvesen’s conclusion regarding Gen. 49:3–27: ‘Jacob’s text of Genesis 49 demonstrates both a great deal of difference from the Peshitta in a number of verses, and also the clear influence of the Greek tradition. But it is striking how little Jacob uses the wording of the Syro-Hexapla. Even where his text is the same as that of the Syro-Hexapla, it may in some cases be due to coincidence. It is very likely that on the whole he preferred to make his own more natural rendering of the Septuagint’ (‘The Genesis Texts’, 186–187).



There were, however, quite a number of readings which agreed with the Greek as against the Syro-Hexapla and the Peshitta. I am saying ‘the Greek’, because it is hard to be more specific: the differences between the textual families are less spectacular in this book than in Samuel. There is also no Lucianic recension.<sup>30</sup> Still it can be said that there are a few readings which point to the use of a vulgar, non-Hexaplaric text form, often supported by Antiochene exegetes such as John Chrysostom.

### 3. *Readings Unique to Jacob’s Version*

On the basis of what we have discussed so far, one may have received the impression that Jacob took readings only from the Peshitta and one or more Greek sources. Saley noted, however, that 110 readings, 12% of his sample, have no agreement with the Peshitta, the Syro-Hexapla or the main Greek traditions.<sup>31</sup> He concluded that minor variants of this type were best explained as resulting from Jacob’s own editorial activity, which would not preclude the possibility that some readings originated in a pre-existing source not known to us. He makes the latter explanation rank first, however, in the case of the more substantive variants, which cannot simply be dismissed as stylistic or linguistic improvements or modernizations.<sup>32</sup> As to the identity of this source (or these sources), he argues that it is improbable that the variant readings came from divergent copies of the Syro-Hexapla or the Peshitta. There are cases where Jacob combined the variants with the regular Syro-Hexapla or Peshitta reading, which could only be explained if he used two different manuscripts for each of these texts: one with the text as we know it, and one with serious corruptions (corruptions, as neither the Hebrew text nor the Greek give rise to suppose these variants in the Peshitta or the Syro-Hexapla respectively).

Saley then points to the *Scholia*: he observed that a substantive variant concerning 1 Sam. 14:34–35 is also found there, and suggests that more agreement might have been found if the *Scholia* had come down to us in more complete form.<sup>33</sup> He considers the case in hand a combination of the Peshitta, the Greek, and the text of the

<sup>30</sup> On this issue and the text of Antiochene exegetes, see R.B. ter Haar Romeny, *A Syrian in Greek Dress. The Use of Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac Biblical Texts in Eusebius of Emesa’s Commentary on Genesis* (TEG 6; Leuven 1997), 34–39, 46–47.

<sup>31</sup> See Saley, *The Samuel Manuscript*, 22–23, 36 (with slightly different figures on pp. 95–99, based, it seems, on a higher total number of variants: here readings where the Syro-Hexapla is not extant have been counted in as well), and his ‘Textual Vorlagen’, 117.

<sup>32</sup> Saley, *The Samuel Manuscript*, 111–112, 117, cf. ‘Textual Vorlagen’, 123–124.

<sup>33</sup> Saley, *The Samuel Manuscript*, 113–117.

scholium, and concurs with Goshen-Gottstein's view that the *Scholia* represent a stage in the development of Jacob's revision.<sup>34</sup> His further inquiries into the scriptural quotations of the *Scholia* on Samuel also brought to light a large number of deviations from Jacob's revision and the Peshitta. This points to what he calls the 'textual fluidity present in this Monophysite community'. He supposes that these variants were present in its masoretic tradition, to which Jacob himself contributed.

Now it does indeed seem true that in the eighth and ninth centuries older text forms had more chance of surviving among West Syrians than among East Syrians, as is clear from the case of the manuscript 9a1 and the scriptural quotations in the *Commentary* of the monk Severus.<sup>35</sup> Yet there is no reason to suppose that the kind of deviations we are talking about actually come from pre-existent written material. As Salvesen has already observed, Jacob seems to rewrite, paraphrase, or expand in some cases.<sup>36</sup> His version has, in that respect, more in common with commentaries. The case of 1 Samuel 14 mentioned by Saley is illustrative: the variant is a simple adaptation to the parallel expression at the beginning of the same verse. There Saul commands the people to offer their ox or sheep; the following words tell us that they obey, but mention only the ox. Jacob felt free to adjust the text here. A consistent, understandable reading was more important to him than a strict adherence to the exact wording of the manuscripts.<sup>37</sup>

#### 4. *The Readings in Jacob's Scholia and Commentary*

The Genesis quotations in the *Scholia* and the much more extensive material from the *Commentary on the Octateuch* help us further to develop the picture. The text in both works usually follows the Peshitta

<sup>34</sup> [Goshen-]Gottstein, 'Neue Syrohexaplafragmente', 164 note 3. In his 'Textual Vorlagen', 124 note 19, Saley now concurs with Salvesen's view that Jacob's version and the *Scholia* do not relate to each other in any consistent way; see Section 5 below.

<sup>35</sup> See my 'The Peshitta of Isaiah: Evidence from the Syriac Fathers', in Van Peursen and Romeny (eds.), *Text, Translation, and Tradition*, 149–164.

<sup>36</sup> A. Salvesen, 'The Purpose of Jacob of Edessa's Version of Samuel', *The Harp* 8–9 (1995–96), 117–126; idem, 'Jacob of Edessa and the Text of Scripture', in L.V. Rutgers et al. (eds.), *The Use of Sacred Books in the Ancient World* (Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology 22; Leuven 1998), 235–245; as well as Salvesen, 'Jacob of Edessa's Version', 132–135, 143.

<sup>37</sup> Salvesen explains that for Jacob, the inspiration and sanctity of Scripture was in the meaning rather than the exact wording of the text: Salvesen, 'Jacob of Edessa and the Text of Scripture', 244–245. Cf. idem, 'The Purpose of Jacob of Edessa's Version', 125.

word for word; it is very close to that of 7a1. We do not find the kind of variants we know from 5b1 or 9a1, readings that stand closer to the Hebrew, and neither does he give readings that would point forward to the later standard text. Some variants can be explained from the way he integrated the readings into his commentary, or from the assumption that he was paraphrasing. Some other variants point to semantic and syntactic changes. Thus the verb  $\kappa\omicron\sigma$  could still be used by the Peshitta translator to indicate the past tense of the copula ‘to be’ in a non-enclitic position, before the predicate (following Hebrew word order). This was no longer acceptable to Jacob. He solved the problem by adding the word  $\mu\kappa$ , as in the scholion on Gen. 11:30:  $\kappa\delta\iota\alpha\lambda\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma, \iota\omega\delta\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\sigma$  becomes  $\kappa\delta\iota\alpha\lambda\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma, \iota\omega\delta\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\sigma\mu\kappa\{\alpha\}\omicron$ , both meaning ‘Sarai was barren’.<sup>38</sup> It is not necessary to assume Greek influence here, as the problem presents itself clearly to the Peshitta reader: Ephrem made comparable changes in his quotations of the biblical text.<sup>39</sup>

Jacob’s attitude towards the word  $\kappa\mu\iota\omega$  in Gen. 11:4 and elsewhere is an example of semantic developments within the Syriac language.<sup>40</sup> This word may have been a good translation for the Hebrew  $\text{עִיר}$  ‘city’, but in Jacob’s time the word was considered to refer to a field or hamlet, which is hardly appropriate there. Therefore he used the unequivocal  $\kappa\mu\iota\omega\tau\omicron$ —a word that in earlier usage could only refer to a province, but in Jacob’s time had also come to denote a (large) city. For this case Salvesen assumes influence from the Greek word  $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota\varsigma$ ,<sup>41</sup> but as the meaning of the two words had developed over time within the Syriac language, it is probably not necessary to do so: the context invited Jacob to use the modern word for ‘city’.<sup>42</sup>

An interesting example that helps to see where Greek influence does come in, is the text of Gen. 15:1 from the *Scholia*, which I quote here in full, together with a number of other witnesses:<sup>43</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Phillips, *Scholia*, ed. 3, trans. 3.

<sup>39</sup> R.M. Tonneau, *Sancti Ephraem Syri In Genesim et in Exodum commentarii* (CSCO 152, Syr. 71; Leuven 1955), 9 lines 14 and 15: the Peshitta’s reading of Gen. 1:2 ( $\sigma\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \sigma\alpha\delta\alpha\ \delta\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\sigma\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \iota\sigma\tau\omicron\sigma$ ), is quoted first with  $\mu\kappa$ , and then paraphrased with  $\delta\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\sigma$  in enclitic position.

<sup>40</sup> *Commentary on the Octateuch*, Ms. Vat sir. 103, fol. 36v, line 3.

<sup>41</sup> See Salvesen, ‘Jacob of Edessa’s Version’, 134–135.

<sup>42</sup> For the development of the meaning of the two words, see M.P. Weitzman, *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament. An Introduction* (University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 56; Cambridge 1999), 169–171.

<sup>43</sup> Phillips, *Scholia*, ed. 3, trans. 7. For the text of Ephrem, see Tonneau, *In Genesim et in Exodum commentarii*, 69 line 20. The text of Jacob’s revision is taken from the Paris manuscript, that of the Peshitta and Septuagint from the Leiden and Göttingen editions, respectively. For the Syro-Hexapla (Syh), see Baars, *New Syro-Hexaplaric Texts*, 45.

. ܘܓܘ ܦܬܘܟܟܐ ܫܠܦ . ܫܘܩܘ ܦܬܘܟܟܐ ܘܓܘܟܐ ܥܠ ܚܘܒܘܟ ܕܘܫܘܟܐ ܕܠܗ . Peshitta  
 . ܘܓܘ ܫܠܦ ܕܘܟܠ ܥܠ ܕܘܚܘܫܘܟܐ ܕܘܫܘܟܐ ܕܠܗ . Ephrem  
 . ܘܓܘ ܘܨܠ ܫܠܦ . ܫܘܩܘ ܦܬܘܟܟܐ ܘܓܘܟܐ ܥܠ ܚܘܒܘܟ ܕܘܫܘܟܐ ܕܠܗ . Scholion  
 . ܘܓܘ ܘܨܠ ܫܠܦ . ܫܘܩܘ ܦܬܘܟܟܐ ܘܓܘܟܐ ܥܠ ܚܘܒܘܟ ܕܘܫܘܟܐ ܕܠܗ . Revision  
 . ܘܓܘ ܘܦ ܘܨܠ ܫܠܦ . ܫܘܩܘ ܦܬܘܟܟܐ ܘܓܘܟܐ ܥܠ ܚܘܒܘܟ ܕܘܫܘܟܐ ܕܠܗ . ܒܘ ܕܘܟܘ . Syh  
 Μετά δὲ τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα ἐγενήθη ῥῆμα κυρίου πρὸς Ἀβράμ ἐν ὁράματι λέγων LXX

The word **ܦܬܘܟܟܐ** means something that is said, a word or an answer. In contrast to the word **ܘܟܠ**, this word is not—or no longer—used in the sense of ‘thing’ or ‘case’, which we need at its first occurrence in this verse, a rendering of Hebrew **אחר הדברים האלה** ‘after these things’. This seems to have been a problem already to Ephrem, who simply leaves out the word in question—which is possible, as **ܘܓܘ ܫܠܦ** ‘after this’ gives excellent sense. In the *Scholia*, Jacob’s solution is to use the word **ܘܟܠ**, which can be ‘word’ or ‘thing’, like the Hebrew **דבר**. This yields the sense ‘After these things, the word of the Lord came to Abram in a vision and he said to him . . .’ It is certainly not the Greek reading **ῥήματα**, itself a Hebraism, that gave rise to this translation. If it were, one would expect the second occurrence of the word **ܦܬܘܟܟܐ** to have been changed as well, as the Septuagint has **ῥῆμα** there, too. Indeed, Jacob’s revision has **ܘܟܠ** in both positions, thus following the Greek more closely.

The implication of all this seems to be that there was no Greek influence on the readings in the *Commentary on the Octateuch* and the *Scholia*. This would go too far, however. There are some instances where Jacob gives a longer paraphrasing reading that may betray the influence of a Greek biblical text. Thus for Gen. 11:1–9 the *Commentary* gives a reading that deviates strongly from the Peshitta and at least one of the variants, in verse 4, would seem to have been inspired by the Greek:<sup>44</sup>

ܘܠܟܐ ܘܬܘܒܘ ܥܠ ܐܦܝ ܗܘܝܘܬܐ ܕܘܠܘܟܐ . Peshitta  
 in order that we shall not be scattered on the face of the whole earth.  
 ܘܟܘܢ ܘܬܘܒܘ ܥܠ ܐܦܝ ܗܘܝܘܬܐ ܕܘܠܘܟܐ . Comm.  
 before we shall be scattered on the face of the whole earth.  
 πρὸ τοῦ διασπαρῆναι ἐπὶ προσώπου πάσης τῆς γῆς . LXX  
 before being scattered on the face of the whole earth.

In the *Scholia* Jacob uses the different aspects of the Septuagint and the Peshitta reading of Gen. 4:15 without making clear to the reader that he is combining these witnesses.<sup>45</sup> In both works he does quote

<sup>44</sup> *Commentary on the Octateuch*, Ms. Vat sir. 103, fol. 36v, lines 1–6. This verse is not extant in the Syro-Hexapla.

<sup>45</sup> This text is discussed in the sixth scholion, which has not yet been published. Text: BL Add. 17193, fols. 61r–61v, and Vat. sir. 103, fol. 13v. For a translation and discussion, see Kruisheer, ‘Reconstructing Jacob’s Scholia’, 192–194.

the Septuagint version of Gen. 15:3 explicitly, albeit not in the literal fashion of his revision.<sup>46</sup> It seems that these readings have a background in Greek commentaries. In the introduction to the *Commentary on the Octateuch* he did indeed explain that he is building on the work of earlier commentators.<sup>47</sup>

When it comes to the influence of Greek commentaries, the example of his discussion of the chronology of the Patriarchs in the *Commentary* is particularly instructive.<sup>48</sup> He says that the original Hebrew text was falsified 'by the same Hebrews' in order to show that Christ had not come yet. They subtracted, according to Jacob, one hundred years from the age of Adam, Seth, Enosh, Kenan, and Mahalalel. He rightly omitted Jared from the list, but seems to have forgotten about Enoch and about the difference of twenty years in the case of Methuselah. In the case of Lamekh, he must have remembered that there was something with the number six, because he gives Lamech 86 years before Noah was born and 596 after. The last number should have been 595, and the first number 188, as the Hebrews 'subtract' six, if I may use his terminology: the Masoretic Text and the Peshitta have 182. He also does not mention that the Hebrews in these cases 'add' the difference to the remaining years. He just quotes the numbers from the Peshitta and calculates new, extra high numbers for the total sum of years given for each patriarch. The fourth-century exegete Eusebius of Emesa, who wrote that 'the Hebrew, the Syrian, and Symmachus always draw up a genealogy with a difference of 100 years (with respect to the Septuagint)', had warned his readers about this problem.<sup>49</sup> Jacob must have seen an even more precise comment or even the Greek text itself, but here he was clearly working from memory and would seem not to have had all details at hand. In his revision, however, he did give all the numbers from the Septuagint, except in the case of Methuselah (thus solving, incidentally or not, the problem that according to Septuagint chronology Methuselah would have lived until after the Flood).

All in all, we can define the scriptural texts of the *Commentary on the Octateuch* and the *Book of Scholia* only as an early stage in the development of his revision in the sense that it exhibits the stylistic and linguistic changes that Jacob entered into the text independently of the Septuagint, a feature somewhat underestimated in earlier research. The influence of the Greek is not of a systematic character, and can best be

<sup>46</sup> Phillips, *Scholia*, ed. ⲓ, trans. 9. *Commentary on the Octateuch*, Ms. Vat sir. 103, fol. 37r, lines 27–28.

<sup>47</sup> *Commentary on the Octateuch*, Ms. Vat sir. 103, fol. 32r.

<sup>48</sup> *Commentary on the Octateuch*, Ms. Vat sir. 103, fol. 35r.

<sup>49</sup> Romeny, *A Syrian in Greek Dress*, 248–250.

explained as coming from other commentaries. Which commentaries is hard to say exactly. I have already mentioned the name of the Antiochene exegete Eusebius of Emesa, whom Jacob quoted by name in *Letter* 13.<sup>50</sup> Even more likely candidates are perhaps John Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, and Basil of Caesarea, three authors who were very popular among the West Syrians.<sup>51</sup> It would be natural to mention Severus of Antioch as well. The Syriac translation of this author's *Homiliae Cathedrales* was after all revised by Jacob. The quotations in this work are clearly based on Severus's Greek biblical text, but I have found no instance in Genesis where a reading in the commentary clearly went back to this work.<sup>52</sup> As he finished as late as 701, it is indeed possible that the *Commentary* and the *Scholia* were written earlier.

### 5. *The Relationship between Jacob's Works*

It is hard to define the exact relationship between the *Scholia* and the *Commentary on the Octateuch*. Jacob's philological remarks in the *Scholia* on Genesis can also be found in the *Commentary*, but in a much shorter form. Yet it is impossible to explain the *Commentary* as a shortened form of the *Scholia*: in passages where we can compare the two texts, that is, where we have the full text of a scholion, it does appear that the *Commentary* has extensive extra material that is not found in the *Scholia*. There is a clear difference in style and interest between the two: while both can be said to deal with selected passages, the *Commentary* quotes and paraphrases more text, and sometimes adds a simple allegorical interpretation. The *Scholia* often mention a problem or question explicitly, and solve it. There is no allegory here at all. The clear contacts and differences between the *Commentary* and the *Scholia* suggest, together with their apparent literary integrity, that Jacob wrote these texts at different times or for different audiences.<sup>53</sup>

It would of course be interesting if we could discern a development in his way of quoting the biblical text between the *Scholia* and the

<sup>50</sup> W. Wright, 'Two Epistles of Mār Jacob, Bishop of Edessa', *Journal of Sacred Literature and Biblical Record* NS 10 (1867), 430–433 and ٤٣٠–٤٣٣, esp. ٤٣٠. French translation by F. Nau, 'Traduction des lettres XII et XIII de Jacques d'Édesse (exégèse biblique)', *ROC* 10 (1915) 197–208 and 258–282, esp., 274. See also É.M. Buytaert, *L'héritage littéraire d'Eusèbe d'Émèse : étude critique et historique, textes* (BMus 24; Leuven 1949), 37\* and 73\*–74\*; discussion on 33–34.

<sup>51</sup> For a possible instance of Jacob using Basil, see my 'Ephrem and Jacob of Edessa', 554.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Salvesen's conclusions for Samuel, *The Books of Samuel*, xvi–xxi, and 'Jacob of Edessa's Version', 131.

<sup>53</sup> On the possible interrelationship between Jacob's works, see also note 8 above.

*Commentary*. Now for Genesis we cannot say more than this: where both works deal with the same passage, his quotations in the *Scholia* are usually much longer, and he spends more time on philological matters, though the actual content of the information is comparable. It is, however, possible to discern a development between the *Scholia* on Genesis and those on Samuel, which were examined by Salvesen.<sup>54</sup> The Samuel readings appear to contain many more readings based on the Greek and also a number of doublet translations. It would seem that Jacob no longer took the Peshitta for granted. Still, Salvesen warns us that we should not consider the text of the *Scholia* semi-revised towards the Greek and the revision fully revised, or the other way round. Here and there, the adaptation to the Septuagint in the *Scholia* went even further than in the revision, and vice versa. As we do not have the *Commentary on the Octateuch* on Samuel, it is impossible to compare the *Scholia* with this composition here. The development within the *Scholia* is clear, however, and it is strongly possible that the nature of the differences between the Greek and the Peshitta motivated him to systematically compare the two versions, the results of which may have given him the idea to do the same for the whole Bible.

#### 6. *The Purpose of Jacob's Version*

Jacob tells us in the introduction to the *Commentary on the Octateuch* that 'many of the words of the Holy Scriptures are evident and understandable, and do not need minute examination or an explaining word'.<sup>55</sup> It is his purpose to elucidate those that are not immediately clear. In his *Scholia* he would seem to concentrate even more on the passages that are really problematic, making even these understandable. On the one hand, the purpose of his revision of the biblical text was, as Salvesen rightly stressed, very much similar: he aimed at a clear, consistent, and easily readable text.<sup>56</sup> He felt free to rephrase the standard Peshitta text, as he had also done in the *Commentary* and *Scholia*. We should not expect too much consistency in this: where he stumbled over something, he changed it; these are not necessarily the things over which we would stumble, and sometimes he did not stumble over them when they occurred a second time.

On the other hand, however, the purpose of this revision was also to bring the Syriac text more into line with the Greek. This helped him

<sup>54</sup> Salvesen, *The Books of Samuel*, xxi–xxv.

<sup>55</sup> *Commentary on the Octateuch*, Ms. Vat sir. 103, fol. 32r, lines 34–36.

<sup>56</sup> Salvesen, *The Books of Samuel*, xv, and 'Jacob of Edessa's Version', 135.

in some cases to reach his first objective, of course, but there was more to it. The fifth-century West Syrian exegete Philoxenus of Mabbug had already argued that the Septuagint was the most precise and reliable version, because our Lord and the Apostles quoted from it in the New Testament.<sup>57</sup> As it was made before the revelation of Christ, he added, it is impossible that the passages which refer to the coming of Christ were the result of alterations by Christians; the fact that such passages are missing in other versions is rather a sign that these are corrupted. Jacob seems to follow Philoxenus in this respect, as we have seen in the case of the chronology of the patriarchs. Yet his point of view was more differentiated. Philoxenus seems to have been in favour of an extremely literal Syriac translation of the Septuagint. Jacob, on the other hand, advocated an understandable text rather than the Greek text in Syriac dress that had appealed to Philoxenus because of its mysterious character, which formed an excellent basis for the allegorical interpretations which he liked so much.

So in the sense just indicated Jacob went his own way, in which he also seemed to distance himself from the Syro-Hxapla, which contains quite a number of calques. There is one further aspect, however, in which his work may be seen as a reaction against Philoxenus and the Syro-Hexapla: the fact that he chose now the Septuagint, then the Peshitta, and in yet other places combined the two or gave his own paraphrase. Was this simply a last effort to make the tradition of the Greek Bible acceptable to Syriac readers, appeasing them with a number of familiar readings? In a sense it was: Jacob's version was a compromise between the two positions defended in the Syrian Orthodox Church: the position of Philoxenus, who would have liked to replace the Peshitta with a very literal rendering of the Septuagint, and that of Eusebius of Emesa, who would seem to have thought that the Syriac version was reliable because the Syriac language was related to the Hebrew.<sup>58</sup> Jacob realized that the Hebrew text was the basis of both the Peshitta and the Septuagint.<sup>59</sup>

Thus we see that in some cases he had arguments for making a choice, as in the case of the chronology of the patriarchs; in other cases he must have felt quite inconvenienced that he could not go back to the Hebrew to check for himself. In such cases he quoted one reading

<sup>57</sup> See R.B. ter Haar Romeny, 'The Peshitta and its Rivals. On the Assessment of the Peshitta and Other Versions of the Old Testament in Syriac Exegetical Literature', *The Harp* 11–12 (1998–99), 21–31, esp. 24–26.

<sup>58</sup> Romeny, *A Syriac in Greek Dress*, 100–112.

<sup>59</sup> What he did not know, of course, was that the actual Hebrew model of the two versions differed, and not so much because people had tried to enter or to remove references to Christ.



in the margin and the other in the main text, or even combined both readings, resulting in an approach which reminds us of the ‘exegetical maximalism’ that Origen sometimes allowed to himself.<sup>60</sup>

Salvesen says that in his revision, Jacob’s aim was the clarification of the text rather than the creation of a new ‘authorized’ version, as Saley had suggested.<sup>61</sup> I think one thing does not exclude the other. In the *Commentary* and *Scholia* he indeed did not quote the revision, but the chronological data we have do not leave much room to suppose that they were composed after the revision. The work which was written later, the *Hexaemeron*, does quote the revision literally—though not always—,<sup>62</sup> as does one of the few letters that has been published so far, his *Letter* 13, which deals with a whole list of exegetical problems.<sup>63</sup>

### 7. Concluding Remark

Finally, we come back to the problem we started with: why was this new standard not accepted? If indeed the use of Peshitta readings was intended to satisfy those who were critical of the Septuagint, we might say that it was too little, too late. The strength of the tradition of the Peshitta, even among West Syrians, should not be underestimated. As we have seen, Syrians proudly defended their translation as reliable, because the Syriac language was close to the Hebrew. The Peshitta may be ‘defective’, Barhebraeus lamented five centuries later, but it is ‘in the hands of the Syrians everywhere’.<sup>64</sup> Jacob felt the opposition against Greek traditions even in his own circle: the monks in the monastery of Eusebona argued with him about the content of his teaching ‘for hate of the Greeks’. Politically, the wind was fair for this opposition: the Byzantine Empire, which had ruled over the West Syrians, had withdrawn in the face of Arab armies. It was no longer a time to rave about the Greek tradition.

<sup>60</sup> For the concept, see A. Kamesar, *Jerome, Greek Scholarship, and the Hebrew Bible. A Study of the Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesis* (Oxford Classical Monographs; Oxford 1993), 19, 27. Cf. also ‘Jacob of Edessa’s Version’, 135, as well as note 37 above.

<sup>61</sup> For Salvesen, see note 56 above; Saley, *The Samuel Manuscript*, 122. In his ‘Textual Vorlagen’, 124 note 19, he now concurs with Salvesen.

<sup>62</sup> See A. Salvesen, ‘The Authorial Spirit? Biblical Citations in Jacob of Edessa’s *Hexaemeron*’, *Aramaic Studies* 6 (2008), forthcoming.

<sup>63</sup> See note 50 for the references.

<sup>64</sup> Romeny, ‘The Peshitta and Its Rivals’, 26–27.

## JACOB OF EDESSA THE GRAMMARIAN

Rafael Talmon ܪܦܐܝܠ ܬܠܡܢ

### 1. Introduction\*

It is quite common among historians of Syriac literature and culture to describe Jacob of Edessa's *Turrāṣ mamllā nahrāyā* as the most important contribution in the history of Syriac grammar.<sup>1</sup> Later treatises, written by Elias of Ṣoba (d. 1049), Elias of ʿŪrhan (d. 1049), Joseph bar Malkon (d. thirteenth cent.), John bar Zoʿbi (thirteenth cent.), and Severus bar Šakko (d. 1241), all known to us, exhibit either a servile attitude to Arabic grammar or poor coverage of grammatical issues. Appreciation of Barhebraeus's *Ktābā d-Šemḥē* does not fail to mention how much he owes to Jacob's fine observations and comprehensive coverage of the language structure.<sup>2</sup> But it is just as clear to everybody that the evaluation of Jacob's contribution to Syriac grammar is based on speculation more than facts because of the loss of the greater part

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<sup>1</sup> Implicitly, this is Th. Nöldeke's view in his review of A. Merx, *Historia artis grammaticae apud Syros* (Leipzig 1889) in *Literarisches Centralblatt* 35 (1890), 1216, and more explicitly in his review of F. Baethgen, *Syrische Grammatik des Mar Elias von ʿŪrhan* (Leipzig 1880), in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (1880), 721. See also R. Duval, *La Littérature Syriaque* (Paris 1907; repr. Amsterdam 1970), 286 ('... et ce traité fit longtemps autorité en Syrie'); A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluß der christlich-palästinensischen Texte* (Bonn 1922), 254–255, omits an evaluation of Jacob's achievements in the field; J.B. Segal, *The Diacritical Point and the Accents in Syriac* (London 1953), 38, 136; E.J. Revell, 'The Grammar of Jacob of Edessa and the Other Near Eastern Grammatical Traditions', *ParOr* 3 (1972), 365–374, emphasizes Jacob's originality. More recent statements about Jacob's importance can be found in R. Contini, 'Greek Linguistic Thinking and the Syriac Linguistic Tradition', *Sprawozdania z Posiedzen Komisji Naukowych* 40 (1996), 47–48, and R. Talmon, 'The Establishment of Syriac Linguistics – Foreign Influence in the Syrian Grammatical Tradition', in S. Auroux *et al.* (eds.), *History of the Language Sciences* 1 (Handbücher zur sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft 18.1; Berlin–New York 2000), 338–339.

<sup>2</sup> Merx's conclusion of Ch. 5 on p. 62 (see also pp. 232–233, where, however, Zamaḥṣarī's impact is emphasized); Segal, *The Diacritical Point*, 38, 56–57, where he cites Barhebraeus's own recognition; Revell, 'Grammar', 370.

of his book of grammar. In what follows I shall offer several vantage points for a re-evaluation of Jacob's status as an original grammarian. The opportunity provided by the editor of this book to create a large-scale picture of Jacob's creative life has challenged me to include in my contribution an extensive report of the state of the art, with the hope that it will encourage future interest in Jacob the grammarian.

## 2. *What is Known of Jacob's Grammatical Teaching?*

The study of Jacob's grammatical inquiries reached its climax with the works of Merx (1889) and Moberg (1907),<sup>3</sup> who maintained a larger view of his work, whereas others concentrated on specific topics in it. Phillips (1869) published Jacob's letters concerning Syriac orthography (see specification below) and Wright edited the remnants of Jacob's grammar book *Turrāš mamllā nahrāyā* immediately afterwards (1871).<sup>4</sup> Martin was the first to study intensively Jacob's contribution to massoretic studies, which culminated in the introduction of a complex vocalization system and doubling of the number of accents for the utility of reading of the holy scripts.<sup>5</sup> Segal's comprehensive work on the Syriac diacritical points and accents (1953) made Jacob's role in these two fields much clearer.<sup>6</sup> Revell's assessment of Jacob's grammar (1972), in addition to several useful observations, was mainly concerned with defence of his originality.<sup>7</sup> In a recent study Voigt (1997) reconstructs Jacob's vocal system by scrutiny of the relevant texts of Barhebraeus's grammars.<sup>8</sup>

Let us turn now to a survey of the sources which document parts of Jacob's teaching in the field of grammar. These sources are the following:

<sup>3</sup> Merx, *Historia*, Ch. 4–5, pp. 34–62, esp. 50–62, and A. Moberg, *Buch der Strahlen. Die grössere Grammatik des Barhebräus 2* (Leipzig 1907), 3\*–120\*.

<sup>4</sup> G. Phillips, *A Letter by Mār Jacob, Bishop of Edessa, on Syriac Orthography; Also a Tract by the Same Author, and a Discourse by Grigory Bar Hebraeus on Syriac Accents* (London 1869), ed. 1–24, trans. 1–33; W. Wright, *Fragments of the ܪܘܪܫܐܡܠܠܐܢܗܪܝܝܐ or Syriac Grammar of Jacob of Edessa. Edited from MSS. in the British Museum and the Bodleian Library* (London 1871), 2–5 (and see note 8 below).

<sup>5</sup> J.P.P. Martin, 'Jacques d'Édesse et les voyelles syriennes', *JA* 6.13 (1869), 447–482; idem, *Jacobi Edesseni Epistola ad Georgium Episcopum Sarugenum de orthographia Syriaca* (Paris 1869); idem, 'Histoire de la ponctuation, ou de la massore chez les Syriens', *JA* 7.5 (1875), 81–208.

<sup>6</sup> See Segal's Index of Authors Cited. References to specific passages in his book will be made where relevant below.

<sup>7</sup> Revell, 'Grammar', and his lecture in Jerusalem (1984), kindly summarized for me in personal communication.

<sup>8</sup> R. Voigt, 'Das Vokalsystem des Syrischen nach Barhebraeus', *OrChr* 81 (1997), 36–72.

## 2.1 Jacob's Writings

1. First of all, we have the extant fragments of his aforementioned lost *Turrāš mamllā nahrāyā* ('Correction of the Syriac language' or 'Syriac grammar'). The text of Wright's limited edition of the *Turrāš* was partly incorporated in his *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts* (with the exclusion of the Oxford Ms. 159 of the Bodleian Library) and then copied by Merx and included in the appended texts of his *Ars grammatica apud Syros*.<sup>9</sup> Wright arranged the three separate excerpts in the following order: (a) Bodl. 159 (Introduction), (b) BL Add. 17217 (fols. 37–38), and (c) BL Add. 14665 (fol. 28). Revell corrects the order and establishes it as (a) Bodl. 159, (b) BL Add. 17217 fol. 38, (c) BL Add. 14665 fol. 28, and (d) BL Add. 17217 fol. 37 (with specification of its three distinct divisions).<sup>10</sup> Short passages of the introduction were translated by Segal.<sup>11</sup>

Considering Revell's reconstruction of the order of the manuscripts, the following is a synopsis of their arrangement:<sup>12</sup>

## (a) BL Add. 17217 fol. 38:

Canon [17]: discussion of nouns of the syllabic structure CCV<sup>1</sup>+CV; V<sup>1</sup>=ā; e.g. ܟܪܐܐ (krā'ā) 'clotted milk'.

Canon 18: as above; V<sup>1</sup> = a; e.g. ܦܪܟܟܐ (prakkā) 'fragility'.

Canon 19: as above; V<sup>1</sup> = e; e.g. ܡܓܢܢܐ (mgennā) 'round shield'.

Canon 20: as above; V<sup>1</sup> = i; e.g. ܓܒܝܬܐ (gbitā) 'choice'.

Canon 21: as above; V<sup>1</sup> = i; e.g. ܐܘܬܪܐ (ʾhritā) 'another (f.)'.

Canon 22: as above; V<sup>1</sup> = o; e.g. ܫܦܘܓܐ (spoggā) 'sponge'.

Canon 23: as above; V<sup>1</sup>= ou; e.g. ܫܒܘܬܐ (šbutā) 'thing'.

Canon 23/[=24?]: as above; V<sup>1</sup> = o; e.g. ܫܠܘܬܐ (šlotā) 'prayer'.

## (b) BL Add. 14665 fol. 28:

Canon [28]: discussion of nouns of the syllabic structure CCV<sup>1</sup>+CCV; V<sup>1</sup> = e; e.g. ܦܠܓܡܐ (plegmā) 'phlegm'.

Canon 29?: as above; V<sup>1</sup> = i; e.g. ܪܕܝܦܐ (rdipā) 'overridden (pass. part.)'.

Canon [30?]: as above; V<sup>1</sup> = o; e.g. ܓܠܘܫܩܐ (glusqā) 'dough'.

Canon [31?]: as above; V<sup>1</sup>= ō; e.g. ܙܘܪܐ (z'orā) 'little'.

<sup>9</sup> Wright, *Fragments*; Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since the Year 1838* (3 vols.; London 1870–1872), 3:1169–1173, and appendix of Merx, *Historia*, 73–84.

<sup>10</sup> Revell, 'Grammar', 366, note 2.

<sup>11</sup> Segal, *The Diacritical Point*, 2, 8, 41.

<sup>12</sup> The brackets [ ] mark reconstructions of serial numbers not mentioned explicitly in the text; the vowel values follow Merx's vowel reconstruction, see below.

(c) BL Add. 17217 fol. 37:

Canon (?): discussion of nouns of the syllabic structure CV<sup>1</sup>+CV+CCV+CV; V<sup>1</sup> = a; e.g. ܕܗܘܠܬܢܐ (*daḥultānā*) ‘fearful’.

Canon of ‘47 types of masculine nouns of ܦܫܝܬܐ (*pšitā*) type’: discussion of nouns of the syllabic structure CV<sup>1</sup>+CCV+CCV+CV; V<sup>1</sup> = e; e.g. ܡܬܪܗܫܢܐ (*metraḡšānā*) ‘perceptible’.

2. His letter to George of Serug about the crisis of the Syriac script and criticism of careless copyists. It was issued and translated in Phillips’s edition.<sup>13</sup> A small passage is translated by Segal.<sup>14</sup>

3. His essay about vowels and accents, titled ‘On persons and tenses’. It is included in Phillips’s book (*Letter*, ed. 14–24, trans. 13–33) and is divided into five chapters. The first four are concerned with distinctions drawn within grammatical categories by the diacritical points and the fifth and largest with accents. Segal translates and annotates parts of the first four chapters (pp. 38–40) and studies the fifth more extensively (pp. 136–144). Although the inclusion of his study of accents in our treatment of Jacob’s grammatical teaching may be considered self-evident, I shall discuss later various aspects of the relations between the two. Segal’s treatment of the first four chapters is discussed below. Elsewhere he describes and evaluates Jacob’s contribution to the study of Syriac accents.<sup>15</sup>

4. Other short, even laconic notes in other writings. They have been noted in his tract about *Ha-šem ha-m<sup>e</sup>porāš* and a personal letter.<sup>16</sup>

5. His philosophical works, notably his translation of *Categories* and the manual about several key terms in metaphysics. Owing to the fact that terminology and procedures of logic infiltrated into Syriac grammar throughout its history, these works are also significant in our present study.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Phillips, *Letter*, ed. 1–13, trans. 1–12.

<sup>14</sup> Segal, *The Diacritical Point*, 2, translates Phillips, *Letter*, ed. 9, cf. Phillips, *Letter*, trans. 8ff.

<sup>15</sup> Segal, *The Diacritical Point*, 136–142. A short citation from the introductory words of this chapter is given on p. 61.

<sup>16</sup> The tract was published, translated, and annotated in E. Nestle, ‘Jakob von Edessa über den Schem hammephorasch und andere Gotternamen’, *ZDMG* 32 (1878), 465–508. The letter is included in Wright’s *Catalogue*, 1169–1173. See the relevant material in items 9 and 35, and then item 11, respectively, of Appendix A.

<sup>17</sup> An updated review of Jacob’s translation of *Categories*, its edition, and a summary of H. Hugonnard-Roche’s recent study of this and other Syriac translations (see end of note 31 below) is included in S.P. Brock’s chapter on ‘The Syriac Commentary Tradition’, in Ch. Burnett, *Glosses and Commentaries on Aristotelian*

## 2.2 Mention of His Grammatical Teaching by Later Grammarians

Although it seems safe to assume that Jacob's works had a lasting impact on most later grammarians, I have collected only a few direct references to them, notably Barhebraeus's explicit use of Jacob's *Turrās*.<sup>18</sup> References to detailed elements of his teaching, especially terms, are discussed below.

## 2.3 Testimony of a Contemporary and Friend

The letters of Jacob's close friend, George, Bishop of the Arab tribes (d. 724), include his correspondence with a person to whom George explains the roots of Jacob's habit of calling himself 'the small term' (ⲉⲟⲓⲟⲣ ⲛⲓⲁⲓ ⲟⲣⲟⲥ *oros z'orā*). Although the term is borrowed from the sphere of logic discourse and much of the given interpretation can be attributed to George, not to Jacob personally, its relevance to the evaluation of Jacob the grammarian will be explained below.<sup>19</sup> The text and its English translation constitute Appendix B of the present study.

## 3. *Linguistic Terms Used by Jacob of Edessa*

The relevant linguistic terms used by Jacob of Edessa, collected from most of these writings, are included by and large in Moberg's terminological appendix to his *Buch der Strahlen*.<sup>20</sup> It provides a precious overlook of various aspects, albeit sporadic and cut off from the larger context, of the linguistic concepts maintained by our scholar. Therefore, I have concentrated them (see Appendix A; Moberg's work will be consulted for exact references) with but few changes as a useful database for the study of Jacob's technical vocabulary. In what follows I summarize the main general conclusions which may be drawn from this concentrated vocabulary:

1. There are 62 terms listed in the Appendix. The following are not included in Moberg's list (4): 20; 24; 33; 51.

*Logical Texts* (London 1993), 3–18. See now also Hugonnard-Roche's article in the present volume.

<sup>18</sup> In his review of Baethgen's edition of Elias of Ṭirhan's *Turrās mamllā suryāyā*, Nöldeke, 724, wonders if this scholar's use of Jacob's teaching originated from direct access to his writings.

<sup>19</sup> An annotated German translation of the letter is included in V. Ryssel, *Georgs des Araberbischofs Gedichte und Briefe* (Leipzig 1891), 64–67, 183–185. The original manuscript is BL Add. 12154, fol. 272b–274b; cf. C. Moss, *Catalogue of Syriac Printed Books and Related Literature in the British Museum* (London 1962), 386–387.

<sup>20</sup> Moberg, *Buch der Strahlen* 2, 1\*–106\*.

2. They are distributed as follows: Phonetics 1–11 (11); Parts of Speech 12–25 (14); Morphology 26–52 (26); Syntax 53–62 (10).

3. Terms documented in Jacob's writings: 51 (an erroneous reference is also included and noted as such).

*Turrāṣ* (25 + 1 [error]): 1, 2, 3, 5, 10, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 36, 37, 38, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 57 + 52.

Phillips, *Letter* (10): 12, 22, 24, 33, 40, 51, 53, 55, 56, 59.

*Turrāṣ* + Phillips, *Letter* (11): 6–8, 14, 19, 28–30, 31–32, 34.

Nestle, 'Schem hammephorasch' (2): 9, 35.

Wright, *Catalogue* (1): 11.

Martin, *Epistola* (1): 62.

4. Terms documented in later works: 10 (including one erroneous and one highly speculative reference).

Barhebraeus (7 + 1 error + 1 speculative): 23, 26–27, 54, 58, 60, 61 + 4 + 25.

Elias of Ṭirhan (1): 20.

5. I have not included in the list several terms (especially names of accents) whose relevance to proper grammatical theory or practice deserves separate discussion.

#### 4. *Grammatical Themes in Jacob's Teaching*

I have identified nine themes in which the sources disclose Jacob's particular views in grammar. They will be presently described mostly on the basis of previous presentations:

##### 4.1 Phonetics – The 8-Vowel System

(a) In his *Turrāṣ* Jacob uses a unique system of vowel signs, which are written on the line as letters. In comparison with his treatment of vowels in the work edited by Phillips (see next section), this may be conceived as a further development in his study of vowels. Their use was limited to this book alone. Their treatment in medieval grammatical studies recurs only in two separate passages in Barhebraeus's *Ktābā d-Ṣemḥē* (note 8 above, and see below). However, Segal notes that a similar conception of a multi-constituent vowel system must have been maintained by the East Syrians of his time, as the manuscript evidence proves.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Segal, *The Diacritical Point*, 43–44.

(b) Jacob's system introduced in his book includes seven signs and the  $\text{ܐܠܦ}$  (*ālap*). They appear there without names. In fact the first evidence of vowel names in the Syriac grammatical and Massora traditions is documented in Ḥunayn's enlargement of the older massoretic treatise of 'Enanišo', edited by G. Hoffmann (*Opuscula nestoriana*, 1880). It is true that Barhebraeus (BH) calls one of the signs ( $\text{ܥ}$ ) 'medium *ʿšāšā*' but this is certainly his own interpretation based, probably, on his observation of Jacob's treatment of other phonetical systems (see 4.2–3 below).

(c) Opinions vary about the character of the system and the phonetic value of its members.

In the two passages of his *Ktābā d-Ṣemḥē* (Intr. § 3 and 4.1 § 2) Barhebraeus tends to organize them in pairs sharing identical quality and being distinct according to long–short dichotomy. He may not have considered  $\text{ܩܘܗܐ}$  (*ptāḥā*) and  $\text{ܩܘܦܐ}$  (*zqāpā*) as complementary short and long *a*, respectively. However, he uses the names  $\text{ܩܘܩܝܐ}$  (*karyā*) 'short' and  $\text{ܩܘܩܝܐܐ}$  (*arrikā*) 'long' for the three other pairs of  $\text{ܩܘܩܝܐ}$  (*ʿšāšā*, *u* quality),  $\text{ܩܘܩܝܐܐ}$  (*rbāšā*, *e* quality), and  $\text{ܩܘܩܝܐܐܐ}$  (*ḥbāšā*, *i* quality). For this sake he introduces a special sign ( $\text{ܥ}$ , an inverted  $\text{ܥ}$  of Jacob's genuine system) as the counterpart of  $\text{ܩ}$  in the *ḥbāšā* pair (in each of the two presentations Barhebraeus gives them the opposite length value! See also Segal's interpretation below, which seems to run somewhat differently). See Table 1.

Merx identified Jacob's attempt to follow the Greek grammarians' custom, which orders similar groups in consequent canons according (among other things, see below) to vowel value and to the alphabetical arrangement of the vowels. Since fol. 38 of BL Add. 17217 contains a sequence of eight partly numbered Canons (17–24), Merx managed to reconstruct the vowels' value in line with the parallel Greek order (*zqāpā* is not included in his reconstruction, yet *ālap* appears as the vowel of the opening syllable in Canon 17); see Table 1.

Segal's reconstruction of Jacob's vowel system introduces only one pair of signs as short–long complements of one vowel quality (namely *e*). The triad considered by Barhebraeus as representatives of *u* quality are identified by Segal as  $\text{ܩ}$  = *u*;  $\text{ܥ}$  = *y*;  $\text{ܩܐ}$  = *ô*. Segal notes (p. 42) the specificity of the last to non-Syriac words (see Table 1). Segal indicates also several misinterpretations of Barhebraeus: confusion of Jacob's  $\text{ܩ}$  (*u*) with  $\text{ܩܐ}$  (*ô*) (this identification of the two agrees with Merx's, which is based on his special reconstruction method mentioned above) and 'interchange between *ê* (Jacob) and *ĩ* (Bar Hebraeus)', by which Segal refers to Barhebraeus's identification of  $\text{ܩܐ}$  (*ê*) as 'long' and to his 'borrowing' (in the Introduction passage) of the  $\text{ܥ}$  sign (albeit



inverted) for an item in his *ḥbāṣā* pair. This mistake, which Segal takes as the result of their phonetic proximity, is ‘corrected’ in the second passage, where Barhebraeus restores the sign (but still considers it ‘short’) and develops his earlier mistake into a full system of pairs, with due ‘correction’ of the character of 𐤌, which is now identified as short, not long *ḥbāṣā*.

TABLE 1  
THE 8-VOWEL SYSTEM (FORMS, NAMES, PHONETIC VALUES)

Jacob's sign	Canon/ Gr. value	BH's sign	Barhebraeus Introduction	Barhebraeus Part 4	Merx	Segal
𐤌	(17)	𐤌	<i>zqāpā</i> ( <i>ō?</i> )	<i>zqāpā</i> ( <i>ō?</i> )	absent	<i>ā</i>
𐤍	18/α	𐤍	<i>ptāḥā</i> ( <i>ā</i> )	<i>ptāḥā</i> ( <i>ā</i> )	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>
𐤎	19/ε	𐤎	<i>rbāṣā arrikā</i> ( <i>ē</i> )	<i>rbāṣā arrikā</i> ( <i>ē</i> )	<i>e</i>	<i>ě</i>
𐤏	21/η	𐤏	<i>ḥbāṣā arrikā</i> ( <i>ī</i> )	<i>ḥbāṣā karyā</i> ( <i>i</i> )	<i>i</i>	<i>ē</i>
	20/ι*	𐤐	<i>ḥbāṣā karyā</i> ( <i>i</i> )	<i>ḥbāṣā karyā</i> ( <i>i</i> )		
𐤑		𐤑	<i>ḥbāṣā karyā</i> ( <i>i</i> )	<i>ḥbāṣā arrikā</i> ( <i>ī</i> )	<i>i</i>	<i>i, ī</i>
𐤒	22/ou	𐤒	<i>ṣāṣā arrikā</i> ( <i>ū</i> )	<i>ṣāṣā arrikā</i> ( <i>ū</i> )	<i>ou</i> (= <i>ū</i> )	<i>u</i>
𐤓	23/o	𐤓	<i>ṣāṣā karyā</i> ( <i>u</i> )	<i>ṣāṣā karyā</i> ( <i>u</i> )	<i>ō</i> (= <i>o</i> )	<i>ô</i>
𐤔	23 [=24?]/ω	𐤔	<i>ṣāṣā meṣ'āyā</i>		<i>ω, ō</i>	<i>y</i>

\* A possible explanation of the change of order may be sought in the confusion between η and ι in later periods briefly discussed in W.S. Allen, *Vox Graeca: A Guide to the Pronunciation of Classical Greek* (3rd ed.; Cambridge 1987), 74.

(d) The West-Syriac vowel system with five ‘Greek’ signs was also attributed to Jacob. Wright even mentions two contemporary manuscripts, one of which he notes as ‘perhaps autograph of Jacob’, carrying the first existing samples of this system.<sup>22</sup> However, Segal implicitly rejects this early identification and concludes that the date of its introduction is unknown.<sup>23</sup>

#### 4.2 Phonetics

##### An Attempt at a Classification of Vowels into Three Types

(a) In the introduction of his treatise on ‘Persons and Tenses’ (see details in the survey of his writings, no. 3) Jacob gives a sketch of three language categories, persons, genders, and tenses, in which various forms are distinguished by the use of the diacritical points. Then he classifies the different diacritical points according to the phonetic character of the vowels (referred to as *bnāt qālē*). They indicate: the point

<sup>22</sup> Wright, *Fragments*, 2, and the ensuing footnote.

<sup>23</sup> Segal, *The Diacritical Point*, 46.

above represents a ‘thick or broad’ (ܒܗܘܩܩܐ *bē aw ptē*), the point below a ‘narrow or pure’ (ܩܩܐܢܩܩܐ *qtin aw nqed*) sound. There is also mention of a medium (ܡܣܘܩܩܐ *mes‘āyā*) sound between the two, which is represented graphically by the ܡܦܩܩܐܢܐ (*mpaggdānā*) sign of two points, one placed above and the other below the word. In Chapter four of that treatise, in which no further systematic presentation is given, he demonstrates the use of these diacritics. Whenever the homographs involved are distinguished by different vowels the point above represents *a* against *e* of the point placed below the word.<sup>24</sup> Consider Jacob’s triad written ܒܪܐ *brā* (point below *b*) ‘son’, ܒܪܐܘܩܩܐ *bārē* (point above *b*) ‘the Creator’, and ܒܪܐܘܩܩܐܢܐ (*mpaggdānā*) ‘the Creation’.<sup>25</sup>

(b) Jacob’s attempt to classify the vowels is not very successful. It is servile to the system of diacritical contrast, and therefore the involvement of the ‘medium’ does not represent any vowel quality independent of homographic presentation. Its introduction follows a Greek fashion of identifying a ‘medium’ part in tripartite division of language elements, and Jacob himself operates it in the division of consonants, treated below. In any case, the two value-pointers ‘thick–narrow’ are too general to give an idea of the full scale of their coverage. Also, I cannot see how they can be associated with the more comprehensible parallel groups in the consonant classification below. Segal is certainly correct when he implies that the 8-vowel system represents a more advanced stage of Jacob’s phonetic studies.<sup>26</sup>

### 4.3 Phonetics

#### The Classification of Consonants into Three Types

(a) This topic constitutes part of the canon preceding the Canon ‘of 47 types’ preserved at the beginning of fol. 37 of BL Add. 17217, in which the singular and plural relations are discussed of nouns of the pattern *daḥultānā-daḥultānē*. He approaches the assimilatory processes evinced in ‘*ayugtānā* > ‘*ayuktānā* (*qt* > *kt*), *raguztānā* > *ragustānā* (*zt* > *st*), *rayugtānā* > *rayuktānā* (*gt* > *kt*) as an opportunity to formulate the rules of this phenomenon, which involve classification of three groups of

<sup>24</sup> Segal, *The Diacritical Point*, 23 and note 17.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Segal, *The Diacritical Point*, 40, note 12.

<sup>26</sup> Segal, *The Diacritical Point*, 40. I could not locate a Greek source of inspiration for the tripartite division of vowels, nor for the ‘medium’ category of vowels, in modern surveys of Greek phonetics, particularly E.H. Sturtevant, *The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin* (2nd ed.; Groningen 1968); Allen, *Vox Graeca*; and in N.E. Collinge, ‘The Greek Use of the Term “Middle” in Linguistic Analysis’, *Word* 19 (1963), 232–241.

‘letters’, ܠܚܘܘܬܐ (*byātā*) ‘thick/heavy’, ܠܚܘܘܬܐܢܐ (*meṣ‘āyātā*) ‘medium’, and ܠܚܘܘܬܐܢܐ (*naqdtā*) ‘thin/smooth’. Since *g* of *rayuqtānā* is part of the ‘*abyātā*’ group, it is in mutual contrariety (ܠܚܘܘܬܐܢܐ ܠܚܘܘܬܐܢܐ *saqublin la-ḥdādē*) with the following *t*, which is classified in the ‘medium’ group. Jacob mentions there that he already discussed this issue. We may assume that he did so in a more explicit, detailed and systematic manner.

(b) Merx utilized Severus bar Šakko’s larger list to reconstruct Jacob’s three groups with fifteen letters, with the exception of the *liquida* (*l, m, n, r*) and the three *matres lectionis* (*a, w, y*). He emphasized the influence of the Greek identical division of the mute consonants, well known from Dionysius Thrax.<sup>27</sup> See Table 2.

TABLE 2  
MUTE CONSONANTS (PAIRS AND TRIADS ARE ARRANGED  
UNDERNEATH EACH OTHER)

Jacob’s terms (and examples)	Dionysius Thrax (terms & consonants)	Merx’s reconstruction	Revell’s reconstruction
<i>byātā</i> ( <i>g z</i> )	δασέα φ χ θ	<i>b g d z ‘</i>	<i>b g d k p t</i>
<i>meṣ‘āyātā</i> ( <i>k s</i> )	μέσα β γ δ	<i>p k t s+š ḥ</i>	<i>b g d k p t</i>
<i>naqdtā</i> ( <i>q</i> )	φίλα π κ τ	<i>q t š h</i>	<i>q t</i>

(c) Revell’s study of this theme of Jacob’s teaching admits the influence of the Greek classification, yet it emphasizes points of Jacob’s independence of it. Regrettably he does not refer to the previous interpretation of Jacob’s classification and its relations with the Greek. He draws a comparison only between the twelve Syriac *bgd-kpt/bgd-kpt* and the nine mute consonants of the Greek and ignores the explicit mention of *z-s* in Jacob’s demonstration. He cautiously checks the phonetic value of relevant Greek and Syriac consonants in Jacob’s day and concludes that there is a significant identity between the non-*naqdtā*/φίλα groups of

<sup>27</sup> Merx, *Historia*, 53; R.J.H. Gottheil, *A Treatise on Syriac Grammar by Mâr(i) Eliâ of Šôb‘â* (Leipzig 1886), 37\*–39\*, with citation of similar passages by Bar Malkon and Severus bar Šakko and due reference to Dionysius Thrax. A short note on this division is made by I. Guidi, ‘Sull’origene della masore semitiche’, *Bolletino Italiano degli Studi Orientali* 1 (1876–1877), 433. Jacob’s treatment of this topic was first analyzed by J.P.P. Martin, ‘Nouvelles et Mélanges’, *JA* 19 (1872), 248–249. His description includes a comparison of Jacob’s incomplete system with the Greek division and Barhebraeus’s subgrouping into *ṭapyātā* (the equivalent of φίλα and Jacob’s *naqdtā*), *meṣ‘āyātā*, and *rapyātā*.

the two languages, since the two Greek groups had lost their earlier aspiration feature and become fricatives and the two sets of *b g d k p t* (both رُكَّكَاي *rukkākā* and قُشَّشَايَا *quššāyā*) were also fricatives. See Table 2 above. Considering this identity, he indicates Jacob's inversion of the definition of his two groups, which classified *b, g, d* as 'thick', not 'medium' as in the Greek table.<sup>28</sup> In spite of these interesting observations, his above-mentioned omission of Jacob's demonstration makes Merx's thesis more tenable.

#### 4.4 Phonetics – The Concept of the Syllable

(a) Jacob's inclusion of syllable analysis of the inflection classes in his canons integrates with the various constituents of the order of presentation and organization of the derivational classes, which will be discussed later. The division of syllable types into 'simple' (سَاغْلَا *šaqlā pšitā*), 'compound' (سَاغْلَا *šaqālā pšitā*), and 'doubly compound' (مُرَاكَّبَا *mrakkbā*) is mentioned in item 10 of Appendix A.

(b) Merx's analysis of Jacob's syllable concept was erroneous and was plausibly corrected by Moberg, who indicated that every syllable ends with a vowel (e.g. دَاكْيَا *dakyā*) 'clean' is structured as *da+kyā*, not *dak+yā* as illustrated by Merx). Moberg's interpretation of the three types of syllables in Jacob's system runs as follows: (1) Simple is CV as the first syllable of *da+kyā*. (2) Compound is CCV as the second syllable of the same example. (3) Doubly compound is CCCV as demonstrated by the first syllable of 'hrē-tā 'last' (f.), in which the opening ' is not pronounced but is still considered in the theoretical scheme.<sup>29</sup>

(c) Segal mentions Merx's observation that after Jacob of Edessa, Syriac grammarians do not discuss the syllable. Segal speculates that the reason 'lies in the weight given by later grammarians to consonants and vowels rather than to letters and syllables'.<sup>30</sup> Revell's discussion of Jacob's teaching on this point indicates Jacob's utilization of syllable scanting in the discussion of the surface and underlying structure of nouns, for example لَبَا *(lbe(n)tā*) 'brick'.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Revell, 'Grammar', 376–377.

<sup>29</sup> Moberg, *Buch der Strahlen* 2, 103\*–104\*, with a radical correction of Merx's (*Historia*, 58, note 4) interpretation of Jacob's syllabic conception. See also Revell, 'Grammar', 369 (and see note 31 below).

<sup>30</sup> Segal, *The Diacritical Point*, 24, note 1.

<sup>31</sup> Revell, 'Grammar', 369. He concludes there that Jacob 'has the distinction of having produced the only grammar known to us from the Near East which was based entirely on the spoken form of the language.' This claim could be modified

#### 4.5 Morphology Patterns of Organization of Derivational Classes

(a) The deep influence of Greek scientific thinking on Jacob of Edessa is observable not only in the selection of the technical vocabulary and theorems but also in what may be considered more significant, the ordering of the presented grammatical themes. We have seen above (4.2) that in Jacob's treatise on diacritical points he tries to organize them according to their utilization with three language categories, persons, genders, and tenses. This arrangement is reminiscent of the procedure taken by the Greek grammarians in their arrangement of the material, of whom Dionysius Thrax is the most famous. The influence of Greek is indisputably identifiable in Jacob's ordering of the canons in his morphological teaching concerning the relations of single and plural forms within given groups of nouns. Merx indicates how this arrangement follows the Greek ordering, whereby each morphologically discernible nominal group is presented with due consideration of the following order of pertinent categories: gender, species, number, scheme, and case.<sup>32</sup>

(b) The elements which are considered in Jacob's treatment of the various canons include the gender, number, and scheme. In addition to these he orders the noun groups by syllable structure (ascending order from simple to more complex) and in each series, according to the alphabetical order of the vowels.

#### 4.6 Morphology – Conception of Derivational Relations

(a) The second part of the Canon 'of 47 types' of Jacob's *Turrās* discusses the **حلاله** ('*elltānāyā*) division of 'secondary' nouns (**كسرة شمها** *šmāhē trāyānē*). The fact that Jacob gives a detailed explanation of the relation between this group and the 'primary' nouns from which they are derived suggests that this was their first appearance in his book.

(b) Jacob describes the formal, functional, and logical relations of the two groups. Formally, the 'secondary' take the form of the 'primary' nouns with an additional suffix of the *-nā/-yā/-nāyā* stock. Logically they are predicated of the 'primary' nouns from which they are derived (**كسرة شمها حلاله حلاله** *w-metqatrgin 'al hānon qadmāyē*). Functionally, they are adjectives (**كسرة شمها** *mettsimānē*; see item 16) and

in the light of an article on Sībawayhi by A. Levin, 'Sībawayhi's Attitude to the Spoken Language', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 17 (1994), 204–243 (= A. Levin, *Arabic Linguistic Thought and Dialectology* (Jerusalem 1998), Ch. 12).

<sup>32</sup> Merx, *Historia*, 57.

predicates of nouns. Jacob specifies some of the intricacies of the derivation process of such adjectives, which may derive from other, derived adjectives, not of their ‘primary’ nouns, according to the ‘according to the requirements of the arrangement of speech’:

אֶרְכּ לְחַבְרָא וּלְעֵבְרָא : כִּדְבָרֵיהּ חַבְרָא רְכֵבָהּ מִלְּעֵבְרָא אֶרְכּ חַבְרָא לְאֶלּוּ  
 פֵּתוּ אֶרְכּ : רְכֵבָהּ לְחַבְרָא אֶרְכּ . רְכֵבָהּ חַבְרָא לְ רְכֵבָהּ כִּדְבָרֵיהּ : אֶרְכּ לְחַבְרָא  
 . רְכֵבָהּ לְחַבְרָא אֶרְכּ חַבְרָא רְכֵבָהּ אֶרְכּ חַבְרָא

*kad law ʿal qadmāyā haw da-hwa leh ʿelltā w-menneh metemar, mettsim ḥad ḥad menhon aw metqaṭrag ellā ʿhrênā ʿal qadmāyā ʿhrênā. w-haw d-men hānā ʿal ʿhrênā w-haw d-men ʿhrênā ʿal hānā lpot ʿellātā d-tābʿān b-ṭukkāsāh da-mllūtā.*

And it is not on the basis of the first noun, that has become primary and is named after it, that each of the [secondary nouns] is attributed or predicated, but the latter comes into being (by suffixing) to the primary (noun), and that (form) which (derives) from the first is suffixed to the latter, and from the latter this (next) one, according to the requirements of the arrangement of speech.<sup>33</sup>

Consider, for example, the relations of the noun *ܚܒܪܐ* (*gušmā*) ‘body, metal’ and the adjective *ܚܒܪܐܢܐ* (*gušmānā*) ‘corporeal’, which in its turn yields the adjective *ܚܒܪܐܢܐܝܐ* (*gušmānāyā*) ‘material’. In his reference to logical predication, Jacob repeats here the teaching of Chapter 1 of Aristotle’s *Categories*, which is well documented in Syriac translations (including his own), epitomes, and in Ḥuzāyā’s translation of the *Τέχνη γραμματική*.

#### 4.7 Parts of Speech – Number

(a) The issue of the number is one of the points of difference (according to a rather simplistic distinction) between Syriac students of grammar who considered the Greek grammarians their source of inspiration, and those whose linguistic interest was part of the study of Peripatetic logic. The logicians normally held a tripartite division of ‘noun, verb, particle’, whereas the Greek grammarians’ model included eight parts of speech. The last division was introduced into the Syriac by Ḥuzāyā’s translation (early sixth century). It was not easy to accept for Syriac grammarians. The absence of an article in the Syriac language creates difficulties in indiscriminate adoption of the Greek model, in which the article (ἄρθρον) occupies the fourth position among the eight parts of speech. Therefore, the later Syrian grammarians, whose teaching is documented in their surviving works, resorted to a 7-part division.<sup>34</sup> It is difficult to follow the roots of this modification.

<sup>33</sup> Merx, *Historia*, text 79,14ff. = Wright, *Fragments*, text 3–4.

<sup>34</sup> This issue is briefly treated in R. Contini, ‘Considerazioni interlinguistiche sull’adattamento siriano della Τέχνη γραμματική di Dionisio Trace’, in R.B. Finazzi and A. Valvo (eds.), *La diffusione dell’eredità classica nell’età tardoantica e medievale* (Roma 1998 [1999]), 107–108.

(b) Jacob's position on the number of the parts of speech is expressed in the remaining parts of his writings only in his discussion of 'nouns, verbs and other parts of speech' (ܢܘܨܬܐ ܚܘܒܐ ... ܐ ... ܡܠܟܬܐ ... ܐ ... ܚܘܒܐ ܚܘܒܐܝܬܐ ܫܡܐܗܐ ... ܘ ... ܡܠܠܐ ... ܘ ... ܗܘܕܐܡܐ ܚܘܒܐܝܬܐܢܐܝܬܐ<sup>35</sup>) in the letter on Syriac orthography addressed to George of Serug. The contrast between the two major parts of speech and the rest (both one and six) is well known. My contention is that Jacob introduced it consciously at this point, bearing in mind non-nominal non-verbal words distinguished by diacritics. We should carefully note the possibility that the sign of the plural is not original and that theoretically Jacob may have meant a third and last part of speech, following accordingly the Aristotelian, not the Greek grammarians' model.

(c) Another remnant of Jacob's treatment of the 'part of speech division' is recorded by Barhebraeus but not in Jacob's extant writings; see item 23 of Appendix A.

#### 4.8 Syntax – A Terminological System of Sentence Types

(a) According to Barhebraeus's testimony Jacob had a concept of sentence types, with ܙܢܝܝܐ (*znayyā*) as the distinctive categorial term. Barhebraeus gives only three terms of distinct sentence types (see items 54, 58, 60, and 61 in Appendix A). Consequently we are unable to judge what role this system played in Jacob's grammatical teaching.

(b) It is noteworthy that the three terms mentioned by Barhebraeus are different from the names of accents given in Jacob's treatise on this subject (Chapter 5 of his work mentioned as number 3 above, p. 162). Jacob mentions ܩܘܕܐ (*pāqodā*) for 'imperative', whereas Barhebraeus mentions ܩܘܩܕܐܢܐ (*puqqdānā*); 'interrogative' in Jacob's work is ܡܫܐܘܠܢܐ (*mša'ulanā*) and in Barhebraeus's ܫܘܘܠܐ (*šuwālā*); 'praying' is ܡܫܠܝܢܐ (*mšallyānā*) in Jacob's and ܬܟܫܦܬܐ (*takšeptā*) in Barhebraeus's. It is possible that these differences reflect at least partly Jacob's attempt to distinguish two sets of distinct functions and contexts. Accordingly, the names of the given accents may belong to a vocabulary which Jacob inherited from his predecessors. However, only *mša'ulanā*, *mšallyānā*, and *pāqodā* are attested in writings from the period before Jacob.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Phillips, *Letter*, ed. 5,19–20, trans. 5,2–3.

<sup>36</sup> On *mšallyānā* see Moberg, *Buch der Strahlen* 2, 86\*, with reference to Ḥuzāyā's translation of the Τέχνη; on *mša'ulanā*, see Paulus Persa ܩܘܩܕܐܢܐ ܕܫܘܘܠܐ ܘܡܠܟܬܐ ܕܩܘܩܕܐܢܐ ܕܫܘܘܠܐ ܘܡܠܟܬܐ ܕܩܘܩܕܐܢܐ ܕܫܘܘܠܐ in J.P.N. Land (ed.), *Anecdota Syriaca* 4. *Otia Syriaca* (Leiden 1875), 10,26, where *pēqōdā* also occurs; a comprehensive study of the issue is found in J. Revell, 'Aristotle and the Accents: The Categories of Speech in Jewish

## 4.9 Syntax – Logical Terminology of Syntactical Relevance

(a) In George’s letter (see list of sources of his teaching) explaining Jacob’s nickname ܐܘܪܘܫ ܘܥܝܪܐ (*oros z’orā*) ‘small term’, which was Jacob’s self-appellation as a token of extreme modesty, we are introduced to the usage of logical terminology extracted from its immediate context and used in a rather popular manner. George cites Jacob’s words in his letter to Kyrisonā: ‘I, Jacob, am the small *oros*, but those which are predicated of me are the great *oros*.’

(b) According to George’s explanation Jacob’s metaphorical appellation harks back to the character of the Aristotelian assertive proposition, in which the subject constitutes the ‘small term’, as against the predicate (George explains that owing to its composition out of the copula and the predicate this is the ‘great term’, ܐܘܪܘܫ ܘܥܝܪܐ *oros rabbā*). Interestingly, George is not content with this informative answer to the question addressed to him, but goes on to discuss several features of the assertive proposition, namely the equivalence of the two terms and the test of their convertibility (e.g. ‘human is capable of laughing’ → ‘that capable of laughing is human’). It is possible that Question–Answer patterns of correspondence dictated the larger framework of his answer. However, it may well be that this part is included, like the previous one, in a quasi-logical set of terms, whose usage by Jacob was not limited to the strict study of logic (and see below).

5. *Evaluation of Jacob’s Grammar – Points for Future Reference*

Notwithstanding the fragmentary character of much of Jacob’s extant teaching in grammar, it is remarkable that several fundamental themes of later Syriac grammar have not left any traces in the studied material. These include vowel names, the grouping of the *rukkākā-quššāyā* consonants, and the study of various aspects concerning the *B, D, W, L* letters (ܐܘܘܬܘܪܐ ܐܘܘܬܘܪܐ *atwātā bdulyātā*).

Several items in our terminological vocabulary are clearly used by Jacob of Edessa in a loose, non-terminological manner (see for example item 2 in Appendix A). To my mind, this may rightly be interpreted as an indication of his pioneering position. The suggestion mentioned above, that his different approach to the teaching of vowel count in two treatises results from a development in his understanding of this subject, supports the previous observation.

and Other Authors’, *JSS* 19 (1974), 19–35, where the use of the two latter terms is related (cf. p. 23ff.) to the early Proba, Ḥuzāyā (in another treatise), and Thomas the Deacon, and the first to Sergius of Rēš ‘Aynā (p. 25, note 4).



My own interest in Jacob of Edessa the grammarian stems from my study of the earliest stages of the history of Arabic grammar and is motivated by my attempt to identify the roots of certain leading elements of the pre-Sībawayhian grammar (prior to the end of the eighth century CE) in the linguistic interest of Syrians. In what follows I point out briefly several selected topics which seem to have infiltrated from Syriac grammar into the teaching of these early Arab grammarians. The potential advantage of this approach is that processes of development of certain grammatical traits are more clearly observable in the treatment of the Arab grammarians than in the later testimony of the Syriac grammarians and may therefore shed new light on the context in which the isolated remnants of Jacob's grammatical teaching should be considered.

### 5.1 Accent Terminology and Its Development in Early Arabic Syntactical Theory

Several of the accent names developed into grammatical terms in pre-Sībawayhian Arabic grammar. In all the cases collected in my studies the syntactical functions indicated by these terms are close to their Syriac origin. These include the accents **ܢܝܫܐ** (*nišā*, item 56), **ܓܐܪܘܪܐ** (*gārorā*), **ܡܫܘܩܐ** (*pāsoqā*), and **ܫܡܟܐ** (*sāmkā*). The term *nišā* developed into the Arabic *ǧāya* (and the looser *qaṣd*), which at an early stage indicated the innovative element of the utterance but then was restricted to the class of adverbial expressions ending with *-u* (*qablu*, *ba'du*).<sup>37</sup> *Gārorā* and *pāsoqā* are the legitimate parents of the Arabic *ǧarr* and *qaṭʿ*, which in the pre-*Kitāb* era of Arabic grammar during the eighth century played a different role from their later function.<sup>38</sup> The same applies to the

<sup>37</sup> See the preliminary discussion of *ǧāya* in Ibn Muqaffa's epitome of logic in my 'Nazra ǧadīda fī qaḍīyyat aqsām al-kalām: dirāsa ḥawla kitāb Ibn al-Muqaffa' fī l-manṭiq', *al-Karmil* 12 (1991), 43–67, esp. 50–51. The next stage of its development occurs in the earliest occurrences of this term in Arabic linguistic literature, see, for example, R. Talmon, *Arabic Grammar in its Formative Age* (Leiden 1997), 200. A synoptic presentation of this issue is given in R. Talmon, 'The First Beginnings of Arabic Linguistics: The Era of the Old Iraqi School', in Auroux *et al.* (eds.), *History of the Language Sciences*, 245–252.

<sup>38</sup> For a first reference to the relations between *gārorā* and *ǧarr*, see my review of C.H.M. Versteegh, *Arabic Grammar and Qur'anic Exegesis in Early Islam* (Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics 19; Leiden 1993) in *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 20 (1996), 287–292. A short description of the early concept of *qaṭʿ* is given in Talmon, *Arabic Grammar*, 200, 282. See also the encyclopedic entry mentioned in the end of the previous note, and now in R. Talmon, *Eighth-Century Iraqi Grammar: A Critical Exploration of Pre-Ḥalīlian Arabic Linguistics* (Harvard Semitic Studies Series 53; Winona Lake, 2003), 191ff.

term *sām̄k̄ā*, the mentor of the Arabic grammatical pair of *musnad* and *musnad ilayhi*.

### 5.2 Jacob’s *qaṭreg* and Paradigmatic/Derivational Relations

Similarly to paradigmatic relations of noun and adjective, which are described by this term of derivation (item 57), the term *idāfa* was employed in early Arabic grammar for the identification of the relative noun, which derives from the ‘basic’ noun by *-iyy* suffixation.<sup>39</sup>

### 5.3 A Possible Forefather of the Arabic Terminological Expression *ḥarf ġā’ā li-ma’nā*

The puzzle of Sībawayhi’s intent in his formulation of the expression *ḥarf ġā’ā li-ma’nā* as a denotation of the third part of speech in his system has not yet been solved satisfactorily.<sup>40</sup> Curiously, in one passage of his letter to George of Serug, Jacob identifies the two words ܗܝ (*hi*) and ܕܢ (*den*) as ‘signifying some things’ (ܘܗܝܘܢ ܐܝܚܘܢ ܘܕܢܘܢܘܢ ܘܟܘܢܘܢ ܘܠܘܢܘܢܘܢ ܘܠܘܢܘܢܘܢܘܢ *w-itaw(hy) mšawd’anā da-šbutā meddem*),<sup>41</sup> and contrasts them, because of the independent status of each, to the temporal particle ܗܝܢܘܢ (*hāyden*) ‘then’, which graphically exhibits the sum total of their letters (see item 24). The expression ‘signifying something’ is commensurate with one of the senses of the early Arabic terminological phrase *ḥarf ġā’ā li-ma’nā*, ‘a small element signifying a certain sense’ (to be interpreted as *ma’nā min al-ma’anā*), and may have inspired the formulation of the Arabic expression. Acceptance of this possibility involves a presupposition that Jacob’s formulation (or a similar Syriac formulation to the same effect) had a terminological status among grammarians of the eighth century.

### 5.4 A Possible Origin of the Grammatical Term *qalb* of the pre-Sībawayhian era

A comprehensive hypothesis made in a previous study of the term *qalb*, which was employed by the *naḥwīyyūn* and criticized strongly by

<sup>39</sup> See this sense of *idāfa* in Sībawayhi’s *Kitāb 2* (ed. Paris 1881–1885), 64,9 and elsewhere. It seems that G. Troupeau, *Lexique-Index du Kitāb de Sībawayhi* (Paris 1976), s.v., missed this sense! It may be significant that *yā’ al-idāfa* in Farrā’s terminology refers to the suffixation of the first person pronoun; see N. Kinberg, *A Lexicon of al-Farrā’s Terminology in his Qur’ān Commentary* (Leiden 1996), s.v. *yā’*.

<sup>40</sup> See the recent discussion in W. Fischer, ‘Zur Herkunft des grammatischen Terminus ḥarf’, *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 12 (1989), 135–145, and Talmon, *Eighth-Century Iraqi Grammar*, 212ff.

<sup>41</sup> Phillips, *Letter*, ed. 6,11, trans. 5. Phillips translates ‘significant of something’.

Sībawayhi, relates this term to Ibn Muqaffa's same term, an Arabic equivalent of the Greek and Syriac terms expressing the Aristotelian teaching of *conversio*, ἀντιστροφή and ܚܦܐܟܐ (*hopākā*), respectively.<sup>42</sup> Syriac treatises of logic such as the sixth-century epitome of Paulus Persa and Probā's commentary of the *De interpretatione* include, as expected, discussions of this issue, which provides the logician with an effective tool for distinguishing right from wrong definition. It seems problematic to establish grounds for the aforementioned hypothesis, which presupposes borrowing of a highly technical term and concept from the field of logic by grammatical studies. Jacob of Edessa's reported self-appellation as *oros z'orā*, whose background his friend George, Bishop of the Arabs, describes in great detail in private correspondence (see 'Testimony of a contemporary and friend' in the list of sources above (2.3) and Appendix B), constitutes significant documentation of a discussion of the logical *conversio* term and concept in a context which does not pertain strictly to a systematic study of logic. This may serve as a possible indication of their utilization by circles other than philosophers and a preliminary step towards establishment of an explanation how Arab grammarians introduced the term and concept into their own studies as a device discerning contrastive modes of nominal and verbal *i'rāb*.

<sup>42</sup> R. Talmon, 'The Term *qalb* and Its Significance for the Study of the History of Early Arabic Grammar', *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften* 8 (1993), 71–113, and the closely related publication R. Talmon, 'Ḥattā + Imperfect and Chapter 239 in Sībawayhi's *Kitāb*: A Study in the Early History of Arabic Grammar', *JSS* 38 (1993), 71–95.

## APPENDIX A

REGISTER OF JACOB'S VOCABULARY OF GRAMMATICAL TERMS<sup>43</sup>1. *Phonetics*

## I. General

(1) ܐܬܘܘܬܐ *atwātā* (Moberg 17\*, *Turrāš*): ‘letters’, divided according to the Greek model of ‘voiced’ vs. ‘voiceless’.

(2) ܢܦܩܩ ܡܦܩܩ *mappqā* (Moberg 64\*, *Turrāš*): a set of terms used in the sense of ‘pronunciation’ of both the minimal units (vowels and consonants) and whole words. Jacob uses the latter (*mappqā*) in the introduction, when he defends the introduction of vowel letters to ‘demonstrate the variation and the pronunciation of the sounds’ (ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ ܕܥܘܠܐ *da-nḥawwīn šuḥlapā we-mappqā dilhen da-bnāt qālē*) of the morphological rules in his book. Moberg notes that this word is not yet used in the strict terminological sense of ‘place of articulation’, known from later works.

## II. Vowels

(3) ܐܬܘܘܬܐ ܩܠܐܢܐܝܘܬܐ *atwātā qālānāyātā* (Moberg 87\*–88\*, *Turrāš*): ‘voiced letters’, following the Greek distinction with φωνήεντα. Moberg suggests ܩܠܐ (*qālā*) as a distinct term for vowels. It constitutes part of ܐܬܘܘܬܐ ܩܠܐ ܕܠܐ (*atwātā d-lā qālā*) as an appellation of the consonants (see 5 below).

(4) ܢܩܘܫܬܐ (*nqāštā*) (Moberg 68\*, BH): ‘vowel’. Moberg notes that its identification in R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* (1879–1901), 2467 s.v., as Jacob’s is mistaken.

## III. Consonants

(5) ܐܬܘܘܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܩܠܐ *atwātā d-lā qālā* (Moberg 87\*, *Turrāš*): ‘consonants’ as a contrastive and complementing group of the vowels (see 3 above); following the Greek ἄφωνα.

(6–8) ܒܝܬܐ (*bitā*), ܡܝܫܝܬܐ (*mešitā*), ܢܩܘܫܬܐ ܩܘܫܝܬܐ *naqdtā-qaṭintā* (Moberg 58\*, 66\*, 73\*, 88\*, *Turrāš*, Phillips): ‘thick’, ‘middle’, ‘pure/narrow’ respectively, see the discussion above, under 4.3a on p. 167–168, Phonetics.

<sup>43</sup> Abbreviations: BH = Barhebraeus; DT = Dionysius Thrax; EṬ = Elias of Ṭirhan; Moberg = Moberg, *Buch der Strahlen* 2; Phillips = Phillips, *Letter*.

## IV. Syllable

(9) **הגיאנא** *hagyānā* (Moberg 28\*, Nestle, ‘Schem hammephorasch’: ‘pronunciation of consonants with vowels’, which Nestle interprets as ‘syllable’).

(10) **שאקלא פשיטא, פריפא, מראקבא** *šaqlā pšitā, ‘pīpā, mrakkbā* (Moberg 78\*, 93\*, 105\*, *Turrāš*): ‘simple, compound, doubly compound syllable(s)’, see discussion above.

(11) **סולאבא** *sullābā* (Moberg 69\*, Wright, *Cat.*): ‘syllable’, mention of the term in Jacob’s letter concerning description of artistic style involving dodecasyllabic metre (ibid. 593b: **האי דא בידא בא משהטא ד תארטא עסרע סולאבא** *hāy da-‘bidā ba-mšuhtā d-tarta‘esrē sullābās* ‘that has been made in the metric of twelve syllables’).

## 2. Parts of Speech

## I. General

(12) **הדאמא** *haddāmā* (Moberg 58\*, Phillips): ‘part of speech’ (**הדאמא דא מליטא** [**הראנא**] *haddāmā [‘hrāne] da-mlitā* ‘[other] parts of speech’, what later grammarians term **מנאטא ד מלל** *mnātā d-mellā*), also ‘part of a sentence, a member’. See 23 below.

(13) **קונא** *kunnāyā* (Moberg 51\*, *Turrāš*): ‘a status (lit. ‘name’) in the language system’; the adjectives get their ‘names’ from the ‘primary’ nouns.

## II. Noun

(14) **שמא** *šmā* (Moberg 101\*, *Turrāš* Phillips): ‘noun’, one of the two main parts of speech, together with **מלא** *mellā* ‘verb’ (see below), following the Greek *ὄνομα*.

(15) **מלל** *mellā* (Moberg 56\*, *Turrāš*): ‘verbal nouns’ of various morphological types; the term is applied on two different occasions, once to such patterns as *prakkā* ‘fragility’ and then to nouns with the suffix *-y* such as *dluḥyā* ‘troubling’ and *krukuyā* ‘moving round’. Moberg refers to H. Steintal’s discussion of Tryphon’s teaching that infinitives with the article are nouns, which he terms *ὀνόματα τῶν ῥημάτων*.

(16) **מטסימא** *mettsimānā* (Moberg 71\*, *Turrāš*): adjective (lit. ‘set on, applied’, as the normal translation of the Greek *ἐπιθετον* (also in the translation of DT). Jacob applies it to the relative nouns with clear emphasis of their derivational relations with ‘primary’ nouns, hence the recurring expression **מטסימא דא** ... **מטסימא** *mettsim ... w-metqaṭrag*

(for which see item 57 below) and ܫܡܗܝܘܘܢ ܘܘܬܪܝܢܝܘܢ ܫܡܗܝܘܘܢ ܫܡܗܝܘܘܢ ܫܡܗܝܘܘܢ *šmāhe ‘elltānāyā wa-trayānē w-mettsimānē*.

(17) ܡܥܒܕܢܘܬܐ *m‘abbdanutā* (Moberg 74\*, *Turrāš*): active sense, in the discussion of ܫܡܗܝܘܘܢ ܫܡܗܝܘܘܢ *šmāhē melltānāyē* (item 15 above); complemented by ܫܡܗܝܘܘܢ *šmāhē* (the following item 18); Gr. ἐνέργεια. Jacob seems to follow a customary procedure which explains the sense of word groups pertaining to a given morphological pattern (see also item 21 below). In the translation of DT this pair occurs in the verb division.

(18) ܫܡܗܝܘܘܢ *šmāhē* (Moberg 43\*, *Turrāš*): passive sense (lit. ‘suffering’), as a complement of item 17 above; Gr. πάθος.

### III. Verb

(19) ܡܠܐ *mellā* (Moberg 55\*, *Turrāš* and Phillips): ‘verb’. Both Merx and Moberg note that Jacob does not follow the translation of ῥῆμα into ܡܡܪܐ *memrā*, which is given by the translator of DT.

(20) ܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ *‘ābudāyātā* (sc. ܡܠܐ *mellē* —; no reference by Moberg, ET 32,19): ‘active (verbs)’. Jacob allegedly involved active sense considerations in his explanation of the irregularity of the *a-a* type of Peal verbs, where *e-a* is expected. Elias, probably following Ḥunayn, offers a phonetical explanation (III-Guttural). Note that Elias’s reference is not a literal citation.

(21) ܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ *mellē d-zabnā d-qā’em* (Moberg 31\*, *Turrāš*): ‘verbs of present tense’, namely participial forms (e.g. *metragšānā* ‘disordered’), which are classified as nouns in the survey of morphological patterns. Jacob indicates the passive sense (ܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ *melle ḥašnāyātā*) of the subgroup (see item 17 above).

(22) ܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ ܡܠܐ *zabnē da-‘bar, d-qā’em, da-‘tid* (Moberg 31\* and see item 21 above, Phillips): ‘past, present, and future tense’, the three terms co-occur in a chapter which demonstrates the different modes of punctuation of the verb in the three tenses. Phillips considers the placement of participial forms for the demonstration of the future tense (the same as the previous present tense) a copyist’s error, whereas Moberg defends it. The latter’s contention that Nestle’s study in *ZDMG* 32, 526–527 justifies his argument seems to me a misinterpretation of the function of the participial *pāqed* in the quoted text.

### IV. (An)other Part(s) of Speech

(23) ܡܠܐ *esārā* (Moberg 16\*, BH): ‘conjunction’. Barhebraeus criticizes Jacob’s erroneous definition of this part of speech as ‘the smallest

part' (ܡܢܬܐ ܙܘܪܬܐ *mnātā z'ortā*). Absence of evidence from Jacob's extant writings leaves the question open whether this was a third and final or a seventh (eighth) part in his system. Barhebraeus may have had the latter option in mind. He discusses this definition in his own presentation of this part in a multi-part division and he indicates that both West and East Syrians followed it. Severus' definition (ref. by Moberg) supports this assumption. His preference for a multi-part division can be inferred from his discussion of 'nouns, verbs and other parts of speech' (ܡܠܘܚܘܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܠܘܚܘܬܐ ... ܘ ... ܕܡܠܘܚܘܬܐ ... ܘ ... ܕܡܠܘܚܘܬܐ *šmāhē ... w ... mellē ... w ... haddāmē ḥrānē da-mlilutā*) in the letter on Syriac orthography.

(24) ܒܐܪܬܐ ܕܡܠܘܚܘܬܐ *ba(r)t qālā zabnāyā* (not mentioned by Moberg, Phillips): 'temporal word'. This is Jacob's definition of ܗܝܕܢܐ (*hāyden*) 'then' (contrasted to the combination of the two separate *hi den*; see separate discussion).

(25) ܗܘܫܫܒܐܝܐ ܡܦܪܪܫܐ *huššabāyā meparršā* (Moberg 42\*, BH): 'independent pronoun'. Moberg reflects about the possibility that this term had not reached Barhebraeus through the channels of borrowing of the Arab grammarians, but from the Greek through earlier grammarians, possibly Jacob of Edessa.

### 3. Morphology

#### I. Framework Terminology – Categories

(26–27) ܐܕܫܐ *ādšē*, ܐܫܟܡܐ *eskimē* (Moberg 9\*, 15\*, BH): 'species' and '(word's) form' respectively, the two terms, which are calques of the respective εἶδη and σχῆμα in Greek grammatical tradition, interchanged in Jacob's work, according to Barhebraeus's testimony, their traditional denotations (which were adopted, for example, in the earlier Syriac translation of DT). This means that the term *eskimā* would have served Jacob in his description of the relation of the ܐܠܬܢܐ (*elltānā*) nouns with the 'primary' nouns (parallel to the study of παράγωγον and its relation with the πρωτότυπον, see items 48–49 below), although we do not find traces to it in the extant parts of the *Turrāṣ*. The translator of DT's Τεχνή demonstrates under this heading the nouns ܐܒ (*ab*), ܐܒܪܐܡ (*Abrām*), ܐܒܪܗܡ (*Abrahām*) as ܦܫܝܬܐ (*pšitā*) 'simple', ܡܪܟܒܐ (*mrakkbā*) 'complex', and ܕܡܪܟܒܐ ܕܝܬܝܪ *yatir men mrakkbā* 'more complex' nouns.

(28–30) ܕܡܠܘܚܘܬܐ *gensā*, ܕܡܠܘܚܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܘܚܘܬܐ *dekrānāyā*, ܕܡܠܘܚܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܘܚܘܬܐ *neqbtānāyā* (Moberg 15\*, 27\*, 65\*, *Turrāṣ* and Phillips): 'gender, masculine, feminine', the

gender distinction, which Jacob involves in his specification of the morphological groups, follows a similar traditional procedure in Greek morphological treatises. He adopts it in his short treatise on ‘Persons and Tenses’, in the course of his attempt to develop a systematic description of classes of diacritical points.

(31–32) ܕܢܘܢܗ *hdānāʾit*, ܫܘܒܗܘܢܗܘܢ *sagiyānāʾit–sagiyānāyā* (Moberg 38\*, 69\*, *Turrās* and Phillips): ‘singular, plural’, see items 28–30 above for Jacob’s use of this pair in his *Turrās*.

(33) ܩܦܫܘܦܝܢ *paršope* (Phillips p. 15, lines 3ff.) ‘persons’ with specification of ‘first, second, third’. The first two are represented by verbs, and the last by a noun, whose substitution by a pronoun (‘it’) may explain Jacob’s intention (see Phillips p. 14, note b).

## II. Framework Terminology – Word Construction

(34) ܡܠܘܬܐ *mlilutā* (Moberg 56\*, *Turrās* and Phillips): ‘speech’. Its association with ܬܘܟܟܐܘܬܐ *tukkāsā* (see item 37 below) and with ‘parts of speech’ (item 23 above) justifies its treatment here as a technical term, which Moberg identifies as the offshoot of λόγος. ܡܡܠܠܐ *mamllā* is associated with item 36 in a similar way and may therefore be considered synonymous.

(35) ܐܬܝܐ *ati* (Moberg 17\*, Nestle, ‘Schem hammephorasch’): ‘deriving’ (adj.), which is employed by Jacob in his etymological study of God’s name *YHYH*, against the transparent relations of derivation between θεός and το θέειν (ܬܘܪܝܢ ܗܝܐ *hāy da-rhet* ‘to run’).

(36–37) ܬܘܟܟܐܘܬܐ *taksā*, ܬܘܟܟܐܘܬܐ *tukkāsā* (Moberg 45\*, *Turrās*): ‘(language) order’ and ‘ordering’. Both terms refer to the relations of ‘secondary’ and ‘primary’ nouns, probably with a clearer implication of morphological construction (and therefore I classify them here unlike item 13). The different senses given by Moberg there do not fit Jacob’s usage.

(38) ܡܡܠܠܐܘܬܐ *mettappsin* (Moberg 45\*, *Turrās*): ‘are formed’, with reference to the relations between the tri-syllabic plural ܩܒܝܬܐܘܬܐ (*gebyātā*) ‘exacted offerings’, and its bi-syllabic singular ܩܒܝܬܐ (*gbitā*) ‘choice’.

(39) ܩܘܢܐܘܬܐ *yuqnā*, *yaqqen* (Moberg 49\*, *Turrās*): ‘word form’ (ܩܘܢܐܘܬܐ ܩܘܢܐܘܬܐ *yuqnā da-šmāhē yawnāyē*, with reference to plural formation and suffix), ‘shape a word’.

(40) ܡܠܠܐ *melltā* (Moberg 55\*, Phillips): ‘word’.

(41) ܩܢܘܢܐ *qānonā* (Moberg 90\*, *Turrās*): ‘type of word formation or inflection’; from Greek κανών.



(42) רכבוי *rukkābā* (Moberg 96\*, *Turrāš*): ‘word form, inflection form’; in the given case the syllabic structure is concerned.

(43) רפשה *psiqā* (Moberg 81\*, *Turrāš*): ‘shortened’, for words whose underlying form is considered longer.

(44) רכלע *šullāmā* (Moberg 100\*, *Turrāš*): ‘(word) ending’, with reference to the final letter (*ālap*). Moberg notes that it is not identical to τέλος.

(45) ריע ,יע *šarri, šurrāyā* (Moberg 104\*, *Turrāš*): ‘(word) beginning’, with reference to word-opening letters. Moberg notes that it is not as technical as ἀρχή.

### III. Classification of Words and Their Construction

(46) ראפסה ,פסה *awsep, tawseptā* (Moberg 18\*, 48\*, *Turrāš*): whereas the first refers to ‘addition’ of ‘silent’ letters as in רבתי *ga(n)brā* and רחיק (°) *hretā*, the latter is associated with ‘affixes’ and seems to stand here as a forerunner of the term (*atwātā*) *met-tawspānāyātā* in a fundamental distinction between ‘root’ (documented in later works as ראפסה *gensānāyātā*) and affixed letters in word formation.

(47) ראלה ,אלה *‘elltā, ‘elltānāyā* (Moberg 77\*, *Turrāš*): the first are basis nouns, from which relative nouns with *-nā, -yā,* and *-nāyā* endings (recognized as *‘elltānāyā*) are derived; see also their description in item 16. Jacob’s utilization of this mnemonic term combines the logical relations between the two as ‘primary’ (lit. ‘cause’) and ‘secondary’ and the formal characterization of the latter.

(48–49) ראיה ,ראיה *qadmāyā, trayānā* (Moberg 87\*, 109\*, *Turrāš*): ‘primitive’ and ‘secondary’ in reference to the above *‘elltā–‘elltānāyā*, following the Gr. πρωτότυπον–παράγωγον mentioned in items 26–27 above.

(50) ראיל *šqilā* (Moberg 103\*, *Turrāš*): ‘derived’, actually ‘inflected’.

(51) ראלה מנה *mennah d-melltā* (Phillips 6.21): ‘derived from a (certain) word’, as a loose formulation (ראלה מנה ב מנה אלה *w-hālen d-mennah kad mennah d-melltā*).

### IV. Words’ Behaviour

(52) ראפסה *nāqopā* (Moberg 67\*): ‘agreeing with, affixed’, but Moberg’s attribution of this term to Jacob, with reference to *Turrāš* 76,12 is erroneous (read: ראפסה *nāpuqē* ‘uttered [words]’).

4. *Syntax*

## I. Framework Terminology

- (53) ܐܘܬܘܪܐ *taš'itā* (Moberg 102\*, Phillips): 'sentence, utterance'.
- (54) ܐܘܬܘܪܐ *znayyā* (Moberg 35\*, BH): '(the five) sentence types'. Barhebraeus indicates Jacob's unique usage of this appellation, instead of the later ܩܪܝܘܬܐ *qrāyātā* (and note the various other senses of the latter, mentioned by Moberg, *ibidem*).

## II. Sentence Constituents and Their Relations

- (55) ܐܝܢܘܬܐ *aynāyūtā* (Moberg 11\*, Phillips): 'quality' (Gr. ποιότης as the third Aristotelian category). We have no indications of Jacob's employment of the term in grammar, but see the end of note 34 above.
- (56) ܢܝܫܐ *nišā* (Moberg 60\*, Phillips): 'rhetorical accent'. We have no indications of Jacob's employment of the term in grammar, but see my discussion of *ǰāya* above, and the conjecture made there about its possible development in early Arabic grammar.
- (57) ܩܩܪܝܐ *qatreg* (Moberg 89\*, *Turrās*): 'to predicate', see the discussion of its use in derivational relations of relative nouns, item 16. We have no indications of Jacob's employment of the term in grammar, but see the discussion of *idāfa* in this article and the possible historical relations between the two terms.

## III. Sentence Types

- (58) ܐܘܬܘܪܐ *takseptā* (Moberg 52\*, BH): 'supplication' as one of the five sentence types described in 54 above.
- (59) ܥܘܠܘܬܐ *pārākowtonos* (Moberg 80\*, Phillips): an accent name following the Gr. παραξύτονος, which Jacob, in agreement with the general trend, confuses with ܡܩܠܠܐܢܐ (*mqallsānā*), and which he terms a sentence type with the sense of praise; see Segal, *The Diacritical Point*, 123, note 14.
- (60) ܩܩܪܝܐ *puqdānā* (Moberg 82\* BH): 'imperative' as one of the five sentence types described in 54 above.
- (61) ܩܩܪܝܐ *šw'ālā* (Moberg 98\*, BH): 'interrogative' as one of the five sentence types described in 54 above.
- (62) ܕܡܩܠܠܐܢܐ *mtanyānā'it* (Moberg 108\*, Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, 4470 s.v.): 'indicative sentence'; the dictionary refers to Martin, *Epistola*, 14,18.





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‘Jacob’ and ‘wise’, and the third ‘is’, which is likewise predicated. Of these ‘limits’ of any of these πρότασεις, namely κατάφασις and ἀπόφασις, that which is put is called ‘small’ ὅρος or ‘limit’, but that which is predicated is named ‘big’ ὅρος or ‘limit’. And the ‘limit’ which is put is ‘the man’, ‘Jacob’, but that which is predicated is ‘is singing’, ‘wise’.  
[274b] But there are κατάφασις and ἀπόφασις whose ‘limits’ are equivalent to each other; none of them is smaller or bigger than the other, evidently neither the one put nor the predicated, e.g.: ‘man is capable of laughing’, ‘man is not capable of laughing’, ‘who is capable of laughing is a man’, ‘who is capable of laughing is not a man’. ‘Man is a rational and mortal being’, ‘man is not a rational and mortal being’, ‘a rational and mortal being is a man’, ‘a rational and mortal being is not a man’. These are then ‘limits’ equivalent to each other, that is, ‘every man is capable of laughing’ and conversely: ‘every (creature) capable of laughing is a man’ and ‘every man is a rational and mortal being’, and so conversely: ‘every rational and mortal being is a man’. In the πρότασις, or the κατάφασις, which states ‘Jacob is wise’, ‘Jacob is righteous’, ‘Jacob’ is the small ὅρος, whereas ‘wise’ and ‘righteous’ are the big ὅρος. And because of that holy Jacob wrote to Kyrisonā, abasing himself: I, Jacob, am the small ὅρος, but the (sayings) predicated of me are the big ὅρος. I am by no means worthy of them

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and they are not true about me. And therefore I am afraid to come to you, although you ask for it, so that it will not be found that they are told about me falsely and I will be disgraced. So this is concerning your first (question).



JACOB OF EDESSA  
AND THE SIXTH-CENTURY SYRIAC TRANSLATOR OF  
SEVERUS OF ANTIOCH'S CATHEDRAL HOMILIES

*Lucas Van Rompay\**

The 125 homilies pronounced by Severus of Antioch in the course of the six years of his short-lived patriarchate (512–518) belong to the classics of Syrian Orthodox literature. The theological instruction and biblical interpretation found in them became the framework of reference for subsequent generations. The liturgical setting of the homilies greatly contributed to their use, while Severus' vivid style and skilful use of rhetorical techniques continued to capture the listeners' or readers' attention.

Collected and edited at an early date, the homilies were available in a Syriac translation no later than the middle of the sixth century. A century and a half later, Jacob of Edessa produced a revised translation, which was completed in the year 700/701.<sup>1</sup> Jacob's work, almost entirely preserved and published with a French translation between the years 1906 and 1976, compensates for the loss of the original Greek version of the homilies and constitutes the basis for all modern research on Severus' homilies.

Jacob's work as a translator or reviser of Severus' homilies has received considerable scholarly attention, whereby his indebtedness to the earlier translator(s) has been fully taken into account. As early as 1922, M.-A. Kugener and Edg. Triffaux published Homily 77—the only homily that survived in the Greek original—along with the two existing Syriac translations, the mid-sixth-century one and the one by Jacob of Edessa.<sup>2</sup>

\* While preparing this paper, I have benefited from the help and suggestions of Françoise Petit (Louvain-la-Neuve) and Andrew Jacobs (Duke University), while Bas ter Haar Romeny and Martin Baasten (Leiden) have been helpful in solving all kinds of technical problems. To all of them I would like to express my gratitude.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. M. Brière, *Les Homiliae Cathedrales de Sévère d'Antioche. Traduction de Jacques d'Édesse. Introduction générale à toutes les homélies* (PO 29.1; Paris 1960), 39–40. The date is given in the colophon of Ms. Vat. sir. 141. Since this manuscript only contains the second part of the translation (homilies 44 to 91), the possibility cannot be ruled out that the date refers to the completion of the second part, not to that of the entire collection.

<sup>2</sup> M.-A. Kugener and Edg. Triffaux, *Les Homiliae Cathedrales de Sévère d'Antioche. Homélie LXXVII. Texte grec édité et traduit en français. Versions syriaques publiées pour la première fois* (PO 16.5; Paris 1922).



The juxtaposition of the three textual witnesses provides insight into their interrelationship. More recently, F. Graffin<sup>3</sup> and C.J.A. Lash<sup>4</sup> studied various aspects of Jacob's working method, including the way in which he dealt with the earlier work. However, except for Homily 77 and one other homily (no. 52: On the Maccabees),<sup>5</sup> the earlier translation, of which large portions have survived, has remained unpublished. Moreover, the nearly complete absence of the Greek original has seriously hindered the study of the relationship between the two translations.

In the past few years, a number of Greek fragments, mainly preserved in exegetical *Catena* manuscripts, have become available in critical editions.<sup>6</sup> There is reason, therefore, to examine whether these fragments may shed new light on Jacob's working method and on the way in which he dealt with the earlier version. It is my aim here to present the result of some first soundings. Before doing so, however, a few preliminary observations on the earlier, mid-sixth-century translation need to be made.

Portions of the mid-sixth-century translation have been preserved in four ancient manuscripts:<sup>7</sup>

Ms. London, BL Add. 14599	AD 568/9	Hom. 31 to 59
Ms. Rome, Vat. Syr. 142	no later than 576	Hom. 73 to 100
Ms. Rome, Vat. Syr. 143	AD 563	Hom. 101 to 125
Ms. Rome, Vat. Syr. 256	sixth century	Hom. 101 to 125

In none of the manuscripts is the translator's name mentioned. It is far from certain, therefore, that we are dealing with the work of Paul

<sup>3</sup> F. Graffin, 'Jacques d'Édesse réviseur des homélies de Sévère d'Antioche, d'après le ms. syriaque *B.M. Add. 12.159*', in *Symposium Syriacum 1976* (OCA 205; Rome 1978), 243–255.

<sup>4</sup> C.J.A. Lash, 'The Scriptural Citations in the *Homiliae Cathedrales* of Severus of Antioch and the Textual Criticism of the Greek Old Testament', in E.A. Livingstone (ed.), *Studia Patristica 12. Papers Presented to the Sixth International Conference on Patristic Studies 1* (TU 115; Berlin 1975), 321–327; idem, 'Techniques of a Translator: Work-Notes on the Methods of Jacob of Edessa in Translating the Homilies of Severus of Antioch', in F. Paschke (ed.), *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (TU 125; Berlin 1981), 365–383.

<sup>5</sup> R.L. Bensly and W.E. Barnes, *The Fourth Book of Maccabees and Kindred Documents in Syriac* (Cambridge 1895), 76–88 (Syriac text of the sixth-century translation) and 90–102 (Syriac text of Jacob's translation).

<sup>6</sup> A number of Greek fragments were previously known in uncritical editions, while in the most recent fascicles of the *Patrologia Orientalis* edition, Greek fragments were published in the footnotes. With the new critical editions, however, we have a more reliable basis for study (see note 12 below).

<sup>7</sup> See the description of the manuscripts in Brière, *Introduction* (PO 29), 18–33. See the Postscript to the present article.

of Callinicus, as some scholars have argued and others have repeated, even if Paul is known as the translator of other works by Severus and was active in the second quarter of the sixth century. It cannot even, at present, be ascertained that the four manuscripts contain parts of one and the same translation. When Jacob, in the notes to his translation, speaks about his predecessors, he nowhere gives names and always uses the plural.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, in his study of a passage from Homily 103, which is preserved in two different sixth-century manuscripts, C. Lash noted considerable differences between the two versions, which led him to call into question the assumption that we are dealing with one and the same translation.<sup>9</sup>

These and related issues will have to be addressed when the results of a full investigation of all the available materials are available. In the meantime, I would like to focus on a limited number of Syriac homilies, preserved in one manuscript (Ms. London, British Library Add. 14599), which may safely be assumed to present (the remains of) one homogeneous translation.<sup>10</sup>

The manuscript is dated in the colophon to A.Gr. 880 (= AD 568/9). It opens with an index giving the number and full title of Homilies 40 to 59, but it immediately becomes clear that the beginning is missing and that the index originally must have started with Homily 31, as this is in fact the first homily whose text is contained in the manuscript. The colophon at the end indicates that the 29 homilies, from 31 to 59, constituted the 'second volume' (*penqitā d-tartēn*) of Severus' Cathedral Homilies. In addition to the initial folio(s), some more folios are missing, causing the loss of parts of Homilies 31, 32, and the larger part of 33. At a later date, the manuscript must have been sent 'to the land of Egypt' (we may understand that it was presented to the Monastery of the Syrians, in the Wadi al-Natrun), from where, at the request of Patriarch Michael the Syrian, it was brought to the patriarchal cell in the Monastery of Barsauma (near Melitene) in 1189/90. This information can be derived from a note on the last folio of the manuscript written by Patriarch Michael himself.<sup>11</sup> Some time later, however, the manuscript

<sup>8</sup> Lash, 'Techniques', 372–373.

<sup>9</sup> Lash, 'Techniques', 379–381.

<sup>10</sup> See the description of the manuscript in W. Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum Acquired since the Year 1838* 2 (London 1871), 546b–548a, as well as in Brière, *Introduction* (PO 29), 18–21.

<sup>11</sup> Wright, *Catalogue*, 547b–548a; Brière, *Introduction* (PO 29), 21. There can be no doubt that the Monastery of Barsauma, mentioned in Michael's note, is the one near Melitene rather than an otherwise unknown monastery by the same name at Antioch, as Wright suggests. See also F. Nau, 'Sur quelques autographes de Michel le Syrien, patriarche d'Antioche de 1166 à 1199', *ROC* 19 (1914), 394–395.

must have been returned to the Monastery of the Syrians, from where it was transferred to the British Museum in 1843.

For the 29 homilies preserved in this manuscript, 21 Greek fragments have been identified in recent *Catena* editions.<sup>12</sup> In addition to these 21 fragments, for which there is a close correspondence between the Greek and Syriac texts, some *Catena* manuscripts contain fragments which must be understood as reworked versions of the original text.<sup>13</sup> They have been excluded from the present investigation. The table on the following page lists the fragments with the correspondences in the London manuscript as well as in the *Patrologia Orientalis*<sup>14</sup> edition of Jacob's translation.

After having had the opportunity of studying some aspects of Jacob of Edessa's working method at an earlier occasion,<sup>15</sup> I would like to make here some additional remarks, based on the comparative study of Jacob's work with the mid-sixth-century translation.

First of all, there can be no doubt that the translation preserved in Ms. British Library Add. 14599 was Jacob's starting point. His work consisted in checking the translation against the Greek original (which was accessible to him in more than one manuscript, occasionally even in three manuscripts<sup>16</sup>), correcting it and revising it according

<sup>12</sup> The following abbreviations are used: Cat. Gen. = F. Petit, *La chaîne sur la Genèse. Édition intégrale* 1–4 (TEG 1–4; Louvain 1991–1996); Cat. Exod. = F. Petit, *La chaîne sur l'Exode 1. Fragments de Sévère d'Antioche* (TEG 9; Louvain 1999); Cat. Ps. = G. Dorival, 'Nouveaux fragments grecs de Sévère d'Antioche', in *Ἀντιόχεια. Hulde aan Dr. Maurits Geerard bij de voltooiing van de Clavis Patrum Graecorum. Hommage à Maurits Geerard pour célébrer l'achèvement de la Clavis Patrum Graecorum* (Wetteren 1984), 101–121. A few more fragments from Homilies 31 and 33 have been preserved in Greek, but they correspond to passages that are missing from the London manuscript. For a survey of the Greek fragments of the Cathedral Homilies, see M. Geerard, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* 3 (Turnhout 1979), no. 7080, as well as M. Geerard and J. Noret, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum. Supplementum* (Turnhout 1998), nos. 7035 and 7080—to which should be added: U. and D. Hagedorn, *Die älteren griechischen Ketenen zum Buch Hiob 2 and 3* (Patristische Texte und Studien 48 and 53; Berlin–New York 1997 and 2000).

<sup>13</sup> For the rewriting of fragments in the *Catena* on Exodus, see Petit, *La chaîne sur l'Exode* 1, xvi and xx.

<sup>14</sup> The following fascicles are referred to: *Les Homiliae Cathedrales de Sévère d'Antioche. Traduction de Jacques d'Édesse. Homélie XXVI à XXXI*: M. Brière and F. Graffin (PO 36.4; Turnhout 1974); *Homélie XXXII à XXXIX*: M. Brière, F. Graffin, C.J.A. Lash (36.3; Turnhout 1972); *Homélie XL à XLV*: M. Brière and F. Graffin (PO 36.1; Turnhout 1971); *Homélie XLVI à LI*: M. Brière and F. Graffin (PO 35.3; Turnhout 1969); *Homélie LII à LVII*: R. Duval (PO 4.1; Paris 1908).

<sup>15</sup> L. Van Rompay, 'Les versions syriaques', in Petit, *La chaîne sur l'Exode 1. Fragments de Sévère d'Antioche*, 111–131 (pages 132–208 contain Greek-Syriac and Syriac-Greek glossaries).

<sup>16</sup> Lash, 'Techniques', 372.

No.	Homily	Greek fragment	Ms. BL Add. 14599	Jacob's translation
1.	31	Cat. Gen. 1, no. 338	f. 4rb,15–4va,6	36, 644,7–13
2.	31	Cat. Gen. 1, no. 471 [beginning with the end of line 3: Φλογίνης...]	f. 5ra,1–8	36, 648,1–7
3.	31	Cat. Gen. 1, no. 472	f. 5ra,13–25	36, 648,9–13
4.	31	Cat. Gen. 2, no. 737	f. 5rb,8–5va,3	36, 648,17–26
5.	31	Cat. Exod., no. 191	f. 5va,9–16	36, 650,2–7
6.	31	Cat. Exod., no. 525	f. 6ra,12–b,1	36, 650,24–30
7.	35	Cat. Exod., no. 741	f. 20rb,26–21rb,5	36, 440,19–442,25
8.	35	Cat. Exod., no. 746	f. 21rb,9–19	36, 442,26–30
9.	35	Cat. Exod., no. 742	f. 21rb,30–21va,28	36, 442,34–444,9
10.	35	Cat. Exod., no. 735	f. 22ra,8–13	36, 444,26–28
11.	41	Cat. Gen. 3, no. 1276	f. 61va,17–21	36, 26,15–16
12.	42	Cat. Gen. 4, no. 1916 [beginning with the end of line 1: θεὸν ἡγεμόνα...]	f. 67vb,13–17	36, 42,19–21
13.	42	Cat. Gen. 4, no. 1929	f. 67vb,28–68ra,13	36, 42,25–29
14.	46	Cat. Exod., no. 605	f. 105va,5–b,9	35, 296,17–26
15.	46	Cat. Exod., no. 544	f. 108rb,11–16	35, 302,22–24
16.	47	Cat. Ps., p. 110, no. 3 [up to ὑποληφόμεθα in line 3]	f. 109va,22–b,2	35, 306,16–20
17.	48	Cat. Exod., no. 564	f. 116ra,12–b,8	35, 322,7–14
18.	51	Cat. Gen. 3, no. 1302	f. 136vb,12–17	35, 374,19–20
19.	56	Cat. Exod., no. 989 <sup>17</sup>	f. 170vb,14–17	4, 75,3–4
20.	56	Cat. Exod., no. 743	f. 170vb,25–171rb,13	4, 75,6–76,3
21.	57	Cat. Gen. 1, no. 405 [beginning with the middle of line 2: Αὐτὸς δέ...]	f. 179vb,4–14	4, 93,4–8

to the standards prevalent in his day—or, we may say, according to his own standards, for in Jacob's generation no scholar would have surpassed him in erudition and critical sense! One gets the impression that Jacob decided to intervene whenever he possibly could, producing a more accurate translation or just giving lexical alternatives, which for us are often difficult to evaluate. However, the groundwork was provided in the earlier translation, a valuable achievement in its own right, which Jacob only in a limited number of cases was able to really emend. Jacob's work is a revision, by no means a new and independent translation.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Published in F. Petit, *La chaîne sur l'Exode. Édition intégrale 4. Fonds caténique ancien (Exode 15,22–40,32)* (TEG 11; Louvain 2001). This and two other fragments (nos. 472 and 1012) have been identified only at a later date and were not included, therefore, in the edition of fragments of Severus mentioned in note 12 (nor in the glossaries).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Brière, *Introduction* (PO 29), 34.

1. *Jacob's 'Passion for Accuracy'*<sup>19</sup>

At the outset, it should be noticed that Jacob and the sixth-century translator share a decided 'source-oriented' Greek approach in their work, as opposed to the cultural dynamic translations of the earlier period (fourth and fifth centuries).<sup>20</sup> To a certain extent, Jacob's work marks a further step in the process aiming at greater conformity with the Greek original. Thus, more consciously than his predecessor, he tries to render each element of the Greek sentence, even when at first sight no direct Syriac equivalent is available. Jacob lets the Greek definite article only rarely go unnoticed and he brings into the text many Greek particles silently passed over by his predecessor. Unable to find a perfect match for each of them, he uses ܕܘܫ to render γε and τε (both in their independent form and in ὥστε = -ܐ ܕܘܫ ܕܘܫܟܐ), while the same Syriac particle follows the demonstrative preceding a relative clause whenever the Greek has ὅστις or ὅσπερ (-ܐ ܕܘܫ ܐܘܐ) rather than the simple relative.

The same tendency to achieve formal agreement shows itself in Jacob's dealing with Greek adjectives. While his predecessor rendered these in different ways, Jacob prefers to stick to the same word category in Syriac,<sup>21</sup> as will be shown in the following examples.<sup>22</sup>

(1) [= no. 2] φλογίνη ῥομφαία (= Gen. 3:24)<sup>23</sup> 'a fiery sword'

P: ܕܘܫܐ ܕܘܫܐ (d- with participle)

J: ܕܘܫܘܫܘܬܐ ܕܘܫܘܫܘܬܐ (var. ܕܘܫܘܫܘܬܐ)

The latter adjective in all likelihood was not in the Syro-Hexapla, which may have used a participle (ܕܘܫܘܫܘܬܐ ܕܘܫܘܫܘܬܐ).<sup>24</sup>

<sup>19</sup> The phrase is borrowed from Lash, 'Techniques', 375.

<sup>20</sup> For the general history of Syriac translation technique, see S. Brock, 'Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique', in R. Lavenant (ed.), *III<sup>e</sup> Symposium Syriacum 1980* (OCA 221; Rome 1983), 1–14. For the wider context of the phenomenon, see idem, 'Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity', *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 20 (1979), 69–87, as well as 'To Revise or Not to Revise: Attitudes to Jewish Biblical Translation', in G.J. Brooke and B. Lindars (eds.), *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings* (SCS 33; Atlanta 1992), 301–338.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. S. Brock, 'Diachronic Aspects of Syriac Word Formation: An Aid for Dating Anonymous Texts', in R. Lavenant (ed.), *V Symposium Syriacum 1988* (OCA 236; Rome 1990), 322.

<sup>22</sup> In the following, J refers to Jacob's translation, P to the work of Jacob's predecessor (possibly Paul of Callinicus). The examples are numbered between round brackets. References to the list of 21 passages are added between square brackets.

<sup>23</sup> Although in the biblical quotations P is often closer to the Peshitta, both translators in principle produced new translations based on the Greek rather than relying on an existing biblical text.

<sup>24</sup> A. Salvesen, 'Hexaplaric Readings in Išo'dad of Merv's Commentary on Genesis', in J. Frishman and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and*

(2) [= no. 9] τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς νομοθεσίας 'of the evangelical legislation'

P: ܩܠܒܪܩܬܐ ܩܘܡܘܨܐ ܩܘܡܘܨܐ (*d-* with noun)

J: ܩܠܒܪܩܬܐ ܩܘܡܘܨܐ ܩܘܡܘܨܐ

In addition to the use of the adjective,<sup>25</sup> this example also shows Jacob's wish to render Greek abstract nouns with abstract nouns of the *-utā* type as well as his concern to render the Greek definite article (in this case with a demonstrative pronoun).

However, Jacob's striving after greater conformity with the Greek is by no means the only factor directing his work. In the field of word order, for example, he does not strictly adhere to what is found in Greek.<sup>26</sup> In some instances, he even corrects the word order found in the earlier translation when the latter mirrors the Greek. This seems to indicate that as far as the pragmatic functions of word order are concerned, Jacob had his own agenda, different from the one of the earlier translator and not directly interchangeable with the Greek one of Severus. The limited basis of the present investigation does not allow us to draw any conclusions, but the question certainly deserves further study.<sup>27</sup>

Another illustration of Jacob's deliberate breaching the constraints of formal agreement between the Greek and the Syriac may be seen in the double translations frequently found in his work. While this phenomenon is well-known in various types of translation literature and is occasionally also found in the earlier translation, it is more frequent and sometimes more complex in Jacob's translations.<sup>28</sup> Some of the examples (esp. 6 and 7) do not only provide a second rendering, but involve a periphrastic rewriting of a phrase, showing Jacob stepping

*Oriental Christian Interpretation. A Collection of Essays* (TEG 5; Louvain 1997), 241. R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* 2 (Oxford 1883), 4171a, lists the word ܩܠܒܪܩܬܐ (*šalhebtāyā*), occurring in a quotation which I have been unable to locate.

<sup>25</sup> The adjective εὐαγγελικός also occurs in no. 20 ('the evangelical law'), where P again has *d-* followed by the noun, whereas J has the adjective.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Lash, 'Techniques of a Translator', 369.

<sup>27</sup> A study of Syriac word order in Jacob's texts and elsewhere along the lines set out by Heleen Murre-van den Berg (refining the 'Functional Grammar' model of S. Dik and others) would be most rewarding. See H.L. Murre-van den Berg, *From a Spoken to a Written Language. The Introduction and Development of Literary Urmia Aramaic in the Nineteenth Century* (Publications of the 'The Goeje Fund' 28; Leiden 1999), 19–21, and chapters 7–8, *passim*.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Kugener and Triffaux, *Homélie LXXVII* (PO 16.5), 788; Graffin, 'Jacques d'Édesse réviseur', 245; Lash, 'Techniques of a Translator', 374; Van Rompay, 'Les versions syriaques', 116–117.

out, so to speak, of his role as translator and assuming that of interpreter.<sup>29</sup>

In all our examples (3 to 7) Jacob is elaborating on the earlier translation, to which parallel terms or new shades of meaning are added.<sup>30</sup>

- (3) [= no. 4] *καὶ πέπαυκε τὸν τῆς ἁμαρτίας κατακλυσμόν* ‘and (the cross) stopped the Flood of sin’

P: *ܩܕܝܫܐ ܩܥܩܦܐ ܫܘܩܐ* ‘and it put to rest...’

J: *ܩܕܝܫܐ ܩܥܩܦܐ ܘܚܘܫܐ ܫܘܩܐ* ‘and it put to rest and abolished...’

- (4) [= no. 12] *θεὸν ἡγεμόνα τῆς ἐρμηνείας ποιούμενον* ‘(Joseph) making God the guide of the interpretation’

P: *ܩܘܡ ܘܒܐ ܫܘܒܥܐ ܩܘܡܐ ܩܘܡܐ ܘܐ* ‘... the ruler of his interpretation’

J: *ܩܘܡܐ ܩܘܡܐ ܩܘܡܐ ܩܘܡܐ ܩܘܡܐ ܩܘܡܐ ܩܘܡܐ ܩܘܡܐ ܩܘܡܐ* ‘... the head and the ruler of the interpretation’

- (5) [= no. 9] *τὸ ἄσηπτον* ‘the imputrescible (nature) (of the evangelical legislation)’

P: *ܩܘܠܘܒܐܘܬܐ ܩܘܠܘܒܐܘܬܐ* ‘the subtlety and incorruptibility’

J: *ܩܘܠܘܒܐܘܬܐ ܩܘܠܘܒܐܘܬܐ ܩܘܠܘܒܐܘܬܐ ܩܘܠܘܒܐܘܬܐ* ‘the imputrescibility and incorruptibility’

Both P and J have a double translation. The first of P’s terms must have been introduced on the basis of the context (the Syriac word in question regularly renders *λεπτότης* ‘lightness, immateriality, subtlety’), since it does not belong to the semantic field of *ἄσηπτος* ‘not liable to decay’. Jacob has kept the second term, but replaced the first one with a noun derived from the root which is also used to render *ἄσηπτος* in the Syro-Hexapla (e.g. Exod. 25:5).<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> For the background of this distinction, see Brock’s illuminating article ‘To Revise or Not to Revise’.

<sup>30</sup> For double readings of a slightly different type in Jacob’s version of the Books of Samuel, see R.J. Saley, *The Samuel Manuscript of Jacob of Edessa. A Study in Its Underlying Textual Traditions* (MPIL 9; Leiden 1998), 112–113 (with further references in note 63), 116–117, 120–121, as well as A. Salvesen, *The Books of Samuel in the Syriac Version of Jacob of Edessa* (MPIL 10; Leiden 1999), xii–xiii. Some of these double readings may perhaps be attributed to Jacob’s own creativity rather than to his relying on pre-existing sources.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. A. Vööbus, *The Pentateuch in the Version of the Syro-Hexapla. A Fac-simile Edition of a Midyat MS. Discovered 1964* (CSCO 369, Subs. 45; Louvain 1975), f. 44r, 9. See also R.B. ter Haar Romeny, *A Syrian in Greek Dress. The Use of Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac Biblical Texts in Eusebius of Emesa’s Commentary on Genesis* (TEG 6; Louvain 1997), 261–264, where the same word is discussed occurring in a number of witnesses of LXX Gen. 6:14.

- (6) [= no. 1] ἔχων ἔναυλον τῶν θείων λογίων τὴν ἀκρόασιν ‘(Adam) having the sound (*lit.* the hearing) of the divine sayings still fresh (in his ears)’

P: καθὼς ἐδουλεύει ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ κῆρυξ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι ἐστὶν ἔναυλον  
 ‘because he had staying in his ears the sound (*lit.* the hearing) of the divine admonitions’

Whereas the adjective with this specific meaning is normally understood as related to the word αὐλός ‘flute’ (ἐναυλος: ‘ringing in one’s ears’), the connection with αὐλή ‘residence’ is equally possible.<sup>32</sup> Cyril’s use of the verb ἐναυλιζομαι ‘to indwell, abide in’ as well as of the nouns ἐναύλιον ‘abode’, ἐναυλισμός ‘(the act of) indwelling’ and ἐναυλος ‘indwelling (person)’<sup>33</sup> may have prompted the translator to opt for the second interpretation. The phrase ‘in his ears’, added by him, seems to be a logical expansion, provoked by ‘hearing’, rather than a reflection of the first meaning.

J: ἔχων ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ κῆρυξ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι ἐστὶν ἔναυλον  
 καθὼς ἐδουλεύει ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ κῆρυξ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι ἐστὶν ἔναυλον  
 ‘because he had in him(self) fixed and established recent(ly) and not before a long time the sound (*lit.* the hearing) of the divine admonitions’

Though expressed with the help of different roots, Jacob has kept to the interpretation ‘dwelling’, found in the earlier translation. The addition, however, of ‘recent’ (the sublinear dot may indicate that it was meant to be the second part of a compound) should be seen as an echo of the first interpretation (‘still ringing in one’s ears, fresh’). With this new nuance, Jacob has enriched the earlier translation. On the other hand, the sentence has become very heavy and complicated.

Two further remarks should be made: (1) The verb ἔχειν, with the meaning ‘to have’, is expressed by the structure ὅτι ἐστὶν ἔναυλον ‘there is to him’ in both translations; however, the object of the Greek sentence takes no preposition in the earlier translation (where it may be regarded as grammatical subject), whereas Jacob, by using ἐν, seems to have stuck to the category of object.<sup>34</sup> (2) Jacob’s addition of ἐν after ὅτι ἐστὶν ἔναυλον may be an attempt to render the prepositional component of ἐναυλος.

<sup>32</sup> H.G. Liddell and R. Scott *et al.*, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (9th ed. with revised supplement; Oxford 1996), 557b.

<sup>33</sup> G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford 1961), 466b.

<sup>34</sup> This is only occasionally found elsewhere in Jacob’s translation (in most cases there is no preposition ἐν). E.g. Cat. Exod. no. 905,3: ὁ γὰρ τὸ λογικὸν ἔχων κεκαθαρισμένον ‘the one who has the rational faculty purified’—J: ὅτι ἐστὶν ἔναυλον ὅτι ἐστὶν ἔναυλον.



(7) [= no. 7] διαναστάς καὶ μετάρσιος τῇ θεωρίᾳ γενόμενος ‘having risen up and having become exalted through vision’

P: ܠܝܘܟܬܐ ܠܘܡ ܠܘܟܬܐ ܡܡ ܝܘ ܝܘ ‘when he had risen up and had become flying in (or through) *theoria*’

J: ܠܝܘܟܬܐ ܠܘܡ ܠܘܟܬܐ ܝܘܟܬܐ ܝܘܟܬܐ ܠܘܟܬܐ ܠܘܟܬܐ ܠܘܟܬܐ ܡܡ ܝܘ ܝܘ ‘when he had risen up and had become lofty and elevated and, so to speak, flying in (or through) *theoria*’

As in the previous example, we are not dealing with a double translation, but with an elaborate paraphrase, in which Jacob—focusing on one specific term—tries to pin down the different shades of meaning, thereby sacrificing the clarity of the sentence.

## 2. Participial Phrases

As I have noted in my previous study, Jacob pays much attention to the exact rendering of the Greek tenses.<sup>35</sup> For the verb in the main clause, the correspondences between Greek and Syriac forms are basically the same in both translations.<sup>36</sup> However, Jacob is more consistent than his predecessor and accordingly introduces a number of corrections.

Among the Greek participial phrases, I would like to single out the perfect participle, for which Jacob’s translation exhibits some interesting differences in comparison with the earlier translation.<sup>37</sup> For the Greek passive participle, both translators use the Syriac passive participle (preceded by *d-*)<sup>38</sup> of either the *p<sup>c</sup>al* or the *pa<sup>c</sup>el* stem. In the next example (8), where the main verb is in the aorist (= perfect in Syriac), Jacob has added *hwā* to the passive participle used by his predecessor, thereby creating some sort of pluperfect. Occasionally, however, the participle with *hwā* is also found in the earlier translation, as in example (9), where the main verb is in the imperfect (= participle with *hwā* in Syriac).

<sup>35</sup> ‘Les versions syriaques’, 121–125.

<sup>36</sup> They are not different from what is found elsewhere in translations from Greek. See e.g. S.P. Brock, ‘Limitations of Syriac in Representing Greek’, in B.M. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament. Their Origin, Transmission and Limitations* (Oxford 1977), 90–91.

<sup>37</sup> In ‘Les versions syriaques’, 121–123, I explored some usages of the structure *ktib* (*hwā*) *l-* (involving both transitive and intransitive verbs) as expression of resultative perfect. There are no new occurrences in the fragments presently under discussion.

<sup>38</sup> The only possibility of avoiding *d-* is in cases of attributive use of the participle. E.g. (no. 8) τὸ κεκρυμμένον . . . κάλλος ‘the hidden beauty (of the law)’—P: ܐܘܪ ܠܝܘܟܬܐ ܠܘܟܬܐ; J: ܠܘܟܬܐ ܐܘܪ ܠܝܘܟܬܐ. Jacob makes the opposite movement in (no. 2) ἡ κονημένη μαχαίρα ‘(more than) a sharpened sword’—P: ܠܘܟܬܐ ܠܘܟܬܐ (attributive); J: ܠܘܟܬܐ ܠܘܟܬܐ.

- (8) [= no. 4] τὰς ἀνὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν κεχυμένας ὑγρὰς ἡδονάς ‘the wet desires poured out over the entire earth’ (the main verb is aorist)

P: ܕܚܝܩ ܡܠܚܐ ܩܝܥܝܢ ܕܚܝܩ ܕܚܝܩܐ ܕܚܝܩܐ ܕܚܝܩܐ ‘... which were poured out...’

J: ܕܚܝܩܐ ܕܚܝܩܐ ܕܚܝܩܐ ܕܚܝܩܐ ܕܚܝܩܐ ‘... which had been poured out...’

- (9) [= no. 5] τὸν ἐγκεκρυμμένον αὐτῇ τύπον ‘the type hidden in it (i.e. in the rod)

P: ܡܢ ܕܚܝܩܐ ܕܚܝܩܐ ܕܚܝܩܐ ‘... which was hidden in it’

J: ܕܚܝܩܐ ܕܚܝܩܐ ܕܚܝܩܐ ܕܚܝܩܐ [Ms. L has in the margin: ܕܚܝܩܐ]

The passive participle of the *ʿafʿel* stem is used once to render the Greek active participle πεφυκώς.

- (10) [= no. 15] τροφῆς πεφυκυίας τρέφειν ψυχὴν ‘of food disposed to feed the soul’ (the main verb is present tense)

P: ܕܚܝܩܐ ܕܚܝܩܐ ܕܚܝܩܐ ܕܚܝܩܐ

J: ܕܚܝܩܐ ܕܚܝܩܐ ܕܚܝܩܐ ܕܚܝܩܐ

In our fragments, there is only one active participle perfect which required an active rendering:

- (11) [= no. 14] τὸ πεπτωκὸς βόθρω πρόβατον ἢ ὑποζύγιον ‘the sheep or ox having fallen in a pit’ (the main verb is imperfect)

P: ܕܚܝܩܐ ܕܚܝܩܐ ܕܚܝܩܐ ܕܚܝܩܐ

J: ܕܚܝܩܐ ܕܚܝܩܐ ܕܚܝܩܐ ܕܚܝܩܐ

Whereas the earlier translation uses the participle with *hwā* (if the dot were a mistake by the copyist, the verbal form might be read as perfect), Jacob replaces this structure with the form *nappil*. Such forms, belonging to intransitive verbs, occur in earlier Syriac,<sup>39</sup> but Jacob and the translators of his day have expanded their use and have fully integrated them into the verbal system, to express a resultative perfect.<sup>40</sup> For Homily 77 too, Jacob has

<sup>39</sup> E.g. Peshitta John 11:19: ܕܚܝܩܐ ܕܚܝܩܐ ܕܚܝܩܐ ܕܚܝܩܐ ܕܚܝܩܐ ‘and many of the Jews had come to Martha and Mary’ (ἐληλύθεισαν: *ʿattiʿin (h)waw*). Cf. T. Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik* (2nd ed.; Leipzig 1898), 71 (§ 118), and G. Goldenberg, ‘Aramaic Perfects’, *Israel Oriental Studies* 12 (1992), 119 [Reprinted in idem, *Studies in Semitic Linguistics. Selected Writings* (Jerusalem 1998)].

<sup>40</sup> Cf. ‘Les versions syriaques’, 123–124. For further discussion of some of these forms and their possible role as forerunners of Neo-Aramaic forms, see A. Mengozzi, *Israel of Alqosh and Joseph of Telkepe: A Story in a Truthful Language. Religious Poems in Vernacular Syriac (North Iraq, 17th Century)* (CSCO 590, Syr. 231; Louvain 2002), particularly 43–44.

introduced some of these forms to replace ordinary perfects in the earlier translation.<sup>41</sup>

The above example is the only one that occurs in our fragments. In the rest of Jacob's translation as well the *kattib* form is found only with a limited number of verbs. We do have, however, an interesting indirect witness:

(12) [= no. 17] ἔκφοβός εἰμι καὶ ἔντρομος 'I am frightened and trembling'  
(= Hebr. 12:21)

P: ܠܟ ܕܕܝܘܐ ܠܟ ܕܢܝܢ (= Peshitta)

J: ܠܟܝܘܐ ,ܕܟܠܕܠܝܘܐ

The earlier translation has adopted the Peshitta reading, which has two 'verbal' adjectives of the *kattib* type.<sup>42</sup> Apparently because of the place this form was taking in the verbal system, Jacob did not want to maintain it in its adjectival variant (used in the Peshitta as predicate in the nominal clause). This must have been the reason for its being replaced with a prepositional expression, although this replacement would otherwise run against Jacob's own principle of correspondence between word categories in Greek and Syriac. It should be noted that Jacob was not the first to have made such a decision. For ἔκφοβός εἰμι also occurs in Deut. 9:19, where the Syro-Hexapla has ,ܕܟܠܕܠܝܘܐ,<sup>43</sup> which is Jacob's reading.

### 3. Additional Notes

#### 3.1 Proposed Correction in the Greek on the Basis of the Syriac

For the fragment no. 16, the Greek text has been published on the basis of two manuscripts of a *Catena* on Psalms (Dorival's 'chaîne théodorétienne', dated by him to c.800) and one additional manuscript of a secondary type, which has used the former as one of its sources.<sup>44</sup> Five words at the end have no equivalent in Syriac; the editor is inclined to regard them as a lexical gloss. Of the two remaining sentences, there is close correspondence between the Greek and the two Syriac translations for the first one, while the second is more problematic. The Greek text (particularly the part printed in slanted characters) is not easy to understand.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. 'Les versions syriaques', 124.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste syrische Grammatik*, 71 ('Verbaladjectiva').

<sup>43</sup> Vööbus, *The Pentateuch*, f. 163v, 24.

<sup>44</sup> Dorival, 'Nouveaux fragments', 105.





and circulated in Syrian Orthodox circles, this translation may very well have been known to Jacob.

#### 4. *Concluding Remarks*

Despite the very limited scope of the present investigation, the confrontation of the newly edited Greek fragments with the two existing Syriac translations shows that the earlier translation deserves to be studied in its own right. The mid-sixth-century translator paved the way for Jacob's work. In addition, the high quality of his work and the sobriety of his style may more than once help to elucidate difficult passages in Jacob's text and, therefore, occasionally provide a better access to Severus' homilies.

Compared to the earlier translation, Jacob's version is characterized by a tendency to rephrase in Syriac a very complete understanding of the Greek original. Although formal equivalents play an important role, more decisive for his choices are nuances of meaning, grammatical subtleties, and the peculiarities of the Greek verbal system. To achieve his goal Jacob made creative and innovative use of all the possibilities of the Syriac language, which in his hands was upgraded in order to meet the linguistic and rhetorical requirements of Severus' homilies. His scrupulous treatment of Greek particles, his attempt to fully grasp the meaning of nouns and verbs, and to remedy the shortcomings of the Syriac verbal system as compared to the Greek have often resulted in a text which, while being more faithful to the Greek, on the formal level is certainly not always closer to it.

As a master of his own language and an expert in Greek, Jacob must be regarded as one of those outstanding Syriac scholars who succeeded in bringing together as closely as possible two utterly different languages. While these endeavours most certainly fill one with admiration, there also is a certain restlessness in Jacob's unremitting striving for improvement and perfection.

#### POSTSCRIPT

Since the submission of this paper several years ago, one new manuscript of the sixth-century translation of Severus of Antioch's *Cathedral Homilies* has come to light: Ms. Trinity College, Dublin, 1511(I), for which see: I. Bcheiry, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in Trinity College, Dublin* (Kaslik 2005), 27–41. This manuscript, which Bcheiry dates to the seventh century, is incomplete at the beginning and at the end and includes the following homilies: nos. 10 (incomplete), 38, 15, 18, 20,

22, and 31 (incomplete). In addition, new Greek fragments of Severus' *Homilies* have been published in: F. Petit, *Sévère d'Antioche. Fragments grecs tirés des chaînes sur les derniers livres de l'Octateuque et sur les Règnes* (TEG 14; Louvain 2006). Finally, J.-C. Haelewyck's comparative study of the different Syriac translations of Gregory of Nazianzus' homilies provides important data for a fuller study and assessment of Jacob of Edessa's translations: *Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni Opera. Versio syriaca 3. Orationes XXVII, XXXVIII, XXXIX* (CCSG 53, Corpus Nazianzenum 18; Turnhout–Louvain 2005). Had the new evidence from these three publications been taken into account, the study published here might have yielded slightly different results.

## JACOB OF EDESSA AND THE RECEPTION OF ARISTOTLE

*Henri Hugonnard-Roche\**

The scholar Jacob of Edessa, who has sometimes been compared to Saint Jerome or to Origen for his rigour of exposition, is distinguished for the energy with which he revised Syriac translations of Greek originals, Scripture and patristic texts. Besides these works, devoted particularly to the Old Testament and to Severus of Antioch's and Gregory of Nazianzus' Homilies, he has left a single translation of a non-religious text, Aristotle's *Categories*. It is proposed here to examine this translation, not so much from a strictly philological angle, but rather to seek to understand what type of work Jacob undertook and to define the aim of his translation.

There can be no doubt, let it be stated at the outset, that the translation of the *Categories* is linked in some way with Jacob's studies at the very beginning of his career at the monastery school at Qenneshrin. From its foundation c.530 by John of Aphthonia, this monastery devoted part of its work to the furthering of Greek learning and it played an essential role in the transmission of ancient philosophical thought. It was at Qenneshrin that Jacob was introduced to Aristotelian studies, particularly logic, which flourished there at the time of his stay. During the period of Jacob's presence in the school of a monastery which had become the intellectual heart of West Syriac Christianity, the abbot and bishop Severus Sebokt made Greek studies flourish, not only on the level of language teaching, but also by the close attention he accorded to a wide variety of academic and philosophical disciplines. Severus himself was interested notably in astronomy and cosmology, subjects on which he composed a number of works and treatises.<sup>1</sup> In the field of Aristotelian logic he appears not to have been involved in translation—at least no evidence to this effect is available—, but he composed several works on technical points relating to the *De interpretatione* and the *Prior Analytics*.

\*Thanks are due to Clive Sweeting for assistance with the English version of this article.

<sup>1</sup> For the scientific activity of Severus and of Syriac writers in general, see H. Hugonnard-Roche, 'Matematica e astronomia', in *Storia della Scienza 4* (Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana; Roma 2001), 36–41; for logic, see also H. Hugonnard-Roche, 'La tradizione della logica aristotelica', *ibidem*, 16–26.



Among the pupils who followed the school's instruction figure also various authors who brought up to date the translations of the Aristotelian corpus: Jacob for the *Categories*; Athanasius, the future bishop of Edessa and Patriarch Athanasius II for the *Prior Analytics*, *Topics*, and for Porphyry's *Isagoge*,<sup>2</sup> which served as an introduction to the logical corpus; George of the Arabs, translator and commentator of the *Categories*, the *De interpretatione*, and the *Prior Analytics*.<sup>3</sup> To round off this very summary description of the intellectual milieu at Qenneshrin in the seventh century, among the scholars associated with the monastery shortly before Jacob's arrival should also be mentioned Thomas of Harkel, who revised the translation of the New Testament, and probably also Paul of Edessa, who worked on the translation of Gregory of Nazianzus' Homilies. As for Jacob himself, after training in Greek literature and in secular philosophy at Qenneshrin, it is very likely that he went on to complete his studies at Alexandria. In any case, his translation of the *Categories* is assuredly evidence of the skill he acquired in these domains, as the following remarks will, it is hoped, show.<sup>4</sup>

Jacob's translation of the *Categories* had been preceded by an earlier attempt, which is preserved in a seventh century manuscript.<sup>5</sup> This anonymous translation is inserted amongst various logical texts representing an 'ancient' corpus, that is, as opposed to a period of new or revised translations associated with the activities of Qenneshrin.<sup>6</sup> The

<sup>2</sup> These three translations by Athanasius are attested in the marginalia of Ms. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) ar. 2346, which contains Arabic translations of all Aristotle's logical treatises, accompanied by numerous marginal annotations whose contents derive, in part, from Syriac translations dating from before the ninth century. For the translations preserved in this manuscript and their annotations, see H. Hugonnard-Roche, 'Une ancienne « édition » arabe de l'*Organon* d'Aristote : problèmes de traduction et de transmission', in J. Hamesse (ed.), *Les problèmes posés par l'édition critique des textes anciens et médiévaux* (Publications de l'Institut d'Études Médiévales, Université Catholique de Louvain 13; Louvain-la-Neuve 1992), 139–157. For mentions of Athanasius' translations in the marginalia of this manuscript, see also H. Hugonnard-Roche, 'Contributions syriaques aux études arabes de logique à l'époque abbaside', *Aram* 3 (1991), 193–210.

<sup>3</sup> For an overview of Syriac translations and commentaries on logic, see S. Brock, 'The Syriac Commentary Tradition', in Ch. Burnett (ed.), *Glosses and Commentaries on Aristotelian Texts: The Syriac, Arabic and Medieval Latin Traditions* (Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts 23; London 1993), 3–18; see also the notices by H. Hugonnard-Roche, 'Aristote. L'*Organon*', in R. Goulet (ed.), *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques* 1 (Paris 1989), 502–528.

<sup>4</sup> On Jacob's life, see now Alison Salvesen's introduction to this volume.

<sup>5</sup> This translation is preserved, without an author's name, in a single manuscript: London, British Library (BL) Add. 14658, fols. 73–92.

<sup>6</sup> In its earlier part the manuscript contains successively Sergius of Resh'ayna's commentary on the *Categories* 'for Theodore', an anonymous translation of Por-

stylistic characteristics of these earlier texts—notably the anonymous translations of Porphyry's *Isagoge* and Aristotle's *Categories*—require them to be dated before the period when Syriac translations become 'mirrors' of Greek originals, and are on the contrary periphrastic in style.<sup>7</sup> The translation of the *Categories* was for a long time attributed to Sergius of Resh'ayna, but it has been shown that such an attribution is mistaken, and so this text will be referred to as the 'Anonymous' translation in the course of this article.<sup>8</sup> The most effective way of measuring Jacob's achievement with the text of the *Categories* is without doubt to compare his work with that of the Anonymous translator.<sup>9</sup>

Jacob of Edessa's version, however, is preserved in several manuscripts<sup>10</sup> and his authorship is well attested in the sources. Unlike the

phyry's *Isagoge*, the translation of the *Categories*, and a translation of Dionysius Thrax's grammatical treatise. For an overview of the content of this manuscript, see H. Hugonnard-Roche, 'Éthique et politique au premier âge de la tradition syriaque', *MUSJ* 57 (2004), 99–119, esp. 108–119. For the different periods when the Syriac translations and commentaries of Aristotle's logical works were achieved, see H. Hugonnard-Roche, 'Les traductions syriaques de l'*Isagoge* de Porphyre et la constitution du corpus syriaque de logique', *Revue d'histoire des textes* 24 (1994), 293–312 (repr. in H. Hugonnard-Roche, *La logique d'Aristote du grec au syriaque. Études sur la transmission des textes de l'Organon et leur interprétation philosophique* (Paris 2004), 79–97).

<sup>7</sup> For this contrast of styles, see notably S. Brock, 'Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique', in R. Lavenant (ed.), *III<sup>o</sup> Symposium Syriacum 1980. Les contacts du monde syriaque avec les autres cultures* (OCA 221; Rome 1983), 1–14.

<sup>8</sup> For the impossibility of attributing to Sergius the anonymous translation of the *Categories* contained in Ms. BL Add. 14658, see H. Hugonnard-Roche, 'Sur les versions syriaques des *Catégories* d'Aristote', *JA* 275 (1987), 205–222 (repr. in Hugonnard-Roche, *La logique d'Aristote*, 23–37).

<sup>9</sup> A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluß der christlich-palästinensischen Texte* (Bonn 1922; repr. Berlin 1968), 255–256, had attributed to Jacob of Edessa a collection of four versified texts contained in Ms. Vatican sir. 95, fols. 78–81, under the name of a certain 'Ja'qub malpana', and dealing with terms of philosophical and religious vocabulary. According to Baumstark, one of the items dealt with the Trinity, the others with Aristotle's *Categories*, Greek mythology, and scholastic philosophical terminology. Consultation of these texts, however, has not permitted recognition of Jacob of Edessa's work and it is our conviction that there is no valid reason for attributing this collection to his authorship. Also, in the text which Baumstark compared with the *Categories*, we cannot see any sort of commentary on this treatise: the occasional philosophical terms to be found there are common to the entire tradition of philosophical and theological exegesis. No account will therefore be taken of this collection in the course of this study.

<sup>10</sup> See the list of eight manuscripts supplied by A. Baumstark, *Geschichte*, 251, note 4, and reproduced by Kh. Georr, *Les Catégories d'Aristote dans leurs versions syro-arabes* (Beirut 1948), 27. Three other manuscripts are added to the foregoing list by L. Minio-Paluello, 'The Text of the *Categoriae*: the Latin Tradition', *The Classical Quarterly* 39 (1945), 63–74 (repr. in L. Minio-Paluello, *Opuscula: The Latin Aristotle* (Amsterdam 1972), 28–39, esp. 28, note 4).

Anonymous translation, it has been edited, so rather than referring to the manuscript of the former, we shall use the text of Aristotle for reference purposes.<sup>11</sup> A systematic study of Jacob's translation technique is not envisaged here, but rather an attempt, by means of a comparison of his work with the Anonymous translation, to define certain characteristics of his undertaking.<sup>12</sup>

For such a comparison to be successful, it must first be established whether the Anonymous translator and Jacob used Greek texts belonging to the same family of the manuscript tradition. Following the information supplied by the editor of the Greek text, L. Minio-Paluello, who consulted the Syriac versions, Jacob's translation belongs to one of two Greek manuscript groups which he distinguished from each other (the sixth century Armenian translation belongs to the same group), whereas the Anonymous translation in his opinion occupies a position midway between this group and that represented by Boethius' Latin version.<sup>13</sup> These remarks, however, are superseded by the new edition of the Greek text by R. Bodéüs, who distinguishes five groups among the

<sup>11</sup> Incomplete edition of Jacob's translation (as far as 3b32 Bekker) by S. Schüler, *Die Uebersetzung der Categoriaen des Aristoteles von Jacob von Edessa* (Diss. Erlangen 1896; Berlin 1897), using two manuscripts: Paris, BnF syr. 248 and Berlin 89 (Sachau 226). Edition of the entire text by Georr, *Les Catégories d'Aristote*, using the two Paris manuscripts, BnF syr. 354 (twelfth century) and BnF syr. 248 (copied in 1637 from Ms. Vat. sir. 158, which dates from the ninth or tenth century), together with marginal indication of pages and lines in Bekker's standard Greek edition. This edition by Georr is not particularly critical, and a new edition should take as its starting point the Vatican manuscript, the oldest known to us, while taking account of the other family as represented by the Paris manuscript syr. 354.

<sup>12</sup> A systematic study of Jacob's translation techniques has been made by Georr, *Les Catégories d'Aristote*, 33–108, which starts out from elements of Greek morphology and grammatical syntax and seeks to establish their transpositional equivalents in Jacob's text as well as in George of the Arabs' translation of the *Categoriae*. This article however does not include in its ambit George's translation, insofar this is later than Jacob's and therefore tells us little about the latter's undertaking. For Jacob of Edessa's translation methods, studied in the context of other texts, see among recent items: 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 F. Paschke (ed.), *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* (TU 125; Leipzig–Berlin 1981), 365–383; A. Salvesen, 'The Purpose of Jacob of Edessa's Version of Samuel', *The Harp* 8–9 (1995–1996), 117–126; idem, 'An edition of Jacob of Edessa's version of I–II Samuel', in R. Lavenant (ed.), *Symposium Syriacum VII* (OCA 256; Rome 1998), 13–22; and L. Van Rompay's contribution to the present volume.

<sup>13</sup> See L. Minio-Paluello (ed.), *Aristotelis Categoriae et liber De interpretatione* (Oxford Classical Texts; Oxford 1949), xx, where the Anonymous translation is found under the name of Sergius of Resh'ayna. In fact consultation of the apparatus criticus has shown that the editor was probably not able in every circumstance to interpret the Anonymous Syriac translation and, that in a certain number of cases he abstained from classifying it, when it was nevertheless possible to do so.

fifty-odd manuscripts of the *Categories* which date from before the fourteenth century.<sup>14</sup> It would seem however that differences attributable to possible variants in the Greek manuscripts used by the two translators are but minimal, in view of the modifications occurring in the transposition from Greek to Syriac for which the translators themselves are responsible. It is therefore our conviction that the methods of both translators are easily detectable in the Syriac texts, and that the translation differences that exist cannot be put down to differences in the Greek text.<sup>15</sup>

To start with, some examples of characteristics common to both the Anonymous translator and to Jacob are to be noticed. It can be no cause of surprise that a certain number of Greek words are rendered identically by both authors. A short selection of these follows:

προσηγορία (1a13): ܠܘܘܠ ('appellation'); φανερόν (2a19): ܠܘܠ; λόγος (2a20, with the meaning of 'defining formula'): ܠܘܠܐ; λέξις (6b33): ܠܘܠܐ; κατὰ δύναμιν φυσικὴν (9a16): ܠܘܠܐ ܠܘܠܐ; σύστασις (9b18): ܠܘܠܐ; μορφή (10a12): ܠܘܠܐ; στέρησις (12a26, 12b2): ܠܘܠܐ; τρόπος (12b3): ܠܘܠܐ; ἀντίθεσις (12b3): ܠܘܠܐ; διήγησις (14b3): ܠܘܠܐ; ἄμα (14b24, with the technical meaning of 'simultaneous'): ܠܘܠܐ; κίνησις (15a13): ܠܘܠܐ; etc.

There is no need to multiply these examples, which do not tell us much about Jacob's practice, and for the task in hand it is more useful to examine differences. In many cases, especially in cases of technical logical vocabulary, Jacob's Syriac lexicon differs from that of his predecessor. Several incidences of this are appended here:<sup>16</sup>

ἀναγκαῖον (2a20): ܠܘܠܐ A ܠܘܠܐ J; ἀδύνατον (2a30 and *passim*): ܠܘܠܐ A ܠܘܠܐ J; κατηγορία (3a35): ܠܘܠܐ A ܠܘܠܐ J; ὑπάρχει (3b24): -ܐ ܠܘܠܐ A ܠܘܠܐ J; ἐναντίον (3b24): ܠܘܠܐ A ܠܘܠܐ J; ποιότης (8b25, 9a14): ܠܘܠܐ A ܠܘܠܐ J; ἕξις (8b27 *seq.*): ܠܘܠܐ A ܠܘܠܐ J; διάθεσις (8b27 *seq.*): ܠܘܠܐ A ܠܘܠܐ J; σχῆμα (10a11): ܠܘܠܐ A ܠܘܠܐ J; ἐναντιότης (10b12): ܠܘܠܐ A ܠܘܠܐ J; κατὰ τὸ ποιόν (10b12): ܠܘܠܐ A ܠܘܠܐ J; ἀντικείμενον (11b16): ܠܘܠܐ A ܠܘܠܐ J; ἕξις (12a26, 28, 35, 36; 12b3): ܠܘܠܐ A ܠܘܠܐ J; ἀντίκειται (12b16): ܠܘܠܐ A ܠܘܠܐ J; ἀντιστρέφον

<sup>14</sup> See R. Bodéüs (ed. and trans.), *Aristote. Catégories* (Collection des Universités de France; Paris 2000), cxi–cxxxiv. Research on the relationship of the Syriac versions by the Anonymous translator and by Jacob with the Greek text needs to be taken up afresh in the light of findings outlined in Bodéüs' edition. Such research does not fall within the scope of the present article.

<sup>15</sup> Some exceptions to this general rule will be noted later in this article.

<sup>16</sup> To simplify what follows, the Anonymous translation and that of Jacob will be referred to by the letters A and J respectively.

(14a30): ܘܢܐ A ܘܢܐ J; κατὰ τόπον μεταβολή (15a14): ܩܘܝ ܩܘܘܢܐ ܩܘܘܢܐܢ ܩܘܘܢܐܢ A ܩܘܢܐܢ ܩܘܢܐܢ ܩܘܢܐܢ J (but in 15b2 ܘܢܐ ܩܘܘܢܐܢ ܩܘܢܐܢܢ J, and in 15b5 ܩܘܢܐܢ J).

These examples are but a meagre fragment of what could be produced by an exhaustive comparison of the vocabularies of the Anonymous translator and of Jacob. In the writer's opinion they are nevertheless sufficient to uphold certain general conclusions concerning the style of both translators and to distinguish some characteristics particular to Jacob of Edessa's undertaking. In the first place it can be noted that the Anonymous translator at times uses a Greek transliteration in places where Jacob uses a Syriac word, as for example for ἀναγκαῖον (2a20) and also for σχῆμα (10a11), perhaps because a Syriac term had not yet been specified as the technical equivalent of the corresponding Greek term.<sup>17</sup> The contrary situation however is more frequent and Jacob uses a far more diversified vocabulary than that of the Anonymous translator, showing greater care in the precise rendering of various meanings of Greek words.<sup>18</sup>

In support of this claim, it can for example be pointed out that the word ܩܘܢܐܢ is used by both the Anonymous translator and by Jacob to translate προσηγορία ('appellation', 1a13), and that the same Syriac term is re-used by the Anonymous translator for κατηγορία (3a35), whereas Jacob transcribes the Greek term by the Syriac form ܩܘܢܐܢܐܢܐ. This change of vocabulary is not a simple affair of lexical variation, but rather reveals a much more subtle analysis of the text. When Aristotle uses the term κατηγορεῖν for the first time (1b10),<sup>19</sup> what he intends is not the attribution of a predicate to a logical subject in a sentence, but rather the attribution of what may be predicated 'as of a subject' according to its being, in other words, the attribution of a genus to a species or of a species to an individual. The Greek

<sup>17</sup> It has already been observed that Jacob of Edessa corrected his predecessor, Paul of Callinicus, when in his translation of Severus of Antioch's *Homilies*, he used 'des mots grec habillés en syriaque, au lieu des mots de racine syriaque': cf. F. Graffin, 'Jacques d'Edesse réviseur des homélies de Sévère d'Antioche', in *Symposium Syriacum 1976* (OCA 205; Rome 1978), 243–255, esp. 251.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. a similar remark by Lash, 'Techniques of a Translator', 367: 'both of them [Paul of Callinicus and Jacob of Edessa], but more particularly Jacob, often take great pains to represent as fully as possible all the nuances of the Greek words'.

<sup>19</sup> To simplify we quote from the translation by J.L. Ackrill, *Aristotle's Categories and De interpretatione* (Oxford 1963), 4, but with significant Greek terms inserted in brackets: 'Whenever one thing is predicated (κατηγορεῖται) of another as of a subject (ὡς καθ' ὑποκειμένου), all things said of what is predicated (κατηγορουμένου) will be said of the subject also'. See also the reprint of Ackrill's translation in J. Barnes (ed.), *The Complete Works of Aristotle* (The Revised Oxford Translation 1; Princeton 1984), 3–24.

technical expression *κατηγορεῖται ὡς καθ' ὑποκειμένου* ('is predicated as of a subject') is explained clearly by Porphyry, in his commentary 'in question-and-answer form': 'is predicated of something as of a subject' means 'is stated as belonging to the essence'.<sup>20</sup> The Greek word thus possesses a technical meaning, which cannot properly be rendered by an expression formed from a root meaning 'appellation'. It is almost certainly impossible, in the present state of our knowledge, to know whether Jacob had access to Porphyry's explanation, perhaps through the reworking of a later commentator,<sup>21</sup> but at least he appears to have noticed the Anonymous translator's inaccuracy in this respect.

In this context it might be useful to consider the translations of *κατηγορεῖν* and its derivative forms as given by Jacob and by the Anonymous translator. The latter constantly uses forms deriving from the root *كح*, from which is formed the word *كحول* mentioned previously: thus the Anonymous translator renders *κατηγορεῖται* (1b10 and *passim*) by *كحول* and *τὸ κατηγορούμενον* (1b11 and *passim*) by *كحولون* *أش*. In doing so he implicitly interprets *κατηγορεῖν* as meaning 'to give a name' or 'attribute a name', which fails to render the technical sense 'stated as belonging to the essence' mentioned earlier.<sup>22</sup> Jacob of Edessa, for his part, uses the Syriac verbal form *ܟܠܗ* and its derivatives, coming from the Greek *κατήγωρ* and which was used with the meaning of 'condemn' in the translation of the Gospels, where accordingly we see the primary sense of *κατηγορεῖν*, namely 'to accuse' or 'to bring as a charge against a person'. This then inclines us to think that Jacob's use of *ܟܠܗ* is the

<sup>20</sup> A. Busse (ed.), *Porphyry. In Aristotelis Categoriae commentarium* (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 4.1; Berlin 1887), 80, lines 4–5, where the key expression is *ἐν τῷ τί ἐστὶ κατηγορεῖται*; cf. S.K. Strange (trans.), *Porphyry. On Aristotle Categories* (Ancient Commentators on Aristotle; London 1992), 63. On this question of the technical signification of *κατηγορεῖν*, and on the distinction between predicate and predicable, A. de Libera's comments are particularly illuminating. See A. de Libera and A.-Ph. Segonds, *Porphyre : Isagoge. Texte grec, translatio Boethii* (Sic et Non; Paris 1998), xvi–xxvii.

<sup>21</sup> See, for example, the explanations (resuming those of Porphyry) supplied by Ammonius, A. Busse (ed.), *Ammonius. In Aristotelis Categoriae commentarium* (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 4.4; Berlin 1895), 30 line 25–31 line 12, and those rather more developed by Philoponus, A. Busse (ed.), *Philoponus. In Aristotelis Categoriae commentarium* (Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca 13.1; Berlin 1898), 38 line 19–39 line 15 (together with the addition contained in the apparatus criticus).

<sup>22</sup> By translating the verbs *κατηγορεῖν* and *λέγειν* by two different Syriac words (respectively *ܟܠܗ* and *ܟܠܗ*) the Anonymous translator of the *Categoriae* improves however on the first translator, who is also anonymous, of Porphyry's *Isagoge*, and who rendered the two Greek verbs by a single Syriac verb *ܟܠܗ*: cf. H. Hugonnard-Roche, 'Les traductions syriaques de l'*Isagoge*', 300 (repr. in Hugonnard-Roche, *La logique d'Aristote*, 85–86).

result of philosophical research on the part of someone anxious to specify a lexical item which was receiving a new technical sense in response to a philosophical need.

The same effort at specialisation of the Syriac vocabulary is perceptible from other examples, from the list supplied above. Hence the word ܠܐ is used by the Anonymous translator to render not only *τρόπος* (12b3), but also *ποιόν* (10b12), whereas Jacob also translates *τρόπος* by ܠܐ but has recourse to the neologism ܠܗܘܘܬܐ for *ποιόν* (10b12), and he is known elsewhere to recommend the use of such neologisms.<sup>23</sup>

Even more interesting are the lexical variations in Jacob's Syriac version, in cases where the same Greek word is used within different contexts of meaning. An example of this can be seen in the chapter on the opposites of the *Categories*, where the term *ἕξις* (12a26 and *passim*) signifies the possession of a certain property (generally a property residing in the subject according to the order of nature), to which the privation (*στέρησις*) of this property is opposed: the term is then inadequately rendered by the Anonymous translator by ܠܗܘܘܬܐ ('essence' or 'substance'), whereas Jacob translates more appropriately with ܠܗܘܘܬܐ. In the chapter on quality moreover *ἕξις* signifies (8b27), as opposed to *διάθεσις*, a kind of quality which is possessed more durably and in a more stable manner than that expressed by *διάθεσις*; the word *ἕξις* is then glossed rather than translated by means of the expression ܠܗܘܘܬܐ ('stability') by the Anonymous translator (in opposition to ܠܗܘܘܬܐ), whereas Jacob transliterates the Greek word into Syriac as he does also when transliterating *διάθεσις*.

The following case touches on both the vocabulary and the interpretation of the text. The term *ἀντίθεσις* (12b3) is rendered by both translators by means of the same Syriac word ܠܗܘܘܬܐ. Similarly, *ἀντικείμενον* (11b16seq.) is translated by both with the same word ܠܗܘܘܬܐ. But it is also the same word ܠܗܘܘܬܐ which the Anonymous translator gives for *ἐναντίον* (3b24), whereas Jacob uses ܠܗܘܘܬܐ. Similarly, the Anonymous

<sup>23</sup> Cf. S. Brock, 'The Syriac background to Hunayn's Translation Techniques', *Aram* 3 (1991), 139–162, esp. 151. Jacob's recommendation is to be found in his letter concerning correct spelling. See J.P.[P.] Martin, *Jacobi Edesseni Epistola ad Georgium episcopum Sarugensem de orthographia syriaca* (Paris–London–Leipzig 1869); the advice contained in the following passage is for convenience's sake given according to the Latin version (with the translator's transcriptions unchanged): 'Recipiantur etiam *Tartia* secundam vicem indicans, atque *Diloitho* vel *Dilomoioutho*, quae jam centum abhinc annis, cognoscitur in Lingua Syriaca, licet non inveniatur apud doctores syros ullibi, apud Mar Ephraemum, inquam [...], aut etiam in operibus illo tempore e Graeco translatis. Admittant, quaeso, *Ainoioutho*, *Usiam*. Tunc temporis enim, pro *Diloitho Ihidoitho*, pro *Ainoioutho Z'no*, pro *Ousia K'iono* vel *Ithoutho*, vel etiam, ut multis solitum erat, *Ithio*, dicebant' (p. x).

translator renders ἐναντιότης (10b12) by ܠܘܥܒܘܠܘܠܐ, while Jacob gives ܠܘܥܒܘܠܘܠܘܬܐ. By so doing, the Anonymous translator renders himself incapable of distinguishing the two notions of opposition and contrariety—thus rendering some passages of Aristotle’s text unintelligible—, unlike Jacob, who clearly distinguishes the two concepts.<sup>24</sup>

Beyond and besides aspects linked to vocabulary development and the perhaps at times arbitrary choice of one Syriac word rather than another to render a notion encountered in a Greek text, it is evident that Jacob’s text shows distinctive progress in relation to that of the Anonymous translator, through its use of different technical terms in order to distinguish concepts distinguished in the original Greek. It is clear that the translator’s philological work, in cases of this kind, needs to be accompanied by close attention to philosophical and logical issues, with the help of a thorough mastery of the Greek language.

To pass from technical vocabulary to what one may call phraseology, that is, the idioms particular to each author in the everyday use of the language, different habits particular to each translator can easily be identified. For example, the Anonymous translator uses the idiom ܠܘܬ ܥܢܐ to introduce an explanation, whereas Jacob gives ܕܘܚܪܐ. In another case, to express the superlative, the Anonymous translator places ܥܕܘܒܐ before an adjective or an adverb, while Jacob puts ܝܒܘܠܐ in the same position. Finally, to render the Greek indefinite pronoun τις, used with the meaning of a singular item, the Anonymous translator generally gives ܦܠܐ, while Jacob uses ܦܘܚܐ. Attention to such phraseological idioms can serve to distinguish various kinds of translation and to confirm or deny the attribution of different translations to the same author, but will not in itself inform us of Jacob’s way of handling the text, namely the attention he gave to the philosophical content of the *Categories*. We shall limit ourselves here to two further examples illustrating this more significant aspect.

The translation of the Greek adjective λευκόν is a case in point. This word is usually rendered by the Anonymous translator by means of an adjective, whereas Jacob uses a noun form. For example τὸ τὶ λευκόν (1a27) is given as ܠܘܥܘܒܐ ܦܘܚܐ by the Anonymous translator, and as ܦܘܚܐ ܠܘܥܘܒܘܠܘܠܐ by Jacob: what is here being examined by Aristotle, in effect, is the abstract ‘whiteness’, a non-substantive reality, insofar as it is attributed to a singular, concrete individual—the neuter adjective λευκόν designating this property of whiteness attributed to the subject

<sup>24</sup> For this point, cf. the denunciation of the frequent confusion between ܠܘܥܒܘܠܘܠܐ (‘opposition’) and ܠܘܥܒܘܠܘܠܘܬܐ (‘contrariety’) on the part of Sergius of Resh‘ayna; see Hugonnard-Roche, ‘Sur les versions syriaques’, 215–216 (repr. in Hugonnard-Roche, *La logique d’Aristote*, 32).



of predication—; thus Jacob’s translation by an abstract substantive is fully justified.<sup>25</sup> In another passage however, Aristotle notes that substance is not susceptible of more or less, unlike quality, which admits such variation, ‘as one pale thing is more pale than another’ (3b39–4a1): here Jacob translates τὸ λευκόν by the adjective **ܠܘܟܐ**, and if there was any necessity to justify this translation, it could perhaps be said that whiteness in the abstract is thought of as being identical to itself and cannot be a subject of comparison, whereas here it is a question of various individual cases of the accident rendered actual *in concreto*, which are the subjects of comparison.

Another idiom, lying in the borderland between phraseology and technical expression, may be considered: it is the translation of the Greek expressions καθ’ ὑποκειμένου λέγεται and ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ (‘to be said of’ and ‘to be in’) (1a20seq.). The Anonymous translator renders these respectively by the Syriac expressions **ܐܘܪܟܐ ܡܘܨܐ ܕܘܒܝܐ** and **ܡܘܨܐ ܕܘܒܝܐ** (or the paraphrase **ܕܘܪ ܡܘܨܐ**), while Jacob gives respectively **ܐܘܪܟܐ ܡܘܨܐ** (or **ܐܘܪܟܐ**) **ܕܘܒܝܐ** and **ܕܘܪ ܡܘܨܐ ܕܘܒܝܐ**. The Anonymous translator is seen to use the same verb **ܡܘܨܐ** to express both the subject of the predication in the expression **ܐܘܪܟܐ ܡܘܨܐ ܕܘܒܝܐ** and the inherence in a subject in the expression **ܡܘܨܐ ܕܘܒܝܐ**. This grave error is corrected by Jacob, who clearly distinguishes these two concepts in his translation.<sup>26</sup>

To sum up in a nutshell the comparison we have undertaken of these two translations, Jacob’s work appears to have been on a grand scale and, if he indeed effected a revision of the Anonymous translator’s work, few elements from this translation were allowed to subsist. Some traces can doubtless be found here and there, in similar passages, such as the translation of the Greek phrase οὐσία δέ ἐστιν ἡ κυριώτατά τε καὶ πρῶτως καὶ μάλιστα λεγομένη (2a11–12) rendered by the Anonymous translator thus: **ܕܘܪܝܘܬܐ ܕܘܪܝܘܬܐ ܕܡܘܨܐ ܕܘܒܝܐ ܕܘܒܝܐ ܕܘܒܝܐ ܕܘܒܝܐ ܕܘܒܝܐ ܕܘܒܝܐ ܕܘܒܝܐ ܕܘܒܝܐ**, and by Jacob as follows: **ܕܘܪܝܘܬܐ ܕܘܒܝܐ ܕܘܒܝܐ ܕܘܒܝܐ ܕܘܒܝܐ ܕܘܒܝܐ ܕܘܒܝܐ ܕܘܒܝܐ ܕܘܒܝܐ ܕܘܒܝܐ**

<sup>25</sup> In this passage, Aristotle is making the famous distinction between ‘to be said of a subject’ and ‘to be in a subject’, with whiteness used as an example of an accident inherent in a subject, as in the following sentence (trans. J.L. Ackrill): ‘For example, the individual knowledge-of-grammar is in a subject, the soul, but is not said of any subject; and the individual white is in a subject, the body (for all colour is in a body), but is not said of any subject’ (1a25–29). On this topic, see, for example, J. Vuillemin, *De la logique à la théologie. Cinq études sur Aristote* (Paris 1967), 44–125: ‘Deuxième étude : Le système des *Catégories* d’Aristote et sa signification logique et métaphysique’ (esp. 44–54); (nouvelle version remaniée et augmentée; Louvain-La-Neuve 2008), 35–114, esp. 35–45.

<sup>26</sup> It can be noted, however, that neither the Anonymous translation nor that of Jacob are completely uniform throughout the text, but that Jacob’s version has a greater tendency towards uniformity.

כִּי־כִּי־בְּמִשְׁכָּל־הַמִּשְׁכָּל־וְכִי־בְּמִשְׁכָּל־הַמִּשְׁכָּל. It is probable, besides, that in his revision work Jacob disposed of a Greek text belonging to another branch of the tradition than that to which the text used by the Anonymous translator belongs, as could already be gleaned from Minio-Paluello's apparatus criticus. Without further treatment of this particular point, a few brief remarks concerning the internal division of the text ensue.

At the beginning of the paragraph, in the chapter on quality, devoted to the fourth kind of quality, which includes shape and the external form (10a11), the Anonymous translation bears the title **עַל־הַצֶּמֶד־וְעַל־הַצֶּמֶד־וְעַל־הַצֶּמֶד** ('on shape and form')—which is not to be found in Jacob's translation—, without there appearing in the text a mention of the 'fourth kind'. At the beginning of Chapter 9 of the text (according to the present division), which deals in a few lines with comparative properties of 'doing' and 'being affected' on the one hand, and of quality on the other (11b1),<sup>27</sup> and before concluding the section of the work devoted to the categories *stricto sensu*—which according to the traditional classification are followed by the post-predicaments—, Jacob's translation carries the title **עַל־הַעֲשֵׂה־וְעַל־הַנֶּעֱשֶׂה־וְעַל־הַנֶּעֱשֶׂה** ('on doing and undergoing'), while that of the Anonymous translator has **עַל־הַמִּשְׁכָּל־וְעַל־הַמִּשְׁכָּל־וְעַל־הַמִּשְׁכָּל** ('on opposition') and further adds the title **עַל־הַמִּשְׁכָּל־וְעַל־הַמִּשְׁכָּל־וְעַל־הַמִּשְׁכָּל** ('opposition again'), approximately where, according to the traditional numeration, Chapter 10 begins.<sup>28</sup> These mentions in the Anonymous translation are certainly traces of glosses which, in the Anonymous translator's (or a later annotator's) source, evidence difficulties encountered in the internal division and the interpretation of the text. It is also remarkable that the Anonymous translation's second title is the equivalent of a Greek title **Περὶ τῶν ἀντικειμένων**, which was positioned before the verb **λέγεται** (11b17) in part of the Greek manuscript tradition, and that Boethius' translation had made of these Greek words, drawn from the opening of the connecting phrase **Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀντικειμένων [...]** (11b16), the title *De oppositis*, announcing the content of the following lines.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>27</sup> The commentators, for example Ammonius and Philoponus, traditionally begin at line 11b1 a section devoted to the two categories 'doing' and 'being affected'. It should be noted, however, that Minio-Paluello suggested placing lines 11b1–8 after the last word of line 11a4 (i.e. in the chapter on quality), a suggestion adopted by Bodéüs in his edition: in these lines in fact, it is not so much a question of dealing with these two categories, 'doing' and 'being affected' in themselves, as of showing, by means of taking them as terms of comparison, that 'le propre de la qualité serait qu'elle permet d'être dit semblable et dissemblable' (11a19–20 trans. Bodéüs).

<sup>28</sup> More precisely, this title occurs before the translation of the words **περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀντικειμένων** (11b16).

<sup>29</sup> Bodéüs' notes, attached *ad locum* to his translation, can usefully be consulted on these points. Incidentally it can be observed that among the Greek manuscripts

These last remarks show that the two translations are not linked to the same family of Greek manuscripts, but above all—and this particularly interests us here—they invite reflection as to the context in which the Syriac translations of the *Categories* were made. In particular, it may well be asked what knowledge the translators had of existing commentaries devoted to this treatise, and more generally what type of study this treatise had awakened in Syriac spheres, as well as what kinds of exegesis were available in the Syriac tradition of studies. It has just been seen that the Anonymous translation indeed shows traces of Greek exegetic activity in Late Antiquity.

A gloss, included in the text of the Anonymous translation, at the beginning of the chapter concerning quality, is deserving of attention from this point of view. Immediately after the title ܩܘܠܝܬܐ, the following remark occurs, which can be translated thus:

Quality (ܩܘܠܝܬܐ = ποιότης) is distinguished from (what is) qualified (ܩܘܠܝܬܐ = ποιόν): quality is known by means of thought (ܩܘܠܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ), (what is) qualified by means of the eyes (ܩܘܠܝܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ), just as whiteness and white (respectively).<sup>30</sup>

Then after this gloss, the translation passes directly to the text of Aristotle (8b25seq.). This gloss refers to a question in Antiquity, a trace of which can be found in Porphyry's commentary 'in question-and-answer form', where is to be seen the following question relating to this chapter of the *Categories*: 'How does (that which is) qualified differ from quality?'<sup>31</sup> In response to this question, Porphyry elucidates the meaning of the two terms by saying that 'qualified' is said both of quality and of that which is qualified, whereas 'quality' is not said of that which is qualified.<sup>32</sup> Ammonius, when facing the same question, explains that Aristotle's description ('I call quality that by which people are qualified') makes us entertain the thought (ἐξνοία) of quality by means of what is qualified, for this is more evident, given that it is perceptible by sensation and that is from this that we approach the notion of quality.<sup>33</sup> This explanation, associating sensation with what is qualified as opposed to quality, which is associated with thought, is

bearing the title Περὶ τῶν ἀντικειμένων (Emn) are two of the manuscripts (Em) which add (after ὑποκείσθαι 2b38) the words καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ τούτων κατηγορεῖσθαι, which figure precisely in the Anonymous translation: this can be a starting point for situating the source of the Anonymous translation in the Greek tradition. For Boethius, cf. L. Minio-Paluello (ed.), *Aristoteles Latinus* 1.1–5 *Categoriae* (Bruges–Paris 1961), 30.

<sup>30</sup> Ms. BL Add. 14658, fol. 83rb.

<sup>31</sup> Porphyry. In *Categorias*, ed. Busse, 127 line 10: Τίτι διαφέρει ποιὸν ποιότητος.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Porphyry. In *Categorias*, ed. Busse, 127, lines 11–17; translation by Strange, *Porphyry*, 137.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Ammonius. In *Categorias*, ed. Busse, 80, lines 20–26.

the same as that supplied by the Anonymous translator's gloss (where the Syriac word ܠܘܟܝܝܢܝܐ can therefore probably be taken as the equivalent of the Greek ἕνωσις). It appears then that there is scarcely any reason to doubt that the contents of this gloss proceed from a commentary in some ways like that of Ammonius. This leads us to think—given the early manuscript dating of the Anonymous translator and the inclusion of the gloss in the text—that at the time of this translation (or very shortly afterwards) the text of the *Categories*, in its Syriac version, was accompanied by scholarly explanations of the kind given in Greek schools in Late Antiquity. It was probably in the context of such a school, where the reading of Aristotle was accompanied by more or less extended commentaries, that Jacob of Edessa's revised translation was produced. The modifications made to the earlier translation by Jacob, or his new formulations, can also be supposed to have been nurtured by reflections arising from such commentaries.

Jacob's version, it is true, does not contain specific references to this sort of commentary. One gloss, however, noted in the margin of the Vatican manuscript,<sup>34</sup> deserves notice. In chapter eleven, Aristotle examines certain properties of contraries in relation to the subject to whom they belong, and makes the following remark (14a15–16): 'It is clearly the nature of contraries to belong to the same thing (the same either in species or in genus).'<sup>35</sup> To the Syriac word (ܠܘܟܝܝܢܝܐ), which translates 'it is clearly (Δῆλον δὲ ὅτι)' is attached a reference sign to the gloss, which reads: 'here he distinguishes the contrary from privation and possession'. This observation does not seem applicable to Aristotle's sentence, but it makes sense if taken with what follows, where Aristotle remarks (14a19–25):

All contraries must either be in the same genus or in contrary genera, or be themselves genera. For white and black are in the same genus (since colour is their genus), but justice and injustice are in contrary genera (since the genus of one is virtue, of the other vice), while good and bad are not in a genus but are themselves actually genera of certain things.<sup>36</sup>

The Greek commentators, Ammonius and Philoponus, explain in this context that even contraries belonging to different genera or which are themselves genera have in a certain manner a common genus. Thus

<sup>34</sup> Vat. sir. 158, fol. 59v. This gloss reappears in the Florence manuscript, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana or. 196, fol. 47v. We have not checked whether it appears in the other manuscripts, but what counts here is that it figures in the oldest manuscript to preserve Jacob's translation, i.e. Vat. sir. 158.

<sup>35</sup> Translation by Ackrill, *Categories and De interpretatione*, 38.

<sup>36</sup> Translation by Ackrill, *Categories and De interpretatione*, 38.

according to Ammonius, virtue and vice are each a state (ἕξις).<sup>37</sup> As for Philoponus, he points out that ‘for those who consider the question carefully, good and evil will not appear as contraries, but as opposites according to privation and possession (κατὰ στέρησιν καὶ ἕξιν)’.<sup>38</sup>

To discover its meaning, the gloss needs to be re-situated in the context of commentaries bearing on the Aristotelian analysis of contraries considered from the point of view of their belonging to a common species or genus. In this light the gloss is seen as a trace, by all means minimal but interesting in view of its very existence, of the transmission into Syriac of parts of these commentaries. We clearly cannot assert that Jacob was the author of this gloss, but would simply remark that the glosses appear to have been written, for the most part, at the same time as the manuscript text (which can be dated to the ninth or tenth century), and that the reference signs are sometimes placed in such a way that the glosses must have already been present in the model used by the scribe. It can also reasonably be claimed that the consultation of Greek commentaries is unlikely to have persisted for many centuries in Syriac monasteries. If therefore the evidence of this gloss in no way authorises the claim that Jacob himself used such and such a Greek commentary, at least this gloss enlightens us about the scholarly context within Syriac culture, in which the *Categories* were read at the time of Jacob of Edessa, or shortly afterwards.

The foregoing remarks show some of the innovations within Jacob’s version with respect to the Anonymous translation, and they suggest a working context where some part of the Greek tradition of commentaries in Late Antiquity was taken up again in Syriac schools. It can however also be asked, what Jacob had in mind when he re-translated the *Categories*. His aim was doubtless to provide a more exact rendering of Aristotle’s text, and as such Jacob’s translation takes its due place among the works of Severus Sebokt’s pupils, notably alongside those of Athanasius of Balad. These works, which we have outlined above, formed (together with some other texts, such as for example Proba’s version of the *De interpretatione*), a complete corpus of Aristotelian logic. According to the classification traditionally received in the School of the works composing this corpus, the *Categories* was the introductory treatise, forming as it were the first panel of a triptych composed also of the *De interpretatione* and the *Prior Analytics*: it was deemed to deal with terms, the simplest element of discourse, whose composition in

<sup>37</sup> *Ammonius. In Categoriais*, ed. Busse, 102 lines 18–21; cf. the translation by S.M. Cohen and G.B. Matthews, *Ammonius. On Aristotle Categories* (Ancient Commentators on Aristotle; London 1991), 125.

<sup>38</sup> *Philoponus. In Categoriais*, ed. Busse, 190, lines 28–29.

sentences, then in syllogisms, were parts of the study of demonstrative reasoning, the proper object of logic itself.

It may well be asked if this was actually Jacob's conception of the *Categories*, and whether he translated this text as a basis for the logic of reasoning. Unlike Athanasius of Balad or Proba, or even George of the Arabs, to the best of our knowledge, Jacob only translated one treatise from the logical corpus, namely the *Categories*, and he has left no commentary in this domain. It seems then that Jacob had no intention of specialising as a logician, and that his undertaking is not to be interpreted in this light. This is also the appropriate point at which to recall that, if Porphyry wished to present, in his *Isagoge*, an introduction to the *Categories* altogether free from any ontological research, it nevertheless remains true that the treatise was subsequently considered as the main source of Peripatetic ontology (besides the *Categories*), and that the commentators found therein the decisive formulation of a theory of substance. This leads us therefore to compare Jacob's translation of the *Categories* with the brief treatise he devoted to questions of an ontological and a theological nature, which is preserved under the title '*Encheiridion* of various necessary matters concerning ܘܫܘܒܐ, that is nature'.<sup>39</sup> The work takes the form of a kind of philosophical dictionary, in which six terms are submitted to a both lexicographical and doctrinal study, namely the terms: ܠܘܒܐ ('nature', given as equivalent to ܘܫܘܒܐ); ܠܘܒܐܢܐ (οὐσία); ܠܘܒܐܢܐܘܬܐ (ὑπόστασις); ܠܘܒܐܢܐܘܬܐܘܬܐ (given as synonymous with ܠܘܒܐܢܐ); ܠܘܒܐܢܐܘܬܐܘܬܐܘܬܐ ('person', transposition of the Greek πρόσωπον); and ܠܘܒܐܢܐܘܬܐܘܬܐܘܬܐ ('species', transposition of the Greek εἶδος).<sup>40</sup> Without here embarking on an analysis of this text, let us briefly indicate the two principal axes of this study: on the one hand comparison of the Greek vocabulary and the ideas conveyed by these terms and their meaning in that language, with the Syriac vocabulary and meaning of these words in that language; on the other hand confrontation of uses of

<sup>39</sup> Three articles by G. Furlani are devoted to Jacob of Edessa's *Encheiridion*: in the first, 'Di alcuni passi della Metafisica di Aristotele presso Giacomo d'Edessa', *Rendiconti della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, classe di sc. morali, storiche e filologiche 5.30 (1921), 268–273, the author identifies the Aristotelian sources of a part of the Syriac text (that relating to the term ܠܘܒܐ); in the second, 'Il Manualetto di Giacomo d'Edessa', *Studi e materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 1 (1925), 262–282, the author translates the text into Italian and studies the sources for the whole of the text; in the third, 'L'Εγχειρίδιον di Giacomo d'Edessa nel testo siriano', *Rendiconti della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, classe di sc. morali, storiche e filologiche 6.4 (1928), 222–249, the author undertakes an edition of the Syriac text, to which he appends his earlier published translation, but without commentary.

<sup>40</sup> Greek terms transliterated or transposed into Syriac in Jacob's text are given in Syriac type, while words in Greek characters have been added.

these terms by non-Christian philosophers (referred to as 'those outside') with uses made of them by Doctors of the Church. To revert to the six terms mentioned just before, each of them concludes, generally, with a list of definitions.<sup>41</sup>

The *Encheiridion* is notable for the close textual links between definitions of nature and of οὐσία, and various passages from Aristotle's *Categories* and from his *Metaphysics*. Among the twelve definitions of nature which he enumerates, Jacob states that he found ten in the works of ancient writers, and of these ten, six have been identified as coming from passages in *Metaphysics* Δ or at least very faithfully reproducing these passages.<sup>42</sup> It is appropriate also to note that these six definitions are presented in an order corresponding to that in which the passages in question occur in the text of the *Metaphysics*. In a comparable manner, among the twelve definitions of οὐσία, the first four are said to be borrowings from logicians, whereas the following are the work of Jacob himself. These first four definitions are parallel to, if not exactly resembling, items in the *Categories*, and are enumerated in the same order as that in which the parallel passages appear in Aristotle's work.

The observations just made can be explained in several ways. It can for example be maintained that Jacob himself drew the definitions he enumerates from the works of Aristotle, the *Metaphysics* and the *Categories*. He could for example have translated certain texts from the *Metaphysics*, which are close to the original Greek, and contain lexical and phraseological elements which are to be found in the translation of the *Categories*. The definitions of οὐσία however do not correspond literally with Jacob's translation or with the Greek original, which nevertheless can be clearly perceived beneath the Syriac formulation. Other hypotheses to be taken into account are that Jacob had access to 'philosophical dictionaries' of the same kind as *Metaphysics* Δ, or to one that he himself had composed, or that Jacob drew the definitions he enumerates from commentaries on these texts or from school collections containing extracts glossed from the *Metaphysics* or the *Categories*. Whatever the answers to these questions, it remains that the philosophical and theological manual constituted by the *Encheiridion* is an important witness for two points, which interest us here. It attests, on the one hand, that Jacob's philosophical culture, and in particular his knowledge of the Aristotelian tradition, went well beyond the limits of

<sup>41</sup> This is intended as a summary general view, which would clearly need to be diversified in order to take into account a detailed examination of each term.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Furlani, 'Di alcuni passi', where the passages in question are identified.

logic and included metaphysical texts.<sup>43</sup> It reveals for us also an author aware of the contrasting points of view of traditional philosophy and of the Doctors of the Church concerning crucial onto-theological issues.

For our purposes it should be noted that according to the lexical uses of West Syriac Christology, that of a Severus of Antioch for example, the terms ‘nature’, ‘hypostasis’, and ‘person’ are used concurrently to designate a concrete entity possessing individual existence, while οὐσία is reserved for specific essence,<sup>44</sup> or to use Aristotelian language, for secondary substance. One of the problems posed by the confrontation of theology and pagan philosophy relates therefore to the understanding of the term οὐσία, which in the *Categories* means primary substance, as opposed to the meanings used by Doctors of the Church. Jacob explains this in the following way in a passage of his work:

These definitions (i.e. of *ὑπόστασις* by logicians) signify particular substances: they are not adapted to universal substances, because in effect all these profane logicians give this definition mainly to particular things, that is to hypostases (*ὑπόστασις*). In a secondary sense, and by secondary imposition, they give the name of hypostasis to universal substances. Not so the holy Doctors of the Church but first and foremost and most often<sup>45</sup> they impose this name of substance upon the universal, and by secondary imposition, rarely and as (it were) as a result of what they have in common with the universal, they impose this name also upon particular things, i.e. the hypostases.<sup>46</sup>

It is therefore with theological researches on φύσις, οὐσία, and ὑπόστασις that Jacob’s work on Aristotelian philosophy, and in particular his translation of the *Categories* links most easily. By the theory of substance therein developed, this work constitutes, according to the evidence of

<sup>43</sup> Note that the first of the definitions relative to species, given by Jacob, is more or less identical to Porphyry’s definition in the *Isagoge*, as translated by Athanasius of Balad: cf. A. Freimann, *Die Isagoge des Porphyrius in den syrischen Uebersetzungen* (Diss. Erlangen 1896; Berlin 1897), 32.

<sup>44</sup> For the vocabulary and the doctrine of West Syriac theologians in the Christological sphere: see J. Lebon, *Le monophysisme sévérien. Étude historique, littéraire et théologique sur la résistance monophysite au concile de Chalcedoine* (Leuven 1909; repr. New York 1978).

<sup>45</sup> In the succession of these three adverbial expressions the formula can be recognized by which Aristotle, in the *Categories*, introduces the characterisation of οὐσία, as understood in its primary sense of that which is neither said of a subject nor in a subject (2a11–12).

<sup>46</sup> Translated from the text edited by Furlani, ‘L’*Ἐγγχειρίδιον* di Giacomo’, 232. For an analysis of Jacob’s understanding of philosophical terms related to nature and substance in the *Encheiridion*, see H. Hugonnard-Roche, ‘Le vocabulaire philosophique de l’être en syriaque, d’après des textes de Sergius de Reš‘ainā et Jacques d’Édesse’, in J.E. Montgomery (ed.), *Arabic Theology, Arabic Philosophy. From the Many to the One: Essays in Celebration of Richard M. Frank* (OLA 152; Leuven 2006), 101–125, esp. 111–125.



the extract from Jacob, which has just been quoted, a key element in the debate between pagan philosophy and the 'Platonism of the Fathers'.<sup>47</sup> It might then be tempting to attempt a comparison of Jacob with another philosopher and theologian, who, in the West, slightly earlier had translated Aristotle and devoted himself to theological exegesis, I mean of course Boethius.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>47</sup> It should be noted that Jacob, when he mentions the definitions given by ancient writers, transmits, as the case may be, texts already modified through the workings of commentary and interpretation. In the section on οὐσία, Jacob explains that οὐσία properly speaking cannot be defined, i.e. by means of genus and of difference, because οὐσία is the highest genus and there is therefore no higher genus, which could figure in its definition. Given this remark, Jacob accordingly treats οὐσία as a predicable. Immediately afterwards, however, he gives as a description of οὐσία formulae in which it is presented as a substance subsisting by itself and subject of attributions. Jacob himself, in so doing, seems to be bound by what A. de Libera, in *Porphyry : Isagoge*, 47, note 45, calls 'le lien historial noué par la tradition interprétative entre la doctrine des prédicables et la théorie de la « substance » mise en place dans les *Catégories*'. This, however, would be the starting point of another line of research.

<sup>48</sup> For the relations between philosophy and theology in the field of patristics—a vast subject—see the interesting work by M.-O. Boulnois, *Le paradoxe trinitaire chez Cyrille d'Alexandrie. Herméneutique, analyses philosophiques et argumentation théologique* (Collection des Études Augustiniennes; Paris 1994).

JACOB OF EDESSA'S USE OF GREEK PHILOSOPHY  
IN HIS HEXAEMERON

*Marina Wilks*

This article will demonstrate Jacob's extensive use in his *Commentary on the Hexaemeron*<sup>1</sup> of the Aristotelian theory of the four elements, arranged in concentric spheres according to their relative weight, which thereby give structure to the physical cosmos. This theory is at the heart of Jacob's cosmology—which describes both the physical world and the wider, theological cosmos reflected in it—enabling him (1) to interpret in scientific terms the mystery of the upper waters in the Genesis account, and (2) to reveal the hierarchy of divine, angelic and human nature through the symbolism of the luminaries and their elemental composition. We shall also see (3) how Jacob uses this theological-physical cosmology and adapts authoritative astronomical sources to formulate an original account of astronomy, which proves scientifically that God is the maker of all and (4) provides a refutation of astrology.

With the onset of Islam, Jacob was concerned to assert that the Christian God is the creator of the cosmos, and that the Creation is reliably described in Genesis. The supremacy of God as revealed from his Creation pervades the *Hexaemeron*. Each memra begins with a brief account of God's act of creating and a reference to the nature of the Trinity and its role in Creation. Everything that is made is useful and necessary for mankind, for whom the world was created (cf. *Hex.* 142a), and all phenomena such as winds and rain occur 'at the command of God', even noxious winds, which are God's chastisement of mankind (cf. *Hex.* 81a, 90a). Jacob's use of scientific sources seeks to prove that Greek philosophy is in agreement with Moses, and indeed merely elaborates what he, as a 'lover of brevity', leaves unsaid (*Hex.* 69a). That which does not agree with the Mosaic account is dismissed or corrected and is described as foolish and godless speculation. Jacob furthermore cites popular gnostic writings such as the Chaldean Oracles

<sup>1</sup> For the text, see J.-B. Chabot, *Iacobi Edesseni Hexaemeron seu in opus creationis libri septem* (CSCO 92, Syr. 44; Paris 1928); for a Latin translation A. Vaschalde, *Iacobi Edesseni Hexaemeron seu in opus creationis libri septem* (CSCO 97, Syr. 48; Leuven 1932). In this article, I shall use the abbreviation *Hex.* for all hexaemeral work.

and Hermes Trismegistus to demonstrate the veracity of the Genesis account, showing that ‘truth is the more credible when it is stated and witnessed by those who are adverse’ to it (*Hex.* 70a–71a and 149b–150b).

Jacob uses the most authoritative scientific and theological sources<sup>2</sup> to put together a more detailed cosmology than that of Basil, on whose *Hexaemeron*<sup>3</sup> he modelled his own. He differs from Basil in his use of scientific material in two respects; firstly, to make his cosmology more comprehensive, he adds many more lists, for example, a list of winds influenced by the Pseudo-Aristotelian account in the *De mundo*;<sup>4</sup> that of stones from Theophrastus’ *De lapidibus*; and that of continents, cities, seas, and mountains shown by Darmesteter to be from Ptolemy’s *Geography*.<sup>5</sup> In this way he includes as much as possible<sup>6</sup> about the world (cf. *Hex.* 89b–90a). Secondly, he uses and adapts scientific material with a more ambitious and original spirit than Basil, building up a carefully structured picture of the entire cosmos, correcting both his sources and Basil’s account where necessary. The tone of Jacob’s work, which is more scientific than that of Basil, comes from the different intentions of the two writers: Basil’s *Hexaemeron* is a series of sermons during Lent for a congregation,<sup>7</sup> in which his use of Platonic and Aristotelian cosmology,

<sup>2</sup> As Martin observes, Jacob seems to have used only Greek scientific sources and knew a body of literature that we do not have any more; cf. J.P.P. Martin, ‘l’Hexaméron de Jacques d’Édesse’, *JA* 8.11 (1888), 155–219, 401–490. Much of the material which cannot be traced probably comes from lost cosmological summaries.

<sup>3</sup> The references in this article will be to the Syriac version of Basil’s *Hexaemeron*, edited and translated by R.W. Thomson, *The Syriac Version of the Hexaemeron by Basil of Caesarea* (CSCO 550–551, Syr. 222–223; Leuven 1995). It is, however, likely that Jacob would have used both the Greek original and the Syriac version.

<sup>4</sup> The *De mundo* includes many topics that Jacob discusses in Memra II, his compendium of natural science, and must have appealed to scientific hexaemeral writers since it describes the universe as a system made up of heaven and earth and the elements which are contained in them and talks of the ordering and arranging of all things, preserved by and through God.

<sup>5</sup> J. Darmesteter, ‘Jacques d’Édesse et Claude Ptolémée’, *Revue des études grecques* 3 (1890), 180–188.

<sup>6</sup> Jacob would have had access to a wide range of philosophical sources in the original texts, as well as to translations and summaries. Jacob’s *Hexaemeron*, ‘like Philoponus’ before him, served as a compendium of contemporary scientific knowledge, with sections on cosmology, geography and most aspects of natural history’: S. Brock, ‘From Antagonism to Assimilation: Syriac Attitudes to Greek Learning’, in N.G. Garsoïan, Th.F. Mathews, and R.W. Thomson (eds.), *East of Byzantium. Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period* (Washington 1982), 17–34.

<sup>7</sup> Basil reminds his congregation of humanity’s place in the world and ultimate destiny within the wider context of the ‘beginning’ and ‘end’ of the created cosmos with its final judgement, cf. P. Rousseau, *Basil of Caesarea* (California 1994), 319–320.

meteorology, and physics often appears as criticism.<sup>8</sup> The emphasis in Jacob's text, on the other hand, is instruction,<sup>9</sup> for he is compiling a systematic exegesis which 'unlocks and enlightens' the mysteries of Scripture (*Hex.* 145a).

### 1. *The Concentric Spheres*

The movements of the four elements—earth, water, air, and fire—to their natural places according to weight was widely accepted, following Aristotle,<sup>10</sup> who describes concentric spheres with the lightest element (fire) on the outside and the heaviest (earth) on the inside.<sup>11</sup> Jacob's image of a cosmic egg<sup>12</sup> corresponds to these concentric spheres:

[The earth] has in some way a similarity to the sign, that is, the white small mark that is seen in the middle of the golden yolk inside an egg. As the yolk circles and encompasses the mark on all sides, so the water goes round and encompasses the earth on its six sides . . . Beyond the water and above the water, from the six sides . . . like the watery and humid whiteness that surrounds the yolk of the egg, surrounding the water is the air . . . Again beyond this and above it from the six parts, like the thin, dry, and hard shell that surrounds all the egg, God established the fire (*Hex.* 51a).

The layers making up the cosmos are formed by the natural inclination of each element to go to the place 'which the will of the Maker set apart

<sup>8</sup> Cf. F.E. Robbins, *The Hexaemeral Literature. A Study of the Greek and Latin Commentaries on Genesis* (Chicago 1912), 42–46.

<sup>9</sup> D. Miller, 'Jacob of Edessa, a Seventh-Century Intellectual', unpublished paper presented at the *Syriac Studies Symposium Held at Brown University*, 1991. I am grateful to Dr Miller for sending me a copy of his paper.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Aristotle: 'Water sinks below everything save earth, and air rises to the top of everything save fire' (*On the Heavens* 812a27), Basil: 'Things which are light spring up towards the level of the height of heaven; and those which are heavy are inclined to descend towards the earth' (*Hex.* 1.7; ed. 12, trans. 10) and Jacob: 'These elements . . . move inside each other, each of them towards the place separated for it, for the earth inside the water moves downwards and inwards, and the water inside the earth, upwards and outwards, and the air inside the water upwards and outwards . . . and the fire in the air upwards and outwards' (*Hex.* 51b–52a).

<sup>11</sup> 'Water surrounds the earth just as the sphere of air surrounds water and the so-called sphere of fire surrounds that of air—fire being the outermost both on the commonly accepted view and on ours' (*Meteorology* 354b24–30).

<sup>12</sup> This image can be traced to a fragment of Empedocles, although everything is listed in reverse order: the earth corresponds to the shell, the water under the earth corresponds to the egg white, and the fire underneath water corresponds to the yolk, cf. P. Kingsley, *Ancient Philosophy, Mystery and Magic* (Oxford 1995), 57–58. Furthermore, according to one extant source the Orphics used the arrangement of shell and skin (and presumably also of the egg white and yolk) as an analogue for the arrangement of sky (outer heaven), ether and so on. There was considerable divergence in the use of the egg motif. Cf. G.S. Kirk and J.E. Raven, *The Presocratic Philosophers* (Cambridge 1963), 47–48.

for it' (*Hex.* 48b), showing that the laws of nature, by which heavy objects sink down and light ones rise up, are ultimately set in motion by God, the First Cause. Jacob consistently brings the reader back to this theological perspective, and we shall see below how he brings the scientific account into line with his interpretation of Genesis.

## 2. *The Upper Waters*

This section demonstrates Jacob's use of the later Greek scientific writer Philoponus who, in his comprehensive scientific account of the cosmos in the *De opificio mundi*,<sup>13</sup> corrects Basil's interpretation of the upper waters.

The traditional Christian explanation of the upper waters was of a large collection of real water located above the air, from which rain flowed. Exegetes such as Origen and Gregory of Nyssa,<sup>14</sup> influenced by their reading of scientific sources, re-interpreted the upper waters as the noetic world<sup>15</sup> circling the physical world, according to the Platonic cosmological scheme. Basil and Jacob revert to the earlier literal interpretation of the waters as real water,<sup>16</sup> and must, therefore, address the issue of this literal interpretation of the upper waters conflicting with the Aristotelian scheme of concentric spheres, in which the elements are progressively lighter according to their position in the cosmos. Water,

<sup>13</sup> Translated and edited by C. Scholten, *Johannes Philoponos: De opificio mundi – Über die Erschaffung der Welt* (3 vols.; Fontes Christiani 23; Freiburg 1997).

<sup>14</sup> Gregory interprets the upper waters as minds (*Hex.*, PG 44, 84c–d), following the Platonic doctrine that God encloses the physical cosmos within the moving sphere, but assumes a domain beyond: the pure world of the mind and God (*Hex.*, PG 44, 77a). Plato describes a world of sense bound by the world of ideas (*Phaedo* 246e), cf. H.F. Cherniss, 'The Platonism of Gregory of Nyssa', *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* 11 (1930–1933), 29.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. E. Corsini, 'Nouvelles perspectives sur le problème des sources de l'Hexaméron de Grégoire de Nysse', in K. Aland and F.L. Cross (eds.), *StPatr* 1 (TU 63; Berlin 1957), 94–103.

<sup>16</sup> Basil speaks against 'someone who is of the church who was so foolish as to argue in allegories and speak concerning the upper waters and give an explanation of them as superior knowledge' (*Hex.* 3.9; ed. 50, trans. 43). He refers here to Origen (*Homiliae in Genesim* 1.2, ed. L. Doutreleau, *Origène. Homélie sur la Genèse* (2nd ed.; SC 7bis; Paris 2003), 30). For Basil and Jacob these upper waters prevent the ether from burning up everything on earth (Basil, *Hex.* 3.7; ed. 46, trans. 40, and Jacob, *Hex.* 74a), while one of Gregory's main concerns in his 'correction' of Basil's *Hexaemeron* was to refute this Stoic doctrine of *ἐκπύρωσις* and to defend the eternity of the world: each element remains in the quantity established for it by God at the moment of creation (*Hex.*, PG 44, 92d) due to the perpetual circulation of the elements by their transformation (*Hex.*, PG 44, 113a), cf. Corsini, 'Nouvelles Perspectives', 97, 100–101.

being heavier than air, could not be supported above the air. Both Basil and Jacob state that the firmament is a more dense, compacted air, something 'firm' without being hard, and which can, therefore, hold up the upper waters.<sup>17</sup> Basil states further that the waters do not follow their natural tendency to flow downwards because they rest on an outer flat surface beyond the concentric spheres of the cosmos (*Hex.* 3.4; ed. 40, trans. 34–35).

Jacob, however, like Philoponus before him, appears to be dissatisfied with this unscientific theory of Basil, which posits a cube form outside the spheres. Jacob takes and expands Philoponus' theory that the nature<sup>18</sup> of the elements can be used to explain the mystery of the firmament and the upper waters scientifically, without losing the spherical nature of the cosmos. The upper waters are, according to them, composed of a mixture of water and air, which is lighter than the compact air supporting it and needs to condense into rain ('when God commands') to flow downwards. This water and air mixture forms the middle level of air, beneath which lies the compacted air of the firmament, and above which is a mixture of fire and air, in nature lighter still than the upper waters. The highest level is therefore the ether, which Anaxagoras identifies with fire, whereas Aristotle describes it as a fifth element.<sup>19</sup>

Jacob's account is more detailed than that of Philoponus, but it is clear that Philoponus gives him the framework for his description:

Philoponus:

Between [the fire] and water is the air, which on the one hand possesses humidity, because [the air] is mixed with the water, and on the other hand, possesses warmth through the fiery nature of the fiery sphere (*De opificio mundi* 2.1, ed. Scholten, 1:182).

<sup>17</sup> Basil quotes Isaiah ('as if from smoke God established the firmament of heaven') to demonstrate that the firmament is not hard, but 'from something weak in its nature [God] confirmed and established its existence' (*Hex.* 1.8; ed. 12, trans. 10).

<sup>18</sup> Their interaction through pairs of like qualities also comes from Aristotle (*On Generation and Corruption* 331a14–25). Thus Basil and Philoponus describe the earth as dry and cold, water as moist and cold, air as warm and moist, and fire as warm and dry (*Hex.* 4.5; ed. 61–62, trans. 52, and *De opificio mundi* 4.10, ed. Scholten, 2:406–408). Jacob's account, however, is more extensive: earth is indeed cold and dry, water is wet and cold, fire is hot and dry, but air can be at one time cold and at another hot, when it mixes with water or fire (*Hex.* 66a–b). Furthermore, earth is solid, has dark density, heaviness and complete and abundant coldness, and dryness, like that of fire (*Hex.* 50b); water is a wet, soft, and solid body (*Hex.* 65a); air is soft, pure, light, subtle (*Hex.* 51a); and fire is warm, burning, shining, light and soft, and dry like the earth (*Hex.* 51a–b).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Aristotle: 'The primary body is something else beyond earth, fire, air and water . . . Anaxagoras scandalously misuses this name, taking ether as equivalent to fire' (*On the Heavens* 1.3, 270b20–25).

Jacob:

[The air] is indeed in three kinds or variations; near the earth . . . it appears to be pure, soft and dry . . . and it is called the 'firmament' by Divine Scripture, and indeed 'heaven'. Above this is another, second, framework, where the essence of water is mixed and mingled with [air] . . . But further up, above this, is the third framework where air appears to be equally composed of a mixture of air and fire . . . This is what is called ether by the Greeks (*Hex.* 66b–67b).

Jacob further demonstrates that this mixing of elements to form the layers can be deduced from the etymology of the Hebrew word for heaven. The Greek term describes the heaven as the boundary of all that is visible, while the plurality and singularity of the Hebrew term indicate that the one heaven is composed of two things, that is, water and air:

Among the Greeks . . . this expression is called *ouranos* as it is explained from what is the boundary above (*Hex.* 76b–77a).<sup>20</sup>

Among the Hebrews . . . the expression is said both in the singular and in the plural . . . and *shoma* is one heaven and *shoma'im* in the plural . . . [comes] from the [water] mixed with air to make one body (*Hex.* 76b).

Jacob, following Philoponus in interpreting the upper waters literally, makes them light enough to be supported by the firmament, because the mixture of air and water is lighter than compacted air. The ether, being a mix of air and fire, is even lighter than the upper waters and is located above them, as fire is lighter than water. The Aristotelian image of the concentric circles therefore still stands, and the Genesis account is proved to be in harmony with Greek science.

### 3. *The Symbolism of the Luminaries*

Jacob extends his use of the Aristotelian concentric elemental spheres to his discussion of the luminaries in Memra IV, which is a superb—and possibly original—combination of science and theology, whereby the weight and quality of the elements making up the spheres indicate the positions, compositions, and theological significance of the luminaries. The elements are thus built into Jacob's wider, essentially Platonic, cosmology in which the luminaries symbolize divine, angelic and human nature in a triadic hierarchy reminiscent of Pseudo-Dionysius.

The key source for Jacob's hierarchy in Memra IV is Gregory of Nazianzus' *Carmina Arcana*,<sup>21</sup> which reveal aspects of a hierarchy of

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Philoponus: 'The first heaven is a boundary for all . . . similarly the firmament 'heaven' is a boundary for everything inside it' (*De opificio mundi* 3.17, ed. Scholten, 2:366).

<sup>21</sup> Translated and edited by C. Moreschini and D.A. Sykes, *St. Gregory of Nazianzus: Poemata Arcana* (Oxford 1997).

nature in its description of the relative positions of God, the angels and mankind, and how they differ in terms of distance, capacity for illumination, and whether they are pure or compounded of earthly things. The cosmos, as further described in detail by Jacob, symbolizes the higher reality; the sun is like God in its illuminating power, and is also, like God, at the outer reaches of the cosmos,<sup>22</sup> far from the dark earthiness of the world. The levels of being (God, angels, and mankind) form three ranks, the highest of which is pure and the lowest is compounded, as it is composed of all elements, including the heaviest and darkest, that of earth.

The following quotations from the *Carmina Arcana* reveal the beginnings of the hierarchy, of which certain terms are more consistently used by Jacob. I have put these terms together into a chart, which shows a detailed hierarchy of divine, angelic and human nature. Further explanation follows the chart.

Gregory of Nazianzus:

The angelic he set at a lesser distance, to assist him, whereas our nature was placed further away, since we came into existence out of earth mingled with Godhead. Simple nature is better . . . The highest light always shining brightly upon minds which are lesser beams . . . There is one who is the source of lights . . . there are others who are second lights after the Trinity which holds the royal pride of precedence . . . Second come the great servants of the highest light, as close to the original Good as the other is to the sun. We human beings are the third rank, the air (*Carmina Arcana* 4–6, ed. Moreschini, 20–30).

Jacob:

	Sun	God
<i>essence</i>	simple (181b) pure (155a) the great luminary (181b)	simple (182b) pure (5b) the first luminary (182a)
<i>location</i>	elevated (162b)	elevated (163a)
<i>activity</i>	life-giving (182a) illuminating all perceptible beings (181a–b)	life-giving (182a) enlightening all noetic and perceptible beings (181a–b)

<sup>22</sup> Perhaps he was encouraged by this quotation from Basil, who saw further possibilities of the symbolism of the luminaries: 'There are many things which have remained beyond us, so that we could not know their grandeur and wonder which are reflected in the sun and moon. Furthermore, great discoveries lie hidden in the function of the activities of the course of these luminaries. For there is nothing in them useless or vain for the support and recreation of men, except for the signs of Chaldeanism' (*Hex.* 6.11; ed. 109–110, trans. 91).



	Stars	Angels
<i>essence</i>	simple (182a) pure (182a)	simple (6a) pure (5b)
<i>location</i>	face the sun (182a) under the sun (165b)	gaze towards (God) (182a) secondary lights (4a)
<i>activity</i>	receive light  [from the sun] (182a) illuminating (182b)	receive beams of enlightened knowledge [from God] (182a) enlightening (182b)
	Moon	Human Nature
<i>essence</i>	compounded (182b)	compounded (182b)
<i>location</i>	lower luminary near the earth (182b)	on the earth (52b)
<i>activity</i>	faces the sun (179b) and receives light (177b)	faces the prototype [God] and receives enlightenment (313b)

The sun is thus great, perceptible, simple, enlightening, the giver of heat and life in the same way that God is also the great, primary and omnipotent luminary, simple, enlightening, and life-giving. The sun symbolizes the absolute remoteness of God, as it is solely composed of the lightest element, fire, and is therefore located at the outermost reaches of the created cosmos. The symbolism of the elements reflects the model of the concentric spheres, with the heaviest element (earth) in the middle and the lightest one (fire) on the outside; ‘the earth is inside the water and beneath it, the water is inside the air and beneath, and the air is inside the fire and beneath’ (*Hex.* 51a–b). The sun is, therefore, the furthest point of the created cosmos, just as God is beyond everything which has been created.

The fire is ‘pure and clean’, and thereby not associated with the other three elements (air, water, and earth; *Hex.* 155a), which are heavier and closer to the earth. The earth is the location of darkness and ignorance, the furthest point from God. A ‘pure’ or ‘simple’ element is one that is unmixed with any other,<sup>23</sup> and so the sun is composed of one element alone and without the contamination of the other, heavier, elements, just as God is the source of purity and true enlightenment:

The sun is above all the luminaries of heaven in the circle of its revolution in heaven, and is high up and elevated in its position above all things, just as it is higher and more glorious than all of them both in the excellence of its nature

<sup>23</sup> The four elements were initially in a confused and mingled form (*Hex.* 48a), but they become purified of association with each other (*Hex.* 49b).

and in the greatness of its body. It is thus for all sensible beings what God is for noetic beings, as one of them said (*Hex.* 162b–163a).<sup>24</sup>

The stars are simple and pure, as they are composed of air alone. Thus they are like the sun in that they are of one element alone, just as the purity of the angels is like that of God. The stars have no light in their nature, since they are made up of air rather than fire, but they receive light from the sun, casting it on the earth, and they revolve, facing the sun. In the same way the angels are simple, pure and enlightened by the first light (God), towards whom they gaze, and enlighten men (*Hex.* 182b).

The simplicity and purity of the air is inferior to that of the fire, which is a lighter element and stands above the air. Thus the stars are lower than the sun in position and purity, just as the angels are lower than God. According to the picture of the concentric spheres, the air is just below the fire, and this indicates that the angels are very close to God, above the heavier elements of water and earth. They are intermediaries who share qualities of the divine and the earthly: they are elevated and pure and uncompounded, yet they are closer to earth than God and depend on him for enlightenment, just as the stars are illuminated by God.

The moon is the lowest luminary and is near the earth, as it is compounded of the four elements (earth, water, air, and fire). Mankind is physical, similarly compounded of the four elements, the fire symbolising the soul, or mind, within his nature:

[We are] compounded human nature, that is, earthly, heavenly, perceptible and noetic (*Hex.* 182b–183a).<sup>25</sup>

The fire, therefore, symbolizes that part in mankind which is like God, the soul, or human mind; and the earth symbolizes its opposite extreme, corruptible matter. The presence of the other elements, air and water, in the moon is demonstrated by its light weight and overnight dew.

The earth is the heaviest of the four elements, and is therefore located at the centre of the concentric spheres. Thus the moon is the

<sup>24</sup> Jacob's source is Gregory of Nazianzus: 'The one gives light to the eyes, as the other does to the mind' (*Oratio* 28.30 [= *Oratio theologica* 2], ed. P. Gallay, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 27–31 (Discours théologiques)* (SC 250; Paris 1978), 168). Jacob further describes the sun as visible light and God as imperceptible light, which is understood in part by the mind (which is like God, the great Mind), yet neither the sun nor God are wholly understood by sight or the mind alone: their nature and activity is above and beyond us. The sun is not fully understood by the sense of sight, just as God is not fully apprehended by minds (*Hex.* 182b).

<sup>25</sup> Compare Gregory: 'The soul . . . for all its heavenly form, has endured mingling with that which is earthly' (*Carmina Arcana* 7, ed. Moreschini, 32).

heaviest luminary and mankind is the lowest of all rational natures. The movements of the moon also symbolize mankind: when the moon stands opposite the sun, facing it, it is illumined by the sun just as the soul gazes on its prototype and is illumined by him.<sup>26</sup>

Jacob asserts that mankind, like the moon, bears many passions and changes (*Hex.* 182b–183a),<sup>27</sup> following Basil, who says that it ‘makes known to us an explanation of our nature: that there is nothing human which persists’, and when it wanes ‘it begins to be feeble and to fail’ (*Hex.* 6.10; ed. 107, trans. 89).<sup>28</sup>

The concentric spheres of the elements are thus reflected in the natures and positions of the luminaries, with the sun composed of lightest element—fire—as the highest luminary, the stars made up of air, which is slightly heavier than the sun and lower down, and the combination of the elements in the moon, including the heaviest, the earth, locating it as the lowest luminary. This structure symbolizes the triadic hierarchy of divine, angelic and human nature in both nature and positions, combining the best scientific and theological principles.

#### 4. *The Positions and Movements of the Luminaries*

This dramatic re-positioning of the sun as the farthest luminary, beyond all the planets, to accord with both the scientific theory of the lightest element being on the outside of the concentric spheres and the theological symbolism of the sun as God—to reflect the higher reality of the supremacy of God—contradicts the accepted location of the sun, with which the Cappadocians agreed, despite their likening the sun to God.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> The stars are moved by the movement of the sun (*Hex.* 164a) just as all the luminaries were moved by God (*Hex.* 150b) and God moves his Creation when and how he wishes (*Hex.* 313a).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, who maintains that the nature both of souls and angels has no end, and is in no way hindered from going on to eternity by the fact of its having been created (*Contra Eunomium* 3.6 (73), ed. W.W. Jaeger, *Contra Eunomium libri 2* (Gregorii Nysseni Opera 2; Leiden 1960), 211) and Jacob: ‘The moon and mankind both bear passions and changes and increase, decrease and age. . . . Human nature remains the same eternally and does not divert like the light of the moon . . . until the Maker freed it from this way of life and made it pass over to another way of life that is rational and of his type’ (*Hex.* 182b–183a).

<sup>28</sup> The artificer created [the moon] in his image (*Hex.* 183a), just as he created mankind in his image (*Hex.* 317b). Cf. Philo, who likewise describes the likeness of God to man as not an external one, but one found in the mind (*De opificio mundi* 69, ed. L. Cohn, *Philonis Alexandrini Opera quae supersunt* 1 (Berlin 1896), 23).

<sup>29</sup> Gregory of Nyssa, for example, describes the separation of the light into seven spheres (the sun, moon, and wandering stars), in the middle of which the sun is placed (*Hex.*, *PG* 44, 117a–b).

Basil's account of astronomy is brief, referring only in passing to Eudoxus' theory of the concentric spheres of planetary movements,<sup>30</sup> while Jacob, in his desire to use the most authoritative material, uses Ptolemy as the foundation for his astronomy, like Philoponus before him, although their use of Ptolemy is very different.<sup>31</sup> Ptolemy's treatises were the standard astronomical texts in the ecclesiastical curriculum of Late Antiquity, and Jacob would also have encountered his theories not only from his reading of Philoponus, but also from his teacher Severus Sebokht,<sup>32</sup> who used Ptolemy's *Almagest* in his *On the Constellations*.

Jacob is not alone in questioning the position of the sun. Anaxagoras had set the sun as the highest luminary,<sup>33</sup> and even Ptolemy mentions the possibility that the sun is on the outside:

With respect to the sun, there are three possibilities: either all five planetary spheres lie above the sphere of the sun just as they lie above the sphere of the moon, or they all lie below the sphere of the sun, or some lie above, and some below the sphere of the sun, and we cannot decide this matter with certainty (*Planetary Hypotheses* 89a).<sup>34</sup>

The spheres of Venus and Mercury are placed by earlier mathematicians below the sun's sphere, but by some of the later ones above the sun's sphere because of their never having seen the sun eclipsed by them (*Almagest* 9.1).

Having established the sun as the highest luminary, this has important implications for the other luminaries. It was generally considered that Kronos (Saturn) was the highest planet, then came Zeus (Jupiter), Ares (Mars), the sun, Aphrodite (Venus), Hermes (Mercury), and the lowest

<sup>30</sup> This was the dominant model in astronomical theory to the end of the fourth century BC; G.E.R. Lloyd, *Greek Science After Aristotle* (Ancient Culture and Society; London 1973), 53.

<sup>31</sup> Philoponus quotes the Ptolemaic system of forward and retrograde motion on the epicycles, without changing any of the essential positions or movements of the planets, whereas Jacob, as we shall see, adapts the system to his theological cosmology (*De opificio mundi* 3.3, ed. Scholten, 2:278–286).

<sup>32</sup> This is found in the Ms. Paris syr. 346 (dated 1309), from which we have Severus' *Astrolabe* (36v–51v), and Chapters 1–18 of *On the Constellations* (78v–121v), ed. and trans. F. Nau, 'La cosmographie au septième siècle chez les Syriens', *ROC* 15 (1910), 225–253. Severus believed knowledge was not confined to Greek writers: 'Knowledge is neither a language nor is it a term, but rather a term is knowledge', cf. Nau, 'La cosmographie', 249. Severus' chief contribution to Syriac literature is his *On the Constellations*, which owes much to Ptolemy's *Handbook*; cf. Miller, 'Jacob of Edessa'.

<sup>33</sup> Fragment 16.A.1: 'the sun is set highest of all, after it the moon, and beneath them the fixed stars and planets', in C.H. Kahn, *Anaximander and the Origins of Greek Cosmology* (Columbia 1960), 86.

<sup>34</sup> B.R. Goldstein, 'The Arabic Version of Ptolemy's Planetary Hypotheses', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 57 (1867), 3–12.

luminary was the moon. Jacob changes this order, setting the sun at the outside, with all the wandering planets and the moon underneath.

In his criticism of the accepted model, Jacob focuses on its pagan sources, and thereby reveals his main concern in repositioning the sun, which he has justified with his examination of the relative weights of the elements which make up the luminaries. His model is God-centred:

They think and set down [accounts] concerning [the movements of the wandering planets] and hand down many and untrustworthy things concerning all the luminaries in the firmament of heaven in the heights of the globe . . . they have determined and handed down that [Zeus] is below Saturn . . . they set down that [Ares] is in its position and movement under [Saturn and Zeus] . . . concerning the sun and the other two planets that are left . . . Aphrodite and Hermes, they think and say that they are in the position and revolution of their movement under the three . . . these are the suppositions of the ancients from among the goddesses concerning the places, positions, and heights of the luminaries. They are confident that they can say this about the times of their revolutions of the sphere, since they do not consider or know that God is the maker of these things (*Hex.* 161b–162a).

Jacob's account of astronomy would, however, be incomplete without a discussion of the varied movements of the planets.<sup>35</sup> He uses and adapts the system of planetary motion involving forward and retrograde motion to explain the irregular movement of the planets as they move through the fixed stars because, although the planets were observed to rise and set nightly from the east to the west, they also move in the manner of the sun, along similar paths, from the west to the east, and appear to move backwards.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> His planetary re-positioning does not affect the time taken for their revolution of the globe, although he appears to simplify the times taken, as can be seen when his text is compared with that of Severus, which may have been his source. While Severus specifies that Hermes takes one and a half years for its circuit of the world and Aphrodite takes ten months and Ares takes six months, Jacob states that these three (and the sun) take about one year to go round the earth. Severus: Kronos makes its revolution in thirty years, Zeus in twelve years, Hermes in one and a half years, the sun in one year, Aphrodite in ten months, Ares in six months, and the moon in one month (*Constellations* 19, 123v–124r). Cf. Jacob: 'Kewan takes about thirty years . . . Zeus or Bel takes about twelve years . . . Ares concludes its circuit of all the sphere in about one year and six months . . . Aphrodite and Hermes . . . like the sun . . . [take] about one year' (*Hex.* 147b).

<sup>36</sup> The planets seem irregular according to a geocentric picture of the cosmos. In reality the planets, including the earth, revolve around the sun at various speeds, the earth continually overtaking and being overtaken, which gives the appearance that the planets are moving forwards and backwards. In trying to resolve this mathematically, earlier astronomers reduced the apparent irregularity of the planetary movements to some combination of uniform circular motion; cf. M. Clagett, *Greek Science in Antiquity* (London 1957), 106–109.

The Platonic model accounts for this discrepancy through the theory of the movement of the similar and that of the different, and this was further developed by Ptolemy: there is one main movement from east to west, and another from west to east, made up of contrary movements on the ecliptic, which is carried around by the main movement. Jacob adapts this model to fit his own cosmological theory: the planetary movements are indeed a combination of the two main motions, but, because he places the sun on the outside, this means that the order of the planets is reversed, so that they take the same time as described by Ptolemy to revolve around the earth.

The following quotations show that Jacob uses Ptolemy's descriptions of the forward and retrograde planetary movements. The two main movements are: the general movement from east to west and that from the west to east when the planets remain behind this general impetus:

Ptolemy:

There are two different prime movements in the heavens. One is that by which everything moves from east to west, always in the same way and at the same speed with revolutions in circles parallel to each other and clearly described about the poles of the regularly revolving sphere ... The other movement is that according to which the spheres of the stars make certain local motions in the direction opposite to that of the movement just described and around other poles ... the sun, moon, and planets<sup>37</sup> make certain complex movements unequal to each other, but all contrary to the general movement, towards the east (*Almagest* 1.8).

Jacob:

The whole globe of the firmament of heaven (and all the non-wandering stars that are in it) moves and revolves always to the west ... [the planets] with another amazing and varied movement seem to move backwards, to the east, when each one of them stays behind the rapid and firm rushing of the globe (*Hex.* 168b).

This second movement is oblique, along the ecliptic:

Ptolemy:

They always seem, at the same time they move towards the east, to deviate towards the north and south poles without any uniform magnitude's beings observed in this deviation, so that this seems to befall them through impulsions. But although this deviation is irregular on the hypothesis of one prime movement, it is regular when effected by a circle oblique to the equator ... a movement about the poles of this oblique circle or ecliptic in the direction opposite to that of the first movement (*Almagest* 1.8).

<sup>37</sup> These local motions are briefly described by Jacob: 'The sun moves with this diverse and oblique movement and remains behind the impetus of the globe when it fulfils ... the yearly cycle. ... The moon moves backwards like the sun' (*Hex.* 168b-169a, 170a).

Jacob:

[The former] is the movement in longitude for the globe from the west to the east, completing it in a straight line in their recession from the circle, but the [latter], of the longitude and latitude together, is oblique and sideways, when part of the circle ascends and goes up to the north, but part of it . . . goes down to the south (*Hex.* 169a).

Jacob has, therefore, altered the positions but not the basic pattern of the movements of the luminaries. He has tried to stay as close to the Ptolemaic model as possible, because it is important that he is seen to be in agreement with the most authoritative source on astronomy to demonstrate that the best of scientific knowledge is in tune with Christian cosmology. He has corrected Ptolemy in his positioning of the luminaries, but this correction has the backing of Aristotelian science, in that the sun, being composed of the lightest element—fire—must be on the outside of the cosmos, as fire is the outermost sphere of the elements. His motivation here is obviously theological, as the sun symbolizes God, and he is able to adapt sources to agree with this theological basis of the cosmos.

### 5. *The Polemic against Astrology*

The re-positioning of the sun has another theological significance, which underlies Jacob's refutation of astrology. Not only does the pre-eminence of the sun's position show that the stars are lower and therefore less important (which means that God is more powerful than any influence from the stars), but the sun also moves the planets. The stars cannot control their own movements, so they certainly cannot control the world. Thus they are not divine, rational, living or possessed of their own freedom of movement. Not even the sun has self-movement, however, but is moved by God, just as a water wheel moves according to the maker who devised it (*Hex.* 164b). Jacob, with this simple yet effective theory, succeeds in putting the stars in a subordinate position to the sun, showing that the sun has power over them, and that this power ultimately comes from God.

Jacob:

[The planets] do not have their own desired movement . . . [but] they are moved by the movement of the sun (*Hex.* 164a).

For half of the circuit of the globe [the moon] goes forwards to the north of the pathway of the sun, and for the [other] half [it goes] to the south of it . . . as it breaks away in different places from the path of the sun and does not proceed in the same tracks of its own path every time (*Hex.* 170a–b).

Following Basil, Jacob's argument focuses on the impossibility of making exact calculations of the planetary movements,<sup>38</sup> and the failure of astrologers to take as their starting-point the transcendence of God and build their theories upon this. Basil shows that the astrological calculations are, in any case, flawed because it is impossible to make exact measurements,<sup>39</sup> while Jacob shows that astrologers can scientifically be proved to be wrong, since all their calculations are built upon the misconception of the planetary positions and their movements, which are, in fact, dictated by the sun and are not voluntary. The astrologers are unreliable in their calculations:

Basil:

[The Greeks] fixed their sight on vain things and expanded their knowledge in distractions . . . some, as they suppose, understood the distances of the stars in their courses . . . the circles of the stars and the measurements of their places . . . the deviation and precedence of one star from its companion . . . the length of time for which lasted the orbits of the stars which are called planets (*Hex.* 1.4; ed. 6, trans. 5).

Jacob:

They distinguish them and separate one from another, with certain administrations and authorities for each one, and contrasting places and heights . . . as they estimate and observe (by conjecture and theories, neither accurately nor approaching the truth) certain times of their movements . . . and they consider—wrongfully—that they have attained true accuracy concerning the great or small lengths of time observed (*Hex.* 161a–b).

The fundamental problem of astrologers is that they do not take God as their central principle, from which they should try to understand everything else:

Basil:

Of all these many things [that is, the movements of the planets] which troubled them, there is one of these difficult matters which they should have learned. Yet they did not wish to recognize God alone to be the creator of all (*Hex.* 1.4; ed. 7, trans. 5).

<sup>38</sup> Basil borrows many of his arguments against astrology from Origen; for example, it is impossible to cast the horoscope exactly at the moment of the child's birth (*Hex.* 6.5 and Origen, *Philocalia* 23.17, ed. É. Junod, *Origène. Philocalie 21–27 : sur le libre arbitre* (revd. ed.; SC 226; Paris 2006), 188–190); cf. Robbins, *Hexaemeral Literature*, 52, note 1. Basil gives an example of the unreliability of astrological theories based on inaccurate calculations: 'He who is born in that short second of that hour will be important . . . another, who is born at a time different by a brief moment, will be a huckster and a vagrant' (*Hex.* 6.5; ed. 95, trans. 79).

<sup>39</sup> He examines the question of the zodiac and horoscopes in detail, concluding that it is impossible to pinpoint with any great accuracy the positions of the stars (*Hex.* 6.5–6.8; ed. 94–101, trans. 79–84).



Jacob:

They do not consider or know that God is the maker of these things . . . they do not set down the first groundwork correctly, and nor do they afterwards try to build straightforwardly upon it (*Hex.* 162a–b).

This fundamental concept—the supremacy of God and the importance of starting from the divine and reasoning ‘downwards’, assuming that God is the beginning and cause of everything—is at the heart of the hexaemeral work of Basil and Jacob.

### *6. Conclusion*

We have seen how Aristotle’s account of the nature of the elements and their position in the cosmos is used in both Jacob’s physical cosmology and his Platonic model of the physical world as a reflection of the higher reality of the nature of being. Within Jacob’s physical and theological cosmology he uses the most authoritative sources of his time, including Ptolemy for astronomy, Aristotle for the elements, Basil and Philoponus for the Christian application of scientific cosmology, and as we have briefly seen, Gregory of Nazianzus and Pseudo-Dionysius for some of the theological material—and the way in which he molds and adapts these sources is guided by his theological perspective. Following Basil, the supremacy of God threads throughout his work, and he repeatedly refers to the power of God, through which natural phenomena occur (even the course of the winds and the rainfall), and the entire cosmos reveals the greater reality.

Jacob demonstrates that our understanding of God and the very nature of human existence is guided by observation and examination in scientific terms of the nature of the physical world, and shows that a proper use of science—which acknowledges that God is the focus for all cosmological discussion—reveals that the Genesis account is true. The Spirit gives an accurate account of the Creation through Moses, but we need science to fully understand what is not made explicit. Scientific speculation is, however, subject to error if the role of God is not properly understood, and needs to be corrected.

## THE ANAPHORA OF SAINT JAMES AND JACOB OF EDESSA

*Baby Varghese*

The Anaphora of Saint James is one of the most critically studied Eastern liturgies in modern times. Since the seventeenth century, liturgists were interested in the question of authorship, date, origin, and theological contents of the 'Anaphora of Saint James, brother of Our Lord'.<sup>1</sup> Most of the studies are limited to the Greek version, as Greek is accepted to be the original language.<sup>2</sup>

Though the present structure belongs to a later period, the core of the anaphora undoubtedly goes back to the fourth or early fifth century.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a review of the studies with bibliography: J.D. Witvliet, 'The Anaphora of St. James', in P.F. Bradshaw (ed.), *Essays on Early Eastern Eucharistic Prayers* (Collegeville 1997), 153–172; A. Tarby, *La prière eucharistique de l'église de Jérusalem* (Théologie historique 17; Paris 1972), 25–44; B. Varghese, *The Syriac Version of the Liturgy of St James* (Alcuin/GROW Joint Liturgical Studies 49; Cambridge 2001).

<sup>2</sup> Greek text: B.Ch. Mercier, *La liturgie de Saint-Jacques* (PO 26.2; Paris 1946), 121–249; Syriac text: O. Heiming, 'Anaphora syriaca sancti Jacobi fratris Domini', *Anaphorae syriacae* 2.2 (Rome 1953), 109–179. For the other editions of the Syriac version see below; also, S. Brock, 'Two Recent Editions of Syrian Orthodox Anaphoras', *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 102 (1988), 436–445; Georgian version (English translation only): F.C. Conybeare and O. Wardrop, 'The Georgian Version of the Liturgy of St. James', *ROC* 18 (1913), 396–410; J. Jedlicka, 'Das Prager Fragment der altgeorgischen Jakobusliturgie', *Archiv Orientalni* 29 (1961), 183–196; M. Tarchnisvili, 'Eine neue Georgische Jakobusliturgie', *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 62 (1948), 49–82; Ethiopian text: Sebastian Euringer, 'Die Anaphora des hl. Jacobus, des Bruders des Herrn', *OrChr* 4 (1915), 1–23; Armenian version (German translation only): A. Baumstark, 'Die armenische Rezension der Jakobusliturgie', *OrChr* 7–8 (1918), 1–32; important studies: Tarby, *La prière eucharistique*; J.R.K. Fenwick, *The Anaphoras of St Basil and St James: An Investigation into their Common Origin* (OCA 240; Rome 1992) (both of these studies are on the Greek text); for other studies, see, Witvliet, 'The Anaphora of St. James'; an important study on the Syriac version is that of G. Khouri-Sarkis, published in a series of articles: 'L'anaphore syriaque de Saint Jacques', *OrSyr* 4 (1959), 385–448; 'Notes sur l'anaphore syriaque de Saint Jacques', *OrSyr* 5 (1960), 1–32, 129–158, 363–384; 'Notes sur l'anaphore syriaque de Saint Jacques : les rideaux de l'autel', *OrSyr* 7 (1962), 277–296; 'Notes sur l'anaphore syrienne de Saint Jacques : le voile anaphore ou voile de l'autel', *OrSyr* 8 (1963), 3–20; 'Projet de restauration de la liturgie syrienne d'Antioche', *OrSyr* 9 (1964), 409–422; 'Projet de restauration de la liturgie de Jérusalem–Antioche', *OrSyr* 10 (1965), 3–40. See also my study quoted in note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Tarby, *La prière eucharistique*, 26; Khouri-Sarkis, 'L'anaphore syriaque de Saint Jacques', 385–448, esp. 390–405.

Recently J.R.K. Fenwick has suggested that the Jerusalem redaction is probably a conflation of Palestinian sources with an early form of the Anaphora of Saint Basil.<sup>4</sup>

The Patriarchate of Antioch was probably the first to adopt the Anaphora of Jerusalem, adding liturgical elements that were apparently missing in the original text.<sup>5</sup> It has been generally held that the Antiochene version of St James was made sometime before the definite separation between the Chalcedonians and the non-Chalcedonians. The earliest possible date is the first half of the fifth century.

The Anaphora of St James has come down to us in Greek, Syriac, Georgian, Armenian, Ethiopian, and Old Slavonic versions.<sup>6</sup> The Georgian is probably based on an earlier Greek form, whereas Ethiopian and Armenian derive from the Syriac.

### 1. *The Greek and Related Versions*

After the Council of Chalcedon (451), both the Chalcedonians and the non-Chalcedonians continued to use the Anaphora of St James. In the course of history, as Constantinople became the religious capital of Byzantine Christianity, Jerusalem and Antioch lost their former prominence as influential liturgical centers. Consequently St James lost its former popularity among the Byzantines and was gradually replaced by the 'Liturgy of St John Chrysostom', the official Anaphora of Constantinople.

The Greek manuscripts have been classified, first by F.E. Brightman and then by B.Ch. Mercier, into three groups: Eastern (Patriarchate of Jerusalem), Intermediate (Thessalonica), and Western (the Island of Zante).<sup>7</sup> The Eastern group represents the ancient tradition; the oldest manuscript of this group is Vaticanus graecus 2282 (ninth century).<sup>8</sup> The Eastern group, especially Vat. gr. 2282, contains prayers that are closer to the Syriac version, as it had underwent relatively less 'byzantinization'.<sup>9</sup>

The Georgian version (known by two manuscripts of the ninth and tenth centuries) probably goes back to a Greek text of the seventh

<sup>4</sup> J.R.K. Fenwick, *The Anaphoras of St Basil and St James*. For a critical evaluation of Fenwick's theory, see the book review by G. Winkler in *OrChr* 78 (1994), 269–277.

<sup>5</sup> Fenwick, *The Anaphoras of St Basil and St James*, 43–46.

<sup>6</sup> Tarby, *La prière eucharistique*, 25–44; B. Varghese, 'Saint James Liturgy: A Brief History of the Text', *The Harp* 2.3 (1989), 141–149.

<sup>7</sup> F.E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* 1. *Eastern Liturgies* (Oxford 1896), xlviii–lii; Mercier, *La liturgie de Saint-Jacques*, 132–154.

<sup>8</sup> This manuscript was unknown to Brightman.

<sup>9</sup> Tarby, *La prière eucharistique*, 32.

or eighth century.<sup>10</sup> But G. Peradze has suggested that the Georgian text was translated from Syriac and not from Greek as it is generally held.<sup>11</sup> There are striking resemblances between the Georgian and Syriac versions in the arrangement and contents of the introductory part (the so-called ‘three prayers’, see below).

The Slavonic version is based on a revised text, which has its origin in Thessalonica.<sup>12</sup>

## 2. *The Syriac and Related Versions*

The Greek text of the Anaphora was translated into Syriac probably before the end of the sixth century. On the basis of a comparative study, G. Khouri-Sarkis has demonstrated that the Syriac version retains several examples of literal renderings into Syriac of Greek words and phrases.<sup>13</sup> (However, there are typically Aramaic expressions, which might have been translated and incorporated into the Greek.<sup>14</sup>) In a group of manuscripts, a revision of the Syriac translation has been attributed to Jacob of Edessa. This paper shall address the question of Jacob of Edessa’s role in the preparation of ‘the New and correct Recension’ (hereafter referred to as *NCR*).

The origin and diffusion of the Syriac text prior to the time of Jacob of Edessa is still obscure. Scholars have suggested different possible dates between AD 400 and 600.<sup>15</sup> The first Syriac text was most probably made by the non-Chalcedonians who were expelled from Antioch by the Emperors Justin I (518–527) and Justinian (527–565). The non-Chalcedonians who took refuge in the Syriac-speaking regions of Mesopotamia on the Roman–Persian borders, sooner or later translated the Anaphora into Syriac. The following factors might have prompted them to use Syriac as their liturgical language:

<sup>10</sup> Conybeare and Wardrop, ‘The Georgian Version of the Liturgy of St. James’; M. Tarchnisvili, ‘Eine neue Georgische Jakobosliturgie’.

<sup>11</sup> G. Peradze, ‘Les monuments liturgiques prebyzantines en langue géorgienne’, *Le Muséon* 45 (1932), 255–272, esp. 269–272.

<sup>12</sup> Slavonic version: P. Syrku, *De historia correctionis librorum in Bulgaria saeculo XIV* 1 (St Petersburg 1890), 179–218.

<sup>13</sup> Khouri-Sarkis, ‘L’anaphore syriaque de Saint Jacques’, 406. In fact this has already been noted by I.E. Rahmani, *Les liturgies orientales et occidentales* (Beirut 1929), 118–121. On the date of this translation: A. Rucker, *Die syrische Jakobusanaphora nach der Rezension des Jaʿqôb(h) von Edessa* (Liturgiegeschichtliche Forschungen 4; Münster i.W. 1913), xxv; Mercier, *La liturgie de Saint-Jacques*, 127; Heimig, ‘Anaphora syriaca’, 125.

<sup>14</sup> Khouri-Sarkis, ‘L’anaphore syriaque de Saint Jacques’, 406–407.

<sup>15</sup> For a discussion, see Heimig, ‘Anaphora syriaca’, 125.

- (a) A translation was needed to meet the needs of the second generation of the emigrants who could not follow Greek.
- (b) The anti-Nestorian movement of Edessa gradually joined the non-Chalcedonians and adopted the Antiochene liturgical forms in the place of their original Mesopotamian liturgy.<sup>16</sup> The liturgical texts were translated to meet the needs of the new converts, whose mother tongue was Syriac.
- (c) The non-Chalcedonians were very active in missionary work among the pagans of Mesopotamia and the Arab tribes, most of whom understood Syriac better than Greek. In fact, about 542, Jacob Baradaeus and Theodore of Bostra (in Roman Arabia) were consecrated as missionary bishops. Theodore served the Ghassanid Arabs.<sup>17</sup> John of Ephesus tells the story of Elijah and Theodore, two traders 'who besides worldly trade engaged moreover in divine [trade] also'.<sup>18</sup>
- (d) The incoming of the captives increased the number of the non-Chalcedonians in Persia. Following the invasions of the Roman Empire by Chosroes I (531–579) and Chosroes II (589–628), several thousands of Christian prisoners were brought to Persia. There were priests and some bishops among them. Most of the prisoners were Chalcedonians. Antioch itself was taken and sacked twice, in 540 and again in 611. The Persians built new cities for the large number of prisoners. The best known among the new cities was a second Gundeshapur near Seleucia–Ctesiphon, the 'better Antioch of Chosroes'. As S.H. Moffett says, 'it was only natural that among the unhappy ranks of these thousands of captured and displaced Christians in a pagan land the mission-minded Syrian Orthodox clergy should find some of their most receptive hearers'.<sup>19</sup> We do not know whether the wide spread use of St James' liturgy and the Antiochene rite in the Syriac-speaking Mesopotamia has anything to do with this community of captives from Antioch.

The Armenian version of St James (attested by a manuscript of the fourteenth or fifteenth century) derives from an earlier form of the

<sup>16</sup> On this development: S.H. Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia 1. Beginnings to 1500* (2nd ed.; Maryknoll, NY 1998), 186–197, 243–247.

<sup>17</sup> See Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia 1*, 245.

<sup>18</sup> E.W. Brooks, *John of Ephesus. Lives of the Eastern Saints 2* (PO 18.4; Paris 1924), 576–585; esp. 577 (= Life of James).

<sup>19</sup> Moffett, *A History of Christianity in Asia 1*, 247.

Syriac text. A. Baumstark and A. Rucker, who had compared the Armenian with the Greek and the Syriac texts, demonstrated that though the Armenian version contains sections that follow Greek and Syriac, it is rather close to the latter.<sup>20</sup> F.E. Brightman had suggested that the Armenian is an abridged form of Syriac.<sup>21</sup> Baumstark had advanced an interesting hypothesis, according to which the Armenian text derives from a Syriac version, not attested by any manuscripts, which would have been used by the Syriac-speaking followers of Julian of Halicarnassus.<sup>22</sup>

The Ethiopian version (attested by a seventeenth-century manuscript) was probably made from a Syriac version in the sixth century and thus represents a stage before the revision attributed to Jacob of Edessa.

### 3. *Manuscripts of the Syriac Version*

A. Rucker and O. Heiming have carefully studied the manuscript tradition.<sup>23</sup> Rucker has consulted 57 manuscripts of which 5 are of Maronite origin. These manuscripts belong to a period extending from the eighth to the nineteenth centuries. The most ancient witness is an eighth-century palimpsest fragment (BL Add. 14615) of which the upper writing belongs to the tenth or eleventh century.<sup>24</sup> Rucker had classified the manuscripts into three groups:

- (a) An ancient textual tradition attested by a few manuscripts, all of which are fragments, belonging to a period before the eleventh century.<sup>25</sup> (Hereafter referred to as *OSV* = Old Syriac Version.)

<sup>20</sup> A. Baumstark, 'Denkmäler altarmenischer Messliturgie 3. Die armenische Rezension der Jakobusliturgie', *OrChr* 2.7–8 (1918), 1–13, esp. 6; Rucker, *Die syrische Jakobusanaphora*, xx.

<sup>21</sup> Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* 1, xcvi.

<sup>22</sup> Baumstark, 'Denkmäler altarmenischer Messliturgie', 5–8.

<sup>23</sup> Rucker, *Die syrische Jakobusanaphora*, xvi–xviii, xxv–xxix; Heiming, 'Anaphora syriaca', 111–119, 125–134. Heiming's edition, which is based on thirty manuscripts, is the most reliable one of the Syriac version.

<sup>24</sup> Published by O. Heiming, 'Palimpsestbruchstücke der syrischen Version der Jakobusanaphora aus dem 8. Jahrhundert in der Handschrift Add. 14615 des British Museum', *OCP* 16 (1950), 190–200.

<sup>25</sup> Rucker has pointed out five manuscripts: BL Add. 14615; BL Add. 14523 (nos. 256 and 268 in Wright's *Catalogue*); BL Add. 14494; Add. 14518. In the edition of the Syriac St James by R.H. Connolly and H.W. Codrington, Add. 14523 (= A + A2); Add. 14518 (= B) and BL Add. 14494 (= C) have been used: cf. R.H. Connolly and H.W. Codrington, *Two Commentaries on the Jacobite Liturgy by George Bishop of the Arab Tribes and Moses Bār Kēphā: Together with the Syriac Anaphora of St. James and a Document Entitled The Book of Life* (London 1913), 90–111.

- (b) The so-called 'new recension of Jacob of Edessa' (= *NCR*).
- (c) The *textus receptus*.

These three groups represent three stages in the transmission of the Syriac text.

In this paper we are concerned with the second stage, that is the role of Jacob of Edessa in the revision of the existing translation on the basis of the Greek manuscripts. The second group of manuscripts qualify the text as 'the new (and correct) recension of Jacob of Edessa', and they claim that Jacob had corrected the ancient text on the basis of the Greek texts available to him.<sup>26</sup> According to Rucker, the most ancient manuscript of this group is BL Add. 14493 (tenth century), which bears the following title: 'Anaphora of Holy Mar Jacob, brother of Our Lord. New recension of Jacob of Edessa'. This manuscript served as the basis for Rucker's edition.

O. Heiming has made a thorough study of the sources used by Rucker, examining about 75 witnesses. Heiming disagrees with Rucker in the matter of the dating of the most ancient witness to the 'new recension' by Jacob of Edessa. According to Heiming, the most ancient manuscript of this class is not BL Add. 14493 (used by Rucker), but BL Add. 14499 (dated to the tenth or eleventh century by W. Wright). Rucker had dated it as eleventh century, but Heiming has argued that it belongs to the tenth century, and that the sections including the anaphora are certainly older than those of Add. 14493. Thus Heiming has chosen Add. 14499 as the basis of his edition.

Both Rucker and Heiming had utilized manuscripts representing the three groups and give valuable critical apparatus containing quotations from the ancient fragments and from the commentaries of Jacob of Edessa, Moses bar Kepa, and Dionysius bar Salibi. Heiming's edition has the advantage that he had used a much more extensive documentation, including BL Add. 14615 (eighth cent.), the most ancient known fragment of the Syriac version.

#### *4. Jacob of Edessa's Role in the New Recension*

Until the beginning of the twentieth century, liturgists hardly ever doubted the authenticity of the tradition that Jacob of Edessa corrected the Old Syriac translation.<sup>27</sup> The studies of Rucker<sup>28</sup> and Heiming,<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Rucker, *Die syrische Jakobusanaphora*, xxv. For the list of manuscripts, see xvii–xviii; Heiming, 'Anaphora syriaca', 111–117.

<sup>27</sup> Rahmani never doubted it; cf. Rahmani, *Les liturgies*, 118.

<sup>28</sup> Rucker, *Die syrische Jakobusanaphora*, xxvii–xxviii.

<sup>29</sup> Heiming, 'Anaphora syriaca', 125–134.

however, brought out sound arguments against the attribution. There are a considerable number of differences between the Greek and Syriac versions, as we know them since the ninth century. This has been pointed out as an argument against the attribution of the revision to Jacob of Edessa, who had allegedly corrected the text on the basis of contemporary Greek manuscripts.<sup>30</sup> But on the other hand, one can reasonably argue that the Greek text as attested by the eighth- or ninth-century witness (Vat. gr. 2282)<sup>31</sup> represents a manuscript tradition different from that which was known to Jacob of Edessa. In fact, Vat. gr. 2282 is a Byzantine manuscript from Damascus, which probably represents an early liturgical tradition of the Greek Church of Antioch, whereas the Greek manuscripts allegedly used by Jacob of Edessa might have been of non-Chalcedonian origin. That means that it would be less likely that a non-Chalcedonian prelate like Jacob had used liturgical texts of Byzantine origin for a liturgical revision.

However, detailed philological analysis has provided valid arguments against Jacob's role in the work. As Rücker and Heiming have done minute studies in this area, it will not be very fruitful to re-open the dossier, unless new documentary evidence is available. For now, 'the new recension' shall be compared with the commentaries attributed to Jacob of Edessa. As we will see, the structure of the anaphora as attested by Jacob's commentaries corresponds to the Old Syriac Version, rather than to *NCR*. This would raise questions against the attribution of *NCR* to Jacob.

##### 5. *Commentaries on the Eucharist Attributed to Jacob of Edessa*

Two commentaries on the Eucharist have been attributed to Jacob of Edessa.

1. *The Epistle of Jacob of Edessa to Thomas the Presbyter (= Th)*: This work has been quoted by Dionysius bar Salibi in his *Commentary on the Eucharist* and is the best known liturgical commentary of Jacob.<sup>32</sup> At least two recensions of this work are known. The first one is found

<sup>30</sup> See Khouri-Sarkis, 'L'anaphore syriaque de Saint Jacques', 408–409.

<sup>31</sup> On this manuscript, see Tarby, *La prière eucharistique*, 30.

<sup>32</sup> Dionysius bar Salibi, *Commentary on the Eucharist* 3.3–10, ed. H. Labourt, *Dionysios bar Šalibi: Expositio liturgiae* (CSCO 13, Syr. 13; Paris 1903), 7–13, trans. B. Varghese, *Dionysius bar Salibi: Commentary on the Eucharist* (Mōrān ʿEthō 10; Kottayam 1998), 8–12. The text was first published by J.S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana* 1 (Rome 1719), 479–486; Eng. trans. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* 1, 490–494; text with Latin translation, I.E. Rahmani, *I fasti della Chiesa patriarcale Antiochena* (Rome 1920), xx–xxv.



in the West Syrian collection of canons known as *Synodicon* and the second in the *Nomocanon* of Barhebraeus.<sup>33</sup> As we will see, it has been revised later and gives the structure of a developed anaphora.

2. *The Commentary on qūrōbō by Mar Jacob of Edessa, addressed to George, the Stylite of Serug* (= *GS*). The text hitherto unpublished, is a revised one. Use will be made of Berlin 188 (Sachau 218): fols. 178v–186v.<sup>34</sup> This commentary consists of three parts, the arrangement was probably made later:

- (a) An explication of the symbolism of various objects.
- (b) Rubrics on the signing of the cross (parallel to the second part of *Th*).
- (c) An outline of the anaphora (much older than that of *Th*). Rahmani has published an abridged version (with few variants) of this outline.<sup>35</sup>

As we will see, Dionysius bar Salibi, who quotes from it, also knew *GS*. *GS* might be a summary of a larger commentary by Jacob.

‘Rubrics on the signing of the cross’ is perhaps the most widely circulated liturgical ‘commentary’ of Jacob.<sup>36</sup> In the table on the next page, the outlines of the Anaphora of St James will be given, as found in *GS*, *Th*, the ‘New Recension’ (*NCR*), and Moses bar Kepa (*MbK*) in parallel columns. For the sake of convenience the introductory part of the anaphora will be given first.

At first sight, one can observe that the Commentary addressed to George the Stylite (*GS*) has preserved the simplest structure, closer to the original form of the anaphora. If we compare these outlines with the structure of the anaphora known to Moses bar Kepa (d. 903), we

<sup>33</sup> See A. Vööbus, *The Synodicon in the West Syrian Tradition* 1 (CSCO 367–368, Syr. 161–162; Leuven 1975), ed. 221–226, trans. 206–210; Barhebraeus, *Nomocanon* 4.7, ed. P. Bedjan, *Nomocanon Gregorii Barhebraei* (Paris 1898), 47–50.

<sup>34</sup> Berlin 188 (Sachau 218) is a manuscript written in 1838, most probably copied from an ancient text. The same text is found in Vat. sir. 159 (*non vidi*). Cf. Rucker, *Die syrische Jakobusanaphora*, xxiii–xxiv.

<sup>35</sup> Rahmani, *I fasti*, xix–xx.

<sup>36</sup> Portions of a rather longer version is found in BL Add. 14496, fols. 1v–3v (tenth cent.); cf. Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum* 1, 224; see also A. Rucker, ‘Die Kreuzzeichen in der westsyrischen Meßliturgie’, in Th. Klausner and A. Rucker (eds.), *Pisciculi. Studien zur Religion und Kultur des Altertums: Franz Joseph Dölger zum sechzigsten Geburtstage dargeboten von Freunden, Verehrern und Schülern* (Münster i.W. 1939), 245–251. On the manuscripts of these commentaries: A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur mit Ausschluß der christlich-palästinensischen Texte* (Bonn 1922), 250, notes 5–7.

TABLE: COMPARISON OF OUTLINES OF THE ANAPHORAE

<i>GS</i>	<i>Th</i>	<i>NCR</i>	<i>MbK</i>
<i>Glory to the Father . . .</i>	—	—	—
—	THREE PRAYERS (1A; B; C)	THREE PRAYERS 1A. Prayer before the Peace	THREE PRAYERS 1A. Prayer before the Peace
	-Deacon's admonition: <i>Let us stand well</i>		-Kiss of Peace: <i>Peace be to you all</i> etc.
-Kiss of Peace (probably without any formula)	- <i>Peace be to you</i>  - <i>With your spirit</i>	- <i>Peace be to you all</i>  - <i>And with your spirit</i>	-Reading of the Book of Life -Washing of the hands -Deacon's admonition to bow down the heads
		-Deacon's admonition to give peace; people's response	
		1B. Prayer of the Imposition of the hands	1B. Prayer of the Imposition of the hands
		1C. Prayer over the veil	
		-Deacon: <i>Let us stand well</i>	-Deacon: <i>Let us stand well</i>
		-Lifting up of the veil	1C. Prayer over the veil -Lifting up of the veil and People's response
- <i>Love of God the Father</i>	- <i>Love of God the Father</i> (three crosses)	- <i>Love of God the Father</i> (three crosses)	- <i>Love of God the Father</i>
			-People: <i>Amen</i> (thrice)
-Dialogue	-Dialogue	-Dialogue	-Dialogue

can reach the conclusion that the present form of the 'New Recension' attributed to Jacob of Edessa might have developed after the ninth century. The structure of the anaphora known to Bar Keba represents the Mosul Tradition (also known as the Eastern Tradition), which was different from the Tur 'Abdin Tradition (known as the Western Tradition).<sup>37</sup> Now the elements of the beginning of the anaphora shall be analyzed.

### 6. *Opening Formula*

According to *GS*, the anaphora begins with the Trinitarian glorification: *Glory to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit*.<sup>38</sup> It is followed by the Kiss of Peace, the Trinitarian blessing (*Love of God the Father . . .*) and the dialogue. *GS* does not mention the so-called 'Three Prayers', with which *NCR* begins.

*Th* on the other hand, gives a rather developed outline of the Eucharistic celebration, beginning with the pre-anaphora, which includes the reading of the Scriptures, dismissal of the hearers, energumens and the penitents.<sup>39</sup> Then, after having closed the doors, the Creed was recited. On the beginning of the anaphora, *Th* says:

So when the Faith of the 318 fathers was written, it seemed right that it also should be added in the order of the kuröbho (. . .). And after this that there should be Prayers of the Faithful, three in number, with closed doors: soon after when divers rites and feasts were arranged in the church *they made* these three prayers of the faithful—one of them for the petition of the mystic Peace, the second of the Imposition of the hand, and the third that wherewith they uncover the table and signify thereby that the doors of heaven are opened (*italics added*).<sup>40</sup>

The three prayers are followed by the deacon's admonition to *Stand well* and the Kiss of Peace. *GS* makes no reference to the three prayers,

<sup>37</sup> These traditions were followed in the dioceses of the Maphrianate (or Catholicate) of Tagrit (later transferred to Mosul), and the Patriarchate of Antioch respectively. The Eastern Tradition shares some common features with the East Syrian Church. See B. Varghese, 'Some Common elements in the East and West Syrian liturgies', *The Harp* 13 (2000), 65–76; see also: Patriarch Ignatius Aphram I Barsoum, *The Scattered Pearls. A History of Syriac Literature and Sciences* (Pueblo 2000), 22–23.

<sup>38</sup> 'Then in the beginning the priest begins (saying): *Glory to the Father, to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit*, symbolizing the unity of the One nature and essence of the Trinity, showing that it is indivisibly separated and unconfusedly united' (Berlin 188 (Sachau 218), fol. 181r).

<sup>39</sup> *Th* comments on the dismissal: 'But all these things have now vanished from the Church, albeit sometimes the deacons make mention of them, exclaiming after the ancient custom.'

<sup>40</sup> Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* 1, 491.

whereas *Th* seems to claim that ‘the Fathers of Nicea’ have introduced them. (When the text is read in continuity with reference to the Nicene Creed, the impression is given that the word ‘they’ refers to the Fathers of Nicea.)

The outline of the anaphora given in *GS*<sup>41</sup> was known to Dionysius bar Salibi probably in its present form. Thus he quotes from it:

Again we say that the *qurobo* is divided into five parts. The beginning of the first part is *Glory to the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit*. Jacob of Edessa says that the priest begins with these words to teach the unity of the nature and the essence of the three hypostases, which are separated without separation and united without confusion.<sup>42</sup>

Bar Salibi seems to have ignored the difference between *GS* and *Th*. His comments give the impression that in the twelfth century, the prayer before the peace was preceded by *Glory to the Father*. He quotes Bar Kepa who censured this doxology. However, Bar Salibi does not seem to disapprove it:

Bishop Moses, who is called Bar Kepha, says: It is not meet to say *Glory to the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit*, before the prayer of peace. Not because it is not meet to glorify the Son and the Holy Spirit with the Father from whom they have glory and essence, but so that nobody should think that the priest offers *qurobo* in the name of the three persons.<sup>43</sup>

However, none of the manuscripts of Saint James mentions the doxology. As it was the usual formula with which the priest begins the celebration, copyists might have left it out.

According to Bar Kepa, in some places, one or two prayers of absolution preceded the prayer before the peace. He censures them as well.<sup>44</sup> As in the case of the doxology, these prayers are not given in any of the manuscripts.

### 7. Three Prayers and the Greek Saint James

*GS* presents a schema of the anaphora in which the only formula before the Kiss of Peace was *Glory to the Father*, whereas in *Th*, the Three Prayers and the deacon’s admonition to *Stand well* preceded Peace. As we will see, they were added later.

<sup>41</sup> See under 2.c on p. 246 above.

<sup>42</sup> Bar Salibi, *Commentary on the Eucharist*, 8.5, trans. Varghese, 48. Another quotation in 10.4, trans. Varghese, 58.

<sup>43</sup> Bar Salibi, *Commentary on the Eucharist* 8.6, trans. Varghese, 48–49. Cf. Bar Kepa, *Commentary on the Eucharist*, ed. Connolly and Codrington, 39–40.

<sup>44</sup> Bar Kepa, *Commentary on the Eucharist*, ed. Connolly and Codrington, 38–39. Cf. Bar Salibi, *Commentary on the Eucharist* 8.4, trans. Varghese, 48.

The first document that mentions the Three Prayers before the Kiss of Peace is the nineteenth canon of the Council of Laodicea (343–381).<sup>45</sup> We do not know whether the themes of the prayers of which canon 19 speaks, correspond to those which were added to Saint James.

In the early sixth century, Severus of Antioch says that in Palestine and in Jerusalem, a prayer accompanied the lifting up of the veil:

[In] Palestine and in Jerusalem, while the priest makes the said prayer, the deacons frequently and ceaselessly lift (the cover) up and let it down again, until the end of the prayer, and so after that the priest begins the petition over the offering of the sacrifice.<sup>46</sup>

Severus speaks of the Prayer over the veil only, and he is silent on the Prayer before the Peace and the Prayer of the Imposition of the hand. Even though Canon 19 of Laodicea refers to the Three Prayers, there is no evidence that they were introduced in the Anaphora of Saint James during the time of Severus, as G. Khouri-Sarkis believes.<sup>47</sup> On the contrary, *GS* suggests that they were not yet part of the Old Syriac version of Saint James. How did they appear in Syriac Saint James?

Moses bar Kepa is the first authentic witness to the use of the three prayers in the anaphora.<sup>48</sup> From the summary of the prayers that he quotes, we can assume that their contents were already fixed in the ninth century.<sup>49</sup>

The three prayers of the Syriac text (hitherto referred to as 1, 2, and 3) differ considerably from the corresponding prayers in the Greek Saint

<sup>45</sup> Canon 19: 'After the sermons of the Bishops, the prayer for the catechumens is to be made first by itself; and after the catechumens have gone out, the prayer for those who are under penance; and, after these have passed under the hand [of the Bishop] and departed, there should then be offered the three prayers of the faithful, the first to be said entirely in silence, the second and third aloud, and then the [kiss of] peace is to be given. And, after the presbyters have given the [kiss of] peace to the Bishop, then the laity are to give it [to one another], and so the Holy Oblation is to be completed. And it is lawful to the priesthood alone to go to the Altar and [there] communicate.' Trans. by H.R. Percival, 'The Seven Ecumenical Councils of the Undivided Church: Their Canons and Dogmatic Decrees, together with the Canons of all the Local Synods which have Received Ecumenical Acceptance', in P. Schaff and H. Wace (eds.), *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church: Second Series* 14 (New York 1900), 136.

<sup>46</sup> Letter 105: 'To Caesaria the Hypattisa', in E.W. Brooks, *A Collection of Letters of Severus of Antioch, from Numerous Syriac Manuscripts* 2 (PO 14.1; Paris 1920), 257.

<sup>47</sup> See Khouri-Sarkis, 'Notes sur l'Anaphore de Saint Jacques', 10.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. the outline given above.

<sup>49</sup> Connolly and Codrington, *Two Commentaries on the Jacobite Liturgy*, 40–44. John of Dara also refers to the three prayers. It is unclear whether they agree with the present form of the prayers, both in their themes and in the arrangement; trans. B. Varghese, *John of Dara: Commentary on the Eucharist*, Mōrān ʿEthō 12 (Kottayam 1999), 4.2–3, 75–76.

James. A detailed comparison, though interesting, is not intended here. The Greek Saint James has four prayers: (i) Prayer by the Priest for himself; (ii) Prayer for the people; (iii) Prayer for the offering (by Saint Basil); (iv) Prayer of the veil.<sup>50</sup> Prayers i, iii and iv have not much in common with the Syriac text.

The Prayer for the people (ii) has been given in Syriac as the Prayer of the veil. Surprisingly, the Georgian version agrees with the Syriac.<sup>51</sup> Thus the Georgian version gives all the three prayers of the Syriac text. But 'the Prayer by the Priest for himself' (= Greek-i) has been inserted between 2 and 3, which is preceded by an ektenia by the deacon. In Syriac and in Georgian, the Kiss of Peace has been placed between 1 and 2.

It is not improbable that the Syriac and the Georgian are based on a Greek textual tradition different from the *textus receptus*. But we cannot completely ignore the possibility that the Georgian text derives its order and content from Syriac. The question needs to be studied in detail. In fact, G. Peradze has already suggested that the Georgian text of Saint James would have been translated from the Syriac and not from the Greek as we generally suppose.<sup>52</sup> If the Georgian version of the three prayers is based on a Syriac text, we can rightly argue for an earlier date for their introduction (that is the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century, the probable date for the Georgian translation).<sup>53</sup>

In *Th*, the three prayers are still outside the anaphora. According to *Th*, the order of the introductory part of the anaphora is as follows: the three prayers, deacon's exhortation, Greeting of the Peace with the sign of the cross. But in *NCR*, the Kiss of Peace has been placed among the three prayers. Thus both the commentaries attributed to Jacob of Edessa do not agree with *NCR* in the arrangement of the introductory part.

<sup>50</sup> Greek text with Latin translation: Mercier, *La liturgie de Saint-Jacques* 1, 190–196; Eng. trans. J.M. Neale, *The Liturgies of S. Mark, S. James, S. Clement, S. Chrysostom, S. Basil: or According to the Use of the Churches of Alexandria, Jerusalem, Constantinople, and the Formula of the the Apostolic Constitutions* (London 1859), 45–48.

<sup>51</sup> Conybeare and Wardrop, 'The Georgian Version of the Liturgy of St. James', 402–404. In the Georgian version translated by M. Tarchnisvili, the prayers are different: (i) Prayer by the priest for himself; (ii) Prayer of Saint Basil; (iii) Prayer of the veil (with the title: Third prayer of the Apostle Jacob, brother of Our Lord) (same as the prayer of the veil in Syriac). Cf. Tarchnisvili, 'Eine neue Georgische Jakobosliturgie', 62–64 (= 14–16).

<sup>52</sup> Peradze, 'Les monuments liturgiques', 269–272.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. S. Verhelst, 'L'histoire de la liturgie Melkite de Saint Jacques. Interprétations anciennes et nouvelles', *POC* 43 (1993), 229–272, esp. 264, note 88.

### 8. *The Kiss of Peace and the Trinitarian Blessing*

According to *GS*, the initial doxology (*Glory to the Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit*) is followed by the Kiss of Peace. Regarding the formula of Peace and the people's response *GS* is silent.<sup>54</sup>

On the other hand, in *Th*, the peace was given with a formula and was accompanied by the signing of the cross:

And when they are attentive, the priest turns (towards them) and gives them the peace saying *Peace be unto you all*, and he makes the sign of the cross over them. They answer him saying: *And with thy Spirit*.<sup>55</sup>

Bar Kepa and *GS* do not attest the signing of the cross that accompanies the Greeting of the Peace. The section on the number of crosses given in Berlin 188 (Sachau 218), as well as the version of *Th* found in the *West Syrian Synodicon* do not speak of it.<sup>56</sup> Obviously, the signing of the cross at this time attests a custom existed in the place where *Th* was composed. However, Bar Salibi (who quotes *Th*) is silent on it when he comments on the prayers and rites in their order.<sup>57</sup>

In *GS*, the peace was followed by the Trinitarian blessing: *Love of God the Father*, which was presented as a natural element in the anaphora. In *Th* we find:

Later, the fathers had (re-)arranged this part. They decided to say that at the time of (sign of) the cross, *The Love of God the Father, grace of the Only-Begotten Son and the Communion of the Holy Spirit be with you all*, and the priest should make three signs over the people, instead of one.<sup>58</sup>

The Trinitarian blessing, though not attested by the Mystagogical Catechesis of Cyril, is found in the Apostolic Constitutions.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>54</sup> In *Mystagogiae* 5.3, the deacon makes the exhortation to give peace; ed. and trans. A. Piédagnel and P. Paris, *Cyrille de Jérusalem. Catéchèses mystagogiques* (SC 126; Paris 1966), 148–151. The *Mystagogiae* are silent on the people's response. In *Testamentum Domini* 1.23 the Kiss of Peace is accompanied by no formula; cf. I.E. Rahmani, *Testamentum Domini nostri Jesu Christi* (Mainz 1899), 36–37.

<sup>55</sup> Bar Salibi, *Commentary on the Eucharist* 3.3, trans. Varghese, 9.

<sup>56</sup> The text given by Barhebraeus in *Nomocanon* (4.7) has omitted the reference to peace at this place, to make the outline conform to the practice of his time.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Bar Salibi, *Commentary on the Eucharist* 10.1, trans. Varghese, 57.

<sup>58</sup> Bar Salibi, *Commentary on the Eucharist* 3.3, trans. Varghese, 9; cf. Vööbus, *Synodicon* 1, trans. 207. If we read Bar Salibi's quotation in continuation with the previous paragraphs, it would imply that the 'Fathers of Nicea' had arranged it.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. *Mystagogiae* 5.2–3; Apostolic Constitutions 8.12.4 (ed. and trans. M. Metzger, *Les constitutions apostoliques* 3. Livres VII et VIII (SC 336; Paris 1987), 179). For a study on the different forms of this blessing: H. Engberding, 'Der Gruss des Priesters zu Beginn der Eucharistie in den östlichen Liturgien', in *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 9 (1929), 138–143; A. Baumstark, *Liturgie comparée* (Chevetogne 1953), 92–94.

The Giving of Peace, immediately before the *Love of God the Father* is the practice attested by all the commentaries that bear the name of Jacob of Edessa. But in *NCR*, the Kiss of Peace has been placed among the ‘Three Prayers’, that is, after the first prayer (‘Prayer before Peace’). *GS* has preserved the oldest structure in which the ‘Three Prayers’ had not become part of the anaphora.

In *Th*, the Three Prayers are found outside the anaphora and the first among them (for peace) is still in an awkward position, as the peace is given much later. But in *NCR*, this has been modified by placing the Kiss of Peace among the Three Prayers. The deacon’s exhortation and the people’s response were inserted among them.

### 9. Introductory Dialogue

#### I. *Testamentum Domini*:

Priest: (Be) above your hearts:  $\text{ܠܠܗܘܬܐܘܪܗܘܢ}$

People: They are unto the Lord:  $\text{ܠܗܘܬܐܘܪܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܘܨܬܐܘܪܗܘܢ}$

#### II. *GS*:

Priest: Be above your minds:  $\text{ܠܠܗܘܬܐܘܪܘܡܘܨܘܚܐܘܪܗܘܢ}$

People: We have (them) unto the Lord:  $\text{ܠܗܘܬܐܘܪܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܘܨܬܐܘܪܗܘܢ}$

Priest: Let us give thanks to the Lord:<sup>60</sup>  $\text{ܠܗܘܘܨܬܐܘܪܗܘܢ}$

People: It is meet and right:  $\text{ܠܗܘܘܨܬܐܘܪܗܘܢ}$

#### III. *Th* (Bar Salibi):

Priest: Be above our hearts:  $\text{ܠܠܗܘܬܐܘܪܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܘܨܬܐܘܪܗܘܢ}$

People: We have our hearts unto the Lord:

$\text{ܠܗܘܘܨܬܐܘܪܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܘܨܬܐܘܪܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܘܨܬܐܘܪܗܘܢ}$

Priest: Let us give thanks to the Lord:  $\text{ܠܗܘܘܨܬܐܘܪܗܘܢ}$

People: It is meet and right:  $\text{ܠܗܘܘܨܬܐܘܪܗܘܢ}$

#### IV. *Th* (Synodicon):

Priest: (Be) above our hearts:  $\text{ܠܠܗܘܬܐܘܪܗܘܢ}$

People: Our hearts are unto the Lord:  $\text{ܠܗܘܘܨܬܐܘܪܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܘܨܬܐܘܪܗܘܢ}$

Priest: Let us give thanks to the Lord with fear:  $\text{ܠܗܘܘܨܬܐܘܪܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܘܨܬܐܘܪܗܘܢ}$

People: It is meet and right:  $\text{ܠܗܘܘܨܬܐܘܪܗܘܢ}$

#### V. *Bar Kepa*:

Priest: Be above the minds, thoughts and hearts of us all:

$\text{ܠܠܗܘܬܐܘܪܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܘܨܬܐܘܪܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܘܨܬܐܘܪܗܘܢ}$

People: They are unto the Lord our God:  $\text{ܠܗܘܘܨܬܐܘܪܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܘܨܬܐܘܪܗܘܢ}$

<sup>60</sup> Rahmani’s text adds: *with fear* (ܠܗܘܘܨܬܐܘܪܗܘܢ); Rahmani, *I fasti*.



VI. *NCR* (Heiming)

Priest: Be above the minds and hearts of us all:

People: We have (them unto) the Lord:<sup>61</sup> ܠܗܘܢ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ

In the table given above, *GS* apparently represents an older tradition: *Be above your minds* (cf. *Th*). The antiquity is evident when we compare this formula with that of the *Testamentum Domini*: *(Be) above your hearts*. It corresponds to the formulae given by Cyril (*Mystagogiae*: *Lift up your hearts*: Ἕνω τὰς καρδίας) and by the Apostolic Constitutions (*Lift up the spirit*: Ἕνω τὸν νοῦν). Saint James says: *Let us lift up the minds and the hearts* (Ἕνω σχῶμεν τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰς καρδίας). It has been rendered in *NCR* as: 'Be above the minds and hearts of us all.' Bar Kepa's text has been expanded by adding *thoughts*.

When we come to the people's response, *GS* follows the Old Syriac Version: *We have (them) unto the Lord*. Moses bar Kepa censures this response as wrong and directs to use what he considers as the correct one:

Concerning that which the people answer:- There are some who answer 'We have (them) unto Our God' (ܠܗܘܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ); and there are others who answer: 'We are unto the Lord God' (ܠܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ). And these two answers have nothing at all about them that is correct. (...) So then these two answers are not correct. The priest says thus: *Be above the minds and thoughts and hearts of us all* (ܠܗܘܢ ܕܘܢܐ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ). It is right (then) that they answer him thus: *They are unto the Lord our God*, according to as you have said. This is then the correct answer: *They are unto the Lord our God* (ܠܗܘܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ).<sup>62</sup>

Regarding the people's response, *GS* agrees with *NCR* (Heiming) and the Old Syriac Version and gives the ancient reading that Bar Kepa judged as wrong.<sup>63</sup> In fact this is the literal translation of: Ἕνωμεν πρὸς τὸν κύριον.<sup>64</sup> But Rucker's text agrees with Bar Kepa and the *Testamentum Domini*.

*Th* (Bar Salibi's version) has a curious phrase: ܠܗܘܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ which has been corrected in the *Synodicon* as: ܠܗܘܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ.

The variant readings in the Syriac text might be the result of the differences in the understanding of the meaning of the Greek expression.

<sup>61</sup> Rucker, *Die syrische Jakobusanaphora*: 'They are unto the Lord': ܠܗܘܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ.

<sup>62</sup> Bar Kepa, *Commentary on the Eucharist*, ed. Connolly and Codrington, 46–47, with changes.

<sup>63</sup> See Connolly and Codrington, *Two Commentaries on the Jacobite Liturgy*, 89 (Syr.).

<sup>64</sup> See Mercier's edition, *La liturgie de Saint-Jacques*; also in the Apostolic Constitutions and the *Mystagogiae*.

Differences between the texts of Heiming and Rücker shows that *NCR* was further corrected. The difference in the reading of *Th* (both Bar Salibi and Synodicon) suggests that the text has been revised, whereas *GS* retains the original expression. It is reasonable to think that, if the Anaphora of Saint James used by Bar Kepa were the text revised by Jacob of Edessa (or if he was aware of it), he would not have dared to suggest a modification.

#### 10. *The Institution Narrative*

The Institution Narrative mentioned in *GS* does not correspond completely with *NCR*. *GS* comments:

*Then he took bread and said . . . he looked at heaven to show the will of God and gave thanks, (that is) confession, not petition and neither nor consent. And that I confess (you) (ܐܘܢ ܐܘܢܐ) means that I entrust (myself) to your will (and) I receive the suffering and death. That He blessed and sanctified: he sanctified it, and that He broke: he offered himself to him; divided (ܩܠܘܠܐ), that is the remission of sins proceeded from it. (And) He gave to them (means that) the gift is from him. Some people say that he did not eat from his body and others (say) that indeed he ate. Mar Ephrem says: They ate his body and he (ate) with them; they drank his blood and he (also) drank his blood and he made himself equal to them. And Saint John (Chrysostom) says: After having tasted, he gave (it) to his disciples.<sup>65</sup>*

Unlike *GS*, *NCR* follows the Greek text. *GS* has three phrases not found in *NCR*: *He looked at heaven* ܐܘܢ ܐܘܢܐ, *I confess you* ܐܘܢ ܐܘܢܐ, and *(he) divided* ܩܠܘܠܐ. Though the first reading is attested in a manuscript of *NCR*,<sup>66</sup> the second and the third are not found in any of the known manuscripts. They are not either attested in the anaphora attributed to Jacob of Edessa, which has the following reading: *He raised His gaze to heaven to the Father . . . [which is] broken and divided: ܐܘܢ ܐܘܢܐ ܩܠܘܠܐ ܩܠܘܠܐ ܩܠܘܠܐ . . . ܐܘܢ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ ܐܘܢܐ.*<sup>67</sup> (The redactor of the Anaphora of Jacob of Edessa seems to have paraphrased the text commented on in *GS*). However, the first and the third are found in a few West Syrian anaphoras, while the second (*I confess*) is absent in the known texts of the anaphoras.<sup>68</sup>

Then *GS* mentions an early Syro-Antiochene Tradition that Christ *ate his body* at the Last Supper. *GS* appeals to the authority of Saint

<sup>65</sup> Berlin 188 (Sachau 218), fol. 182r.

<sup>66</sup> BL Add. 14691 (dated AD 1230), Heiming, 'Anaphora syriaca', 146.

<sup>67</sup> A. Raes, 'Anaphora of Jacob of Edessa', *Anaphorae syriacae* 3.1 (1981), 52–71, esp. 56.

<sup>68</sup> *He looked at heaven* is attested in the Anaphoras of John the Evangelist and Mark the Evangelist. *Divided* (ܩܠܘܠܐ) is found in Severus of Antioch, Gregory of Nazianzus, Jacob of Serug (II), and the Maphrian Maruta.

Ephrem<sup>69</sup> and Saint John (Chrysostom).<sup>70</sup> Moses bar Kepa and Bar Salibi (who quotes from *GS*) refer to it.<sup>71</sup>

The West Syrian anaphoras attributed to the Twelve Apostles (II) and Jacob of Edessa also speak of this tradition in their institution narratives.<sup>72</sup>

This would imply that the institution narrative on which *GS* comments contained a reference to this tradition.

### 11. *The Commemorations*

The most striking feature of *NCR* is the sixfold division of the commemorations, consisting of eighteen prayers in six groups. Each group contains an *ekphonesis* (*tlōytō*), followed by a canon said by the deacon, accompanied by an *oratio secreta* (*ghōntō*) by the priest. Though both *GS* and *Th* speak of commemorations, it is not at all evident that they mean the sixfold division. In the Greek Saint James and in the Syriac Anaphora of the Twelve Apostles, the commemorations are still a single prayer.<sup>73</sup> The deacon's canons are obviously absent. Most probably the commemorations of which *GS* speaks, were a single prayer:

Then the commemorations of the Church and all its ranks: shepherds, priests, kings, apostles, prophets, fathers, martyrs and all the saints, mother of God and the departed.<sup>74</sup>

This sequence of themes does not agree with that of the Greek Saint James and the Twelve Apostles. On the other hand, *Th* writes:

Following this (the epiklesis), he makes also commemorations, and thus completes the *qurobo*. (...) The order of the commemorations begins as we say: *Again we offer you the same awesome and bloodless sacrifice on behalf of Sion,*

<sup>69</sup> P. Yousif says that he did not find even a single text in this regard in the writings of Saint Ephrem; cf. P. Yousif, *L'eucharistie chez Saint Éphrem de Nisibe* (OCA 224; Rome 1984), 214. However, this tradition may be implied in the Paschal hymn (19) of Saint Ephrem: 'Il immola la pâque et (en) *mangea et il rompit son corps*'; Yousif, *L'eucharistie*, 131 (italics added).

<sup>70</sup> Chrysostom: 'Believe that even now this is the meal (the farewell meal of Jesus) of which he himself partook.' In *Matthaeum Homiliae* 50.3, *PG* 58, 507. Philoxenos of Mabbug also mentions this tradition: cf. Fragment 30, Matt. 26:26–29; trans. J.W. Watt, *Philoxenus of Mabbug. Fragments of the Commentary on Matthew and Luke* (CSCO 393, Syr. 172; Leuven 1978), 30.

<sup>71</sup> Bar Kepa, *Commentary on the Eucharist*, ed. Connolly and Codrington, 53; Bar Salibi, *Commentary on the Eucharist* 12.6, trans. Varghese, 67.

<sup>72</sup> The Twelve Apostles: A. Raes, 'Anaphora Duodecim Apostolorum Secunda', *Anaphorae syriacae* 1.2 (1940), 244; Jacob of Edessa: Raes, 'Anaphora of Jacob', 56.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Raes, 'Anaphora Duodecim', 220; the Greek text was obviously later expanded.

<sup>74</sup> Berlin 188 (Sachau 218), fol. 182v.

*mother of all Churches, that is the first Church of Jerusalem and was established by the Apostles from the people of Israel. (...) Again you should know that the canons to be said by the deacons need not be said by the priest, if no deacon is present.*<sup>75</sup>

The reference to the canons is placed at the end of *Th* and is probably added later. Since *Th* says that the canons can be omitted if a deacon is not present, it would imply that they were a new addition. However, it is not said that the sixfold division was in use when *Th* reached its present form. Moses bar Kefa and John of Dara, as well as a document entitled 'the breaking of the bread', speak of the sixfold division.<sup>76</sup> Most probably in the earlier form of *OSV*, the commemorations consisted of a single prayer. *GS* and the Anaphora of the Twelve Apostles probably represent this stage. But later the commemorations were expanded and the sixfold division was introduced. Since BL Add. 14523 and 14494, two ancient witnesses to *OSV* attest the sixfold division,<sup>77</sup> we can assume that its introduction took place sometime before the redaction of *NCR*. The Anaphora of Timothy of Alexandria represents a period of transition from the original single prayer to the sixfold prayers. Thus it gives first the commemorations in their original form, divided into six prayers, each beginning with the traditional *incipit* (*Remember O Lord!*), and then the sixfold prayers of the *NCR* pattern.<sup>78</sup>

West Syrian prelates were not always convinced of the significance of the new form of prayers. Thus Lazar bar Sabta, deposed from the See of Baghdad in 829 by Patriarch Dionysius of Tell-Mahre, disapproved the practice of reciting an *ekphonesis*, followed by an *oratio secreta* and the canons. According to him, this will 'distort and interrupt the sense of the commemorations':

Then the priest continues to respond for the Church, saying: *We offer you this sacrifice for your Church in the whole universe* etc., and he continues until the end of the memento of the priests, deacons and brothers. But all these *ekphoneses* that are placed among the commemorations from the phrase, *deliver us Lord from all misery* to the end of the last prayer which begins: *Nobody is exempted from sin*, all clearly seem to distort and interrupt the sense of the commemorations. In fact they are interpolations and additions. Therefore the whole

<sup>75</sup> Bar Salibi, *Commentary on the Eucharist* 3.5, 7, and 10, trans. Varghese, 10–12. The *incipit* of the prayer quoted by Bar Salibi does not agree completely with the Old Syriac Version (BL Add. 14523) and *NCR* (Heiming).

<sup>76</sup> Extracts of this document have been published by R.H. Connolly, 'The Book of Life', *JTS* 13 (1912), 580–594; see 583–584.

<sup>77</sup> See Connolly and Codrington, *Two Commentaries on the Jacobite Liturgy*, 96–97 (Syr.); 98 (English trans.; manuscripts A and C).

<sup>78</sup> A. Rucker, 'Anaphora of Timothy of Alexandria', *Anaphorae syriacae* 1.1 (1939), 24–40.

commemorations should (consist of) an *ekphonesis* and an *oratio secreta*. All other *ekphoneses* and their prayers could be left out.<sup>79</sup>

This seems to be a protest against the introduction of the sixfold prayers.

To sum up, the present structure of the commemorations could not be the work of Jacob of Edessa. The sixfold division has been attested by two of the manuscripts of the Old Syriac version (BL Add. 14523 and 14494).<sup>80</sup> However, their use did not become widespread at least until the tenth century.<sup>81</sup>

### 12. *On the Conclusion of the Anaphora*

Another striking difference between *GS*, *Th*, and *NCR* is on the conclusion of the anaphora. In *GS*, Jacob of Edessa says that the anaphora concludes with the epiclesis: 'Then the invocation of the Holy Spirit: (which is) the conclusion (ܐܠܗܐ) of the holy mysteries.' Thus *GS* places the commemorations outside the anaphora.

But in *Th*, commemorations are counted as part of the anaphora and consequently the reference to the conclusion is made after them: 'The (priest) also prays for the descent of the Holy Spirit. Following this, he makes also the commemorations and thus completes (ܐܠܗܐ) the *qurobo*.'<sup>82</sup>

In *NCR*, the anaphora concludes with the final thanksgiving prayer and the dismissal.

### 13. *Prayers after the Commemorations*

In the case of the sections that follow the commemorations, *GS* presents a different order of prayers:

And then the words: *Give rest, and remit: But nobody is pure among men, but our Lord Jesus Christ*.<sup>83</sup> And the priest says to the Father: *because of him for us and for them*.<sup>84</sup> People: *Give rest and remit*. And then *as he was and as he is* means that (he was) God before he incarnated, and he is God after his death and he continued in body forever without corruption. *As he is*: with his holy

<sup>79</sup> Quoted by Rahmani, *Les liturgies*, 228 (he quotes from BL Add. 17218).

<sup>80</sup> See note 77.

<sup>81</sup> They were absent in the Anaphora of the Twelve Apostles given in BL Add. 14493 (tenth cent.).

<sup>82</sup> Bar Salibi, *Commentary on the Eucharist* 3.5, trans. Varghese, 10. However, in the *Synodicon*, the reference to the conclusion has been corrected to suit the contemporary understanding (Vööbus, *Synodicon* 1, trans. 208).

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Heiming, 'Anaphora syriaca', 168.

<sup>84</sup> Heiming, 'Anaphora syriaca', 168. Concluding words of the prayer that follows the last commemoration.

body, he is one God. *Amen*: in Greek it is interpreted as *Let it be* and in Syriac (it means) *sure*. *Amen*, *Amen* (means): *sure*, *sure*.<sup>85</sup>

Then *GS* goes on to *Holy things to the Holy*. *GS* is silent on the Greeting of the Peace, signing of the crosses over the people and the Lord's Prayer. In *NCR*, fraction precedes the Lord's prayer, during which the deacon reads a general prayer called *Katholike*. In *GS* fraction follows the *Sancta Sanctis*. In Berlin 188 (Sachau 218), the section on the 'Number of Crosses' contains reference to the signing of the crosses and the fraction. The fact that the 'Number of Crosses' has been given as a separate document shows that it is a later compilation made independent of the outline of the anaphora, given in *GS*.

*Th* on the other hand gives a more developed structure, which agrees with that of *NCR*:

And after the conclusion of the *qurobo* and the ordo, he gives peace to the people and signs them with the cross. Then the mysteries are broken and signed and he ministers them, while the deacon says the *katholike*.<sup>86</sup>

The absence of any reference to the signing of the cross, Greeting of the Peace, and the Lord's Prayer in the outline given by *GS* is not accidental. Most probably *GS* represents an earlier form of the Syriac version. In *GS* fraction is rather a simple and utilitarian act that follows the *Sancta Sanctis* ('Again they say the *Holy things*: as the priest divides (the body)').

The Apostolic Constitutions and the *Testamentum Domini* also have a structure similar to that of *GS*. In the former, the intercessions are followed by the Greeting of the Peace and the people's response, litany, and the bishop's prayer.<sup>87</sup> Then the bishop makes the proclamation: *Holy things to the Holy*.<sup>88</sup> Fraction and the Lord's Prayer are absent. In the *Testamentum* also no reference is made to the fraction and the Lord's Prayer. The Lord's Prayer is absent in Theodore of Mopsuestia's Homily on the Eucharist as well as in the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. In the *Mystagogical Catechesis* of Cyril, though no explicit reference has been made to the fraction, the Lord's Prayer follows the commemorations.

Since the Apostolic Constitutions agree with the structure of *GS*, we cannot discard the possibility that *GS* represents an early stage of Saint James. This would imply that the Anaphora of Jerusalem was probably

<sup>85</sup> Berlin 188 (Sachau 218), fol. 182v.

<sup>86</sup> Bar Salibi, *Commentary on the Eucharist* 3.5, trans. Varghese, 10. *Katholike* is a common prayer that accompanies the fraction.

<sup>87</sup> Apostolic Constitutions 8.13.1–10, ed. Metzger, 205–209.

<sup>88</sup> Apostolic Constitutions 8.13.12–13, ed. Metzger, 209.

adapted to the Antiochene structure of the anaphora, which did not have the Lord's Prayer. In other words, I am inclined to think that the Lord's Prayer was most probably absent in the earliest form of Saint James used in Antioch and later in the Syriac-speaking communities. In fact, the Lord's Prayer is absent in the baptismal liturgy allegedly promulgated by Jacob of Edessa, which owes its structure to that of the anaphora.<sup>89</sup>

*GS* comments on the Lord's Prayer after having given a rather long comment on *Holy things to Holy*, that is outside the structure of the eucharistic celebration. I do not find any reason to doubt the genuineness of this structure, which is attested in the text (a manuscript dated 1224) published by Rahmani. But *Th* gives the fully developed structure of Saint James with all the prayers and gestures. When *Th* is compared with *GS* and *NCR*, it seems likely that either Bar Salibi revised the original structure of *Th* to suit the scheme of Saint James that existed in his time, or that he used an already revised text.

BL Add. 14499, the most ancient text of *NCR* (used by Heiming) contains a formula of fraction which became the subject of a heated controversy in the Syrian Orthodox Church that led to a near schism. The formula in question is: 'We break the heavenly bread and we sign the holy chalice of salvation, in the name of the Father, Son, and the Holy Spirit.'<sup>90</sup> In fact this is a formula probably translated from the Greek and is attested in a fragment of Saint James published by J.-M. Saugey, as well as in a manuscript of the West Syrian Anaphora of Timothy of Alexandria.<sup>91</sup> The West Syrian writers insisted that the expression 'heavenly bread' would suggest Nestorian 'heresy'. Their argument can be summarized as follows: Breaking the 'heavenly bread', already consecrated and thus become the Body of Christ, would imply that the person of Christ is divided as two persons. According to them, this would mean that 'the heavenly bread' is recognized as another Son, distinct from the Second Person of the Holy Trinity. Dionysius bar Salibi writes on this controversy:

<sup>89</sup> See Dionysius bar Salibi, *Commentary on Baptism* 9.10: 'Jacob of Edessa and Moses Bar Kepa do not approve the prayer of *Our Father* in baptism' (Ms. Mingana Syr. 215, fol. 24r; an English translation is under preparation to be published in Mōrān ʿEthō, Kottayam).

<sup>90</sup> Heiming, 'Anaphora syriaca', 170.

<sup>91</sup> J.-M. Saugey, 'Vestiges d'une célébration gréco-syriaque de l'anaphore de Saint Jacques', in C. Laga, J.A. Munitiz, and L. Van Rompay (eds.), *After Chalcedon: Studies in Theology and Church History Offered to Albert van Roey for His Seventieth Birthday* (OLA 18; Leuven 1985), 309–345. Saugey gives a summary of the controversy, 339–340. For the Anaphora of Timothy, see Rucker, 'Anaphora of Timothy', 40.

When the deacon reads the *katholike*, the priest takes the bread in his hands silently and quietly, unlike the foolish people of Cyrrhus, who formerly taught that the priest shall cry out *We break the heavenly bread* etc., before the deacon reads the *katholike*. The Patriarch Giwargi and Cyriacus and the Patriarch Dionysius and other doctors opposed them. They demonstrated that their teaching implies the opinion of Nestorius.<sup>92</sup>

We can rightly assume that if *NCR* were really the work of Jacob of Edessa, Bar Salibi or his predecessors would not have opposed the fraction formula. After the twelfth century, however, the fraction acquired a definite form with elaborate formulae.

#### 14. *West Syrian Writers on Jacob of Edessa's Role in the Liturgical Revision*

*GS* was obviously known to Moses bar Kepa, as he quotes in his *Commentary on the Eucharist* at least two long passages from it. However, Bar Kepa does not mention the source. The Bishop of Mosul comments on the Anaphora of Saint James and quotes extensively from it and suggests several modifications in gestures and prayers. Nowhere he appeals to the authority of Jacob of Edessa. Does it mean that Bar Kepa was unaware of Jacob's role in the revision of Saint James? This question needs to be studied in detail.

The West Syrian documents that speak of 'an anaphora composed by St James' never associate the name of Jacob of Edessa with it. John of Dara appeals to the authority of St Basil, St Epiphanius, and St John (of Constantinople?) to support the tradition of the origin of the Eucharist:

By whom was the *qurobo* given? By Christ. And when? After Pentecost, as Saint Basil and Saint Epiphanius have indicated. And on which day? On the third day of the week of the Pentecost. In fact, on the second day of the week, the holy apostles consecrated Myron in the upper room in which the Holy Spirit descended upon the divine apostles—the upper room belonged to Lazarus, one of the seventy evangelists—and then on the third day the *qurobo* was given by Christ. And first to whom? To Jacob, son of Joseph, called His brother, in agreement with (his) name, and as says Saint John (of Constantinople), that our Lord Jesus Christ Himself entrusted it to Jacob from mouth to mouth, then Jacob to John the Evangelist. On the fourth day after the Pentecost, (John) offered (the *qurobo*) and communicated the mother of God, for he baptized her on the fourth day. He offered (the *qurobo*) to communicate her, for he was more pure than all other holy apostles. And where did John offer? In the upper room, because it was in it that Myron was (blessed), and the baptism of the apostles

<sup>92</sup> Bar Salibi, *Commentary on the Eucharist* 16.1, trans. Varghese, 85–86.



also (took place) as we have said above, and the mother of God was baptized by John, and then Mary, sister of Lazarus, received her.<sup>93</sup>

Dionysius bar Salibi, who quotes the longer version of *Th*, also gives a different version of the ‘Origin of the Sacraments’. But he is silent on Jacob of Edessa’s role in the revision, though the manuscripts bearing Jacob’s name were already in circulation, during his lifetime. In his commentary on Baptism, Bar Salibi quotes from Jacob’s letter to Addai and appeals to his authority several times.<sup>94</sup> He even says: ‘This is the order of baptism, translated from the Greek language into Syriac.’<sup>95</sup> But he does not say that it was Jacob who translated it. It is difficult to understand why Bar Salibi, who often quotes from the liturgical documents that bear Jacob’s name and generally very proud of demonstrating his knowledge of the patristic literature,<sup>96</sup> did not mention Jacob of Edessa’s name in the transmission of the text of Saint James. Michael the Syrian, who gives a biographical note of Jacob, says that he ‘corrected the Old Testament’.<sup>97</sup> But he is also silent on Jacob’s role in the redaction of the New Recension.

### 15. A Word of Conclusion

Regarding the attribution of *NCR* to Jacob of Edessa, sound arguments can be put forward to challenge it. Apparently, the revision of Syriac Saint James was not the work of a single individual. It might be the result of an evolution of the text over one or two centuries. The revision of the text seems to have been taken place in three aspects:

1. The introduction of the ‘Three Prayers’ in the pre-Anaphora and their arrangement to suit the original structure of the beginning part of the anaphora.
2. Division of the anaphora, which was originally a single prayer, into separate units and the introduction of the *oratio secreta* (*ghōnōtō*).
3. A rather elaborate *ordo communis*, and *ordo diaconalis* were obviously introduced by the redactors of *NCR*.

<sup>93</sup> Varghese, *John of Dara*, Introduction 4, 14–15. Similar accounts are also found in Bar Salibi, *Commentary on the Eucharist* 2.7; *The Book of Life*, ed. Connolly and Codrington, 120–121; Rahmani, *Les liturgies*, 283.

<sup>94</sup> Syriac text: Ms. Mingana Syr. 215, fols. 15r–24v.

<sup>95</sup> Syriac text: Ms. Mingana Syr. 215, fol. 16v.

<sup>96</sup> Eg. commentaries on Baptism and the Myron (Ms. Mingana Syr. 215, fols. 9r–15r, 15r–24v).

<sup>97</sup> J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche Jacobite d’Antioche (1166–1199)* (Paris 1899–1924), trans. 2:471–472; cf. 3:165–166.

4. Unlike the Greek, in Syriac the anamnesis has been addressed to the Son. This characteristic is already attested in the early West Syrian Anaphoras of the Twelve Apostles and Timothy of Alexandria. The Georgian version follows the Greek, whereas the Armenian and the Ethiopian agree with the Syriac.

Originally the anamnesis might have been addressed to the Father (as in Greek) as a prelude to the epiklesis. The West Syrians might have modified the anamnesis for reasons that are not very clear. In the early Edessan (or Mesopotamian) anaphoras, the anamnesis was most probably addressed to the Son. The Maronite Anaphora of Peter Sharar and the East Syrian Addai and Mari (only partly) have retained this feature. We have evidences that as late as the ninth century, in the West Syrian Church, there were anaphoras (or at least parts of them) addressed to the Son. Thus Moses bar Kepa directs to introduce a major change: if the prayers of the anaphora, except the final thanksgiving prayer, are not addressed to the Father, they should be corrected.<sup>98</sup> Therefore we cannot exclude the possibility that the anamnesis of Saint James was modified probably to suit the Edessan pattern. The christological reasons also should not be excluded. In fact, the Old Syriac version has a long anamnesis, which had been abridged in *NCR*. The anaphoras attributed to Timothy of Alexandria and Patriarch John I also have long anamnesis, obviously under the influence of the Old Syriac version.<sup>99</sup>

Apparently Jacob played a vital role in popularizing the Antiochene liturgical forms, which were gradually accepted in spite of the oppositions in the beginning. As a matter of fact, Jacob was an Antiochene, born in 'En Deba, in the district of Gumyah, in the province of Antioch. He left the convent school of Eusebona, where he taught for eleven years, because of disputes with some monks 'who hated Greeks'.<sup>100</sup> Jacob's liturgical works were probably composed during his stay in 'the West'. His Antiochene sympathies might have been the reason for his conflicts with the clergy and the monks.

We do not know whether one of the reasons for his conflicts with the Mesopotamian clergy was his liturgical reform. This is not impossible because the clergy and the monks were usually very sensitive to changes in the liturgy.

<sup>98</sup> Bar Kepa, *Commentary on the Eucharist*, ed. Connolly and Codrington, 89–90.

<sup>99</sup> Rücker, 'Anaphora of Timothy', 20–22; H. Fuchs, *Die Anaphora des monophysitischen Patriarch Johannaan I* (Münster i.W. 1926).

<sup>100</sup> See W. Wright, *A Short History of Syriac Literature* (London 1894, repr. Piscataway, NJ 2001), 141–143.

By the twelfth century the Syrian Orthodox Church began to attribute greater authority to Jacob of Edessa.<sup>101</sup> The commentaries of Dionysius bar Salibi and a few sections of the *Synodicon* are among the earliest documents to quote Jacob as an authority. Barhebraeus quotes frequently from the 'Epistles' of Jacob, but he often took the freedom to modify the texts to suit his arguments. The authenticity and the transmission of the Jacobean corpus of liturgical documents as found in the *Synodicon* and elsewhere need to be studied critically. The attribution of the revision of Saint James to Jacob of Edessa itself may not be definite proof for his involvement in it. In fact it was a general practice in the Syrian Orthodox Church to attribute the anaphoras to the apostles, the early Christian fathers, and the leading prelates. It was aimed at getting wider acceptance and to imply that the text in question is faithful to the tradition of the Fathers. Did the same thing happen in the case of the 'New and Correct Recension'?

<sup>101</sup> It is interesting to note that the earliest manuscript of the Anaphora attributed to Jacob of Edessa belongs to the thirteenth century. Text edited in Raes, 'Anaphora of Jacob', 45–71.

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL CLAVIS  
TO THE WORKS OF JACOB OF EDESSA  
(REVISED AND EXPANDED)

*Dirk Kruisheer*

The bibliography published here was first prepared in order to be distributed among the participants of the Symposium on Jacob of Edessa, held at Leiden University in April 1997. In a slightly expanded version, it was published in the electronic journal *Hugoye* 1.1 (January 1998).<sup>1</sup> It is published here in a fully updated form.<sup>2</sup>

For the pre-1960 period, I have relied on C. Moss, *Catalogue of Syriac Printed Books and Related Literature in the British Museum* (London 1962), while for the subsequent period S.P. Brock's bibliographies have been used: S.P. Brock, *Syriac Studies. A Classified Bibliography (1960–1990)* (Kaslik 1996); 'Syriac Studies. A Classified Bibliography (1991–1995)', *ParOr* 23 (1998), 241–350; 'Syriac Studies. A Classified Bibliography (1996–2000)', *ParOr* 29 (2004), 263–410 as well as 'Syriac Studies. A Classified Bibliography (2001–2005)', *ParOr* 33 (2008), forthcoming.

A great number of new items have been added to the lists compiled on the basis of Moss and Brock, in particular publications which do not primarily deal with Jacob (and cannot therefore be retrieved directly from existing bibliographies), but nevertheless contain valuable discussion or analysis of his works. As a matter of principle, catalogues of manuscripts have not been included; the manuscript tradition of Jacob's works deserves a separate publication.

In most sections, bibliographical references are listed under three rubrics, marked by the letters [a], [b], and [c]. These rubrics should be understood as follows:

[a] = editions and translations

[b] = studies

[c] = references (that is, books or articles in which Jacob's works are discussed or referred to in a larger context).

<sup>1</sup> *Hugoye. Journal of Syriac Studies*: <http://syrcm.cua.edu/hugoye>.

<sup>2</sup> The basis of this bibliography was formed in the British Library during a three months' stay in 1994, made possible by the Reiman-de Bas Fonds (Prins Bernard Fonds, Amsterdam). The first two versions were published under the responsibility of Lucas Van Rompay and Dirk Kruisheer; the present version under the responsibility of the present author alone.

Under each rubric—as well as in those sections which are not divided in rubrics—a chronological order has been adopted. The division in sections and rubrics is in some cases arbitrary and there is certainly overlap between them. These problems have partly been remedied with the help of cross-references.

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See also: II.B (*Scholia* and *Commentary* on the Bible); II.F (Liturgical works); II.H (Grammatical work); III.B (Isho<sup>c</sup>dad).

### J. *Translations of Greek Texts and Revisions of Translations*

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