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THESE ARE THE WORDS OF EUSEBIUS: A TRANSLATION
AND ANALYSIS OF THE COLOPHON AT THE END
OF FOURTH KINGDOMS IN BNF SYR. 27

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THESE ARE THE WORDS OF EUSEBIUS: A TRANSLATION
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Read and Approved by:

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For Amanda and Hannah,

سَمَاءُ، حَجَلِيلُ

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France
f.	folio
LXX	Septuagint
PG	Patrologia Graeca
r	recto
syr.	Syriaque
v	verso

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PREFACE

I am indebted first to my family—to my wife, Amanda, and daughter, Hannah, who have allowed me many lone afternoons and nights in a library. Without their love and confidence, I'd have nothing here to offer. And next, to my parents who brought me up in the faith, teaching me that there is nothing so important as knowing Christ. My desire to know the words of Scripture, and the languages of those who first wrote and copied the Scriptures, comes from them.

I wish to thank next the faculty of SBTS who have formed within me an ever-greater desire to know the biblical languages. Dr. Peter Gentry has been the foremost member among them, teaching me to dig into the Scriptures and there find glorious treasures. Because of him, and the work of God's Spirit within him, whenever I read the Scriptures in Hebrew, Greek, and Aramaic, my heart soars.

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December 2022

It is the purpose of this thesis to provide a transcription of this colophon, a translation for the first time into English, and to compare the respective sections of the colophon with extant works from Origen and Eusebius, Pseudo-Athanasius, and Epiphanius to demonstrate where possible the relationship of this colophon to these other texts. While somewhat summary in nature, this thesis intends to provide access to important information hidden in Syriac leaves so that the scholar interested in, *inter alia*, Origen, Lucian, Pseudo-Athanasius, Epiphanius, and the various Syriac recensions of their writings, may better understand the shape of knowledge's tree.

In the chapters that follow, I include in the first a transcription of the colophon, a brief synopsis of the paratextual features present, and a translation. For the sake of ease, clarity, and a near-exact representation of the colophon, I have generally formatted the transcription as one folio per two pages, employing the Estrangela script used by the scribe. I have assigned line numbers for the sake of the English translation and have placed them in the far-right margin of the text so as not to interfere with the various paratextual sigla that occur in the near-right margin of the text. The translation is footnoted at various points with interesting textual data, which can be used to help further our understanding of various Syriac textual phenomenon. In the second chapter I compare the first two major sections of the colophon in BnF syr. 27 with similar texts from Origen, Eusebius, and Pseudo-Athanasius, noting that no extant text is an exact match of the Eusebian material, whereas the second major section does indeed draw from *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae*. Finally, in the third chapter I make a comparison of the last major section of the colophon with Epiphanius's *On Weights and Measures*.

Transcription

Folio 88v

1
 *מלך וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹל הַבָּנִים הַלְלוּ אֶת-יְהוָה
 לְהַלְלוּ אֶת-יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ הַיּוֹם וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹל הַבָּנִים הַלְלוּ אֶת-יְהוָה
 יוֹם וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹל הַבָּנִים הַלְלוּ אֶת-יְהוָה
 5
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹל הַבָּנִים הַלְלוּ אֶת-יְהוָה
 10
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹל הַבָּנִים הַלְלוּ אֶת-יְהוָה
 15
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹל הַבָּנִים הַלְלוּ אֶת-יְהוָה
 20
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹל הַבָּנִים הַלְלוּ אֶת-יְהוָה
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹל הַבָּנִים הַלְלוּ אֶת-יְהוָה
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹל הַבָּנִים הַלְלוּ אֶת-יְהוָה
 וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע אֶת-קוֹל הַבָּנִים הַלְלוּ אֶת-יְהוָה

מגן מלכותו וחסדו. ללבושיו נגד זמנים וזמנים.

אשר נשבע לך אלהים ואלהינו. אלהינו

והבטחתי לך ואלהינו. אלהינו ואלהינו.

והבטחתי לך ואלהינו. אלהינו ואלהינו.

אלהינו ואלהינו. אלהינו ואלהינו.

100

105

110

לך חסידך. כל מה שאתה עושה בלתי חסיד
לך חסידך. כל מה שאתה עושה בלתי חסיד
לך חסידך. כל מה שאתה עושה בלתי חסיד

כל מה שאתה עושה בלתי חסיד

כל מה שאתה עושה בלתי חסיד

115

כל מה שאתה עושה בלתי חסיד

120

כל מה שאתה עושה בלתי חסיד

125

כל מה שאתה עושה בלתי חסיד

130

כל מה שאתה עושה בלתי חסיד

כל מה שאתה עושה בלתי חסיד

Analysis of Paratextual Features

The scribe makes use of several sigla and numbers. Table 1 provides a brief overview of these signs.

Table 1. Analysis of paratextual features

Sigla	Description
(•	Generally, indicates where a line has a quotation from the Holy Scriptures.
❖	Marks a significant section break.
.ⲗ.	Represents the number 1; the first version. Assigned to the seventy-two.
.Ⲅ.	Represents the number 2; the second version. Assigned to Aquila.
.Ⲛ.	Represents the number 3; the third version. Assigned to Symmachus.
ⲁ	Represents the number 4; the fourth version. Assigned to Theodotion.
.ⲟ.	Represents the number 5; the fifth version. Assigned to “the fifth.”
ⲁ	Represents the number 6; the sixth version. Assigned to “the sixth.”
※	<i>Asteriscus</i> ; marks where the discussion centers around <i>asterisci</i> in the text.
÷	<i>Lemniscus</i> ; marks where the discussion centers around related sigla (— & ⁂).

The above sigla appear in the right margin, generally alongside the first line in the text where their signified counterparts are discussed. The sigla ❖, ※, and ÷ also appear in the text, whereas — and ⁂ only appear in the text. In the cases of .ⲟ., .ⲁ., and ※, these sigla are resumptive, appearing again for a second time where their signified counterparts are discussed again. Further, the ※ is the only siglum to appear three times.

The only paratextual features in the left margin are Greek words that are Syriac transliterations in the text. In general, the Greek word is placed near the line in which the corresponding Syriac transliteration occurs. Two Greek words are in shortened forms:

1) ENIC, which corresponds to the last two syllables of  and 2) MANTOC,

which is split between two lines and does not include the prefix AΔ-, as would be expected, reflecting ܐܘܢܘܢܐ.

Relative to other Syriac texts, the colophon in BnF Syr.027 makes use of only a handful of accent marks. Table 2 provides a brief overview of the main accents employed in BnF Syr.027.

Table 2. Analysis of the main accents²

Accent	Sign	Description
<i>Pâsôqâ</i>	ܐܘܢܘܢܐ	Pausal (major) Marks syntactically self-contained clauses, whether final clauses or of lengthier self-contained clauses Level or neutral tone
<i>'êlâyâ</i>	ܐܘܢܘܢܐ	Pausal (minor) Marks the end of minor, subdivided clause Rising tone can suggest exclamation, command, question, etc.
<i>Taḥtâyâ</i>	ܐܘܢܘܢܐ	Pausal (major) Found at the end of a non-final clause; often with a following antithesis Probably falling tone
<i>Š'wayyâ</i> or <i>zauḡâ</i>	ܐܘܢܘܢܐ	Pausal (minor) In older manuscripts, probably equal to <i>Pâsôqâ</i> Probably level tone

² J. B. Segal provides an excellent overview of the bewildering array of Syriac diacritical points and accents. See J. B. Segal, *The Diacritical Point and the Accents in Syriac* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2003).

but another says that when Matthew was in need of the number “42,” which was separated into three periods of fourteen years, he did not worry about the story but passed over in silence the three that were mentioned beforehand. Even by many others it is clearly indicated that there is no consensus about the story, not only from the (15) translated Scriptures,⁵ but among their own Scriptures.⁶ For example, concerning Rehoboam in Third Kingdoms, it is written at the beginning of his account: ‘When he was sixteen years old, he began to reign. And he reigned twelve years in Jerusalem.’⁷ But after the words concerning him [it continues], ‘Rehoboam, being the son of Solomon, ruled over (20) Judah. Jeroboam⁸ began to rule when he was 41 years old. He ruled 17 years in Jerusalem, the city that the Lord chose.’ Further, concerning Rehoboam’s mother, [continuing] from what is written above,⁹ ‘Naanan, the daughter of Hanan, the son of Nahash, King of the Ammonites,’¹⁰ but at the end [is written],¹¹ ‘Naamah the Ammonitess.’¹²”

These are Origen’s own [words] from the thirtieth volume.¹³

Are we not giving all these [words] according to the translation of the

⁵ Syriac ܠܫܘܢܐ, which always means “Scripture(s)” throughout this colophon whether in shorthand or in a full phrase such as ܠܫܘܢܐ ܠܫܘܢܐ.

⁶ Literally: “in theirs as in theirs.” The contrast is between the Hebrew and the Greek versions of Scripture.

⁷ 3 Kgdms 12:24^a: . . . Ροβοαμ . . . υἱὸς ὧν ἐκκαίδεκα ἔτων ἐν τῷ βασιλεύειν αὐτὸν καὶ δώδεκα ἔτη ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ.

⁸ 3 Kgdms 14:21: Καὶ Ροβοαμ υἱὸς Σαλωμων ἐβασίλευσεν ἐπὶ Ἰουδα, υἱὸς τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἐνὸς ἐνιαυτῶν Ροβοαμ ἐν τῷ βασιλεύειν αὐτὸν καὶ δέκα ἑπτὰ ἔτη ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ τῇ πόλει, ἣν ἐξελέξατο κύριος. . . The LXX has Ροβοαμ as the subject here, but the colophon makes ܠܫܘܢܐ the subject of the clause. This, of course, is part of the confusion.

⁹ Referring to what continues from the above 3 Kgdms 12:24^a quotation.

¹⁰ 3 Kgdms 12:24^a: . . . Νααμαν θυγάτηρ Ἀναν υἱοῦ Ναας βασιλέως υἱῶν Ἀμμων. . .

¹¹ Referring to the end of the 3 Kgdms 14:21.

¹² 3 Kgdms 14:21: . . . Νααμα ἡ Ἀμμωνίτις.

¹³ It is unclear whether this is a correction to line three’s “first volume” or a mistake.

seventy,¹⁴ not as though we do not know that what is translated by many others is the Hebrew [translation] now in use?¹⁵ The account of these things remains.

The list that surrounds [this section] is useful concerning how the different versions of the (30) Holy Scriptures were translated from Hebrew into Greek.

All of these versions were copied from the Hebrew Scriptures into the Greek Scriptures, by those that translated the Holy Scriptures:

Ⲛ [is] the first version of the seventy-two experts who were summoned from the city of Tiberius by Ptolemy, the king of Egypt. Those are the men who, when they were cloistered in every (35) room and fasted at the same time and turned and prayed earnestly to God, received the Holy Spirit, and translated the Holy Scriptures from Hebrew. And when they compared the Scriptures with each other, they found they were complete and agreed by word and sense in everything. This is that first version.¹⁶

ⲓ [is] then the second version of their Scriptures following after the seventy-two: of Aquila.

(40) Ⲛ [is] the third: Symmachus's.

ⲛ [is] the fourth: Theodotion's.

When those men looked in the Hebrew Scripture,¹⁷ they indeed placed the same word for some of these [words] but for others they changed [the words] according

¹⁴ The “seventy” and the upcoming “seventy-two” are used throughout this text to refer either to the number of translators who originally began the translation of the Septuagint, following after the tradition of the *Letter of Aristeas*, which is also maintained in Epiphanius's *On Weights and Measures*, or to refer to the *version* of those seventy-two, i.e., the Septuagint. Instead of translating these numbers as “Septuagint” where the numbers refer to the version of the seventy-two, I have chosen to keep the literal numbers as a record of the textual data in this colophon.

¹⁵ Interestingly, the *ʿelāyā*, which can be used with questions, predominates as the minor pausal accent throughout this section. The *pāsôqā* is still used to mark the major and final divisions. This and the predominating use of *šʿwayyā* or *tahtāyā* in various sections again suggest that the author of this colophon is using one appropriate pausal accent per section without observing a strict hierarchy.

¹⁶ In other words, Ⲛ signifies the first version translated by the seventy-two. Each of the Syriac letters in this and the following paragraphs is set in the right-hand margin and appears to denote the location of the discussion of each of the versions as well as to identify them each with a number.

¹⁷ Often plural, but here singular: ܠܚܒܝܢ ܠܚܒܢܐ.

to the likeness, namely, of the words of truth, (45) that the Jews may gladly use the translators.

But they themselves show that it was not, rather, by the Holy Spirit that they translated but concerning some dispute of their contemporaries according to a perversion of the true books.¹⁸ Henceforward is an explanation that is entirely true: that those first seventy-two who translated [the Hebrew Scriptures] (50) unanimously agreed in everything.

(51) ⲁ: Then another version called “the fifth”¹⁹ was also found with other Hebrew and Greek Scriptures in a wine jar near Jericho, after Ezra, in the time of Antoninus, who was also Geta the king, the son of Severus.

(55) ⲁ: The version of “the sixth”²⁰ was also found hidden in a wine jar in Nicopolis, which is near Actium, during the time of Alexander, the son of Mamaea.

In the time of Decius, the king, Origen became known, who is also called Adamantius, who was, (60) by way of life, an ascetic. He also translated the Scriptures while diligently looking into all of the translations so that with reference to them when he found, rather, the [version] of the seventy-two to be more accurate and truer, he accepted it. Therefore, as for the little stars (Ⲅ) that are named *asteriskoi*²¹ in Greek, and the little arrows²² (—) called *obeli*, (65) and the other little arrows (÷) that have two dots—one

¹⁸ In other words, the versions of the later translators are based on contemporary disputes and should not be considered divinely inspired like the work of the seventy-two. This is the most explicit criticism of the later translators in this colophon.

¹⁹ Or “Quinta.” I have chosen to consistently render this the “fifth” for the purposes of recording the textual data in this colophon.

²⁰ Or “Sexta.” I have chosen to consistently render this the “sixth” for the purposes of recording the textual data in this colophon.

²¹ Henceforth, “*asterisci*.” Following much of the standard literature and for consistency with the other text-critical sigla, I have chosen to use the Latin form of the names of the critical marks. I transliterate the Greek here to point out the use of the *mater lectionis* ⲁ that is used for the nominative plural ending -ot; see the marginal note: ACTEPICKOI. The *mater lectionis* is used in the same way for the upcoming *obeli*, *lemnisci*, and *hypolemnisci*.

²² Generally translated “critical marks.” I have chosen to translate Ⲅⲁⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ in this way to maintain the descriptive language used here, as well as to parallel the Ⲅⲁⲓⲛⲓⲛⲓ “little stars” in line 63.

above and one below—named *lemnisci*, and the others that are named (⊖) *hypolemnisci* that take only one point underneath (in the way that they are placed here), when [Origen] was investigating carefully as to the elucidation of those [translations] (70) mentioned, he placed them in his translations when he wished to point out the consensus of the holy seventy-two translators.

But when a translation, that is, a version, whether “the fifth” or “the sixth,” was found, because of the obscurity of the ones who translated these, by means of the fifth letter or the sixth, which is called in Greek *episimos*,²³ (75) [Origen] named them “the fifth” and “the sixth.” After [these is the version of] Lucian, that great ascetic and holy martyr. He also was the one who, while reading the versions mentioned above as well as the Hebrew Scriptures, and accurately seeing that words were missing or (80) were superfluous rather than true, made corrections in places in their version of the Scriptures and he entrusted [his version] to Christian brothers. After the courage and martyrdom of the holy Lucian—after the persecution that was in the days of the tyrants Maximinius and Diocletian—that [version] was found in a book containing a translation that was in his own handwriting in Nicomedia in the days of Constantine the king, with the Jews, in a wall, in a little chest that was white-washed as if for preservation.

(87) Now, another list that is collected in abridged form from the rest that was made by the holy Epiphanius, concerning the *asterisci*, the *obeli*, the *lemnisci*, and the *hypolemniscus* (90) that have been found written in the holy books.

The *asteriscus* is thus ✱ and the *obelus* is —, as is the *lemniscus*, and *hypolemniscus*; these signs are found in the Holy Scriptures. This is their list. The sign of the *asteriscus* is ✱; where it is found that it is written, it signifies those words that (95)

²³ Transliterated according to the marginal note: EΠΙCIMOС, which should be understood as ἐπίσημος, or “symbol” particularly of ζ as the number 6 (the sixth letter of Ἰησοῦς). See ἐπίσημος in Franco Montanari and Center for Hellenic Studies, *The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek*, ed. Madeleine Goh, Chad Matthew Schroeder, Gregory Nagy, and Leonard Muellner, transl. Rachel Barritt-Costa (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

are written in the Hebrew Scriptures, Aquila, and Symmachus, rarely in Theodotion, but which the seventy-two translators left out and did not translate inasmuch as they were considered unnecessary and superfluous. As an example of the things that have been said, I will assert by means of one small quotation so that (100) from it these things may be known as well as the rest. There is written at the beginning of the book of Genesis²⁴ in Hebrew, with which Aquila agrees (as do the other translators except for the seventy-two), “and Adam lived thirty year²⁵ and nine hundred year.” Therefore, when the seventy-two translated from Hebrew (105) to Greek they left out the words that were considered unnecessary and superfluous and did not write them just as [they are in] the Hebrew Scripture, or also, as I was saying, Aquila and as his fellows [did]. But omitting [the words] since they were superfluous, he²⁶ wrote instead of “Adam lived thirty year and nine hundred year,” “Adam lived nine hundred and thirty years.”²⁷ (110) When indeed they left out these words that are in the Hebrew, they were not impeding the reading of the Greek. But again, these [words] excessively repeat, which, with respect to Hebrew, is not possible.²⁸ Therefore, when Origen compared the versions to each other, he found words that the seventy-two omitted and did not translate since they were considered superfluous (115) but are necessarily in the Hebrew as is suitable to the language. But the other translators followed [the Hebrew] even though, according to the Greek language, [the words] are superfluous. [Origen] wrote [the words] down again, not as if the need was incumbent upon them for the reading, that is, the Greek language, for they were unnecessary as it has been said. (120) But so that it did not seem that the version of the

²⁴ Literally, אדם חי ושלשים

²⁵ Singular in text, אשה. This is also why the example is apt.

²⁶ Singular, אשה

²⁷ Plural “years”, אשה

²⁸ In other words, Hebrew does not consider it excessive to repeat the words.

seventy²⁹ has translated too little what is in the Hebrew, he placed *asterisci* by the words signifying, as it has been said, that just as the stars are in the firmament of heaven, and whether by the clouds or by the sun they are hidden, so the (125) *asterisci* that are written by the words are signifying that these words are written down in the Hebrew version like the stars in the firmament, but the version of the seventy³⁰ veils and hides them as the sun does the stars. These things are what concerns the *asterisci*.

But of the — *obelus*, (130) this is its account:

The sign of the *obelus* is this: †, and it is translated into Syriac as ܩܝܠܐ. And it is written in Holy Scripture by those words that are considered necessary by the seventy-two but are not written in Aquila or Symmachus. For those (135) seventy-two translators of themselves wrote and added the words, not without cause, but rather for advantage. For there are Hebrew words that, when translated into Greek, are not able to demonstrate their sense if the other [words] are not fittingly given so that they might be understood and might complete (140) what is lacking from what was translated from the Hebrew. For this reason, [these words] are necessarily added by the seventy-two translators so as not to hinder the reading in Greek. Therefore, Origen necessarily placed the *obeli* by the words that were usefully added but were not written in the Hebrew versions, Aquila, (145) or Symmachus when by means of these he signifies that just as the ܩܝܠܐ or the lance destroys those that it passes through, so the *obelus* has done to the words by which it is written—as if they are come to an end—since they are superfluous and are not written in the Hebrew versions or in one of the (150) other translators, but rather in the seventy-two, according to the necessity mentioned before. But concerning the seventy-two: when they translated the Holy Scriptures, they translated in pairs, as it is

²⁹ Elsewhere, generally “seventy-two”: ܩܝܠܐ ܩܝܠܐ; but here there is a small, vertical, dagger-like mark immediately following ܩܝܠܐ, perhaps noting the difference.

³⁰ Unlike the previous instance in line 120, no mark follows ܩܝܠܐ here.

learned from the story composed by the Holy Epiphanius for this sake, so that, because it was found that everything was translated from the (155) Holy Scriptures thirty-six times, it happened that some words were found in their translations that were translated by the end of a word only or not with sense. When Origen encountered and found in these translations a word that one pair alone translated differently aside from the rest, he marked beside it a *hypolemniscus*. (160) This is what was placed: †; a  with one dot underneath it. But wherever he found a word that two pairs from among the translators translated differently, he placed a lemniscus; this is it ÷; a  that takes two dots, one above and one below. And these things, in an abridged form, are what have been said (165) concerning the *asteriscus*, *obelus*, *hypolemniscus*, and the *lemniscus*, for the purpose of making known these [signs] that may be encountered, from the abundance of the teaching inspired by God of the Holy Epiphanius concerning these [signs].

But if, perhaps, someone finds an *asteriscus* written by words that are introduced by Aquila, Symmachus, or Theodotion, or from the other versions, he should know that some of the words are the ones that are repeated two times in the Hebrew and are those omitted by the seventy-two because of what was said before. Origen also placed *asterisci* upon them according to the custom that he placed upon these things that are from the Hebrew, but his name is not written by them, (175) nor someone else's, but an *asteriscus* only. But there are very rarely other words where the Hebrew is marked by them or the *asterisci* are placed beside them.

(178) The holy abbot Mar Paul, bishop of the Christians in the great city Alexandria, translated this book from the Greek language into Syriac, from the version of the seventy-two, by the command and exhortation of the holy and blessed Mar Athanasius, Patriarch of the Christians, in the monastery of Mar Zacchaeus in Callinicum while he dwelled in Alexandria in the days of the God-loving Mar Theodorus, the archimandrite of his monastery in the year 928, the 5th Indiction. Let anyone who reads this pray for the God-loving Mar Thomas, servant and syncellus of the holy and blessed

Patriarch Mar Athanasius, who took pains along with the rest who grew weary and labored with him, that God may reward them for their diligence and their labor—the salvation of their souls by the prayers of his mother and of all the saints.

Amen.

CHAPTER 2

TEXTUAL COMPARISONS

This colophon contains material from several different texts and betrays varying degrees of dependency on those texts. In this chapter, I will analyze, discuss, and, where possible, compare BnF syr. 27 f. 88v-f. 89v, lines 1-86 with extant texts. The section of BnF syr. 27 in f. 88v, lines 1-28 purports to come from a section of Origen's commentaries on Isaiah; no extant text appears to contain the same material. The section of BnF syr. 27 in f. 88v-89v, lines 29-86, due to similarities in order and subject matter that suggest a dependent relationship, is compared with Pseudo-Athanasius's *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae* and Epiphanius's *On Weights and Measures*.

Folio 88v, Lines 1-28

In this section, the Eusebian text quotes from Origen's commentaries on Isaiah, none of which have survived, outside of a few fragments containing material from Isaiah 30 and an excerpt from Isaiah. Nine of Origen's homilies on Isaiah, particularly Isaiah 6, have been recorded for posterity by Jerome.¹ However, no extant texts match exactly what is contained here. Origen discusses Matthew's genealogy elsewhere in a clearly different manner in his *Homily XXVII on Numbers*:

. . .and, further, the coming of our Lord and Savior into this world is traced through forty-two generations. This is what Matthew the Evangelist points out when he says, 'From Abraham to David the king, fourteen generations. And from David to the Babylonian Exile, fourteen generations. And from the Babylonian Exile to Christ, fourteen generations.'²

¹ Maurice Geerard, Jacques Noret, and Fr Glorie, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, Corpus Christianorum (Turnhout: Brepols, 1974), 1:157.

² Homily XXVII is not extant in Greek, but in Rufinus's Latin translation. Origen and Hans

This colophon in BnF syr. 27, then, contains a heretofore untranslated text from Origen's lost commentaries on Isaiah.

Folio 88v-89v, Lines 29-86

In this section, the scribe of BnF syr. 27 appears to summarize the related material in Pseudo-Athanasius's *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae* and to draw from Epiphanius's *On Weights and Measures*.³ While BnF syr. 27 omits biographical information contained in *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae* for some of the translators, and at times includes different details, particularly in the discussion of the seventy-two translators, the similar numbering sequence and the inclusion of the Lucian material suggest that the scribe in BnF syr. 27 depends on *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae*. The differences in information concerning the translators may be accounted for when compared to Epiphanius's *On Weights and Measures*, as if the scribe in BnF syr. 27 is interweaving related information from these two texts.

The following comparison will subdivide the lines from BnF syr. 27 for ease of comparison, transcribing both the Syriac text from BnF syr. 27 and the Greek text of Pseudo-Athanasius found in Jacques Paul Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*. The BnF syr. 27 text will also be compared with similar material from Epiphanius's *On Weights and Measures*, particularly from the manuscript BL Add. 17148, which will be discussed further in the next chapter.

BnF syr. 27, lines 29-32a

This beginning section serves as a heading for the following material, which discusses the various translations of the Holy Scriptures. BnF syr. 27 reads:

Urs von Balthasar, *Origen: An Exhortation to Martyrdom, Prayer, First Principles: Book IV, Prologue to the Commentary on the Song of Songs, Homily XXVII on Numbers*, trans. Rowan A. Greer (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1979), 37. The translation occurs on p. 249.

³ While the colophon attests to Mar Paul as the author, I refer to him as "the scribe" throughout since I am not investigating his history in this thesis.

BnF syr. 27, lines 39b-40

BnF syr. 27 here mentions the second version, Aquila's. BnF syr. 27 reads:

ⲛⲁⲩⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲟⲩⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲁⲧⲁ

ⲛⲁⲩⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲁⲧⲁ

The related section in *Synopsis Scripturae* reads:

Δευτέρα ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ Ἀκύλα. Οὗτος ἀπὸ Σινώπης τοῦ Πόντου ὑπάρχων, καὶ Ἑλλήνων ὢν, ἐβαπτίσθη ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις. Καὶ πάλιν τὸν Χριστιανισμὸν ἀθετήσας, καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις προσδραμῶν, ἠρμήνευσε τὴν θείαν Γραφὴν διεστραμμένῳ λογισμῷ ἐπὶ Ἀδριανοῦ Βασιλέως τοῦ λεπτοθέντος μετὰ τλ' ἔτη τῆς τῶν οὐβ' ἐρμηνείας.⁹

The scribe of BnF syr. 27 very clearly omits Aquila's biographical information contained in *Synopsis Scripturae*; in fact, BnF syr. 27 contains very little biographical information for any of the translators, refraining from making many comments about the value of the translation or the character, or orthodoxy, of the translator. In contrast, in *On Weights and Measures*, Epiphanius includes much more biographical information for each of the translators and readily provides an analysis of their characters, their orthodoxy, and the value of their translations.

BnF syr. 27, line 41

BnF syr. 27 reads:

ⲛⲁⲩⲁⲧⲁ ⲛⲁⲩⲁⲧⲁ

Once again providing much more detail, *Synopsis Scripturae* reads:

Τρίτη ἐρμηνεία ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ Συμμάχου. Οὗτος Σαμαρείτης ὢν, καὶ μὴ τιμηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου λαοῦ, ὡς φιλαρχίαν νοσῶν, τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις προστρέχει, καὶ ἐκ δευτέρου περιτέμνεται. Καὶ πρὸς διαστροφὴν τῶν Σαμαρειτῶν ἐρμηνεύει καὶ αὐτοὺς τὴν θείαν Γραφὴν ὑπὸ Σεβήρου τοῦ Βασιλέως μετὰ νς' ἔτη τῆς τοῦ Ἀκύλα ἐρμηνείας.¹⁰

⁹ Pseudo-Athanasius, *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae* (PG 28:177c).

¹⁰ Pseudo-Athanasius, *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae* (PG 28:180a).

The only point of comparison, of course, between BnF syr. 27 and *Synopsis Scripturae* is the labeling of Symmachus’s translation as the “third.”

BnF syr. 27, line 42a

BnF syr. 27 reads:

αβασιας τριτος

Again, with more detail *Synopsis Scripturae* reads:

Τετάρτη ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ Θεοδοτίωνος τοῦ Ἐφεσίου. Οὗτος, τῆς αἰρέσεως Μαρκίωνος τοῦ Ποντικοῦ ὄν, μνησίων τοῖς τῆς αἰρέσεως αὐτοῦ, ἠρμήνευσε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Κομμόδου τοῦ Βασιλέως ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ χρόνῳ, πρὸς διαστροφὴν τῆς αὐτοῦ αἰρέσεως.¹¹

Once again, the only point of comparison is the numbering sequence of Theodotion—“the fourth.”

BnF syr. 27, lines 42b-50

This passage in BnF syr. 27 refers back to the previous translators Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, and briefly explains the result of their translations (“that the Jews may gladly use the translators”). Further, the scribe in BnF syr. 27 makes here the only critique of these translators in this colophon, determining that their translations were due to contemporary disputes about the meaning of the text and not, rather, to the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. While too little material is devoted here in this colophon to the value of the translators and their translations to be able to meaningfully compare this passage to an exact section in Epiphanius’s *On Weights and Measures*, the critical tone towards these particular translators is certainly representative of the critiques found in *On Weights and Measures* and, to some extent, *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae*.

¹¹ Pseudo-Athanasius, *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae* (PG 28:180a).

BnF syr. 27, lines 51-54

Returning back to the list of the translators, BnF syr. 27 discusses “the fifth” translation. Here, however, BnF syr. 27 bears resemblance to both *Synopsis Scripturae* and *On Weights and Measures*. Therefore, all three texts will be transcribed and discussed below. BnF syr. 27 reads:

ⲉⲧⲱⲛⲁ ⲛⲓⲃⲟⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲓⲛ ⲛⲁⲓⲃⲱⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓⲃⲱⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓⲃⲱⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓ
ⲛⲁⲓⲃⲱⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓⲃⲱⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓⲃⲱⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓⲃⲱⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓⲃⲱⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓ
ⲛⲁⲓⲃⲱⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓⲃⲱⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓⲃⲱⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓⲃⲱⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓⲃⲱⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓ
ⲛⲁⲓⲃⲱⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓⲃⲱⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓⲃⲱⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓⲃⲱⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓⲃⲱⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓ

Synopsis Scripturae reads:

Πέμπτη ἔρμηνεία ἐστὶν ἢ ἐν πίθοις εὐρεθεῖσα κεκρυμμένη ἐπὶ Ἀντωνίνου
Βασιλέως τοῦ Καρακάλλα ἐν Ἱεριχῶν παρά τινος τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις σπουδαίων.¹²

The information contained in both is similar, including the numbering sequence, “the fifth,” and the fact that the translation was “found” in the time of “Antoninus” having been “hidden” in “wine jars” in “Jericho.” Otherwise, differences emerge: BnF syr. 27 introduces the topic more specifically, includes *inter alia* the fact that “the fifth” was found with other Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, and identifies Antoninus as also “Geta the king, the son of Severus,” but makes no mention of the name “Caracalla.” These differences, while not entirely resolved, can be compared to two different sections from *On Weights and Measures* as contained in BL Add. 17148.

The first relevant section from BL Add. 17148 column 56d, line 32 through column 57a, line 13 reads:

ⲛⲁⲓⲃⲱⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓⲃⲱⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓ
ⲉⲧⲱⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓⲃⲱⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓ
ⲛⲁⲓⲃⲱⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓⲃⲱⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓⲃⲱⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲁⲓⲃⲱⲛⲁⲛⲁⲓ

¹² Pseudo-Athanasius, *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae* (PG 28:180a).

ܥܡ ܗܘܢ ܕܘܚܪܝܢ

ܕܘܚܪܝܢ ܕܘܚܪܝܢ ܕܘܚܪܝܢ.

While differences in clause and word order can readily be observed, the major differences between the two texts are as follows: 1) the presence of the participle ܕܘܚܪܝܢ in BnF syr. 27 serving to introduce the “fifth” version, 2) the participle ܕܘܚܪܝܢ in BL Add. 17148 further describing the state of the “fifth” version in wine jar(s) in Jericho, and 3) the identification of the other books also hidden in the wine jar(s) in Jericho.¹³ In BnF syr. 27 the “fifth” version is found with ܕܘܚܪܝܢ ܕܘܚܪܝܢ, “other Hebrew and Greek books.” In BL Add. 17148, the “fifth” version is found with ܕܘܚܪܝܢ ܕܘܚܪܝܢ ܕܘܚܪܝܢ, “other Hebrew books and other books.” Here, BnF syr. 27 follows the Greek versions of *On Weights and Measures*, which explicitly mentions the “Greek books.”¹⁴

The temporal adverbial clause in BnF syr. 27 ܕܘܚܪܝܢ ܕܘܚܪܝܢ ܕܘܚܪܝܢ appears to summarize several places in *On Weights and Measures*. For example, the section in the version of BL Add. 17148 column 56d, lines 12-18 reads:

ܕܘܚܪܝܢ ܕܘܚܪܝܢ ܕܘܚܪܝܢ

ܕܘܚܪܝܢ ܕܘܚܪܝܢ ܕܘܚܪܝܢ

ܕܘܚܪܝܢ ܕܘܚܪܝܢ

ܕܘܚܪܝܢ ܕܘܚܪܝܢ

ܕܘܚܪܝܢ ܕܘܚܪܝܢ

¹³ Note the preference in BL Add. 17148 for the plural ܕܘܚܪܝܢ and the preference for the singular in BnF syr. 27. This is a regular distinction between BL Add. 17148 and BnF syr. 27.

¹⁴ From the critical edition by E. D. Moutsoulas: Ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις τούτου, ὡς προεῖπον, εὐρέθησαν αἱ βίβλοι τῆς πέμπτης ἐκδόσεως ἐν πίθοις ἐν Ἰεριχῶ κεκρυμμέναι μετὰ ἄλλων βιβλίων ἐβραϊκῶν καὶ ἑλληνικῶν, lines 498-500a in Epiphanius, *To “Peri Metrōn Kai Stathmōn” Ergon Epiphaniou Tou Salaminos: Eisagōgē, Kritikē Ekdosis, Echolia*, ed. E. D. Moutsoulas (Athens, 1971), 164. This colophon, then, provides further important data for the scholar interested in understanding the various textual traditions of *On Weights and Measures*.

ܘܠܟܘܢ ܐܝܡܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ
ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ

Then, another section in column 56d, lines 26-30 reads:

ܘܠܟܘܢ ܐܝܡܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ
ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ

In both places the information is nearly the same. The major differences are:

1) that lines 12-18 concern both the “fifth” and the “sixth” versions whereas lines 26-30 focus on the “fifth” version, and 2) that the identity of Antoninus as the son of Severus is only explicit in lines 26-30. Interestingly, like *Synopsis Scripturae* but unlike BnF syr. 27, Epiphanius includes here the name “Caracalla.” Incidentally, These two lines also demonstrate how often—indeed how quickly—Epiphanius repeats himself and the difficulty of determining exactly where the scribe of BnF syr. 27 may be copying or gathering information.

BnF syr. 27, lines 55-60a

Similar to the previous section, these lines bear resemblance to both *Synopsis Scripturae* and *On Weights and Measures*; comparisons will be made between both texts.

BnF syr. 27 reads:

ܘܠܟܘܢ ܐܝܡܢܐ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ
ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ

ܡܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܡܡܠܟܐ
 ܡܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܡܡܠܟܐ
 ܡܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܡܡܠܟܐ
 ܡܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܡܡܠܟܐ

Several differences between BnF syr. 27 and the text contained in BL Add.

17148 are worth noting: 1) the initial position of the clause “Alexander the son of Mamaea” in BL Add. 17148; 2) the variations in the spelling of Mamaea, the “sixth” version, and Origen between both versions; 3) the inclusion of much more historical detail in BL Add. 17148, mentioning the reigns of Maximian, Gordian, and Philip prior to Decius; and 4) the brief description of Origen in BnF syr. 27. Concerning this last difference, in contrast to BnF syr. 27, the text in BL Add. 17148 proceeds with several more lines of biographical information detailing the life of Origen before mentioning his nickname “Adamantius.” Interestingly, BL Add. 17148 spells Origen’s nickname ܡܡܠܟܐ more clearly representing the expected vowels. Conversely, BnF syr. 27 includes the marginal note (with lunate sigma) MANTOC, obscuring the regular pronunciation. Of most importance to the considerations of this comparison, the clause ܡܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܡܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ in BnF syr. 27—ܡܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܡܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ in BL Add. 17148—has poor support from the Greek textual tradition of *On Weights and Measures*.¹⁶

BnF syr. 27, lines 60b-76a

This material discusses Origen and his translation activity and departs from the list of *Synopsis Scripturae*. It will be compared with *On Weights and Measures* as contained in BL Add. 17148 in the next chapter.

¹⁶ Moutsoulas includes it in his critical edition in lines 511b-512a: Καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ Ὀριγένης ὁ καὶ Ἀδαμάντιος κληθεῖς, but notes that it is omitted in J, L, VS, and Lag^f. Epiphanius, *To “Peri Metrōn Kai Stathmōn” Ergon Epiphaniou Tou Salaminos: Eisagōgē, Kritikē Ekdosis, Echolia*, 164.

The similarities between these two texts are striking, though a few differences occur throughout. While this thesis cannot prove that the scribe in BnF syr. 27 is indeed copying from a Greek text, this particular section provides fruitful and interesting comparisons between the Greek and Syriac of these two texts. These comparisons include: the scribe in BnF syr. 27, instead of continuing the numbering sequence (Ἐβδόμη), simply begins with the adverb ܦܝܕܐ, followed by essentially the same clause in comparison, though the adjective ܦܘܠܐ instead modifies ܦܘܠܘܘܐ. The next sentence, though varied in appropriate word order for each language, contains the same information; nearly identical syntactical constructions include: 1) ὅστις καὶ αὐτός versus ܐܡܗ ܐܦܝ ܦܝܦ ܐܘܦ; then 2) ταῖς προγεγραμμέναις ἐκδόσεσι καὶ τοῖς Ἑβραϊκοῖς ἐντυχῶν in comparison to ܦܝܕܐ ܦܘܠܘܘܐ: ܦܘܠܘܘܐ ܦܘܠܘܘܐ ܦܘܠܘܘܐ ܦܘܠܘܘܐ ܦܘܠܘܘܐ, with the participle ἐντυχῶν to be particularly compared to the syntactical construction of the adverb ܦܘܠܘܘܐ plus the verb ܦܘܠܘܘܐ; and, similarly, 3) καὶ ἐποπτεύσας μετὰ ἀκριβείας versus ܦܘܠܘܘܐ ܦܘܠܘܘܐ ܦܘܠܘܘܐ ܦܘܠܘܘܐ ܦܘܠܘܘܐ ܦܘܠܘܘܐ. ¹⁸ Similarly, In the next clause, the text καὶ διορθωσάμενος ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις τῶν Γραφῶν τόποις is particularly close to ܦܘܠܘܘܐ ܦܘܠܘܘܐ ܦܘܠܘܘܐ ܦܘܠܘܘܐ ܦܘܠܘܘܐ ܦܘܠܘܘܐ though with the extra possessive pronoun construction in the Syriac: ܦܘܠܘܘܐ. ¹⁹

περιττεύοντα καὶ τοῦ καταλόγου τῆς ἀληθείας πόρρω τυγχάνοντα διορθωσάμενος ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις τῆς γραφῆς χωρίοις ἐξέδοτο τοῖς χριστιανοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. "Ἦτις . . . ἐκδόσις μετὰ τὴν ἀθλησιν καὶ τὸ μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου Λουκιανοῦ, . . . τῆς τοῦ Διοκλητιανοῦ καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ . . . καταληξάσης μανίας, εὔρηται ἐξ . . . ἰδιοχείρου γεγραμμένη . . . ἐν Νικομηδείᾳ ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ βασιλέως παρὰ Ἰουδαίους ἐν . . . πυργίσκῳ μαρμαρίνῳ καὶ κεκονιαμένῳ. See 119n1 in Robert Devreesse, *Introduction à l'étude des manuscrits grecs* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1954).

As the following comparison makes clear, BnF syr. 27 bears most resemblance to the PG text of *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae* with the exception of Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ βασιλέως from *Coislin 251*, which very nearly matches ܦܘܠܘܘܐ ܦܘܠܘܘܘܐ, particularly with regards to the missing ν from the first syllable of Constantine's name.

¹⁸ Migne includes the Latin translation *et diligenter, quae vel veritati deerant, vel superflua erant, inspexisset* taking *veritati* as a complement to *deerant*. Pseudo-Athanasius, *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae* (PG 28:179b).

¹⁹ Compare especially *οἰκείοις* and ܦܘܠܘܘܐ.

CHAPTER 3

COMPARISON OF BnF SYR. 27 AND BL ADD. 17148¹

From the final third of f. 88v through f. 90v in BnF syr. 27, the scribe summarizes Epiphanius's *On Weights and Measures*. Sometimes the scribe follows a particular section closely, but most often he pieces together relevant information from various sections. Epiphanius's full text includes more historical details and parenthetical asides than the scribe of BnF syr. 27 and he repeats himself more often in the full text. The scribe of BnF syr. 27 instead focuses primarily on Epiphanius's discussion of the seventy-two translators, Origen, and Origen's text-critical sigla. In the following comparative analysis, following the line order of BnF syr. 27, I will summarize the discussions contained in both texts when it is clear that the scribe of BnF syr. 27 is himself summarizing or simply discussing the same information found in *On Weights and Measures*. Where a more exact relationship may be surmised, I will transcribe the texts, maintaining the format of both, and only including paratextual features when necessary.² To be clear, I will not argue that BnF syr. 27 depends upon BL Add. 17148 itself, but I do intend to demonstrate to what extent BnF syr. 27 records *On Weights and Measures* by comparison with one of the most important Syriac manuscripts containing *On Weights and Measures*.

As to the format of both manuscripts: BL Add. 17148 runs two justified columns

¹ I have transcribed sections of BL Add. 17148 from the facsimile contained in Dean's translation. BL Add. 17148 is dated between 648 and 659 CE; see Dean, ed., *Epiphanius' Treatise on Weights and Measures: The Syriac Version*, 3. BL Add. 17148 is the older of the two Syriac manuscripts that contain Epiphanius's complete text.

² Since Epiphanius often repeats himself or resumes a conversation after a lengthy aside, I have chosen to transcribe the most closely related section from BL Add. 17148 alongside BnF syr. 27.

“sixth” in his text. This section notes that Origen “placed them [the “fifth” and the “sixth”] in his translations *when he wished to point out the consensus of the holy seventy-two translators*” (emphasis added). In contrast, BL Add. 17148 does not include such a comment here, but a discussion of a different tenor appears in column 57d, line 14b through line 22:

ܠܟܝܢ ܘܢܝܢܘܢ
 ܗܘ ܥܒܕ ܗܘܠܝܘܬܗܘܢ
 ܗܘܢܝܢ ܥܠ ܥܘܠܡܝܢ
 ܘܠܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܬܘܢ
 ܗܘܢܝܢ ܠܡܘܢ ܗܘܢ
 ܠܟܝܢ ܘܢܝܢܘܢ
 ܗܘܢܝܢ ܥܠ ܥܘܠܡܝܢ
 ܘܠܗܘܢ ܠܗܘܬܘܢ
 ܗܘܢܝܢ ܠܡܘܢ ܗܘܢ
 ܠܟܝܢ ܘܢܝܢܘܢ
 ܗܘܢܝܢ ܥܠ ܥܘܠܡܝܢ

“But Origen, when he heard that the version of the seventy-two was correct, he placed it in the middle so that it might refute those on each side.⁴ This one thing alone Origen did helpfully.”⁵ Origen’s impetus to include the “seventy-two” in the “middle” as a refutation of the other versions is missing from the colophon in BnF syr. 27, the closest discussion besides BnF syr. 27 lines 70ff being the reliability and truthfulness of the version of the “seventy-two” and some general critiques of the other translators.⁶ Finally, Epiphanius’s

⁴ Earlier, Epiphanius describes the layout of Origen’s *Octapla* as the two Hebrew columns, then the columns of Aquila, Symmachus, the seventy-two, Theodotion, the “fifth,” and then “the sixth.”

⁵ I have generally relied on and replicated Dean’s translation in Dean, ed., *Epiphanius’ Treatise on Weights and Measures: The Syriac Version*, 37.

⁶ See BnF syr. 27 lines 32-39 and 49-50 for a positive discussion of the version of the “seventy-two” and compare with lines 40-48 concerning the other translators. BnF syr. 27 does not contain Epiphanius’s biographical information for each of the other translators as does BL Add. 17148 and therefore does not include all of the criticisms that Epiphanius gives of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion. Further, BnF syr. 27 lacks the critical remarks of Epiphanius concerning the value and quality of their work.

critical sigla in BnF syr. 27 and the variations in quantity and spelling of those sigla both between the texts and within BnF syr. 27 itself. In the first case, BnF syr. 27 lists out the text-critical sigla twice, once in the heading proper, and immediately after to begin the discussion of the sigla. With regards to variations in quantity and spelling: In the first listing of the text-critical sigla, BnF syr. 27 uses plural forms for the sigla except the *hypolemniscus* employing the *mater lectionis* α for the Greek nominative plural ending *-oi*, and then uses singular forms in the next listing. BL Add. 17148 only uses the singular forms here. Further, BnF spells the sigla in these ways: 1) the *asteriscus*:

$\text{ⲀⲚⲉⲙⲓⲥⲱⲥ}/\text{ⲀⲚⲉⲙⲓⲥⲱⲥ}$ (internally consistent); 2) the *obelus*: $\text{ⲀⲗⲁⲢⲥ}/\text{ⲀⲗⲁⲢⲥ}$ (internally inconsistent with α/ϵ interchange); 3) the *lemniscus*: $\text{Ⲁⲗⲉⲙⲛⲓⲥⲱⲗ}/\text{Ⲁⲗⲉⲙⲛⲓⲥⲱⲗ}$ (internally inconsistent with absence of α or any phonetic representation of the vowel in the singular version); and 4) the *hypolemniscus*: $\text{Ⲁⲗⲉⲙⲛⲓⲥⲱⲗⲁⲗⲉⲙⲛⲓⲥⲱⲗ}/\text{Ⲁⲗⲉⲙⲛⲓⲥⲱⲗⲁⲗⲉⲙⲛⲓⲥⲱⲗ}$ (internally inconsistent with the second occurrence including phonetic representation of all vowels; incidentally, note the consistency between $\text{Ⲁⲗⲉⲙⲛⲓⲥⲱⲗⲁⲗⲉⲙⲛⲓⲥⲱⲗ}$ and Ⲁⲗⲉⲙⲛⲓⲥⲱⲗ as concerns the lack of a *mater lectionis* in the ⲗ syllable).⁷ BL Add. 17148 spells the sigla in these ways: 1) the *asteriscus*: Ⲁⲗⲉⲙⲛⲓⲥⲱⲥ (the insertion of the first α is distinct from the spellings in BnF syr. 27); 2) the *obelus*: ⲀⲗⲁⲢⲥ (note the second ϵ , which is similar to the plural occurrence in BnF syr. 27, but not the singular); 3) the *lemniscus*: Ⲁⲗⲉⲙⲛⲓⲥⲱⲗ (the insertion of the first α is similar to the plural occurrence in BnF syr. 27, but not the singular); and 4) the *hypolemniscus*: $\text{Ⲁⲗⲉⲙⲛⲓⲥⲱⲗⲁⲗⲉⲙⲛⲓⲥⲱⲗ}$ (the initial ϵ is distinct from the spellings in BnF syr. 27).⁸

⁷ It is probable that variations in spelling in BnF syr. 27 have to do with line-length considerations. The instances where the spellings of the text-critical sigla are shortened occur near the end of the line. However, the α/ϵ interchange in the *obelus* lacks a convenient or ready explanation. Henceforth, since spelling inconsistencies—particular in the representation of vowel sounds—occur throughout both texts, no further inconsistencies in the spelling of the text-critical sigla will be explicitly mentioned; such inconsistencies can be readily observed in the transcriptions.

⁸ Incidentally, these spelling variations also demonstrate the linguistic value of analyzing and comparing texts like these.

ܡܘܨܪܝܡ from BL Add. 17148; 3) different lexical choices throughout; for example: BnF syr. 27 prefers ܡܘܨܪܝܡ versus BL Add. 17148's ܡܘܨܪܝܡ, as well as ܡܘܨܪܝܡ versus BL Add. 17148's ܡܘܨܪܝܡ, and ܡܘܨܪܝܡ versus BL Add. 17148's ܡܘܨܪܝܡ; similarly, 4) the preference of the plural ܡܘܨܪܝܡ in BnF syr. 27 as compared to BL Add. 17148's ܡܘܨܪܝܡ, with the plural versus singular difference maintained throughout pronoun and object references in both; and finally, 5) the differences between the final clauses, with the major distinctions between both being the use of the 1st person and participle ܡܘܨܪܝܡ with the following impersonal reference to the noun ܡܘܨܪܝܡ in BnF syr. 27 whereas BL Add. 17148 uses an impersonal form ܡܘܨܪܝܡ and is written to a 2nd person audience: ܡܘܨܪܝܡ.

BnF syr. 27, lines 100b-103a

While the following lines begin in similar fashion, it is here that BnF begins to truly summarize much of Epiphanius's material. BnF syr. 27 reads:

ܡܘܨܪܝܡ ܡܘܨܪܝܡ
ܡܘܨܪܝܡ ܡܘܨܪܝܡ. ܡܘܨܪܝܡ ܡܘܨܪܝܡ: ܡܘܨܪܝܡ ܡܘܨܪܝܡ ܡܘܨܪܝܡ
ܡܘܨܪܝܡ ܡܘܨܪܝܡ ܡܘܨܪܝܡ ܡܘܨܪܝܡ ܡܘܨܪܝܡ ܡܘܨܪܝܡ.
ܡܘܨܪܝܡ ܡܘܨܪܝܡ. ܡܘܨܪܝܡ ܡܘܨܪܝܡ. ܡܘܨܪܝܡ ܡܘܨܪܝܡ.

BL Add. 17148 in column 47c, line 10b through 19 reads:

ܡܘܨܪܝܡ ܡܘܨܪܝܡ
ܡܘܨܪܝܡ ܡܘܨܪܝܡ. ܡܘܨܪܝܡ ܡܘܨܪܝܡ ܡܘܨܪܝܡ
ܡܘܨܪܝܡ ܡܘܨܪܝܡ. ܡܘܨܪܝܡ ܡܘܨܪܝܡ.
ܡܘܨܪܝܡ ܡܘܨܪܝܡ ܡܘܨܪܝܡ. ܡܘܨܪܝܡ ܡܘܨܪܝܡ.
ܡܘܨܪܝܡ ܡܘܨܪܝܡ. ܡܘܨܪܝܡ ܡܘܨܪܝܡ.
ܡܘܨܪܝܡ ܡܘܨܪܝܡ ܡܘܨܪܝܡ.
ܡܘܨܪܝܡ ܡܘܨܪܝܡ ܡܘܨܪܝܡ.
ܡܘܨܪܝܡ ܡܘܨܪܝܡ ܡܘܨܪܝܡ.

While similar in many respects, a few differences should be compared: 1) the lack of ܡܫܘܪ in BnF syr. 27; 2) the presence of ܠܚܘܒ in BnF syr. 27, which BL Add. 17148 lacks; 3) the fronting of the clause ܘܢܘܩܡܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢܘܢ, which does not occur until after the transliteration in BL Add. 17148; relatedly, 4) the missing transliteration in BnF syr. 27, which BL Add. 17148 records: ܘܢܘܩܡܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܡܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢܘܢ, and which does appear in the Greek;¹⁰ and 5) the mention here, in BnF syr. 27, of the “other translators.”

BnF syr. 27, lines 103b-107a

Here, the dissimilarities between the two versions becomes more striking. BnF syr. 27 reads:

ܘܢܘܩܡܘܢ

ܠܚܘܒ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܡܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢܘܢ
ܘܢܘܩܡܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܡܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢܘܢ
ܘܢܘܩܡܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܡܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢܘܢ
ܘܢܘܩܡܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܡܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢܘܢ

BL Add. 17148 contains more biographical information as a means of supporting the translation technique of the seventy-two translators. BL Add. 17148 in column 47c, line 19 through line 30a reads:

ܘܢܘܩܡܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢܘܢ
ܘܢܘܩܡܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܡܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢܘܢ
ܘܢܘܩܡܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܡܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢܘܢ
ܘܢܘܩܡܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܡܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢܘܢ
ܘܢܘܩܡܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܡܘܢ ܕܥܘܠܡܝܢܘܢ

¹⁰ Moutsoulas has in lines 22-23: «οὐαεεὶ Ἄδὰμ σαλωεῖμ σανᾶ οὐαθεσᾶ μηὼθ σανᾶ». Epiphanius, *To “Peri Metrōn Kai Stathmōn” Ergon Epiphaniou Tou Salaminos: Eisagōgē, Kritikē Ekdoxis, Echolia*, 142.

ܘܢܘܩܘܡܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܘܡܘܢ
 ܘܢܘܩܘܡܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܘܡܘܢ
 ܘܢܘܩܘܡܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܘܡܘܢ
 ܘܢܘܩܘܡܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܘܡܘܢ
 ܘܢܘܩܘܡܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܘܡܘܢ
 ܘܢܘܩܘܡܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܘܡܘܢ
 ܘܢܘܩܘܡܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܘܡܘܢ

Here, the differences are impractical to enumerate. Instead, the main distinctions are the more extensive biographical information recorded in BL Add. 17148 concerning the seventy-two translators—that while being Hebrew they were instructed in Greek from “tender youth”—and the different way BnF summarizes their translational activity. Whereas BL Add. 17148 here includes Epiphanius’s judgment that the seventy-two translated “with insight,” and makes no mention of the seventy-two translators omitting words, BnF syr. 27 simply states that the seventy-two “left out and did not write” the superfluous and unnecessary words.

BnF syr. 27, 107b-112a

Again, BnF appears to summarize Epiphanius’s information; BnF syr. 27 reads:

ܘܢܘܩܘܡܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܘܡܘܢ
 ܘܢܘܩܘܡܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܘܡܘܢ
 ܘܢܘܩܘܡܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܘܡܘܢ
 ܘܢܘܩܘܡܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܘܡܘܢ
 ܘܢܘܩܘܡܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܘܡܘܢ
 ܘܢܘܩܘܡܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܘܡܘܢ
 ܘܢܘܩܘܡܘܢ ܘܢܘܩܘܡܘܢ

BL Add. 17148 in column 47c, line 30a through column 48a, line 7 reads:

ܘܢܘܩܘܡܘܢ

1. 2019-2020
 2. 2020-2021
 3. 2021-2022
 4. 2022-2023
 5. 2023-2024
 6. 2024-2025
 7. 2025-2026
 8. 2026-2027
 9. 2027-2028
 10. 2028-2029
 11. 2029-2030
 12. 2030-2031
 13. 2031-2032
 14. 2032-2033
 15. 2033-2034
 16. 2034-2035
 17. 2035-2036
 18. 2036-2037
 19. 2037-2038
 20. 2038-2039
 21. 2039-2040
 22. 2040-2041
 23. 2041-2042
 24. 2042-2043
 25. 2043-2044
 26. 2044-2045
 27. 2045-2046
 28. 2046-2047
 29. 2047-2048
 30. 2048-2049
 31. 2049-2050
 32. 2050-2051
 33. 2051-2052
 34. 2052-2053
 35. 2053-2054
 36. 2054-2055
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 39. 2057-2058
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 42. 2060-2061
 43. 2061-2062
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 45. 2063-2064
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 48. 2066-2067
 49. 2067-2068
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 73. 2091-2092
 74. 2092-2093
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 79. 2097-2098
 80. 2098-2099
 81. 2099-2100
 82. 2100-2101
 83. 2101-2102
 84. 2102-2103
 85. 2103-2104
 86. 2104-2105
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 88. 2106-2107
 89. 2107-2108
 90. 2108-2109
 91. 2109-2110
 92. 2110-2111
 93. 2111-2112
 94. 2112-2113
 95. 2113-2114
 96. 2114-2115
 97. 2115-2116
 98. 2116-2117
 99. 2117-2118
 100. 2118-2119
 101. 2119-2120
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 147. 2165-2166
 148. 2166-2167
 149. 2167-2168
 150. 2168-2169
 151. 2169-2170
 152. 2170-2171
 153. 2171-2172
 154. 2172-2173
 155. 2173-2174
 156. 2174-2175
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 158. 2176-2177
 159. 2177-2178
 160. 2178-2179
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 180. 2198-2199
 181. 2199-2200
 182. 2200-2201
 183. 2201-2202
 184. 2202-2203
 185. 2203-2204
 186. 2204-2205
 187. 2205-2206
 188. 2206-2207
 189. 2207-2208
 190. 2208-2209
 191. 2209-2210
 192. 2210-2211
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 197. 2215-2216
 198. 2216-2217
 199. 2217-2218
 200. 2218-2219
 201. 2219-2220
 202. 2220-2221
 203. 2221-2222
 204. 2222-2223
 205. 2223-2224
 206. 2224-2225
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 208. 2226-2227
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 220. 2238-2239
 221. 2239-2240
 222. 2240-2241
 223. 2241-2242
 224. 2242-2243
 225. 2243-2244
 226. 2244-2245
 227. 2245-2246
 228. 2246-2247
 229. 2247-2248
 230. 2248-2249
 231. 2249-2250
 232. 2250-2251
 233. 2251-2252
 234. 2252-2253
 235. 2253-2254
 236. 2254-2255
 237. 2255-2256
 238. 2256-2257
 239. 2257-2258
 240. 2258-2259
 241. 2259-2260
 242. 2260-2261
 243. 2261-2262
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 253. 2271-2272
 254. 2272-2273
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 263. 2281-2282
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 265. 2283-2284
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 268. 2286-2287
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 270. 2288-2289
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 272. 2290-2291
 273. 2291-2292
 274. 2292-2293
 275. 2293-2294
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 281. 2299-2300
 282. 2300-2301
 283. 2301-2302
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 285. 2303-2304
 286. 2304-2305
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 299. 2317-2318
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 301. 2319-2320
 302. 2320-2321
 303. 2321-2322
 304. 2322-2323
 305. 2323-2324
 306. 2324-2325
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 322. 2340-2341
 323. 2341-2342
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 363. 2381-2382
 364. 2382-2383
 365. 2383-2384
 366. 2384-2385
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Because much of the preceding material from BnF syr. 27 is summarizing Epiphanius, the following transcriptions from BL Add. 17184 will only include the most relevant sections for the purposes of this comparison.¹⁹

Mentioning Origen in relation to the *obelus*, BL Add. 17148 in column 50c, lines 9 through 18 reads:

כח דגה בוגר אקא
 קיפולא דה עפא
 קצו: קחבא דקא חקלא
 קחבא קחבא חבא
 קחבא קא חקלא קחבא
 קחבא קחבא חבא לה,
 קחבא קא חקלא קחבא.
 קחבא קחבא חבא

Here, Epiphanius notes how well Origen made use of the *asteriscus* and *obelus*, but laments, “Oh that he had done the other things as well!” Then later, after Epiphanius acknowledges—indeed praises—Origen’s *Hexapla* or *Octopla* as increasing knowledge, he makes his criticism more explicit; BL Add. 17148 in column 50d, lines 6b through 13a reads:

לה דגה
 קחבא קחבא חבא לה
 קחבא קחבא חבא
 קחבא קחבא חבא
 קחבא קחבא חבא

¹⁹ In fact, before even mentioning Origen, several columns in BL Add. 17148 tell the story of the seventy-two translators, outlining their living arrangements and the methodology of their translation—particularly that they translated in thirty-six pairs, each pair working through one book at a time—in much more detail than the scribe relates in BnF syr. 27.

texts is that BnF syr. 27 does not take the same pains as Epiphanius does, in the text recorded in BL Add. 17148, to declare that the work of the seventy-two resulted in total agreement.²¹ Nor does the scribe in BnF syr. 27 give an example of the places where a word might be different in morphological form or sense as does Epiphanius as recorded in BL Add. 17148 in a later section, column 51b.

BnF syr. 27, lines 157b-161a

In this section, BnF syr. 27 describes the *hypolemniscus*; also, it should be noted here that BnF syr. 27 discusses first the *hypolemniscus* and then the *lemniscus*, which reverses the order found in BL Add. 17148. BnF syr. 27 reads:

ܘܢܘܩܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ
ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ
ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ

²¹ Earlier in BnF syr. 27, the scribe certainly says that the seventy-two translators agreed in everything (see BnF syr. 27 lines 47b through 50), but here, the scribe more quickly states that there were minor differences, without the same level of nuance in BL Add. 17148. Compare Epiphanius’s statements throughout *On Weights and Measures*; below is a selection.

The first selection is found in BL Add. 17148 column 50b, lines 1b through 7a:

ܘܢܘܩܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ
ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ

“But that what is said may be clear to you, how marvelously, under the guidance of God and in the harmony of the Holy Spirit, they translated harmoniously and were not at variance with one another. . .”

Then, when discussing the *lemniscus*, Epiphanius says (BL Add. 17148 column 51b, lines 29 through 37a):

ܘܢܘܩܢܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ
ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ ܕܥܘܠܡܐ

“And so you may find it in many places, where there is nothing taken away or changed but it is the very same (in meaning), though expressed differently, so that it is not foreign to the others. . .”

Both translations are from Dean, ed., *Epiphanius’ Treatise on Weights and Measures: The Syriac Version*, 21 and 23. In the end, of course, Epiphanius must admit some slight variation between the translations due to his discussion of the existence and nature of the *lemniscus* and *hypolemniscus* but note how strongly he continues to speak of the sameness of the translations of the seventy-two. Dean is probably correct to insert “(in meaning)” into his translation.

Corresponding to the second part of the section from BnF syr. 27—coming first in BL Add. 17148—the relevant section in column 51a lines 1 through 9, reads:

÷ ܠܚܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܐܘܪܘܫܠܡ ܕܘܢܐܘܪܘܫܠܡ ÷
ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ ܕܐܘܪܘܫܠܡ ܕܘܢܐܘܪܘܫܠܡ
ܠܘܠܘܬܐ ܕܐܘܪܘܫܠܡ ܕܘܢܐܘܪܘܫܠܡ
ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ ܕܐܘܪܘܫܠܡ ܕܘܢܐܘܪܘܫܠܡ

With abbreviated syntax, BnF syr. 27 details more efficiently the form of the *lemniscus* than does BL Add. 17148. Again, BnF syr. 27 prefers the term ܢܘܨܘܢܐ versus BL Add. 17148's ܠܘܠܘܬܐ and does not include the term ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ, nor the specifying ܘܢܘܨܘܢܐ. One spelling variation is of interest: ܢܘܨܘܢܐ in BnF syr. 27 versus ܢܘܨܘܢܐ in BL Add. 17148; the *asteriscus* above the latter form corresponds to the marginal note, CTIFMΩN.

BnF syr. 27, lines 164bff.

From this point forward, the scribe in BnF syr. 27 closes out the discussion of the text-critical sigla used by Origen, once again attributing the list to Epiphanius, and closing with an invitation to add to the body of knowledge concerning the text-critical sigla.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has provided a transcription and translation of the colophon at the end of Fourth Kingdoms in BnF syr. 27 as well as a comparison of the colophon with other known texts from which it derives much of its information. While scholars have noted this text, this thesis provides the first translation into English, and shows the relationships the several sections of the colophon have with other texts. In the first main section, the scribe copies a note from Eusebius that records a short discussion from Origen concerning the problem of the dates of Jeroboam's reign. None of Origen's extant texts contain the exact same information. In the second and third main sections, the scribe summarizes and records the list of the Greek versions of Holy Scripture in Pseudo-Athanasius's *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae* and Epiphanius's discussion of the versions of Holy Scripture, Origen, and Origen's text-critical sigla from *On Weights and Measures*. At times, the scribe copies very closely from these texts, at other times, he summarizes considerably. In all cases, this comparison provides data for the scholar interested in, *inter alia*, Eusebius, Origen, Lucian, Pseudo-Athanasius, Epiphanius, and the various Syriac recensions of their writings, as well as the texts related to these figures, particularly Origen's Hexapla and the Syrohexapla.

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ABSTRACT

THESE ARE THE WORDS OF EUSEBIUS: A TRANSLATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE COLOPHON AT THE END OF FOURTH KINGDOMS IN BNF SYR. 27

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Over three chapters, this thesis studies the colophon at the end of Fourth Kingdoms in BnF Syr. 27, which is divided into several main sections. Chapter 1 provides a transcription of the colophon, analysis of the main paratextual features, and a first-time translation into English. Chapter 2 compares the first main section of the colophon with a similar extant text from Origen, noting that no known extant text matches the material in the colophon. Then, it compares the second major section with Pseudo-Athanasius's *Synopsis Scripturae Sacrae* and, to some extent, Epiphanius's *On Weights and Measure*, noting where the colophon relies on and is different from these texts. In Chapter 3 the third major section is especially compared with Epiphanius's *On Weights and Measures* as it is contained in BL Add. 17148 to demonstrate BnF syr. 27's reliance upon this text.

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