AN INVESTIGATION OF THE SYRIAC VERSION OF ISAIAH: II

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Part I included a brief history of the study of the Syriac version; an outline of the procedures followed in our investigation; a list of abbreviations and symbols used, including bibliographic references for works referred to only by their abbreviations in Part II; and a list of MSS used, with their sigla and brief descriptions. Part III will contain a few comparisons and conclusions concerning our study of the manuscripts and of NT quotations from Is, and, finally, a summary and our conclusions concerning the whole investigation.

Of the many thousands of variant readings found in studying the 94 MSS used in this investigation, 3049 were chosen for statistical analysis. And from all the quotations of Is by the Syrian authors, 290 variants were gleaned. Of these 3339, 101 were selected for evaluation after all the others had been eliminated because of agreement with the Hebrew, Greek, or Syrohexapla texts or because the type of variation involved was not significant. These 101 and their evaluations are here presented, in Part II.

Examples of orthographic variants disregarded beyond the 3339 are: the addition of initial or medial 'alaph in the names Israel and Judah and in various other words; the presence or absence of the "otiose yūdh" on feminine verb forms; the addition of a waw in ל and לָּוָּו; the addition of sēyāmē plural dots on numerals, plural verbs and participles and other inherently plural words; words in which the scribe has

1 The first part of this article was published in *A USS*, III (1965), 138-157.
obviously misread one letter for another; variants between a
pronoun added to a participle or standing separately after it;
the addition of a yūdh in lāh; and similar differences which
are characteristic between East and West Syriac, and which
have no real significance. Most of these were also omitted in
Diettrich’s Apparatus after the first mention, hence it was
useless to retain them in the MSS studied in addition to
Diettrich’s 28. The eliminating was done conservatively,
however. Goshen-Gottstein well states:

It is not always easy to draw the line between “real” variants
and text-corruptions. Diettrich’s study of Isaiah—which is far from
utilizing all the available manuscripts—serves to warn us where this
wealth of material leads. The really important variants are drowned
in the sea of textual corruptions and orthographic alternations, and
a fair number of “real” variants were overlooked by him.3

The classification of a reading as a “real variant” means no more
than the assumption that such a reading may have been part of a
textual tradition (in particular, as opposed to the mistakes of
individual scribes). It is a statement about an assumed fact, but
not a value judgment as such. Only in a small minority of cases will
a “real variant” qualify as a “superior reading.” 4

The base for collation was the Urmia text in the edition
published by the Trinitarian Bible Society, London.5 The
Ambrosian MS edited by Ceriani,6 used by the Peshitta
Institute as the collation base for the “International Project
to Establish a Critical Edition of the Old Testament Peshitta,”
was also thoroughly collated with the Urmia edition, beyond
its appearance in Diettrich’s Apparatus. The reading of the

3 Gustav Diettrich, Ein Apparatus criticus zur Pešitto zum Propheten Jesaia (“Beih. zur ZAW,” vol. VIII; Giessen, 1905).
4 M. H. Goshen-Gottstein, “Prolegomena to a Critical Edition of
the Peshitta,” in Text and Language in Bible and Qumran (Jerusalem,
5 KeβaQaddät; Diašeq ‘Atiqät (Holy Scriptures; Old Testament,
Urmia text; London, 1852; reprinted 1954).
6 A. M. Ceriani, ed., Translatio Syra Pescitto Veteris Testamenti ex
codice Ambrosiano sec. fere VI photolithographice edita. Vol. VI, Parts I
and II, of Monumenta Sacra et Profana ex codicibus prae. Bibliothecae Ambrosianae (Milan, 1876-1883).
Urmia text is given first for each variant evaluated below, followed by the variant found, and then by the sigla of the MSS showing the variant, arranged alphabetically for convenience. The sigla show at a glance what type of MS is involved. For the age of the MS the reader may refer to the List of MSS in Part I. Following the manuscript support and separated by a slanting bar between all the groups, the agreement shown by the four texts, Hebrew, Targum, Greek, and Syrohexapla, by the patristic quotations of Is, and by the New Testament, is listed, indicated by abbrevations (see the List of Abbreviations and Symbols, in Part I).

The 3049 variant readings from our manuscript study and the 290 from our patristic study were analyzed as to type. The types identified, ranked by frequency within coherent groups, are as follows:
1. Different word(s).
2. Scribal mistakes.
3. Other scribal variations.
4. Omission of word(s).
5. Addition of word(s).
6. Different form of the same word (as, different verb tense).
7. Prefixing of a waw conjunction.
9. Omission of a preposition (prefixed or not).

11 For patristic quotations the exact reference is given in abbreviated form with the citation; the full bibliographic entry is found under the abbreviation in the List of Abbreviations and Symbols which appeared in Part I.
10. Prefixing of a preposition (or its insertion if not prefixed).
11. Change to a different preposition.
12. Change from prefixed preposition א to prefixed waw conjunction.
13. Change from prefixed waw conjunction to prefixed prep א.
14. Change from prefixed א to waw conjunction.
15. Change from waw conjunction to prefixed preposition א.
16. Change from waw conjunction to אכ.
17. Change from אכ to waw conjunction.
18. Addition of sêyâmê plural dots.
20. Omission of a suffixed pronoun.
21. Change to a different suffixed pronoun.
22. Addition of a suffixed pronoun.
23. Change of verb form to singular.
24. Change of verb form to plural.
25. Change of verb form to feminine.
27. Change of plural verb form to masculine.
28. Addition of a prefixed † to a verb form (change to passive).
29. Omission of a prefixed † in a verb form (change to active).
30. Change of a participle to the singular.
31. Change of a participle to the plural.
32. Change of a plural participle to the feminine.
33. Transposition of words, or of phrases or clauses.
34. Different wording in a clause.
35. Repetition of a word.

In the remainder of Part II the more important variants are shown and discussed individually, as to the possibility of their being traces of the Targum substrata and Old Syriac text forms. The variants discussed are organized by types of texts—older MSS, Massora correction MSS, later MSS, Lectionaries, Canticles (or Psalter and Biblical Odes) MSS, and patristic quotations—but the variants to be mentioned will be confined to categories 1-3, 4, 5, 6, 33, and 34 of the above list of types of variants found; in other words, not
simply presence or absence of a *waw* conjunction, a suffix, a preposition, pluralization, etc. These features may well represent the Old Syriac text, of course, in many instances; but they may also be simply scribal errors or variations coming in from other influences. Voöbus gives the following caution:

Ein anderes Problem kommt auf, nämlich ob alle auffälligen Abweichungen in der syrischen Vorlage wirklich so zu erklären sind, dass sie altertümliche Elemente sind, die der Frühgeschichte der Peschitta angehören? Können sie aber nicht von der syro-hexaplarischen Übersetzung herstammen, die mit dem Peschittatext in eine Mischform zusammengeschmolzen war, etwa so wie das Werk von Ja‘qūb von Edessa? In diesem Fall würden wir mit einer anderen Quelle der targumischen Traditionen im Syrischen zu tun haben, die durch die Kanäle der Septuaginta fließt, die ja selber auch in die Familie der Targumim gehört. Für unsere Zwecke würde aber diese Quelle unser Interesse verlieren.¹³

Goshen-Gottstein joins Voöbus, Kahle, and others in considering the early history of the Greek text a targumic development,¹⁴ but he states:

However, in the case of the Peshitta, we can detect no indication to make us assume that the same conditions prevailed as, perhaps, characterized the early history of the LXX and the Targum. On the basis of our MSS—and this is borne out by many indications in the text itself—it seems rather more likely that the text of the Peshitta represents one translation only, which was, however, corrected for some time, possibly on the basis of some other tradition.¹⁵

This is opposite to Voöbus’ viewpoint on the Old Syriac text, with its flexible and varied texture: “... the Vetus Syra is by no means a homogeneous and uniform text. The Vetus Syra originally must have contained more than the two extant representatives [Curetonian and Sinaitic Old Syriac Gospel codices].”¹⁶ But Voöbus agrees with the above

statement by Goshen-Gottstein concerning the Peshitta, as contrasted with the Old Syriac text:

The Peshitta was one of the numerous manuscripts of the Vetus Syra which was made the basis of redaction and adaptation to the vulgar Greek text held valid in the patriarchate of Antioch. The result of this revision was that digressions were eliminated, additions removed, omissions supplemented and peculiarities retouched. . . . After the revision, the text assumed a wholly new form, conforming more or less to the Greek original [of the New Testament] . . . . An entirely new text type came into existence. While the Peshitta's back is turned on the ancient and endeared Syrian traditions, its face is decidedly turned towards the Greek form.17

In studying the early history of the Syriac version, these two phases are both involved—one must try to go behind the rather rigid, standardized revision represented by the Peshitta, to the varied, individualistic, "wilder" text of the Old Syriac, with its targumic characteristics, a tendency to paraphrase and to find more than one way of expressing a thought. In this view, all the minutiae mentioned en masse in the statistical tables and chapters [of our full unpublished dissertation] could be seen as reflecting the Old Syriac text except where they have the agreement of the Greek and the Syrohexapla; and even in these cases, the agreement may be merely a coincidence, and they may really belong to the Old Syriac—or, they may actually be only scribal errors. Goshen-Gottstein emphasizes the "Law of Scribes," that "the same textual change may creep into the text again and again, mostly for purely linguistic reasons. Not every corruption is a 'variant', . . ." 18 On the other hand, a necessary caution is expressed when he says:

However, if we overwork our tools of analysis—e.g. by explaining readings as linguistic alternants, simplifications, syntactic smoothings, harmonizations and exegetical changes, influences from similar verses etc. etc. . . .—our misinterpretation of the facts will be hardly less glaring than that of the reigning textual criticism. The method may work so well that the vast majority of variants can be explained away, and we might easily throw out the baby with the bathwater.19

17 Ibid., pp. 54-55.
18 Goshen-Gottstein, op. cit., p. 182.
19 Ibid., p. XIII.
In his footnote on the last sentence of the above statement, he adds:

By now it ought to be clear that many alleged variants in the ancient versions are due much less to the process of translation than was assumed before the discovery of the Qumran scrolls. The dynamics of textual change are very much the same everywhere, so that identity of result cannot per se be taken as proof of relatedness or common tradition.20

With these cautions concerning both extremes in view, only those variants will be given consideration here, in most cases, that have the Targum in agreement and/or a patristic quotation. Thus the bulk of the accidental agreements will be eliminated. The use of italics for a text reference indicates a singular reading. At the end of each section a brief summary is given of the total variants in the respective types of MSS.

Variants in the Older MSS

1:15c قلم لمحة [حملت بم] P6 / NT

1:15c in P6 is an interesting variant, though without any support from the four texts, the Hebrew, Targum, Greek, or Syrohexapla, or from the Syrian authors. It may be a scribal error (bringing it in from another context), or typical of the "wilder" text of the Old Syriac. The exact words are found in the Peshitta text of Rom 3:15, but are there related to "feet" rather than to "hands"—a telescoping of the similar wording found in Is 59:7, where the exact words appear in the Syrohexapla. See also the mention of this variant in Part III, the section on NT quotations of Is.

2:3a پیا P6 S1, 2, 4, 5-1 / Eph Op Om II, 24

2:3a appears only in P6 and 4 of the Mt. Sinai Lectionaries and Ephraim. A synonym, it may well be an Old Syriac form, if not a scribal error.

2:3c ناب P6

2:3c, only in P6, a synonym, may be a scribal error or an Old Syriac form.

2:20c ناب ناب [ناب ناب] L6 (2) / (H T) G S

20 Ibid., p. XIII, n. 17.
2: 20c is an example of many where the Old Syriac form may actually be the wording in the Peshitta, the variant having only one (or in some examples a very few) MS with it, along with Hebrew, Targum, Greek, and Syrohexapla, but the vast majority of the MSS being with the Peshitta text base contrary to these. When the Old Syriac forms thus hide in the Peshitta text, they are impossible to designate safely.

3: i2a, a different form of the word, could be brushed aside as merely an orthographic difference. Appearing in the Targum and in Aphrahat's quotation, however, along with 3 early MSS, 2 late ones of the 17th cent., and 5 Mt. Sinai Lectionaries, it may well be genuine.

5: 4a, appearing in 3 older, 3 later, and 6 Lectionary MSS, also in quotations by Aphrahat and Ephraim, may be Old Syriac, though unimportant.

10: 9a could be a scribal variant in older, Massora correction, and later MSS, but the yudh in both forms may be the Old Syriac spelling, since all four texts and Ephraim have nun, as shown in Eph Op Om II, 38, supported by H T (G S).

10: 14h is found in F1 and the group of 17th-cent. MSS that
are close to it, and in Ephraim; it could well be an Old Syriac form of wording.

11: *יֵאָלְמָא (1) + וַּהֲלָמָא M¹ / (2) יֵאָלְמָא C¹ O² S¹, 2, 3, 4-1 / H G (S)

11: *וַּהֲלָמָא, though isolated in M¹, may be an archaic reading.
14: *וַּהֲלָמָא] F¹ P³ R², 3, 5 / Eph Oφ Om II, 43

14: *וַּהֲלָמָא occurs in F¹ accompanied by its small late group and Ephraim; it could be a scribal error or Old Syriac.
14: *וַּהֲלָמָא] F¹ P³ R², 3, 5 / Eph Oφ Om II, 44
15: *וַּהֲלָמָא] F¹ P³ R², 3, 5

15: *וַּהֲלָמָא contain a transposition occurring in F¹ and its small late group and Ephraim; either a scribal error or Old Syriac form of the text.
16: *וַּהֲלָמָא] (1) pr רַּה רַה R² (t) / (2) פָּלָמָא F¹

16: *וַּהֲלָמָא, 16: *וַּהֲלָמָא are each confined to one MS but share the same variant largely, occurring only in F¹ and one of its close associates, the text of R², in which the marginal corrections generally have the effect of conforming the text to the Urmia Peshitta type. It could be an Old Syriac reading, or a scribal error, the 17th-cent. MS copying it from the rather individualistic earlier one.

17: *וַּהֲלָמָא] pr וַּהֲלָמָא L⁵ M¹

17: *וַּהֲלָמָא is a common idiom which the scribes of L⁵ and M¹ may easily have brought in from elsewhere in the text or simply in their minds; or it may be the older reading.
18: *וַּהֲלָמָא] om F¹ P³ R², 3, 5 / Eph Oφ Om II, 49

18: *וַּהֲלָמָא is an omission by F¹ and its close late group and Ephraim; it could be scribal, or Old Syriac.

20: *וַּהֲלָמָא] C¹ L⁵ L⁷, 9, 10, 11-m M¹ P⁷-m P⁷-m R² R⁷, 8, 9-m / Eph Oφ Om II, 52

20: *וַּהֲלָמָא is attested in 3 older, all but 1 of the Massora correction, and 2 of the later, MSS as well as Ephraim. The transposition may be Old Syriac.
20: $3^a$ is identical with $20: 2^d$, but is attested by 5 of the older MSS and Ephraim.

26: $13^c$ is mentioned here because it is found in almost all the older, later, and Canticles (Psalter and Biblical Odes) MSS plus 2 of the Lectionaries, and Ephraim and the Targum. It could have been a scribal error, but is more likely a genuine older trace in all these, being with Targum.

30: $15^b$ is an omission in F1 and its small late group, plus M1 and P6 (uncorrected), and in Ephraim. It is perhaps a scribal error.

33: 7, occurring in three older MSS and in the text of R2 (the marginal correction being, as usual, the same as the Urmia Peshitta), as well as in Ephraim and the conjecturally restored Hebrew $ם(プ)ל$ (プ)אר, supported by the 1QIsa reading $םל$ ראר, is probably a piece of the original text fabric woven into the Peshitta by the Old Syriac from the Hebrew primary source. This is actually the highly preponderant situation, but is the kind that cannot be demonstrated and is here excluded, for the most part, in order to focus on the items of the contrary type that stand out against this Peshitta background.

37: $25$ is the support of the Targum and Aphrahat; it may be Old Syriac.
MSS, with support of the Targum, may be Old Syriac or just a scribal error.

43: 8b  يباه L1(2), 2, 5 / Syr Did 74a, n.

43: 8b, appearing in L5 and also in the second hand of L1 and in L2, as well as Ephraim and the Syriac Didascalia, is an addition that could have come in from Eze 12:2, either as a scribal error or as an addition of the Vetus Syra.

43: 15 P6 / Eph Lamy II, 105

43: 15 occurs only in P6 and Ephraim; this substitute word could well be an Old Syriac trace—or a scribal error.

49: 12b  يباه O2

49: 12b, the word יבאה in both Peshitta and variant may be Old Syriac, for none of the four texts has it or its equivalent.

51: 3b יבאה[ + sey. F1 L9-m M1 O2 P3 R5(t), 3, 5

51: 3b, both Peshitta and variant may represent the archaic text, since the four texts are completely different here.

51: 12 יבאה] om F1(t) P3 R2, 3, 5 / H T G S

51: 12 is an omission by F1 and its group and by all four texts; the words may be an Old Syriac trace hiding in the Peshitta.

51: 18b יבאה[ om F1 L4, 5 M1 P3, 6(t) R1(t), 2, 3, 5 / H T G S

51: 18b is the same situation as 51: 12; several more of the older MSS also omit the words, however.

55: 1c יבאה] om F1 R2(t) / Eph Lamy II, 155

55: 1c, the second occurrence of the verb, is omitted in F1, the text of R2, and Ephraim. It may be a scribal error or an old text form.

55: 13d יבאה[ L4 M1 P4 R6-1 S1, 2, 4, 5-1 / H T G S

55: 13d—again, the Old Syriac may be against the variant, with the Peshitta and the majority of older and other MSS; the four texts support the variant.

58: 1b יבאה[ F1 L4, 5 M1 S1, 2, 4, 5-1 / H T G S
58: $r^b$ may be another instance of Old Syriac hidden in the Peshitta, the variant being supported by some old MSS, the four texts, and some Lectionaries.

58: $r^b$, occurring in the entire group of older MSS, the vast majority of the later ones and the Lectionaries, and 3 times in Aphrahat, may well be a trace of Old Syriac text form; or—a scribal confusion of letters, but this could happen only in the Jacobite script, which was not the earliest script.

65: $7b$ occurs in $F^1$ and its small group of 17th-cent. MSS, plus the early $L^5$ and the Targum and Ephraim; it is probably a trace of the Old Syriac text.

66: $16$ is another case, probably, of the Old Syriac hidden in the Peshitta, with all the older MSS and Aphrahat, while the four texts, Ephraim, and some Lectionaries support the variant.

Thirty-six variants have been mentioned in this section. As for the remaining variants together with these, the older MSS and the fragments presented a total of 1490 variants, of which 182 (12.2%) were singular (5.9% of the 3049 variants from all the types of MSS). Three are supported by the Curetonian Old Syriac Gospels, 2 by the Sinaitic Old Syriac Gospels, and 10 by the NT Peshitta quotations of Is. Aphrahat agrees with 36 in his quotations, Ephraim with 222, and other patristic writers with 52.

**Variants in the Massora MSS**

20: $2^d$ was already mentioned in the preceding section.

35: $2^a$ was already mentioned in the preceding section.
35: 2⁵ [רִ֔מְרָ֖֚ס] + רַ֖מָּ֗כְּס שִׁמָ֥֖֚תָּ֗כְּס L⁷-m M² O¹, ² P¹, ², ⁵(mg) R⁴

35: 2⁴, 35: 2⁵ represent liturgical additions in Massora correction MSS and later MSS.

45: 1⁵ [רִ֔מְרָ֖֚ס] (1) om sey. F¹ P³ R², ³, ⁵ / (2) L⁴⁰-m / T

45: 1⁵ is a synonym, occurring in ¹ Massora MS and the Targum. It may well be a genuine old Targum trace here.

55: 1⁶ L⁸-m / Aph I, 2⁴

55: 1⁶ occurs in ¹ Massora MS and Aphrahat; this transposition is probably scribal.

56: 1⁰ שִׁמָ֥֖֚תָּ֗כְּס L⁷-m M² O¹ P¹, ², ⁵(mg) R⁴ / Eph Lamy II, 1⁶¹

56: 1⁰ occurs in ¹ Massora and several later MSS and Ephraim. It may be a scribal confusion of letters in Nestorian script.

66: 23⁵ מָֽמָּךְּס לָֽמָּ֖֚כְּס L⁴⁰-m / Eph Lamy II, 2¹\7

66: 2³, occurring in ¹ Massora MS and Ephraim, may be a trace of the archaic text, or the Massoretic correction may be from Ephraim’s text; similarly 66: 2², ³, where S⁵-¹ shows מָֽמָּךְּס, and S⁴-¹ shows מָֽמָּךְּס, respectively.

There are no other variants worth mentioning in the Massora MSS besides these 7, ¹ of which is duplicated in the section on older MSS. The Massora correction MSS contain, all together, 649 variants, of which 176 (27.1%) are singular (5.8% of the 3049 manuscript variants). One is supported by the Curetonian Old Syriac Gospels codex, and 5 by the NT Peshitta. Aphrahat agrees with ¹¹, Ephraim with ⁹³; one is supported by another patristic source, the 7th-cent. Livre de la Perfection (merely omission of sêyâmê).

**Variants in the Later MSS**

2: 4⁴ לָֽמָּ֖֚כְּס L¹, ²

2: 4⁴, appearing in 2 late MSS, is probably a scribal corruption from Mic ⁴: ³.
3: 12a was mentioned in the section on older MSS; likewise 5: 4a, 10: 5b, 10: 9a, and 10: 14h2.

13: 22b [om C1 M6 P1 / T]

13: 22b is an omission in the Targum as well as in 3 later MSS, but it could be a scribal error.

14: 10b was mentioned in the section on older MSS; likewise 15: 1b, 15: 1d, 18: 7e, 20: 2d, and 20: 3a.

22: 12a [om P4 / Eph Op Om II, 56]

22: 12a occurs in a 13th-cent. MS and Ephraim. The omission may be merely scribal.

30: 15b and 33: 7 have already been mentioned among older MSS.

30: 32 [om P3 R2(t), 3, 5; Eph Op Om II, 73]

30: 32 occurs in the group of 17th-cent. MSS usually associated with F1, and in Ephraim. It would be an easy scribal error to make, or it may be the old text form.

34: 14a [om M2 O2 P1, 2, 3, 5 / Eph Op Om II, 78]

34: 14a, found only in late MSS and Ephraim, is doubtless a scribal error; it does not fit the context well.

38: 2b and 43: 8b have already been mentioned.

44: 25a [om O2 / Eph Lamy II, 113]

44: 25a occurs only in the wretchedly written O2, but supported by Ephraim; the addition of the pronoun to the participle, such a common idiom in Syriac, could have come into each independently as a scribal addition.

47: 8b [om R4 / T]

47: 8b occurs only in the 17th-cent. R4 and the Targum; it is an easy addition to be made from many parallel texts, so that it could have come into both independently.

55: 1c and 58: 11b have been mentioned in the section on older MSS; 56: 10e, in the section on Massora MSS.

60: 5b [om C1 L8(t) / Eph Lamy II, 173]
60: $5^b$ occurs only in a 12th-cent. MS and the second hand (14th cent.) of another, besides Ephraim; it could be a scribal error in Nestorian script, but these are Jacobite hands. Perhaps Ephraim and these reflect the Old Syriac form.

$62: 6^b$ occurs in $B C^2, 3, 4, 5 L^1, 2, 3, 6 L^8-m P^4, 6^{(mg)}$

R$^1$ R$^7^{(mg)}-m / (2)$ occurs in $P^1 / Eph$ Lamy II, 187

$62: 6^{b2}$, occurring only in the very poor late MS $P^1$ besides in Ephraim, is undoubtedly a scribal error.

$65: 7^b$ has already been mentioned in the section on older MSS.

$66: 8^a$ occurs in 3 late MSS usually associated with $F^1$, and in Ephraim. The omission is probably a scribal error.

$66: 13^c$ occurs in 3 late MSS usually associated with $F^1$, and in Ephraim. The omission is probably a scribal error.

Thirty variants have been included in this section, 19 of them duplicates of those in the preceding sections. The later MSS (excluding second and third hands) contain all together 5077 variants, of which 744 (14.7%) are singular (24.1% of the 3049 total manuscript variants). The Curetonian Old Syriac agrees with 3, the Sinai Syriac with 4, and the NT Peshitta with 35. Aphrahat's reading supports 87, Ephraim's, 626, and other patristic writers', 96. Summarizing the general MSS (older, fragments, and later), they contain 6567 occurrences of variants, 926 of them (14.1%) singular (30.4% of the 3049). The Curetonian supports 6 occurrences, the Sinai Syriac 6, and the NT, 46. Aphrahat supports 123 times, Ephraim, 848 times, and others give 148 instances of support.

**Variants in the Lectionaries**

1: $3^b$ occurs in $S^1, 2, 4, 5^1 / Eph Op Om III, 216; Jac Ed 265$

1: $3^d$ occurs in $P^6 / (2)$ occurs in $S^1, 2, 4, 5^1 / Eph Op Om III, 216; Jac Ed 265$

1: $3^b$ and 1: $3^{d2}$ are a transposition confined to 4 Mt. Sinai
Lectionaries, besides Ephraim and Jacob of Edessa. It is probably the Old Syriac text form.

2: 3a and 3: 12a have already been mentioned in the section on older MSS.

5: 1a ,json 6:/ (1) om S5-1 / (2) 6/ S1, 2, 3, 4-1 / Ish VI, 95; Dion I, 336

5: 1a2 is confined to 4 Mt. Sinai Lectionaries besides Isho'dad and Dionysius bar Şalibi, who copies from him. The insertion of the word is a later Syriac characteristic, doubtless not in the Old Syriac text.

5: 4a has already been mentioned in the section on older MSS.

5: 21 6:/ L12-1 R8-1

5: 21, in 2 13th-cent. Lectionaries, is without support but is possibly an Old Syriac reading, or merely scribal.

6: 6 6:/ (1) pr C5 / (T G) / (2) 6:/ S1, 2, 4, 5-1 / (T)

6: 6a is limited to 4 Mt. Sinai Lectionaries and the Targum, although the latter uses a different root in Pa'el form, with the same meaning. This may be a trace of the Old Syriac preserved in the Lectionaries, Targum influence being only the insertion of the yūdh.

8: 4a 6:/ S5-1 / T / Eph Op Om II, 34

8: 4a, in I very poorly written Lectionary and the Targum, may be an Old Syriac form, though it could easily be a scribal error.

9: 6a 6:/ (Erech 59, 62)

9: 6a is in I very poorly written Lectionary, and the noun appears in the Syriac translation of the quotation by Erechthios; the synonym substitution may be a scribal error.

10: 18a 6:/ (1) om S4-1 / (2) 6:/ S5-1 / (T)

10: 18a2 looks like a scribal error in the very poorly written Lectionary, but it is partially supported by the Targum. It may be a genuine old form.
33: 16 vàm .quantum R\textsuperscript{6-1} / (T)

33: 16\textsuperscript{a}, in 1 Lectionary, could be a scribal change to another form of the same root; it is weakly supported by Targum, בֹּאַד הָרִי.

36: 1\textsuperscript{e} וְהָשַׁם] om S\textsuperscript{4-1} / Eph Op Om II, 80

36: 1\textsuperscript{e} is an omission in 1 Lectionary and Ephraim; it may be a scribal error, or Old Syriac.

38: 2\textsuperscript{b} and 58: 11\textsuperscript{b} have already been mentioned in the section on older MSS.

62: 4\textsuperscript{a} וַיִּשָּׁמֵר] om S\textsuperscript{4-1} / Eph Lamy II, 185

62: 4\textsuperscript{a} is an omission in 1 Lectionary, not well written, and in Ephraim. It is an easy scribal error to make.

Sixteen variants have been listed in this section, 5 of them duplicates of those in preceding sections. The Lectionaries all together furnish 1989 variants, of which 322 (16.2%) are singular (10.6% of the 3049). Four have the support of the Curetonian and Sinaitic Old Syriac Gospels, and 28, of the NT. Aphrahat agrees with 44 occurrences, Ephraim with 144, and other patristic sources, with 119.

\textit{Variants in the Canticles MSS (Psalter and Biblical Odes)}

26: 15\textsuperscript{b} וְהָשַׁם] (I) וְהָשַׁם C\textsuperscript{5} / H / (2) וְהָשַׁם L\textsuperscript{27-0} S\textsuperscript{6, 9, 10-0} / (T)

26: 15\textsuperscript{h2}, confined to Canticles MSS and supported by the Targum, can well be a genuine trace of Old Syriac in these liturgical MSS.

26: 19\textsuperscript{e} הַעַבְדֵּךְ] (1) pr על S\textsuperscript{10-0} / (T) / (2) בַּעַבְדֵּךְ S\textsuperscript{9-0} / (3) בַּעַבְדֵּךְ ר\textsuperscript{11-0}

26: 19\textsuperscript{e1}, 26: 19\textsuperscript{e2}, the addition of the word "all," appears in 6 Canticles MSS and the Targum; it would be very easy for a scribe to bring this in from many parallel passages, no matter which word might be used for "inhabitants" or "dwellers," e.g. Is 18: 3.
26: ι9g ἄνατεμα] (1) ἄνατεμα R10-β S6, 7, 9-ε / (T) G S / (2) ἄνατεμα

26: ι9g1, the substitution of a different word, appears in 4 Canticles MSS, supported by the Targum, Greek, and Syrohexapla. It may be the archaic form; it could have given rise to the synonym in 26: 1gg2.

No other reading in the Canticles sections, Is 26: 9-19 and 42: 10-13, 45: 8, is worth mentioning, besides these 4. All together, the Canticles MSS present 374 variant readings, of which 47 (1.5% of 3049, and 12.6% of the 374) are singular. No support is found for any Canticles readings in the NT Peshitta quotations of Isaiah, nor in the Curetonian or Sinaitic Old Syriac Gospels. Aphrahat’s reading gives support to 1 variant, with 4 Canticles MSS, while the reading of Ephraim supports 7 variants, with 38 occurrences in the MSS, and the 7th-cent. Livre de la Perfection is with 3 Canticles MSS at 26: 9d (merely prefixing a waw conjunction).

General Observations

It is not possible to be sure in most of the cases presented above, whether a variant is a scribal error or a genuine trace of the Old Syriac text form. And many of the variants excluded here, such as suffixes, different prepositions, etc., may actually be genuine old forms. A variant that one would think merely scribal will often turn out, on checking, to have the support of one or two or all four of the Hebrew, Targum, Greek, and Syrohexapla texts; but this agreement may be accidental and a coincidence, and the variant where it occurs may still be a scribal error, according to the “Law of Scribes” mentioned earlier.

A similar case occurs in Lectionaries, where a variant seems obviously due to the fact that a new lection is beginning at that spot. But on checking, one may find that the word actually occurs in the text of the Syrohexapla, with the equivalent Greek in the Greek text from which that was
translated and thus influencing the text type of the Lectionaries. Such an instance is the prefixed מ at 49:6c, before מְלָא, shown by S¹, 2, 3, 4, 5-¹ and supported by G S, where a lection begins in the middle of the verse.

In several of the above references (2:20c, 51:3b, 51:12, 51:18b, 55:13d, 58:1b, and 66:16) the Old Syriac forms may be hiding in the Peshitta text. Other examples, not included in the 3049 variants from the manuscripts, may be the following:

9:12 מְלָא הַדָּבָר H T G; מְלָא הַדָּבָר S, where all the MSS studied are with the Urmia text.

II:14 מְלָא הַדָּבָר H G S; all MSS are with the Urmia text.

21:9 מְלָא הַדָּבָר om H T G S.

32:14 מְלָא הַדָּבָר om H T G S.

49:4 מְלָא הַדָּבָר om H T G S.

51:3 מְלָא הַדָּבָר H T G S.

51:3 מְלָא הַדָּבָר H T G S.

42:9, the four texts have the first two clauses in reverse order from that of the Peshitta.

This is not an exhaustive list, but contains only some variants that were noted incidentally, as the present investigation was not carried on in a manner that would expose all of these. Such a method would seem, however, to be one approach toward the Vetus Syra.

Following his presentation of similar targumic traces in MSS of differing ages and types, Vööbus remarks:

Nun beginnt im Lichte dieses Textmaterials etwas von der Entwicklung der Peschitta aufzudämmern. Einerseits sind wir jetzt imstande, zu erkennen, dass die älteste Gestalt der Peschitta viel "wilder" gewesen ist. Anderseits muss die Revision ihrer Natur nach viel einschneidender gewesen sein, als wir sie uns bisher vorgestellt haben.²¹

Wir stossen auf die interessante Tatsache, dass die weniger revi- 
diertem oder sogar die unrevidierten Bibelhandschriften weiterlebten, 
vervielfältigt wurden, und so noch immer den Einfluss des altpalästi-
nischen Targums verbreiteten, lange nachdem die syrische Christen-
heit bereits eine revidierte Textgestalt besass, und sogar lange nach 
dem Aufkommen mancher gelehrtcen und akuraten Übersetzungen.22

Variants in the Patristic Quotations

Concerning the variants found in the MSS, it was interesting to observe very many times in working on one of 
our sets of worksheets that one variant would be supported 
by Ephraim with Hebrew and Targum, and the very next 
variant that had any such support would have it from 
Ephraim with Greek and Syrohexapla, in completely im-
partial fashion. Speaking of the early commentaries, 
Goshen-Gottstein remarks, as an outcome of his studies, "It 
happens very seldom—and in rather unimportant cases—that 
these commentaries agree with an early manuscript against 
the prints." 23 Of the text of such commentaries, he states:

It cannot be said that any of the early commentaries, etc., con-
sistently quotes the Peshitta text verbatim from written copies. On 
the contrary, it is obvious that the early writers often quoted from 
memory, omitted parts of verses, and, of course, changed verses to fit 
their homiletic needs.24

More formidable is the problem that not seldom one is led to 
suspect that the quotation does not belong to the Peshitta tradition, 
but rather is based on a different tradition. These "free" renderings, 
in which the commentaries and homilies abound, may be interesting 
for the study of the problem of a possible O.T. *Vetus Syra, . . . *25

It is such variants that are considered in the final section 
of this chapter. Again, only those variants, in most cases, 
will be referred to that fall in categories 1-3, 4, 5, 6, 33, and 34 
of the types of variants and that have the agreement of the 
Targum only.

22 Ibid., p. 113.
23 Goshen-Gottstein, op. cit., p. 198.
24 Ibid., p. 197.
25 Ibid.
SYRIAC VERSION OF ISAIAH: II

1: 21² מִלְחָה יִשְׂרָאֵל Jn Ruf 551 / (T)

1: 21³, occurring in the Plérophories by Jean Rufus, has essentially the same words as the Targum and seems probably a genuine trace.

1: 22⁽c⁾ סְקַנְנָתָם Eph Op Om II, 23 / TG

1: 22⁽c⁾, Ephraim and the Targum agree on the different word; the Greek has both readings, conflating.

3: 3 אַתְנַמְנָא Eph Op Om II, 24 / T

3: 3, both Ephraim and the Targum have this substitute word. Other such variants are found at 4: 3; 5: 1⁽b⁾; 5: 14; and 6: 2¹⁽c⁾ (where both Ephraim and Jacob of Edessa are with the Targum, though they have a plural suffix, as the Peshitta has, while that of the Targum is singular).

6: 7 אֶתְנַמְנָא Anon 149 / (T)

6: 7, an anonymous author has the same word as the Targum, but makes it plural.

9: 7 ḫנְתָה Ish VII, 9; Syn Nest 233 / T / NT (Lk i : 33)

9: 7, the word of the Targum appears in Synodes Nestoriens and a quotation of Isho‘dad, also in the NT Peshitta at Lk i : 33.

10: 27⁽c⁾ סְקַנְנָתָם Eph Op Om II, 39

10: 27⁽c⁾ needs a little discussion. The addition of pluralization occurs in early, Massora, and late MSS. Ephraim, according to Diettrich’s Apparatus, and the Targum have “Anointed One” or “Messiah,” סְקַנְנָתָם. Diettrich, however, states a correction in his Introduction, calling it a typographical error for סְקַנְנָתָם.²⁶ The present investigator found Ephraim’s reading to be, in fact, סְקַנְנָתָם. Stenning has a footnote stating that the spelling מְתִיסָמ in the Targum is probably an error for מְתִיסָמ.²⁷ If this is true, it would bring the

²⁶ Diettrich, op. cit., p. xxix.
Targum and Ephraim to the same word, agreeing with the Hebrew. The late and poor MS P² has a marginal correction to the form רָגַרְגִּר, as Ephraim's really is.

14:12 רָגַרְגִּר Livre P I, 83 / T

14:12, the Livre de la Perfection has the same word as the Targum.

14:15 (a) תֶּבֶל Eph Op Om II, 43 / (b) רָגַרְגִּר Aph I, 189 / (T) / (NT) (Mt 11:12; Lk 10:15)

14:15⁵, 14:15(b); Ephraim's reading may be a scribal error, omitting the first letter and thus turning the form from an imperfect to an imperative, which also fits the context. Aphrahat's form is close to that of the Targum (דנ). The NT at Mt 11:23 and Lk 10:15 has רָגַרְגִּר.

19:17¹ רָגַרְגִּר + רָגַרְגִּר Evag 524 / T

19:17¹, Evagrius, in Syriac translation, and the Targum add the same noun. Likewise in 19:17² (אמרת) רָגַרְגִּר they have the same verb, although Evagrius makes it plural while the Targum's singular is like the singular Peshitta form. In 19:17³ (אמרת) רָגַרְגִּר the Syriac translation of Evagrius and the Targum again are alike, although this is outside the few categories selected here.

24:23 רָגַרְגִּר לְאָסוּר יִסְיָט לְאָסוּר יִסְיָט לְאָסוּר יִסְיָט Eph Op Om II, 60 / (T)

24:23, the verbs in the first two clauses are exchanged in both Ephraim and the Targum, the latter being characteristically expanded.

25:6 חַלְלָה לְאָסוּר Eph Op Om II, 61 / H T G S

25:6 may be an instance, like some mentioned in former sections, where the Old Syriac form is hiding in the Peshitta. Ephraim is with the four texts, opposite all the MSS (the variant substituting a different preposition).

27:13 לְאָסוּר לְאָסוּר om Eph Op Om II, 66 / H T G S
27: 13 may be another of this type, Ephraim and the four texts opposing all the MSS.

29: 10 [אָלַמְכָּה] Eph Op Om II, 70 (= L7-m) / T

29: 10 finds Ephraim with a noun derived from the verb of the Targum, and copied by the Massora MS L7-m. The Targum may have influenced Ephraim, or this could simply be a scribal error, omission of a letter.

29: 16 [אָלַמְכָּה] Eph Op Om II, 70 / T (וְעַשֶּהַ דְּנָיָה בִּידֵתְּהָוִאָו)

29: 16, Ephraim adds the words “in the hands of” like the Targum, which is, however, singular in form. In both this may be a corruption of the text coming from Jer 18: 6, where it is plural in the Peshitta and singular in the Targum (and Hebrew).

40: 7, Cyril 85 / (T)

40: 7, the Syriac translator of Cyril of Alexandria’s Homily 38 used the same verb as the Targum. The Greek verb ἐξέπεμψε could be translated by either this verb or that of the Peshitta.

40: 17 [a manuscript rather than a patristic variant: קָחֶה יִלְּדָה מָלָא שָׂסְבַּע לָא] om C8(t) F1 O2(t) P3 R2, 3, 5) is interesting from another point of view. As pointed out by Diettrich in a footnote,28 the words קָחֶה יִלְּדָה מָלָא שָׂסְבַּע לָא have penetrated into the Syriac Peshitta text from Ephraim’s commentary, where he had plainly marked them as explanatory by putting מ before them. His wording is: מ קָחֶה יִלְּדָה שָׂסְבַּע לָא.29

42: 22 [אָלַמְכָּה] Eph Op Om II, 93 / (T)

44: 22, Ephraim makes a verb on the same root as the noun in the Targum.

28 Diettrich, op. cit., p. 136.
29 Sancti Ephraem Syri, Opera Omnia (Rome, 1737, 1740, 1743), II, 87.
47: 12 is perhaps another instance where the Old Syriac form is hidden in the Peshitta, since Ephraim, with Hebrew, Targum, and Greek, is opposite all the MSS.

52: 1, Aphrahat and the Targum share essentially the same wording.

54: 1, Ephraim and the Targum both omit the word.

57: 1 may be another place where the Old Syriac form resides in the Peshitta text, as Ephraim and all four texts are opposed by all the MSS.

60: 1, Ephraim and the Targum use the same root in the imperfect.

66: 17, Ephraim and the Targum have the same participial form, in the construct plural.

66: 19, Ephraim and the Targum use the same verb, a synonym of that in the Peshitta.

66: 20, Ephraim's word is the Syriac form of the word in the Targum.

Thirty-three variants have been discussed in this section.
If no restrictions had been placed on the categories included here, only six more would have been included:

16: 8 ομ. ο Eph ὁμ Om II, 46 / T

24: 5 ἐστιν ὁ πάντα ἐστιν Οm II, 59 / T

41: 19 ἄρα τι ἐπὶ ἡμᾶς. Aph I, 913 / (T)

49: 9 (a) Eph Lamy II, 129 / T / (b) + ἐσεβήσθη Eph Lamy II, 129

60: 15 ἐστιν ἡμᾶς Eph Lamy II, 177 / T

66: 19 pr ἄ Eph ὁμ Om I, 559 / T (זֶרֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל

These consisted of a waw omitted, a preposition inserted, a plural form of the noun in one codex of Aphrahat and in the Targum, omission of a suffix pronoun in Ephraim and the Targum, the change from a feminine to a masculine verb form in Ephraim and the Targum, and the addition of a preposition Δ in Ephraim to indicate the direct object of the verb, corresponding to ἃ in the Targum.

After presenting a similar selection of variants in the patristic sources, supported by the Targum, Vööbus states:

Eine eingehende Betrachtung und Würdigung dieser Auswahl typischer Beispiele—und hier sind nur solche hineingenommen, die gegen die Peschitta, die Septuaginta und den masoretischen Text (im letzten ausgenommen nur ein paar Fälle) gehen—zeigt, dass diese Abweichungen einzig dann eine ausreichende und befriedigende Erklärung finden, wenn man ersieht, dass diese als echte Überbleibsel der targumischen Überlieferungen zu betrachten sind. Diese enthalten etwas, was durchaus den Stempel der altpalästinischen Traditionen an der Stirn trägt. Die verschiedenen Fäden des textlichen Gewebes der verlorenen Textgestalten, die uns in der patristischen Literatur greifbar werden—exegetische Zusätze, neue Ausdrücke, Abweichungen in der syntaktischen Konstruktion, und viele Minuzien—führen bei näherer Nachprüfung zu einem targumischen Textmuster, das die Peschitta einst getragen hat. So reichen die angeführten Beobachtungen dazu aus, um erkennen zu lassen, dass die altpalästinische Targumüberlieferung die Frühgeschichte der Peschitta noch weit mehr überschattet hat, als uns die vorhandenen Handschriften der Peschitta darüber Auskunft geben wollen.30

30 Vööbus, Peschitta und Targumim des Pentateuchs, p. 36.
One needs to remember also, however, the tremendous mass of patristic quotations that have been discarded as exhibiting strong influences from the Greek and the Syrohexapla texts, besides those presented in selection here. The Targum traces here set forth are very few in comparison, genuine though they are. The main body of Targum influence, doubtless, is still concealed in the Peshitta text, indistinguishable, at least by the approaches made in this study.

Since there are no extant fragments of an Old Palestinian Targum of the Prophets, one cannot specify that type of targumic trace in Is, but only targumic traces in general. Vööbus' mention of "this selection of typical examples" may mislead the reader to believe that the whole Syriac OT teems with these, whereas this is not an accurate picture of the situation.

Summary information concerning the variants found in the manuscript study is presented in the following Tables.

TABLE 1

Summary Concerning Variant Readings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MSS</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Percent.</th>
<th>Percent.</th>
<th>Cor</th>
<th>Mg</th>
<th>Hand</th>
<th>3rd Hand</th>
<th>Totals</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Older MSS</td>
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<td>11.9</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
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<tr>
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<td>12.2</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1517</td>
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<td>Later MSS</td>
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<td>14.7</td>
<td>24.1</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>5340</td>
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<td>Total General</td>
<td>6567</td>
<td>926</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>65</td>
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<td>27</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>666</td>
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<td>Lectionaries</td>
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<td>Canticles MSS</td>
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<tr>
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<td>48.2</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>9891</td>
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**TABLE 2**

**Distribution and Agreement of Variant Readings**

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<tr>
<th>Variants</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage of 3049</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In Lect. MSS only</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Mass. MSS only</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>1.3</td>
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<td>In Cant. MSS only</td>
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<td>1.6</td>
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<td>.07</td>
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<td>In Lect. and Mass. MSS only</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In Cant. and Mass. MSS only</td>
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<td>.16</td>
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<tr>
<td>In Funerary MS only</td>
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<td>.03</td>
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<td>Agreement with H</td>
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<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
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<td>Agreement with T</td>
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<td>15.0</td>
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<td>Agreement with G</td>
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<td>Agreement with S</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agreement with G Hex</td>
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<td>.72</td>
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<td>Agreement with Smg</td>
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<td>Agreement with Aph</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agreement with NT</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>.66</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 3**

**Mean Percentages of Hebrew, Targum, Greek, and Syrohexapla Agreements with Variants in the MSS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MSS</th>
<th>H</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>S</th>
<th>All 4</th>
<th>H-T</th>
<th>G-S</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Older</td>
<td>39.0</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>29.8</td>
<td>29.5</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>6.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Later</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>7.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mass.</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>18.0</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>6.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lect.</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>24.7</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>7.2</td>
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TABLE 4

Summary of Evaluations of Variants

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<tr>
<th>Source of Variant</th>
<th>Scribal Error or Old Syriac</th>
<th>Scribal Error</th>
<th>Old Syriac</th>
<th>Old Syriac in Peshitta</th>
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<td>1</td>
<td>..</td>
<td>11</td>
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<td>11</td>
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<td>47</td>
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</table>

(To be concluded)