

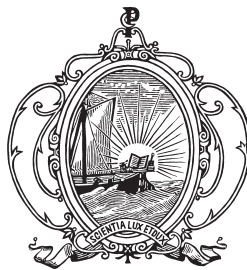
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Cappadocian Writers
The Second Half of the Fourth Century



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St John Chrysostom's Exegesis on the Prophet *Isaiah*: The Oriental Translations and their Manuscripts

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ABSTRACT

The article deals with the remarkable exegetical works ascribed to St John Chrysostom – the *Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah* (CPG 4416) partially preserved in Greek, the major part existing in Armenian translation only, and the cycle of six homilies on King Uzziah, '*In illud: Vidi Dominum*' (*Isa.* 6:1) (CPG 4417). Although the Greek text of both of them was studied comprehensively by J. Dumortier and their critical edition appeared in the early 1980s, the manuscript tradition of the Oriental versions – Armenian and Syriac, which provide important textual evidence, remains uninvestigated. The article aims to examine the features of Syriac and to some extent of Armenian manuscripts, which have preserved these valuable pieces of patristic thought, and to provide a preliminary solution for some historical and philological puzzles connected with the texts.

The Christian tradition has regarded the book of *Isaiah* as a prediction of the coming of Christ and has attached particular significance to it.¹ This approach follows the practice described in the Gospel text when Christ Himself chose to interpret the prophecy of *Isaiah* in a synagogue in order to proclaim that it has been fulfilled (*Luke* 4:16-21). The Evangelists connect many episodes in the life of Christ with the words of *Isaiah*. Along with the *Psalms* it is the Old Testament text most frequently used in the Gospels.² A large number of commentaries on the book of *Isaiah* were produced during the Patristic period. The main genres of exegetical literature were fairly detailed commentaries, brief scholia and homilies which were often more moralistic rather than strictly theological in character. An occasion for these latter could be provided by either a liturgical reading in the church or by a feast day in some way connected to the text. Some of these interpretations have been lost and we only learn about their previous existence from references in early Christian writers. Some have been

¹ I would like to gratefully acknowledge generous help of Nikolai Lipatov-Chicherin and Zara Pogossian.

² More on this subject see in Joseph Blenkinsopp, *Opening the Sealed Book: Interpretations of the Book of Isaiah in Late Antiquity* (Grand Rapids and Cambridge, 2006).

preserved in fragments in catenae or in quotes by other authors. Some are extant only in translations, yet there are those which are available in the original Greek.³

One of the most remarkable commentaries on the book of *Isaiah* belongs to St John Chrysostom. This commentary is a substantial work consisting of 64 chapters (CPG 4416). Chapter I to chapter VIII, verse 10 have been preserved in Greek, while all the remaining chapters (chapter VIII, verse 11 to chapter LXIV) are only known in Armenian translation. The Greek section was published for the first time, without translation, by Henry Savile (1610/12) – his Greek text was reprinted by Fronton du Duc (1616/21) with Latin translation by a Carthusian monk Gottfried Tilmann; in 1724 Bernard de Montfaucon undertook another edition of the *Commentary* as part of John Chrysostom's *Opera Omnia*, the second edition of his text was later reprinted by Jaques Paul Migne in *Patrologia Graeca*.⁴ A modern critical edition of the *Commentary* as well as its study was undertaken by Jean Dumortier.⁵

There are nine Greek manuscripts from the 10th to the 16th century preserved in European collections. All of them contain the 8 first chapters of the *Commentary* only, and two manuscripts – *Marcianus gr. 87* from approximately the 12th cent. and *Vaticanus Ottobonianus gr. 7* from after 1543 (the latter bearing witness of textual dependence on the former and belonging to the same group of texts) – preserved a final note, which reads: 'Up to here one finds this initial part of the [work] by the blessed and most holy Archbishop of Constantinople John Chrysostom presented in Greek characters, and from here it is [written] with signs (διὰ σημείων)'.⁶ J. Dumortier suggested that the word 'signs' (σημεῖα) indicates symbols used in shorthand record of the work, which would then reflect the long tradition of applying this term to tachygraphy.⁷

Indeed, one of the earliest examples of use of the expression διὰ σημείων is attested in Cicero's *Letter to Atticus* (XIII 32. 3; 45 BCE) where he uses this

³ See Mauritius Geerard, Franciscus Glorie, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* (Turnhout, 1987), 5, 126-7; *In Isaiam*.

⁴ *Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τὰ εἰρησκόμενα*, ed. Henry Savile (Etonae, 1610/12), 1, 1016-86; *ibid.* (Etonae, 1612), 8, col. 133-42 (notes by H. Savile, Johann Andreas Bose, Thomas Allen); *Sancti Patris nostri Ioannis Chrysostomi archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani, Homiliae et Commentarij in Psalmos Davidis, in Isaiam, et de aliquot alijs Prophetarum locis*, ed. Fronton du Duc (Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1616/21), 3, 640-767; *Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τὰ εἰρησκόμενα πάντα*, ed. Bernard de Montfaucon (Parisiis, 1724), 6, 1-95; 2nd ed.: [same title] (Parisiis, 1835), 6, 1-108, this edition was reprinted with supplement in PG 56, 11-94.

⁵ *Jean Chrysostome, Commentaire sur Isaïe*, ed. Jean Dumortier, SC 304 (Paris, 1983).

⁶ "Ἐως ὧδε ἐν ἑλληνικοῖς γράμμασιν εὑρεται ἐντεθεῖσα ἡ προθεωρία αὕτη παρὰ τοῦ μακαρίου καὶ ἁγιωτάτου τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου ἀπὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν διὰ σημείων, *Commentaire sur Isaïe* (1983), 11.

⁷ Jean Dumortier, 'À propos du Commentaire sur Isaïe de Saint Jean Chrysostome', *REG* 95 (1982), 174-7; J.B. Dumortier, 'La version arménienne du Commentaire sur Isaïe de Jean Chrysostome', *SP* 17,3 (1982), 1159-62; *Commentaire sur Isaïe* (1983), 11-4.

Greek expression (along with other Graecisms) which must have been well familiar to him as well as to his addressee.⁸ There is a discussion in literature (mainly, among German scholars of the beginning of the 20th century) whether or not Cicero's διὰ σημείων meant shorthand in this particular case.⁹ The polemics was summarised by Herbert Boge who concluded that the expression must have been used by Cicero in the sense of 'hints' rather than tachygraphy;¹⁰ likewise D.R. Shackleton Bailey interpreted διὰ σημείων in his edition of Cicero's *Letters to Atticus* as 'in abbreviation'.¹¹ Nevertheless the use of this Greek idiom for tachygraphy supported by O. Morgenstern, F. Preisigke and V. Gardthausen seems to be better reasoned and more plausible.

An additional argument in favour of Cicero's familiarity with tachygraphic signs is provided by Plutarch's biography of Cato the Younger. Here we find the description of Cicero as a consul having arranged Cato's speech in the Senate against the supporters of Catiline to be recorded by clerks taking shorthand notes, and even having instructed them in tachygraphy:

This is the only speech of Cato which has been preserved, we are told, and its preservation was due to Cicero the consul, who had previously given to those clerks who excelled in rapid writing instruction in the use of signs, which, in small and short figures, comprised the force of many letters; these clerks he had then distributed in various parts of the senate-house. For up to that time the Romans did not employ or even possess what are called shorthand writers, but then for the first time, we are told, the first steps toward the practice were taken' (Cato Min. 23, 3-4).¹²

⁸ 'Et quod ad te <de> decem legatis scripsi parum intellexi<sti>, credo quia διὰ σημείων scripseram', Cicero's *Letters to Atticus*, ed. David Roy Shackleton Bailey (Cambridge, 1966), 5, 176-9.

⁹ There were three main opinions: O. Morgenstern, F. Preisigke and V. Gardthausen clearly stated that διὰ σημείων meant here nothing but tachygraphic signs: Otto Morgenstern, 'Cicero und die Stenographie', *Archiv für Stenographie* (hereafter *Arch. Sten.*) 56 NF 1 (1905), 4-6; Friedrich Preisigke, 'Das σημείον', *Arch. Sten.* 55 NF 1 (1905), 305-12; Victor Gardthausen, 'Geschichte der griechischen Tachygraphie', *Arch. Sten.* 57 NF 2 (1906), 3-5. P. Mitzschke assumed that these might be digits: Paul Mitzschke, 'Zu Ciceros Ausdruck "διὰ σημείων": I', *Arch. Sten.* 57 NF 2 (1906), 227-8; while W. Weinberger proposed the meaning 'hints': Wilhelm Weinberger, 'Zu Ciceros Ausdruck "διὰ σημείων": II', *Arch. Sten.* 57 NF 2 (1906), 228. According to some other scholars, σημεία here might have had a meaning of cryptograms, Julius Woldemar Zeibig, *Geschichte und Litteratur der Geschwindschreibkunst* (Dresden, 1878), 26; Karl Faulmann, *Geschichte und Litteratur der Stenographie* (Wien, 1895), 13.

¹⁰ Herbert Boge, *Griechische Tachygraphie und Tironische Noten: Ein Handbuch der antiken und mittelalterlichen Schnellschrift* (Berlin, 1973), 43-45.

¹¹ Cicero's *Letters to Atticus* (1966), 179, 351.

¹² τοῦτον μόνον ὃν Κάτων εἶπε διασφύζεσθαι φασὶ τὸν λόγον, Κικέρωνος τοῦ ὑπάτου τοὺς διαφέροντας ὀξύτητι τῶν γραφῶν σημεία προδιδάξαντος ἐν μικροῖς καὶ βραχεῖσι τύποις πολλῶν γραμμάτων ἔχοντα δύναμιν, εἶτα ἄλλον ἀλλαγῶσε τοῦ βουλευτηρίου σποράδην ἐμβαλόντος. οὕτω γὰρ ἦσκουν οὐδ' ἐκέκτηντο τοὺς καλουμένους σημειογράφους, ἀλλὰ τότε πρῶτον εἰς ἴχνος τι καταστῆναι λέγουσιν, *Plutarchi vitae parallelae*, ed. Konrad Ziegler (Lipsiae, 1964), 2/1, 50; English text is quoted from *Plutarch's Lives*, with an

A similar expression διὰ σημείου can be found in a private letter of 27 AD (Oxyrhynchus papyrus 293), although its exact meaning here remains unclear.¹³ Later on, the word σημείον and its derivatives became clearly associated with tachygraphy. Thus, another Oxyrhynchus papyrus (724; 155 AD) being a curious example of a contract of apprenticeship to a shorthand writer, contains various forms of the words σημείον and σημειογράφος.¹⁴ Along with two other nouns, ταχυγράφος and ὀξυγράφος, the word σημειογράφος was widely used to designate a shorthand writer, as appears from the tombstone inscriptions from Eumeneia (İşikli, Denizli Province, Western Anatolia, Turkey) and Amisos (Samsun, Samsun Province, Black Sea Coast, Turkey) dating back to the 2nd or 3rd century AD.¹⁵ In some treatises from the Galenic corpus (e.g. in *De libris propriis*, *De praegnotione ad Epigenem*, and *De propriorum animi cuiuslibet affectuum dignotione et curatione*) one can find a clear statement (with minor variants) on tachygraphy: ‘διὰ σημείων εἰς τάχος ἡσκημένῳ γράφειν’ (‘to write fast with [shorthand] signs’).¹⁶ Finally, it is noteworthy that Diogenes Laërtius (II 48) uses the derivative participle ὑποσημειωσάμενος when describing Xenophon taking notes, presumably shorthand ones, of Socrates’ speeches.¹⁷

There are some pieces of evidence that tachygraphy was a form of preservation and circulation of some canonical and patristic texts. Socrates Scholasticus, Sozomen and others left numerous accounts on the work of tachygraphs taking notes during the debates at the councils and writing down sermons as they were pronounced by preachers, particularly by St John Chrysostom.¹⁸ The very title of Chrysostom’s cycle of 34 homilies on *Hebrews* can provide a clear evidence of preservation of his works in the form of tachygraphic record and its subsequent publication by another person. The title reads: ‘The Commentary on the Epistle to Hebrews [of Our Holy Father Saint John Chrysostom] edited according

Eng. trans. by Bernadotte Perrin (Cambridge and London, 1919), 8, 289-91. See also H. Boge, *Griechische Tachygraphie* (1973), 88-90; *Commentaire sur Isaïe* (1983), 12, ref. 1.

¹³ οὐδεμίαν μοι φάσιν ἀπέστειλας περὶ τῶν ἱματίων οὔτε διὰ γραπτῶν οὔτε διὰ σημειῶν... The *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, ed. Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt (London, 1899), 2, 293.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* (1904), 4, 204-5.

¹⁵ H. Boge, *Griechische Tachygraphie* (1973), 82-3, 132.

¹⁶ *Ibid.* 92-3.

¹⁷ Καὶ πρῶτος ὑποσημειωσάμενος τὰ λεγόμενα εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἤγαγεν, Ἀπομνημονεύματα ἐπιγράψας, *Diogenis Laertii Vitae philosophorum*, ed. Miroslav Marcovich (Stuttgartiae, 1999), 1, 126.

¹⁸ Alfred Wikenhauser, ‘Der hl. Chrysostomus und die Tachygraphie’, *Arch. Sten.* 58 NF 3 (1907), 268-72; *id.*, ‘Beiträge zur Geschichte der Stenographie auf den Synoden des vierten Jahrhunderts n. Chr.’, *Arch. Sten.* 59 NF 4 (1908), 4-9, 33-9; *id.*, ‘Kleine Beiträge zur Geschichte der antiken Stenographie’, *Arch. Sten.* 62 NF 7 (1911), 1-6, 57-64. See further discussion on the subject in the article of Nikolai Lipatov-Chicherin, ‘Preaching as the Audience Heard it’, *SP* 64 (2013), 277-97.

to the [tachygraphic] signs after his death (lit. 'falling asleep'), by Constantine, a priest in Antioch'.¹⁹ Likewise, the copyist of Chrysostom's *Commentary on Isaiah*, who left the above-mentioned note, most probably used the expression *διὰ σημείων* to refer to a shorthand record. But this conclusion still leaves some questions which we'll discuss below.

The Armenian translation of the *Commentary* was published in 1880 on the basis of a considerably damaged manuscript on cotton paper written in 'middle erkat'agir' of approximately the 12th century, which was said to be preserved in the Mekhitarists' collection in Venice (Saint Lazarus Island in the Venetian Lagoon).²⁰ The manuscript is mutilated, lacking the introduction, chapters I 1 – II 1; XXI 2 – XXX 5, and the final chapters LXV – LXVI. Three other manuscripts from the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem containing different parts of the *Commentary* became later known and filled some lacunae in the previously published text.²¹ Few years after the first edition A. Tiroyan published the Latin translation of the whole *Commentary* (with the exception of chapters XXI 2 – XXX 5 and LXV – LXVI) having borrowed the Latin text of I 1 – VIII 10 from Montfaucon's edition.²² Following the Mekhitarists's notes in the edition of the *Commentary*, N. Akinian showed that the Armenian text is quite archaic and goes back to the 5th century.²³

¹⁹ [Τοῦ ἐν ἀγίοις Πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου ἀρχιεπισκόπου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου] ἐρμηνεῖα εἰς τὴν πρὸς Ἑβραίους Ἐπιστολήν, ἐκτεθεῖσα ἀπὸ σημείων μετὰ τὴν κοίμησιν αὐτοῦ, παρὰ Κωνσταντίνου πρεσβυτέρου Ἀντιοχείας (PG 63, 9-10); see also: Jean Dumortier, 'Une énigme chrysostomienne: le commentaire inachevé d'Isaïe', in *Universitas: Philosophie, Théologie, Lettres, Histoire, Questions d'aujourd'hui*, MSR 34 (1977), 43-7.

²⁰ *Երանելիոյն Յովհաննու Ոսկերբանի Մեկնութիւն Եսայեայ ճարգարէի* (Վեներտիկ, 1880) (*Blessed John Chrysostom's Commentary on the Prophet Isaiah* [Venice, 1880]). According to N. Akinian, description of this manuscript is included in an unpublished catalogue of the Venetian collection, however for the time being I was unable to identify it in Sarghissian's published catalogue. See Basile Sarghissian, *Grand catalogue des manuscrits arméniens de la bibliothèque des PP. Mekhitaristes de Saint-Lazare*, vol. 2 (Venise, 1924) (in Armenian).

²¹ MSS 327 (Maku, 1406 AD), 1853 (no date), and 2837 (Calcutta, 1847 AD); Norair Bogharian, *Grand Catalogue of St James Manuscripts* (Jerusalem, 1967) (in Armenian), 2, 200-1 (MS 327); *ibid.* (1972), 6, 236-8 (MS 1853); *ibid.* (1979), 9, 50-1 (MS 2837); see also [Anon.], 'Անտիպ մասեր Ոսկերբանի Եսայեայ ոսկեղարեան բարգմանութենէն', *Սիոն* 7 (1933) ('Unpublished parts of the Golden Age [i.e. 5th century – N.S.] translation of Chrysostom's [Commentary] on Isaiah', *Sion* 7 [1933]), 330-7; Արգ. Աւետիսեան, 'Յովհաննու Ոսկերբանի Եսայեայ մեկնութեան հայ բարգմանութեան նորագիտ մասը...', *Սիոն* 9 (1935) (Abg. Avetisean, 'The newly discovered part of John Chrysostom's Commentary on Isaiah', *Sion* 9 [1935]), 21-24; *Commentaire sur Isaïe* (1983), 12-3, n. 2

²² *In Isaiaim prophetam interpretatio nunc primum ex Armenio in Latinum sermonem a patribus Mekitharistis translata* (Venetiis, 1887).

²³ Ներսէս Ակինեան, 'Յովհաննու Ոսկերբանի Եսայեայ Մեկնութիւնը հայ մատենագրութեան մէջ', *Handes Amsorya, ZAPh* 48 (1934), 43-55; summary: Nerses Akinian, 'Des hl. Johannes Chrysostomus Kommentar zu Isaias in der armenischen Literatur', *ibid.*, 96; *Commentaire sur Isaïe* (1983), 14.

The problem of authenticity of the Armenian section of Chrysostom's *Commentary* became a subject of discussion soon after its publication. In 1900 Prof. Ivan Troitskiy of the St Petersburg Ecclesiastical Academy wrote in his introduction to the Russian translation of the entire work of Chrysostom that the two parts of the *Commentary* were not composed simultaneously.²⁴ Already Le Nain de Tillemont and Montfaucon assumed that its first section was composed by Chrysostom in the time before his priesthood, *i.e.* before 386 AD.²⁵ Troitskiy suggested that Chrysostom stopped this work after his ordination and returned to it many years afterwards, during his exile to Asia Minor in 404-407.

According to Troitskiy, the authenticity of the entire *Commentary* is unquestionable. There are features in the Armenian section which are very characteristic of indisputable works of Chrysostom, such as criticism of heretics – Eunomius and Macedonius, of Judaism, and also of luxury, riches, as well as profligacy and other sins. There are some common places in the *Commentary* and Chrysostom's homilies on *Matthew* and *Epistles of St. Paul*. The opinion was shared by L. Dieu who came to the same conclusion on the authorship of the *Commentary* in 1914 (although his article was published in 1921).²⁶ Dieu paid special attention to the exegetical method of Chrysostom, which is more elaborate in the Armenian section where Chrysostom uses widely the versions of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion as well as the Hebrew Bible. This means, first, that he might have had Origen's *Hexapla* at hand, and second, that he considerably developed his method of exegesis and acquired more experience in it.

Jean Dumortier in his articles as well as in the critical edition of the Greek section expresses a doubt about the authenticity of the Armenian part.²⁷ His main argument is a note found in the Venetian Armenian manuscript after chapter VIII 10: 'Up to here we have found the writing of blessed John in his own hand in Greek'.²⁸ According to Dumortier, this is a partial translation of the note found in the two Greek manuscripts (although it doesn't include its second part with the key expression 'διὰ σημείων') indicating that the *Commentary* after VIII 10 was preserved in the form of shorthand record in the Greek protograph, just like the exegetical homilies on the *Epistle to Hebrews*.

²⁴ Творения святого отца нашего Иоанна Златоуста, архиепископа Константинопольского, в русском переводе (С.-Петербург, 1900) (*The Works of Our Holy Father Saint John Chrysostom Translated into Russian* [St Petersburg, 1900]), 6, 1, V-VIII.

²⁵ Louis-Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles* (Paris, 1706), 11, 90; 'Ιωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τὰ εὐρισκόμενα πάντα (1835), 6, II.

²⁶ L. Dieu, 'Le commentaire arménien de S. Jean Chrysostome sur Isaïe (ch. VIII-LXIV) est-il authentique?', *RHE* 17 (1921), 7-30.

²⁷ J.B. Dumortier, 'La version arménienne' (1982), 1162; *Commentaire sur Isaïe* (1983), 11-4.

²⁸ 'Մինչև ցայսպայր գտաք իւրով ձեռով գրեալ Երանելոյն Յոհաննու (sic! – N.S.) յունարիւն:՝, Յովհաննու Ոսկերբանի Մեկնութիւն (1880), 102. 'Hactenus invenimus scriptum graece ipsismet manibus S. Joannis Chrysostomi', *In Isaïam prophetam interpretatio* (1887), 123.

However, unlike the latter, the *Commentary on Isaiah VIII 10 – LXVI* remained unknown and unpublished in the Greek tradition and there is no other evidence of survival of its Greek text in any form (either shorthand or not). It seems to me doubtful that no one took responsibility and was able to transcribe and publish this important exegetical work of such an authority as John Chrysostom, which circulated in the form of shorthand record. It should also be pointed out that, as far as I am aware, neither part of the *Commentary* exists in Syriac translation.

On the other hand, the full text of the *Commentary* was well known to the medieval Armenian writers such as David K'obayrec'i (12th cent.) and George of Skevra, or Skevrac'i (13th cent.) who quoted and used it substantially in their catenae and commentaries on *Isaiah*.²⁹ At the time of his exile in Cucusus when Chrysostom most probably wrote or dictated the second part of his *Commentary*, he could have lived in the Armenian-speaking environment. Soon after the completion of his work it subsequently could have been brought down to Armenia where it was translated in the course of the 5th century, probably by Eznik Kolbac'i.³⁰ As a result both the early section and the later one were preserved in Armenian translation. It is notable that this was exactly during the period of Chrysostom's exile that Mesrop Maštoc' has undertaken his expedition to Northern Mesopotamia and presumably created the Armenian alphabet there. Thus it is difficult to say whether the Armenians used the newly introduced letters of Mesrop's alphabet or another writing system, which was in use before the creation of the new alphabet. We can surmise that the protograph of those Greek manuscripts which contain the note and are textually separated as a particular group could have originated in the Armenian milieu and contained both the Greek text of chapters I 1 – VIII 10 and a record of the *Commentary* from the chapter VIII 11 onwards made by Armenians in whatever script they were using at that period and which they could easily decipher. A later Greek copyist unfamiliar with these letters could have interpreted them as regular tachygraphic signs (which he apparently didn't know either), thus creating certain confusion. However, without thorough study of the Armenian manuscripts containing the text of the *Commentary* it is not possible to make any definitive conclusions.

Closely related to the *Commentary on Isaiah* are John Chrysostom's six homilies on king Uzziah, properly entitled '*In illud: Vidi Dominum*', or in full, '*On the words "In the year that king Uzziah died I saw the Lord sitting upon the throne high and lifted up" (Isa. 6:1)*' (CPG 4417). The original Greek text

²⁹ These works can be found, in particular, in manuscripts 1758 (1281 AD) and 365 (1299 AD) from St James's Monastery (the Library of the Armenian Patriarchate) in Jerusalem. See William F. Macomber, *Final Inventory of the Microfilmed Manuscripts of the St James Monastery*, Jerusalem (Provo, 1995). See also L. Dieu, 'Le commentaire arménien' (1921), 12.

³⁰ Mesrop Djanachian, 'Les arménistes et les mékhitaristes', in *Armeniaca: Mélanges d'études arméniennes publiés à l'occasion du 250^e anniversaire de l'entrée des pères mekhitaristes dans l'île de Saint-Lazare (1717-1967)* (Venise, 1969), 409.

of all the six homilies has fortunately survived in a number of manuscripts from the 9th to the 16th century. The *editio princeps* was produced by H. Savile (1611/1612); the next edition prepared by F. du Duc included the Greek text of Savile as well as the Latin translation of the homilies by Erasmus (homilies 1-5) and the editor himself (homily 6); the next considerable edition was prepared by B. de Montfaucon (1724) and his text was included in the PG.³¹ The critical edition was undertaken by J. Dumortier in 1981.³² Although the homilies are quite well-studied, there still remain some textual problems in them.

Researching textual history of the cycle, Dumortier highlighted three layers, or stages, in accordance with the original quantity and sequence of the homilies. The initial layer consisted of four homilies: 2, 3, 5, and 6 which were pronounced in Antioch in the course of 386-387 AD, as it was demonstrated by Le Nain de Tillemont.³³ This archaic tradition is attested by the Armenian translation of the 5th century. Intermediate or second layer is characterised by adding homily 1 to the original collection of four homilies, although this stage is purely hypothetical as it has no surviving manuscript evidence. The third and final layer is represented by all known Greek manuscripts as they contain six homilies: 2, 3, 5, 6 plus 1 and 4, though their order differs.³⁴

Dumortier's reconstruction of the earliest stage in the textual history of the homilies is based on the evidence of the Armenian translation. The text of all four sermons along with some other Chrysostom's homilies was published by the Mekhitarists in 1861.³⁵ The order of the homilies on Uzziah here follows that of Montfaucon's edition which is also evident from the concordance in the end of book (p. [920-921]). Dumortier mentions three manuscripts in Venice which became the basis of the 1861 edition.³⁶ Although the language features of the translation may place it in the 5th century, the possibility that the manuscripts themselves can be dated to such an early date should be ruled out. The earliest dated Armenian manuscript is from 862 AD (Four Gospels, the Mekhitarists' collection, Venice), and it is highly probable that undated early manuscripts and fragments, for the most part, belong to the time no earlier than the 9th century (with the exception of the newly rediscovered Greek-Armenian

³¹ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τὰ ἐβρισκόμενα (1611/1612), 5, 127-60; *Ioannis Chrysostomi... Homiliae et Commentarij* (1616/21), 3, 833-94; Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τὰ ἐβρισκόμενα πάντα (1724), 6, 94-144; 2nd ed.: [same title] (1835), 6, 110-66; reprinted in: PG 56, 97-142.

³² *Jean Chrysostome, Homélie sur Ozias (In illud, Vidi Dominum)*, ed. by Jean Dumortier, SC 277 (Paris, 1981).

³³ Le Nain de Tillemont, *Mémoires* (1706), 11, 39-42, 559-61 (n. 16-7).

³⁴ *Homélie sur Ozias* (1981), 30-1. See also Jean Dumortier, 'Les homélie sur Ozias *In illud Vidi Dominum* PG LVI 97-142', *SP* 12 (1975), 284-93.

³⁵ Յովհաննու Ոսկերչեանի Կոստանդնուպօլսի Էպիսկոպոսապետի ճանք, [ed. by Լեւոնդ Մ. Ալիշան] (Վենետիկ, 1861) (*Sermons of John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople* [Venice, 1861]), 385-422.

³⁶ *Homélie sur Ozias* (1981), 20, 30-1.

papyrus from approximately the 6th century).³⁷ In the catalogue of manuscripts in the Mekhitarists' collection in Venice there are two manuscripts containing the homilies on Uzziah. One is No. 212 of the 13th century which contains homily 6 entitled here 'On the Seraphim and on repentance'; and another – No. 228 of 1847 AD (copied from certain 13th century manuscript) containing homily 3 'On the words which said: "The heart of Uzziah was lifted up"...', and homily 6 'On the words: "And [it] was in the year when Uzziah died" and on repentance' (see the titles from the 1861 edition in Appendix 1).³⁸ Thus the three presumably old Armenian manuscripts which include the text of the four homilies (2, 3, 5 and 6) still need to be identified and explored.

Another illustration of the initial phase in the history of the cycle on Uzziah is provided by the Syriac translation (neither mentioned in CPG nor used in the previous research of the homilies). I came across this Syriac text while working on the 8th century manuscript of the *Homiliae cathedrales* by Severus of Antioch dispersed between two manuscript collections in St Petersburg (Russian National Library, Syriac N.S. 10; Institute of Oriental Manuscripts, Syr. 35).³⁹ One part of the *Homiliae cathedrales* manuscript in the Russian National Library contains 24 leaves bound together in random order and among them I identified a leaf (fol. 24) written in the same estrangela script but with minor palaeographic differences, which let me propose an earlier date for this folio. On the other hand, the contents as well as stylistic features of a patristic text preserved on the folio proved that in no way it could be a sermon by Severus of Antioch. Soon it turned out to be the middle section of homily 5 on king Uzziah by John Chrysostom and it equally became clear that this leaf belongs to the late 6th-7th century collection of sixteen Chrysostomian homilies in Syriac translation (Russian National Library, Syriac N.S. 12).⁴⁰ This manuscript, in its turn, was bound together with a collection of homilies by St Gregory of Nazianzus – both of them were brought to St Petersburg by Constantine Tischendorf in the middle of the 19th century.

The manuscript consists of 169 parchment folios (plus one folio bound within a different manuscript) (264 × 170 mm). It contains three homilies on king Uzziah (2, 3 and 5, according to the Greek sequence) as well as six

³⁷ Michael E. Stone, Dickran Kouymjian, Henning Lehmann, *Album of Armenian Paleography* (Aarhus, 2002), 59-60.

³⁸ B. Sarghissian, *Grand catalogue* (1924), 2, 224 (No. 119), 447 (No. 55-6); see also J. Muyl-dermans, 'Répertoire de pièces patristiques d'après le catalogue arménien de Venise', *Le Muséon* 47 (1934), 287.

³⁹ Natalia Smelova, 'Palaeography and Textual Study of some Estrangelo Manuscripts in St Petersburg', in *Actes du 10^e Symposium Syriacum (Granada, septembre 2008)*, PdO 36 (Kaslik, 2011), 453-67.

⁴⁰ Нина В. Пигулевская, *Каталог сирийских рукописей Ленинграда*, Палестинский сборник 6/69 (Москва-Ленинград, 1960) (Nina V. Pigulevskaya, *Catalogue of Syriac Manuscripts in Leningrad*, Palestinskiy Sbornik 6/69 [Moscow and Leningrad, 1960]), 95-9.

direct connection with each other. In many cases the manuscript from St Petersburg adds some auxiliary words missing from that of the British Library – this mainly applies to the personal pronouns and the verb ܠܐܡܢ. Sometimes the gender of a demonstrative pronoun is erroneously changed from masculine to feminine (ܐܘܢ – ܐܘܢܐ); and there are variations in using adjectives, e.g. ܠܘܚܘܢܐ instead of ܠܘܚܘܢܐ. Such is the nature of the most variant readings. Judging by its contents, the homiliary from St Petersburg may be of Melkite rather than West Syrian origin and although its exact provenance is unknown it may well have been brought by C. Tischendorf from St Catherine's Monastery on Sinai.

The titles of the homilies are identical in both Syriac manuscripts (with the only variant) although they differ from those in the Greek and Armenian versions (the latter renders the original text very precisely, although it is difficult to say whether the titles as they appear in the 1861 edition were taken from manuscripts or they were corrected by the editors in accordance with Montfaucon's Greek text). A list of comparative titles (see Appendix 1) shows clearly that the three homilies on Uzziah (2, 3 and 5) in Syriac tradition were supposed to be placed one after another and testify to the initial phase in the textual history of the Uzziah cycle.

One of the most representative features in patristic translations is the way of quoting the Bible. The New Testament quotations in the Syriac text of the homilies do not correspond entirely to any of the existing Syriac versions, thus it is difficult to say whether the phraseology is more likely to follow the *Vetus Syra* or Pešitta – this can be illustrated by a free quotation from *John* 5:43 included in homily 2 (see Appendix 2). Both Syriac manuscripts provide a curious reading – the expression ܘܢܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐܘܢܐ ('in the name of my father') is rendered as ܘܢܘܢܐ ܕܘܢܐܘܢܐ ('in my name, [that of] my father'). However, in this case it seems to be a scribal error rather than a questionable theological interpretation.

The Old Testament quotations are even more fundamental and representative as some of them provide the subject for the homilies. The quotation from *Isa.* 6:1-2 in homily 2 corresponds to the Pešitta almost perfectly with the exception of one notable case. In the description of the Seraphim who are present and standing ܠܘܚܘܢܐ ('above Him') (Pešitta; *Isa.* 6:1-2), it is interpreted in the homily as ܘܢܘܢܐ ('around Him') in accordance with the expression κύκλω αὐτοῦ in the Septuagint and the Greek homily which renders the LXX text precisely (see Appendix 2). ܘܢܘܢܐ can be potentially understood as 'above it' (i.e. the throne), since Syriac ܠܘܚܘܢܐ is masculine. The only clue here is provided by the LXX text – as we read in the previous passage: ὁ οἶκος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ, then αὐτοῦ in the following verse should also refer to God rather than His throne.

Quite different is the character of quoting of the *2Chr.* (*2Paralipomenon*) 26:16, where the actual story of King Uzziah is narrated: 'When he [King Uzziah] was strong, his heart was lifted up to his destruction: for he transgressed against the Lord his God, and went into the temple of the Lord to burn

incense upon the altar'. Here homilies 3 and 5 follow two different sources rather than the Pešitta version of the *2Chr.* – first, the Greek text of the homilies plus the LXX, and second, the Pešitta text of *Ps.* 130:1 (see Appendix 2). Besides many differences in phraseology, one of the key words ἡ καρδία is interpreted in the Pešitta as ܠܘܐܝ (spirit) while everywhere else it is translated literally as ܠܘܠܐ ('heart').

The question of style and dating of the Syriac translation of Chrysostom's homilies on Uzziah can be approached using the criteria proposed by Sebastian Brock.⁴³ The translation is quite accurate and precise though the Syriac sentences do not follow the structure of the Greek ones – they are restructured quite often to such an extent that the translation may be characterised as close paraphrase. In the same time, the translation is not expanded considerably with the interpreter's own commentaries just like some other early patristic translations.⁴⁴ Thus I can suppose that it cannot be later than the 6th century and probably not earlier than the late 5th century (although this is a tentative dating). Another important question which is still to be examined is which of two textual families (established by Dumortier) served as a basis for the existing Syriac version.⁴⁵ At the moment the homilies on Uzziah were identified in two Syriac manuscripts only, although the possibility of finding another recension in unexplored manuscripts cannot be excluded. One should consider a greater number of manuscripts containing Chrysostom's other exegetical homilies, especially his *Homilies on John* where, as Jeff Childers showed it, reflections of at least three Greek recensions can be identified.⁴⁶

Coming back to the history and structure of the Uzziah cycle we can conclude that the Syriac tradition definitely testifies to the initial stage in the formation of the cycle which goes back to the late 5th-6th century when three homilies (2, 3 and 5) were in circulation all together, closely related to each other and in the only Syriac translation. The sixth homily, although it was translated presumably at the same time, was preserved independently. The Syriac manuscripts dating to the late 6th-7th century are the earliest pieces of material evidence for the text of the homilies as the Armenian manuscript tradition still remains obscure and needs further examination.

⁴³ Sebastian Brock, 'Towards a History of Syriac Translation Technique', in *III Symposium Syriacum (1980): Les contacts du monde syriaque avec les autres cultures (Goslar, 7-11 Septembre 1980)*, ed. René Lavenant, *Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 221 (1983), 1-14; reprinted in Sebastian Brock, *Studies in Syriac Christianity* (Hampshire, 1992).

⁴⁴ David Taylor, 'The Syriac versions of St. Basil's *De Spiritu Sancto*', *SP* 27 (1993), 105-12, esp. 110.

⁴⁵ *Homélie sur Ozias* (1981), 30.

⁴⁶ See the article by Jeff Childers, 'Chrysostom in Syriac Dress', *SP* 67 (2013), 323-32 (this volume), as well as some other works of this author, e.g. 'Chrysostom's Exegetical Homilies on the New Testament in Syriac Translation', *SP* 33 (1997), 509-16; *id.*, *Studies in the Syriac versions of St. John Chrysostom's Homilies on the New Testament: with special reference to Homilies 6, 20, 22, 23, 37, 62, 83, and 84 on John*. D.Phil. thesis (Oxford, 1996) (unpublished).

APPENDIX 1:
GREEK, ARMENIAN AND SYRIAC TITLES OF THE HOMILIES ON UZZIAH

[Homily 2]⁴⁷

Εἰς τὸ προφητικὸν ῥητόν· ‘Καὶ ἐγένετο τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, οὗ ἀπέθανεν Ὀζίας ὁ βασιλεὺς [εἶδον τὸν Κύριον καθήμενον ἐπὶ θρόνου ὑψηλοῦ καὶ ἐπηρμένου]’, καὶ ὅτι οὐ δεῖ χρόνον, οὐδὲ στοιχεῖον ἐν παρατρέχειν τῶν [θειῶν] Γραφῶν.

Ի սարգարէական բանն· Եւ եղև ՚ի տարւոջն յորում մեռաւ Ողիա արքայ՝ եւ երէ ոչ ժամանակաւ եւ զգրով միով զանց ասնել պարտ է զգրոց:

(‘On the prophetic words: “And [it] was in the year when King Uzziah died” and that it is proper to neglect neither the time nor a single letter of the Scriptures’).

Հ.ՈՒ ՔԼԻՈ .ԿԵՆՆ ԿՆԻԱԸ ԺՅՈՂ ԿՃԱՍԸ ԿՁՐՈՂ .ԿՆՍ ԻՅՐԿՂ ,Ո՛Ն ԵՒ Կ՚ԻՅՐԿԸ ԵՁԻԿ
 ԿԼ ԶԿ ԿՁԵՅՈՂ ԿԼՈ .ԿՔԵՆՈ ԿՁԻԸ ԶԵՆԻՅՈՂ ԿՁԻ ԵՒ ԿԼ .ԿՆԿՅԱՍԸ ԻՅԿԵԼ ԵՒ
 ❖ ՁՁՈՂՈՂ ԿՁԵԿԻԸ ԵՒ

(‘Also a homily on what the prophet said: “[It] was in the year when King Uzziah died” and that it is proper for us neither to leave out imprudently the time when the Holy Scriptures were made known nor to ignore letters (whatever is written) in them’ [variant in Syr. N.S. 12: ՁՁՈՂՈՂ ԿՁԵԿԻԸ ԿՆՍ ԵՒ a single letter in them]).

[Homily 3]

Εἰς τὴν ῥῆσιν τῶν Παραλειπομένων τὴν λέγουσαν· ‘Υψώθη ἡ καρδία Ὀζίου’ καὶ περὶ ταπεινοφροσύνης, καὶ ὅτι χρὴ μὴ θαρρεῖν τὸν ἐνάρετον, καὶ ὅσον κακὸν ἢ ἀπόνοια.

Ի բան Մնացորդացն որ ասէ երէ· ‘Բարձրացաւ սիրտն Ողիայ’· եւ յաղագս խոնարհութեան· եւ երէ պարտ է ոչ վստահակաւ յառաքինութիւն, եւ որքան չար է անբարտաւանդութիւն:

(‘On the words of the Paralipomenon which said that “the heart of Uzziah was lifted up”, and about humility, and that it is proper not to rely on [someone’s] virtues, and [on] how harmful arrogance is’).

ԵՁԻ :ԿՆԻԱԸՂ ՄԵԼ ԶԵՆԻԿԿՂ : ԶԵՆԻԿԿՂ ԻՅՅՈՂ ԻՅՐԿՂ Ո՛Ն ԿՅԵԼ ԺԵ ԵՒ Կ՚ԻՅՐԿԸ
 ❖ ԿՁԻՅՈՂՈՂ ԿՁԵՍ ԿՅԵԿՈՂ : ԿՁԻՅՈՂՈՂՈՂ ԵՒ ԵՐԿ ԵՒԿԵԼ ԺՅՈՂ ԿՁԻՅՈՂՈՂ

(‘Homily on the word said in the Book of Chronicles: “The heart of Uzziah was lifted up” and on humility, and that one should not rely on [one’s] righteousness, and on how strong the pride is’).

⁴⁷ In Appendix 1 the Greek titles are taken from J. Dumortier’s edition, *Homélies sur Ozias* (1981), 82 (hom. 2), 104 (hom. 3), 178 (hom. 5), 202 (hom. 6); variants are added in square brackets from the edition of H. Savile, *Ἰωάννου τοῦ Χρυσοστόμου τὰ ἐδρισκόμενα* (1611/1612), 5, 151 (hom. 5), 155 (hom. 6). The Armenian titles are quoted from the edition *Յովհաննու Ոսկերչեացիի ... ճառք* (1861), 385 (hom. 2), 392 (hom. 3), 404 (hom. 5), 412 (hom. 6); I also used Garegin Zarbhanalean, *Catalogue des anciennes traductions arméniennes (siècles IV-XIII)* (Venise, 1898) (in Armenian), 596. The titles in Syriac are taken from Syr. N.S. 12, fol. 84r (hom. 2), 88v (hom. 3), 96r (hom. 5), and Add. 14612, fol. 201r (hom. 2), 204r (hom. 3), 209v (hom. 5), 234v (hom. 6).

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