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# EVANGELION DA-MEPHARRESHE

INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

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# EVANGELION DA-MEPHARRESHE

The Curetonian Version of the Four Gospels,  
with the readings of the Sinai Palimpsest  
and the early Syriac Patristic evidence  
edited, collected and arranged by

F. CRAWFORD BURKITT, M.A.

*University Lecturer in Palaeography.*

VOLUME II

INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

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## ERRATUM.

P. 8, ll. 9, 20 for *Habibai* read *Habbib* (see Wright's *Catalogue*, p. xxxv)

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

CODEX <i>C</i>	Mk xvi 17—20 <i>followed by</i> Joh i 1—7	<i>to face</i> p. 7
DR CURETON		„ „ p. 16
CODEX <i>S</i>	Lk xix 32—45	„ „ p. 28
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„	Joh vi 30—41	
CODEX <i>S</i>	Mk xvi 1—8 <i>followed by</i> Lk i 1—3	<i>to face</i> p. 257

## INTRODUCTION.

DURING the greater part of the first nine centuries of our Era the language commonly used in the Valley of the Euphrates and the neighbouring provinces was the dialect of Aramaic which we call Syriac. The literary headquarters of the Syriac-speaking Church was the city of Edessa (in Syriac *Urhāi*), which also had been the centre from which Christianity spread in all that region. The beginnings of Christianity at Edessa are lost in legend, but it is certain that the new religion was well established there before the city was absorbed into the Roman Empire during the reign of Caracalla (AD 216). The political independence of the little state accounts for the early translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular of the Euphrates Valley.

About the year 420 AD the Gospel was extant in Syriac in three forms, viz:—

1. The present Syriac Vulgate, now called the *Pēshittā*.
2. The *Diatessaron* of Tatian.
3. A translation of the Four Gospels, called by the Syrians *Evangelion da-Mēpharrēshē*.

The *Evangelion da-Mēpharrēshē* (ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܐܡܦܗܪܪܝܫܐ, i.e. 'Evangel of the Separated ones') derives its name by contrast with the *Diatessaron*, which is a Harmony containing the substance of our Four Canonical Gospels arranged in one narrative. This Harmony, besides the naturalised Greek name *Diatessaron* (διδάσκαλος), was also called *Evangelion da-Mēhallētē* (ܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܐܡܗܠܠܝܬܐ, i.e. 'Evangel of the Mixed ones').

The main object of the following pages is to trace the history of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, and to determine as far as possible its relations to the *Diatessaron* and to the *Peshitta*.

The *Pēshittā* (ܦܫܝܬܬܐ, i.e. 'The Simple Edition') does not seem to have acquired this name earlier than the 9th century<sup>1</sup>. It is called *Simple* to distinguish it from the later versions of the Old and New Testaments made by Paul of Tella and Thomas of Harkel, both of which were provided with an apparatus of critical signs inserted in the text. The name *Peshitta* is never used by Syriac writers to distinguish the Syriac Vulgate either from the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* or from the *Diatessaron*, but the term is distinctive, and it is sometimes convenient to continue its use. In the same way we speak of the Latin *Vulgate* as opposed to pre-Hieronymian texts, although the term *Vulgata editio* was originally used by the Council of Trent to contrast S. Jerome's work with the new translations of Erasmus, Beza, and others.

The Peshitta is the only version now used in the Church services. It is so used by all branches of Syriac-speaking Christendom, whether Nestorian, Monophysite, Maronite, or Malkite. This fact alone is enough to prove that its general acceptance is older than the great split between the Nestorians and Monophysites after the middle of the 5th century<sup>2</sup>. In this version MSS of the Gospels are very numerous and a few are themselves as ancient as the 5th century, but they all represent the same type of text, the variations being considerably less important than those exhibited by the better MSS of the Latin Vulgate. There are several editions of the Peshitta New Testament, none greatly differing from the *editio princeps* of Widmanstadius or Widmanstetter (Vienna, 1555): a useful small edition was published in 1880 at New York and subsequently reprinted. A critical edition is now being prepared at the Clarendon Press by the Rev. G. H. Gwilliam, B.D., who has collated for the purpose all the oldest codices: of this edition, the volume containing the Gospels (called *Tetraevangelium Sanctum*) appeared in 1901.

The wide use of the *Diatessaron* in the early Syriac-speaking Church is undoubted. This work (to quote Dr Wright) "certainly gained

<sup>1</sup> *Pēshittā* is the pronunciation according to the 'Nestorian' System, which preserves the older sound of the vowels, as in *Talitha* and *Maranatha*. The Monophysites and Maronites say *Pēshittā*. The word is a fem. adj. in the 'definite' state, agreeing with *mappaktā*, i.e. 'Edition,' but Bar Hebraeus sometimes uses it by itself in the 'absolute' fem., hence the spelling *Peshito*. The form *Peshito* is merely an adaptation to German orthography.

<sup>2</sup> The Nestorian School at Edessa was finally broken up in 489.

great popularity in the early Syrian Church, and almost superseded the Separate Gospels. Aphraates quoted it; Ephraim wrote a commentary on it; the *Doctrine of Addai* (in its present shape a work of the latter half of the 4th century) transfers it to the apostolic times; Rabbula, bishop of Edessa (411–435), promulgated an order that ‘the priests and deacons should take care that in every church there should be a copy of the Separate Gospels (*Evangelion da-Mēpharrēshē*), and that it should be read’; and Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus (423–457), swept up more than two hundred copies of it in the churches of his diocese, and introduced the four Gospels in their place: τὰ τῶν τεττάρων εὐαγγελιστῶν ἀντεισηγάγον εὐαγγέλια.”<sup>1</sup>

The policy of Rabbula and Theodoret was only too successful. Not a single copy of the *Diatessaron* has survived in anything approaching its original form—that form, I mean, in which it was known to and used by Aphraates and Ephraim. The discoveries of the last twenty years have enabled us to determine with considerable accuracy the order followed by Tatian, but it is only here and there (and generally by way of inference rather than direct testimony) that we can reconstruct the actual text of the *Diatessaron*.

The chief sources of information about the *Diatessaron* now available are :—

(i) *The Commentary of S. Ephraim.*

This work is preserved in an Armenian translation, which has been printed in vol. ii of S. Ephraim’s Works (Venice, 1836). A Latin translation of the Armenian was made by the Mechitarist Aucher and edited in 1876 by G. Mössinger, but the passages quoted by Ephraim from the *Diatessaron* are more accurately given in an English version revised by Dr Armitage Robinson in Dr Hamlyn Hill’s *Earliest Life of Christ*, pp. 333–377<sup>2</sup>.

Some fragments of the original Syriac of S. Ephraim’s book, which moreover include a few important readings from the *Diatessaron* itself, are imbedded in later Syriac writers, notably the commentators Īshô‘-dād the Nestorian (fl. 852) and Dionysius Bar Ṣalibi the Monophysite

<sup>1</sup> Wright’s *Syriac Literature*, p. 9 : for further details, see Chapter 4 of this volume.

<sup>2</sup> Repeated in Dr Hill’s *Dissertation on the Gospel Commentary of S. Ephraem*, pp. 75–119. The pages of Mössinger’s edition, by which the Commentary is always quoted, are to be found in Dr Hill’s margin.

(† 1171). Neither of these somewhat voluminous compilations has as yet been published, but most of the quotations from S. Ephraim have been collected in Dr Rendel Harris's *Fragments of the Commentary of Ephrem Syrus on the Diatessaron* (Cambridge, 1895).

(ii) *The quotations from the Gospel in Aphraates.*

The Homilies of Aphraates were written between the years 337 and 345. In his numerous Evangelical references and allusions he never mentions either the Diatessaron or the evangelists by name, but it is universally recognised that some at least of his quotations are from the Diatessaron rather than from the Separated Gospels. This is notably the case with the rapid survey of our Lord's ministry at the end of Homily II (Wright's *Aphraates*, pp. 41-43).

(iii) *The Arabic Diatessaron.*

This is a careful translation of the Diatessaron from Syriac into Arabic made by the Nestorian monk Ibn at-Tayyib († 1043). It was edited from two MSS by A. Ciasca of the Vatican Library in 1888. A Latin translation was given by Ciasca, and an English one is to be found in Dr Hamlyn Hill's *Earliest Life of Christ*, published in 1894. Unfortunately the Syriac text of the Diatessaron from which the Arabic was translated had been subjected to a revision which very seriously lessens its worth for critical purposes.

In its original, or at any rate earlier, form the Syriac Diatessaron was very closely akin in its renderings to the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. The causes which led to this textual resemblance are the subject of controversy, but the fact is undisputed. Moreover the Evangelists were not named in the text of the Harmony. But in Ciasca's Arabic the text is conformed to the Peshitta, and every clause is labelled 'Matthew,' 'Mark,' 'Luke,' or 'John.' In other words the Syriac Diatessaron from which the Arabic version was made had been prepared by identifying the Gospel passages out of which Tatian's Harmony had been constructed, and substituting clause by clause the corresponding passages as given in the Peshitta<sup>1</sup>.

The three documents above mentioned supply our main information about the text of the ancient Syriac *Diatessaron*. The *Peshitta*, as has

<sup>1</sup> The Latin Harmony prepared by Victor of Capua, preserved in the *Codex Fuldensis*, was constructed in the same way out of what seems to have been a Latin text of Tatian's *Diatessaron*.



been already stated, is preserved in many ancient MSS, some as old as the 5th century. The third form of the Gospel in Syriac, the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, is represented by the two ancient MSS called *C* and *S* in the following chapters.

Besides these primary authorities we have to reckon with the scattered quotations from the Gospel in the scanty remains of Syriac literature before the second quarter of the 5th century. It is an obviously delicate task to distinguish between quotations from the Gospels and quotations from the Diatessaron, when (as often happens) the wording of the Gospel and of the Diatessaron coincides, and it is only in the case of the *Acts of Thomas* that we can be sure that the writer is using the Separate Canonical Gospels. The quotations have been collected in the present work, and are discussed in Chapter 3.

The main conclusions to which I have been led may be summarised as follows :—

(1) The Peshitta is a revision of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, undertaken mainly with the object of conforming the translation more closely to the Greek text as read at Antioch early in the 5th century. It was prepared by Rabbula, bishop of Edessa from 411–435 AD, and published by his authority as a substitute for the Diatessaron.

(2) The Diatessaron is the earliest form of the Gospel in Syriac. It was made originally in Greek, probably at Rome, by Tatian the disciple of Justin Martyr, and translated into Syriac during Tatian's lifetime, about 170 AD. As might be expected from a document geographically Western in origin, the Gospel text of the Diatessaron is very nearly akin to that of Codex Bezae (D) and the various forms of the Old Latin version.

(3) The *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* dates from about the year 200 AD. It was the earliest rendering of the Four separate Gospels into Syriac, but the translator was familiar with the Diatessaron and often adopted its phraseology. There is great probability that the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* was prepared under the auspices of Serapion, the bishop of Antioch who is mentioned in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, as having suppressed the apocryphal Gospel of Peter, and there is some reason to identify the translator with Palut, the third bishop of Edessa.

(4) In text, the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, so far as it is a direct translation from the Greek, reproduces for us the Greek text current in Antioch at the end of the 2nd century, a text of great critical value which is often very slenderly represented in extant Greek mss. But the use of the Diatessaron by the translator has often introduced readings which really belong to the texts current in Western lands. Moreover both *S* and *C*, our two mss of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, contain readings which have been assimilated to the Diatessaron by transcribers; and further, *C* represents a text that has been partially revised by later Greek mss.

## CHAPTER I.

### DESCRIPTION OF THE MSS.

#### CODEx C.

CODEx NITRIENSIS CURETONIANUS, called in this book *C*, consists in its present state of  $82\frac{1}{2}$  leaves in the British Museum, numbered Add. 14451, and of three leaves at Berlin, forming the fly-leaves of *Orient. Quart.* 528. The British Museum leaves are described in Wright's *Catalogue*, p. 73, No. CXIX. The MS came from the great Library of the Convent of S. Mary Deipara in the Natron Valley, west of Cairo.

#### *Later history of C.*

The preservation of *C* appears to be the result rather of a happy accident than of reverence for antiquity. Eighty of the surviving leaves reached England in 1842 as part of a volume of the Gospels made up in the year 1222 AD from various MSS of the same size; the other leaves of the volume were taken from copies of the Peshitta, and the binder hardly seems to have been aware that the text of *C* was different from the rest. The remaining leaves came to Europe as fly-leaves to strengthen the bindings of other books. The leaves thus used are *fol.* 53, containing Lk ii 48—iii 16; and the Berlin leaves, containing Joh vii 37—viii 19, Lk xv 22—xvi 12, xvii 1—23. Two more detached leaves reached the British Museum in 1847: *fol.* 52, the half-leaf containing fragments of Joh xiv; and *fol.* 72, containing Lk xiv 35—xv 21.

Of the earlier history of *C* we know very little. On the blank *recto* of the first leaf is written in a hand of about the 10th century the following note of its presentation to the Library of S. Mary Deipara:—

אֲנִי מִן הַכְּנִיָּה | וְהַכְּנִיָּה הַזֶּה הָיָה לְהַבִּיבַי | אֲנִי מִן הַכְּנִיָּה  
 וְהַכְּנִיָּה הַזֶּה הָיָה לְהַבִּיבַי | וְהַכְּנִיָּה הַזֶּה הָיָה לְהַבִּיבַי |  
 וְהַכְּנִיָּה הַזֶּה הָיָה לְהַבִּיבַי | וְהַכְּנִיָּה הַזֶּה הָיָה לְהַבִּיבַי |  
 וְהַכְּנִיָּה הַזֶּה הָיָה לְהַבִּיבַי | וְהַכְּנִיָּה הַזֶּה הָיָה לְהַבִּיבַי |  
 וְהַכְּנִיָּה הַזֶּה הָיָה לְהַבִּיבַי | וְהַכְּנִיָּה הַזֶּה הָיָה לְהַבִּיבַי |  
 וְהַכְּנִיָּה הַזֶּה הָיָה לְהַבִּיבַי | וְהַכְּנִיָּה הַזֶּה הָיָה לְהַבִּיבַי |  
 וְהַכְּנִיָּה הַזֶּה הָיָה לְהַבִּיבַי | וְהַכְּנִיָּה הַזֶּה הָיָה לְהַבִּיבַי |  
 וְהַכְּנִיָּה הַזֶּה הָיָה לְהַבִּיבַי | וְהַכְּנִיָּה הַזֶּה הָיָה לְהַבִּיבַי |  
 וְהַכְּנִיָּה הַזֶּה הָיָה לְהַבִּיבַי | וְהַכְּנִיָּה הַזֶּה הָיָה לְהַבִּיבַי |  
 וְהַכְּנִיָּה הַזֶּה הָיָה לְהַבִּיבַי | וְהַכְּנִיָּה הַזֶּה הָיָה לְהַבִּיבַי |

"This book belonged to the monk Habibai, who presented it to the holy monastery of the Church of the Deipara belonging to the Syrians in the desert of Scete, that God, abounding in mercy and compassion, for the sake of whose glorious Name he separated and gave this spiritual treasure, might pardon his faults and forgive his shortcomings and number him among His own elect in the day that His mercy cometh to life, by the prayers of all the circle of the Saints. Amen, amen!

"Son of the Living God, have pity in the hour of Thy judgement on the sinner that wrote this. Amen!"

Whether *C* was perfect when it was presented to the Nitrian Library by the monk Habibai we do not know, but there are some indications that it was in a tattered condition before the rebinding in 1222 AD. The table of the quires given below shews a large proportion of loose leaves, and some marks on *fol.* 75 v, 76 v, 77 r, shew that *fol.* 72 was once lying loose between 76 and 77, while at the same time *fol.* 79 was facing 75. The conjugates of *fol.* 77 and 79 are now at Berlin: no doubt they were loose detached leaves when they were used to strengthen the binding of the book in which they now rest.

After the rebinding in AD 1222 a few Church-lessons were marked in the margin, and a misguided person corrected some of the pages containing the Sermon on the Mount to the Peshitta text. But the original reading can in all cases be made out<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The only word which presents any difficulty is *כֹּחַ* in Matt v 39, where Cureton failed to decipher the original reading and edited *כֹּחַ* (the Peshitta reading) between square brackets. In Matt v 41 the word *כֹּחַ* has been entirely retraced by this late corrector.

## Composition of Quires, &amp;c.

The quires of C were arranged in quinions or gatherings of five conjugate pairs. These were originally 18 in number, but two of them are now represented only by single detached leaves and six have altogether perished. The original signatures seem to have been placed at the beginning of each quire on the lower margin, but so near the right-hand edge of the leaf that all have disappeared except that upon x 1 (now fol. 43 r), which is signed ܐ. The binder in AD 1222 signed the beginnings and ends of the quires with Syriac letters, so that e.g. the second quire has ܐ on fol. 9 r and ܐ again on fol. 18 v. The inner leaves of Quire II, now foll. 12-15, have been supplied by a late hand from the Peshitta. They are hardly earlier than the rebinding. The last leaf, fol. 88, is of the same period as foll. 12-15.

Original Quire and Leaf	Present Numeration of Folios	Contents	Headlines [on verso only]
I 1	lost	[Fly leaves]	
2	lost		
3	1	Matt i 1—	Title
4	2		
5	3		
6	4		ܐܘܪܝܬܐ.
7	5		
8	6		ܐܘܪܝܬܐ.
9	7		
10	8	—vi 21	ܐܘܪܝܬܐ. ܐܘܪܝܬܐ.
II 1	9	Matt vi 21—	
2	10		
3	11	—viii 22	ܐܘܪܝܬܐ.
[4]	[12]	[viii 23—	
[5]	[13]	(Later	ܐܘܪܝܬܐ. ܐܘܪܝܬܐ.
[6]	[14]	supplement)	
[7]	[15]	—x 31]	
8	16	x 32—	
9	17		
10	18	—xii 29	ܐܘܪܝܬܐ. ܐܘܪܝܬܐ.

*Description of the MSS.*

Original Quire and Leaf	Present Numeration of Folios	Contents	Headlines [on verso only]
III 1	19	Matt xii 29—	
2	20		
3	21		הכחל.
4	22		
5	23		
6	24		הכחל.
7	25		
8	26		
9	27		
10	28	—xviii 3	הכחל. כחללם.
IV 1	29	Matt xviii 3—	
2	30		
3	31		הכחל.
4	32		
5	33		
6	34		הכחל.
7	35		
8	36		
9	37		
10	38	—xxiii 25	הכחל. כחללם.
V—VIII	<i>all lost</i>	[Matt xxiii 25—	
IX 1	<i>lost</i>		
2	<i>lost</i>		
3	<i>lost</i>		
4	<i>lost</i>	—Mk xvi 17]	
5	39	Mk xvi 17–20,	
6	40	then Joh i 1–42	[No Headline]
7	<i>lost</i>	[Joh i 42—iii 5]	
8	<i>lost</i>		
9	41	Joh iii 5—	
10	42	—iv 10	הכחל. כחללם.

# Composition of C.

11

Original Quire and Leaf	Present Numeration of Folios	Contents	Headlines [on verso only]
X 1	43 <sup>1</sup>	Joh iv 10—	
2	44		
3	45		. הלמס.
4	46		
5	47		
6	48		. הלמס.
7	49		
8	50		
9	51		
10	Berlin 3 <sup>2</sup>	—viii 19	. הלמס. אסכילם.
XI—XIV	<i>all lost, except fol. 52 and fol. 53<sup>3</sup></i>	[Joh viii 19—Lk vii 33] Joh xiv (fragments) Lk ii 48—iii 16	[No Headlines]
XV 1	<i>lost</i>		
2	54	Lk vii 33—	
3	55		. הלמס.
4	56		
5	57		
6	58		
7	59		. הלמס.
8	60		
9	61		
10	62	—x 39	. הלמס. אסכילם.
XVI 1	63	Lk x 39—	
2	64		
3	65		. הלמס.
4	66		
5	67		
6	68		
7	69		. הלמס.
8	70		
9	71		
10	72	—xv 21	. הלמס. אסכילם.

<sup>1</sup> This leaf is signed א by the original scribe.

<sup>2</sup> *Orient. Quart.* 528, fol. 129.

<sup>3</sup> *Fol.* 53 was probably the second leaf of Quire XIV.

*Description of the MSS.*

Original Quire and Leaf	Present Numeration of Folios	Contents	Headlines [on verso only]
XVII 1	<i>Berlin 1</i> <sup>1</sup>	Lk xv 22—	
2	<i>lost</i>		
3	<i>Berlin 2</i> <sup>2</sup>		. <i>ⲗⲕⲁⲓⲁ</i> .
4	73		
5	74		
6	75		
7	76		. <i>ⲗⲕⲁⲓⲁ</i> .
8	77		
9	78		
10	79	—xxi 12	. <i>ⲗⲕⲁⲓⲁ</i> . <i>ⲗⲕⲁⲓⲁ</i> .
XVIII 1	80	Lk xxi 12—	
2	81		
3	82		. <i>ⲗⲕⲁⲓⲁ</i> .
4	83		
5	84		
6	85		
7	86		. <i>ⲗⲕⲁⲓⲁ</i> .
8	87	—xxiv 44	
9	<i>lost</i> <sup>3</sup>		
10	<i>lost</i>		

It will be noticed that the headlines are inserted on the verso of the 3rd, 6th and 10th leaves of each quire in S. Matthew and S. John, but in S. Luke they occur on the 3rd, 7th and 10th leaves. This fact, even apart from the preserved signature on *fol.* 43r, is enough to shew that the true order is Matt Mk Joh Lk, and not Matt Lk Mk Joh. No headline occurs on *fol.* 40 v, which (on the assumption that 44 leaves are lost between *fol.* 38 and *fol.* 39) is the 6th leaf of a quire: probably the title to Joh on *fol.* 39r was regarded as an equivalent.

Codex *C* in its original state contained the Four Gospels in the unusual order Matt Mk Joh Lk, the beginning of S. John following the end of S. Mark on the same page. The portions still extant are:—

Matt i 1—viii 22, x 32—xxiii 25<sup>a</sup>.

Mk xvi 17<sup>b</sup>—20 *followed by*

Joh i 1—42<sup>a</sup>, iii 5<sup>b</sup>—viii 19<sup>a</sup>, xiv 10<sup>b</sup>—12<sup>a</sup>, 15<sup>b</sup>—19<sup>a</sup>, 21<sup>b</sup>—24<sup>a</sup>, 26<sup>b</sup>—29<sup>a</sup>.

Lk ii 48<sup>b</sup>—iii 16<sup>a</sup>, vii 33<sup>b</sup>—xvi 12, xvii 1<sup>b</sup>—xxiv 44<sup>a</sup>.

The colophon at the end is not preserved, but a title is prefixed to S. Matthew which will be discussed later in connexion with the

<sup>1</sup> *Orient. Quart.* 528, fol. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.*, fol. 128.

<sup>3</sup> The present *fol.* 88 is a late supplement containing Lk xxiv 44 to the end of the Gospel.



colophon of codex *S*. There are no lectionary marks by any early hand or any numeration of chapters, but the text is divided into sections, a new line marking the beginning of each section. At present the text is divided into short sentences by red points, but it will be shewn that these were inserted by a later hand. The writing is a large and beautiful Estrangela, the work of a practised scribe: the freedom with which the curves of the letters are formed points to the early part of the 5th century as the latest date that can be assigned to the writing. The vellum also suggests an early date, as it is very smooth and exceedingly white where not stained or otherwise damaged.

Each page contains two columns of writing, vertical lines for which were ruled in the vellum with a fine point. As is often the case with ancient Syriac mss, horizontal lines were ruled only at the top and bottom of the columns, and the number of lines in a column consequently varies from 22 to 26. The usual number is 24 or 25. Each leaf is about  $11\frac{3}{4}$  in. by 9 in. There are generally only three words to a line. Headings and subscriptions to the Gospels are written in red ink, as is also the first word of each Beatitude in *S. Matthew*. The sign < is used in *Matt viii 17* and *Joh vi 32* to fill up the ends of lines accidentally left blank; in *Lk iii 11* the sign o is used for this purpose.

The text of *C* suffered very little from subsequent correction previous to the rebinding in 1222 AD. The words *ܠܝܐ ܕܐܠ* in *Lk xxii 56* have been added above the line, perhaps by the original scribe, and the word *ܐܠܐ* 'forsooth' (which is only met with in ancient Syriac writings) has been washed out in the three places where it occurs, viz. *Lk xvi 11*, *xx 17*, *xxii 70*<sup>1</sup>. In *Joh iv 35* *ܐܕܡܪ* (2°) and in *Lk ix 12*, *ܡܐܝܢܐ* have been cancelled with small red dots. The word *ܡܐܝܢܐ* is a mere slip in writing, but *ܐܕܡܪ* is apparently correct and should have been left standing. The same remark applies to *ܕܐܠܐ* in *Joh iv 32*, which has been washed out though it is read in *S* and the Peshitta in accordance with all other authorities.

Several other words and lines have been washed out by the scribe and then written over, owing to various ordinary accidents of transcription, but neither in writing nor in correction is there the slightest trace of the use of a second exemplar.

<sup>1</sup> In all three instances *S* has the word.

*The Colometry of C.*

The text of *C* is now divided into short sentences by a reddish-brown point, which is placed about as often as a comma or larger stop would come in an English book. At the end of paragraphs the same hand has added larger and more ornamental stops, substituting for the plain point or . of the original scribe figures such as ○○ or ○○○.

Where the paragraph ends a line, so that no room for a stop is left, the punctuator inserted ○○ ○○ ○○ between the lines, though frequently there was but little room for this, the original scribe having left no space vacant between the lines except where he intended a paragraph to end.

It is obviously difficult to fix the date of a scribe whose work is confined to mere dots; but a fortunate accident makes it clear that the dots were inserted after the sheets were already sewn, and that the hand was not that of the regular rubricator who wrote the occasional headlines. For the dots are entirely absent from *fol.* 48 v, 49 r (Joh vi 30<sup>b</sup>-53<sup>a</sup>). The only mark of punctuation visible when the book is open at this place is a single point at the end of vi 51 (*ܠܡܢܐܝܢ*), where the paragraph ends. As soon as the leaf is turned over the points begin again. Now this could hardly have happened otherwise than through careless turning over of two leaves at the same time: in other words, *C* was already a bound book when the punctuator was at work. Moreover he must have written *currente calamo*, with much the same haste as according to the common story the New Testament was divided into verses; we cannot imagine that he would not have found out his mistake if he had been copying the punctuation from another exemplar. Thus the colometry of the Curetonian Syriac represents nothing more than the individual judgement of a reader.

That this reader was not the rubricator of the ms appears from the fact that *fol.* 48 v is one of the pages which has *ܠܡܢܐܝܢ* written in red upon the upper margin as a headline. The colour also of the red ink is different, that of the punctuation dots being sensibly browner than the headlines.

The *recto* of the detached half-leaf containing fragments from Joh xiv is also without punctuation, but it appears on the *verso*. The same accident therefore of turning over two leaves together occurred here as well as in Joh vi.

For some reason which I am quite unable to divine the punctuation throughout the whole of the first chapter of S. Matthew has been carefully washed out. The result may be clearly seen in the photograph of *C* published in F. G. Kenyon's *Our Bible and the Ancient MSS*, facing p. 155.

What punctuation was inserted in *C* by the first hand is very difficult to determine, as most of the places where punctuation is natural have been covered by the red dots. A small black dot was generally placed at the end of paragraphs, e.g. at the end of Matt i 23, vi 23, etc.; in other places a slightly more elaborate stop was used, e.g. . . . . . Lk xiii 17; but often no room was left for any stop at all, e.g. in Matt xxiii 14 . . . . . comes quite to the end of the line<sup>1</sup>. There is a dot by the first hand at the end of the short interrogative sentence in Lk viii 45 (. . . . .), but if we may judge by the pages left untouched by the hand who inserted the red dots, the original scribe of *C* hardly gave any punctuation at all. This is very uncommon in Syriac mss, but much the same state of things once obtained in cod. B of Aphraates. Besides Lk viii 45, the only places I have noted as having stops certainly by the original hand are . . . . . Lk xiii 14 and . . . . . Lk xxiv 31: both instances occur at the ends of lines. On the other hand it is clear that no stop was intended by the original scribe after . . . . . Matt xv 38, after . . . . . Matt xvi 15, or after . . . . . Lk xxi 27.

In editing *C* I have inserted the dots of the punctuator, as they are on the whole a satisfactory division of the text. But it must be repeated that they have no claim to represent a traditional Old Syriac colometry.

<sup>1</sup> The . . . . . is here inserted by the later punctuator between the lines.

*Cureton's Edition.*

Codex *C* derives its name from Dr Cureton, who edited the text in full in 1858. The title of his work is *Remains of a very antient Recension of the Four Gospels in Syriac, hitherto unknown in Europe; discovered, edited, and translated by William Cureton, D.D., F.R.S....*: London, 1858. The three Berlin leaves form part of a MS bought in Egypt by Dr Brugsch the Egyptologist: they were edited by Roediger in the *Monatsbericht der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* for July, 1872, p. 557. A small edition of 100 copies was printed for private circulation to range with Cureton's book by Dr W. Wright.



Cureton's edition gives the Syriac text of *C* with great fidelity. His introduction contains much interesting and curious matter, then to a great extent new and unfamiliar, but now almost entirely superseded by the labours of two generations of Syriac scholars. Cureton's theory that the text of S. Matthew's Gospel in *C* retained to a great extent "the identical terms and expressions which the Apostle himself employed" (p. xciii) attracted a good deal of attention, but gained few converts: it is sufficient refutation to point out that Edessene Syriac is quite a different dialect from the Aramaic of Palestine. The same claim had been advanced for the Peshitta by Widmanstadius in 1555: *Ex quibus omnibus, he says, coniecturam non leuem capi posse arbitror, et Mathæum Euangelium suum, & Paulum ad Hebræos Epistolam sermone Syro, Hebraici populi vulgari usu trito, ut à Iudeis passim omnibus intelligerentur, scripsisse, eaque in Syrorum Ecclesijs iam vsque à temporibus Apostolorum conseruata fuisse* (Preface to the *Ed. Princ.* of the Peshitta, fol. *a* \*\*\*\*\*3).

CODEx S.

CODEx PALIMPSESTUS SINAITICUS is No. 30 among the Syriac mss in the Convent of S. Catharine on Mount Sinai. A description is given in Mrs Lewis's "Catalogue of the Syriac mss...on Mount Sinai" (*Studia Sinaitica* 1), pp. 43-47.

*Recent history of S.*

The Syriac Library at the Convent on Mount Sinai was first explored by Mr (now Dr) J. Rendel Harris and Mr Bliss in 1889, when Dr Harris discovered the Syriac translation of the early Christian Apology of Aristides. In 1892 the Convent was visited by Mrs Lewis and her sister Mrs Gibson, of Cambridge, who saw *S* among the other volumes of the Library. Struck by the antique appearance of the lower writing of the palimpsest, which they knew from the still visible headlines to be a ms of the Gospels, these ladies took photographs of the whole volume. On their return to Cambridge a few of the more legible pages were deciphered by the late Prof. R. L. Bensly and the present writer<sup>1</sup>. Early in 1893 the palimpsest itself was transcribed at Sinai by Prof. Bensly, Dr Rendel Harris and myself; on the same occasion some more photographs were taken by Mrs Lewis, who was also of the party. Our transcript was published at Cambridge in 1894, after Prof. Bensly's lamented death<sup>2</sup>. Mrs Lewis visited Sinai again in 1895, and transcribed some more passages with the help of a reagent: these were published in 1896<sup>3</sup>. In 1897 Mrs Lewis went

<sup>1</sup> It was not always an easy matter at first to discover from what part of the Gospels any given page was taken, and when that was done it was not always a page where *C* was extant and characteristically different from syr.vg. I remember that the first reading we made out where the photograph clearly agreed with the Curetonian against the Peshitta was  (instead of ) at the end of Matt xxiii 23.

<sup>2</sup> *The Four Gospels in Syriac transcribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest* by the late Robert L. Bensly, M.A., and by J. Rendel Harris, M.A., and by F. Crawford Burkitt, M.A., with an Introduction by Agnes Smith Lewis; edited for the Syndics of the University Press, Cambridge, 1894. I quote this volume as "*Syndics' Edition*."

<sup>3</sup> *Some Pages of the Four Gospels re-transcribed from the Sinaitic Palimpsest...* by Agnes Smith Lewis; London, 1896. I quote this volume as "*Some Pages*."

for the fourth time to Sinai, bringing back several corrections, which she published in the *Expositor* for August, 1897, pp. 111-119, and also a series of excellent photographs much clearer than any previously taken. Complete sets have been presented by her to the Cambridge University Library; to Westminster College, Cambridge; to the University Library, Halle; and to the Rylands' Library, Manchester.

Thus the editor of *S* has to take into consideration at least three publications, and he should also consult the photographs. In printing the text I have adopted the rule of silently following the latest published reading; when for any reason another reading is given, the reader is expressly warned in the notes. This chiefly occurs where I have succeeded in correcting the printed text from the photographs; in this way the text of *S* as now given differs in over 250 places from what has been hitherto published. The corrections are registered in Appendix III to the first volume of this work.

*When and where the upper writing was transcribed.*

The upper writing of the Sinai Palimpsest is dated in the year of the Greeks 1090, i.e. 778 AD (*fol.* 181 v). The determination of the place where it was written is of interest to students of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, as giving some indication of the home of *S* in the 8th century.

In its present state the volume consists of 182 leaves of vellum, including a leaf pasted into the cover; the quires are quinions, except the last, which has six pairs. These quires are numbered doubly, viz. with Syriac letters running from right to left and with Georgian signatures running the opposite way<sup>1</sup>. The Georgian signatures were first observed by Mrs Gibson and should have afforded some clue to the place of writing, for it is not everywhere that we come across traces of Georgian communities in Syria.

The contents of the book are chiefly taken up with a collection of twelve Lives of Female Saints. The scribe gives his name three times

ܐܡܢ ܡܪܝ ܐܚܢܐ ܕܒܬ ܡܪܝ ܐܚܢܐ ܕܒܬ ܡܪܝ ܐܚܢܐ (*fol.* 2v)

*John the anchorite of Beth Mari the Saint.*

<sup>1</sup> Abridged from Mrs Lewis's description in *Syndics' Edition*, p. vi.

ܡܥܪܬܐ ܕܡܥܪܬܐ ܕܡܥܪܬܐ ܕܡܥܪܬܐ ܕܡܥܪܬܐ (fol. 165v)

ܡܥܪܬܐ

*John the anchorite of Beth Mari Qanon the Saint of Ma'arrath Mesrên city.*

ܡܥܪܬܐ ܕܡܥܪܬܐ ܕܡܥܪܬܐ ܕܡܥܪܬܐ ܕܡܥܪܬܐ (fol. 181r)

ܡܥܪܬܐ ܕܡܥܪܬܐ ܕܡܥܪܬܐ ܕܡܥܪܬܐ

*John the stylite of Beth Mari Qanon, a monastery of Ma'arrath Mesrên city in the district of Antioch<sup>1</sup>.*

The natural interpretation of these sentences is that the book was written by a stylite monk called John in a certain monastery at Ma'arrath Mesrên (مَعْرَةَ مَصْرِين), which is a small town in Lat. 36° N, about equidistant from Antioch and Aleppo. This place is mentioned in *Yâqût* iv 574 and in the various authorities for the history of the Crusades, but I have entirely failed to discover any mention of the scribe's monastery. It is curious that ܡܥܬܐ does not appear in the sentence quoted from fol. 2 v. The natural meaning of ܡܥܬܐ ܕܡܥܪܬܐ is 'the House (i.e. Convent) of S. Qanon,' but we can hardly suppose the scribe to have accidentally dropped the Saint's name in the first lines of his preface. ܡܥܪܬܐ therefore seems to be a proper name. There is a village called Bêt Merri near Beyrout, which also contained a monastery.

But wherever our palimpsest was transcribed, it is certain that it reached Mount Sinai not alone, but as part of a considerable library. In the first place there is a likelihood that all the numerous MSS at Sinai which are either in the Georgian language, or (like our palimpsest) contain Georgian writing, came originally from the same collection. Still clearer is the case with regard to cod. 588 of the Arabic MSS at Sinai, a vellum book containing a *Prophetologion* in Arabic written over various Syriac Apocrypha. One of these fragments appears to have belonged to the same MS of the *Transitus Mariae* (Κοίμησις

<sup>1</sup> I am sure the last word but one is ܡܥܪܬܐ 'district,' not ܡܥܪܬܐ 'star' (as read by Mrs Lewis in *Studia Sinaitica* ix, p. xxiv, at the suggestion of Dr Nestle). The word occurs at the end of a line, and there is a small gap between the ܥ and the ܪ which I think was left blank by the scribe, ܥ being a letter which cannot be prolonged. ܡܥܪܬܐ is derived from the Greek and so can be used in the absolute state, e.g. ܡܥܪܬܐ ܕܡܥܪܬܐ Lk iii 1 S C; but ܡܥܪܬܐ ܕܡܥܪܬܐ is grammatically improbable.

*Mapías*) as was also used for this palimpsest by John of Ma'arrath Meṣrên. "This identification rests (1) on the similarity of the vellum, (2) on the probable agreement in size, the leaves of the Syriac Apocryphal text used by John the Recluse having been slightly cut at the edges in order to harmonize with the rest of the volume, (3) on the character of the script, and (4) on the coincidence of the contents<sup>1</sup>." Furthermore this same cod. 588 is a double palimpsest, four leaves of the Syriac Apocrypha being written over fragments of the Third Book of Kings in the Palestinian Syriac dialect<sup>2</sup>. This brings the book written by John of Ma'arrath Meṣrên into connexion with the ancient Palestinian Syriac fragments at Sinai and St Petersburg, which also are in some instances covered with Georgian writing.

It may be permitted, in the absence of certain information, to conjecture the fate of this Library of mss in Edessene and Palestinian Syriac, in Georgian and in Arabic, to which our palimpsest once belonged. The town and district of Ma'arrath Meṣrên was a portion of the Latin Principality of Antioch granted by Alexius to Bohemund about 1100 AD<sup>3</sup>. But in granting the temporal dominion to the foreign Crusader the Emperor expressly reserved the appointment of the Patriarch of Antioch, who was to be chosen from the Constantinopolitan clergy. This meant the predominance of 'Melkite' influence throughout the Principality; the Monophysite Patriarch had already left Antioch to take refuge in a Mohammedan land, and we may assume that the monks of Ma'arrath Meṣrên were not long in making their submission to Constantinople and Chalcedon. But the one fact which comes out from historical sources about Ma'arrath Meṣrên is that it was continually exposed to the chances of war; it was often raided, often retaken, and must have become more and more unsuitable as a resting place for stylites and anchorites. In the same way therefore as Monophysite monks took refuge in the Natron Valley we may suppose that the monks of Ma'arrath Meṣrên migrated to the great Orthodox sanctuary of Sinai, bringing their books with them. At least there is nothing improbable in the conjecture.

<sup>1</sup> *Syndics' Edition*, p. xvii. The identification is due to Dr Rendel Harris.

<sup>2</sup> Discovered by my friend Mr J. F. Stenning, and edited by him in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, 1896.

<sup>3</sup> *Alexiad* xiii 12.



*The original MSS.*

John of Ma'arrath Meṣrên wrote his book of Saints' Lives on portions of five older MSS. These are

1. 142 leaves of the MS of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, here called *S*.

2. 4 leaves, containing fragments of the Gospel of S. John, in fine square Greek uncials of the 4th or 5th century.

3. 20 leaves, containing fragments of the *Acta Thomae* in a Syriac hand of the 5th century.

4. 4 leaves, containing fragments of the *Transitus Mariae* (Κόλμης Μαρίας), in a Syriac hand of the 5th or 6th century.

5. 12 leaves, containing fragments of Homilies in fine sloping Greek uncials of the 6th century or earlier.

Nos. 4 and 5 were taken from MSS much larger than the others, and each leaf has been seriously cut to make it fit, but the leaves of *S* were very little trimmed when they were written over.

All the leaves not taken from *S* were arranged by John of Ma'arrath Meṣrên in the last four quires of his book, so that we may regard them as a makeshift, resorted to when the supply from *S* was exhausted. The whole of *S* is preserved except 22 leaves, and these 22 include the blank fly-leaves originally placed at the beginning and end of the volume. These leaves and their conjugates are generally the first to go in neglected codices, so that their absence in this instance is not surprising. Probably therefore *S* was taken to pieces for the express purpose of supplying vellum for the existing palimpsest, and consequently we learn that the 22 leaves were already missing in 778 AD—a small number for so ancient a MS. The 12 leaves from the MS of Greek Homilies occupy the final quire, while the other miscellaneous leaves were used to make up the 15th, 16th and 17th quires.

Portions of two leaves of the Greek Gospel fragments have been made out, which formed the outside pages of a quire containing Joh vii 6—ix 23. The text is given in *Studia Sinaitica* ix, pp. 45, 46. In the same volume, pp. 23–44, the present writer has edited eight of the more legible pages of the fragments of the Acts of Thomas. These fragments are at least four hundred years older than any other known

text of the Acts of Thomas, and in view of the importance of the Acts for the criticism of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* itself I add here a complete Table of the three quires of the palimpsest in which the fragments occur.

*Quires XV—XVII of the Sinai Palimpsest*

(*Studia Sinaitica* ix, p. 25)

Quire and Leaf	Photographs	Contents	Pages of Wright's <i>Apocryphal Acts</i> (Syriac Text)
XV 1	281, 282	Acts of Thomas	299 <sup>7</sup> —301 <sup>22</sup>
2	283, 284	<i>Greek Gospel</i> (Joh vii 6— )	
3	285, 286	<i>Syriac Gospel</i> (Mk xiv 64—xv 19)	
4	287, 288	<i>Greek Gospel</i>	
5	289, 290	Acts of Thomas	317 <sup>4</sup> —319 <sup>5</sup>
6	291, 292	Acts of Thomas	315 <sup>4</sup> —317 <sup>4</sup>
7	293, 294	<i>Greek Gospel</i>	
8	295, 296	<i>Syriac Gospel</i> (Mk xii 19—42)	
9	297, 298	<i>Greek Gospel</i> (Joh —ix 23)	
10	299, 300	Acts of Thomas	301 <sup>22</sup> —303 <sup>12</sup>
XVI 1	301, 302	<i>Transitus Mariae</i>	
2	303, 304	Acts of Thomas	321—323
3	305, 306	Acts of Thomas	185 <sup>6</sup> —187
4	307, 308	Acts of Thomas	305—307
5	309, 310	<i>Transitus Mariae</i>	
6	311, 312	<i>Transitus Mariae</i>	
7	313, 314	Acts of Thomas	295 <sup>6</sup> —297 <sup>5</sup>
8	315, 316	Acts of Thomas	198 <sup>20</sup> —202 <sup>16</sup> ( <i>sic</i> )
9	317, 318	Acts of Thomas	311 <sup>8</sup> —313 <sup>5</sup>
10	319, 320	<i>Transitus Mariae</i>	
XVII 1	321, 322	Acts of Thomas	209—211 <sup>15</sup>
2	323, 324	Acts of Thomas	297 <sup>5</sup> —299 <sup>6</sup>
3	325, 326	Acts of Thomas	309 <sup>7</sup> —311 <sup>8</sup>
4	327, 328	Acts of Thomas	253 <sup>14</sup> —255 <sup>13</sup>
5	329, 330	Acts of Thomas	319 <sup>5</sup> —321
6	331, 332	Acts of Thomas	313 <sup>5</sup> —315 <sup>4</sup>
7	333, 334	Acts of Thomas	237—239 <sup>11</sup>
8	335, 336	Acts of Thomas	323—325
9	337, 338	Acts of Thomas	303 <sup>12</sup> —305
10	339, 340	Acts of Thomas	211 <sup>15</sup> —213
XVIII 1—12	341—364	<i>Greek Homilies (still unidentified)</i>	

We come at last to *S* itself, the MS of the *Evangelion da-Mephar-reshe*. In its original form *S* was a vellum codex consisting of 166 leaves, on which were written the Four Gospels in the usual order Matt Mk Lk Joh. The following Table shews the original arrangement, together with the numeration of Mrs Lewis's photographs<sup>1</sup>, which follows the paging of the MS as it now is.

*The original composition of S.*

Ancient Quire and Leaf	Contents	Photographs (and pp. of MS)
I 1	*	<i>missing</i>
2	*	<i>missing</i>
3	Matt i 1—17	163, 164
4	i 17—ii 15	112, 111
5	ii 15—iii 17	83, 84
6	iii 17—v 1	97, 98
7	v 1—26	110, 109
8	v 26—vi 10	177, 178
9	[vi 10—	<i>missing</i>
10 [↙]	—viii 3]	<i>missing</i>
II 1 ↙	Matt viii 3—30	20, 19
2	viii 30—ix 23	149, 150
3	ix 23—x 15	229, 230
4	x 15—xi 1	74, 73
5	xi 1—30	192, 191
6	xii 1—31	190, 189
7	xii 31—xiii 5	68, 67
8	xiii 6—31	231, 232
9	xiii 31—xiv 1	151, 152
10	xiv 1—31	2, 1
III 1	Matt xiv 31—xv 27	47, 48
2	xv 27—xvi 15	61, 62
3	[xvi 15—xvii 11]	<i>missing</i>
4	xvii 11—xviii 8	141, 142
5	xviii 9—xix 3	34, 33
6	xix 3—28	28, 27
7	xix 28—xx 24	159, 160
8	[xx 24—xxi 20]	<i>missing</i>
9	xxi 20—43	79, 80
10 =	xxi 43—xxii 27	53, 54

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 18.

*Description of the MSS.*

Ancient Quire and Leaf	Contents	Photographs (and pp. of MS)
IV 1 $\supset$	Matt xxii 27—xxiii 15	89, 90
2	xxiii 15—xxiv 2	269, 270
3	xxiv 2—31	225, 226
4	xxiv 31—xxv 12	200, 199
5	xxv 12—37	147, 148
6	xxv 37—xxvi 17	153, 154
7	xxvi 17—44	182, 181
8	xxvi 44—67	235, 236
9	xxvi 67—xxvii 19	271, 272
10	xxvii 20—47	91, 92
V 1	Matt xxvii 47—xxviii 7	267, 268
2	[xxviii 7—Mark i 12]	<i>missing</i>
3	Mark i 12—44	60, 59
4	[i 44—ii 21]	<i>missing</i>
5	ii 21—iii 21	201, 202
6	iii 21—iv 17	219, 220
7	[iv 17—41]	<i>missing</i>
8	iv 41—v 26	42, 41
9	[v 26—vi 5]	<i>missing</i>
10 $\searrow$	vi 5—28	273, 274
VI 1 $\searrow$	Mark vi 28—54	106, 105
2	vi 54—vii 23	49, 50
3	vii 23—viii 14	81, 82
4	viii 14—38	187, 188
5	viii 38—ix 25	193, 194
6	ix 25—x 2	99, 100
7	x 2—27	51, 52
8	x 27—xi 1	116, 115
VII 1	Mark xi 1—27	56, 55
2	xi 27—xii 19	128, 127
3	xii 19—42	296, 295
4	xii 42—xiii 23	96, 95
5	xiii 24—xiv 10	23, 24
6	xiv 10—36	37, 38
7	xiv 36—63	86, 85
8	xiv 64—xv 19	286, 285
9	xv 19—47	134, 133
10 $\nearrow$	xvi 1—Luke i 16	46, 45

# Composition of S.

25

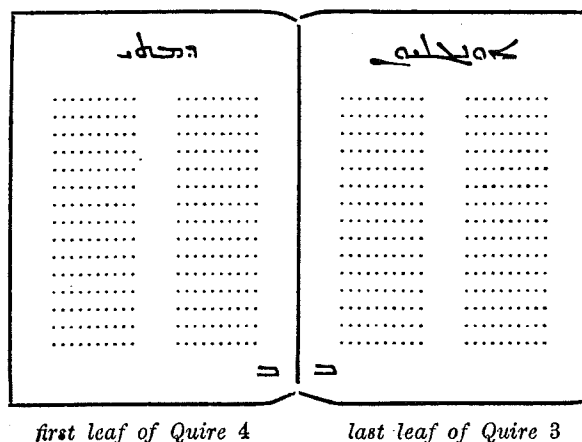
Ancient Quire and Leaf	Contents	Photographs (and pp. of MS)
VIII 1 [a]	Luke [i 16—38]	<i>missing</i>
2	i 38—73	183, 184
3	i 73—ii 18	276, 275
4	ii 18—40	157, 158
5	ii 40—iii 9	101, 102
6	iii 9—iv 1	119, 120
7	iv 1—26	143, 144
8	iv 26—v 6	266, 265
9	v 6—28	197, 198
10	[v 28—vi 11]	<i>missing</i>
IX 1	Luke vi 12—35	214, 213
2	vi 35—vii 6	94, 93
3	vii 7—28	205, 206
4	vii 28—viii 1	7, 8
5	viii 1—22	3, 4
6	viii 22—40	17, 18
7	viii 40—ix 6	13, 14
8	ix 6—27	215, 216
9	ix 27—49	88, 87
10 [a]	ix 49—x 11	208, 207
X 1 [a]	Luke x 11—33	243, 244
2	x 33—xi 13	9, 10
3	xi 13—32	125, 126
4	xi 32—52	132, 131
5	xi 52—xii 21	221, 222
6	xii 21—42	239, 240
7	xii 42—xiii 3	130, 129
8	xiii 3—22	135, 136
9	xiii 22—xiv 5	11, 12
10	xiv 5—23	257, 258
XI 1	Luke xiv 24—xv 12	103, 104
2	xv 13—xvi 2	162, 161
3	xvi 2—21	25, 26
4	xvi 21—xvii 9	65, 66
5	xvii 9—33	176, 175
6	xvii 33—xviii 16	166, 165
7	xviii 17—40	75, 76
8	xviii 40—xix 22	35, 36
9	xix 22—45	180, 179
10 [a]	xix 45—xx 21	117, 118

*Description of the MSS.*

Ancient Quire and Leaf		Contents	Photographs (and pp. of MS)
XII	1 [o]	Luke xx 21—44	58, 57
	2	xx 44—xxi 23	241, 242
	3	xxi 23—xxii 8	169, 170
	4	xxii 8—34	174, 173
	5	xxii 34—59	78, 77
	6	xxii 59—xxiii 14	64, 63
	7	xxiii 14—38	168, 167
	8	xxiii 38—xxiv 5	171, 172
	9	xxiv 5—26	259, 260
	10	xxiv 26—fin.	44, 43
XIII	1	John [i 1—25]	<i>missing</i>
	2	i 25—47	203, 204
	3	[i 47—ii 15]	<i>missing</i>
	4	ii 16—iii 11	280, 279
	5	iii 11—31	185, 186
	6	iii 31—iv 15	195, 196
	7	iv 15—37	262, 261
	8	[iv 38—v 6]	<i>missing</i>
	9	v 6—25	217, 218
	10 [i]	[v 25—46]	<i>missing</i>
XIV	1 [i]	John v 46—vi 19	124, 123
	2	vi 20—44	245, 246
	3	vi 44—69	249, 250
	4	vi 69—vii 21	247, 248
	5	vii 21—39	32, 31
	6	vii 39—viii 21	30, 29
	7	viii 21—41	253, 254
	8	viii 41—ix 1	251, 252
	9	ix 1—21	255, 256
	10	ix 21—x 1	138, 137
XV	1	John x 1—23	145, 146
	2	x 23—xi 5	209, 210
	3	xi 5—31	107, 108
	4	xi 31—48	121, 122
	5	xi 48—xii 7	139, 140
	6	xii 7—28	113, 114
	7	xii 28—49	211, 212
	8 [ω]	xii 49—xiii 18	155, 156

Ancient Quire and Leaf	Contents	Photographs (and pp. of ms)
XVI 1 [ⲁ]	John xiii 19—xiv 1	21, 22
2	xiv 1—24	5, 6
3	xiv 24—xv 15	233, 234
4	xv 15—xvi 10	238, 237
5	xvi 10—32	224, 223
6	xvi 32—xvii 20	227, 228
7	xvii 20—xviii [24]	15, 16
8	xviii 14—31	39, 40
XVII 1	John [xviii 31—	<i>missing</i>
2	—	<i>missing</i>
3	— xix 40]	<i>missing</i>
4	xix 40—xx 17	263, 264
5	xx 17—xxi 2	69, 70
6	xxi 2—17	71, 72
7	xxi 17—fin.	277, 278
8	*	<i>missing</i>
9	*	<i>missing</i>
10 [Ⲃ]	*	<i>missing</i>

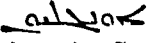
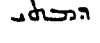
A Table similar to the preceding is given in the Syndics' Edition, pp. xxx ff., but at that time not enough of the original signatures had been found to make clear upon what system they were inserted. The system actually employed is very curious. Instead of signing the first quire with ⲁ, the second with Ⲃ, and so on, either uniformly at the end or uniformly at the beginning of a quire, the scribe signed Quire 1 at the end with ⲁ and Quire 2 at the beginning with ⲁ, Quire 3 at the end with Ⲃ and Quire 4 at the beginning with Ⲃ, and so on. The signatures are in each case placed in the inner corner of the lower margin, thus :





In the Table I have indicated all the places where signatures ought to occur, adding square brackets where the letter is not actually visible in the photograph.

In general appearance *S* is not unlike *C*. There is no title at all prefixed to S. Matthew: at least no reagent used has brought up even the faintest indication of a letter<sup>1</sup>. The writing begins on a *verso*, and the *recto* of that leaf (Photograph 163) was absolutely blank. At the end of S. John there is a colophon written by the original scribe, followed by a note in another almost contemporary hand, now unfortunately illegible: these will be discussed later in connexion with the heading to S. Matthew in *C*. There are no lectionary marks in *S* nor any numeration of chapters, but as in *C* the text is divided into sections, each section beginning with a new line. In many places the original hand has marked the end of sentences and even single clauses with a small point, but it is evident that this punctuation was somewhat irregular, even when due allowance is made for the loss of detached dots under the upper writing of the palimpsest. The writing is a very beautiful Estrangela, even more rapidly formed than that of *C*: it cannot be later than the beginning of the 5th century and is not inconsistent with an earlier date still. The vellum is now somewhat crinkled and in places rather brittle, partly owing to the washing process undergone in preparing the leaves to receive the later writing, partly owing to assiduous thumbing by readers of the lives of Female Saints. The washing process must have made the detached sheets of vellum quite limp, as in six instances (VI 1, 8; VII 2, 9; VIII 4, 7; XI 2, 9; XIV 1, 10; XVI 3, 6) the conjugate leaves are now folded the reverse way. On one or two pages the surface has a tendency to scale off<sup>2</sup>.




Each page contains two columns of writing, vertical lines for which were ruled with a stylus; the sharp point has often made a round dot at the end of these vertical lines, giving the appearance of punctuation at the beginning or end of the first and last lines of the columns<sup>3</sup>.



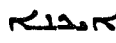


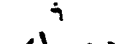

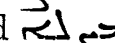
<sup>1</sup> We should have expected at least  for a headline, since  occurs as the headline to the following *verso* (Photograph 112). See below, p. 33.


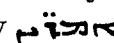
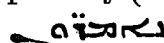
<sup>2</sup> I cannot agree with Dr Harris's opinion (*Syndics' Edition*, p. xxxv) that some pages have been scraped with a knife. But however this may be, it should be clearly stated that there is no evidence at all that *S* has been intentionally defaced in particular places for dogmatic reasons.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. Matt i 1 () and Mk vii 30 (). In each case the dot should be omitted.



I cannot be sure whether horizontal lines were ruled to join the ends of the vertical lines, but certainly no other horizontal lines were ruled, and consequently the number of lines in a column varies even more than in *C*—from 29 in *S*. Matthew to 21 in *S*. John. I think that the whole MS is the work of one scribe, but the writing gradually became larger and the lines in a column fewer as the work progressed. The leaves now measure  $8\frac{5}{8}$  in. by  $6\frac{1}{4}$  in. There are generally only three words to a line, though in the earlier parts of the MS four words a line and in the later parts two words a line are not uncommon. The subscriptions to the Gospels and the colophon are in red. The headlines consist of  on the *verso* and  (or the corresponding name) on the *recto*; it seems to have been intended to insert them on every page, but in many instances they are no longer legible<sup>1</sup>. The sign  is placed in Lk xii 18, xxi 15, xxiv 4, to fill up blank spaces at the end of lines where no pause was intended, but in Matt ix 25 and Joh xiv 31 a horizontal stroke is used for the purpose.

The very few corrections visible in *S* seem all to have been made by the original scribe and arise from the ordinary accidents of transcription, not from the use of a second exemplar. Words accidentally repeated or inserted are deleted by means of dots in Mk vi 18, Lk xiv 12; Joh iii 8 and x 13. In Lk xxi 24 , the dot indicates that the word should be . Words and letters accidentally dropped are inserted by the original scribe between the lines in Matt v 48 , Lk xii 43 , Joh xiii 16 , and two steps in the Genealogy Lk iii 33; also Mk xii 1 , Lk xvii 23 . If I have rightly conjectured, the word  was inserted in this way between Lk ix 17 and 18. A few letters have here and there been corrected by the first hand: instances occur Matt ix 20, xx 23, Mk iii 14.

The only orthographical signs found in *S*, with the exception of  (*sic*) in Mk xv 29, are the *seyâmê* marks for the plural. These seem hardly ever to have been dropped, though now the dots are often illegible. In addition to their regular use over nouns they are used for the numerals and for the present participle, especially ; sometimes they occur where they are not wanted, e.g.  Lk viii 56, and

<sup>1</sup> At the head of xi 1 r (Photograph 103)  is written, apparently by mistake.

*Titles, Subscriptions and Colophons in C and S.*

C

כחול - אדום .

•••••

S

•••••

• Kool: 100%

•○○•○○•○○•○○•○○•○○•○○•○○•○○•

Similarly, at the end of S. Luke  $S$  has (at the bottom of a column)

על אגודת ישראל | תל אביב | תשס"ז | אגודת ישראל

*Endeth Evangel of Luke. Evangel of John.*

These simple colophons, found both in *C* and in *S*, differ from those in the codices of the Peshitta, which contain the peculiar phrase

[K-22] 1. K-22 1. K-22 1. K-22

*The Evangel, the preaching of [Luke].*

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Matt v 12 *C*, Lk xv 4 *C*. The point for the fem. suffix *-ah* is sometimes missed even in *C*, e.g. **ጠሐርቱ ጠሐርቱ** Lk xv 9.

The end of  $\hat{C}$  is not preserved, but we read in  $S$  at the end of S. John



על כן לא | נחמתי כי | נחמתי כי | נחמתי כי  
 נחמתי כי | נחמתי כי | נחמתי כי | נחמתי כי  
 נחמתי כי | נחמתי כי | נחמתי כי | נחמתי כי  
 נחמתי כי | נחמתי כי | נחמתי כי | נחמתי כי

This colophon is noteworthy for two reasons. In the first place it distinctly describes *S* as a copy of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, the Evangel of (or, ‘according to’) the Separated, i.e. the Gospels divided into the four volumes of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, and not mixed together as in the Diatessaron. The importance of this will be especially felt when we come to emend the not fully preserved title in *C*. But the way the Three Persons of the Trinity are mentioned is even more remarkable. It is not exactly unorthodox, for the co-ordination of the Three Persons by a simple AND was the watchword of orthodoxy<sup>4</sup>, but it is unusual to find the Holy Spirit treated as feminine in these

<sup>4</sup> Compare Gibbon ii 382.

[illegible]

*Blessed be God and His Messiah, who strengthened his servant the wretched sinner Isaac.....<sup>1</sup>.*

It is a singular fact that there seems to be no title in *S* to S. Matthew. The first two leaves are now missing, but they were probably intended as guards and left blank, as is usual in handsome mss. The Gospel of S. Matthew begins on the *verso* of the third leaf, the *recto* of that leaf being entirely blank<sup>2</sup>. The *recto* of the next leaf has  as a headline, so we should expect at least  as a headline on the preceding *verso*, but as a matter of fact nothing can be seen there and no re-agent has brought up any sign of a title. *C*, on

<sup>2</sup> Of course this leaf, which is numbered *fol.* 82 of the present MS, is now covered on both sides by the later writing.

The title in *C*, as now preserved, is



., die [.] <sup>[.]</sup>Kristall. ~~aus~~ ~~aus~~

The construction is the same as in the colophon of *S*, where we read “Ev. da-Mepharreshe, *Four Books*,” not “*according to the Four*.” Before it had been clearly made out that *Evangelion da-Mëpharrëshë* was the name given by Syriac-speaking Christians to the Four Gospels as distinguished from the Diatessaron, it was supposed that ܐܘܢܐܢܐܢ in the title to *C* had some special reference to S. Matthew or to the Gospel of Matthew. But although the construction given above is certainly somewhat harsh there can be little doubt that it is correct, now that the Sinai Palimpsest definitely speaks of all four Gospels under the name of ܐܘܢܐܢ ܐܘܠܝܡܐܢܐ.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. in Matt iii 5 *C* writes **הַתְּנָחִים מֵהַמִּצְוֹת**

On pp. xx, xxi of the Syndics' Edition a theory of the line and paragraph divisions in *C* and *S* is briefly indicated by Mrs Lewis and Dr Rendel Harris, which, if well grounded, would have an important bearing on the history of the Gospel text in Syriac. I was unconvinced of the truth of the theory at the time, and subsequent investigations do not seem to bear it out: I will therefore very shortly put down the reasons why I consider the line-divisions of Syriac mss have no significance whatever, and why it is extremely improbable that any system of stichometry should have had a Syriac origin.

Here there are three distinct theories indicated. *S* and *C* are said to shew a close resemblance in their division of the text (1) into Paragraphs, (2) into Lines, (3) into Sentences or Clauses. Let us take these three theories in the reverse order.

<sup>1</sup> In Syriac

האדא... כפסק אשכא נכא. האדא סמא נח תגזר מילא לבד.  
(האדא... כנא נכא האדא סמא. נח תגזר מילא לבד.

There are however a few cases where *S* and *C* agree in an interesting punctuation, notably in having a stop after ܠܚܝܩܐ, at the end of Joh vii 37. In this they differ from the earlier Latin tradition, represented by the Epistle of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons, by Codex Bezae, by Cod. Palatinus (*e*) and by the *Speculum* p. (700). According to this Latin interpretation, the first words of Joh vii 38 *qui credit in me* go with *bibat* at the end of the preceding verse, and the 'living waters' flow not from the believer but from Christ Himself. The fact that *S* and *C* have a stop at the end of ver. 37 shews that the Old Syriac Version rendered the verse as it is rendered in the English Bible and by the great majority of interpreters, ancient and modern. The agreement of *S* and *C* in so widespread an interpretation proves very little as to the origin of their punctuation.

As to the second point, the alleged agreement of *S* and *C* in their division into lines, it might seem sufficient to call to mind the great textual differences between these two mss. *S* and *C* differ on matters of such fundamental importance, that it is difficult to believe that there can be any significance in their occasional agreement in the division of the text into lines. But the matter does not rest upon general probabilities. We have to consider the nature of Syriac script and its important differences from Greek script. Greek mss of the 4th and 5th centuries were written with no spaces between the words, and no scruple was felt about dividing the words at the end of a line. Thus the number of words in a line varied greatly, but the number of syllables was approximately constant, e.g. cod. *S* averages about six syllables in a line, cod. *B* about seven or eight. In a pair of such mss it would be exceedingly improbable that the lines should coincide. There are so many ways of lawfully dividing most Greek words that marked examples of coincidence for several lines together could not be regarded as the result of a mere accident. But Syriac writing is quite different. The words are separated by spaces, as in modern English, and they are never divided at the end of a line. Consequently the average number of syllables in a short Syriac line varies very greatly, but the average number of words is constant. Now *S* and *C*, like all other known early Syriac mss, are written in short lines, with only three words on the average to a line. Whenever therefore they start level, as at the beginning of a paragraph, there is every probability that they will go on agreeing line for line, unless an actual variation in text occurs, such as the omission of one or two words. For example, to take the first passage on Mrs Lewis's list, it is true that both *S* and *C* give Matt v 3 thus :—

ܠܚܝܩܐ ܠܚܝܩܐ  
ܠܚܝܩܐ ܠܚܝܩܐ  
ܠܚܝܩܐ ܠܚܝܩܐ

But how otherwise should the lines be divided? If the scribe did not end the first line at ܠܚܝܩܐ he would have to get ܠܚܝܩܐ into the space. And indeed, as if to shew that this line-division in Syriac mss is a matter of absolute indifference, we find the very same division of this verse in such codices of the Peshitta as B.M. Add. 17117, although naturally B.M. Add. 17117 reads ܠܚܝܩܐ instead of ܠܚܝܩܐ. Moreover, when once the line-agreement of *S* and *C* is disturbed, it remains disturbed, e.g. in Matt v 10 we have

<i>C</i>	<i>S</i>
ܐܠܚܡܝܢ ܠܟܠܡ ܕܕܪܝܥܝܢ	ܐܠܚܡܝܢ ܠܟܠܡ
ܡܠܟ ܕܡܡܠܟܐ ܕܗܠܠܡܐ	ܕܕܪܝܥܝܢ ܡܠܟ ܕܡܡܠܟܐ
ܡܢ ܡܠܚܡܐ ܕܡܡܠܟܐ	ܕܗܠܠܡܐ ܡܢ ܡܠܚܡܐ
	ܕܡܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܡܠܟܐ

The fact that *S* and *C* often take exactly the same number of lines to get through three or four verses is thus merely another way of stating that the lines in each ms are of much the same breadth, but the nature of Syriac script robs this circumstance of the significance which it might have had in a pair of Greek mss. I have therefore not thought it worth while in this edition to keep any record of the line-divisions either of *S* or of *C*.

Had the occasional agreement of *S* and *C* in their division of the text into lines possessed the significance suggested by Mrs Lewis, we should have been compelled to regard *S* and *C* as direct descendants of the same exemplar. Besides this, it would have been reasonable to assume that these agreements were intentional and that they had something to do with an early system of Syriac stichometry. Dr Harris had found at Sinai a 9th cent. ms of miscellaneous contents which contained among other reckonings an enumeration of the number of ܡܠܚܡܐ in the Four Gospels. Now there are two systems of reckoning found in various Greek mss of the Gospel; we have enumerations sometimes of the *στίχοι*, sometimes of the *ῥήματα*, sometimes of both. A *στίχος* is a line of a given length, or rather of a given average number of syllables, e.g. a half-hexameter. If therefore the number of *στίχοι* in a work is known, and the number of lines in a column be constant, it is easy by counting the number of columns at once to ascertain whether a ms is approximately complete. In fact, the use of the numeration of *στίχοι* (Lat. *versus*) is to guard the buyers of books against fraud. The meaning of *ῥήματα* in enumerations is not so clear. The word ܡܠܚܡܐ may stand either for *στίχος* or *ῥήμα*, and Dr Harris brought forward a theory, which found many supporters, that in the case before us ܡܠܚܡܐ was a translation of *στίχοι*, and *ῥήματα* a retranslation of ܡܠܚܡܐ. In other words, the Greek enumeration of *στίχοι* had been adapted to the Syriac version and the numbers so transformed had been retranslated into Greek under the name of *ῥήματα*. An additional confirmation of the theory seemed to come from the presence of certain readings which agreed with the Old Syriac in the 'Ferrar group' of Greek mss, and the 'Ferrar group' were among the mss that contained the reckoning of *ῥήματα*<sup>1</sup>.

Attractive as this theory appears at first sight, it breaks down under close examination from the Syriac side. If the *ῥήματα* system had a Syriac origin it must obviously have been a system intended for the 'Old Syriac,' i.e. the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. The coincidences noted by Dr Harris between the Ferrar group and Syriac readings were with readings of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* or of Tatian's Diatessaron, not of the Peshitta. But the Syriac mss which contain the ܡܠܚܡܐ are all of them late—the earliest witness is not anterior to the 9th century—and in at least two cases these lists contain figures for the full Greek Canon of the seven Catholic Epistles, a circumstance

<sup>1</sup> J. R. Harris, *On the origin of the Ferrar Group* (1893), pp. 9, 17 ff.



which suggests a Greek origin for the whole system<sup>1</sup>. Moreover early Syriac mss, and especially *S* and *C*, are singularly ill adapted to form the basis of stichometrical calculations. Neither in *S* nor in *C* are horizontal lines ruled for writing, so that the number of lines in a column, even in parallel columns on the same page, varies considerably, and to ascertain the number of lines occupied by either of the Gospels in *S* or *C* it would be necessary to inspect each page of the ms.

The *ῥήματα* system appears in some Latin mss of the Vulgate about the same time as the earliest evidence for it in Syriac: the same reckonings seem to underlie the famous 4th century *Cheltenham List*, so that *ῥήματα* might equally well be a translation of *versus* as of *ܚܕܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ*. But whatever be the origin of these *ῥήματα* there is no tangible evidence to connect them with the *Evangelion du-Mepharreshe*; on the contrary, there are many indications that the scribes of *S* and *C* were not familiar either with the *ῥήματα* or any other system of stichometry.

With regard to the third point raised by Mrs Lewis, *viz.* the division of *S* and *C* into paragraphs, the evidence is not as clear as might be wished. There would be every probability that the paragraph system in a pair of mss such as *S* and *C* should go back, in part at least, to a common origin. But here again we are hampered by the ambiguity of Syriac writing. Both in *S* and in *C* a fresh paragraph starts at the beginning of a line. The preceding line will in many cases be short, and the end of the paragraph is thus clearly marked either by the blank space at the end of the short line or by a stop. When the end of a paragraph happened to occur at the end of a full line it seems to have been the general intention of the scribes to leave a blank space, e.g. after Matt xiii 43 *S*. But this blank space is not always left. When therefore the end of a paragraph comes at the end of a line it is often impossible to determine whether the next line was intended to begin a new paragraph or not. This happens very frequently, for on the average there are only three words to a line. In something like one case out of ten therefore the same word will end a line both in *S* and in *C*, whether a paragraph be intended to end there or not. And if a word is known to end the line in the one ms, the chances are one to two that it will also end the line in the other. This being the case it needs clear instances of agreement in quite peculiar divisions to prove that the paragraphs in *S* and *C* belong to the same system.

Now as a matter of fact *S* and *C* very often do not agree in their paragraph divisions. If we take from Matt i 1 to vi 10 (where *S* breaks off owing to the loss of a couple of leaves) we find that paragraphs clearly end in *C*, but not in *S*, before

- Matt ii 14 (Now Joseph arose...)
- 16 (Then Herod, when he saw...)
- 22 (Now when Joseph heard...)
- iii 1 (And in those days came John the Baptist...)
- iv 17 (From then Jesus began to preach...)
- 21 (And when he removed thence...)
- v 25 (Be agreed with thy adversary...)
- 48 (Become therefore perfect...)

<sup>1</sup> See the Note by the present writer on the Gospel *ῥήματα* found in Syriac mss (*Journ. of Theol. Studies*, ii 429 ff).

On the other hand paragraphs end in *S*, but not in *C*, before

Matt iv 1 ('Then Jesus was led by the Spirit...')

25 ('And when there was a great multitude....')

v 31 ('It hath been said 'He that leaveth his wife....')

43 ('Ye have heard that it hath been said...')

vi 9<sup>b</sup> ('Our Father in heaven...')

It will hardly be denied that here we have considerable variation. It is indeed quite surprising that *S* should not make Matt iii 1 begin a paragraph and that *C* should not make Matt iv 1 begin a paragraph<sup>1</sup>. Much the same state of things is to be found in other parts of the Gospels. For instance Lk xii 32 begins a paragraph in *C*, but not in *S*; on the other hand, Joh viii 12 begins in *C* on the same line as the last words of vii 52, but in *S* there is a fresh paragraph. These grave divergences suggest that the systems of paragraph division in *S* and *C* may have been developed quite independently<sup>2</sup>.

In conclusion I will quote some words of Mr G. H. Gwilliam upon the paragraph divisions in mss of the Peshitta, which have a real bearing upon the question before us. Mr Gwilliam says "evidence of the independence of these mss [of the Peshitta] appears in the different arrangement of the paragraphs of the sacred text in the different copies. In some the paragraphs are numerous; in others few, and differently placed. For example, in *S*. Matt x the Cod. 14459 makes a break in our Lord's discourse at the end of verse 10, and seems to stand alone in so doing. In *c*. xi it makes its division at the end of verse 1, thus not so distinctly connecting the message of the Baptist with the preaching of Christ recorded in verse 1, as do other authorities. And similarly in other mss divisions are constantly made, more or less arbitrarily, according to the fashion of some scribe or school" (*Studia Biblica* i 166). "Besides the formal sections, the text is often interrupted in the best mss, where the sense requires a break; and these paragraphs are often made with much judgement" (*Studia Biblica* iii 81). If even the mss of the Peshitta Gospels shew independence in their paragraph divisions we shall not be surprised if the mss of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* exhibit wide divergence.

<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps worth notice that the Latin Cod. Bobiensis (*k*) has no fresh paragraph at Matt iii 1, although like *S* it has a fresh paragraph at the *Pater noster*. But elsewhere *S* and *k* do not exhibit much in common in their system of text division.

<sup>2</sup> The chief instance of marked agreement between *S* and *C* in this matter is the division of each Beatitude in Matt v into a separate paragraph. Each parable in Matt xiii is similarly divided.

## CHAPTER II.

### GRAMMAR AND SYNTAX.

#### GRAMMATICAL PECULIARITIES OF *S* AND *C*.

It was long the fate of the 'Curetonian' to be praised for its defects and slighted for its merits, and in no point was this treatment more marked than in the matter of its grammatical features. The defenders of its antiquity too often based their case upon points of grammar and spelling which *C* shares with ancient Peshitta MSS, while many of the real peculiarities have remained hardly noticed to this day. Even more absurd was the contention that the 'Curetonian' was older than the Peshitta on the ground that the rougher and less polished version, as the 'Curetonian' was declared to be, must on this ground have preceded the more regular and grammatical. It is true that the Peshitta follows Greek idiom much more closely than its rival, though without the pedantic servility of the Harclean; and this circumstance undoubtedly renders it extremely unlikely that it should be older than the text represented by Cureton's MS. But it will be well at the outset clearly to state that neither the text of the Curetonian nor that of the Sinai Palimpsest can be described as in any degree barbarous or uncultured. Apart from a few corruptions in the text, such as might befall MSS of Demosthenes or Cicero, both *S* and *C* are written in the most idiomatic Syriac. Our two MSS are themselves very ancient, and the text which they present is doubtless much more ancient still; hence the transmitted text of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is full of peculiarities of grammar and spelling which are hardly to be met elsewhere in Syriac literature, or are found only in the oldest and best preserved works. But there is no question of dialectical variety or of rustic idiom. On the contrary, every indication shews that the translator of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* used the vernacular Syriac of Edessa with the simplicity



[Nöldeke § 50 B.] The unpronounced **ā** and **ū** at the ends of words are very rarely left out in *S* and *C*. In Joh iv 7 *C* has **ܐܠܡ**, but the correct spelling **ܐܠܡܐ** is found in *v.* 10 and in *S*<sup>2/2</sup>. The majority of the MSS of syr.vg have **ܐܠܡܐ**: probably the phrase was regarded as a single word. In Matt xiv 16 **ܐܡܠܐܡܐ** is correctly written in all the MSS.

[Nöldeke § 51.] Prosthetic **κ** before *r* is common both in *S* and in *C*, e.g. in Matt i 5 'Ruth' is spelt **ܪܗܝܬܐ** in *C*, while *S* has **ܪܗܝܬܐ**. In Joh xx 12 the curious phrase for 'at the foot-place' is written **ܪܗܝܬܐ ܡܝܢ ܐܪܝܐܠܐ** in *S*, i.e. *min arylē*. In the Peal of **ܪܝܕܐ** 'to ride' we find **ܪܝܕܐܢܐ** Matt xxi 5 *C* and **ܪܝܕܐܢܐ** Mk xi 7 *S*. This use of prosthetic **κ** even after **ā** explains the spelling of **ܪܗܝܬܐܢܐ** Lk ii 14 *S*: **ܪܗܝܬܐܢܐ** (= *εὐδοκία*) was probably so spelt in this passage in order more effectually to distinguish it from **ܪܗܝܬܐ**, i.e. *rā'awāthā* 'shepherds,' a word which occurs four times in the immediate context<sup>1</sup>.

It may be mentioned here that *S* has **ܪܗܝܬܐܢܐ** in Matt ix 16 and **ܪܗܝܬܐܢܐ** in Mk ii 21 for the word which is usually spelt **ܪܗܝܬܐܢܐ** 'a patch<sup>2</sup>.' In each case *S* is supported by Gwilliam's cod. 23 and some other evidence. *C* is not extant in either place.

In Matt vii 13 *C* has **ܪܗܝܬܐܢܐ** (hiat *S*), but Mr Gwilliam has adopted **ܪܗܝܬܐܢܐ** on excellent authority.

### Pronouns.

[Nöldeke § 63.] **ܐܢܝܐ** is the form commonly used both in *S* and in *C*. **ܐܢܝܐ** only seems to occur twice in *S*, viz. Lk vii 20, xix 14, but it is found more often in *C*, e.g. Matt xix 27, xx 18, xxii 16; Lk xi 4.

[Nöldeke § 64.] The contracted forms of the 1st pers. sing. masc. such as **ܐܢܝܐ**, **ܐܢܝܐ**, are more common both in *S* and in *C* than the uncontracted forms **ܐܢܝܐܢܐ**, **ܐܢܝܐܢܐ**. In the fem. we find **ܐܢܝܐ** Joh xi 22 *S*, Joh xx 14 *S*, but **ܐܢܝܐܢܐ** Joh xi 24 *S*: either form is of course pronounced *yāḏ'ānā*<sup>3</sup>, while the masc. is *yāḏa'nā*. **ܐܢܝܐܢܐ** occurs Joh xi 27 *S*.

<sup>1</sup> The pronunciation of **ܪܗܝܬܐܢܐ** I suppose to have been *ar'āthā*: comp. **ܪܗܝܬܐܢܐ** Ezr v 17, vii 18, and in Syriac **ܪܗܝܬܐܢܐ**.

<sup>2</sup> So also **ܪܗܝܬܐܢܐ** A<sup>o</sup> 365, agreeing with *S*, but A<sup>b</sup> has **ܪܗܝܬܐܢܐ**.

<sup>3</sup> Mr Gwilliam edits **ܐܢܝܐܢܐ** in Joh xi 24, **ܐܢܝܐܢܐ** in Joh xx 14.

In the 2nd sing. masc. the forms with ܕܢܐ written separately are almost universal. As exceptions I have noted ܕܒܢܐ Matt xv 12 S, ܕܒܢܐ Matt xix 21 S (middle of line), ܕܝܢܐ Lk xxii 60 S, ܕܡܢܐ Lk xxiv 18 S, ܕܡܢܐ Joh iv 27 S (ܕܡܢܐ C), ܕܠܢܐ Joh xi 22 S; ܕܡܢ in Lk vii 44 S appears to be a scribe's blunder for ܕܡܢܐ, similar to that made by C in Joh iv 27. In C ܕܡܢܐ occurs Lk x 26 and ܕܡܢܐ Lk xvi 5. But in the 2nd sing. fem. the rule is reversed: S never has the separated form and C only twice. We find ܕܡܢܐ Matt xv 28 S (ܕܡܢܐ ܢܡܢܐ C), ܕܡܢܐ Matt xx 21 S (ܕܡܢܐ ܢܡܢܐ C, sic); ܕܝܢܐ Matt xxvi 70 S, Mk xiv 68 S: ܕܡܢܐ (pass. part.) Lk xiii 12 S C and Pesh., ܕܡܢܐ Lk xix 41 S C and Pesh. In Matt xxiii 37 S, Lk xiii 34 S C we find ܕܡܢܐ...ܕܡܢܐ, but C has ܕܡܢܐ, just as ܕܢܐ is written in C for ܕܢܐ in Matt xi 23, xx 21, an error which occurs again twice in Joh iv 10 C (ܕܡܢܐ ܢܡܢܐ...ܕܡܢܐ ܢܡܢܐ). It is not unlikely that ܕܡܢܐ in Lk x 41 C is a corruption of ܕܡܢܐ i.e. *yâšpat* 'thou (f.) art anxious.'

The forms ܐܡܐ ܐܡܐ and ܐܡܐ are about equally common. ܐܡܐ is never written enclitically after participles.

[Nöldeke § 66.] The irregular forms of the verbal suffixes will be found under the verbs.

[Nöldeke § 67.] ܐܡܐ ܢܡܐ and ܐܡܐ are about equally common. In C ܐܡܐ *hau* sometimes has the ordinary point, e.g. ܢܡܐ ܐܡܐ Matt v 12, ܐܡܐ ܢܡܐ Lk xviii 14.

The rare and ancient form ܡܢܐ is found in Matt xv 22 C, xx 9 C, xxi 40 C, xxii 7 C; Lk viii 13 S C, xii 37 C; Joh iv 38, 43 C (*hiat* S). Except in Lk viii 13, S where extant has in each case ܡܢܐ for ܡܢܐ. It appears to be used with no distinction of meaning and ܡܢܐ occurs in C side by side with ܡܢܐ, e.g. in Matt xx 10. The fem. ܡܢܐ occurs Matt xv 24 C *S<sup>ed</sup>*.

[Nöldeke § 68.] ܡܢܐ is frequently written for ܡܢܐ and ܡܢܐ, and also for ܡܢܐ ܢܡܐ both in S and C. ܡܢܐ ܢܡܐ is written ܡܢܐ in S wherever it occurs, viz. Matt xii 48, Mk iii 33, Lk vii 39: this spelling is apparently unknown elsewhere in Syriac<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> ܡܢܐ and ܡܢܐ are both found in the Babylonian Talmud, as in the story of Rabbi Chasda (*Shabb.* 140 b), who said to his daughters, "When any one knocks at the door ܡܢܐ ܐܠܐ ܡܢܐ, i.e. do not say 'Who is there?' as if to a man, but as if to a woman."

[Nöldeke §71, 4.] The fem. pl. emph. of ܠܝܠܐ is generally spelt ܠܝܠܐ in *S* as in all other Syriac mss. But in Lk xxii 65 the word is very distinctly written ܠܝܠܐ<sup>1</sup>. This might represent a pronunciation *saggiyāṭā* (instead of *saggi'āṭā*), but it is probably a mere slip of the pen.

[Nöldeke § 77.] The plural of ܡܚܘܬܐ ‘wound’ should be ܡܚܘܬܐܝܗ, i.e. *mahwāṭā*, as in Lk x 34 C, vii 21 S C, xii 48 S C. But S in Mk iii 11, Lk x 34, has ܡܠܚܘܬܐܝܗ, i.e. *m’hawāṭā*, like *š’lawāṭā* from *š’lōṭā* ‘prayer.’ That it was not treated as masc. appears from the context of Lk x 34 S, where we read ... ܡܠܚܘܬܐܝܗ ܡܠܚܘܬܐܝܗ ܡܠܚܘܬܐܝܗ ܡܠܚܘܬܐܝܗ ܡܠܚܘܬܐܝܗ. The grammatical interest of this form, thus doubly attested for S, is that it throws some doubt upon the complete sufficiency of the grammatical tradition of the Syrians. Ancient Syriac mss are not vocalised, and the grammatical traditions upon which our Syriac grammars are based is essentially a series of directions for the pronunciation of the Bible in Church. In the same way the Massoretic vocalisation of the Hebrew text gives the Synagogue chant. But these official schemes do not allow for all varieties of pronunciation and they have a tendency to reduce what was varied and fluid in the living language to the uniformity of a cast-iron pattern.

Many of the niceties of Syriac grammar depend on the vocalisation alone, and divergent forms may be hid under the regular consonantal spelling of ancient mss. Thus in the present case ܡܗܘܐܐ may represent equally well *mahwâthâ* and *m'ḥawâthâ*. But ܡܗܘܐܐ cannot stand for *mahwâthâ*; there must be with this spelling a vowel between *h* and *w*. But if the scribe of *S* spelt the word ܡܗܘܐܐ in Mk iii 11 and Lk x 34, he probably pronounced ܡܗܘܐܐ as *m'ḥawâthâ* in Lk xii 48

<sup>1</sup> See *facsimile* to the Syndics' Edition, last line of col. *a*.

and elsewhere. It would be interesting to trace the usage of this word and others of the same sort in the earlier poets<sup>1</sup>.

[Nöldeke § 79 B.] The plural of ܠܒ in *S C* is ܠܒܐܢܐ, except in Lk xxi 13 (14) where both mss have ܠܒܐܢܐ.

[Nöldeke § 87.] ܠܒܐ 'word' is always fem. in the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. By a usage which derived its authority from Theology rather than Grammar, the Peshitta always makes ܠܒܐ masc. when it means 'the Word' in the Johannine sense. *S* is unfortunately missing for the opening verses of the Fourth Gospel, but in *C*, supported by Aphraates and by Ephraim, we read ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ 'the Word became a body and She sojourned with us<sup>2</sup>.' So also in the *Acts of Thomas* 241 we find ܠܒܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ 'the Word, Mistress of all.'

ܠܒܐ 'spirit' is also fem. in *S* and *C*. In the Peshitta it is frequently treated as masc. when it means the Holy Spirit. But the Holy Spirit is fem. in *S* and *C*: even in Joh xiv we find ܠܒܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ... ܠܒܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ 'the Spirit, the Paraclete...She will teach you<sup>3</sup>.' That this usage was not wholly a matter of grammatical inflexion, but had also an influence in theological teaching is clear from Aphraates 354, where that ancient writer asserts that the Father and Mother whom a man leaves when he marries a wife are God and the Holy Spirit.

In one passage, ܠܒܐ ܠܒܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ Lk viii 29 *S C*, an *unclean* spirit is treated as masc., but probably in this passage ܠܒܐ is a correction for ܠܒܐ 'devil': τῷ δαιμονίῳ instead of τῷ πνεύματι is read in *D* and in *e* of the Old Latin<sup>4</sup>.

The word ܠܒܐ is used in Syriac both as sing. and plur. for 'heaven' and 'heavens,' and in the sing. it is sometimes masc. and

<sup>1</sup> Alone of course it would be in any case a word of three syllables. But the spelling of *S* would be greatly supported if an instance of ܠܒܐܢܐ or ܠܒܐܢܐ could be found where the verse required four syllables. Possibly the irregular spelling indicates that the third radical still had some consonantal force. The root is ܠܒܐ for ܠܒܐ, corresponding to ܠܒܐ and ܠܒܐ.

<sup>2</sup> For the exact meaning of ܠܒܐ see the Note on the passage.

<sup>3</sup> *C* is here partly defective but ܠܒܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ is clear.

<sup>4</sup> In Joh iii 6 *C* adds at the end of the verse

ܠܒܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ

But *S* has only ܠܒܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ 'because God is a living (m.) Spirit.' The word ܠܒܐ is unfortunately not very clear, but I think it is correctly read, otherwise we might conjecture ܠܒܐ. In any case it is a sentence where a feminine adjective would be very harsh.



sometimes fem. In *S* and *C* ~~ܐܝܠܐ~~ is always masc. pl. when it is the subject of a verb. The 'heavens' are opened (Matt iii 16, Lk iii 24) or are shut (Lk iv 24), and 'they' are the throne of God (Matt v 34): in the last instance syr.vg has the sing. masc. But in other cases ~~ܐܝܠܐ~~ is sing. masc. in *S* and sing. fem. in *C*. Thus the phrase "from one end of the world to the other" is rendered

כַּחֲמַת מַיִם כַּחֲמַת מַיִם<sup>1</sup> ַּמ Mk xiii 27 S

meil kṣṇa kṣṇa ,maxi ꣳ Lk xvii 24 S

Here as elsewhere *S* does not insert the diacritic point which distinguishes *rêsheh* (m.) from *rêshâh* (f.), but the suffix of **maxi** in the second passage shews that **max** is treated as masc. In Mk *C* is missing, but we find

ጠቃሚ ጽሑፍ ጽሑፍ ጽሑፍ Lk xvii 24 C

in which **ܠܒܢܐ** is sing. fem. In Matt xi 25 *S C* and syr.vg (with syr.vg also in Lk x 21) 'Lord of heaven and earth' is rendered **ܠܒܢܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ**, whereby the gender of **ܠܒܢܐ** is not indicated; in Lk x 21 *S* and *C\** have 'ܠܒܢܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ', but a corrector of *C* has added a dot in red over the **ܐ**, thereby making **ܠܒܢܐ** fem.

Elsewhere the gender and number of **ܠܝܟܢ** is carefully left indeterminate. The 'kingdom of God' is sometimes **ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܗܐ** sometimes **ܡܠܟܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ**, but the 'kingdom of Heaven' is always **ܠܝܟܢ ܕܝܗܐ**, except in the few instances where the construct state is used, an idiom which also leaves the gender and number of **ܠܝܟܢ** doubtful<sup>2</sup>. Neither **ܠܝܟܢ ܡܕܝܢܐ** nor **ܠܝܟܢ ܡܠܟܐ** ever occurs in Syriac literature, so far as I know.

Similarly the Birds of Heaven are **ܠܚܝܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ** Matt vi 26, viii 20, etc.; the Clouds of Heaven are **ܠܚܝܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ** Matt xxiv 30 *S*, xxvi 64 *S*, or **ܠܚܝܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ** Mk xiv 62 *S*; the Angels of Heaven are **ܠܚܝܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ**, or **ܠܚܝܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ** Matt xxiv 36, or **ܠܚܝܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ** Lk xv 10 *A*; and the Powers of Heaven are **ܠܚܝܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ** Matt xxiv 29 *S*, Mk xiii 25 *S* (*sic*)<sup>3</sup>, or **ܠܚܝܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ** Lk xxi 26 *S C*.

It is worthy of note that the construction of  $\mathcal{K}_{\text{new}}$  is the same for

<sup>1</sup> ~~𐤌𐤍𐤁~~ (so I read the photograph): *S<sup>ed</sup>* has ~~𐤌𐤍𐤁~~. In this verse syr.vg makes ~~𐤌𐤍𐤁~~ fem. sing.

<sup>2</sup> ~~كبر~~ ~~كبر~~ occurs Matt vii 21 C, xiii 52 S, xviii 3 A 221, xix 23 C A 392.

<sup>3</sup> Not **ܡܫܠܗ** as *Sed*. Syr.vg has **ܡܫܠܗ** in Matt and Lk, **ܡܫܠܗ** in Mk.

rendering *οὐρανὸς* and *οὐρανοί*. Thus in the Greek of Matt iii 16 the word is plural; in the parallel passage Lk iii 21, in Lk iv 24, and in Matt v 34, the word is used in the singular.

The word ܠܚܥܝܐ 'branch,' pl. ܠܚܥܝܐ, is not marked in *Nöldeke* § 87 as of common gender. But both in Matt xxiv 32 and in Mk xiii 28 *S* has ܠܚܥܝܐ ܕܝܐ ܠܚܥܝܐ 'when its branches have become tender.' *C* unfortunately is not extant for either passage, and in Matt xxiv 32 syr.vg has ܠܚܥܝܐ, i.e. fem. pl. This is also the reading adopted by Mr Gwilliam in Mk xiii 28, but the Nestorian Massora (Mas. 1), with one of the Jacobite Massoretic codices (Mas. 4) and three ancient mss (7 11 21) all read ܕܝܐ as in *S* (*sic*), thereby making ܠܚܥܝܐ masc. in the plural.

[*Nöldeke* § 98 c.] ܠܚܥܝܐ occurs Matt i 19 *S* and ܠܚܥܝܐ Joh v 30 *C*. ܠܚܥܝܐ and ܠܚܥܝܐ are about equally common, as is usually the case in ancient Syriac mss.

[*Nöldeke* § 100.] For ܠܚܥܝܐ, see on *Nöldeke* § 77.

[*Nöldeke* § 103.] ܠܚܥܝܐ ܕܝܐ occurs Mk viii 3 *S*, Lk xvi 23 *S*. The absolute and construct of ܠܚܥܝܐ are otherwise unknown. On the analogy of ܠܚܥܝܐ and ܠܚܥܝܐ, we may suppose the pronunciation to have been *ruḥaq*.

[*Nöldeke* § 117.] ܠܚܥܝܐ Matt viii 12 *S* must be a mere scribal error for ܠܚܥܝܐ, like ܠܚܥܝܐ Lk xix 44 *S* for ܠܚܥܝܐ.

[*Nöldeke* § 127\*.] For the formation of ܠܚܥܝܐ (= *εὐδοκία*) Lk ii 14 *S*, see on *Nöldeke* § 51.

[*Nöldeke* § 128 A.] ܠܚܥܝܐ Lk xix 44 *S* must be a scribal error for ܠܚܥܝܐ. The very peculiar rendering ܠܚܥܝܐ for *τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς σου* is attested by *C* and Aphraates 412, and it is possible that the misspelling in *S* may come from an unskilful correction in its exemplar.

[*Nöldeke* § 135.] The words for 'Galilee' and 'Galilaean' are irregular in *S*. In *C*, as in other Syriac documents, ܠܚܥܝܐ is 'Galilee,' ܠܚܥܝܐ 'a man of Galilee.' But in Matt xxvi 69, Mk xiv 70, Lk xxii 59, *S* has ܠܚܥܝܐ for 'Galilaean.' The plural is spelt ܠܚܥܝܐ in Lk xiii 1, 2, and also in Lk xvii 11 apparently. To make the irregularity yet more conspicuous *S* has ܠܚܥܝܐ in Lk xxiii 5, 6, for 'Galilee.'

[*Nöldeke* § 145.] The possessive suffixes to Nouns offer in *S* no peculiarities, but the spelling ܠܚܥܝܐ occurs in *C* twice (Matt xi 2,

Joh iv 8) for ,ܡܡܝܬܬܐ. This spelling is also found in most varieties of Palestinian Aramaic, so that possibly it was once not uncommon in Edessene.

[Nöldeke § 146 : the anomalous Nouns.]

ܐܒܐ.—The ordinary form for ‘my father,’ viz. ܐܒܐ, is usual both in *S* and *C*. But in Matt x 32 *C*, xv 13 *S*, Lk ii 49 *C*, Joh vi 32 *C*, we find ܐܒܐ, although no Greek ms omits *μου*. In Matt vi 4 *S* also we find ܐܒܐ, where *C* in agreement with the Greek has ܐܒܐ. It is true that in none of the cases are both *S* and *C* agreed, but on the other hand the same interchange of ܐܒܐ and ܐܒܐ is occasionally found in the mss of syr.vg. I have noted ܐܒܐ for ܐܒܐ Joh vi 32 (cod. 14), x 17 (cod. 9), xii 27 (cod. 40), xii 50 (codd. 3 4 14 17 23 40), xiv 26 (cod. 3\*), xvi 17 (cod. 12), xvii 25 (cod. 9). ܐܒܐ for ܐܒܐ only occurs Joh xii 49 (cod. 3), xiv 12 (codd. 4 9 23 36 37). In Joh vi 32 *C* therefore has some outside support, and in Joh xii 27 ܐܒܐ has the support of *S* and the Greek. It is, I venture to think, not unlikely that ܐܒܐ, i.e. *Abba*, was once used for ‘my father’ in Edessene, as in most forms of Palestinian Aramaic, and that these variations are the last trace of a vanishing idiom<sup>1</sup>. In Mk xiv 36 for Ἀββᾶ ὁ πατήρ we find ܐܒܐ in *S*, i.e. ‘my Father,’ without any addition; syr.vg has ܐܒܐ ܐܒܐ i.e. ‘Abba, my Father,’ in agreement with the Greek.

ܐܒܐܐ.—As in all the Biblical translations the plural of ܐܒܐ ‘hand’ is ܐܒܐܐ, not ܐܒܐܐ. It only occurs in the phrase ‘to lay hands on’ a person<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In Christian Palestinian Aramaic, as in Jewish Aramaic, ܐܒܐ means ‘my father’ even where the emphasis is on the suffix, e.g. Joh xx 17 ‘unto *my* Father and *your* Father’ is rendered ܐܒܐܐܐ ܐܒܐ ܕܐܒܐ.

<sup>2</sup> This phrase curiously illustrates the occasional fixity of Syriac idiom. ‘They laid [their] hands upon him’, i.e. *arrested* him, is in Syriac ܐܒܐܐ ܡܡܝܬܬܐ ܐܒܐܐ, the word ܐܒܐܐ being without a suffix and at the end of the clause. This is the case even in Matt xxvi 50, Lk xxii 53, where the Greek adopts the order usual in English. In Matt xxvi 50 the Greek has ἐπέβαλον τὰς χεῖρας ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ ἐκάρτησαν αὐτόν. This does not go conveniently into Syriac, for ܐܒܐܐ ܐܒܐܐ is a little too heavy to be put between ܐܒܐܐ and ܐܒܐܐ. Accordingly *S* has

ܐܒܐܐ ܡܡܝܬܬܐ ܐܒܐܐ ܡܡܝܬܬܐ ܐܒܐܐ

But syr.vg is corrected back to the Greek. It has

ܐܒܐܐܐ ܐܒܐܐ ܐܒܐܐ ܡܡܝܬܬܐ ܐܒܐܐ

in accordance with the Greek order of the words. ܐܒܐܐ, being no longer at the end of the clause, receives a suffix, as in Matt xix 13, 15, and thus the distinction between laying one’s hands on a person for blessing and laying them on for violence is obliterated.

ܠܚܐ.—See on *Nöldeke* § 87.

ܠܚܐ.—ܠܚܐ ܝܐ and ܠܚܐ ܝܐ is the constant spelling in *S* but in *C* ܠܚܐ ܝܐ and ܠܚܐ ܝܐ occur occasionally<sup>1</sup>.

ܠܚܐ.—The sing. abs. of this word is spelt ܠܚܐ in *S*: the same spelling is found in *C* at Joh iv 37, v 32, vii 33, always at the end of a line. ܠܚܐ also occurs in cod. A of Aphraates (e.g. *Wright*, p. 156), and in cod. B (*Wright*, p. 48), but I have only noticed it once in the MSS of syr.vg, viz. Matt xi 3 in Mr Gwilliam's cod. 36.

ܠܚܐ, therefore, which stands at the end of a line for ܠܚܐ in Mk x 40 *S*, is almost certainly meant for a plural, the scribe having probably intended to write ܠܚܐ.

The emph. is always spelt ܠܚܐ in *S*, but ܠܚܐ occurs in *C* at Lk viii 8 and a few other places.

ܠܚܐ.—The form ܠܚܐ Joh vii 42 *S<sup>ed</sup>* is a mere error of transcription: ܠܚܐ is quite clear in the photograph.

ܠܚܐ.—ܠܚܐ 'roof,' 'dwelling,' and ܠܚܐ pl. ܠܚܐ; 'booth,' have been confused in my translation, and the words are certainly confused in syr.vg. But I now believe they were kept distinct in *S* and *C*. The 'dwelling' of the Centurion (Matt viii 8, Lk vii 9) and the 'dwelling' of the birds of the heaven (Matt viii 20, Lk ix 58) is ܠܚܐ. But the 'booths' which S. Peter wished to set up at the Transfiguration (Matt xvii 4, Mk ix 5, Lk ix 33) the everlasting 'habitations' of the parable (Lk xvi 9)<sup>2</sup>, and the 'Tabernacles' of the Feast (Joh vii 2, 14) are ܠܚܐ, corresponding to σκηναί, σκηνοπηγία, in the Greek.

Among anomalous nouns may be put ܠܚܐ 'seven' Mk viii 5, 6 *S*, Lk xx 29 *S*, ܠܚܐ Mk xii 23 *S*, ܠܚܐ 'Sabbath' Lk xiii 14 *S<sup>ed</sup>*, and ܠܚܐ Lk x 17 *S<sup>ed</sup>*. In the last two passages the photograph is illegible, but all four spellings may be held to hang together. These variations of the ordinary ܠܚܐ, ܠܚܐ, ܠܚܐ, are all the more interesting because they are found in the Christian Palestinian Aramaic, as well as in various forms of Jewish Aramaic.

Equally suggestive of early forms of Aramaic is ܠܚܐ Matt xiii 35 *S*. It occurs at the beginning of a line, where there was plenty of room for ܠܚܐ, so there is no reason to regard it merely as a defective spelling.

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Matt. xix 6, Lk ix 25<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> In *S* read ܠܚܐ as in *C*, with one ܠ only.

ܦܡ is always written without ܝ in the Aramaic portions of Daniel, and with a suffix we find ܦܦܡܐ (Dan vii 5). ܦܡܝ appears actually to occur in the old Aramaic inscription from Nerab near Aleppo.

### Numbers.

[Nöldeke § 148.] The numbers in *S* and *C* call for few remarks. ܠܟܬܝܢ for ܠܟܬܝܢ (Lk xx 29 *S*) has been noticed above. In two places *S* appears to have a false concord, for we find ܠܟܬܝܢ ܠܟܬܝܢ Joh i 39 and ܠܟܬܝܢ ܕܝܡܬܝܢ Mk ix 2. Such false concords are extremely uncommon: I have not found any example noted in Mr Gwilliam's apparatus to the Peshitta Gospels.

*Decapolis* is rendered ܠܕܝܢܐ ܕܝܡܬܝܢ in *SC*, as in syr.vg. But ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων Matt xxiv 31 is rendered ܠܫܐܝܬ ܕܝܡܬܝܢ ܐܝܢ ܐܝܢ in *S*, where syr.vg has ܠܫܐܝܬ ܕܝܡܬܝܢ ܐܝܢ; in Mk xiii 27 ܠܫܐܝܬ ܕܝܡܬܝܢ ܐܝܢ ܐܝܢ ܠܫܐܝܬ is found both in *S* and syr.vg.

### Particles.

[Nöldeke § 155.] A. Adverbs of Quality :

ܠܟܬܝܢ for ὅλως does not occur. In its place we find the very curious locution ܠܟܬܝܢ Matt v 34 *SC* (so also Aphraates 505); and in Joh ix 34 *S* has ܠܟܬܝܢ. For the meaning see *Notes* on Matt v 34.

ܕܝܡܬܝܢ occurs Matt xv 32 *C*, but not in *S* or syr.vg.

The adverbial termination ܕܝܢ- is written fully in *S* and *C* almost always, but we find ܕܝܢܝܢ Lk xxii 62 *C*, ܕܝܢܝܢ Lk xxiii 47 *C*, in each case at the end of a line. ܕܝܢܝܢ occurs Matt xxi 29 *C*, but *S* has ܠܕܝܢܝܢ. In Matt xxi 37 (where syr.vg has ܕܝܢܝܢ) we find ܠܕܝܢܝܢ in *S*, ܠܕܝܢܝܢ in *C*.

B. Adverbs of Time and Place :

ܠܟܬܝܢ occurs in Lk xiii 9 *SC* for εἰς τὸ μέλλον, as in syr.vg. I have translated it 'next season,' but the precise meaning of the phrase is as doubtful as its derivation.

ܠܟܬܝܢ 'where?' and ܠܟܬܝܢ 'where' is found in *S*, but side by side with it is found another form ܠܟܬܝܢ, especially in S. John, which appears to be otherwise unknown. ܠܟܬܝܢ occurs in *S* Matt xxiv 28, xxvi 13, 17; Mk ix 18<sup>vid</sup>, xiv 12, 14 *bis*; Lk viii 25, xii 17, xvii 37<sup>b</sup>,

xxii 11<sup>b</sup>; Joh vii 35, viii 22(?), xiv 4, xvi 5, xx 2, 13, 15, xxi 18<sup>a</sup>. On the other hand ܠܠܐ occurs Matt ii 2, 4; Mk xv 47; Lk xvii 7, 37<sup>a</sup>, xxii 9<sup>vid</sup>, 11<sup>a</sup>; Joh i 28, 38, 39, iii 8<sup>b</sup>, vii 11, viii 14<sup>b</sup>, 19, ix 12, xi 34, xii 35, xiii 36, xiv 5. It will be seen that the two forms are used indiscriminately, even in the same verse. ܐܡ ܠܠܐ occurs Mk xiv 14 *S*: ܐܡܐ occurs Lk xix 23 *C*, Lk xx 5 *SC*.

Among the linguistic peculiarities of *S* is a curious preference for ܠܠܐ ܡܢ, i.e. 'from whence,' instead of ܠܠܐ 'whence.' In eighteen passages where ܠܠܐ occurs in the extant parts of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, ܡܢ is prefixed 13 times in *S*, only 8 times in syr.vg. In *C* ܡܢ is prefixed 8 times out of fifteen, six of them being in *S. John*.

For the use of ܠܠܐ etc. in rendering οὖν, see the *Appendix* at the end of this Chapter.

Among the words for 'immediately' ܠܠܐ ܕܡܢ is much the most frequently used in *S* and *C* in Matt and Mk, but ܠܠܐ ܕܡܢ and ܠܠܐ are also found. ܠܠܐ is written ܠܠܐ ܡܢ in Mk vi 45 *S*, and ܠܠܐ occurs Mk vi 25 *S*, Joh xiii 32 *S*. ܠܠܐ ܕܡܢ occurs in *SC* for ἐξαίφνης Lk ix 39 and for αἰφνίδιος Lk xxi 34<sup>1</sup>.

ܠܠܐ (sic) for ἐν στιγμῇ χρόνου Lk iv 5 *S* is worth notice as an idiomatic rendering.

### C. Adverbs of Quality and Conjunctions.

ܠܠܐ occurs Lk xvi 11, xx 17, xxii 70, both in *S* and in *C*, as the equivalent of οὖν, in Lk xxiii 3 *S* (not *C*) and in Joh xi 37 *S* (*hiat C*) without any Greek equivalent. This word is only found in the oldest Syriac literature, and seems to mean 'forsooth,' always with a touch of contempt. I suppose it was considered too lively a particle to be retained in Scripture. It has been allowed no place in the Peshitta, and it has been diligently washed out in each of the three passages where it occurs in *C*. This does not appear to have been the case in *S*, for where a letter has been washed out in *S* by a corrector before it was turned into a palimpsest it is now totally illegible<sup>2</sup>. But what has happened in *C* has happened also in Aphraates, who

<sup>1</sup> The same phrase occurs in syr.vg for ἐξαίφνης Ac ix 3, xxii 6, but in the Gospels only the ordinary phrases ܠܠܐ ܡܢ and ܠܠܐ have been allowed to stand.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. the first letter of ܠܠܐ [ܠܠܐ] Lk xii 31.







The fem. pl. Imperative of 𐤊𐤁𐤊 is spelt 𐤊𐤁 in Matt xxviii 6 *S*, the only passage where it occurs.

𐎠𐎢𐎡.—In three places we find 𐎠𐎢𐎡 written in *S*, where the sense is passive and we should expect 𐎠𐎢𐎡. The passages are

(2) *לך נא אנה עולמה מנה... חלל נא זה* *To thee I give this authority...because to me it is given (Lk iv 6 S);*

The same spelling occurs in the codex of Aphraates called by Wright A and cited in this book as *A*<sup>a</sup>. In *Wright*, p. 355, we find ܡܠ ܕܡܢ ܗܝ ܠܠܗ. ܡܠ ܕܕܥܝܢ ܕܠܗ ܠܠܗ ܠܠܗ *Not every one is sufficient for it, but he to whom it is given* (Matt xix 11). The other ms of Aphraates *A*<sup>b</sup> has ܕܡܢ instead of ܡܢ, and ܕܡܢ is also found here in *S C* and the Peshitta<sup>1</sup>, but the correction was so obvious that we may be pretty sure that *A*<sup>a</sup> preserves the true text of Aphraates. And again (*Wright*, p. 114), according to the same ms *A*<sup>a</sup>, we find

*(At the coming of Christ) the edge of the sword is taken from in front of the Tree of Life, and it is given for meat to the faithful; and Paradise is promised to the blessed and to the virgins and the holy, and the fruits of the Tree of Life are given for meat to the faithful and to the virgins.*

These five instances of the use of  $\mathcal{M}_n$  for  $\mathcal{M}_n$  shew that we are

<sup>1</sup> One ms however, Mr Gwilliam's 14, actually has 𐌹𐌿𐌶 here, and similarly Mr Gwilliam's 9 has 𐌹𐌿𐌶 Joh xix 11.

dealing with something more than a slip in writing. It would be intolerably harsh to translate the passages impersonally, and at first I believed that they contained a relic of the old Passive formed by internal vowel change, instances of which survive in Biblical Aramaic. **ܝܗܒ** actually occurs in Dan vii 14. But in the passage just quoted from Aphraates 114 the word **ܝܗܒ**, however pronounced, must be a Participle: it cannot be a Perfect tense. Moreover, as all the instances of this defective spelling concern the verb **ܝܗܒ** the explanation must be specially suited to that word. I therefore conjecture that when **ܝܗܒ** is written for the Pass. Part. the **ܝ** is intended to be elided, and that just as in the Perfect original *yēhaβ* has become *yaβ*, so in the Participle original *yēhiβ* became *yiβ* or *iβ*: that is to say, we should point the word **ܝܗܒ**.

The spelling **ܝܗܒ** for **ܝܗܒ** is also found in Christian Palestinian documents, viz. Matt xix 11 codd. ABC, Lk vii 25 codd. BC, Joh vi 66 cod. B, Joh vii 39 codd. BC, Joh xix 11 codd. BC; also in Mrs Lewis's *Praxapostolos* Gen ix 17, Exod xi 5 (*sic*)<sup>1</sup>.

[Nöldeke § 184 ff.: *the Verbal Suffixes*.] The Verbal Suffixes are regular in *C*, so far as the consonantal writing is concerned, but in *S* there are found some rare and some otherwise almost unattested forms, especially in the 3rd sing. masc. suffix to the Imperfect.

§§ 188, 189. The forms found in *S* are

<b>ܝܗܒܐ</b>	<b>ܝܗܒܐ</b>
<b>ܝܗܒܐ</b>	<b>ܝܗܒܐ</b>
<b>ܝܗܒܐ</b>	<b>ܝܗܒܐ</b>

with corresponding forms for **ܝܗܒܐ**, **ܝܗܒܐ**, etc. The form **ܝܗܒܐ** does not occur either in *S* or *C*; on the other hand **ܝܗܒܐ** is much commoner than **ܝܗܒܐ** both in *S* and in *C*. Examples of the irregular forms in *S* are given below. It will be noticed that they are less frequent in S. Matthew than elsewhere.

(1) Forms in **ܝܗܒܐ** (see also on § 195):—**ܝܗܒܐ** Matt xxiv 46 (*contrast* Lk xii 43); **ܝܗܒܐ** Mk vi 24 (*contrast* Matt xiv 7), **ܝܗܒܐ** Mk ix 22, **ܝܗܒܐ** Mk xiv 10, 11 (*contrast* Matt xxvi 16),

<sup>1</sup> In the last instance **ܝܗܒܐ** means simply 'is' or 'is to be found,' just as **ܝܗܒܐ** in Lk vii 25 corresponds to *ὑπάρχοντες*.

,**ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** Mk xiv 58 (*contrast* Matt xxvi 61); ,**ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** Lk xii 44, ,**ṡṡṡṡṡṡ**...., **ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** Lk xii 46<sup>1</sup>, ,**ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** Lk xx 18, ,**ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** Lk xxiv 21; ,**ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** Joh iv 34; ,**ṡṡṡṡṡṡ**...., **ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** Joh x 18 (both apparently meant for fem. suffixes, as in Lk xii 46), ,**ṡṡṡṡṡṡ**...., **ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** Joh xii 47, 48, ,**ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** Joh xiii 2, ,**ṡṡṡṡṡṡ**, **ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** Joh xiv 21.

(2) Forms in ,**ṡṡ**- (see also on § 195):—, **ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** Matt xxiv 47<sup>2</sup>; ,**ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** Lk xii 42<sup>3</sup>, ,**ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** Lk xvi 27, ,**ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** Lk xxiii 16, 22; ,**ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** Joh iii 17, ,**ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** Joh vi 40, 54, ,**ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** Joh xi 11.

(3) The Plural forms in **ṡṡṡṡ**- and ,**ṡṡṡṡ**- need no illustration; it is sufficient to observe that **ṡṡṡṡ** and **ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** occur Lk v 18 *S*, but ,**ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** Lk v 19 *S*. The following instances of ,**ṡṡṡṡ**- are found in *S*:—, **ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** Mk ix 32, ,**ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** Lk xxiv 16, ,**ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** Joh vi 15, ,**ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** Joh viii 28, ,**ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** Joh xii 10, ,**ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** Joh xviii 28<sup>4</sup>. ,**ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** also occurs in Lk xxii 2 *C*, where *S* has ,**ṡṡṡṡ**-.

§ 190. The regular form of the Impt. masc. pl. with suffix occurs in ,**ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** Joh xviii 31 *S* (*sic*), but for verbs with initial **ṡ** we find ,**ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** 'say ye it' Matt x 27 *S*, ,**ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** 'take ye him' Matt xxii 13 *S*, Mk xiv 44 *S*.

In the Sing. we have the regular forms ,**ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** Mk xv 14 *S* (and in Lk xxiii 21 *C*), also ,**ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** Lk xxiii 18 *S*, but in Lk xxiii 21 *S* has ,**ṡṡṡṡṡṡ**, **ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** for *σταύρου σταύρου*.

[Nöldeke § 192 ff. *Verbs with final ṡ and suffixes.*]

§ 194. In the forms of the 3rd pl. masc. Perf. with suffixes we find -**ṡṡ**- always written in *S* for -**ṡṡ**-, and generally in *C*. Thus we have ,**ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** Matt ii 10, 11 *S C*, Matt xxi 28 *S C*, Lk xx 14 *S C*; but ,**ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** occurs Matt xiv 26 *C*, where *S* has **ṡṡṡṡ** without a suffix<sup>5</sup>. With a fem. we find **ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** Matt xiii 48 *S*.

In Mk vi 49 *S*, **ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** is the 3rd pl. masc. Perf. in -*ṡn*- with suffix. The word was so read by the late Professor Bensly and myself at Sinai, but the form is said to be otherwise unknown in these verbs and I

<sup>1</sup> Possibly these words were meant for the fem., i.e. **ṡṡṡṡṡṡ ṡṡṡṡṡṡ ṡṡṡṡṡṡ**; cf Joh x 18.

<sup>2</sup> I am not quite sure that the true reading of *S* may not be **ṡṡṡṡṡṡṡ**. On the other hand in Matt xxi 38 the photograph of *S* appears to me to suggest **ṡṡṡṡṡṡ**.

<sup>3</sup> Photograph illegible.

<sup>4</sup> In **ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** Mk x 33 *S* the **ṡ** is no doubt intrusive.

<sup>5</sup> **ṡṡṡṡṡṡ** also occurs in the ancient palimpsest fragments of the *Acts of Thomas* (= Wright 312<sup>19</sup>).

confess that the photograph now suggests to me ,ܡܳܠܳܝܳܐ as the reading of the MS, a form which actually occurs in the following verse, Mk vi 50.

§ 195. Instances of the irregular suffixes to the Imperfect are given below from *S*.

(1) Forms in ,ܡܳ- (see above on §§ 188, 189):—,ܡܳܠܳܬܳܐ ܠ Matt v 42 (*sic*), Lk vi 29; ,ܡܳܠܳܐ Mk xii 15; ,ܡܳܝܳܬܳܐ Lk xxiii 20, ,ܡܳܝܳܬܳܐ Lk xxiii 22; ,ܡܳܠܳܐ Joh xii 47, ,ܡܳܠܳܐ Joh xiv 21.

(2) Forms in ,ܡܳܐ:—,ܡܳܝܳܬܳܐ Lk xxiii 16<sup>1</sup>.

§ 196. In the Imperative, as in the Perfect, we find in *S* -ܐܳܐ- instead of -ܐܳܐܳܐ: e.g. ,ܡܳܐܳܐܳܐ Lk xix 30 *S* (but ,ܡܳܐܳܐܳܐ *C*); ,ܡܳܐܳܐ Matt xxii 9 *S*, ,ܡܳܐܳܐ Joh xi 44 *S*. ,ܡܳܐܳܐܳܐ Mk xi 2 *S* is probably a mere slip in writing. The Imptv. pl. of ,ܐܳܐ, with suffix of 1st pers. sing., is ,ܐܳܐܳܐ Matt ii 8, xxii 19, Lk xx 24 in *S*, but *C* has the regular form ,ܐܳܐܳܐ in all three passages.

In the Infinitive of these verbs, besides the regular forms we find ,ܡܳܠܳܐ 'to see him' Lk xxiii 8 *S*.

These irregular suffixes, which are one of the most striking grammatical peculiarities of *S*, have some slight attestation in other Syriac documents. An instance occurs, curiously enough, in the dedication prefixed by Habibai to Codex *C* itself where we find ,ܡܳܠܳܐ for ,ܡܳܠܳܐ: this may however have been a mere error of the writer. Of much more importance is the occurrence of ,ܡܳܝܳܬܳܐ in Aphraates cod. A (i.e. *A*<sup>a</sup>, *Wright*, p. 169), in a quotation of Joh xi 11, the same passage where it is found in *S*. It is therefore clear that these peculiar suffixes are not merely due to some accident of transcription in the Sinai Palimpsest. They are doubtless genuine remains of that early stage of Edessene Syriac, of which the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is the only well preserved monument: of these suffixes, as of other features, we may say with Wellhausen, "man gewinnt den Eindruck, dass solche Raritäten stehn gebliebene Reste sind, dass schon im Sin. und Cur. die stilistische Korrektur begonnen hat, die in der Peschita (namentlich des Neuen Testaments) entschiedener, wenngleich auch nicht systematisch durchgeführt ist<sup>2</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> ,ܡܳܠܳܐ also occurs in *Cyrrillona* i 12 and in the ancient palimpsest fragments of the *Acts of Thomas* (corresponding to ,ܡܳܠܳܐ *Wright* 315<sup>8</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> J. Wellhausen in *Nachrichten der k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1895, i, p. 5.

*Syntax.*

The following remarks do not profess to be anything like a complete account of the Syntax of *S* and *C*, or even of their peculiarities of Syntax. As was remarked at the beginning of this Section, the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is written in idiomatic Edessene Syriac: the most notable peculiarity of *S* and *C* is not the presence of this or that idiom, but their freedom from that imitation of Greek constructions which pervades so much of the later Syriac literature.

[*Nöldeke* § 202 B.] ܡܬ ܕܝܡܐ (i.e. “Bloodfield”) Matt xxvii 8 *S* is an interesting example of the Absolute state in proper names. It is curious that the Syriac should have avoided the obvious rendering ܡܬ ܕܝܡܐ, found in the Latin and in the Palestinian Syriac texts<sup>1</sup>.

Equally noteworthy is **ܡܠܚܐ** Joh xviii 10 *S (sic)*, because it shews that the translator of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* recognised the genuine Semitic name which appears in the Greek as **Μάλχος**. The name is actually written **ܡܠܚܐ** in a number of Palmyrene inscriptions of the 1st cent. AD and is doubtless identical with the common Arabic name **مَالِكُ** *Mālik*<sup>un</sup>. The Peshitta has **ܡܠܝܚܐ** *Mālēχ*, without the final **ܐ**: probably by the 5th century the **ܐ** had become unfamiliar as an ending to masculine names, and **ܡܠܚܐ** only sounded like the abs. sing. of **ܡܠܚܐܬܐ**. Similarly in Nehem vi 6 **ܓܫܡܐ** becomes **ܕܡܫܐ** in syr.vg.

[§ 202 c.] The curious phrase **ܠܚܒܐ ܕܢܝܫܐ ܕܝܡܝܢ** Matt xiii 48 *SC* appears to mean "they chose out the fishes whatever good ones there were." A doubled *adverb* is normal in Syriac, as in the phrase **ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ**, used for *οἱ κακῶς ἔχοντες* in the Peshitta as well as in *SC*. But the use of a plural *adjective* in this distributive sense is very uncommon and seems to have been a puzzle to the translator of the Armenian version of the Gospel. A good example of the distributive use of the absolute state is **ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ** for *κατ' ὅψιν* Joh vii 24 *SC*. The Peshitta has **ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ**.

<sup>1</sup> The Palestinian Lectionary has for Matt xxvii 8

የቅርንጫፍ ምርት ለጥቅም አገልግሎት

Land's ancient *cod. Petropolitanus* (a MS of the continuous Gospel text) has

[illegible]

[Nöldeke § 208 A.]  $\text{ܠܝܕܝܢ ܐܡ ܕܢܐ}$  Lk xv 15 *S* is an instance of the somewhat careless construction mentioned by Duval (*Grammaire Syriacque* § 357 *f*), who quotes  $\text{ܠܠܬܐ ܐܡ ܕܝܢܐ ܕܢܐ}$  from *B.O.* i 365. In Lk xv 15 *C* has  $\text{ܐܡ ܠܝܕܝܢ ܕܢܐ}$ , but in Lk xix 39 both *S* and *C* have  $\text{ܠܠܬܐ ܐܡ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ}$ .

[Nöldeke § 210.]  $\text{ܠܠܬܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ}$  'every village of Galilee' Lk v 17 *S* is a good instance of the use of the absolute state before a genitive.

[Nöldeke § 212.] In Lk xxiii 2  $\text{καὶ λέγοντα ἑαυτὸν χριστὸν βασιλέα εἶναι}$  is translated in *SC*  $\text{ܠܠܬܐ ܠܠܬܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ}$ . The last two words agree letter for letter with the Jewish  $\text{ܡܠܟܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ}$ , commonly translated 'King Messiah.' But Dr Dalman (*Worte Jesu* 240) has shewn that it is a mistake to treat 'Messiah' in this phrase as a proper name, and that we should render it 'the Anointed King.' And this also agrees with the usage of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and the Peshitta, for the Syriac not only has 'Herod the king' in Matt ii 3, Mk vi 14, where the better Greek texts have  $\text{ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης}$ , but also 'Augustus Caesar' in Lk ii 1, although 'Caesar Augustus' is the order found in all other authorities. In Lk xxiii 2, therefore,  $\text{ܠܠܬܐ ܠܠܬܐ}$  should be translated 'an anointed king' rather than 'King Messiah.'

[Nöldeke § 217.]  $\text{ܕܢܐ}$  for  $\text{ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ}$  is now attested by *S* in Joh iii 35, as well as Aphraates 123. On the other hand the Peshitta has  $\text{ܕܢܐ}$  in Joh i 3, where  $\text{ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ}$  is read by *C* and by Ephraim (*Rom.* iv 18 E, *Lamy* ii 513).

[Nöldeke § 220 B.] By the dropping of a repeated  $\text{ܐܡ}$  the enclitic  $\text{ܐܡܐ}$  occupies an unusual position in  $\text{ܐܡܐ ܐܡܐ ܐܡܐ ܐܡܐ ܐܡܐ}$  'Who's my mother or *who* are my brothers?' Matt xii 48 *S*. In the parallel passage Mk iii 33 the  $\text{ܐܡܐ}$  is not present.

[Nöldeke § 222.] The idiom of a preposition followed by a nominal suffix and  $\text{ܐܡ}$  is ingeniously used in Joh xi 32 *S*, where  $\text{ἦλθεν ὅπου ἦν Ἰησοῦς}$  is rendered  $\text{ܕܠܠܬܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ}$ . Similarly in Joh vii 42  $\text{τῆς κόμης ὅπου ἦν Δαυεὶδ}$  is rendered  $\text{ܕܠܠܬܐ ܕܢܐ ܕܢܐ}$  by the Peshitta as well as *SC*. In each case the clumsy Johannine periphrasis is indicated without being allowed to hamper the movement of the sentence.

[Nöldeke § 223.] 'ܐܠܡܐ with suffix is twice used for ὅλος, viz. ܐܠܡܐ ܕܠܐ ܐܠܡܐ = μὴ ὁμόσαι ὅλος Matt v 34 *S C* and *A* 505, and again ܕܠܐ ܕܠܐ ܐܠܡܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܠܡܐ ܕܡܢ = ἐν ἀμαρτίαις σὺ ἐγεννήθης ὅλος Joh ix 34 *S*, where ὅλος is read for ὅλος in 1-118-131-209 and some other Greek mss, as well as the Armenian vulgate. The same idiom has been left standing in 1 Cor vi 7 syr.vg, where ὅλος ἡττημα ὑμῶν ἐστὶν is rendered ܐܠܡܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܠܡܐ ܕܡܢ, i.e. 'ye your own selves are guilty.'

[Nöldeke § 224\*.] To render ὁ δαιμονισθεὶς Mk v 18 *S* has the characteristic Syriac idiom ܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ, and this reappears in the Peshitta as ,ܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ. But in Lk viii 36 ὁ δαιμονισθεὶς is only rendered in *S* and *C* by 'that man'; accordingly in the Peshitta we find ܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ 'that demoniac man.' Evidently ܡܢ ܕܡܢ was taken over from syr.vt, and ܡܢ added to give the sense of the Greek. In other words the text of the Peshitta in Lk viii 36 is conflate; we catch the reviser at work and see how his style differs from the idiomatic Syriac of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*.

[Nöldeke § 225.] ܐܠܡܐ is occasionally used in *S* and *C* to give emphasis, e.g. ܐܠܡܐ ܡܢ ܡܢ Matt v 11 *S* (om. ܐܠܡܐ *C*), where syr.vg has ,ܐܠܡܐ in agreement with the Greek ἐνεκεν ἐμοῦ. Cases like ܐܠܡܐ ܕܡܢ Matt xiii 30 *C* (om. ܐܠܡܐ *S*), ܐܠܡܐ ܕܡܢ Lk xxii 30 *S* (,ܐܠܡܐ *C*), where ܐܠܡܐ appears to have no real force at all, are very uncommon and seem to be due to some accident of revision.

[Nöldeke § 228.] It is here very truly remarked by Nöldeke that the difference between ܐܠܡܐ 'those' and ܡܢ 'these' is often neglected in Syriac. Thus in Matt xxiii 23 ταῦτα...καὶ κείνα is rendered by ܐܠܡܐ....ܡܢ in the Peshitta as well as in *S C*, although in other more important respects the Peshitta text of this verse has been conformed to the Greek.

[Nöldeke § 233.] ܡܢ ܡܢ stands for τί σοι ὄνομα ἐστίν; (Lk viii 30) in syr.vg as well as *S C*. This is no doubt the old Semitic idiom: it is found in the Hebrew text of Judges xiii 17 מִי שְׁמֶךָ, and in the Targum of Onkelos to Gen xxxii 27 we find מִן שְׁמֶךָ although the Massoretic Text here has מַה שְׁמֶךָ. The use of the phrase 'Who is thy name?' is doubtless connected with that identification of the name with the personality, whereby in Semitic idiom the Name of God is

practically used for His personal character, as known to the worshipper.

[Nöldeke § 236 c.] In several passages, e.g. Matt xx 15, Lk x 23, Joh iv 22, *S* has ܐ ܠܡܐ where *C* and the Peshitta have ܐ ܡܠܟܐ. In a few places the Peshitta keeps ܐ ܠܡܐ with *S*, while *C* has the ordinary ܐ ܡܠܟܐ, e.g. Matt xviii 30.

[Nöldeke § 240 A.] ܠܥܠܡܝܢ ܥܕܐ ܥܕܐ [ܐܠܥܡܝܢ] Matt xviii 22 *S C* and *A*<sup>2</sup>/<sub>2</sub>, literally 'on 70 [times] seven seven,' does not mean 3430 times but 490, as Aphraates especially declares (*Wright*, p. 298). ܥܕܐ ܥܕܐ means 'seven by seven,' i.e. 'in rows of seven.' When therefore the acts of forgiveness are piled in rows of seven upon seventy, we get 70 × 7, which is four hundred and ninety.

[Nöldeke § 243.] In Lk iv 40 δύνοντος τοῦ ἡλίου is rendered in *S* by the idiomatic ܠܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ, without ܐ prefixed, and this also is the reading of the Peshitta, as edited by Mr Gwilliam from the mss. In Mk i 32 ܠܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ in *S* corresponds to ὁψίας δὲ γενομένης ὅτε ἔδυσεν ὁ ἥλιος, and in remedying the apparent deficiency syr.vg inserts the ܐ, ܡܠܟܐ no longer being the first word in the sentence (ܠܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܐ ܡܠܟܐ). Here again the effort to conform the Syriac to the Greek has resulted in the disappearance of a characteristic Syriac idiom.

[Nöldeke § 244.] For the omission of ܐ in short descriptive clauses, see on Nöldeke § 275.

[Nöldeke § 249 E.] The curiously slack construction sometimes used after ܡܐ in comparative clauses is found in Matt xviii 13 *S C* as well as in the Peshitta and Aphraates 142, where we read that the shepherd who has found the lost sheep "rejoiceth over it *more than* the ninety and nine which have not gone astray" (ܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ). The Greek is μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπὶ followed by a dative, but no Syriac authority reads the logically more correct ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ. The same construction is found in Lk xv 7 *C*, but *S* followed by syr.vg reads ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ instead of ܡܐ ܡܠܟܐ.

Similarly in Matt xxvii 9 there is nothing but the context to decide whether the prophet held the Christ dearer than he held the sons of Israel, or whether he held the Christ dearer than the sons of Israel did.



The use of ܐܪ instead of ܐܝܢ in comparisons, in imitation of (or at least corresponding to) the Greek ἤ, occurs several times in the Gospels, e.g. Matt xix 24 *S C*, confirmed by Aphraates 392. I see no reason to doubt that *S* in Lk xv 7 preserves the original rendering of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*: there are many characteristic variations in the early part of Lk xv where *S* differs both from *C* and the Peshitta, and it is more likely that *C* borrowed ܐܝܢ in v. 7 from the parallel passage Matt xviii 13 or from the Diatessaron itself than that *S* should have adopted the one variation ܐܪ from the Peshitta.

The compound preposition ܕܐܠ ܐܝܢ corresponds to the French *de chez*, e.g. in Lk viii 37, and also in Matt viii 34 *S*, the Gadarenes beseech Jesus to depart ܕܐܠ ܐܝܢ. Similarly Judas comes with a multitude ܕܐܠ ܐܝܢ Matt xxvi 47, Mk xiv 43, the Greek being ἀπὸ in Matt but παρὰ in Mk. It is a little less direct than the simple ܐܝܢ and gives the impression that the place of departure is, so to speak, a little more complex and less personal. Accordingly it is used of God, in exactly the same way as ܕܡܢ ܩܕܡ is used in Jewish Aramaic. Our Lord is thus said to have come forth ܕܐܠ ܐܝܢ in Joh xiii 3 *S* (= ἀπὸ θεοῦ) and in Joh xvi 27 *S*-vg (= παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ). But there can have been very little significance in the periphrasis, for παρὰ σοῦ is rendered in *S* by ܕܐܠ ܐܝܢ in Joh xvii 7 and by ܕܡܢ in v. 8. In Matt xxi 42 and Mk xii 11 ('From the LORD this came to pass') all the Syriac texts have ܕܐܠ ܐܝܢ, but the Peshitta of Ps cxviii (cxvii) 23 has the characteristically Jewish ܕܡܢ ܩܕܡ.

[Nöldeke § 250.] For 'demoniac possession' in the Synoptic Gospels the Syriac vulgate uses the preposition ܕ, e.g. 'a demon is *in* him' Matt xi 18, 'in whom was a demon' Lk viii 27; in S. John δαίμονιον ἔχεις is literally translated ܕܐܠ ܐܝܢ ܕܐܝܢ 'thou hast a demon.' But in *S* and *C* this ܐܝܢ is never used and its place is supplied by ܕ or ܕܡܢ, e.g. ܕܐܠ ܐܝܢ ܕܐܝܢ Joh vii 20 *S C*, ܕܐܠ ܐܝܢ ܕܐܝܢ Joh viii 48, 52 *S* (*hiat C*), and ܕܐܠ ܐܝܢ ܕܐܝܢ 'on whom was a devil' Lk viii 27 *S C*. What was meant by this is evident from the picturesque expression ܕܐܠ ܐܝܢ ܕܐܝܢ 'whom a devil was riding' (or, as we say, 'devil-ridden'), found in Matt ix 32 *S* for δαιμονιζόμενον<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> This use of ܐܝܢ is also found in the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary, e.g. ܕܐܠ ܐܝܢ Joh vii 20.

[Nöldeke § 251.] In Lk x 30 *S* agrees with *C* in translating ἡμιθανής by ܠܒܝܬ ܕܡܬܝܬ ܕܡܝܬ 'between dead and alive.' The Peshitta is widely different. In Lk xvii 11 the addition of ܐܡܝܢ by *C* to the phrase ܠܝܠܝܬ ܕܝܪܝܚܐ ܕܝܚܝܚܐ ܕܝܚܝܚܐ is not found in *S*, and it probably means 'to Jericho.' It cannot therefore be brought forward as a parallel to ܠܡܝܬ ܕܡܝܬ ܕܡܝܬ Ephr. Overbeck 147 ult., quoted by Nöldeke: see further the Note on Lk xvii 11.

[Nöldeke § 263.] The tenses are employed normally in *S* and *C*, and call for no special remark here except as regards the Pluperfect, i.e. the Perfect followed by ܠܡܝܬ. In my translation I have ventured uniformly to translate these Syriac Perfects with ܠܡܝܬ by the English Pluperfect, in spite of the occasional harshness, as I believe the reader will thereby be better able to seize the point of view taken by the Syriac narrator in telling his tale. In a plain historical narrative we find in Syriac a series of verbs in the Perfect, varied occasionally by Perfects followed by ܠܡܝܬ or ܐܡܝܢ as the case may be. These latter Perfects with ܠܡܝܬ often occur in positions that obviously require us to use a Pluperfect in translation, but sometimes it is not so obvious and most translators then simply leave the ܠܡܝܬ untranslated. But to do this obliterates the march of the action as conceived by the Syriac mind. If I am right, we may regard a Syriac narrative as a series of *tableaux vivants*. The simple Perfects describe the action, the movement, which we are invited to witness; the Perfects with ܠܡܝܬ, on the other hand, describe the anterior action, the actions which we are not actually supposed ourselves to observe, but which have brought the *dramatis personae* into the required situation.

Thus in S. Mark's story of the cursing of the barren Fig-tree and the cleansing of the Temple, as told by *S*, the narrator wishes to invite us to see and hear the following actions. Our Lord *hungers*, *sees* a fig-tree, *comes* to it, *finds* nothing but leaves, *utters* a curse on it. The curtain then lifts on another scene: He *begins* to put out the buyers and sellers in the Temple, and during some time we see Him *stopping* the passengers, *teaching* and *saying* 'My House is a House of Prayer.' Then again the disciples *see* the fig-tree withered, and S. Peter *says* 'The fig-tree is withered,' and Jesus *answers* 'Have faith in God.' Then in another scene we see the chief Priests *come* to Jesus, and they *ask* for His authority and He *answers* them (S. Mark xi 12-29).

Here we have four scenes, two on the way and two in the Temple. The events which we are supposed to see and hear are told us in the simple Perfect. But the connecting links, the subsidiary, though necessary, actions that bring the actors into the required situations, are told us in the Pluperfect. How is it that Peter remembered (v. 21)? Because the disciples *had heard* (ܐܪܡ ܐܡܪܝܬ v. 14<sup>b</sup>). How is it that we find our Lord busy with the merchants in the Temple? Because He *had entered* the Temple (ܐܪܡ ܕܡܠܝܬ v. 15<sup>a</sup>). How is it that in the fourth scene our Lord is found in controversy with the chief priests? Because He and the disciples *had come* again to Jerusalem (ܐܪܡ ܐܬܝܬܝܢ v. 27<sup>a</sup>), and the chief priests *had heard* of His doings in the Temple (ܐܪܡ ܐܡܪܝܬ v. 18<sup>a</sup>).

The point is, that this tense describes a past scene. It may break the thread of the narrative to bring in a detail, but it does not carry the narrative forward. Wherever it appears there is a break of continuity<sup>1</sup>. A good example of this is Lk x 17 where *S* and *C* have ܐܪܡ ܐܡܪܝܬ, suggesting the break which is logically demanded after v. 16. The previous verses give one scene, containing our Lord's parting instructions to the Seventy-two: the following verses describe what was said when the Seventy-two *had returned*<sup>2</sup>. It is a question of pictorial effect, of the subordination of phrase. To neglect this subordination turns a Syriac narrative into a monotonous chain of statements and takes the life out of the action.

Naturally the proper grouping and subordination of the incidents in a story is a matter of individual taste, at least to some extent. We therefore find that editors often inserted or cut out the ܐܪܡ or ܐܪܡܝܬ. A series of instances will be found in Lk viii 19 ff, where *S* three times has a simple Perfect when *C* has the Pluperfect: Matt xxi 46 is another example of the same variation.

[Nöldeke § 274.] The 'historic present' is rare in Syriac, but several clear instances occur in *S*: e.g. Matt xx 11 when the Labourers saw, they *murmur* (ܡܠܝܬ, Gr. ἐγόγγυζον); Matt xxiv 1 when...the disciples drew near, they *shew* Him the buildings (ܡܠܝܬ, Gr. ἐπιδείξαι); Matt xxvii 19 Pilate's wife *sendeth word* to him (ܡܠܝܬ, Gr. ἀπέστειλεν);

<sup>1</sup> It is, in fact, the exact opposite of the Arabic ف or the Hebrew strong ך.

<sup>2</sup> A similar break in narration is to be found in Lk i 62 *S*.

Mk vi 5 on a few infirm folk He *layeth* His hands and they were healed (ܡܠܟ, Gr. ἐπιθεῖς [...ἐθεράπευσεν]); Lk viii 4, for συνιόντος *S* has ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ, *C* has ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ, syr.vg has ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ....ܕܥܡܐ.

These examples, in all of which the tense used is clear from the consonantal writing, raise the question whether we ought not sometimes to point verbs as Participles rather than Perfects in cases where the consonantal writing does not distinguish between them. The point which distinguishes ܡܠܟܐ *killing* from ܡܠܟܐ *he killed* is never found in *S* or *C*, so that we are entirely dependent on analogy and such tradition as is afforded us by the transmitted vocalisation of the Peshitta<sup>1</sup>.

[Nöldeke § 275.] Circumstantial clauses are expressed in Syriac by the Participle preceded by ܕܐ or some other particle such as ܕܐܐ, or by a relative. The Participle, or participially used adjective (§ 244), is rarely allowed to stand alone, except after Imperatives (§ 272). Thus in Matt xi 18 (John the Baptist came *neither eating nor drinking*) *S* has ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ. But this is altered in the other texts: *C* has ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ and syr.vg has ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ. In the parallel passage, however, Lk vii 33, all three texts agree with that of *S* in S. Matthew.

A somewhat similar instance is Lk xviii 11, where *S* has 'That Pharisee *standeth* by himself *praying*...' (ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ.....ܡܠܟܐ), but *C* and syr.vg have '*was standing*.....*and thus was praying*' (ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ.....ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ). In this way the historic present and the independent participle of *S* are both made to disappear.

After Imperatives and some other expressions, such as ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ 'he was accustomed,' we find the bare Participle used, as is noted in Nöldeke § 272. Thus Lk xii 13 'Speak to my brother *to divide* (μερίσασθαι) the inheritance with me' is rendered in syr.vg, as well as *S* *C*,

ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ

*lit.* 'Speak to my brother *dividing* with me the inheritance.' It is this construction which I believe to be intended in Matt xv 26 *S*,

ܡܠܟܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ ܕܥܡܐ

*It is not fitting [for folk] to take the sons' bread to cast it to the dogs.*

<sup>1</sup> For the inconsistencies exhibited by the Peshitta text in the phrase 'answered and said,' see the Appendix at the end of this chapter.

Here instead of  $\text{ܪܡܝܢ}$  *rāmēn* we find in *C* and syr.vg  $\text{ܠܠܝܬܝܬܐ}$  'and to cast it,' in accordance with  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \beta\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\nu$  in the Greek. But the construction of *S* sounds to me idiomatic and original, although the antecedent to  $\text{ܪܡܝܢ}$  has to be wholly inferred from the context<sup>1</sup>.

[Nöldeke § 286.] The Infinitive is used, as Dr Nöldeke says 'als eine Art Epexegeese,' e.g. Matt ii 20  $\text{ܠܠܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܗܝܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܠܝܕܝܐ}$  'they were seeking the lad's life to snatch away,' where 'to snatch away' is omitted by *S*. Here  $\text{ܠܠܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܗܝܐ}$  'to snatch it away' would have been possible, but with transitive verbs the addition of the suffix is not necessary. When however the verb requires after it a construction with a preposition the suffix is necessary after the pronoun, e.g. in Ps civ 26  $\text{ܠܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܗܝܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܠܝܕܝܐ}$  where we in English can say 'Leviathan, that Thou hast formed to laugh at,' the Syriac like the Hebrew must say 'Leviathan, that Thou hast formed to laugh at it'<sup>2</sup>.

This will explain the phrase  $\text{ܠܠܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܗܝܐ}$  in Joh xxi 5 *S*. Verbs of eating, such as  $\text{ܠܠܝܬܝܬܐ}$  and  $\text{ܠܠܝܬܝܬܐ}$ , usually govern an accusative; followed

<sup>1</sup> Dr Merx, in his always interesting notes on the text of *S* (*Die Vier Kanonischen Evangelien: ... Erläuterungen ... von Adalbert Merx*, i 248 ff), takes a widely different view. Deliberately disregarding the Greek, and even the text of *S* in the parallel passage Mk vii 27, he considers  $\text{ܪܡܝܢ}$  to refer to  $\text{ܠܠܝܬܝܬܐ}$  and makes  $\text{ܪܡܝܢ}$  a relative: the saying of Christ thus becomes 'Is it not fitting to take the bread that the sons cast to the dogs?' i.e. 'is it not fitting that I, cast out as I am by the Jews, should help the Gentiles?' To this question the woman replies by an eager affirmative. According to Dr Merx, the ordinary text of S. Matthew and also the parallel passage in S. Mark have been corrupted by a Judaistic re-editing (*Verjüdung*), which *S* alone has escaped.

It is undoubtedly much easier to construe *S* in the way advocated by Dr Merx, but I cannot believe that his translation gives the sense intended by the scribe. When I find  $\tau\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\omicron\nu\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \tau\epsilon\kappa\upsilon\omega\nu$  in the Greek and  $\text{ܠܠܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܗܝܐ}$  in the Syriac translation, I cannot but believe that  $\text{ܕܗܝܐ}$  denotes the genitive and that the phrase means 'the bread of the sons.' Moreover Aphraates 149, in an allusion which I omitted to quote in vol i, pp. 88, 89, as being too paraphrastical for textual purposes, says that those who assiduously beg for mercy are the dogs that receive the sons' bread and they cast to them ( $\text{ܠܠܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܗܝܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܠܝܕܝܐ}$ ). Dr Merx wishes to emend this also and to cut out the  $\text{ܕܗܝܐ}$  before  $\text{ܪܡܝܢ}$ , but as it stands it attests the expression *the sons' bread*, and a very little imagination is needed to believe that the phrase in Aphraates is a somewhat mechanical reminiscence of the text of *S*, understood as I have understood it and not as Dr Merx has done.

If it be necessary to choose an antecedent to  $\text{ܪܡܝܢ}$  in *S*, I should be inclined mentally to supply  $\text{ܠܠܝܬܝܬܐ}$  after  $\text{ܠܠܝܬܝܬܐ}$ . Similarly in Mk vii 27 the Palestinian Lectionary has *It is not good that we should take the sons' bread and (that) we should cast it to the dogs*. But no word is really required, seeing that in Joh xviii 8 *S* renders  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\tau\epsilon\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \upsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\epsilon\iota\nu$  by  $\text{ܠܠܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܗܝܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܠܝܕܝܐ}$ .

<sup>2</sup>  $\text{ܠܠܝܬܝܬܐ ܕܗܝܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܠܝܕܝܐ}$ .

by ܡܝܝܢ they signify 'to eat *part* of a thing.' But 'to eat *of* a joint' is ܡܝܢ ܕܐܝܢ. The expression is fairly common in Hebrew, e.g. Judg xiii 16, but it also occurs in Syriac, e.g. Job xxi 25 in imitation of the Hebrew. Hence ܡܝܢ ܕܐܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܐܝܢ means 'Have ye anything to eat of?' The choice of the preposition to be used was no doubt due to the fact that the Greek is μή τι προσφάγιον ἔχετε;

The confused construction of Lk iii 8 *C*, is not supported by *S*, which has ܡܝܢ ܕܐܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܐܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܐܝܢ where *C* has ܡܝܢ ܕܐܝܢ for ܡܝܢ. The text of *C* (noticed in *Nöldeke* § 286) appears to be nothing more than an unskilful mixture of the phraseology of Matt iii 9 with that of *S* in S. Luke.

A good example of the Infinitive used without a finite verb to express 'must' is Joh ix 30, where *S* has ܡܝܢ ܕܐܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܐܝܢ 'this is something to wonder at!' The Peshitta inserts ܡܝܢ after ܡܝܢ and omits ܡܝܢ.

[*Nöldeke* § 290.] A noteworthy example of a double accusative is to be found in ܡܝܢ ܕܐܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܐܝܢ Lk ii 35 *S*, corresponding to καὶ σοῦ [δὲ] αὐτῆς τὴν ψυχὴν διελεύσεται ῥομφαία. The text is supported by a fragment of the original Syriac of S. Ephraim's Commentary on the Diatessaron preserved by Isho'dād, who has ܡܝܢ ܕܐܝܢ ܕܡܝܢ ܕܐܝܢ. The meaning is apparently 'And through thine own self thou shalt cause a spear to pass,' but no other authority has the verb in the 2nd person. For the use of ܡܝܢ with an accusative instead of with ܡܝܢ see Lk xix 1, where we find ܡܝܢ ܕܐܝܢ in *S*, instead of ܡܝܢ ܕܐܝܢ.

[*Nöldeke* § 295.] The Infinitive absolute is much more commonly used in the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* than in the Peshitta. ܡܝܢ ܕܐܝܢ Joh x 20 (*Gr.* παύεται) appears to be the only instance in the Peshitta Gospels where the idiom is not actually indicated in the Greek. In one instance, ܡܝܢ ܕܐܝܢ Lk viii 50, where it occurs in *C* but not in *S* or the Peshitta, the reading of *C* is supported by Aphraates, by the Commentary of S. Ephraim, and by the *Acts of Thomas*. It is possible, however, that this last quotation may be based on Mk v 36, a passage for which *S* is unfortunately not extant.

[Nöldeke § 304.] In Lk xviii 3 *S* has **ἄνθρωπος ὁ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα**, where *C* and the Peshitta have **ὁ ἀνθρώπου**<sup>1</sup>.

[Nöldeke § 328 B.] Both *S* and *C* are among the 'ancient documents' that invariably use 𐤊𐤌𐤍 𐤌 and not 𐤌. The Peshitta on the other hand contains 𐤌 several times, e.g. Joh vii 25.

[illegible]

The Peshitta has ܠܟܐ instead of ܠܐ in Matt vi 1, and ܐܠܐ in Matt vi 24 and Lk xvi 13. In Matt ix 16, 17, and Mk ii 21, 22 it has ܠܐ but except in Mk ii 22 the construction is changed. In the other passages the verb comes immediately after ܠܐ, and in Matt ix 16 this is actually put in the future (...ܡܫܐܠܐ ܐܐܪܝܝܬ ܠܐ 'that the fulness of it may not pull,' etc.). We may remark in passing that the unusual divergence of the Peshitta from the Greek in this verse receives a natural explanation when viewed as a stylistic correction of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. The Greek here has αἶρει γὰρ τὸ πλήρωμα κ.τ.λ., not εἰ δὲ μὴ, αἶρει τὸ πλήρωμα as in S. Mark. The *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* rendered both passages

<sup>1</sup> Here 𐌸𐌹𐌸𐌹𐌸 is read by Mr Gwilliam's cod. 40, and by his 14 36 in Lk vii 37.

<sup>2</sup> Other instances of  $\triangleleft$ , meaning 'else,' are to be found in ASD 47<sup>1</sup>, 68<sup>17</sup>, 69<sup>16</sup>; Aphraates 185<sup>20</sup>. (R.H.K.)

alike, as its custom often is, employing in each passage the idiomatic use of ܠܐ now under consideration. The Peshitta alters the idiom in Matt ix 16, but in so doing departs much further from the Greek. It is of course quite likely that in this particular phrase the official Peshitta text is simply reproducing a previous stylistic correction: we are even at liberty to conjecture that *C*, which is here missing, itself read ܐܢܬܐ ܠܐ<sup>1</sup>.

[Nöldeke § 338 c.] In more than a dozen passages the Peshitta begins a paragraph with ܐܬܐ ܠܥܡܐ 'And it came to pass that when...', corresponding to *καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε* in Matt, and *καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς* or *ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν τῷ* in Lk. The formula occurs in *S* in Matt xi 1 and xix 1, and perhaps also in Matt xxvi 1, but elsewhere it is avoided in the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. Usually the *ἐγένετο* is left untranslated, as in Matt xiii 53 and Lk x 38: in other places we find ܐܬܐ ܠܥܡܐ 'And it came to pass when...', e.g. Matt xi 1 *C*, xix 1 *C*, Lk i 41 *S*, ix 51 *C*. In the last passage *S* has ܐܬܐ without ܠܥܡܐ. It is possible that the original translation had regarded ܐܬܐ ܠܥܡܐ as an exact equivalent of *καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε* and ܐܬܐ ܠܥܡܐ as an exact equivalent of *καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς*. But as above remarked the *ἐγένετο* is usually dropped in the Syriac rendering.

The idiom specially mentioned in § 338 c (*viz.* 'And it came to pass...and') occurs in Lk ix 28 *SC*, but in the Peshitta the intrusive *and* has been corrected out.

Here may conveniently be noticed the very curious *anacoluthon* introduced by the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and the Peshitta into their rendering of S. Matthew's phrase 'Now all this is come to pass that it might be fulfilled,' etc. (*τοῦτο δὲ [ὅλον] γέγονεν ἵνα κ.τ.λ.*). The phrase occurs in Matt i 22, xxi 4, xxvi 56, and in the Greek the construction is perfectly straightforward. But the Syriac has ܐܬܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܐܬܐ ܠܥܡܐ, just as if the translation had read *ὅ* instead of *ὅλον*. That it is a native idiom and not a translator's mistake is shewn by the retention of the phrase in the Peshitta: even in Matt xxvi 56, where *S* has in the plural ܐܬܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܐܬܐ ܠܥܡܐ, the Peshitta has ܐܬܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܐܬܐ ܠܥܡܐ. In Matt xxi 4 a few ancient Peshitta codices

<sup>1</sup> ܠܐ meaning 'else' also occurs in Lk x 6, where *S* reads ܐܬܐ ܠܥܡܐ ܐܬܐ ܠܥܡܐ (sic, see the List of Errata), i.e. *If (it be) otherwise, upon you it will return.*



[Nöldeke § 339.] In the ordinary Edessene Syriac, as known to us in writings dating from the 4th century onward, the conjunction ‘and’ is not used to introduce the apodosis. But in *S* and *C* there are several instances of this thoroughly Semitic idiom. The passages may be conveniently arranged under the two heads of *Temporal Sentences*, containing ܐܢ in the protasis, and *Conditional Sentences*, containing ܐܢܐ or ܐܢܐ in the protasis.

Matt iii 16 βαπτισθεὶς δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς εὐθὺς ἀνέβη ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ ἰδοὺ...

but

S ܠܚܕܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ  
 And when He was baptized and came up from the water, [and] lo,  
 the heavens were opened.

Lk xiii 10 ff. The Greek text tells the story of the woman with the spirit of infirmity in the following manner: “<sup>10</sup>*Now* He was teaching... <sup>11</sup>*and lo*, a woman having a spirit.... <sup>12</sup>*Now* Jesus... (spoke) <sup>13</sup>*and* laid His hands on her.... <sup>14</sup>*Now* the ruler of the synagogue answered and...(complained). <sup>15</sup>*But* (δὲ) the Lord answered him and said ‘Hypocrite!’”

<sup>1</sup> A similar *anacoluthon* may be intended by the insertion of א before אלה in Lk xxii 37 S, but I incline to think the א a mere scribe's blunder. A similar construction after א חל is found in *Addai* 23<sup>4</sup>, 44<sup>3</sup>, as my friend Canon Kennett points out.



Here again it is obvious that we must omit the [*and*] in translating into English. The Peshitta also has **ⲁⲓⲕⲁ**, but it omits **ⲛ ⲙⲡⲥ**, although the Greek is *ἀλλ' ὅτι ταῦτα λελάληκα ὑμῖν, ἡ λύπη πεπλήρωκεν ὑμῶν τὴν καρδίαν*.

(B) Conditional Sentences.

Lk xii 45, 46. εἰς δὲ εἶπη ὁ δοῦλος ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ...καὶ ἄρξεται τύπτειν τοὺς παῖδας κ.τ.λ., <sup>46</sup> ἥξει ὁ κύριος τοῦ δούλου ἐκείνου...

Here  $S$  and  $C$  have

א. דג. נאציסם פון געבן בלעם.....נאציס לעבנס אהבה...  
 46. מלך און נאציסם פון...  
 47. נאציסם פון געבן בלעם.....נאציס לעבנס אהבה...

*Now if that slave shall say in his heart...and shall begin to beat the slaves... <sup>46</sup>[and] the lord of that slave will come....*

The apodosis is thus clearly introduced by **ၵ**, which we have to leave untranslated, or render by 'then.' The Peshitta agrees in the rendering of these verses with *SC*, but it omits the characteristic **ၵ** before **ၵၵၵ** at the beginning of *v.* 46, in accordance with the accepted syntactical theory.

The evidence of Lk xii 45, 46, is especially cogent, because *S* and *C* agree in inserting the  $\alpha$  and there is no variation in the Greek. In other instances we have only the evidence of single mss.

Matt xviii 12 *S*

א. נאמן ליהיה מלא אהבה ושלום כל ימיו ונאמן  
הענין הזה.

*If a man shall have a flock of one hundred and one of them be strayed, doth he not leave the ninety and nine...? (lit. 'and doth he not leave...?')*

Here *C* and the Peshitta have another word for sheep, and they also omit the **α** before **κλ**.

Matt xx 28 *fin. C*

.ሦስት ስም አለው .አስረኛ አልባባ ሦስትወት ሥ.አ  
 .ሦስትወት ሥ.አልባባ .አስረኛ አልባባ ሦስትወት ሥ.አ  
 .አልባባ ሦስትወት ሥ.አልባባ .አስረኛ አልባባ ሦስትወት ሥ.አ

*But if thou sit down to meat in a lesser place, and there come one less than thou, and the lord of the supper say to thee 'Bring thyself and come up and sit down to meat,' then thou shalt have more glory in the eyes of the guests.*



The illegibility of the **α** in Lk xi 8 is all the more to be regretted, as the sentence is of a somewhat different type to those we have been examining. The **κ** has a concessive force, i.e. 'though' or 'even if,' and in the apodosis the first word is not a verb, but a noun preceded by a preposition.

Lk xviii 4, 5 *S*[illegible]

*Though of God I am not afraid and for man I have no reverence, <sup>5</sup> yet this widow who thus fatigueth me I will requite.*

*C* has כחלוב instead of כחמבא; the relative thus being dropped, כחמבא now begins a third conjunctive clause of the protasis, and the apodosis consists of the single word כחחבא 'I will requite her.' For א....כחמבא[א] the Peshitta has

אין זיין פאמיליע, און ער האט אים געזאגט, אז ער

so that the sentence runs ‘*Though of God I am not afraid and of men I have no reverence, even though it is because this widow fatigueth me, I will requite her.*’ This contains an admirable rendering of *διὰ γε τὸ παρέχειν μοι κόπον τὴν χήραν ταύτην*, but it will be noticed that in this rendering also the α before the apodosis has disappeared.

Lk ix 58 S.

ମିତ୍ରା କିମ୍ବଦନ୍ତୀ କଥାମିତ୍ରା ଏକ ଦୁଇ ମଧ୍ୟ ମିତ୍ରା ଏ  
ମଧ୍ୟ ଗାୟତ୍ରୀ ଚିତ୍ର ମିତ୍ରା ମଧ୍ୟ ମିତ୍ରା

*Though the foxes have dens and the birds of the heaven have nests, yet the Son of Man hath not where He may rest His head.*

In agreement with the Greek, *C* and the Peshitta omit **א** and read **אם לא** instead of **אם לא**, besides one or two minor variations.

The word  $\text{ܝܥܐ}$  'yea' is written  $\text{ܝܥܐ}$  in Lk xii 5 *S*, but there can be little doubt that  $\text{ܝܥܐ}$  here stands in *S* for 'if' or 'though'.<sup>1</sup> An 'if' is more than once inserted in *S* where the construction seemed to require it, e.g. Matt xiii 28, Mk xii 37. But the half dozen instances which I have given of conditional sentences, in which the apodosis

<sup>1</sup> So also Dr Merx in his translation, p. 133.



similarly in syr.vg with the substitution of ,ܡܠܝܬܐ for the last word. Only in the Harclean do we find ,ܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܐܡܝܢ ܕܥܠܝܐ.

In view of the concession to Greek idiom made by the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* in Matt x 11, it is a remarkable circumstance that in D and that excellent minuscule cod. 28 the clause runs ἡ πόλις εἰς ἣν ἂν εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς αὐτήν, κ.τ.λ. Why do Western authorities thus syriacize at a point where Syriac texts graecize?

And in Mk vi 10, where the Greek is ὅπου ἐὰν εἰσέλθῃτε εἰς οἰκίαν, a phrase which reads like a translation from a Semitic original, why are S and syr.vg assimilated to the phraseology of the other Gospels?

It is easier to ask these questions than to suggest a satisfactory solution.

[Nöldeke § 355.] In my translation I have uniformly left the relative in short adjectival or adverbial phrases untranslated, wherever the verbal construction is left unexpressed. Thus ܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ really means 'the things that are in heaven,' but ܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ is better rendered into English by 'our Father in heaven,' than by the full verbal statement 'our Father, who art (or, who is) in heaven!'. The mere fact that the relative in Syriac is a light unaccented half-syllable has doubtless helped the tendency of the language to insert it where the sense would be over-expressed by the English relative.

[Nöldeke § 358 B.] See above, on § 338 c.

[Nöldeke § 373.] In three passages ܡܠܝܬܐ seems to stand elliptically at the beginning of a sentence. The use of ܡܠܝܬܐ for ܡܠܝܬܐ in prohibitions is not found in the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, unless we regard Joh v 45 C as an exception, so it is improbable that the ܡ in ܡܠܝܬܐ stands for 'inverted commas,' like ὅτι *recitativum*. The instances are

(i) Matt viii 4 (Jesus saith to him Ὅρα μηδενὶ εἰπῆς)

ܕܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ ܡܠܝܬܐ...ܡܠܝܬܐ S C

where the Peshitta has ܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ instead of ܡܠܝܬܐ, i.e. 'See, do not say to any one.' Thus in S C ܡܠܝܬܐ corresponds to ὅρα and the negative contained in μηδενί.

<sup>1</sup> Of course ܡܠܝܬܐ ܕܥܠܝܐ could not be used in Syriac for 'our heavenly Father' (cf Matt xviii 10 'their-angels in-heaven-behold my-Father-in-heaven').

ಪಿಂಚು ಬದಲಿಸುವುದು : ಅಂದಾಜು ಮಾಡುವುದು ಮತ್ತು ಸೂಚನೆ  
 .ನಿರ್ದೇಶಿಸುವುದು

କ୍ଷମା କରନ୍ତୁ ଯଦି କିଛି ଭୁଲ୍ ହୋଇଛି

(iii) Matt xxv 9 (The wise virgins reply *Μήποτε οὐκ ἀρκέσῃ ἡμῶν καὶ ὑμῶν*)

[illegible]

It is noteworthy with what persistence the Peshitta avoids **ܠܟܝܢ** and **ܠܟܝܢ ܐܝܡܝܢ**. This is the case in Matt ix 30, xviii 10, xxiv 5, Mk i 44, Lk xxi 8, in all of which places the phrase is used by the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. The only exception I have noted is Mk xiii 5 **ܠܟܝܢ ܐܝܡܝܢ ܠܟܝܢ**, where *S* has **ܠܟܝܢ**.

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and that  $\mathfrak{a}_m$  in  $S$  is a relic of this reading.



[§ 374, *Note at end.*] The use of to express *āw*, common in later Syriac translations from the Greek, is naturally absent from the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. But *S* preserves two instances of the use of in alternatives (Nöldeke § 372 B), corresponding to أَمْ in Arabic<sup>1</sup>. Thus Mk xiii 35 *S*

*For ye know not when the master of the house cometh, not whether it be in the evening-time, nor whether in the midnight, nor whether in the morning twilight, nor whether at the dawn.*

Similarly in Matt xviii 8 *S\** has '*it is better for thee to enter life*  
*ܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܐ ܐܢ ܬܝܪܝܬ ܚܝܬܐ ܕܢܐ* whether lame or halt.' The *ܢܐ*  
has been apparently washed out of the text by a corrector and does  
not appear in *C* or the Peshitta, but the occurrence of the word in  
Mk xiii 35 inclines me to believe it genuine here also.

[illegible]

<sup>1</sup> According to *Wright* ii § 166 the Arab grammarians distinguish between alternatives separated by **ام** and by **او**. In the former case one of the alternatives is known by the speaker to be true, in the latter no knowledge is assumed.

is lost in the Peshitta. ܐܠܐ is practically our 'if only':—'if only,' says Christ to the apostles, 'ye had the grain of faith which ye have not, ye would have said....'

[§ 375 B.] Just like our 'if only,' the sense of ܐܠܐ passes into that of a wish, and Lk xii 49 *C* is worth quoting here as a parallel to the passage of the Julian Romance quoted by Dr Nöldeke. In *Julian* 23<sup>22</sup> the Jews say ܐܠܐ ܕܢܫܐ ܕܢܫܐ ܕܢܫܐ i.e. 'And how much ye would have been pleased if only our star had set!' This is in form exactly like ܐܠܐ ܕܢܫܐ ܕܢܫܐ ܕܢܫܐ, i.e. 'And how I should be pleased if only the fire had been already kindled!' For the first clause *S* has ܕܢܫܐ ܕܢܫܐ, perhaps a slip for ܕܢܫܐ ܕܢܫܐ, but the construction of ܐܠܐ is the same as in *C*. The Peshitta agrees with *C* but omits ܕܢܫܐ.

### Vocabulary.

The Vocabulary of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is characterised by a straightforward simplicity, which is to some extent preserved in the Peshitta. There are certain standing locutions which are used constantly to the exclusion of others that might be thought equally good Syriac. Of these the most remarkable is the use of ܐܝܬܐ 'life' for σωτήριον and σωτηρία as well as for ζωή. This extends to the verbal forms: ܐܝܬܐ is used for 'to save.' *Salvation* and *Life* were thus identical terms in Syriac theological language, a different word (ܐܝܬܐ) being reserved for 'deliverance.'

Similarly 'to come (or go) after' stands both for ἀκολουθεῖν and for ἔρχεσθαι ὀπίσω, and among nouns 'field' is ܐܝܬܐ and 'boat' is ܐܝܬܐ. To each of the last there is one exception: ܐܝܬܐ is used for 'field' in Lk xvii 7 *S*, and ܐܝܬܐ ('ship') is used for 'boat' in Matt xiv 22 *C*, a verse where *S* is illegible.

Notable Greek words are:—

ܐܝܬܐ occurs in Mk xii 38 *S*, Lk xx 46 *S C*, where the Greek has ἐν στολαῖς. The *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* apparently understood that the Scribes wished to walk ἐν Στοαῖς like the Philosophers: cf Joh x 23. ܐܝܬܐ for στολή occurs in Mk xvi 5 *S*, Lk xv 22 *S C*.



25 *S*, stands for ܠܗܘܝܬܐ (i.e. *sedition*, the crime of a *στασιάρχος*), a word that actually occurs elsewhere in Syriac (Guidi, *Statuti.. di Nisibi* GSAI iv 183<sup>3</sup>). It is easy to see how ܠܗܘܝܬܐ could be corrupted into the ܠܗܘܝܬܐ found in *C*, while ܡܡܝܢ appears to come from a further confusion of this word with ܡܡܠܐ, i.e. ܡܡܠܐܝܬܐ<sup>1</sup>.

More frequent than transliteration is the use of genuine Semitic phraseology to render technical terms. The list that follows is arranged in alphabetical order.

ܠܗܘܝܬܐ ܠܗܘܝܬܐ ܠܗܘܝܬܐ Joh x 22 *S* (= τὰ ἐνκαίνια). The use of ܠܗܘܝܬܐ, *lit.* 'honour,' for *Dedication* is curiously illustrated from the inscriptions on Palmyrene tombs. In addition to the inscription of ownership, which usually begins 'This grave (ܩܒܪܐ ܕܢܐ) was made by So-and-so,' there is in at least two cases a tablet under an ornamental niche, which says 'This memorial (or this statue), which is ܝܩܪ ܒܬ ܥܠܡܐ, was set up by So-and-so to the honour of his family' (*De Vogüé* i pp. 40, 41, and p. 47). The setting up of the ornamental statue of the family genius or of the guardian of the tomb was the Dedication of the building to sacred purposes, just as the setting up of the Altar by Judas Maccabaeus (1 Macc iv 56) was the Dedication of the Temple. In any case it is interesting to find the same technical term used by the Christians of Edessa as was used by their heathen cousins at Palmyra about a century earlier.

ܐܪܢܐ *a bier*, Lk vii 14 *S*<sup>vid</sup>. The original form of this Semitic word is preserved in the Arabic إِرَانٌ 'irān 'a bier.' This became in Hebrew אֲרוֹן, the long *a* becoming *ō*, as usual. The meaning is 'box' or 'ark,' and so was used for the 'Ark of the Covenant.' The Hebrew word in this technical sense passed over into Jewish Aramaic and also into Edessene Syriac, but the *ō* of 'arōnā marks the word as borrowed from Hebrew. The Christian Palestinian (in Lk vii 14) has retained the word with the genuine Aramaic vowel, the spelling varying between ܐܪܢܐ and ܐܪܢܐ.

ܠܗܘܝܬܐ Lk ii 14 *S* (= εὐδοκία). The word corresponds exactly to רַעְיָה Ezr v̄ 17, vii 18. See above, on *Nöldeke* § 51.

<sup>1</sup> Somewhat similar to these words is ܠܗܘܝܬܐ, (i.e. *κυστιονάρχοι*, *quaestionarii*), used in the Peshitta as the equivalent of *κουστωδία* Matt xxvii 65ff. Here *S* has ܠܗܘܝܬܐ and ܠܗܘܝܬܐ. The word ܠܗܘܝܬܐ (always in the plural as here) is, however, common in Syriac literature.

ܐܝܢܕܝܬܐ Lk xxiii 48 *S C* (= συνπαράγενοίμενοι): cf Acts of Thomas 178. The word exactly corresponds to 'se trouver' in French.

ܐܝܬܐܝܬܐ to be excited (of persons), used by all Syriac versions for ἐμβριμάσθαι Joh xi 33, 38; also for ἀναστενάζειν Mk viii 12 *S*, and for διῶσχυρίζεσθαι Lk xxii 59 *S C*. The word seems to be a metaphor taken from the stirring up of a storm.

ܐܝܬܐܝܬܐ praters Joh vii 49 *S*<sup>vid</sup> (see vol. i, p. 554), corresponding to ὁ ὄχλος οὗτος. Here *C* has ܐܝܬܐܝܬܐ.

ܐܝܬܐܝܬܐ: in Matt vi 7 *S* has 'do not be saying battālāthā,' i.e. idle things, to render μὴ βατταλογήσητε, and a similar rendering is found in the Palestinian Lectionary. *C* and the Peshitta have 'be not stammering' (mḡraqqḡḡn), i.e. μὴ βαπτολογήσητε. Is it possible that the word βατταλογεῖν is actually an early Christian coinage from the Aramaic?

ܐܝܬܐܝܬܐ the under-hair of camels, Matt iii 4 *S C*. The word also occurred in Ephraim's Commentary on the Diatessaron, according to Ishō'dād (*Harris*, p. 22).

ܐܝܬܐܝܬܐ Lk viii 6 *S C*. ܐܝܬܐܝܬܐ stands for φνὲν ἐξηράνθη, but ܐܝܬܐܝܬܐ means 'to be emaciated, wizened (from drought)' Ephr iv 491 B.

ܐܝܬܐܝܬܐ wild mint Matt xxiii 23 *S* (= ἡδύοσμον). *C* and syr.vg have the ordinary word ܐܝܬܐܝܬܐ, and so also *S* in Lk xi 42. The derivation of ܐܝܬܐܝܬܐ is obscure, but it does not seem to be a mis-writing of ἡδύοσμον in Syriac letters, as the *i* was quite clear in *S*.

ܐܝܬܐܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐܝܬܐ seed of the Gentiles, used in Joh vii 35 *S C* for ἡ διασπορά τῶν Ἑλλήνων. ܐܝܬܐܝܬܐ, lit. 'Aramaean,' is the regular conventional equivalent in Christian Syriac for 'a heathen,' without ethnographic signification, e.g. Rom i 16. But the way ܐܝܬܐܝܬܐ is used suggests that the technical sense of διασπορά for 'the Dispersed Jews' was not familiar to the translator. The Peshitta here has 'the countries of the nations.' In James i 1 διασπορά is rendered 'those sown among the nations' (ܐܝܬܐܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐܝܬܐ), and in 1 Pet i 1 the 'Diaspora of Pontus' is translated 'those sown in Pontus.'

ܐܝܬܐܝܬܐ. The use of ܐܝܬܐܝܬܐ, life, to render σωτηρία and σωτήριον, instead of some word meaning 'deliverance,' together with the corresponding

equivalence of ܠܐܝܬܐ and σώζεσθαι, belongs rather to theology and philosophy than to linguistics. It is noteworthy that this remarkable usage of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* whereby 'salvation' is identified with 'life,' was retained in syr.vg. The same definition of 'salvation' is given also by Clement of Alexandria: Σωτηρία τοίνυν τὸ ἐπεσθαι Χριστῷ· ὃ γὰρ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἐστίν (Paed I vi 27).

ܠܬܝܬܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ the coming-to-life of the dead, used for ἀνάστασις Matt xxiii 23, 28, 30, in *S* and partly also in *C* and syr.vg. It corresponds exactly to the Jewish תחיית המתים. The ordinary equivalent to ἀνάστασις is ܠܡܬܝܬܐ: it is noteworthy that the specifically Syriac term for the Resurrection, viz. ܠܡܬܝܬܐ, well used in the Peshitta of Joh xi 24, 25, does not occur in the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. Perhaps in early times ܠܡܬܝܬܐ meant ἀνάψυξις (Ac iii 19) rather than ἀνάστασις.

ܠܡܬܝܬܐ to be acquainted with, Mk xiv 68 *S*, Lk xxii 60 *S* (not *C*), Lk xxiv 18 *S C*, where other texts have ܠܡܬܝܬܐ. Hence ܠܡܬܝܬܐ acquaintance, used for οἱ γνωστοί Lk xxiii 49 *S C*, for γνωστός Joh xviii 15, 16 *S*. Similarly ܠܡܬܝܬܐ, used for "Boaz מוֹדַעְתְּנוּ" in Ruth iii 2 syr.vg. In all three places *S* spells the word ܠܡܬܝܬܐ (cf Nöldeke § 126 B).

ܠܡܬܝܬܐ ܠܡܬܝܬܐ carob-pods of the sea, used for κέρατια Lk xv 16 *C*, where *S* has ܠܡܬܝܬܐ, i.e. 'S. John's Bread,' the Carob-tree bean: see art. 'Husks' in Encyclopaedia Biblica. But the addition of ܠܡܬܝܬܐ is very puzzling.

ܠܡܬܝܬܐ, i.e. the hills, is used for ἀγρός in the sense of 'the open-country' in Lk xii 28 *S C*, and μέλι ἄγριον is translated ܠܡܬܝܬܐ ܠܡܬܝܬܐ Matt iii 4 *S*. ܠܡܬܝܬܐ, hill, is used for this sense of ἀγρός in the Palestinian Lectionary.

ܠܡܬܝܬܐ ܠܡܬܝܬܐ Mk xii 14 *S* evidently differs from ܠܡܬܝܬܐ ܠܡܬܝܬܐ, the ordinary Syriac equivalent for 'poll-tax,' in order to indicate ἐπικεφάλαιον rather than κῆνσος.

ܠܡܬܝܬܐ Joh ix 21 *S*. For αὐτὸς ἡλικίαν ἔχει *S* has ܠܡܬܝܬܐ ܠܡܬܝܬܐ 'lo, he also hath become master of his years.' The Peshitta here has ܠܡܬܝܬܐ ܠܡܬܝܬܐ ܠܡܬܝܬܐ 'he also hath entered his years,' an almost equally idiomatic phrase.

ܠܡܬܝܬܐ Lk xvii 10 *C*. The word means 'the sweepings of a threshing-

floor,' 'chaff,' e.g. Amos viii 6. I have therefore translated ܠܬܝܢ ܠܬܝܢ by 'slaves and riff-raff.' But it is not unlikely that the translator confused ἀχρεῖοι *useless* with ἄχυροι *chaff-heaps*. The use of the rare Syriac word ܠܬܝܢ in this forced and unnatural connexion probably led to its omission in *S*, followed by the Ethiopic version.

ܠܬܝܢܐ the morning-twilight watch, Mk xiii 35 *S*, is fem. to agree with ܠܬܝܢܐ understood. The Greek has ἀλεκτοροφωνία.

ܠܬܝܢ Joh iii 2 *S*, ܠܬܝܢ Joh iv 48 *C*, well known as a Jewish Aramaic term for 'miracle.' In Syriac it seems only to be used in the plural, chiefly in the phrase ܠܬܝܢܐ ܠܬܝܢܐ (i.e. σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, as in Joh iv 48 and in Aphraates 181, 273). But in Joh iii 2 *S* ܠܬܝܢ corresponds to σημεῖα alone.

ܠܬܝܢ to cast lots, Matt xxvii 35 *S*, Lk xxiii 34 *S C*, where the Greek has βάλλειν κλήρον. The ordinary Syriac phrase is ܠܬܝܢ ܠܬܝܢ, as in Mk xv 24 *S*; but ܠܬܝܢ also occurs in Joh xix 24 syr.vg, where however the Greek has λαγχάνειν without κλήρον.

ܠܬܝܢ unleavened bread (τὰ ἄζυμα), used in S. John to render πάσχα. See above on ܠܬܝܢ, and the Note on Joh vi 4.

ܠܬܝܢܐ the mob, the common people, Joh vii 49 *C*. The Greek is only ὁ ὄχλος οὗτος, but the comparatively rare Syriac word exactly hits the sense required. *S* has ܠܬܝܢܐ *praters*: the ܬ and the ܠ are quite clear in the photograph taken by Mrs Lewis in 1902 (see above, p. 81). Possibly the original Syriac was ܠܬܝܢܐ *outsiders*, as in Mk iv 11.

ܠܬܝܢܐ (with suffix) for ὅλως, Matt v 34 *S C*, Joh ix 34 *S*: see on Nöldeke § 155.

ܠܬܝܢܐ a puddle, shallow pool, Matt xiii 5 *S* (as I read the photograph). The word occurs in a gloss on τὰ πετρώδη, inserted apparently to shew that there was there a little moisture, though without 'depth of earth.' ܠܬܝܢܐ is used in Exod ii 3 syr.vg to translate ἡδ.

ܠܬܝܢܐ ܠܬܝܢܐ letting the hands hang down (i.e. 'helplessness'), and ܠܬܝܢܐ ܠܬܝܢܐ clasping the hands together (i.e. 'perplexity') are used to render ἀπορία Lk xxi 25. The former is in *S*, the latter in *C* and syr.vg.

ܠܡܢܝ Matt vi 5 S, Lk xiv 21 S C, is used to render *ρύμη* 'lane,' as distinguished from ܠܡܢܝ 'bazar,' a word which corresponds both to *ἀγορά* and to *πλατεῖα*. Like some other words for 'small street' in various languages ܠܡܢܝ means by etymology 'a fissure.'

ܠܚܠܬܐ *blue-purple*, used as a technical term for the 'ribband of blue' worn on a Jew's dress in accordance with Nu xv 38. It corresponds to *κράσπεδον* in Matt xiv 36 C, Matt xxiii 5 S C (and syr.vg). In Matt ix 20 S has ܠܚܠܬܐ (as also in xiv 36), while syr.vg has ܠܚܠܬܐ: it may therefore be conjectured that here also ܠܚܠܬܐ was the original reading of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*. Was there a prejudice against representing our Lord as dressed in a distinctively Jewish garb?

ܠܚܠܬܐ, i.e. Hebr. תפילין, used by syr.vg in Matt xxiii 5 for *φυλακτήρια*, but S C have ܠܚܠܬܐ ܠܚܠܬܐ 'the straps of their phylacteries.'

ܠܚܠܬܐ ܠܚܠܬܐ *an insipid fig-tree*, Lk xix 4 S C and syr.vg (= *συκομορέα*). There does not seem to be any other instance of ܠܚܠܬܐ in the sense of 'wild': in fact, the natural rendering of ܠܚܠܬܐ ܠܚܠܬܐ is 'a fig that has gone bad,' and it is difficult to resist the obvious explanation that the translator did not know what tree was meant and translated the word as if it were *συκὴν μωράν*. In Lk xvii 6 S C and syr.vg translate *συκάμινος* by ܠܚܠܬܐ i.e. 'mulberry.'

The Diatessaron, on the other hand, translated *συκομορέα* in Lk xix 4 by ܠܚܠܬܐ, the tree whose name forms part of the word 'Bethphage,' and if we may trust the Arabic (*Diat* xxxiii 10) it had 'fig' instead of mulberry in the passage corresponding to Lk xvii 6.



APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II.

(A) *Renderings of εὐθύς, εὐθέως, and kindred expressions.*

The renderings for εὐθύς which we commonly find in the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* are ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܢ, ܡܬܝܬܝܢ ܝܢ, ܠܬܝܬܝܢ, and simple omission. In Latin also several renderings (including simple omission) are found, such as *continuo*, *confestim*, *protinus*, and *statim*. The lists which follow were originally drawn up in order to ascertain whether the Latin and the Syriac renderings shewed any tendency to agree independently of the Greek, but such is not the case, even with regard to omissions.

	S	C	Syr.vg
Matt iii 16 εὐθύς	om.	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܢ	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ
iv 20 εὐθέως	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܢ	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܢ	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ
22 εὐθέως (om. lat.vt)	om.	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܢ	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ
viii 3 εὐθέως (om. N*)	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܢ	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܢ	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܢ
13 ἐν τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐκείνῃ	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܢ	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܢ	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܢ
ix 25 (παράχρημα Φ)	ܡܬܝܬܝܢ ܝܢ	hiat	om. (=rell.)
30 (after καὶ: cf xx 34)	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܢ	hiat	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ
xiii 5 εὐθέως	ܡܬܝܬܝܢ ܝܢ	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܢ	ܡܬܝܬܝܢ ܝܢ
20 εὐθύς (om. e)	om.	ܬܝܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܢ	ܡܬܝܬܝܢ ܝܢ
21 εὐθύς	ܬܝܬܝܬܝܢ	ܬܝܬܝܬܝܢ	ܬܝܬܝܬܝܢ
xiv 22 εὐθέως (om. N*C*al)	illegible	om.	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ
27 εὐθύς	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܢ	ܡܬܝܬܝܢ ܝܢ
31 εὐθέως	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܢ	ܡܬܝܬܝܢ ܝܢ
xx 34 εὐθέως	hiat	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܢ	ܡܬܝܬܝܢ ܝܢ
xxi 2 εὐθέως (om. lat.eur)	hiat	ܠܡ	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ
3 εὐθύς	hiat	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ
19 παράχρημα	hiat	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܢ	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ
20 παράχρημα	ܡܬܝܬܝܢ ܝܢ	ܡܬܝܬܝܢ ܝܢ	ܡܬܝܬܝܢ ܝܢ
xxiv 29 εὐθέως	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ	hiat	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ
xxv 15 ad fin. εὐθέως	illegible	„	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ
xxvi 49 εὐθέως	om.	„	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ
74 εὐθύς (or -έως)	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܢ	„	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܢ
xxvii 48 εὐθέως	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܢ	„	ܠܬܝܬܝܢ ܡܢ

	<i>S</i>	<i>C</i>	Syr. vg
Mk i 10 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> D lat. eur)	<i>hiat</i>	<i>hiat</i>	ܡܚܕܐ
12 εὐθὺς	<i>hiat</i>	"	ܡܚܕܐ
18 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> c)	ܡܚܕܐ	"	ܡܚܕܐ
20 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> b t)	ܡܚܕܐ	"	ܡܚܕܐ
21 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> c)	<i>om.</i>	"	ܡܚܕܐ
23 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> 5 D latt)	( <i>om.</i> )	"	<i>om.</i>
28 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> N* 1 28 lat. vt)	<i>om.</i>	"	ܡܚܕܐ
29 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> D e c. ff r)	<i>om.</i>	"	<i>om.</i>
30 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> b c. ff q r)	<i>om.</i>	"	<i>om.</i>
31 (εὐθέως, <i>om.</i> N B al e arm)	ܡܚܕܐ	"	ܡܚܕܐ
42 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> b c r)	ܡܚܕܐ	"	ܡܚܕܐ
43 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> e b c aeth)	<i>om.</i>	"	<i>om.</i>
ii 2 (εὐθέως, <i>om.</i> N B al)	<i>hiat</i>	"	<i>om.</i>
8 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> D 28 565 al)	<i>hiat</i>	"	<i>om.</i>
12 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> lat. vt)	<i>hiat</i>	"	ܡܚܕܐ
iii 6 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> D L b c q)	ܡܚܕܐ	"	ܡܚܕܐ
iv 5 εὐθὺς	<i>om.</i>	"	ܡܚܕܐ
15 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> 1-209 arm)	<i>om.</i>	"	ܡܚܕܐ
16 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> D 28 c. ff i q)	<i>om.</i>	"	ܡܚܕܐ
17 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> 1-209)	<i>hiat</i>	"	ܡܚܕܐ
29 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> e c)	<i>hiat</i>	"	ܡܚܕܐ
v 2 (εὐθὺς, <i>om.</i> B lat. vt arm)	<i>om.</i>	"	<i>om.</i>
13 (εὐθέως, <i>om.</i> N B al)	<i>om.</i>	"	<i>om.</i>
29 εὐθὺς	<i>hiat</i>	"	ܡܚܕܐ
30 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> lat. eur)	<i>hiat</i>	"	ܡܚܕܐ
36 (εὐθέως, <i>om.</i> N B D al latt. } exc. a)	<i>hiat</i>	"	<i>om.</i>
42 εὐθὺς	<i>hiat</i>	"	ܡܚܕܐ
vi 25* εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> D L 1 lat. vt)	ܡܚܕܐ	"	ܡܚܕܐ
25 <sup>b</sup> ἐξαυτῆς ( <i>om.</i> D c f)	ܡܚܕܐ ܡܚܕܐ	"	ܡܚܕܐ ܡܚܕܐ
27 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> c. ff vg)	<i>om.</i>	"	ܡܚܕܐ
45 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> c)	ܡܚܕܐ	"	ܡܚܕܐ
50 εὐθὺς ( <i>om.</i> D 33 c. ff i)	ܡܚܕܐ	"	ܡܚܕܐ

	<i>S</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>Syr.vg</i>
Mk vi 54 εὐθὺς ( <i>om. q</i> )	ܡ ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܐ	<i>hiat</i>	ܡܠܗܐ ܝܢ
vii 25 εὐθὺς ( <i>om. a n q</i> )	<i>om.</i>	„	ܠܗܝܬܐ
35 (εὐθὺς, <i>om. B D lat.vt</i> )	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܐ	„	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܐ ܡܐ
viii 10 εὐθὺς ( <i>om. D lat.vt exc. a</i> )	<i>om.</i>	„	ܠܗܝܬܐ
ix 8 ἐξάπινα (εὐθὺς <i>D lat.eur</i> )	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܐ	„	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܐ
15 εὐθὺς	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܐ	„	ܡܠܗܐ ܝܢ
20 εὐθὺς ( <i>om. D lat.eur.</i> )	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܐ	„	ܡܠܗܐ ܝܢ
24 εὐθὺς	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܐ	„	ܡܠܗܐ ܝܢ
x 52 εὐθὺς	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܐ	„	ܠܗܝܬܐ
xi 2 εὐθὺς ( <i>om. k</i> )	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܐ	„	ܡܠܗܐ ܝܢ
3 εὐθὺς	ܠܗܝܬܐ	„	ܠܗܝܬܐ
xiv 43 εὐθὺς ( <i>om. D 1 13 565 latt</i> )	<i>om.</i>	„	<i>om.</i>
45 εὐθὺς ( <i>om. D 565 lat.vt</i> )	ܠܗܝܬܐ	„	ܡܠܗܐ ܝܢ
72 εὐθὺς ( <i>om. 5</i> )	<i>om.</i>	„	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܐ
xv 1 εὐθὺς ( <i>om. a c</i> )	<i>om.</i>	„	ܠܗܝܬܐ
Lk i 64 παραχρήμα ( <i>om. e</i> )	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܐ	<i>hiat</i>	ܠܗܝܬܐ
ii 38 αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܐ	„	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܐ ܡܐ
iv 39 παραχρήμα	ܡܠܗܐ ܝܢ	„	ܠܗܝܬܐ
v 13 εὐθέως	ܡܠܗܐ ܝܢ	„	ܡܠܗܐ ܝܢ
25 παραχρήμα	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܐ	„	ܠܗܝܬܐ
39 (εὐθέως, <i>om. NB</i> <i>om. ver D latt</i> )	<i>hiat</i>	„	ܠܗܝܬܐ
vi 49 εὐθὺς ( <i>om. D a c</i> )	ܡܠܗܐ ܝܢ	„	ܡܠܗܐ ܝܢ
vii 21 ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܐ	„	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܐ ܡܐ ܡܐ
viii 44 παραχρήμα	<i>om.</i>	<i>om.</i>	ܠܗܝܬܐ
47 παραχρήμα	ܡܠܗܐ ܝܢ	ܡܠܗܐ ܝܢ	ܠܗܝܬܐ
55 παραχρήμα ( <i>om. N*</i> )	ܡܠܗܐ ܝܢ	ܡܠܗܐ ܝܢ	ܠܗܝܬܐ
x 21 ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ ( <i>die e</i> )	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܐ	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܐ	ܠܗܝܬܐ ܡܐ ܡܐ
xii 36 εὐθέως ( <i>om. e Cyp</i> )	ܠܗܝܬܐ	ܡܠܗܐ ܝܢ	ܠܗܝܬܐ
54 εὐθέως	ܡܠܗܐ ܝܢ	<i>om.</i>	ܠܗܝܬܐ
xiii 13 παραχρήμα	ܡܠܗܐ ܝܢ	ܡܠܗܐ ܝܢ	ܠܗܝܬܐ

	S	C	Syr.vg
Lk xiv 5 εὐθέως	om.	ܠܡܥܢ	ܠܡܥܢ
xvii 7 εὐθέως (om. b s. ff' i q)	ܠܡܥܢ	ܡܬܬܥܝܢ	ܠܡܥܢ
xviii 43 παραχρήμα	ܡܬܬܥܝܢ	ܡܬܬܥܝܢ	ܡܬܬܥܝܢ
xix 11 παραχρήμα (om. e)	ܡܬܬܥܝܢ	ܠܡܥܢ	ܠܡܥܢ
xx 19 ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ (om. e)	ܠܡܥܢ ܡܬܬܥܝܢ ܡܬܬܥܝܢ	ܠܡܥܢ ܡܬܬܥܝܢ ܡܬܬܥܝܢ	ܠܡܥܢ ܡܬܬܥܝܢ
xxi 9 οὐκ εὐθέως	ܠܡܥܢ ܠܡܥܢ	ܠܡܥܢ ܠܡܥܢ	ܠܡܥܢ ܠܡܥܢ
xxii 60 παραχρήμα	ܠܡܥܢ ܡܬܬܥܝܢ	ܠܡܥܢ ܡܬܬܥܝܢ	ܠܡܥܢ
xxiv 31 (om. Gr)	ܠܡܥܢ	ܠܡܥܢ	ܠܡܥܢ
33 αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ	ܠܡܥܢ ܡܬܬܥܝܢ	ܠܡܥܢ ܡܬܬܥܝܢ	ܠܡܥܢ ܡܬܬܥܝܢ
Joh v 9 εὐθέως (om. N* D l arm)	ܡܬܬܥܝܢ	ܠܡܥܢ ܡܬܬܥܝܢ	ܡܬܬܥܝܢ
vi 21 εὐθέως	ܡܬܬܥܝܢ	ܡܬܬܥܝܢ ܡܬܬܥܝܢ	ܠܡܥܢ ܡܬܬܥܝܢ
xi 44 (εὐθύς D p r f vg)	ܠܡܥܢ ܡܬܬܥܝܢ	hiat	om. (= vell.)
xiii 30 εὐθύς (om. e)	om.	„	ܡܬܬܥܝܢ
32 εὐθύς	ܠܡܥܢ	„	ܠܡܥܢ
xviii 27 εὐθέως	ܠܡܥܢ ܡܬܬܥܝܢ	„	ܠܡܥܢ ܡܬܬܥܝܢ
xix 34 εὐθύς (om. e)	hiat	„	ܠܡܥܢ
xxi 3 (εὐθύς, om. N B al latt)	om.	„	om.

The most notable points that emerge from the above lists are :—

(1) To render εὐθύς, εὐθέως, the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* tends to use ܠܡܥܢ ܡܬܬܥܝܢ, the Peshitta to use ܠܡܥܢ.

(2) In S. Luke ܠܡܥܢ ܡܬܬܥܝܢ is avoided as a rendering of εὐθύς, εὐθέως. This is probably due to the fact that [ἐν] αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ is so often used by this Evangelist.

(3) To render παραχρήμα the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* never uses ܠܡܥܢ, which is the almost constant rendering in the Peshitta.

(4) The omission of εὐθύς or εὐθέως rarely occurs, except in passages where a number of allied documents also omit.

(B) *Renderings of οὖν.*

The rendering of οὖν presents some interest on account of its extraordinary frequency as a connecting particle in S. John. The natural Syriac equivalent is ܕܠܡܢ, but like the English 'therefore,' to which it very nearly corresponds, it is slightly stronger than οὖν. Consequently we find in the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* that ܐܢܝܢ and ܕܠܡܢ (i.e. δὲ) are used to render οὖν. Simple omission also is not infrequent.

A table of the renderings would be unsatisfactory on account of the fluctuation in the Greek text itself. In many instances it is impossible to ascertain what Greek particle was likely to have stood in the ms that the translator of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* was using.

A numerical reckoning of the occurrences of ܕܠܡܢ gives some remarkable results.

ܕܠܡܢ occurs in	S	G	Syr.vg	No. of times οὖν is given in Bruder's Concordance
Matt	16	24	41	56
Mk	4	hiat	7	11
Lk	11	9	21	46
Joh	2	4	11	212

No doubt in a large number of cases the οὖν which is left untranslated was absent even from the codex used for revising the Peshitta, but when every allowance is made these numbers shew at a glance how insupportable the Johannine οὖν was felt to be in a Semitic rendering. It is a remarkable circumstance that both in S. Mark and S. John we have a connecting word very frequently employed in a manner that is hardly Greek, and yet not at the first glance Semitic.

In the course of working at the Syriac equivalents for S. Mark's ἐὼς and S. John's οὖν it has occurred to me that fundamentally they mean the same thing, and that they really correspond to the Hebrew 'wāw consecutive.' Not, of course, that either of these Gospels is a translation from the Hebrew; but if the authors of these Gospels were familiar with the Old Testament otherwise than through the awkward medium of the LXX, they might well have felt themselves in need of something to correspond to the Hebrew idiom. The essence of the meaning of 'wāw consecutive' is that the event related is regarded as happening in due sequence to what has gone before. To express this καὶ is too inadequate a link, while δὲ implies a contrast which is wholly wanting in the Hebrew: the turn of thought is more or less our English 'and so.' But this is exactly what S. Mark means by his καὶ ἐὼς, and it is what is generally meant in the Fourth Gospel by οὖν. Simon's wife's mother was sick of a fever *and so* they tell Jesus of her (καὶ ἐὼς Mk i 30): S. Mark does not mean to emphasise the haste they were in to tell the news. Similarly in S. John there are literally scores of verses beginning with εἶπεν οὖν or εἰπον οὖν where 'he said therefore' brings out far too prominently the idea of causation. All that is meant is ܕܠܡܢ 'and so he said,' or 'and so they said,' as the case may be.

The *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is the translation of the Gospels which of all others is nearest in spirit to the evangelists themselves. That this translation so often omits ἐὼς in S. Mark, and so often omits οὖν in S. John or translates it by a simple 'and,' is strong evidence that these particles are in their essential meaning nothing more than a copula—a copula, it may be, with a certain *nuance*, but still merely a copula.

(C) *Syriac equivalents for 'answered and said.'*

The Syriac renderings for ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν and the other Greek phrases which we usually render in English by 'answered and said' are ܐܢܟܪܝܬܐ ܕܢܐܡܪ 'he answered and said' and the simple ܐܢܟܪܝܬܐ 'he said.' The tense of these verbs will be discussed in the latter part of this Note.

The chief results obtained from tabulating the actual renderings found in *SC* and *syr.vg* are as follows:

(1) When the sense really is 'to make a reply' the Syriac is ܐܢܟܪܝܬܐ ܕܢܐܡܪ, 'to give a response.' It is only when the sense is practically no more than 'to say' that the Syriac uses ܐܢܟܪܝܬܐ ܕܢܐܡܪ or the simple ܐܢܟܪܝܬܐ.

(2) When ἀποκρίνεσθαι occurs alone without λέγειν the Syriac has ܐܢܟܪܝܬܐ not ܐܢܟܪܝܬܐ ܕܢܐܡܪ. The only exceptions are in the Peshitta text of S. John where 'answered and said' is found for ἀποκρίνεσθαι Joh v 7, 11, vi 68, viii 19, x 25, xiii (26,) 36, xviii 23, mostly without outside support. ܐܢܟܪܝܬܐ never occurs without ܐܢܟܪܝܬܐ. Even in Lk x 28 ὁρθῶς ἀπεκρίθης is rendered 'Well hast thou said!'

(3) In S. John, where the usual Greek phrase is ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπεν (or λέγει), *syr.vg* has 'answered and said' every time except Joh iv 17. In *S* and *C*, on the other hand, ܐܢܟܪܝܬܐ only occurs in

Joh ii 19 *S*, iii 9, 10 *C* (not *S* in either place), vii 16 *S* (not *C*), ix 20 *S*, xviii 30 *S*.

(4) In S. Matthew Syriac authorities read simple ܐܢܟܪܝܬܐ instead of ܐܢܟܪܝܬܐ ܕܢܐܡܪ in the following places, practically without other support:—

Matt iii 15	<i>C</i>	xvii 4	<i>C</i>	xxiv 2	— <i>vg</i>
xii 38	<i>S</i> ( <i>C</i> )	11	<i>C</i>	xxv 9	<i>S</i> —
xv 28	<i>S</i> <i>C</i> <i>vg</i>	xxi 27	<i>C</i>	37	— — <i>vg</i>
xvi 2	<i>C</i>	29	<i>S</i> <i>C</i>	xxvi 23	<i>S</i> —
17	<i>C</i>				

In the last four passages *C* is missing, and *S* is illegible in xxv 37. In Matt xii 38 *C* reads 'drew near' instead of 'answered' with *b* of the Old Latin.

(5) In S. Mark *C* fails us, and the many variations in the Greek make the task of enumerating the Syriac renderings more difficult and uncertain. In the following places *S* and *syr.vg* have ܐܢܟܪܝܬܐ instead of ܐܢܟܪܝܬܐ ܕܢܐܡܪ without outside support:—

Mk vi 37	<i>S</i> <i>vg</i>	x 3	<i>vg</i>
vii 28	<i>S</i>	51	<i>vg</i>
viii 29	<i>S</i>	xii 35	<i>S</i>
		xv 12	<i>vg</i>

The omission of 'answered' in Mk xi 33<sup>a</sup> is doubtless connected with the other variations in that verse, and therefore is not counted here.

(6) In S. Luke our Syriac authorities have ܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚ instead of ܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚ without outside support in the following places:—

Lk i 60 S	x 27 C	xix 40 C vg
iii 11 S C	41 C	xx 3 C
16 C	xiii 8 C vg	39 S C
vii 40 S C	xv 29 C vg	xxiii 3 C vg
43 S C	xvii 17 C	40 S C vg
ix 19 (S) C	20 C	xxiv 18 S C
	37 S C	

In Lk i 60, the only place where *S* stands alone in omission, *C* is missing. On the other hand *S* has ܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚ in Lk viii 46, 48, 50, where there is no ἀποκρίνεσθαι in the Greek, and also in Lk xx 34 where it is only found in inferior texts. In this last passage the Diatessaron seems to have had *Then said to them our Lord*, if we suppose that Aphraates 167 comes from Tatian's Harmony: the text of *S* may be an independent adaptation of Matt xxii 29.

The general impression left on me by these textual facts is that the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* very often rendered ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν and the kindred phrases by simple ܐܘܪܝܬܐ, and that there was a further tendency to drop the 'answered and,' even where it once stood in the Syriac text. This tendency is especially visible in *C*. It is not the case that *S* has any general tendency to insert ܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚ, for the only place where *S* has ܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚ against the Greek is Lk viii 46—50. But in syr.vg the reviser, in remedying the almost total omission of ܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚ from the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, did wrongly supply the word in a few passages.

In any case it is impossible to bring forward the 'Old Syriac' as an authority for the omission of ἀποκριθεὶς in these introductory phrases, though the presence of ܐܘܪܝܬܐ is good evidence that some form of ἀποκρίνεσθαι was contained in the text which lay before the translator.

The words ܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚ may be vocalised 'ēnā wemar (i.e. 'he answered and said') or 'ēnā wāmar (i.e. 'he answered and saith'). As a matter of fact, the traditional pointing of the Syriac Vulgate always makes it 'he answered and said,' both for ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν and for ἀποκριθεὶς λέγει. The earliest Syriac mss are not vocalised, but we may form some idea of the correctness of this vocalisation by observing how the form is rendered in the feminine and in the plural. In Syriac 'she answered and said' is ܕܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ, but 'she answered and saith' is ܕܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. If the traditional vocalisation for the masc. sing. be correct, the latter form ought never to appear; and similarly we ought always to find ܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ, never ܐܘܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ.

But the fact is that 'they answered and say' is by far the more common formula. In the following Table the Peshitta renderings are given with the variants of *S* and *C*. Where no reading of *S* is given the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* has ܐܘܪܝܬܐ without ܕܡܫܝܚ.

Syr.vg		Syr.vg	
Matt xii 38	ܠܝܟܠܝܢ...ܠܗ	Mk vii 28	ܠܝܟܠܝܢ ܠܗ
xxi 27	ܠܝܟܠܝܢ ܠܗ (=S, om. C)	xi 33 <sup>a</sup>	ܠܝܟܠܝܢ ܠܗ
xxv 9	ܠܝܟܠܝܢ...ܠܗ		
44	ܠܝܟܠܝܢ...ܠܗ (=S)	Joh ii 18	ܠܝܟܠܝܢ...ܠܗ
xxvi 66	ܠܝܟܠܝܢ ܠܗ (ܠܝܟܠܝܢ ܠܗ S)	vii 20	ܠܝܟܠܝܢ ܠܗ ܠܗ
xxvii 25	ܠܝܟܠܝܢ...ܠܗ (=S)	52	ܠܝܟܠܝܢ ܠܗ
		viii 39	ܠܝܟܠܝܢ ܠܗ
Lk i 60	ܠܝܟܠܝܢ...ܠܗ	48	ܠܝܟܠܝܢ...ܠܗ
ix 19	ܠܝܟܠܝܢ ܠܗ	ix 20	ܠܝܟܠܝܢ...ܠܗ (not S)
xvii 37	ܠܝܟܠܝܢ ܠܗ	34	ܠܝܟܠܝܢ ܠܗ
xx 39	ܠܝܟܠܝܢ...ܠܗ	xviii 30	ܠܝܟܠܝܢ ܠܗ (=S)

In Mk xi 33<sup>a</sup> some Peshitta mss have ܠܝܟܠܝܢ ܠܗ. In Joh ix 20 S has certainly ܠܝܟܠܝܢ, not ܠܝܟܠܝܢ. I have not given the Greek, as the Syriac renderings do not distinguish between ἀποκριθέντες λέγουσιν and ἀποκριθέντες εἶπον, or even ἀπεκρίθησαν καὶ εἶπον. It must also be noticed that the Peshitta text in this matter cannot be explained as a survival from the 'Old Syriac,' for in most of the passages the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* has the single verb, and in Lk i 60 S has the perf. ܠܝܟܠܝܢ where syr.vg has ܠܝܟܠܝܢ...ܠܗ.

Under these circumstances it is almost impossible to believe that ܠܝܟܠܝܢ ܠܗ should uniformly have been intended for 'ēnā wemar' in each of the 117 places where it occurs, and never for 'ēnā wāmar. The point in itself is of small importance, but it shews us that the traditional vocalisation of the Peshitta is not always to be trusted.

#### (D) The names of S. Peter.

The names by which S. Peter is spoken of afford a curious illustration of the danger of *a priori* reasoning in textual matters. The names actually found are (1) ܫܝܡܝܢ Shim'ôn, (2) ܟܦܬܐ Képhā (i.e. 'Stone'), and (3) the double name ܫܝܡܝܢ ܟܦܬܐ Shim'ôn Képhā. When once it was ascertained that the Syriac-speaking Church did not use the Greek name *Petros*, it might easily be assumed that *Shim'ôn* corresponded to Σίμων, and *Képhā* to Κηφᾶς and to Πέτρος. But this is not always borne out by the actual evidence.

The Greek name *Petros* only occurs once, viz. Joh i 42 S, where Κηφᾶς, ὁ ἐρμηνεύεται Πέτρος, is rendered

ܡܝܬܐ ܕܠܗ ܕܠܗ ܟܦܬܐ

*Kepha, that is interpreted in Greek 'Petros.'*

Here C is missing, and syr.vg simply omits ὁ ἐρμηνεύεται Πέτρος, just as the similar clause ὁ ἐστὶν μεθερμηνεύμενον Χριστός in the preceding verse is omitted by all the Syriac texts.

In a reference to the story of S. Peter walking on the water (Matt xiv 28) the name ܡܝܬܐ occurs twice in Ephraim Overbeck 27, but there is no exact quotation. In a somewhat similar allusion in Lamy i 263 the name 'Simon' only occurs.



As we should expect, *Σίμων* is generally rendered by *ܣܝܡܢ* *Simon*, as always in the phrase *Simon, son of Jona*, and also in Matt xvii 25<sup>c</sup>; Mk i 16, 30, 36, xiv 37; Lk iv 38 *bis*, v 4, 5, 10 *bis*, xxii 31 *bis*, xxiv 34, but *Simon Kepha* is put for *Σίμων* in Mk i 29 *S*, Lk v 3 syr.vg, Joh i 41 (42) *C*. The other Syriac texts have *Simon* alone in these three passages.

The following Table gives the Syriac renderings corresponding to Πέτρος in the Greek Gospels. Where the Greek has *Σίμων Πέτρος* the Syriac rendering is printed in *italics*.

S. MATT.	<i>S</i>	<i>C</i>	Syr.vg
iv 18	<i>Simon</i>	<i>Simon...Kepha</i>	<i>Simon...Kepha</i>
viii 14	Simon Kepha	Simon Kepha	Simon
x 2	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	—	<i>Simon...Kepha</i>
xiv 28	Simon Kepha	Simon Kepha	Kepha
29	Simon Kepha	Simon Kepha	Kepha
xv 15	Simon Kepha	Simon Kepha	Simon Kepha
xvi 16	—	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	<i>Simon Kepha</i>
18	—	Kepha	Kepha
22	—	Simon Kepha	Kepha
23	—	Simon	Kepha
xvii 1	—	Simon Kepha	Kepha
4	—	Simon Kepha	Kepha
24	Simon	Simon	Kepha
25 <sup>a</sup>	<i>om.</i>	Simon	<i>om.</i>
25 <sup>b</sup>	<i>om.</i>	<i>om.</i>	Kepha
26	<i>om.</i>	Simon	Simon
xviii 21	Simon Kepha	Simon Kepha	Kepha
xix 27	Simon Kepha	Simon Kepha	Kepha
xxvi 33	Simon Kepha	—	Kepha
35	Simon Kepha	—	Kepha
37	Simon	—	Kepha
40	Simon	—	Kepha
58	Simon	—	Simon Kepha
69	Simon	—	Kepha
73	Simon	—	Kepha
75	Simon	—	Kepha

There are here several insertions & transpositions of S. Peter's name in Greek and Latin mss

S. MARK

iii 16	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	—	<i>Simon...Kepha</i>
v 37	—	—	Simon Kepha

S. MARK	S	C	Syr.vg
viii 29	Kepha	—	Simon Kepha
32	Simon Kepha	—	Kepha
33	Kepha	—	Simon
ix 2	Kepha	—	Kepha
5	Kepha	—	Kepha
x 28	Kepha	—	Kepha
xi 21	Kepha	—	Simon
xiii 3	Kepha	—	Kepha
xiv 29	Kepha	—	Kepha
31	Simon	—	om. [syr.vg = 5 NBD latt]
33	Kepha	—	Kepha
37	Kepha	—	Kepha
54	Kepha	—	Simon
66	Kepha	—	Simon
67	om.	—	om. [syrr = 1 & c 13 & c 565 c]
70	Kepha	—	Kepha [om. D a]
72	Kepha	—	Simon
xvi 7	Kepha	—	Kepha
S. LUKE			
v 8	Simon	—	Simon Kepha [om. D 13 & c a b e]
vi 14	Simon...Kepha	—	Simon...Kepha
viii 45	Kepha	Kepha	Simon Kepha
51	Kepha	Kepha	Simon
ix 20	Simon Kepha	Simon Kepha	Simon ['Simon Petrus' c ff q f vg]
28	Kepha	Kepha	Simon
32	Kepha	Simon Kepha	Simon
33	Kepha	Kepha	Simon
xii 41	Kepha	Kepha	Simon Kepha
xviii 28	Kepha	Kepha	Simon Kepha
xxii 8	Kepha	Kepha	Kepha
34	Kepha	om.	Simon
54	Kepha	Simon Kepha	Simon
55	Kepha	Kepha	Simon
58	om.	Kepha	Kepha [S = D lat.eur]
60	Kepha	Kepha	Kepha
61 <sup>a</sup>	Kepha	Kepha	Kepha
61 <sup>b</sup>	Kepha	Kepha	Simon [om. D 157 g at]
62	om.	om.	Simon [syrr = NBD (om. v. 62 lat.vt)]
xxiv 12	Simon	Simon	Simon [om. v. 12 D lat.vt]

*Tabulated Renderings.*

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S. JOHN	<i>S</i>	<i>C</i>	Syr.vg
i 40 (41)	<i>Simon</i>	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	<i>Simon</i>
42 (43)	Kepha, <i>i.e.</i> Petros	—	Kepha
44 (45)	Simon	—	Simon
vi 8	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	<i>Simon Kepha</i>
68	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	<i>Simon Kepha</i>
xiii 6 <sup>a</sup>	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	—	<i>Simon Kepha</i>
6 <sup>b</sup>	Simon	—	Simon [λέγει, + 'Petrus' latt]
8	Simon	—	Simon Kepha
9	<i>Simon</i>	—	<i>Simon Kepha</i> [om. Σίμων D]
24	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	—	<i>Simon Kepha</i>
36	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	—	<i>Simon Kepha</i>
37	Simon	—	Simon Kepha [om. Πέτρος D]
xviii 10	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	—	<i>Simon Kepha</i>
11	Kepha	—	Kepha
15	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	—	<i>Simon Kepha</i>
16 <sup>a</sup>	Simon Kepha	—	Simon [for <i>S</i> , cf ver. 25]
16 <sup>b</sup>	Simon	—	Simon
17	Simon	—	Simon
18	Simon	—	Simon
25	[om. (cf vv. 16 <sup>a</sup> , 18)]	—	<i>Simon Kepha</i>
26	Simon 'Kepha' <sup>1</sup>	—	Simon
27	Simon	—	Simon
xx 2	Simon Kepha	—	Simon Kepha
3	om.	—	Simon
4	Simon	—	Simon
6	Simon	—	Simon
xxi 2	<i>Simon Kepha</i>	—	<i>Simon Kepha</i>
3	<i>Simon</i>	—	<i>Simon Kepha</i>
7 <sup>a</sup>	Simon	—	Kepha
7 <sup>b</sup>	<i>Simon</i>	—	<i>Simon</i> <sup>1</sup>
11	<i>Simon</i>	—	<i>Simon Kepha</i>
15	<i>Simon</i>	—	<i>Simon Kepha</i>
17	Simon	—	Kepha
20	Simon	—	Simon Kepha
21	Simon	—	Kepha

A glance at the above tables will shew the necessity for taking each Gospel separately and also for considering what the underlying Greek is.

<sup>1</sup> Ephr vi 158 has *Simon Kepha*.

Where the Greek has Σίμων Πέτρος, the Syriac has naturally *Simon Kepha*, the exceptions being Matt iv 18 and Joh i 40 (41), xxi 3, 7<sup>b</sup>, 11, 15, where *S* has *Simon* only<sup>1</sup>. Lk v 8 is not an exception, for there *S* is simply following the so-called 'Western' authorities in omitting Πέτρος. The omission of Joh xviii 25 is caused by the peculiar transpositions made by *S* in this chapter.

Where the Greek has Πέτρος without Σίμων we find a remarkable distinction between the Gospels. In the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* 'Kepha' is avoided in Matt and Joh, but almost exclusively employed in Mk and Lk. The only instances where *Kepha* alone is used in Matt or Joh are Matt xvi 18 and Joh i 42, passages where *Simon* would have been out of place, and also Joh xviii 11. On the other hand, only two instances occur in the other Gospels where Πέτρος is rendered 'Simon' in *S* or *C*. These are Mk xiv 31 and Lk xxiv 12 *S C*. In the former passage the true text has ὁ δὲ without Πέτρος, but *S* adds ܡܬܪܬܡܐ for clearness' sake, just as a number of Greek mss add 'Peter': the textual evidence does not suggest that ὁ δὲ Πέτρος stood before the translator of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*. In Lk xxiv 12 we are dealing with one of the so-called 'Western Non-Interpolations.' The verse is omitted by D and the Old Latin, and is certainly no part of the genuine Gospel according to S. Luke. It is therefore striking to find that the text of the verse in *S* and *C* contains an equivalent for 'Peter' that we do not meet with elsewhere in this Gospel. At the same time the hypothesis that *S* and *C* are here themselves interpolated, and that the verse forms no part of the original *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, raises serious difficulties. The translator may possibly have been influenced by the four-fold occurrence of 'Simon' in the parallel passage Joh xx 3—10.

The preference shewn by *S* and *C* in Matt, and to a less degree in Joh, for 'Simon Kepha' as a rendering of Πέτρος is a remarkable feature of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. I see no reason to suspect that our mss do not in this preserve the original rendering of the translator.

As for the Peshitta, the preference for 'Kepha' as a rendering of Πέτρος in Matt and Mk is what we should expect. The surprising thing is the preference for 'Simon' shewn in Lk and Joh. In S. John this use may be explained as a survival from the Old Syriac, but that explanation will not hold equally for S. Luke. It is impossible to believe that *S* and *C* have been independently conformed to the Greek in this one particular, while the direct Syriac ancestors of syr.vg have escaped: it is more probable that the double name *Simon Kepha* was once more frequent in the Syriac S. Luke (*cf* ix 20 *S C*, xxii 54 *C*), and that the reviser, considering that both ܡܬܪܬܡܐ and ܡܬܪܬܡܐ were each separately an equivalent for Πέτρος, took in this Gospel the former name instead of the latter.

In any case the evidence derived from the Syriac texts of S. Luke shews us how dangerous it is to use the Peshitta text of any book, such as the Acts, as a starting point for investigations about the original form of the Proper Names in the N.T. Yet this is what Dr Merx has done (*Erläuterung* i 164). Dr Merx comes to the conclusion that Πέτρος is generally a later correction and that the Evangelists commonly wrote Συμεών instead. A similar argument might be used to prove that the Evangelists wrote Μεσσίας where our Greek mss have Χριστός.

<sup>1</sup> Also Joh i 40 (41), xxi 7<sup>b</sup> syr.vg. But in the latter passage Ephraim has *Simon Kepha*.

(E) *Renderings of 'Ιησοῦς and of κύριος*

The usual rendering of [ὁ] 'Ιησοῦς in the Syriac Versions is ܝܫܘܥ, pronounced by Jacobites *Yeshū'* and by Nestorians *Īshō'*. This is doubtless the original name of which 'Ιησοῦς is the Greek transcription: it frequently occurs in the O.T. with the vocalisation יֵשׁוּעַ *Yēshūa'*.

But one of the most curious features of *S* is that ܡܪܐܢ *Máran*, i.e. 'our Lord,' is occasionally used to render [ὁ] 'Ιησοῦς. This occurs

Matt viii 3—xi 7 (inclusive).

Lk viii 40.

Joh i 36—vi 5 (inclusive), viii 34, xi 44, xii 16, xiii 23.

In *S*. Mark ܡܪܐܢ never occurs.

The only places where ܡܪܐܢ is similarly found in *C* is (1) Matt iv 18, where *S* and syr.vg omit with most authorities, but E L Δ al<sup>pm</sup> a c h m arm add ὁ 'Ιησοῦς; and (2) Lk xxii 25, where syr.vg has 'Jesus' with A al<sup>p</sup>, but *S* omits with all other authorities.

In the quotations of Aphraates, the only other 'Old Syriac' source of any considerable bulk, 'our Lord' is used instead of 'Jesus' in Matt xviii 22, xxii 29; Lk ix 60, xix 9. On the other hand 'Jesus' occurs in Aphraates' quotations of Mk x 21, 23 (= Matt xix 23); Mk xvi 19; Lk iii 23; Joh xiii 8, 10.

Before estimating the reason of these variations it will be well to tabulate the Syriac renderings of ὁ κύριος, when used as it occasionally is in *S*. Luke and *S*. John in place of the personal name 'Jesus.' The vocative Κύριε is naturally rendered by ܡܪܐܢ *my Lord*, or sometimes (when the speaker is one of the disciples) by ܡܪܐܢ *our Lord*. In tabulating the occurrences of ὁ κύριος in this sense it is necessary to give the Greek and Latin various readings somewhat fully: it will usually be found that important authorities read 'Jesus' or omit the name altogether.

S. LUKE	<i>S</i>	<i>C</i>	Syr.vg	Greek and Latin evidence for ὁ 'Ιησοῦς, or for omission
v 17 <sup>b</sup>	Jesus	—	(the LORD)	[see below]
vii 13	Jesus	—	Jesus	ic̄ D 1 &c. lat. q -vg <sup>cod</sup>
x 1	om.	om.	Jesus	īHS b f r om. D a c e
39	Jesus	our Lord	our Lord	īY 5 A rell b vg <sup>cod</sup> κY 8 B * C * D L Ʒ al lat. vt -vg
41	Jesus	om.	Jesus	ic̄ 5 D A rell b c e f q r vg <sup>cod</sup> κC 8 B * L 157 a i l vg
xi 39	Jesus	our Lord	Jesus	ic̄ U c <sup>ser</sup> al <sup>5</sup> lat. vg <sup>cod</sup>
xii 42	Jesus	our Lord	Jesus	īHS b vg <sup>cod</sup> om. e i
xiii 15	Jesus	Jesus	Jesus	ic̄ D <sup>8</sup> F U T 1 &c. 28 13 &c. al <sup>15</sup> lat. vg <sup>cod</sup>
xvii 5	Jesus	our Lord	our Lord	DNĒ (for DNŌ) b c e f f q r vg <sup>cod</sup> om. l
6	om.	om.	om.	īHS l r vg <sup>cod</sup> om. a b c e f f i q

S. LUKE	<i>S</i>	<i>C</i>	Syr.vg	Greek and Latin evidence for ὁ Ἰησοῦς, or for omission
xviii 6	Jesus	our Lord	our Lord	
xix 8	Jesus	our Lord	Jesus	1N G K M II 13 &c. al <sup>30</sup> e vg <sup>codd</sup>
xxii 25	om.	our Lord	Jesus	1N A al <sup>p</sup> om. rell
31	(om. clause)	our Lord	Jesus	IHS lat.vg <sup>codd</sup> om. clause B L T
61 <sup>a</sup>	Jesus	our Lord	Jesus	1C D 1 &c. 124* al <sup>10</sup> lat.vg <sup>cod</sup>
61 <sup>b</sup>	Jesus	our Lord	our Lord	
xxiv 3	(Jesus)	(Jesus)	(Jesus)	[see below]
34	our Lord	our Lord	our Lord	(‘The Lord is risen indeed’)
S. JOHN				
iv 1	(‘our Lord’)	Jesus	Jesus	1C N D A 1 &c. 22 565 al <sup>20</sup> latt KC 5 A B rell f q
vi 23	illegible	(om. clause)	Jesus	om. clause D 69* a e
xi 2	illegible	—	Jesus	
xx 2	our Lord	—	our Lord	(said to Peter and John)
13	my Lord	—	my Lord	(said to the angels)
18	our Lord	—	our Lord	(said to disciples)
20	om.	—	our Lord	
25	our Lord	—	our Lord	(said to Thomas)
xxi 7 <sup>a</sup>	our Lord	—	our Lord	(said to Peter)
7 <sup>b</sup>	our Lord	—	our Lord	(repetition)
12	om.	—	our Lord	

In the above list I have not included Lk vii 31, for almost all Greek and Latin authorities omit the clause *ἐν τῷ δὲ ὁ κύριος*. In Lk v 17 *δύναμις κυρίου ἦν* is taken by *S* to mean ‘the power was in *Jesus*,’ so that the verse has to be added to the list of passages where the translator of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* understood *κύριος* to be used in narrative in the sense of ‘our Lord.’ But no other authority has ‘Jesus’ here. Lk xxiv 3 also might perhaps have been placed by itself. Most authorities read ‘the body of the Lord Jesus’: *Dabefflr* omit ‘of the Lord Jesus,’ while a Greek minuscule, *f*, and the Sahidic, omit ‘the Lord.’ It is evident that the Syriac versions do not attest the longer reading, but a glance at this Table will, I think, be enough to shew that we cannot determine whether they attest *τοῦ κυρίου* without *Ἰησοῦ*, or *τοῦ Ἰησοῦ* without *κυρίου*. In Joh iv 1 the reading of *S* is marked illegible, but as the passage comes within one of the sections in which ‘our Lord’ is regularly used for *Ἰησοῦς*, there can be no doubt that *S* has *Ἰη* here.

It must further be noticed that Ephraim (*Moes.* 98) supports *S* against *C* and the Peshitta by having ‘Jesus’ in Lk x 39.

The main question in dispute is whether *S* or *C* most accurately represents the original text of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* in the matter of these Proper Names. *S* is consistent with itself. The only occurrences of 'our Lord' where the Greek has κύριος are in reported sayings of the disciples, all as a matter of fact after the Resurrection, and such that 'Jesus' would be inappropriate in them. Even if a revising pen was running through the text changing ܐܝܢ into ܐܠܗ, these passages would remain untouched. In other places it seems to me likely that *S* has ܐܠܗ in the text, because the ms from which the original *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* was made had Ἰησοῦς and not κύριος, e.g. in Lk vii 13 and xiii 15. But it is a little difficult to suppose that ὁ κύριος in narrative was never rendered 'our Lord' by the translator of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, seeing that it is so rendered in such passages as Lk xxiv 34.

On the other hand *C* does not give a consistent text. We cannot simply take it as faithfully representing in this particular the original form of the version, for we must account for the renderings in Lk ix 39 and xii 42, where *S* and syr.vg practically alone agree in having 'Jesus.' Such passages shew that this use of the personal name is a real feature of the version, not a peculiarity of *S*. Moreover we must remember that in other parts of the Gospels *S* has 'our Lord' where all other texts have 'Jesus.'

Further discussion would be probably fruitless and would certainly be wearisome. My provisional conclusions are:—

(1) The original form of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* had ܐܠܗ for ὁ Ἰησοῦς and ܐܝܢ for ὁ κύριος, but the latter term less frequently occurred in the Greek ms used by the translator than in the majority of our mss.

(2) At a later period ܐܝܢ was generally substituted for ܐܠܗ in one of the immediate ancestors of *S*, without regard for the Greek.

(3) At a still later date ܐܠܗ was restored, but certain sections in S. Matthew and S. John were passed over, together with a few places here and there (Lk viii 40, Joh xi 44, xii 16), where ܐܝܢ was left by accident. The correction was *not* made by the help of a Greek codex, consequently in the narrative passages such as Lk xvii 5, xviii 6, xxii 61<sup>b</sup>, where 'our Lord' should have been left, it was nevertheless changed into 'Jesus.' In all this *S* shews no sign of revision from the Greek.

(4) The Peshitta, as is clear from other considerations, is a revision of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* by the help of a later Greek ms: it was no doubt by the help of the Greek that 'in Jesus' (*or*, 'in our Lord') was changed in Lk v 17 into 'of the Lord.' But where ὁ κύριος simply meant 'Christ' the reviser of the Peshitta does not seem to have thought it worth while to change the transmitted Syriac text: in this respect it is not unlikely that the Peshitta gives a better representation of the genuine text of the 'Old Syriac' than either *S* or *C*.

(5) The occurrence of 'Jesus' in the Peshitta in such passages as Lk xi 39, xii 43, convicts *C* of partial revision from the Greek. In these passages if the reading of *C* truly represented the original form of the 'Old Syriac,' it would be difficult to understand how the Syriac Vulgate came to have ܐܠܗ and not ܐܝܢ.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE PESHITTA NEW TESTAMENT AND ITS RIVALS.

THE great antiquity of the Syriac Version of the Old Testament that goes by the name of the Peshitta is acknowledged on all hands. It is a version made direct from the Hebrew, not from the Greek, and the quotations and allusions in our earliest Syriac authorities practically agree with the text as we have it. It has even been conjectured that the version was the work of Jewish scholars in the 2nd century AD, and in any case its renderings often shew the influence of Jewish tradition and exegesis. In the course of a long history it has doubtless suffered a little from the usual incidents of transmission, but—to name a single instance—the whole of the 9th chapter of Daniel is quoted by Aphraates (*Wright* 368 ff), and the text as there quoted does not seriously differ from that printed by Lee, though Lee's edition is notoriously based upon late and bad mss.

But the case of the New Testament Peshitta is very different. In the Old Testament the Syriac vulgate had no rivals till the sixth century; in the New Testament we have to reckon with the Diatessaron and the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. It is, I am convinced, a fruitless endeavour to attempt to reconstruct the history of the Gospel in Syriac from internal evidence alone, and the direct traditions as to the recensions and revisions made in these early times are too vague and scanty to start from. I propose therefore in the following pages to examine whether any evidence for the existence of the Peshitta N.T. before the episcopate of Rabbula (AD 411–435) can be gleaned from the contemporary Syriac literature.

The order of the writings examined is that in which they are mentioned in Wright's *Syriac Literature*, pp. 25–49.



THE ACTS OF JUDAS THOMAS (*Wright* 26).

The numerous N.T. 'Apocrypha' briefly catalogued by Wright are almost all translations of uncertain age from the Greek and need not detain us here. But the *Acts of Thomas*, which occurs among them, is a very different work and needs our careful attention. It is a work written originally in Syriac, as I hope is now generally recognised<sup>1</sup>. The arguments which shew that the Greek *Acta* are a translation from the Syriac are partly linguistic, such as misrenderings and misreadings of Syriac words in the existing Greek texts, and partly general considerations derived from the Oriental cast of the proper names and from the metrical structure of certain Hymns which occur in the work. In other words, the theory that the *Acts of Thomas* were originally composed in Syriac is independent of the character of the incidental quotations from the Gospel.

But if the *Acts of Thomas* be a Syriac work, it can be shewn that the incidental quotations are taken from the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, in contradistinction both to the Diatessaron and to the Peshitta.

*The Quotations in the Acts of Thomas not taken from the Diatessaron.*

Although we are often in doubt as to the Syriac text of Tatian's Harmony, the surviving authorities are sufficient for us to ascertain the arrangement of the Parables<sup>2</sup>. We thus learn that the Parables of the Pounds (Lk xix 12-27) and of the Talents (Matt xxv 14-30) were given separately in different parts of the Diatessaron, but the Parables of the Marriage-Feast (Matt xxii 1-14) and of the Supper (Lk xiv 16-24) were fused together into one. In consequence of this the writers who habitually used the Diatessaron could not keep these last two Parables distinct. For example, the references of Aphraates to the Parables of the Pounds and of the Talents are separated by an allusion to the Labourers in the Vineyard<sup>3</sup>. But when he has occasion to speak of the Wedding-garment, a detail peculiar to Matt xxii, he mixes it up with expressions taken from Lk xiv. He says

<sup>1</sup> See the present writer's Notes in the *Journal of Theological Studies* i 280-290, ii 429, iii 94.

<sup>2</sup> See the list in *Hamlyn Hill*, Ap. v, p. 319.

<sup>3</sup> Wright's *Aphraates*, pp. 171, 172.



*fasten my hands and my feet, and to the outer darkness may I not go forth* [Matt xxii 11, 8, 12, 13]. *My Lamp, gay with His light, hath its Lord preserved; until He withdraweth from the Wedding-feast and I receive Him* [Lk xii 35, 36], *may I not see it smouldering from its oil* [cf Matt xii 20]...<sup>1</sup>.

This one passage contains in itself all the elements of the problem. It is manifestly the composition of an Aramaic-speaking Christian, for it is only in the Syriac that the smoking 'flax' becomes a 'lamp<sup>2</sup>.' It is the work of one who knew the Gospels well independently of the Diatessaron, for the Supper and the Wedding are kept distinct. In strict accordance with the Gospels, but against the Diatessaron, the excuses of the invited guests about the field and the wife are connected with the Supper, as well as the vow of the offended host<sup>3</sup>; on the other hand, the episode of the garment and the ejected guest is kept in connexion with the Wedding. Moreover the order in which the Parables are referred to is not that of the Diatessaron: one suggests the other through some verbal likeness, the ten Pounds of Lk xix suggesting the one Pound of Matt xviii<sup>4</sup>. Finally we have in ܐܠܐ 'to withdraw' a rendering of ἀναλύσῃ (Lk xii 36), which is characteristic of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* as opposed to the Syriac Vulgate.

But this is anticipating. What we are concerned with now is that the passage here quoted from the Acts of Thomas could not have been derived from the Diatessaron.

A curious confirmation of the above argument is to be found in an allusion to our Lord's Temptation in *Thos* 256, where we read that "Temperance is the rest of God, for our Lord fasted forty days and forty nights and tasted nothing." This is a free combination of Matt iv 2 and Lk iv 2: the same combination occurs in the Arabic *Diatessaron* iv 44, and at first sight we might be tempted to take the passage in *Thos* 256 as a quotation of Tatian's Harmony. What renders this view

<sup>1</sup> Wright's *Apocryphal Acts*, pp. 17—18 (Engl. Tr., pp. 280, 281). I have given here my own translation, as minute literal accuracy is important for the present purpose. In the clause referring to Lk xii 35, 36, I take ܡܠܝܐ as perf. *Pael* not as imperf. *Peal*, so that no copula is required before ܐܠܐ ܕܡܠܝܐ.

<sup>2</sup> This rendering of Matt xii 20, found in syr.vg as well as *S* and *C*, may have been suggested by the Peshitta of Isaiah xlii 3.

<sup>3</sup> The 'Amen I say to you' of Lk xix 24 is regarded as the equivalent of an oath.

<sup>4</sup> The equation of 100 Denars to one Pound is not far wrong. Wright's rendering is 'talent,' but the Syriac has ܕܢܐܪܝܐ (=μνᾶ), not ܕܢܐܪܝܐ (=τάλαντον).

unlikely is that the 'forty nights' of Matt iv 2 seem to have been absent from the Diatessaron. They are passed over by Ephraim (*Moes.* 44), and are actually omitted from the text of S. Matthew in *C*. Any allusion to the forty nights therefore is almost certainly inconsistent with the use of the Diatessaron. The presence of the clause ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ in these *Acts* may fairly be used to convict the Sinai Palimpsest itself of corruption from the Diatessaron in Lk iv 2. For in the place of καὶ οὐκ ἔφαγεν οὐδὲν κ.τ.λ. *S* has 'And he was there forty days, and after forty days that he was fasting, he hungered': this agrees with the Diatessaron as given in *Moesinger* 44, except that S. Ephraim does not quote the first clause<sup>1</sup>.

Then again the list of the Apostles at the beginning of the *Acts* of Thomas tallies exactly with that of *S* in Matt x 2-4, but with no other authority<sup>2</sup>. The nearest after *S* is the Syriac fragment quoted by Dr Goussen from the Berlin ms of Isho'dad (ap. *Harris* 101), which expressly professes to give the list according to the Diatessaron. This interesting text has the same order as *S* and *Thos*, but it adds the name 'Lebbaia' to James son of Halphaeus<sup>3</sup>. The Arabic *Diatessaron* and Cod. Fuldensis give us the order of S. Luke.

*The Quotations in the Acts of Thomas not taken from the Peshitta.*

The reader will have already noticed that some of the phrases quoted above shew a marked agreement with *S* and *C* against syr.vg. The use of ܠܬܝܠܬܝܢ 'to withdraw (from an entertainment),' where the Peshitta of Lk xii 36 has ܠܬܝܠܬܝܢ 'to return,' is a striking instance. Equally characteristic of *S C* is the mention of 'stubborn infirmities' in *Thos* 230 (ܠܬܝܠܬܝܢ ܠܡܝܬܝܢ), for the Peshitta of Matt iv 24 renders ποικίλαις νόσοις by 'divers infirmities' (ܠܬܝܠܬܝܢ ܠܡܝܬܝܢ).

But the agreement of the *Acts* of Thomas with the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is not confined to these relatively small points. In *Thos* 313 (Engl. Tr., p. 279) the Lord's Prayer is quoted in full, in agreement with *C* (and *S* where extant), but with marked differences from syr.vg. I give the three texts side by side (Matt vi 9-13):

<sup>1</sup> Note that the text of *Thos* 256 is not taken from syr.vg, which has ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ in Lk iv 2.

<sup>2</sup> *C* is not extant at this point.

<sup>3</sup> The ms has ܠܬܝܠܬܝܢ ܠܡܝܬܝܢ. It is doubtful whether the word is meant for λεββαῖος (ܠܬܝܠܬܝܢ), or Δευεῖς (ܠܬܝܠܬܝܢ), or Δευής.

$$C(S)$$
[illegible]

~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~rest~~ ~~of~~ ~~the~~ ~~Prayer~~  
in Matt is not extant in S through  
the loss of a page

*Variants of c (Cambridge Univ. Libr. Add. 2822)  
and of s (the Sinai fragments)*

[illegible]

*The text of the Sinai Fragments is printed in Studia Sinaitica ix, pp. 30, 31.*

14

*Telos* 313

[illegible]

*Peshitta*

[illegible]

The Cambridge MS is a copy of the abridged text of the *Acts of Thomas* preserved in the Sachau MS at Berlin and partly collated by Bedjan. Its peculiarities here are all verbal assimilations to the Peshitta, such as one might expect in a late transcript. On the other hand the Sinai fragments here attest all the remarkable readings of Wright's text.

The extracts hardly need a commentary: in every point the *Acts* and *C* agree together against the Peshitta and the Greek. They read 'Thy wishes be done,' in the plural. They have 'In earth as it is in heaven,' while the Peshitta has in the Greek order 'As in heaven so in earth<sup>1</sup>.' For τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον they have 'continual bread,' while the Peshitta has 'the bread of our necessity.' They read 'so that we may forgive'; the Peshitta has 'as we have forgiven.' Finally they read 'bring us not,' where the Peshitta rendering is 'make us not enter<sup>2</sup>.'

It is surely unnecessary to pursue this part of the investigation further. So far from finding any evidence that the Peshitta was known to the author of the *Acts of Thomas* we have found his quotations in marked agreement with its rivals, while at the same time there is decisive evidence that the quotations are not derived from the Diatessaron. We shall not find elsewhere such clear traces of the use of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, so that the point is of great historical importance. Meanwhile it must be remembered that we have hitherto brought forward no evidence as to whether the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* was originally translated in the circles that produced the *Acts of Thomas*, or whether it merely found a home there when other branches of Syriac-speaking Christianity were using Tatian's Harmony<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> A curiously exact parallel to the variation between the Authorised and Revised Versions at this point!

<sup>2</sup> The reading ܐܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܬܐܝܢ *our debts and our sins* is not that of the Diatessaron: at least Aphraates twice quotes the verse with ܡܬܐܝܢ alone. The combination of Matt and Lk reappears in Jacob of Serug's Homily on the Lord's Prayer, and curiously enough it finds a place in Teseo Ambrogio's miscellany (G. H. Gwilliam in *Studia Biblica* ii, p. 268).

<sup>3</sup> Before leaving the Apocryphal Acts, I should like to record my opinion that the work called the *Acts of Philip*, printed by Wright, is also a Syriac original, and that the author of them used the Diatessaron. Wright's MS is late (1569 AD), and the quotations present the same sort of assimilation to syr.vg that we have noticed in the Cambridge transcript of the *Acts of Thomas*. But in ܡܬܐܝܢ ܕܡܬܐܝܢ (p. 3) we have an echo of the cry of woe added to Lk xxiii 48 in all 'Old Syriac' authorities, and again on p. 5 we find the phrase ܡܬܐܝܢ ܕܡܬܐܝܢ, *cheek for cheek*, introducing Matt v 39 just as in S. Ephraim's Commentary (*Moes.* 65, 133). This phrase is ultimately derived from the Syriac of Exod xxi 25, but it seems to have stood in some texts of the Diatessaron. There is a 13th cent. MS of the *Acts of Philip* at Paris (Zotenberg 235).