

THE SYRIAC DOCTRINA APOSTOLORUM (*Wright* 27).

This document is the only work of its kind which has a Syriac origin. It has been published by Cureton in *Ancient Syriac Documents* 12—13 (Engl. Tr., pp. 24–35) from a MS of the 5th or 6th cent. It had previously been printed as the ‘Doctrine of Addai’ in Lagarde’s *Reliquiae Juris Eccl. Antiq.*, pp. 32–44, from an inferior MS of the 9th cent.

The quotations from the Gospel are as follows :

1. A.S.D. ~~ma~~ = Matt xxiv 27.

אין אונזערע זאכן זענען נישט גענוג געווען צו זעהן
אונזערע זאכן זענען נישט גענוג געווען צו זעהן.

Variants of S and syr.vg

init.] חסד ה' כחל נש; חסד ה' כחל נש syr.vg

ⲕⲓⲗⲓ *Reliq* (sic)

Thus the *Doctrina Apost.* agrees with *S* in reading **ⲓⲙ** (cf *ἀστραπτοῦσα* Lk xvii 24), while syr.vg has **ⲛⲉⲙ** (= *ἐξέρχεται* Matt xxiv 27). But it is in still closer accord with Ephraim's Commentary (*Moes.* 211), which has *As the lightning that lighteneth...*

2. A.S.D. ~~Λ~~ = Lk xvi 15^b.

Quoted in agreement with *S* and syr.vg.

3. A.S.D. 𐤀𐤋 = Matt xxviii 20.

הנהגתו כהנהגתו

Variants of A 120, 484 and syr.vg

ܡܚܡܐ] *pr.* ܡܡ ܡܡ syr.vg ܡܚܡܐ] *pr.* ܡܚܡܐ ܡܚܡܐ syr.vg

ܠܗܝܠܐ syrv.vg A 484 (*and Reliq*) : **ܠܗܝܠܐ** so also A 120 :

S is not extant, but of the two quotations from Aphraates one agrees word for word with the *Doctrina Apost.*, while the other (though agreeing in the two characteristic omissions) follows syr.vg and the Greek in the final clause¹.

¹ It may be conjectured that A 120 gives the text of the Diatessaron, A 484 that of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*.

APHRAATES (*Wright* 31-33).

The surviving works of the school of Bardesanes supply nothing for our present purpose, unless indeed we include among them the *Acts of Thomas*¹. We therefore come to the *Homilies* of Aphraates, composed in the years 337, 344, and 345 AD. The numerous quotations from the Gospel in these Homilies are given in their place in vol. i, so that it is unnecessary for me to go through them here in full. I need only point out that the striking coincidences between the language of Aphraates in quoting the Gospel with the text of *S* and of *C* are not balanced by agreements of like weight between Aphraates and syr.vg.

The following remarkable agreements of Aphraates' quotations with *S* or *C* against the Peshitta may be here brought forward:—

Matt ii 20 seeking the lad's life: *A* 405 and *C* (not *S*) add *to snatch away*.

v 18 ἰῶτα ἐν ᾗ μία κεφαία: *A* 30 and *S* (*C*) have *one Jod-letter*, *C* further adding by conflation *or one horn*.

vi 19 where moth and rust doth corrupt: *A* 389 and *C* have *where the moth falleth and corrupteth*.

Lk vi 24 your consolation: *A* 390 and *S* (*sic*) have *your supplication*, an alternative rendering of τὴν παράκλησιν ὑμῶν.

xii 19 and I will say to my soul: *A* 381 and *C* (not *S*) have *and he saith to his soul*.

xix 44 the day of thy visitation: *A* 412 and *C* (not *S*) have *the day of thy greatness*.

xxii 43 in Paradise: *A* 266, 437, and *C* (not *S*) have *in the Garden of Eden*.

48: *A* 271 has the words *Woe to us! What hath befallen us!* which are added at the end of this verse in *S* and *C*.

Joh i 14: *A* 120, 167, and *C* have *The Word* (fem.) *became a body and it sojourned among us*².

¹ Cf the Mechitarists' Latin translation of S. Ephraim's *Commentary* on the Pauline Epp., p. 119.

² Or, '*in us*.' The Peshitta has the same verb and preposition, but the Word is treated as masc. and σὰρξ is rendered '*flesh*' instead of '*body*.' *S* is not extant.

to τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς is in the Peshitta ܐܬܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ (as in Matt), while in *S* we find ܐܬܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ i.e. 'that oppress you.' The text of Aphraates therefore is not derived from the Peshitta nor from the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*: if we exclude the improbable supposition that it was derived by direct revision from the Greek, we must assume that it faithfully represents the original text of the Diatessaron.

In this passage then the three Syriac texts are for once clearly distinguished by their independent renderings of ἐπηρεάζειν¹. Difference of rendering implies the use of different Greek exemplars: here at least neither of the three Syriac texts can have been derived directly from the other. It is of course hazardous to maintain with any confidence that the ancient Diatessaron of Tatian really attests the longer form of Matt v 44, for in a Harmony constructed out of all the Gospels the apparent deficiency of Matt would naturally be supplied from Lk. What is of greater importance for the immediate question, viz. the use of the Peshitta in early Syriac writings, is that mere agreement with Greek readings attested by syr.vg against *S C* is not always a decisive proof of the use of syr.vg. In the present instance Aphraates and the Peshitta have words corresponding to τῶν ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς while *S C* have none, but the grave differences of rendering between the two texts shew that Aphraates is not dependent upon the Peshitta.

Similarly in Matt x 5 εἰς ὁδὸν ἐθνῶν is rendered 'In the way of the peoples (ܥܬܢܐ)' by *S*, but we find 'In the way of the pagans (ܥܬܢܐ)' in syr.vg and *A* 42. Yet nothing about the quotations of Aphraates is more certain than that the long string of allusions on pp. 41, 42 are taken from the Diatessaron, not from the Gospels²: here again, therefore, the agreement with syr.vg does not imply the dependence of Aphraates. These results should be borne in mind when we are considering some of the quotations in S. Ephraim, notably the combination of Lk xii 54 and Matt xvi 2, 3.

¹ The reading of *A*^a (ܐܬܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ) looks like a corruption of ܐܬܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ under the influence of the ܐܬܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ of syr.vg.

² See next chapter, p. 181.

S. EPHRAIM (*Wright* 33–37).

The surviving works of S. Ephraim, commonly called Ephrem Syrus, are considerably more voluminous than all the rest of pre-Rabbulan Syriac literature, and till lately they have been the rallying ground of those who claimed a very high antiquity for the Peshitta N.T. The importance of his quotations for the history of the Syriac Bible led me to make a special study of the MS sources of the works which have been printed as his. This has been published in the Cambridge 'Texts and Studies' under the title of *S. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel* (Cambridge, 1901), and the favourable way in which the little book has been received, both in this country and in Germany, saves me from the necessity of clearing the ground again. I shall therefore confine myself here to the quotations from the genuine works of S. Ephraim, as given in my book, together with those from Dr Lamy's fourth volume since published. I cite my book by its pages as '*Quotations*.'

The Genuine Writings of S. Ephraim ('Quotations' 23 ff.).

The following list of genuine works by S. Ephraim has been drawn up on the principle of admitting only those which are extant in MSS earlier than the Mohammedan invasions. A mechanical rule such as this no doubt excludes some genuine writings, but the list at least escapes the charge of having been constructed to suit a pre-determined critical theory.

The Commentary on the *Diatessaron*—an undoubtedly genuine work—has not been included, because it is only extant in an Armenian translation. Besides, we may regard this Commentary as being, so to speak, on its trial. We know that S. Ephraim wrote a Commentary on the *Diatessaron*, while on the other hand there is absolutely no evidence which even suggests that he wrote upon any of the separate Four Gospels. It is therefore the *Diatessaron*, and not the Four Gospels, which we should naturally expect to find quoted in his genuine works. Yet it has been actually asserted (*Studia Biblica* iii, p. 115) that very few of S. Ephraim's quotations accord with the *Diatessaron* where

they differ from the Peshitta! No more striking instance could be given of the result of trusting to uncritical editions in matters of textual criticism.

List of the Genuine Writings of S. Ephraim.

PROSE WRITINGS :

- | | |
|--|--|
| (1) The Commentary on Genesis and Exodus ¹ | <i>Ed. Rom.</i> iv 1—115, 194—235 |
| (2) The Homily on our Lord | <i>Lamy</i> i 145—274, ii pp. xxi—xxiii |
| (3) The fragments of the Homily on Joh i 1 | <i>Lamy</i> ii 511—516 |
| (4) The fragments of the Treatises addressed
to Hypatius against False Doctrines ² | <i>Overbeck</i> 21—73 |
| (5) On the Fear of God, or <i>De Misericordia
Divina</i> | „ 105—112 |
| (6) Letter to the Monks in the Mountains | „ 113—131 |
| [(7) Letter to Publius | B.M. Add. 7190 (' <i>Quotations</i> ,' p. 70)] |

METRICAL WORKS (including both "Hymns" and "Homilies") :

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------|
| (1) ' <i>Sermones Exegetici</i> ' on Adam, etc. | <i>Ed. Rom.</i> v 318 c—330 |
| (2) „ on Jonah | „ v 359 D—387 A |
| (3) <i>De Nativitate</i> XIII (see below, no. 20) | „ v 396—436 |
| (4) <i>Sermones Polemici</i> LVI | „ v 437 <i>ad fin.</i> |
| (5) <i>De Fide adv. Scrutatores</i> LXXXVII | „ vi 1—164 |
| (6) <i>De Libero Voluntatis Arbitrio</i> IV | „ vi 359 A—366 |
| (7) ' <i>Paraenetica</i> ,' no. I | „ vi 367—369 B |
| (8) „ no. XX | „ vi 450 D—451 F |
| (9) „ nos. LXXV, LXXVI | „ vi 555 F—561 |
| (10) <i>De Paradiso Eden</i> (see below, no. 15) | „ vi 562—598 |
| (11) ' <i>De Diversis Sermones</i> ,' no. II | „ vi 603—604 E |
| (12) „ no. IV—XII | „ vi 608 C—629 B |
| (13) „ no. XVIII | „ vi 654 F <i>ad fin.</i> |
| (14) On Julian the Apostate | <i>Overbeck</i> 3—20 |
| (15) <i>De Paradiso Eden</i> (supplement to no. 10) | „ 339—354 |
| (16) The <i>Carmina Nisibena</i> (see below, no. 19) | <i>Bickell's Edition</i> |
| (17) <i>Hymni Azymorum</i> | <i>Lamy</i> i 567—636 |
| (18) „ <i>De Crucifixione</i> | „ i 637—714 |

¹ The text in the Roman Edition must of course be corrected by Pohlmann's collations (*Journ. of Theol. Studies* i 570).

² The *Commentarii* (ܟܡܢܬܐ), edited as Ephraim's by Overbeck, pp. 74—104, are intentionally omitted from this List.

This may not be a complete list of the genuine extant works of S. Ephraim, but there can be little doubt that all those which are included are genuine. Each of them [except Nos. 7, 26-29,] is attested by at least one MS not later than the 7th century, and several are found in two MSS of the 5th or 6th century. Together they make up a very considerable mass of writing, certainly enough to settle the question whether S. Ephraim used the Peshitta text of the Gospels. It is, to say the least, exceedingly improbable that works which are assigned in later MSS to S. Ephraim should, if genuine, present a different type of text in the Biblical quotations and allusions from that found in these 350 separate poems, not to speak of the many pages of prose.

[Matt iii 16 = *Lamy* i 127 ('Quotations' 67 ff.)

חבר מנהל מועצה של. נא להחליט על חלוקה.

The Holy one was baptized and immediately came up, and His light flamed upon the world.

¹ This discourse (ܬܬܪܬܝܢܐ ܕܢܝܨܝܒܝܢ) appears to me to be one of the missing numbers of the *Carmina Nisibena* (either xxii, xxiii, or xxiv). It deals with the abandonment of Nisibis to the Persians by Jovian in 363 AD. A verbose Greek paraphrase of this discourse is printed in *Ed. Rom.* i 40–70. The second *Sermo de Reprehensione* (*Lamy* ii 363–392) is not, as stated on col. 312, taken from a MS of the 5th or 6th century. It is written on the fly-leaves of B.M. Add. 12176 in a hand of about the 9th century. It contains no quotations from the N.T.

The passage from Barsalibi's Commentary on the Gospels runs as follows (B.M. Add 7184, *fol.* 37)

[illegible]

Isho'dad gives this curious passage in almost the same words: it may be conjectured to have been taken from some early Hymn, perhaps one of S. Ephraim's own. Dr Harris remarks (p. 44): "It is not necessary to suppose that the whole of the extract...is from Tatian. Probably the quotation is contained in the first clause, or, at most, in the words

”כעבור שמונה ימים [היה] חורף גדול ורעם רב וזרעו של משה.”

¹ Quotations from works of S. Ephraim, which are certainly genuine but are only preserved in MSS later than the 7th century, are marked off from the rest by the use of square brackets.

have ‘*Cast thyself down*’ (or ‘from hence’) in agreement with the Greek βάλε σεαυτὸν [ἐντεῦθεν] κάτω.

In his Hymns on the Temptation Ephraim follows the order of S. Matthew, adding at the end that the tempter departed from our Lord *for a time*, as in S. Luke (*Lamy* iv 517). But these words are added to the text of Matt iv 11 in *S* and *C*, so that no stress can be laid on them.

[Matt v 18 = *Overbeck* 149, *Duval*, p. 37 ('Quotations' 67)]

הנהגתו של המנהל הכללי של המבחן, וכל ההחלטות שהתקבלו, נכונות ונכונות.

For heaven and earth pass away, and not a Jôd-letter will pass away.

The general turn of the sentence is taken from Matt xxiv 35, but 'one Jôd-letter' is the peculiar rendering of *ἰῶτα ἐν ἡ μία κεφαία* found in Aphraates and in *S* at Matt v 18, while *C* has the double rendering 'one Jôd-letter or one horn' (ܐܝܬܐ). But the Peshitta has ܐܝܬܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܬܠܬܐ 'one Jôd or one line,' an independent rendering which follows the wording of the Greek.

It is right to add that this passage of the *Testament* is absent from the short recension in B.M. Add. 14582, but it is accepted by M. Duval. It comes in the last strophe of the genuine work.]

Matt v 39, Lk vi 29 = *Nis.* 72¹²⁴ ('*Quotations*' 28)

החשבון הזה הוא חשבון חזק. חשבון חזק.

'He that smiteth thee on thy cheek, thine other cheek present to him.'

A paraphrase, partly caused by metrical considerations, but omitting 'right' as an epithet to 'cheek,' in agreement with *S* and *C* against the Peshitta.

[Matt vi 11, Lk xi 3 = *Lamy* iii 53 ('*Quotations*' 70)]

אני האדם לעולם העולם. לעולם אעלה את כל מה...

As the Serpent's bread is constant, constant bread give us, my Lord!

This is an evident allusion to the 'daily bread' of the Lord's Prayer. 'Constant bread' (כֶּסֶד כֶּסֶד) is the rendering of *ἀpros*

ἐπιούσιος found in all Old Syriac authorities wherever they are extant, including the Acts of Thomas (see above, p. 105); it even survives in the Homily upon the Lord's Prayer by Jacob of Serug (B.M. Add. 17157, fol. 38). But the Peshitta has both in S. Matthew and S. Luke 'the bread of our need' (ܠܠܚܝܬ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ).]

Matt ix 17 = *Rom.* v 538 c ('Quotations' 28)

ܠܠܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ

They do not set new wine in bottles that have worn out.

Pesh. and *S* both have ܕܡܝܬܝܢ 'put' for ܠܠܡܝܬܝܢ 'set,' and ܠܠܡܝܬܝܢ for ܠܠܡܝܬܝܢ. The second variation is no doubt occasioned by the metre.

Matt x 5 = *Lamy* iv 545

ܠܠܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ

'Ye shall not go in the way of the pagans, nor in a town of the Samaritans' land.'

The insertion of ܕܡܝܬܝܢ before ܠܠܡܝܬܝܢ, like that of ܠܠܡܝܬܝܢ in the first line is caused by the metrical necessities of an 8-syllable verse. In ܠܠܡܝܬܝܢ 'pagans' Ephraim agrees with Pesh. against *S*, which has ܠܠܡܝܬܝܢ 'peoples' for ἐθνῶν, but in this particular rendering we may be practically certain from the evidence of Aphraates that the Diatessaron also had ܠܠܡܝܬܝܢ: see next chapter, p. 182. On the other hand Ephraim agrees with *S* against Pesh. in having ܠܠܡܝܬܝܢ 'town' instead of ܠܠܡܝܬܝܢ 'city,' although ܠܠܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ would have made an unexceptionable line in the required metre.

Matt xi 19, Lk vii 34 = *Lamy* ii 747 ('Quotations' 29)

ܠܠܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ

By the dissipated He was thought an eater...by the drunkards He was thought a drinker.

The opprobrious words φάγος and οἰνοπότης seem to have offended the later translators, both in Syriac and Latin. φάγος of course could not be avoided; it means *vorax* and had to be so translated, while

the Syriac equivalent is ܠܐܥܝܬܐ, literally 'an eater' but practically meaning 'glutton.' But *οἰνοπότης* could be softened by translating it etymologically. Accordingly the Latins used *bibens vinum* and *potator vini* to replace the older *uinaria* preserved in *k* and Augustine, while the Peshitta (followed by the Harclean) has ܠܝܬܐ ܠܕܝܢ 'drinking wine.' The scandal of calling our Lord a wine-bibber was thus avoided. But instead of ܠܝܬܐ ܠܕܝܢ we find ܠܝܬܐ 'a drunkard' in Lk vii 34 *SC*, and ܠܕܝܢ (*shattāyā*) i.e. 'a drinker,' 'one given to drink,' in Matt xi 19 *SC*: this latter is the word used by Ephraim.

Matt xiv 28 ff. = *Overbeck* 27: cf also *Lamy* i 263 ('*Quotations*' 29)

This is a reference to the story of S. Peter walking on the water, textually interesting because he is twice called ܡܝܬܐ (ll. 7, 27) and only once ܠܥܝܬܐ (l. 18). The name comes twice in the narrative, and Pesh. has ܠܥܝܬܐ i.e. 'Cephas,' while *S* and *C* have 'Simon Cephas.' The Greek form 'Petros' is very uncommon in the Syriac text of the Gospels: it occurs only in such places as Joh i 42 *S*. In somewhat similar allusions to the same story in *Lamy* i 263, iv 439, the name Simon alone occurs.

Matt xv 27 = *Rom.* vi 585 D ('*Quotations*' 29).

This is best taken in connexion with the quotation of Mk vii 28.

Matt xvi 2, 3; see on Lk xii 54—56 ('*Quotations*' 30).

Matt xvi 18 = *Overbeck* 352 ('*Quotations*' 30)

ܕܠܥܝܬܐ ܕܫܥܠ ܠܐ ܬܝܬܐ ܠܥܝܬܐ ܕܫܥܠ ܠܐ ܬܝܬܐ ܠܥܝܬܐ ܕܫܥܠ...
ܕܫܥܠܐ

...the word of our Lord, that of His Church He spake, that 'the gate-bars of Sheol shall not be able to conquer it.'

The 'gate-bars of Sheol' (πύλαι ᾗδου) occur again in Eus. *Theoph^{sr}* iii 27, iv 11, v 40, and in *HE^{sr}* 417. The same graphic phrase is also found in a passage ascribed to Ephraim in the Severus Catena and in *Lamy* iv 673, 687. In Matt xvi 18 *C* and Pesh. have ܕܠܥܝܬܐ ܠܥܝܬܐ 'the doors of Sheol': *S* is unfortunately not extant.

Matt xviii 22 = Nis. 72¹⁶⁸ ('Quotations' 31)

ܕܒܪܐ ܠܥܡܪܐ. ܕܒܪ ܕܒܪ ܠܡ ܠܗ ܕܒܪܐ.

Forgive thy brother (he saith) 'by sevens seventy times over.'

The idiomatic ܠܗ which is here used something like the English 'for' ('in batches of seven, for seventy times') is found in *S C* and Aphraates 35 and 298. And as if to remove all doubt as to the exact meaning the number is stated in Aphraates 298 to be 490 times. But the Peshitta, in more literal accordance with the Greek, has 'unto seventy times by sevens' (ܕܒܪܐ ܠܥܡܪܐ ܕܒܪ ܕܒܪ)¹.

Matt xxi 3 = Rom. iv 108, 109. ('Quotations' 32)

ܕܒܪܐ ܠܥܡܪܐ ܕܒܪ ܕܒܪܐ (sic MS)

Say ye to them that for their Lord they are required.

So also *C* has ܕܒܪܐ ܠܥܡܪܐ for ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν χρεῖαν ἔχει.

This quotation, short as it is, presents several points of difficulty and interest. It comes from the Commentary on Genesis, a genuine prose work of S. Ephraim, and was assigned by Mr Woods (in *Studia Biblica* iii, p. 126) to Mk xi 2, 3. The text of the quotation which Mr Woods had before him (Ed. Rom. iv 108, 109) runs thus:—

ܕܒܪܐ ܠܥܡܪܐ ܕܒܪ ܕܒܪܐ [ܕܒܪܐ ܠܥܡܪܐ ܕܒܪ ܕܒܪܐ] ܕܒܪܐ ܠܥܡܪܐ ܕܒܪ ܕܒܪܐ.

For He said [Ye will find a colt tied; loose him and bring him.] that if they say to you 'Why are ye loosing that colt?' say to them that for our Lord it is required.

The brackets are my own insertion.

Mr Woods called the quotation a combination of Mark and Matt., and noted that while *C* (the Curetonian) had many verbal variations from the Peshitta, yet in the only 'important variation' it differed from Ephraim's quotation where the quotation agreed with the Peshitta.

The 'important variation' concerns the words which in the Greek

¹ The addition of ܕܒܪܐ in Pesh. is not significant, as both *S* and *A*^{2/2} add ܕܒܪܐ after ܕܒܪܐ.

of Matt xxi 3 run

ὁ κύριος αὐτῶν χρεῖαν ἔχει

(Mk xi 3 and Lk xix 34 have of course αὐτοῦ in the singular). The extant Syriac readings are

1 'For our Lord they are (or it is) required' Pesh. (Matt) (Mk, Lk).

2a 'For their Lord they are required' C (Matt).

2b 'For its Lord it is required' S C (Lk) S (Mk)¹.

It is evident that we have here two independent interpretations of the Greek. According to the Peshitta ὁ κύριος is used absolutely of Christ (as so often in Lk, so rarely in Matt and Mk): according to S and C, on the other hand, αὐτῶν or αὐτοῦ is taken with κύριος, so that it means the 'master' of the animals, either as Lord of all creatures or as their legal possessor.

Thus the quotation in S. Ephraim's Commentary on Genesis, as given in the Roman Edition, presents quite a striking agreement with the Peshitta. The passage printed above within brackets agrees verbally with clauses in the Peshitta text of Mk xi 2 and 3, and the last two words agree in a characteristic variation with the Peshitta against the mss of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*.

But the fact is that the text of the Roman Edition does not in the least represent the text of the ms upon which it is based. The ms (Vat. Syr. ex) was examined some time ago by Dr A. Pohlmann, who published a tract upon it in 1862-4. The practical result of this investigation is that you can never trust a Biblical quotation in the printed text of the Commentary where it verbally agrees with the Peshitta. In the present instance the bracketed passage is not in the ms at all, having been added *de suo* by the editor (Pohlmann, p. 52); while for the last two words the ms actually has (Pohlmann, p. 54)

ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܪܝܡ

in exact accordance with the Curetonian text of Matt xxi 3! The translation therefore of S. Ephraim's reference to the Entry into Jerusalem should run

¹ In Mk xi 3 S reads ܡܪܝܡ, as is clear from the photograph, not ܐܠܗܐ as was edited in the Syndics' Edition. S is not extant for Matt xxi 3, and C is not extant for Mk xi 3.

The other point concerns the rendering of ἐκδώσεται in Matt xxi 41. In ܐܘܠܐ 'he will let out (on hire)' Ephraim and Pesh. agree against *SC*. This word is used in all the Syriac texts of Mk xii 1 and Lk xx 9. But in the passage before us *S* has ܐܕܐ 'he will give' (as in Mk xii 9 and Lk xx 16), and *C* has ܐܕܠܐ 'he will deliver' (as in Matt xxi 33 *SC*). Thus the text of S. Matthew as given in *S* and *C* seems to avoid the word ܐܘܠܐ, though its occurrence in S. Mark and S. Luke shews that it was the natural one to use; it is therefore clear that S. Ephraim's quotation cannot be explained by the use of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. But neither can S. Ephraim's quotation be explained by the use of the Peshitta alone, as in the final clause the quotation differs as much from the diction of the Peshitta as from that of *S* and *C*. It may reasonably be conjectured that here as in other places S. Ephraim is giving us the text of the *Diatessaron*, and that the agreement in this single point between the *Diatessaron* as represented by Ephraim and the Syriac Vulgate is merely the result of literally rendering the Greek. But instances of this agreement are so rare compared with those where the renderings of the *Diatessaron* agree with the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* against the Syriac Vulgate that it is worth while to draw special attention to those which make the other way. The case is in every way similar to that of ܕܠܟܝܢ in Lk vii 43, to be discussed later on.

Matt xxii 13 = *Nis.* 84²³⁰ ('Quotations' 35)

ܟܥܡ ܦܕܐܢ ܡܝܠܬܐ ܟܝܒܐ ܐܡܝܢ ܡܝܬܐ

They fettered that man, whose body was defiled.

The reference to the Parable of the Wedding Feast is quite clear in the context, and S. Ephraim has just explained that the body is the wedding-garment, which ought to be kept bright and clean.

S. Ephraim obviously supports the reading of the better Greek mss δήσαντες αὐτοῦ πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ἐκβάλετε αὐτὸν..., which is also the reading of Pesh.; while *S* and *C* have 'Take hold of him by his hands and by his feet and put him forth,' which seems to represent ἄρατε αὐτὸν ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν καὶ βάλετε αὐτὸν..., the reading of *D* and lat.vt.

אם לא יבואו (sic) יבואו.

For the first words *S* has ܐܠܝ ܐܠܝ (i.e. 'Eli, Eli') in Matt and ܡܠܝ ܡܠܝ (i.e. 'My God, my God') in Mk. Pesh. has ܐܠܝ ܐܠܝ both in Matt and in Mk. I owe the correct transcription of Cod. Vat. Syr. cxi (p. 263 a), given above, to the kindness of Dr G. Mercati, of the Vatican Library.

... ۱۲۰۰

B.M. Add. 14654 (Lamy's B, but not cited by him here) has **ܐܠܗܐ ܠܡ ܕܡܝܬܐ** 'Be quiet! thou art stilled!' But both the MSS of S. Ephraim's Homily agree in having a feminine participle, so that the rebuke is addressed to the wind. *S* and *C* are unfortunately both missing, but Pesh. has **ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ** (with masc. verbs and pronoun), and the rebuke is addressed to the sea. Here again therefore S. Ephraim shews his independence of the Peshitta.

කරුණාකර මෙම පත්‍රයේ අවසාන කොටසේ ඇති කරුණු සියලුම දේ සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම පිරවීමට ඉඩ ඇත.

(*Rom.* vi 585 D has

حلقہ اسم فتحہ کا محکمہ تعلیم

The second quotation occurs in the Hymns *De Paradiso* and is obviously a paraphrase. It is however noteworthy that both quotations agree in having a form of the verb **ספ** 'satisfy.' The first quotation

is from the prose Homily on our Lord, and is remarkable for containing the phrase "the sons' table," which is not found in any Greek MS or in the Peshitta, but does actually occur in Mk vii 28 according to S and arm.vg. That it was also the reading of the Diatessaron is probable from *Moes.* 138, where Moesinger's cod. B has "Yea, Lord, even dogs eat of the crumbs of the children's table¹." Here again therefore Ephraim, the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and the Diatessaron unite in preserving a singular expression, of which the Peshitta has no trace².

The allusion in *Rom.* VI 585 D to this saying of Christ is chiefly remarkable for the word ܠܚܝܡܐ 'crumbs.' This word is synonymous in meaning with the word ܠܚܝܡܐ used in syr.vt-vg, and is also metrically equivalent. The fact that it is found in the Harclean (both in Matt xv 27 and Mk vii 28) is curious, but the circumstance is too isolated to have any special significance.

Mark vii 33 = *Lamy* i 171 ('Quotations' 38)

ܐܝܢ ܠܚܝܡܐ ܕܝܡܝܢܐ ܕܝܡܝܢܐ ܕܝܡܝܢܐ ܕܝܡܝܢܐ

'He spat on his fingers and put (it) in the ears of that deaf-mute.'

The variants in Mk vii 33 are particularly interesting: there are four rival readings extant in Greek, and three of these (if not all four) are represented in Syriac, or in translations from the Syriac.

(a) ܐܝܢ ܠܚܝܡܐ ܕܝܡܝܢܐ ܕܝܡܝܢܐ ܕܝܡܝܢܐ Pesh.

He laid his fingers in his ears, and spat and touched his tongue.

This is the reading supported by most Greek MSS, including B (N) and the 'Received Text' (ἐβαλεν τοὺς δακτύλους αὐτοῦ εἰς τὰ ὦτα αὐτοῦ καὶ πτύσας ἤψατο τῆς γλώσσης αὐτοῦ).

¹ The other MS has "their masters' table," in agreement with Matt xv 27.

² The actual texts found in syr. vt-vg are :—

ܐܝܢ ܠܚܝܡܐ ܕܝܡܝܢܐ ܕܝܡܝܢܐ ܕܝܡܝܢܐ
Mk vii 28 S

ܐܝܢ ܠܚܝܡܐ ܕܝܡܝܢܐ ܕܝܡܝܢܐ ܕܝܡܝܢܐ
Mk vii 28 Pesh.

ܐܝܢ ܠܚܝܡܐ ܕܝܡܝܢܐ ܕܝܡܝܢܐ ܕܝܡܝܢܐ [ܐܝܢ ܠܚܝܡܐ ܕܝܡܝܢܐ ܕܝܡܝܢܐ]
Matt xv 27 Pesh. (S) (C)

[S omits the bracketed words, C adds ܐܝܢ after ܠܚܝܡܐ.]

rendering. For it is wholly unfair to equate the *μνᾶ* (*Mina* or *Maneh*) of the Parable of the Pounds with the *λεπτὸν* of the poor widow, and the later Syriac scholars were quite incapable of originating such a mistake¹. My friend Professor A. A. Bevan suggests that the original rendering may have been ܬܚܒܐ, in which case we must read ܬܚܒܐ and ܬܚܒܐ, as ܬܚܒܐ (a small coin, Heb. *gera*) is feminine².

We may notice that the widow's mites are called ܬܚܒܐ ܬܚܒܐ in *Rom.* vi 677 E and in *Lamy* iv 541, 579.

Luke ii 30 = *Lamy* i 259, 261 ('*Quotations*' 40)

ܬܚܒܐ ܬܚܒܐ ܬܚܒܐ ܬܚܒܐ

'Lo, mine eyes have seen thy Mercy!'

This agrees both with *S* and the Peshitta. The regular equivalent for τὸ σωτήριόν σου, according to Syriac Biblical usage, would be ܬܚܒܐ 'thy Life,' and ܬܚܒܐ 'thy Mercy' looks like an intentional alteration of this. But if so, the alteration must have taken place before S. Ephraim's day.

Luke ii 34 = *Lamy* i 267 ('*Quotations*' 40)

ܬܚܒܐ ܬܚܒܐ ܬܚܒܐ ܬܚܒܐ

'This one is set for falling and for rising.'

The same words (and no more) are quoted in a passage of the Severus Catena (*Rom.* iv 129, 130), on which Mr Woods remarks: "The use of this expression without any further limitation is certainly curious. Now in the translation of the Commentary on the Diatessaron (see Zahn, II. ii. § 4 [*Moesinger* 28]) we have *Ecce hic stat in ruinam et in resurrectionem et in signum contradictionis*, and Ephrem's comment shows that this is not an abbreviation but a real variant. It seems likely therefore that we have in this quotation an omission of the words 'of many in Israel' influenced by the Diatessaron." Mr Woods's argument is certainly strengthened by the passage quoted

¹ The Harclean has ܬܚܒܐ, i.e. the Greek word transliterated.

² The very same corruption also occurs in the Jerusalem Targum to Exod xxx 13, which has ܬܚܒܐ where Onkelos has ܬܚܒܐ.

Luke ii 36 = *Lamy* iii 813 ('*Quotations*' 41)

How like is the modest one (i.e. Julian Saba, who deserted his wife) to that most modest of the modest, who 'for seven days had been with a husband.'

Luke iii 22; see on Matt iii 17 ('*Quotations*' 41).

יכרבו מל ויה כיהל מל ,מכרמל מל (Nis.)

When they threw him from the hill, he flew in the air.

(Lamy) בן אבנא-מאנא, מן זמניא.

When again they threw him from the top of the hill...

It is clear from these phrases that S. Ephraim used a text which represented ὥστε κατακρημνίσαι αὐτόν, and took these words to imply that the people of Nazareth actually threw our Lord over the cliff. This is also the view taken in the Commentary on the Diatessaron (*Moes.* 130, 212), which no doubt represents the text as read in Tatian's Harmony. But it is not supported either by *S* or the Peshitta. *S* has 'so that they might hang him' (i.e. ὥστε [κατα]κρεμάσαι αὐτόν), while the Peshitta has 'that they might throw him from the cliff' (i.e. εἰς τὸ κατακρημνίσαι αὐτόν, the reading of the 'Received Text').

Luke ix 62 = *Overbeck* 127 ('Quotations' 43)

*No one putteth his hand on the plough-share and looketh behind him,
and becometh fit for the kingdom of heaven.*

¹ A parallel case is the rendering of ἐκδώσεται, which has been discussed above on Matt xxi 41.

[illegible]

Dost thou not see what befel him whose land brought in to him much produce? Because he said to his soul: 'My soul, eat and drink and rest and be merry, because lo, much produce is stored up for thee for many years,'—hast thou not heard that while yet his word in his mouth was sweet, the bitter Voice was received in the bosom of his ear, which was calling him 'Senseless one' and saying: 'Lo, in this night thy dear soul—from thee they require it; that which thou hast made ready, whose will it be?'

This Parable is quoted in Aphraates 381 in very close agreement with the extract from the Letter to Publius. In common with Aphraates and *C* against *S* and Pesh. it has 'he said to his soul' instead of 'I will say to my soul.' In common with Aphraates and *S* against *C* and Pesh. it has **ܬܬܠܡ** 'stored up' instead of **ܬܬܠܡ** 'laid up.' In common with Aphraates and Pesh. against *S* and *C* it prefixes the vocative 'Soul' to the rich man's meditation, and it has **ܕܥܐܝܬ** 'eat' instead of the synonym **ܕܥܥܝܬ**. But it also has in common with Aphraates against *S* *C* and Pesh. the remarkable phrase **ܕܐܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܕܠܐ** 'senseless' (*lit.* 'without heart') instead of **ܕܐܢܐ ܕܠܐ ܕܠܐ** 'lacking in mind' as a rendering of *ἄφρων*, and it also has the singular instead of the plural in the last clause. It is difficult to assign any sufficient cause for this marked agreement between the 'Letter to Publius' and Aphraates against Syriac Biblical texts, except a common use of the Diatessaron.]

Here again the wording is different both from Pesh. and from *S C*, and the text of the Diatessaron is not given for this passage in Moesinger. But the quotation from Ephraim is taken from a prose work, so that it may not be a simple paraphrase. The chief differences are that Ephraim has ܠܠܐܝܬܐ 'in the street' for ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος, where the Syriac Biblical texts have ܠܠܐܝܬܐ 'in the roof' (Pesh.) or ܠܠܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܠܐ 'on the roof' (*S C*); and that Ephraim has ܐܝܬܐ 'recollect,' where the Syriac Biblical texts have ܐܝܬܐ ܕܥܠܐ 'remember.' The omissions made by Ephraim at the end of xvii 31 are probably of no importance, as he speaks of 'our Lord telling us not to turn back' (*cf ver. 31^b*), just before his more formal quotation begins.

Luke xviii 13 = *Overbeck* 28 ('*Quotations*' 46)

ܠܠܐܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܠܐܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܠܐܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܠܐܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ

He [the publican] because of his fear was not daring to lift his eyes to heaven.

The Greek has οὐκ ἤθελεν...ἐπάραι, and accordingly *S* and the Peshitta have *he was not willing to lift*. But *C* agrees with Ephraim, against the Greek.

[Similarly in *Lamy* iii 63 (see '*Quotations*' 70) we find

ܠܠܐܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܠܐܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܠܐܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ

That sinner (it says) did not dare to be looking to heaven.]

Luke xxii 43, 44 = *Lamy* i 233, 655, *Nis.* 59²²⁹ ('*Quotations*' 46 f.).

The passages from *Lamy* i 665 and *Nis.* 59 only shew in a general way that S. Ephraim's Gospel text contained the incident of the bloody sweat. In this it agrees with *C*, the Peshitta, and *Moes.* 235, but differs from *S*. The passage from *Lamy* i 233 goes more into detail and is worth quoting:

ܠܠܐܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܠܐܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ ܠܠܐܝܬܐ ܐܝܬܐ

It is written that there appeared to him an angel strengthening him.

Here *C* and Ephraim agree in omitting 'from heaven' after 'angel,'

against the Peshitta and all other authorities, except a few patristic quotations (including Arius and Caesarius of Nazianzus). Wherever therefore *C* and Ephraim got their common text of this passage, it was not from the Peshitta.

Luke xxiii 38 = *Lamy* i 667 ('*Quotations*' 47).

ܠܗܝܠܐ ܕܢܚܝܬܐ

Happy art thou, O tablet!

The same word ܠܗܝܠܐ, a Syriac adaptation of πιττάκιον, is used also in *S* and *C* for the ἐπιγραφὴ of the Gospel text. But the Peshitta has ܠܗܝܠܐ, which must have been regarded as a more literal translation, as it is here found also in the Harclean.

Luke xxiii 43 = *Lamy* i 667, 669 ('*Quotations*' 47)

ܠܗܝܠܐ ܕܢܚܝܬܐ ܠܗܝܠܐ ܕܢܚܝܬܐ (667)

From thee [Golgotha] he opened and entered Eden.

ܠܗܝܠܐ ܕܢܚܝܬܐ ܠܗܝܠܐ ܕܢܚܝܬܐ (669)

Our Lord took and set thee [the thief] in Eden.

It is evident from these passages that Ephraim read 'in the garden of Eden' with *C*, Aphraates, and the Diatessaron (*Moes.* 244, 245), not 'in Paradise' with *S* and the Peshitta.

Joh i 1 = *Lamy* ii 513 ('*Quotations*' 48)

ܠܗܝܠܐ ܕܢܚܝܬܐ ܠܗܝܠܐ ܕܢܚܝܬܐ

In the beginning He was the Word.

This agrees verbally both with *C* and Pesh., but the English translation here given (which is demanded by the context) assumes ܠܗܝܠܐ 'word' to be feminine as in *C*, not masculine as in Pesh. *S* is deficient until Joh i 25.

[illegible]

This exactly agrees with the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* as represented by *C*, but the Peshitta has ܠܗ ܡܬܬܢܝܢ ܕܠܗ, i.e. 'all was through Him' (following the Greek πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο), instead of ܠܗ ܡܬܬܢܝܢ ܕܡܬܢܝܢ ܕܠܗ. The rendering of *C* and Ephraim is also found in the Syriac *Theophania* i 24. Here Ephraim quotes the 'Evangelist' for his own statement, just as in the following words the authority of the 'Apostle' is brought forward. Dr Mercati has in this passage also kindly verified for me the reading of Cod. Vat. Syr. cx (*fol.* 15 r).

[illegible]

These words, as may be seen from the opening formula, are taken from a collection of extracts. The collection is that made by Philoxenus at the end of his great and still unedited work on the Incarnation, written to prove 'that One Person of the Trinity became Man,' which is preserved in a Vatican MS and also in B.M. Add. 12164, a MS of the 6th century. It is perfectly clear that the version of Joh i 3 agrees with the Peshitta, and differs from *C* and Ephraim's quotation elsewhere, in having ܡܢ ܕܝ' ܐܘܬܘܬ for δι' αὐτοῦ. At the same time, it differs both from *C* and the Peshitta in having ܕܡܝܬܝܠܐ 'created,' instead of

Joh i 14 = *Lamy* ii 743¹ ('Quotations' 49 f.)

The Word of the Father came from His bosom, and clothed itself with a body in another bosom; from bosom to bosom it went forth, and pure bosoms have been filled from it: blessed is He that dwelleth in us!

¹ Repeated in *Lamy* iv 751.

² See Isho'dad as quoted by Dr J. R. Harris in *Fragments of the Commentary of Ephrem Syrus upon the Diatessaron*, p. 25. The Armenian altogether fails us here, for in Armenian *ճարմին* *marmin* stands indifferently for *σάρξ* and for *σῶμα*.

may remark that there is no surer test of the Biblical text used by a Syriac author than the phrase used for the Incarnation. On the one hand the Acts of Thomas, the Doctrine of Addai, Aphraates and S. Ephraim, constantly speak of our Lord having 'clothed Himself with a body'; on the other, Isaac of Antioch and the biographer of Rabbula agree with the Peshitta in speaking of the Word made *flesh*, a phrase which (so far as I know) never occurs in Syriac literature before the 5th century.

This passage also is quoted by Philoxenus (B.M. Add. 12164, fol. 131 ra), with the reading **ܠܝܒܐ ܕܡܡܐ** 'and became a body.' This reading is exactly what is found in C, and as it is metrically satisfactory it may very well be the actual wording used by S. Ephraim.

Joh iii 34 = *Lamy* i 267 ('Quotations' 50 f.)

ܠܝܒܐ ܕܡܡܐ ܠܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ

Therefore not by measure gave his Father to him the Spirit.

This passage presents several interesting variants in Syriac texts, which can best be exhibited by quotation in full. We have

ܠܝܒܐ ܕܡܡܐ ܠܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ Ephr Aph 122

ܠܝܒܐ ܕܡܡܐ ܠܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ Aph 123

ܠܝܒܐ ܕܡܡܐ * ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ C (partly torn away)

ܠܝܒܐ ܕܡܡܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ S^{vid}

ܠܝܒܐ ܕܡܡܐ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܢ Pesh.

As to S, **ܠܡܢ** is not legible in the photograph. *Moes.* 105 has 'And not by measure gave he to his Son.'

The Greek of this passage is οὐ γὰρ ἐκ μέτρου δίδωσιν [ὁ θεὸς] τὸ πνεῦμα, followed by ὁ πατὴρ ἀγαπᾷ τὸν υἱόν. If **ܠܡܢ** be really the reading of S, it looks almost like a conflation with syr.vg; but the independence of Ephraim in this passage needs no further comment¹.

¹ Note that **ܠܡܢ** is peculiar to syr.vg, as it has now been definitely ascertained that S reads **ܠܡܢ** (*Expositor* for Aug. 1897, p. 117).

Joh vi 52 = *Rom.* vi 102 F ('*Quotations*' 51)

ܠܗܝܢ ܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܚܝܬܐ

How can this man his body give us?

This is a mere allusion, with ܠܚܬܐ 'to eat' at the end of the verse left out and ܚܝܬܐ (3 syllables) substituted for the Biblical ܡܝܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܚܝܬܐ (5 syllables), doubtless for metrical reasons. At the same time it agrees in giving the order found in Pesh. against ܡܝܬܐ ܠܗܝܢ in *S C*. The order here preserved in Pesh. and Ephraim is that of cod. 69, and partially that of other mss of the 'Ferrar Group.'

Joh xii 2 (Luke x 40) = *Lamy* i 255 ('*Quotations*' 51 f.)

ܕܡܪܬܐ ܕܡܪܬܐ ܕܡܪܬܐ ܕܡܪܬܐ

When Martha was occupied in serving...

This sentence belongs properly to Lk x 40 (ἡ δὲ Μάρθα περιεσπᾶτο περὶ πολλήν διακονίαν), but it appears in Ephraim as part of the story of the supper given by Lazarus and his sisters to Christ. Thus it corresponds to Joh xii 2 (καὶ ἡ Μάρθα διηκόνει), a clause which is literally translated in the Peshitta. But *S* actually has in Joh xii 2 ܕܡܪܬܐ ܕܡܪܬܐ ܕܡܪܬܐ ܕܡܪܬܐ.

What makes the agreement here of *S* and Ephraim all the more remarkable is that the Diatessaron, as represented in *Moes.* 99, 204, and also in the Arabic, kept the two incidents quite distinct. But in Ephraim they are completely confused.

Joh xiii 5 = *Lamy* i 657 ('*Quotations*' 52)

ܕܡܪܬܐ ܕܡܪܬܐ ܕܡܪܬܐ ܕܡܪܬܐ ܕܡܪܬܐ ܕܡܪܬܐ

Our Lord purified the bodily frame of the brethren, in a dish which is the symbol of concord.

For εἰς τὸν νιπτῆρα in Joh xiii 5 the Peshitta has ܕܡܪܬܐ 'in a washing-bason,' but *S* and Aphraates have ܕܡܪܬܐ ܕܡܪܬܐ 'in a dish for washing.' This is evidently the text known to Ephraim.

The case is therefore exactly similar to Lk xxiii 38. There Ephraim and *SC* agreed in having ܠܡܠܟܐ, a word derived from *πιπτάκιον*, but used as a translation of *ἐπιγραφή*. Here Ephraim agrees with Aphraates and *S* in having [ܠܡܠܟܐ] ܠܡܠܟܐ, where ܠܡܠܟܐ is derived from *λεκάνη*, but is used to translate *νιπτήρ*.

Joh xiv 23 = *Lamy* i 273 ('*Quotations*' 52)

ܡܢ ܠܒ ܕܝܫܘܥ ܕܢ. ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ.

'*He that loveth me, unto him we come, and an abode with him we will make.*'

The latter part of this verse is quoted also in Aphraates 130. The one ms of Aphraates (*Wright's A*) agrees with Ephraim and with *S* in having ܡܠܟܐ 'we will make.' The other ms of Aphraates (*Wright's B*) has ܡܠܟܐ 'we make' with the Peshitta¹. *C*, on the other hand, has ܡܠܟܐ 'I come' and ܡܠܟܐ 'I will make,' in agreement with Codex Bezae and the Old Latin ms *e*. I have but little doubt that the true reading of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is given in *C*, and the reading of the Diatessaron is given in *S*, in Aphraates and in Ephraim.

Joh xv 1 = *Lamy* ii 359 (cf '*Quotations*' 53 f.)

ܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܟܐ

The Vineyard of Truth.

A number of indications combine to shew that this is a reference to Joh xv 1; or rather, that this is a reference to the passage in the Diatessaron corresponding to Joh xv 1, and that the Diatessaron had *I am the true Vineyard...and ye are the vines*.

The context of the passage quoted is not in itself quite decisive. S. Ephraim says of the loss of Nisibis to the heathen Persians: "The vineyard that belonged to my Beloved in a corner of fertile land (Isaiah v 1), that vineyard hath the oppressor rooted up, and planted

¹ This is not the only occasion where cod. A of Aphraates gives a better reading than that of B or B.

a new one in its stead. The vineyards of time are worked more than the Vineyard of Truth: wrath hath made all vineyards desolate, that in the Vineyard of verity we may work." No doubt Ephraim has also in mind the Parable of the Vineyard (Matt xx), but the phrase in S. John is the only one which connects either Vine or Vineyard with "truth." *Vine of Truth* is of course only the Semitic turn of expression for *True Vine*. The word ܒܝܬܐ is the ordinary Syriac word for 'vineyard'; it sometimes appears to be used in the sense of ܥܝܢܐ 'vine,' but the passages quoted below from Aphraates and Cyrillona make it clear that 'vineyard' is here meant and not 'vine.'

Parallels to ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ are to be found in the second Hymn on the Epiphany (*Lamy* i 21), nearly identical with that printed as the thirteenth Hymn *de Nativitate* (*Rom.* v 434). I give the text from B.M. Add. 14506, fol. 170 r

ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ
ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ
ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ

and from B.M. Add. 14512, fol. 25 v

ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ
ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ
ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ

In the seventeenth year let the Vine give thanks to our Lord; the Vineyard of verity—the souls were as the plants: He gave peace to the Vineyard and laid waste the vineyard, for that they bare wild-grapes—Blessed be its Uprooter!

In the seventeenth year let the Vine give thanks, which the wild boar of the wood hath eaten; the Vineyard of verity that husbanded itself and kept its fruits, and brought the fruits to the Lord of the Vineyard—Blessed be its Husbandman!

Here the reference to Joh xv 1 is as clear as that to Psalm lxxx 13. ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ was doubtless chosen as being a syllable shorter than ܒܝܬܐ ܒܝܬܐ. The two stanzas appear to be alternatives. They are combined in *Rom.* v 434, but the phrase *Vine of Verity* is avoided by an unmetrical variation.

Besides these passages from Ephraim we find other instances of the same rendering in early Syriac literature. The quotation of Cyrillona which includes the words ܠܝܠܐ ܠܒܝܐ ܠܐ ܠܐ is given below². And Aphraates says, with unmistakeable reference to Joh xv 1 (*Wright*, p. 288) :

He is the Vineyard of Truth, and His Father the husbandman, and we the vines planted within him.

For the Vineyard is the Messiah, and His Father the husbandman, and the vines are they that drink of His cup.

Joh xvi 11 = *Rom.* iv 37 F ('Quotations' 54)

And he said, 'About his judgement, that the ruler of this world is judged.'

Here *S* agrees with Ephraim in having **מִשְׁפָּטִים**, where Pesh. has **מִשְׁפָּטִים**, but both *S* and Pesh. have **מִשְׁפָּט** 'judgement' not **מִשְׁפָּטִים**.

¹ The word translated 'Vineyard' is *uḡt* (as in Matt xxi 33 arm.vg), that translated 'Vine' is *uḡ* (as in Joh xv 1 arm.vg).

² See p. 151.

'his judgement.' How likely an early Syriac text was to have the suffix here is shewn by Joh xvi 8, where *S* has 'He will reprove the world in its sins and about his righteousness,' against the Greek and the Peshitta.

Joh xvii 11 = *Rom.* vi 122 c ('Quotations' 54)

ܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ

My Father, take (and) keep them.

B.M. Add. 12176 reads ܐܬܐ 'and keep.' Pesh. has ܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ 'Holy Father, keep them,' while *S* has ܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ 'My holy Father, take (and) keep them.' ܐܬܐ had of course to be dropped in making a 5-syllable verse, and its omission leaves just five syllables both in *S* and in Pesh. It is therefore significant that Ephraim should give the reading of *S* and not of the Peshitta.

Joh xix 30 = *Lamy* i 229 ('Quotations' 55)

ܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ

As he said 'Lo, everything is finished.'

Neither *S* nor *C* is here extant, nor is the verse quoted in Moesinger, but the Arabic Diatessaron (lii 4) and the Armenian vulgate have 'Everything has been finished.' The Peshitta has only ܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ, so that here again Ephraim appears to be following the Diatessaron.

Joh xx 24 = *Rom.* vi 16 F ('Quotations' 55)

ܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ

And Judas Thomas.

This is the reading of the Vatican ms on which the Roman Edition professes to be based, as given in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* i 101, and it is also the reading of B.M. Add. 12176; the printed text changes it into ܐܬܐ ܕܐܬܐ, whereby both the metre is spoilt and the

connexion with Old Syriac nomenclature is lost. Judas, or Judas Thomas, is the regular name for the apostle in the *Acta Thomae*, and the 'Judas not Iscariot' of John xiv 22 appears as '*Judas Thomas*' in *C* and '*Thomas*' in *S*. The name Judas Thomas also occurs in the Syriac Doctrine of Addai, and it was doubtless from a Syriac source that Eusebius got the 'Ιούδας ὁ καὶ Θωμᾶς of *HE* i 13.

On the 50 (or 55) passages quoted and discussed in the preceding pages must rest the decision as to what text of the Gospel was used by S. Ephraim. For my own part, I cannot think that the occasional coincidences of language with the Peshitta against the Sinai Palimpsest and the Curetonian, amounting to eight in all, are of a character to suggest the actual use of the Syriac Vulgate¹. Most of them occur in passages which otherwise present notable coincidences with the Sinai Palimpsest or the Curetonian, or else differ widely from all known Syriac texts of the Gospel.

Against these are to be set at least three times as many agreements of S. Ephraim with *S* or *C* against the Peshitta, some of them of most striking and unmistakable character. The phrases 'My Son and My beloved' at the Baptism, 'the sons' table' in the story of the Syro-Phoenician woman, the statements that Hanna the prophetess had lived only seven *days* with her husband and that the publican in the Temple did not *dare* to lift up his eyes to heaven, the words used for the *tablet* on the Cross and for the *dish* which Christ used to wash the disciples' feet, the promise of *Eden* to the penitent thief, the name of *Judas Thomas*, and last but by no means least the statement that the Word became *a body*—all these S. Ephraim shares with 'Old Syriac' MSS, and with Old Syriac MSS or the Diatessaron alone.

There are not wanting also marked differences between S. Ephraim and these MSS, and these differences suggest that it was not the Old Syriac version of the Four Gospels, the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, that S. Ephraim was using, but the Diatessaron. Whatever the origin of the Syriac Diatessaron may have been, and I see no reason to doubt

¹ The coincidences referred to are Matt xvi 2 (ܡܝܨܝܢ), Matt xxi 41 (ܡܝܨܝܢ), Mk xii 42 (ܡܝܨܝܢ), Lk vii 43 (ܡܝܨܝܢ), Lk xii 49 (ܡܝܨܝܢ), Lk xiv 31 (ܡܝܨܝܢ), Joh i 3 (ܡܝܨܝܢ) and Joh vi 52 (order).

the correctness of the tradition that it was the Harmony made by Tatian the disciple of Justin Martyr, it is certain that in S. Ephraim's day the wording of the text was very largely the wording of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. The agreements of S. Ephraim with *S* and *C* are all explicable on the supposition that he was using the Diatessaron, while in many of the differences the reading attested by S. Ephraim is known on other grounds to have been that of the Diatessaron. This is the case with the curious statements that our Lord spat on His fingers when healing the deaf man, that He was actually thrown down from the cliff by the people of Nazareth, and that He said at the end 'Lo, everything is finished.' S. Ephraim also agrees with the express testimony of Aphraates, who seems to have used the Diatessaron habitually if not exclusively, that Christ said to the widow's son 'Youth, youth, arise!'—a form of the saying otherwise only found in the West.

I do not shrink from going yet further, and using the testimony of S. Ephraim to establish the presence in the Diatessaron of the saying about the Face of the Sky and the episode of the Bloody Sweat, neither of which belong to the true text of the Old Syriac version of the Four Gospels, though found in the Peshitta. The latter of these passages is quoted in the Commentary on the Diatessaron and has found its way into the Curetonian MS, but the former one does not happen to be mentioned in the Commentary and it is omitted in the Curetonian MS as well as in the Sinai Palimpsest. Thus it is only by the chance quotation of S. Ephraim that it is attested for any ancient Syriac text. At the same time in each of these two important passages the text as quoted by S. Ephraim has marked divergences from the Peshitta, so that these quotations in S. Ephraim cannot be employed to prove his use of that version.

These quotations, in fact, are exactly parallel to what we have already noticed in Aphraates. Just as in the quotation by Aphraates of words corresponding to Matt v 44, Lk vi 27, we find an 'interpolation' supported by Aphraates and the Peshitta but rejected by *S* and *C*, where nevertheless the Syriac renderings of Aphraates and the Peshitta seriously differ; so also Ephraim and the Peshitta agree in having words corresponding to Matt xvi 2, 3, which are omitted by *S* and *C*. In each case also the explanation is the same: *S* and *C* are

faithfully reporting the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, while Aphraates and Ephraim are reporting the Diatessaron. And, if I may be allowed to wander into a subject which belongs more properly to another chapter, in each case it is a question of a 'Western' reading. The Diatessaron contains Western elements, brought by Tatian from Rome, the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* represents in the main an Eastern text. The Western elements in the Peshitta are of course not drawn from the Diatessaron, but from the mixed Greek texts current all over the Greek-speaking world from the middle of the 4th century onward.

THE COMMENTARY OF ABBÂ (*Wright* 38).

Abbâ (or Abhâ) was a disciple of S. Ephraim, and the writer of a Commentary on the Gospel. A few extracts are preserved from this work in B.M. Add. 17194, which have been edited by Dr Rendel Harris in his book called 'Fragments of the Commentary of Ephrem Syrus upon the Diatessaron,' pp. 92-94.

B.M. Add. 17194, fol. 48 v = *Harris*, p. 93

הַכֹּהֵן הַזֶּה הוֹדִיעַנוּ אֶת הַכֹּהֵן הַזֶּה הוֹדִיעַנוּ
מִכֹּהֵן הַזֶּה הוֹדִיעַנוּ מִכֹּהֵן הַזֶּה הוֹדִיעַנוּ
מִכֹּהֵן הַזֶּה הוֹדִיעַנוּ מִכֹּהֵן הַזֶּה הוֹדִיעַנוּ...

Out of S. Abba, the disciple of S. Ephraim, from the Explanation of the Gospel.

Now it came to pass when he was serving in the order and in the custom of the priests (Lk i 8, 9), either for a month of days or from time to time, from the fact that he brought in incense in the seventh month.....

Here we find several agreements with *S* against the Peshitta. Abba and *S* have to *bring in* incense; Pesh. has to *put* (הִנְחִי) incense. Abba and *S* (ver. 9) speak of the *priests*, where Pesh. has the *priesthood*. Still more significant is the word for *serving*. Abba and *S* have הִנְחִי, i.e. 'ministering.' But in the language of Ritual this means doing the work of a *deacon*: Zacharia was a *priest*, so the Peshitta uses the technical word הִנְחִי, i.e. acting as a הִנְחִי or *priest*. Is not this liturgical precision a mark of post-Nicene times?

[illegible]

Give not a holy thing to dogs, neither cast pearls before swine...

The third passage cited by Dr Harris (p. 94) does not keep close enough to the Biblical text to be of value for our present purposes.

The works ascribed to Mar Balai (*Wright* 39) do not appear to contain any quotations of textual value from the Gospels, but the surviving poems of Cyrillona, edited by Bickell in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xxvii, pp. 566–598, contain several noteworthy allusions.

I have indeed longed to eat with you this Passover before ever I suffer.

This agrees word for word with *C*, except that *C* omits כמ. *S* differs from *C* only by reading ל חיל for חיל. On the other hand, Pesh. has לחיל instead of חיל, it puts כמ חיל before חיל, and reads חיל for חיל. The preference given by Cyrillona to חיל, and his insertion of כמ, admit of explanation as due to

metrical necessities; but ܐܝܢ and ܚܕܝ are both of two syllables, and the change of order does not alter the rhythm, so that in these points there is a true agreement with the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*.

Joh xiii 5 = *Cyrillona* i 6 (p. 566)

ܚܕܝܐ ܕܐܝܢ ܕܠܝܬܐ

And He carried a dish for washing.

Here *Cyrillona* agrees with Aphraates, Ephraim, and *S*, in the word used to translate *νιπήρ*. See above p. 142.

Joh xiv 26 = *Cyrillona* iii 158–161 (p. 579)

ܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܚܕܝܐ ܕܠܝܬܐ ܕܚܕܝܐ ܕܠܝܬܐ

The Spirit shall come with His tongues, and the Paraclete with His revelations.

This is not a quotation, and the reference is as much to Acts ii 3 ff. as to Joh xiv, but it is worth notice that the Spirit is masculine. In this point, therefore, the theological language of *Cyrillona* agrees with that of the Peshitta, against *SC* and the *Doctrina Apostolorum* (see above, p. 108).

Joh xv 1 = *Cyrillona* iii 289–290

ܐܝܢ ܕܚܕܝܐ ܕܠܝܬܐ ܕܚܕܝܐ ܕܠܝܬܐ

I am the Vineyard of truth; and my Father, He is the husbandman.

In reading ܚܕܝܐ instead of ܚܕܝܐ *Cyrillona* agrees with Aphraates and Ephraim against *S* and the Peshitta. Moreover he makes it quite clear that by ܚܕܝܐ he meant 'vineyard' and not 'vine,' for in iii 321 f. we read: 'The robbers have entered the vineyard—they stole leaves and touched not the grapes,' and again 'The foxes tore between the vines (ܚܕܝܐ), and one only of them withered,' i.e. Judas. And again, in ii 256 (p. 573), *Cyrillona* says of the disciples after Judas had left, that there remained ܚܕܝܐ ܕܠܝܬܐ ܕܚܕܝܐ 'the vines of the vineyard without a wild-grape.' It is therefore certain that the words of Christ familiar to *Cyrillona* were 'I am the Vineyard and ye are the vines,' and not 'I am the Vine and ye are the branches.'

22 17 18 19

This is identical with the quotation of Ephraim (*Rom.* vi 122 c), already discussed on p. 146, and to it the same remarks apply.

The historical, or legendary, work known as the *Doctrine of Addai* is our chief authority for the early history of Christianity in Edessa. In its present shape, with which we are here alone concerned, the *Doctrine* is a product of the latter half of the 4th century, contemporary with S. Ephraim and Cyrillona. The Gospel allusions are quoted by the pages of Phillips' edition.

אברהם יצחק הכהן קארו הגאון נפ' פ' תשרי ה'תק"ל.

This agrees with *C* and Pesh. in having 𐎠𐎢𐎥𐎢𐎠 'countenance,' while *S* has ,𐎠𐎢𐎥𐎢𐎠 'face.'

קטן וקטן וקטן וקטן

This agrees with $S^{2/2}$ and C in having **חבב** where Pesh.^{2/2} has **חבבב**. It agrees with $S^{2/2}$ against C and Pesh.^{2/2} in omitting **לח** after **חבב**. It agrees with Pesh.^{2/2} in having **יכ** which omitted by $S^{2/2}$; but C has **יכ** 'desolate.'

כלל נאמן בבי אצא אהבה ונחם דאין אן.

And not by a man had come the resurrection of upright and righteous persons.

This is an allusion to Matt xxvii 52, where we read that ‘many bodies of the *saints* arose.’ In agreement with the Greek the Peshitta has ܡܬܝܬܝܢ ‘holy ones,’ but *S* (followed by the Ethiopic) has ܡܫܝܚܝܢ ‘righteous ones,’ alone among our authorities. The *Doctrine of Addai* goes on to say that the Veil of the Temple was rent ܡܝ ܠܝ ܡ ‘from end to end.’ This recalls the singular phrase ܡܝ ܗܠ ܡ of Matt xxvii 51 *S*, much more than ܕܡܕܠ ܡܫܚܝܢ ܠܠ ܡ, the somewhat commonplace rendering of ἀπ’ ἀνωθεν ἕως κάτω adopted in the Peshitta.

Matt xxviii 19 = *Phillips* ♪

למה מביא נסב. משמע בחיובי חסדיהם שם. וחסד
לחסד, משמע שם. היותם דאמלתי חסדיהם שם ושלום
שם. וכל המביא ארבעה חסד. ונבחר הנהגה לאלה דאמלתי
בשם אלה בזה היותם דאמלתי.

This Jesus the Messiah, therefore, we preach and announce, and with him his Father we praise and his Spirit of Godhead we exalt and worship, because thus we were commanded by him, that we should baptize and sanctify them that believe in the Name of Father and Son and Holy Spirit.

This passage is of importance, as it distinctly refers to Christ the command to baptize in the name of the Trinity. We may therefore conclude that the ordinary text of Matt xxviii 19 had a place in the Diatessaron.

[Mk] xvi, 15 = *Phillips* 3

കൂടി ചില നൂറ്റാണ്ടുകൾ.

We have been commanded to preach His gospel in all the creation.

This passage clearly proves that the *Doctrine of Addai* agrees with Aphraates, the Peshitta, and *C*, in recognising the ‘longer conclusion’ to S. Mark’s Gospel, omitted by *S*.

A reference to Lk ix 62 in *Phillips* ~~now~~ proves that the Doctrine,

THE MARTYRDOM OF HABBIB (*Wright* 43).

Matt vii 6 = ASD 29^{15, 16}

It is written for us that we should not give a holy thing to dogs, nor cast pearls before swine.

MARUTHA AND THE BOOK OF MARTYRS (*Wright* 44-46).

Matt ii 18 = *Bedjan* ii 74³

ਮਲਕ ਅਲ ਫਤਿਹ ਨੇ ਫਤਿਹਾਬਾਦ ਨੂੰ ਆਪਣਾ ਰਾਜਧਾਨੀ ਬਣਾਇਆ।

'A voice in Ramtha was heard, wailing and weeping and bitter groaning.'

Matt iii 17 = *Bedjan* ii 120¹¹

'This is my Son and my Beloved, in whom I am well pleased.'

Matt vi 24 = *Bedjan* ii 66¹⁵

'Ye cannot serve two lords: else the one ye will love and the other ye will hate. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.'

Matt xvi 18 = *Bedjan* ii 81¹⁵

‘On this Stone I will build my Church, and the gate-bars of Sheol shall not overpower it.’

This exactly agrees with Eus. *Theoph*^{syn} iii 27. *S* is here not extant, and *C* and the Peshitta have **ⲁⲓⲗⲏⲁ ⲕⲁⲓⲃⲏ** ‘the doors of Sheol,’ but Ephraim also attests ‘gate-bars’ (see above, p. 119).

c, ml لہر لکھنے سے پہلے صاف کرنا۔

This agrees exactly with *S* and *C*, and they are the only known texts which add ‘that come’ to ‘offences.’

[illegible]

This quotation is taken not from Marutha's preliminary discourse, but from the main body of the *Book of Martyrs*, so that it is also to be found in S. E. Assemani's edition. The text is in very close agreement with Aphraates 381 and with S. Ephraim's Letter to Publius (quoted above, p. 133). This is especially marked in the rendering of *ἄφρων* by ܐܦܪܘܢ, instead of the ܐܦܪܘܢ found in *SC* and *Pesh.*

[illegible]

ܐܬܝܚܕ 'prepared' is the word used in Lk xii 47 by *S* and *C*, but the Peshitta has **ܠܬܝܚܕ** 'made ready.'

[illegible]

This differs considerably both from *S* and *C* and from the Peshitta. No other authority has ܠܝܬܝܢ 'keepers' for φυλακάς, instead of ܠܝܬܝܢ ܕܡܝܬܝܢ 'prisons,' nor is there any other trace of the curious paraphrase in the last line. But the first part of the quotation, corresponding to Lk xxi 14, Matt x 20, Mk xiii 11 is quoted in Aphraates 415, with some striking points of resemblance to the text before us. Aphraates has

[illegible]

This is on the whole nearer to Lk xxi 14, but there is the same combination of parallel texts, and the same elaborate rendering of *προμελετᾶν* is common to Marutha and Aphraates. We can hardly doubt that it was also found in the Diatessaron.

It is worth a passing note that in this same passage of the *Acta Martyrum* (Bedjan ii 118) Marutha, while quoting the *Gospel* for our

Lord and the *Epistles* for S. Paul, only quotes Acts iii 19 for S. Peter. The Catholic Epistles apparently formed no part of the New Testament as known to him. This agrees with what we know from other sources about the Canon of the New Testament in the early Syriac Church.

Lk xxiii 48 = *Bedjan* ii 58⁶

[illegible]

Woe to us! What hath happened to us?

This is not a formal quotation: it goes on to say 'For our eyes have seen the slaughter of the saints.' But it agrees exactly with the words put into the mouth of the spectators of the Crucifixion by all Syriac texts except the Peshitta.

Joh x 29 = *Bedjan* ii 120¹⁰

אכא לא דילגא זיט סמ חס חל.


'The Father who begat me is greater than all.'

This singular misquotation has no parallel elsewhere and seems to be due to a reminiscence of Psalm ii 7.

Joh xiv 1 = *Bedjan* ii 119¹⁵

מחנה למ באלמא חב, מחנה.

‘Believe in God, and in me believe.’

This gives the text as printed by Bedjan, and it agrees with the Peshitta. But in his notes he gives the reading of another MS (probably that in the Vatican), which has , i.e. 'Believe in God and ye will believe in me.' This is what *S* also has, and doubtless it represents what Marutha wrote.

We have now passed in review practically all the quotations found in the extant remains of Syriac literature before the end of the first quarter of the 5th century. On the one hand, no clear instance of the use of the Peshitta has presented itself; on the other, these quotations and the MSS of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* often agree against

the Peshitta, while the differences between the quotations and the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* all point to a use of the Diatessaron.

I do not propose to examine the witness borne by the secondary Oriental Versions, viz. the Armenian, the Georgian, and the Ethiopic, to the original form of the Syriac N.T. A considerable body of evidence exists, which shews that all three versions were originally made from a Syriac text, but so far as I am aware it has never been discussed whether this text was a MS of the Four Gospels or of the Diatessaron. In any case it was certainly not the Peshitta, for the coincidences of text which are still visible, notwithstanding later revision from the Greek, are all with the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and not with the Syriac Vulgate.

For the Armenian Version, see J. A. Robinson's *Euthaliana* (Texts and Studies iii 3, pp. 72-98), and F. C. Conybeare in the *American Journal of Theology* for October, 1897.

For the Georgian Version, see the same paper by F. C. Conybeare.

For the Syriac elements in the Ethiopic Version, see Gildemeister's Note in Gregory's *Prolegomena* to Tischendorf's N.T., p. 895 ff.

RABBULA (*Wright* 47-49).

Rabbula, the great organiser and regulator of the Syriac-speaking Churches, was bishop of Edessa from 411 AD till his death in 435. His biography was written soon after his death by an admiring disciple, and is printed in *Overbeck*, pp. 159-209. Two quotations from the Gospel in this work will be enough to shew the text used by the writer.

Matt vi 11, Lk xi 3 = *Overbeck* 168²

ܠܥܡܪܝܢܐ ܠܥܡܪܝܢܐ ܠܥܡܪܝܢܐ ܠܥܡܪܝܢܐ ܠܥܡܪܝܢܐ ܠܥܡܪܝܢܐ

Grace at the setting of the Sun sent them the bread of their need.

In the Lord's Prayer ἄρτον ἐπιούσιον is rendered ܠܥܡܪܝܢܐ ܠܥܡܪܝܢܐ 'continual bread' in *S* and *C*, in the *Acts of Thomas* and in Ephraim. But the Peshitta has ܠܥܡܪܝܢܐ ܠܥܡܪܝܢܐ, as here.

പുസ്തകം സംബന്ധിച്ചുള്ള വിവരങ്ങൾ നൽകുന്നതിനായി തയ്യാറാക്കിയ

This agrees with the Peshitta against *C* and Aphraates and Ephraim in making 'the Word' masculine, and in using the term **ܕܝܠܐ** 'flesh' instead of **ܕܝܠܐ** 'body.' *S* is not extant for this passage.

The answer is to be found in a sentence which describes the doings of Rabbula immediately after he entered into possession of the see of Edessa (*Overbeck* 172¹⁸⁻²⁰):

.പ്രതിരോധ പദ്ധതികൾ കർഷകർക്ക് നൽകി. കർഷകർക്ക് നൽകി. കർഷകർക്ക് നൽകി.
 .കർഷകർക്ക് നൽകി. കർഷകർക്ക് നൽകി. കർഷകർക്ക് നൽകി.

These words I believe to be an account of the first publication of the Syriac Vulgate. Rabbula found the Diatessaron in general use; the Four Gospels were little read and there was no standard text of them. To bring the Syriac-speaking congregations into line with Greek thought and Greek praxis it was necessary to get rid of the Diatessaron. His flock read the Diatessaron, but the other Churches of God had no such custom, and he resolved to get rid of it. The *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* was therefore revised by him into greater

conformity with the text current in Antioch at the beginning of the 5th century, and the use of this revised *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* was enjoined by him¹. His efforts were eminently successful in this as in all his other undertakings. The Diatessaron was suppressed and the revised text of the Four Gospels soon attained a position of unassailable supremacy.

Two objections to the identification of Rabbula's revision of the New Testament with the present Syriac Vulgate must here be considered. In the first place I can imagine that the incompleteness of the Peshitta canon might be used as an argument against dating the version so late as 411 AD. The Peshitta, as a matter of fact, does not include the Apocalypse and the four shorter Catholic Epistles. It is true that some evidence for all of these books exists at the beginning of the 5th century in certain parts of the Christian world. But it is just these books and no others that are passed over in the quotations of S. Chrysostom and of Theodoret. Moreover the canon of the Peshitta, in which James, 1 Peter and 1 John are included, is really a nearer approximation to the full Greek canon than anything that can be traced earlier in Syriac. Neither in Aphraates nor in the genuine works of S. Ephraim is there a single reference to any of the Catholic Epistles, and the *Doctrine of Addai* says expressly: 'The Law and the Prophets and the Gospel...and the Epistles of Paul...and the Acts of the twelve Apostles...these books read ye in the Church of God, and, with these read not others².' This is the ancient Canon of the Syriac-speaking Church. The Canon of the Peshitta, so far from being in the late Bishop Westcott's unfortunate phrase 'the earliest monument of Catholic Christianity,' is only a half-way stage, which represents the custom of Antioch at the beginning of the 5th century, both by what it includes and what it leaves out.

Another objection which may be raised to regarding the Peshitta as the work of Rabbula is the acceptance of it by the Nestorians. How should the Nestorians accept a revision set forth by 'the tyrant of Edessa'?

¹ See *Overbeck* 220⁴, and see the discussion in the following Chapter, p. 177.*f*.

² *Doctrine of Addai* ܐܡܢ (Eng. Tr., p. 44): see above, p. 159.

This would indeed be a grave difficulty, if in the time of Rabbula the Nestorians had been, what they afterwards became, a definite sect of Syriac-speaking Christians. But at the epoch we are now considering the Greek Nestorians were as prominent as those who spoke Syriac, and it was not till 449 AD, fifteen years after Rabbula's death, that Nestorian doctrines were formally condemned. The pro-Nestorian school, as much as their opponents, derived their doctrine from Greek theologians; they would be as anxious as any party to possess a translation of the Bible which agreed with the Greek. As a matter of fact, very few 'various readings' favour Nestorianism against its opponents, or *vice versa*; the chief exception is Hebr ii 9, and in that verse the variation between $\chi\omega\rho\iota\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ and $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\tau\iota\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ is actually reflected in the mss of the Peshitta. Manuscripts of Nestorian origin support $\chi\omega\rho\iota\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ in agreement with Theodore of Mopsuestia, while Jacobite mss have 'God in his grace,' a strange rendering which possibly represents $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\tau\iota\ \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$.

As regards the most striking feature of difference between the Peshitta and the ancient use of Syriac-speaking Christians, the heads of the Nestorian party were at one with Rabbula. Rabbula ordered that in every church there should be a copy of the Separated Gospels and that it should be read, meaning by this (as I believe) a copy of his own revision¹. But it was Theodoret, the partisan of Nestorius, who withdrew over 200 copies of the Diatessaron from circulation in his own diocese, and substituted in their place the Gospels of the Four Evangelists. Indeed Rabbula's change of front with regard to the doctrine of our Lord's Nature may have helped to spread the version that he recommended. If the heads of the Nestorian party had been persuaded to give up the Diatessaron before Rabbula went over to their adversaries they would not return to its use after he left them. A body of Christians in the 5th century who had once given up the Diatessaron would hardly revert to their heretical Harmony. Meanwhile Rabbula's defection to the anti-Nestorian party, as we may call the Orthodox and the future Monophysites, must have helped to recommend his Biblical policy to these also. Clear traces of the Peshitta text appear in the Biblical quotations and allusions in Isaac of Antioch, who died

¹ See the discussion in the next Chapter, p. 177.

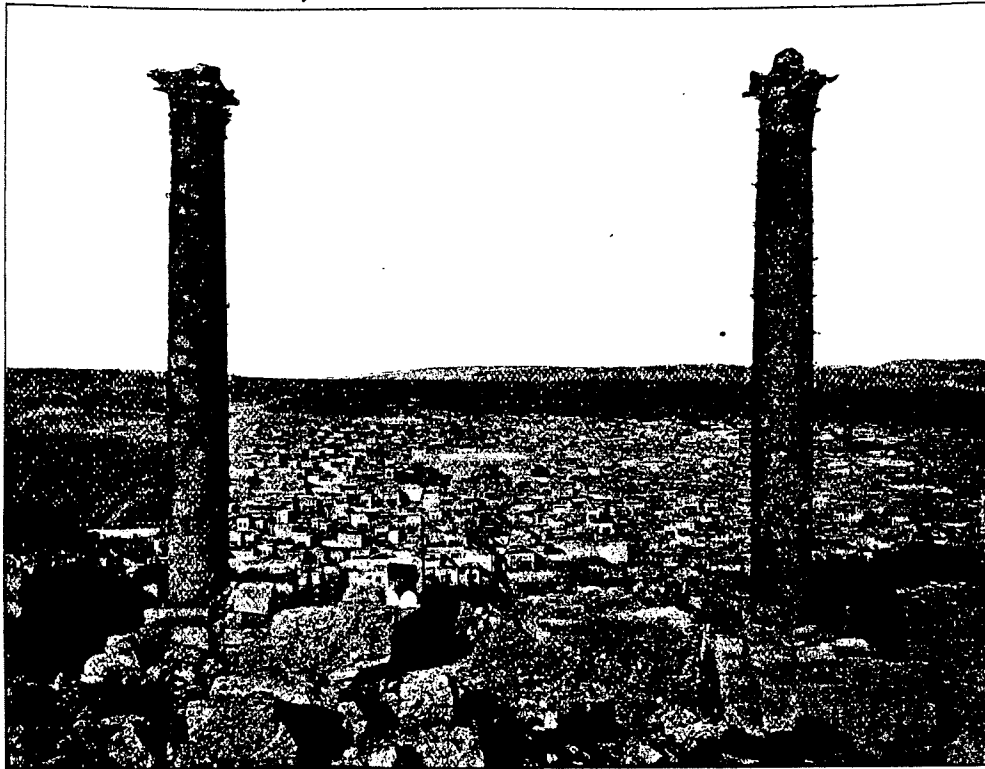
about 460 AD after a long literary career¹. It is noteworthy, however, that Monophysite scholars appear to have been less satisfied with the Peshitta than those of the other party. The fact that all later attempts at the revision of the Syriac Bible, such as the Harclean version, were the work of Monophysites may perhaps be taken to indicate that they had not adopted the Peshitta so early or so willingly as other divisions of Syriac-speaking Christians.

One point remains to be noticed. If my conjecture be correct, that Rabbula in ordering the use of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* had really in view the substitution of his own revised Peshitta for the Diatessaron, it follows that the Diatessaron was the only serious rival that the Peshitta had to face at the time of its publication. That the 'Old Syriac' version of the N.T. had had a long and complicated literary history is proved by the extensive variation between the texts of the two surviving mss. The Sinai Palimpsest and Cureton's MS are clearly representatives of one and the same translation, but they differ in some places very widely from each other, almost as widely as mss of the Old Latin version of the Gospels. But the Patristic evidence that has been collected in this Chapter does not suggest that the version to which the Sinai Palimpsest and Cureton's MS belong enjoyed a wide circulation in the Church during the 4th and 5th centuries. Whatever may have been the state of things with regard to the Acts and Epistles, about which we know very little, it is evident that when Rabbula became bishop of Edessa the form in which the Gospel was practically known to Syriac-speaking Christians was Tatian's Harmony. This explains the success of Rabbula's efforts, and the absence of Gospel mss containing the Peshitta text mixed with readings derived from the 'Old Syriac.' The Latin mss with mixed texts are descended from 'Old Latin' mss corrected, but not quite thoroughly, to the official Vulgate. But you cannot correct a copy of the Diatessaron into a copy of the Four Gospels. It was not a question of changing the readings, but of substituting one book for another. Wherever the

¹ E.g. Isaac speaks of the Word made *Flesh* (ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܝܬܐ): see Bickell's Ed., i 274 (p. 14). In a Metrical Homily printed in the Roman Edition of S. Ephraim as *Paraenesis* lxxiv, but really by Isaac of Antioch, Lk xvii 21 is quoted in agreement with the Peshitta, against both the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and the Diatessaron ('Quotations,' pp. 21, 22).

change was made, and we learn from Theodoret that the change was made wholesale, no mixture of texts took place. The Diatessaron codex was taken away and a copy of the revised Peshitta was put in its place.

Meanwhile the copies of the unrevised *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* remained where they were. The two which survive contain no early liturgical marks in the margins, as is generally the case with books intended for service. They are, so to speak, library volumes. To us they are inestimably precious as survivals from a previous age, relics of the time before the Syriac-speaking Church became the servile imitator of Greek Christianity. But to the contemporaries of Rabbula, who allowed them to rest undisturbed on their shelves, they were neither recommended to be used nor condemned to be suppressed by Church authority: they were simply old-fashioned books to be left alone and forgotten. Thus it has come to pass that two MSS of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* have survived, while not one single copy of the once popular Syriac Diatessaron has reached the hand of modern scholars.



THE GREAT TWIN COLUMNS ON THE CITADEL OF EDESSA

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III.

THE GOSPEL QUOTATIONS IN THE *THEOPHANIA* OF EUSEBIUS.

The quotations from the Gospel in early Syriac translations from the Greek form a class by themselves. They cannot be accepted without further examination as evidence for the Biblical texts current among Syriac-speaking Christians. As a general rule we find that translators render the quotations afresh from the original without paying much heed to the current version of the words, while at the same time the use of a word or phrase betrays their acquaintance with the Biblical text in the vernacular. Consequently, where the wording of such a quotation differs from all vernacular renderings we learn little or nothing about the texts known to the translator; it is only from striking agreements with other texts, agreements either too peculiar or too extensive to be accidental, that we are able to draw our inferences.

The works of Eusebius were very quickly translated into Syriac, possibly during the lifetime of the author. Eusebius died in 338 AD, and the Nitrian ms of the Theophania is dated 411 AD. This ms is itself a copy, so that we are at once carried into a very early period. It is likely that the various works were translated by the same school, though not, I think, by the same hand, the Ecclesiastical History being much less slavishly literal than the Theophania.

The quotations in the *Ecclesiastical History* are for our purposes only two, but each of them contains an agreement with the 'Old Syriac' against the Peshitta. In *HE* II i 2 (*Wright and McLean*, p. 60) there is a reference to Matt i 18:—

[illegible]

This is word for word with *S* and *C*, except that *C* has ܒܠܐ for ܒܠܐ, perhaps by a clerical error. For *πρὶν ἢ συνελθεῖν αὐτοῦς* the Peshitta has ܒܠܐ ܕܡܬܬܠܥܐ ܕܡܬܬܠܥܐ, while the Diatessaron (*Moesinger* 20) had 'Before she was given to a husband.' The agreement of the translator of Eusebius with the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* in rendering this phrase by 'Before ever they drew near one to the other' is too marked and too extensive to be accidental.

In *HE* I 3 (p. 8) we find *ܠܗܡ ܕܢܗܪ ܠܠܗܡ ܕܡܪܝܚܐ ܕܡܪܝܚܐ ܕܡܪܝܚܐ ܕܡܪܝܚܐ*. This is unbiblical phraseology, for both the *Ec. da-Mepharreshe* and the Peshitta have *ܕܡܪܝܚܐ ܕܡܪܝܚܐ*. But the theologically interesting rendering *ܡܡ* 'in Him' agrees with *C* and *S. Ephraim* against *ܡܡܠܗܐ* 'through Him' in Pesh. On the other hand *ܕܐܠܝܐ* 'all' agrees with Pesh., as *C* and *Ephraim* have *ܕܐܠܝܐ ܕܐܠܝܐ* 'everything.' Upon such a point as the last it is obvious that no stress can be laid. Unless the translator was deliberately copying a Syriac version he was equally likely to choose *ܕܐܠܝܐ* or *ܕܐܠܝܐ ܕܐܠܝܐ*: it is only when the rendering is elaborate or striking, as in the former example from *Matt* i 18, that the text of these quotations can prove anything.

The quotations in the *Theophania* demand more attention. At first sight they seem to promise very valuable textual help. There are many formal citations of the Gospels by name, the quotations often extending over several verses together, and there can be little doubt that the passages thus incorporated by Eusebius in his work represented the text of the codex he used. But the quotations in the Syriac translation of the *Theophania* neither represent accurately the text used by Eusebius nor the readings of any ancient Syriac text. They represent a mixture of the Eusebian text with the Biblical text as known to the translator, and it is almost impossible at times to disentangle the two elements. For example, take *Theoph* iv 6 = Lk v 5.

<i>Theoph</i>	Syr.vg	<i>S</i>
ܐܡܪ ܕܡܢ ܠܡ	ܐܡܪ ܕܡܢ ܐܝܬܐ	ܐܡܪ ܕܡܢ ܐܝܬܐ
ܕܡܢ ܠܡ ܠܡ ܠܡ	ܠܡ ܡܢ ܠܡ ܠܡ	ܠܡ ܡܢ ܠܡ ܠܡ
ܡܢ ܠܡ ܠܡ ܠܡ	ܡܢ ܠܡ ܠܡ ܠܡ	ܡܢ ܠܡ ܠܡ ܠܡ
ܡܢ ܠܡ ܠܡ ܠܡ	ܡܢ ܠܡ ܠܡ ܠܡ	ܡܢ ܠܡ ܠܡ ܠܡ
ܡܢ ܠܡ ܠܡ ܠܡ	ܡܢ ܠܡ ܠܡ ܠܡ	ܡܢ ܠܡ ܠܡ ܠܡ

Here we have (1) an agreement between *Theoph* and *S* in ܐܡܪ 'found,' for ܐܡܪ 'taken' (= ἐλάβομεν); (2) an agreement of *Theoph* and syr.vg in not having the addition ܡܢ 'now,' which is a peculiarity of *S*, and (3) not less than five peculiarities of *Theoph*, where it differs both from *S* and from the Peshitta. These are the insertion of ܡܢ before ܐܡܪ, the omission of ܐܝܬܐ, the order of ܠܡ ܠܡ ܠܡ, the addition of ܡܢ, and the word ܡܢ 'I will throw,' where Pesh. has ܡܢ 'I cast' and *S* has ܡܢ 'we will put out.' In other words, the translator has done just what might have been expected: he has translated the Greek of Eusebius directly, not rendering Eusebius's quotations by the corresponding passage of the Syriac N.T. At the same time the occurrence of ܐܡܪ suggests that he has been influenced here and there by the familiar words of the vernacular version, even where that version is an inaccurate or paraphrastic rendering of the Greek.

More definite results can be obtained from examining the quotations which occur in those parts of the *Theophania* covered by the extant fragments of the Greek. These were first published by Mai in the *Nova Bibliotheca Patrum*, vol. iv 109-156, 310-312. The Greek fragments consist of extracts, and only a few of the Biblical quotations are contained in them, but enough remains clearly to shew the method of the translator. Below is given Matt xxi 33-43 in the Greek as quoted by Eusebius, and in the Syriac as printed by Lee from the Nitrian ms.

<i>Theoph</i> iv 13	Mai NBP iv 122
ܐܡܪ ܕܡܢ ܠܡ ܠܡ ܠܡ ³³	³³ Ἄνθρωπος τις ἦν οἰκοδεσπότης, ὅστις
ܡܢ ܠܡ ܠܡ ܠܡ	ἐφύτευσεν ἀμπελῶνα, καὶ φραγμὸν αὐτῷ περιέθηκε,
ܡܢ ܠܡ ܠܡ ܠܡ	καὶ ὥρυξεν ἐν αὐτῷ ληνόν,
ܡܢ ܠܡ ܠܡ ܠܡ	καὶ ὠκοδόμησε πύργον,
ܡܢ ܠܡ ܠܡ ܠܡ	καὶ ἐξέδοτο αὐτὸν γεωργοῖς, καὶ ἀπεδήμησεν.

Theoph iv 13

34 כב דם חבב וכלל חכא חכא
 חכא חכא חכא חכא חכא
 חכא חכא חכא חכא חכא
 35 חכא חכא חכא חכא חכא
 חכא חכא חכא חכא חכא
 חכא חכא חכא חכא חכא
 36 חכא חכא חכא חכא חכא
 חכא חכא חכא חכא חכא
 חכא חכא חכא חכא חכא
 37 חכא חכא חכא חכא חכא
 חכא חכא חכא חכא חכא
 חכא חכא חכא חכא חכא
 38 חכא חכא חכא חכא חכא
 חכא חכא חכא חכא חכא
 חכא חכא חכא חכא חכא
 39 חכא חכא חכא חכא חכא
 חכא חכא חכא חכא חכא
 חכא חכא חכא חכא חכא
 40 חכא חכא חכא חכא חכא
 חכא חכא חכא חכא חכא
 חכא חכא חכא חכא חכא
 41 חכא חכא חכא חכא חכא
 חכא חכא חכא חכא חכא
 חכא חכא חכא חכא חכא
 42 חכא חכא חכא חכא חכא
 חכא חכא חכא חכא חכא
 חכא חכא חכא חכא חכא
 43 חכא חכא חכא חכא חכא
 חכא חכא חכא חכא חכא
 חכא חכא חכא חכא חכא

Mai iv 122

34 ὅτε δὲ ἤγγισεν ὁ καιρὸς τῶν καρπῶν,
 ἀπέστειλε τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ πρὸς τοὺς γεωργοὺς
 λαβεῖν τοὺς καρποὺς αὐτοῦ.
 35 καὶ λαβόντες οἱ γεωργοὶ τοὺς δούλους αὐτοῦ,
 ὃν μὲν ἔδειραν,
 ὃν δὲ ἀπέκτειναν, ὃν δὲ ἐλιθοβόλησαν.
 36 πάλιν ἀπέστειλεν ἄλλους δούλους
 πλείονας τῶν πρώτων,
 καὶ ἐποίησαν αὐτοῖς ὡσαύτως.
 37 ὕστερον δὲ ἀπέστειλε πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ,
 λέγων· ἐντραπήσονται τὸν υἱόν μου.
 38 οἱ δὲ γεωργοὶ ἰδόντες τὸν υἱὸν
 εἶπον ἐν ἑαυτοῖς· οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ κληρονόμος,
 δεῦτε ἀποκτείνωμεν αὐτὸν
 καὶ κατάσχωμεν τὴν κληρονομίαν αὐτοῦ.
 39 καὶ λαβόντες αὐτὸν ἐξέβαλον ἔξω τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος
 καὶ ἀπέκτειναν.
 40 ὅταν οὖν ἔλθῃ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἀμπελῶνος
 τί ποιήσει τοῖς γεωργοῖς ἐκείνοις;
 41 λέγουσιν αὐτῷ· κακοὺς κακῶς ἀπολέσει αὐτούς·
 καὶ τὸν ἀμπελῶνα ἐκδώσεται ἄλλοις γεωργοῖς,
 οἵτινες ἀποδώσουσιν αὐτῷ τοὺς καρποὺς
 ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς αὐτῶν.
 42 λέγει αὐτοῖς ὁ Ἰησοῦς·
 οὐδέποτε ἀνέγνωτε ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς·
 λίθον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες,
 οὗτος ἐγενήθη εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας;
 παρὰ Κυρίου ἐγένετο αὕτη,
 καὶ ἔστι θαυμαστὴ ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν;
 43 διὰ τοῦτο λέγω ὑμῖν
 ὅτι ἀρθήσεται ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ,
 καὶ δοθήσεται ἔθνει ποιούντι τοὺς καρποὺς αὐτῆς.

Here we have a passage of sufficient length to exhibit the characteristic phenomena of the quotations in the *Theophania*. First of all, it is evident that the Syriac text was translated direct from the Greek as quoted by Eusebius. It is far less idiomatic in style than either the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* or the Peshitta: contrast, for example, the ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ of *SC* and Pesh. with the stiffer and more literal ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ of the *Theophania*. Characteristic also of the Eusebian translator is ܕܡܫܝܚܐ for ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. Moreover ܕܡܫܝܚܐ (for ܕܡܫܝܚܐ) in v. 35 and ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ (for ܕܡܫܝܚܐ) in v. 42 depart entirely from the traditional vocabulary of the Syriac Bible.

A rendering so literal as that in the *Theophania* could hardly fail to present some agreements with the Peshitta which are not shared by the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, a translation marked by great freedom. Thus *Theoph* and Pesh. have the Greek order in v. 33; they have the same word for 'inheritance' in v. 38, though the construction of the clause is different; and in v. 40 they both begin the verse with ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. Against these we may set the omission of ܕܡܫܝܚܐ in v. 33 by *Theoph* and *C*; the translation of ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ in v. 34 by ܕܡܫܝܚܐ in *Theoph* and *SC*; the omission of ܕܡܫܝܚܐ at the end of v. 34 by *Theoph* and *SC*, where Pesh. has ܕܡܫܝܚܐ 'of his vineyard'; the rendering of ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ in v. 38 by 'and the inheritance will be ours' in *Theoph* and *SC*, where Pesh. is literal; and the translation of ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ in v. 41 by ܕܡܫܝܚܐ in *Theoph* and *C*.

It is especially noteworthy that the quotation in the *Theophania* shews no points of contact with that of S. Ephraim discussed above, p. 123. In v. 41 S. Ephraim, who is probably reproducing the renderings of the Diatessaron, has ܕܡܫܝܚܐ (with Pesh.) for ܕܡܫܝܚܐ, and ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ against all other Syriac texts, for ܕܡܫܝܚܐ¹.

An examination of the quotation of Lk xix 41—44^a in *Theoph* iv 19 would lead to similar results, except that in this case the divergence from *SC* and Pesh. is more marked. This quotation is also preserved in the Greek (*Mai* NBP iv 129); the fact of its occurrence in the Greek extracts shews that the series of formal quotations found in the Syriac of the *Theophania* was really characteristic of the work as Eusebius left it, and has not been added *de suo* by the Syriac translator. When therefore the Syriac text of the *Theophania* is a literal rendering of the Greek Gospel text, the translator may be merely rendering the Greek as quoted by Eusebius, without following any existing Syriac version of the Scriptures.

The importance of this caution will be seen when we consider the quotation of Matt viii 5 ff in *Theoph* iv 2, 3. This passage is extant in Greek (*Mai*, p. 116 f), but it differs widely from the Syriac and the quotation from the Gospel is less formal. The Syriac quotation therefore may tell us what version of the Gospels was known to the translator of Eusebius. We actually find ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ Matt viii 9 rendered by ܕܡܫܝܚܐ 'do so much' in *Theoph* as in *SC*, while Pesh. has the ordinary ܕܡܫܝܚܐ 'do this.' The pronoun ܕܡܫܝܚܐ is quite rare in literature, so that its use in the Syriac *Theophania* is very likely due to a reminiscence of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*.

¹ The influence of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* upon the Syriac text of the quotations in the *Theophania* was first noticed in a review of Cureton's text published anonymously in 1859 by the Abbé Lehir, under the title of *Étude sur une ancienne Version Syriacque des Évangiles*, pp. 22—25.

But we cannot press the agreement of the *Theophania* with *S* in a much more striking point. Both in *S* (in *S. Matthew*) and in *Theoph* iv 2, 3, the Centurion is promoted to the rank of Chiliarch. All other authorities, including *C* and also *S* itself in *Lk* vii 2, 6, call the man a Centurion¹. He is also called ἑκατοντάρχης in *Mai* iv 117, in the portion of text which does not correspond literally with our Syriac. But a little lower down (at l. 32 of the same page, in a passage of *Theoph* iv 3 which reappears literally in the Syriac) we read ὡς τότε μὲν εἰς ῥωμαῖος ἦν ὁ τῷ σωτήρι προσεληλυθὼς χιλιάρχος. Thus the true text of the Greek Eusebius also called the man a Chiliarch, and the faithfulness of the Syriac translation is vindicated. But just for that very reason we cannot claim the agreement of the Syriac *Theophania* in this point with *S* as a proof that the translator is borrowing from a Syriac version.

Yet even after all deductions have been made there remains an appreciable number of cases, like the use of ܠܚܝܬܝܢ mentioned above, where the translator does appear to have been influenced in his choice of renderings by his familiarity with a Syriac version, and that version a form of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* such as we know it in *S* and *C*. Thus in *Theoph* i 24 we find *Joh* i 3 rendered by ܠܚܝܬܝܢ ܡܢ ܗܝܡܢ, 'Everything was in Him,' just as in *C*; in *Theoph* iv 30 the τρίβολοι of *Matt* vii 16 is rendered as in *C* by ܠܚܝܬܝܢ 'brier(s),' while *Pesh.* has ܠܚܝܬܝܢ 'thistles'; in *Theoph* iii 27, iv 11, v 40, for the πύλαι ᾧδου of *Matt* xvi 18 we find ܠܚܝܬܝܢ 'the gate-bars of Sheol' as in Ephraim and Marutha, though not in *Pesh.* or in *C*. All these coincidences with *S* or *C*, or with early Syriac Patristic evidence, cannot be accidental.

In one passage it is tempting to suppose that the Syriac *Theophania* may preserve the genuine reading of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, where both *S* and *C* have followed a different text. In *Matt* xxii 13, according to the *Peshitta* and the text followed by modern critical editors of the New Testament, the King in the Parable says to his servants about the Man who had not on a Wedding-garment: "Bind him hand and foot and cast him out" (δήσαντες αὐτοῦ πόδας καὶ χεῖρας ἐκβάλετε αὐτόν). For the first word the *Peshitta* has ܐܝܬܝܬܝܬ, the ordinary word for 'bind.' But the *Acts of Thomas* (Wright, p. 315), a work which uses the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, as we have seen above (p. 102), has a reference to the passage implying the use of the verb ܠܚܝܬܝܢ 'to fasten.' The whole Parable is quoted in *Theoph* iv 16, and the word used in v. 13 is ܐܝܬܝܬܝܬ, in agreement with the text that seems to underlie the *Acts of Thomas*. But *S* and *C* read ܠܚܝܬܝܢ ܡܢ ܗܝܡܢ ܠܚܝܬܝܢ ܡܢ ܗܝܡܢ "Take hold of him by his hands and his feet," a reading which recalls the reading ἄρατε αὐτὸν ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν, found in *D* and the Old Latin texts. If we make the conjecture that the reading of *S* and *C* is really that of the *Diatessaron*, and that in this passage the *Acts of Thomas* and the *Theophania* give us the genuine text of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, we have an explanation of the textual phenomena. But it must be remembered that this is a mere conjecture, and the translator of Eusebius may

¹ The *Diatessaron*, as represented by *Aphraates* 20, appears to have called him βασιλικός, as in *Joh* iv 46 ff.

quite easily have been following the Greek that lay before him without any thought of the current Biblical texts. It is certain that in some of the previous verses of this Parable he has paid little regard to the Syriac Bible in his rendering of the Greek. Moreover this theory hardly accounts for the use of *ܐܠܗܐ* by Ephraim (see above, p. 124).

The reader who has been persuaded by the foregoing argument will understand why I have omitted to record the *Theophania* readings in my apparatus to the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. I believe there is no certain sign of acquaintance with the Peshitta or the Diatessaron on the part of the translator of the *Theophania*, and I believe there are signs of his acquaintance with the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*. The translator translates for himself from the Greek, and it is only very occasionally that we can venture to assert that he is influenced from any other source. The only exceptions to be made occur when we know that the Syriac actually differs in text or in meaning from what Eusebius wrote: of this there are a few instances, one of which is important enough in itself to demand separate notice.

My friend Mr F. C. Conybeare has made it abundantly clear that in the *Theophania* and in several other works Eusebius could not or would not quote the command to baptize in the name of the Trinity¹. This very curious fact is quite distinct from the deductions which Mr Conybeare and others have drawn from it. It might, I suppose, be maintained that Eusebius considered it unseemly to publish in a work intended for the general heathen reader the magic words of a sacramental ritual. Be that as it may, the fact remains that Eusebius in the *Theophania* (v 17, 46, 49) represents our Lord as telling His apostles to make disciples of all nations in *His Name*, without any mention of baptism. When therefore we find the full text quoted in the Syriac of *Theoph* iv 8 with some noteworthy variants, but including the command to baptize in the name of the Trinity, we feel sure that the translator is not giving us the text of Eusebius. It was therefore taken from the text of S. Matthew as he knew it, i.e. from the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. In this way we arrive at the exceedingly important conclusion that some mss at least of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* had the command to baptize in the name of the Trinity, as in the ordinary text. The evidence of the *Theophania* is all the more important as neither *S* nor *C* is extant at the end of S. Matthew, and the Diatessaron is represented by an ambiguous allusion in the *Doctrine of Addai* and a still more ambiguous quotation in Aphraates. At the same time this evidence from the Syriac *Theophania*, important as it is, must not be made to prove too much. We have two mss of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*: one contains the Longer Conclusion to S. Mark, the other does not do so. In the case of the peroration of S. Matthew's Gospel it is quite likely that one ms might have the ordinary text, while the other had something different. If I may venture the conjecture, the impression I have formed from a study of *S* and *C* leads me to feel confident that *C* had the command to baptize in the name of the Trinity, but I do not think we should be justified in making any guess as to what may have been contained in the missing leaf of *S*.

¹ See Preuschen's *Zeitschrift f. d. NTliche Wissenschaft* i 275-288; *Hibbert Journal* i 102-108.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DIATESSARON AND THE OLD SYRIAC.

WHEN we leave the Peshitta and go on to investigate the literary history of the Gospel among Syriac-speaking Christians before the time of Rabbula's episcopate, we leave the region of comparative light and certainty for that of darkness and conjecture. The main question to be considered is the relative dates of the Diatessaron and of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. Was the earliest version of the Gospel in Syriac a translation of Tatian's Harmony or a translation of the Four canonical Gospels? This question is exceedingly important for our estimate of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, because the appearance of the Diatessaron in Syriac can be dated with some certainty. Tatian left Rome for the Euphrates Valley soon after 172 AD and seems to have died in the East a few years afterwards, so that the first publication of the Syriac Diatessaron cannot be later than 180 AD. If the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* preceded the Syriac Diatessaron, then it cannot be dated later than the middle of the second century. But if the Diatessaron preceded the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, it will not be very easy to prove that any Syriac version of the Four Gospels existed before the third century.

Notices of the Diatessaron in Syriac Literature.

The principal notices of the Diatessaron in Syriac writings, or of its use among Syriac-speaking Christians, are collected below.

THE DOCTRINE OF ADDAI, which gives the traditional account of the foundation of Christianity at Edessa, is in its present form a work of

From the first and second of these quotations it is evident that 'Gospel' and 'Diatessaron' are interchangeable terms. The author of the *Doctrine of Addai*, who no doubt represents the popular tradition of Edessa at the end of the 4th century, does not seem to recognise any form of the Gospel other than the Diatessaron.

Ὁ μέντοιγε πρότερος αὐτῶν ἀρχηγὸς ὁ Τατιανὸς συνάφειάν τινα καὶ συναγωγὴν οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως τῶν εὐαγγελίων συνθεὶς τὸ Διὰ τεσσάρων τοῦτο προσωνόμασεν· ὃ καὶ παρὰ τισιν εἰσέτι νῦν φέρεται.

[illegible]

To Eusebius the Diatessaron was a work composed he was not quite sure how, to the translator the Diatessaron was a well-known work, current among many people. He is also able to add the vernacular name by which it was known in Syriac, viz. *ܐܘܢܓܠܝܐ ܕܥܡܪܬܐ*, *Evangelion da-Mêhallêté* or ‘Gospel according to the mingled Evangelists,’ a name which it bore in contradistinction to the Separated Gospel, the *Evangelion da-Mêpharrëshê*².

² See also Hjelt's *Altsyrische Evangelienübersetzung*, p. 23, note.

To this notice in the Syriac *Eusebius* hardly any further information is added by later Syriac writers, except the statement of Dionysius Barsalibi, in the preface to his Commentary on the Gospel of S. Mark, that S. Ephraim wrote an Exposition of the Diatessaron and that its first words were *In the beginning was the Word*. Barsalibi died in 1171 AD: it is not likely that he ever saw the Diatessaron or even S. Ephraim's Commentary. As in most other instances where he makes an interesting statement, it is probable that he is quoting from an earlier and better informed writer. The reference to Tatian in the preface to the *Nomocanon* of 'Abd-îshô' (Mai, *Scriptt. Vet. Nova Coll.* x 191) is a mere rhetorical comparison between the general plan of the Diatessaron and that of the *Nomocanon* itself. There is no reason to think 'Abd-îshô' was really acquainted with the Diatessaron.

THEODORET, bishop of Cyrrhus, N.E. of Antioch, from 423 to 457, discovered as many as 200 copies of the Diatessaron in his diocese of eight hundred villages¹, a circumstance that shews that the use of the work was by no means confined to Edessa. He says: "Tatian also composed the Gospel called *Diatessaron*, removing the genealogies and all the other passages which shew that the Lord was born of the seed of David according to the flesh. This was used not only by the members of his party, but even by those who followed the Apostolic doctrine, as they did not perceive the evil design of the composition, but used the book in their simplicity for its conciseness. And I found also myself more than two hundred such books, which had been received with respect in our churches; and having gathered all together, I caused them to be laid aside, and introduced in their place the Gospels of the four Evangelists (τὰ τῶν τεττάρων εὐαγγελιστῶν ἀντισταθὰς εὐαγγέλια)²."

Thus a few years after the publication of Rabbula's revised version of the Four Gospels we find the Diatessaron being actually suppressed in a neighbouring diocese. From the time of Theodoret and his contemporaries it ceased to be a living feature of Syriac Church life.

¹ *Gibbon* vi 111, note.

² Theodoret. *Haeret. Fab.* i 20 (*Migne* lxxxiii 379 f). The Greek is also given by Westcott, *Canon* i iv § 10, by Credner, *Beiträge*, i 442 and by Ciasca, p. ix.

Notices in Syriac writings of the Evangelion da-Mepharreshe.

The name *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* has been used throughout this book to designate the translation of the Four Gospels preserved in the Sinai Palimpsest (*S*) and in Cureton's ms (*C*), as distinguished both from the Diatessaron and from the Peshitta. This use of the term is sufficiently justified by its occurrence in the colophon of *S* and in the title prefixed to *C*. But though *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* has for us a quite definite textual meaning, it is not by any means certain that those who used the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* ever called it by that name to distinguish it from what we call 'the Peshitta,' i.e. the revised version of the New Testament made and published by Rabbula. There are only two real references by name to the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* in Syriac literature; the success of Rabbula's revision put the 'Old Syriac' at once out of use, and as soon as it was out of use it was forgotten.

The most famous allusion to the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, the passage which in Syriac literature corresponds to S. Augustine's notice of the 'Itala,' occurs in the Canons of Rabbula himself. He gives orders (*Overbeck* 220):

ܐܠܠܗܐ ܕܚܝܝܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ

Let the priests and the deacons have a care that in all the churches a copy of the Evangelion da-Mēpharrēshē shall be kept and read.

What did Rabbula mean here by *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*? It is inconceivable that he was recommending the use of such a ms as *S* in preference to, or even in conjunction with, the Syriac Vulgate, although we may well believe that he would prefer the use of the Four Gospels in however inadequate a version to the use of a book like the Diatessaron, the work of one whom the Greeks classed as a heretic. I suggest therefore that Rabbula meant by *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* a copy of his own new Revised Version, i.e. a codex of the Gospels according to what we now call the Peshitta version. When he became bishop of Edessa it is evident that Tatian's Harmony was practically the only form of the Gospel in circulation. Individual scholars certainly, and the Bardesanian heretics probably, used the Four Gospels

Barsalibi wrote in the 12th century and Bar Bahlul in the 10th century; but their verbal agreement in the above sentence shews us that they are copying from a common source. What that source was we can only guess. It was not S. Ephraim's Commentary on the Diatessaron, for S. Ephraim has no remark upon the other name of Barabbas¹. Indeed it is remarkable that although the name Jesus Barabbas is given by Syriac writers such as Isho'dâd², Barhebraeus³, and Solomon of el-Baṣra, this reading is never assigned by them to the Diatessaron. The statement of Barsalibi and Bar Bahlul may therefore have been taken from a writer who was contrasting the reading *Jesus Barabba* with the text of the Diatessaron, and not with the text of the Peshitta. As a matter of fact *Jesus Barabbas* is the reading of *S* in Matt xxvii 16, 17, and it was doubtless characteristic of the 'Old Syriac' text of those verses. If this view of the source of the statement of Barsalibi and Bar Bahlul be taken, the phrase *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* retains its natural sense of "the Syriac translation of the Four Gospels as distinguished from the Diatessaron"; there is no necessity to take it as meaning "the 'Old Syriac' as distinguished from the Peshitta⁴."

There is one other occurrence of the phrase ܐܘܢܝܢ ܕܡܦܗܪܪܝܫܐ which may be mentioned here. In the year 1496 AD Ignatius Philoxenus, 112th bishop of Antioch, sold some books to defray the cost of the restoration of certain churches which had been destroyed by Tamerlane. The first and third of these were ordinary service books, but the second is described as *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* in the deed of sale. At that late date a copy of the 'Old Syriac' Gospels would have been a curiosity; it certainly would not have been sandwiched between ordinary books for liturgical use. Assemani, who quotes the deed of sale (*BO* ii 230), supposes the book to have been a Lectionary, i.e. a book the correct title of which would have been ܐܘܢܝܢ ܕܡܦܗܪܪܝܫܐ

¹ He only says: "Ad hunc autem agnum verum suas blasphemias converterunt, eoque repudiato Barabbam homicidam sibi postularunt" (*Moesinger* 239).

² ܐܝܫܘ ܕܕܐܕ ܕܡܪܝܢ ܕܡܦܗܪܪܝܫܐ (Camb. Univ. Libr., cod. add. 1973, fol. 133 b).

³ Comm. on S. Matthew, ed. Spanuth, p. 63.

⁴ It is not improbable that the source of the quotation may have been the lost Commentary on the Gospel by Mar Aba, the disciple of S. Ephraim, extracts out of which have been given above from Harris, *Ephrem*, p. 93 f.

ܠܝܬܐܢ *Gospel-book with separated Lections*, and this is obviously the true sense. Indeed the tenor of the document in which it occurs suggests that this MS which was sold was in the handwriting of John of Mardê, who died in 1165. In any case it can have nothing to do with what was called *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* in the time of Rabbula.

The Quotations of Aphraates.

The earliest dated evidence we have as to the use of the Gospels or the Diatessaron among Syriac-speaking Christians is derived from the actual practice of Aphraates. In other works the dates of the original compositions, or of those recensions which have come down to us, are disputed or unknown. But in the Homilies of Aphraates we have the undoubtedly genuine works of a writer who lived in the diocese of Seleucia and wrote between the years 337 and 345. I propose therefore in the following paragraphs to exhibit passages which may throw light upon the document or documents he used when quoting from the Gospel.

Aphraates names neither the Diatessaron nor any of the four Evangelists¹. But it is clear that he very often is using the Diatessaron. Thus it is probable that he is quoting the opening words of Tatian's Harmony when he says (*Wright*, p. 13):

ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ

And also the Word and Speech of the Lord is the Messiah, as it is written in the beginning of the gospel of our Life-giver, that in the beginning He was the Word.

The quotation is not however quite decisive, except to shew that Aphraates' copy of the *Diatessaron* did not begin with Matt i 1 or Lk i 1-4, for the word used is not ܐܠܗܐ 'Gospel-book,' but ܠܝܬܐܢ 'the good tidings.' The phrase used by Aphraates might easily, if it had stood alone, have come from one who used our separated Gospels.

But it is only one piece of evidence among many others, of which

¹ The 'John' mentioned in vi 12 (*Wright* 123) is not the Evangelist, but the Baptist.

the clearest and most decisive is the long summary of the Gospel preaching at the end of the *Homily on Love*. Of all the quotations of Aphraates this most surely rests on the Diatessaron and the Diatessaron alone. I therefore give a translation in full, setting down at the side the corresponding passages in the Diatessaron, according to Mr Hamlyn Hill's numeration of the Arabic Harmony, together with the corresponding Gospel references. It will be seen that the references follow the order of the Diatessaron almost without a break.

<i>Diatessaron</i>	<i>Aphraates, Hom. II (= Wright, pp. 41—43)</i>	<i>Gospel</i>	<i>Moes.</i>
viii 27	In His great love ²⁷ He called happy the poor in	Matt v 3	62
33	their spirit, ³³ and promised to the peace-makers	9	63
	that they should be brothers to Him and should be		
29	called sons of God ; ²⁹ and He assured the meek that	5	
28	they should inherit the land of life ; ²⁸ and He pro-	4	
	mitted the mourners that they should be entreated		
30	for ¹ ; ³⁰ and He preached to the hungry satiety in	(6)	
38	His kingdom, ³⁸ and them that weep He rejoiced by	Lk vi 21 ^a 21 ^b	
31	His promise ; ³¹ and He promised to the compas-	Matt v 7	
32	sionate that they should be compassionated, ³² and	8	
	to them that are pure in their heart He said that		
34	they should see God. ³⁴ And He promised again to	10	
	those persecuted for righteousness' sake that they		
35	should enter the kingdom of heaven, ³⁵ and those	11	
	persecuted for His name's sake He assured happi-		
40	ness and ease in His kingdom. ⁴⁰ And He changed	13	64
	our nature of dust and made us the salt of truth,		
	and delivered us from being the Serpent's food.		
41	⁴¹ And He called us the light of the world, that He	14	
	might deliver us from the authority of death. And		

¹ *ܐܪܡܝܐ ܕܥܡܠܐ*, a rendering of *παρακληθήσονται* independent of what is found in *SC* and Pesh.

<i>Diatessaron</i>	<i>Aphraates, Hom. II (= Wright, pp. 41—43)</i>	<i>Gospel</i>	<i>Moes.</i>
<i>cf ix 14 ff.</i>	He made us good instead of evil and fair instead	(Matt v 45) <i>cf Lk vi 35</i>	
x 38	of hateful, and gave us love instead of hate. ³⁸ And	Lk vi 45	
	He associated us with the good man that bringeth		
	forth from his treasures good things, and delivered		
	us from him that bringeth forth evil things from		
	the superfluity of his heart. And because of His		
	abundant love He made whole the wounds of		
xii 4 ff.	the infirm, ⁴ for He healed even the son of the Cen-	Matt viii 5 ff. Lk vii 2 ff.	74
33 ff.	turion because of his faith; ³³ and He silenced the	Matt viii 24 ff. Lk viii 23 ff.	75
39 ff.	storms of the sea from us by His power ³⁹ and	(Matt viii 28 ff.) Lk viii 27 ff.	
	chased away from us the devils of Legion because		
xii 7 ff.	of His kindness. ⁷ And in His compassion He saved	Matt ix 18 ff. Lk viii 41 ff.	
	alive the daughter of the chief of the synagogue,		
11 ff.	¹¹ and He cleansed moreover the woman from the	Matt ix 20 ff. Lk viii 45 ff.	76 ff.
33 ff.	impurity of blood ³³ and opened the eyes of the	Matt ix 27 ff.	
42	two blind men that drew near to Him. ⁴² And He	Matt x 1 (Lk ix 1)	90
	gave also to His Twelve power and authority over		
	every pain and infirmity, and to us also through		
44	them. ⁴⁴ And He restrained us from the way of the	Matt x 5	91
	pagans ¹ and of the Samaritans, and gave us power		
	in His compassionateness that we should not be		
xiii 3	afraid ³ when they bring us up before the authori-	(Matt x 17) Lk xii 7, 11	(95)
20	ties of the world. ²⁰ And He cast a division in the	Matt x 34 Lk xii 51	97
xv 9	earth because of his great tranquillity. ⁹ And He	Lk vii 48	114
	forgave many debts to the sinful woman because		
45	of His compassion; ⁴⁵ and He made us worthy be-	Lk xiv 28	118
	cause of His kindness that we should build the		
xvi 7 ff.	tower at His expense, ⁷ and He cast forth from us	(Matt xii 43 ff.) Lk xi 24 ff.	120

¹ ܡܠܝܬܐ; thus agreeing with Pesh. against *S*, which has ܡܠܝܬܐ 'nations.'

Aphraates and the Diatessaron.

183

<i>Diatessaron</i>	Aphraates, <i>Hom.</i> II (= <i>Wright</i> , pp. 41—43)	<i>Gospel</i>	<i>Moes.</i>
	unclean spirits, and made us a guest-chamber for		
25 ff.	His Godhead. ²⁵ And He sowed in us the good seed, that we might give fruit an hundred-fold and	Matt xiii 4 ff. Lk viii 5 ff.	124
xvii 27	sixty-fold and thirty-fold; ²⁷ and He was set in the midst of the world in the likeness of the treasure	Matt xiii 44	
51	set in the field. ⁵¹ And He shewed the power of His majesty when He was thrown from the height	Lk iv 29 (<i>sic</i>)	131
xviii 38	into the depth and was not hurt ¹ . ³⁸ And He satisfied the hungry in their fatigue from five	Matt xiv 18	132
43	loaves and two fishes, ⁴³ even five thousand men besides children and women, and He shewed the majesty of His glory. And because of His great	Matt xiv 21 Lk ix 17 Joh vi 13	
xx 47 ff.	love ⁴⁷ He heard the Canaanite woman and raised up her daughter from her infirmity; and by the	Mat xv 22 ff. Mk vii 25 ff.	138
xxi 2 ff.	authority of Him that sent Him ² He loosened the tongue of the stutterer, the man whose ear was	Mk vii 32 ff.	
xxiii 4	hard of hearing. ⁴ And the blind saw His light, and through Him they glorified Him that sent	Matt xv 31	(153)
xxiv 2 ff.	Him. ² And when He went up to the hill to pray the rays of the sun were overcome by His light;	Matt xvii 1 ff. Mk ix 2 ff. Lk ix 28 ff.	156
31	and He manifested His excellent power ³¹ in the lad on whom the spirit came suddenly, and the demon of lunacy by His word He removed.	Matt xvii 15 Lk ix 39	(160)
xxv 10	¹⁰ And He gave us a type and likeness that we should be in the likeness of children and enter the	Matt xviii 3	
xxvii 28	kingdom of heaven; ²⁸ and He said and shewed	Matt xviii 10	165

¹ It is evident from the remarks of S. Ephraim (*Moes* 131) and his allusions to the passage elsewhere that Tatian took ὥστε κατακρήμνισαι αὐτόν to mean that the Nazarenes actually threw our Lord over their cliff. S on the other hand implies the reading ὥστε κρέμασαι αὐτόν, 'so as to hang him.'

<i>Diatessaron</i>	Aphraates, <i>Hom. II</i> (= <i>Wright</i> , pp. 41—43)	<i>Gospel</i>	<i>Moes.</i>
	concerning the little ones that no one should despise those whose angels at all times see the		
xxii 13 ff. (<i>cf</i> xxvii 41)	Father in heaven. ¹³ And He shewed moreover His perfect healing in that man who thirty and eight years was infirm and He increased His mercy unto him and made him whole.	Joh v 5 ff.	145 ff.
xxviii 49 ff.	⁴⁹ Again He gave us a command that we should	Matt xix 21 ff. Lk xviii 22 ff.	170 ff.
xxix 13	leave the world and turn unto Him, ¹³ and He revealed to us that he whom the world loveth	Lk xvi 15	
xxviii 36 ff.	cannot please God ³⁶ in the demonstration of the	Lk xii 16 ff.	174
xxix 14	rich man that trusted in his property, ¹⁴ and in that man who had delight in his good things	Lk xvi 19	
18, 19	¹⁸ and his end was in Sheol ¹⁹ and he asked for water on the tip of his little finger and no one gave	23, 24	
27 ff.	to him. ²⁷ And He hired us in the likeness of labourers that we should toil in His vineyard,	Matt xx 1 ff.	175
xlvi 17	¹⁷ He who is the Vineyard of Truth.	Joh xv 1	
	All these things our Life-giver because of His great love did for us. And we also, my beloved, shall		
(xlv 20)	be consorts in the love of the Messiah ²⁰ when we	(Joh xiii 34)	
(xxxiv 31)	love one another, and we shall perform those two commandments whereon hangeth all the law, and the prophets also.	(Matt xxii 40) <i>etc.</i>	

This long series of allusions speaks for itself. Either Aphraates was turning over the leaves of his Diatessaron as he wrote, or (as is more probable) the Diatessaron was so deeply engraved on his mind that in epitomising our Lord's ministry he naturally followed the peculiar order adopted by Tatian. Even at the end, where his dependence on the Diatessaron is less marked, we have the Parables of Dives and Lazarus

(Lk xvi) preceded by the Rich Fool (Lk xii) and followed by the Labourers in the Vineyard (Matt xx), as in the Diatessaron.

There are many other passages where Aphraates evidently takes his Gospel quotations from the Diatessaron, as in the combination of Matt vii 18, Lk vi 45 in *A* 303 (= *Diat* x 37, 38), and the story of the Rich Young Man told in *A* 392 (= *Diat* xxviii 42 ff.). But mere confusion of the text of one Gospel with another does not in itself prove the use of a Harmony, and it must be remarked that some of the composite quotations present a different mixture from the Diatessaron as represented by S. Ephraim's Commentary and the Arabic. In any case it is evident that the writer who could make the statement that "Judas who betrayed our Saviour fell into the sea with a mill-stone about his neck" (*A* 253) was capable of inventing fresh combinations for himself. And if the remarkable agreement of the passage quoted above from *A* 41-43 with the order of the Diatessaron proves the use of the Diatessaron, there is another passage somewhat similar which almost as strongly suggests the use of the separate Gospels. Towards the end of the long Homily on Obedience, sent out as a synodical Letter in 344 AD, we read (Aphraates, *Hom.* 14 = *Wright*, pp. 301, 302):

And we, beloved,...nothing outside the law have we written to you, nor have we sent to you a treasure stolen, save from the seed and germ of the holy Scriptures. Counterfeit silver wherever it may go is not to be received, and old leaven is not to be kneaded with good flour. For ^aworn out wine-skins do not receive the power of wine and ^ba new patch when it lieth on a worn-out garment teareth it; and ^cthe vine that receiveth cultivation giveth fruit and not wild grapes. And ^dthe heart that is hard as a rock withereth the seed, and ^ethe building which is set on the sand—the rain washeth it away and it falleth from the blast of the wind. And ^fthe salt that hath lost its savour—the Serpent doth eat it, and ^gthe inferior fish the fisherman doth cast out. For ^hthe tares in their season are rooted out, and the chaff from the wheat at the last is separated. ⁱAnd the inferior labourers in time despise hire; and ^jthe foolish virgins whose oil fails—when the bridegroom cometh they are not able to buy. And ^kthe steward who doth beat his fellow-servants—his lord cometh and doeth judgement upon him. And ^lthe evil slave that hideth his lord's silver—he that gave it to him cometh and reckoneth with him for interest. And ^mthe door-keeper that loveth slumber in the time of watchfulness is deprived of life. ⁿThe wise king while yet the battle is far off sendeth ambassadors and seeketh peace. These few reminders we have written to you, beloved, *etc.*

a.	<i>Diat</i> vii 35	Matt ix 17	Mk ii 22	Lk vi 37 f.
b.	34	16	21	36
c.		Isaiah v 2		
d.	<i>Diat</i> xvi 26	Matt xiii 5	Mk iv 5	Lk viii 6
e.	x 47 f.	Matt vii 26 f.		(Lk vi 49)
f.	viii 40	Matt v 13	(Mk ix 50)	(Lk xiv 34)
	(xxv 24)			
g.	xvii 30 f.	Matt xiii 48 f.		
h.	xvii 1 ff.	Matt xiii 24 ff.		
i.	xxix 27 ff.	Matt xx 1 ff.		
j.	xliii 9 ff.	Matt xxv 1 ff.		
k.	xliii 2 ff.	Matt xxiv 45 ff.		Lk xii 42 f.
l.	xliii 32 ff.	Matt xxv 24 ff.		(Lk xix 20 ff.)
	(xxxi 45 ff.)			
m.	xlii 34		Mk xiii 34	
n.	xv 48 f.			Lk xiv 31, 32

Here we have a string of passages from S. Matthew's Gospel quoted one after the other, followed by one from S. Mark and another from S. Luke. It is, I venture to think, unlikely that Aphraates had here only the Diatessaron in view, and if the selection of passages was made from memory it argues great familiarity with the text to have kept the Gospels so distinct. It may be added that on the next page (*Wright* 303) Aphraates clearly quotes the Diatessaron.

S. Ephraim's use of the separate Gospels.

There cannot be a question that S. Ephraim habitually quoted from the Diatessaron. At the same time his voluminous writings contain some clear indications that he was aware of the existence of the separate Gospels, and he seems occasionally to have quoted from them.

The clearest instance is to be found in *Adv. Scrutatores* xxxv (*Ed. Rom.* vi 62 A)

ܐܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ
ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ
ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ
ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ ܕܡܪܝܬܐ

Like is the one 'In the beginning' to the other, and like to Moses is John also, in that at the beginning of their volumes they rebuked the scribes who disputed with

evil intent. The one preaches the God that came to suffering, and Moses also preaches the Nature that came to grief: it was in order that their hearers should not be made weak that in the beginning of their volumes they wrote the excellencies of them.

It is evident that the writer of this sentence was acquainted with the Fourth Gospel as a separate work, and not only through the Diatessaron. Moreover this view of the Gospel is curiously similar to that found in another passage, quoted by Philoxenus of Mabbog from S. Ephraim's Homily on Joh i 1, a Homily from which other quotations survive but which unfortunately is no longer extant in full.

Lamy ii 513 f. (corrected from B.M. Add. 12164; Burkitt, *S. Ephraim's Quotations*, p. 59 f.)

[illegible]

AGAIN, FROM THE SAME [S. Ephraim], OUT OF THE DISCOURSE UPON ‘IN THE BEGINNING WAS THE WORD.’...*For John started to write that which our Lord endured in His own person. Now he began with the story of the Son from where (it says) ‘Through Him was created everything,’ that he might tell in one sentence concerning those things that were through Him and concerning those things that were (done) in His own person; so that because of the great things that were through Him we might know to what lowliness He had descended, against whose person the shameful deeds were performed.*

By John therefore saying 'In the beginning,' he hath in fact called Moses to witness, that Moses might give witness concerning those things that were through the Son, that he might induce us accurately to investigate those things that were performed against

ⁱ ~~die~~ Cod. 12164 (*sic*).

volume of the Mechitarists' edition, pp. 261–346, under the name of *Targamnoutiun Avetarani*, 'Exposition of the Gospel.' This seems to be taken from the same MS as that from which the Commentary on the Diatessaron is printed, and called by Moesinger A; it contains also some Homilies ascribed to S. Ephraim¹. That the tract is a translation from the Syriac seems clear, and some of the quotations present a text such as would be used by a Syriac writer at the end of the fourth century². But the style is not very like S. Ephraim's, and the number of direct quotations from the Scriptures is far larger than we should expect to find in a genuine work of his. Moreover some of the Old Testament quotations follow the LXX³—a sure sign that their text has been altered by the translator to agree with the version with which he was familiar. As in the case of the Commentary on the Diatessaron itself, where the same state of things to a slight extent prevails, it is only where the text of the quotations differs from that of the Armenian Vulgate that we can be quite sure that it represents the version used by the original Syriac writer. In cases where the Gospels are quoted by name it is therefore only too probable that the text has been doctored by the translator, and the ascription of the quotations to the several evangelists may have been the work of the same hand⁴.

References to the Greek in Ephraim's Commentary.

The Armenian MSS of S. Ephraim's Commentary on the Diatessaron contain at the end a paragraph very loosely joined on to the rest of the work, in which the characteristics of the four Gospels are given, partly from Eusebius *HE* iii 39 (*Moesinger* 286). Of more importance are three passages in the body of the Commentary, in each of which "the Greek" is quoted. It is not quite clear what source is here intended by S. Ephraim, but it may be well to quote them in spite of their obscurity.

¹ Ephr. *Arm.*, Preface, p. 7.

² See especially p. 288, where we read "And again in another place he saith: 'I am the vineyard (*այգի*) and ye are the vine (*որթ*); every vine that in me is planted and giveth not fruit, it is plucked up.'" This corresponds to the very peculiar rendering of Joh xv 1 characteristic of the *Diatessaron*.

³ E.g. the quotation from Isaiah xlix 14–16, p. 264.

⁴ Quotations of the Gospels by name are to be found on p. 328 ff. Some of these so-called quotations are strangely paraphrastic, e.g. on p. 329 we read: "And again this is what Matthew says, 'When ye shall see the filth of corruption that it standeth in the place of holiness in Jerusalem—by Daniel the prophet it was announced, let him that readeth lay it to heart.'"

Internal evidences of the date of the Evangelion da-Mepharreshe.

The main result arrived at in the preceding investigation has been to shew that the Diatessaron was by far the most widely used form in which the Gospel was current among Syriac-speaking Christians before the 5th century. At the same time, as far back as our evidence goes, we still find traces of the use of the Four Gospels in Syriac. For the solution therefore of the question whether the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* be older or younger than the Syriac Diatessaron we must ultimately resort to internal evidence, i.e. to the character of the texts themselves.

First of all comes the question of the language in which the Diatessaron was originally composed. The *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is a translation from the Greek. Even if the translator knew the Diatessaron in Syriac and was greatly influenced by it, it is nevertheless obvious that a text of the Four Gospels cannot be evolved from the Diatessaron alone. But it is conceivable that the Diatessaron of Tatian might have been a purely Syriac work, compiled out of the text of the Four Gospels then current in a Syriac Version. It is therefore important to shew that in a number of leading variants and in a number of renderings of noteworthy passages the Diatessaron differs widely from the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, representing, in fact, a different type of Greek text and a different style of translation.

*Differences between the Ev. da-Mepharreshe and the Diatessaron
in the underlying Greek text.*

Matt iii 16 (*The Light at the Baptism*).

The evidence collected above on p. 115 from Barsalibi and others makes it quite clear that the Diatessaron contained an account of the 'mighty light' that appeared at the Baptism of Christ. This light is referred to by Justin (*Dial.* 88) and appears in what seems to be the oldest stratum of the Old Latin. But in *S* and *C* there is no trace of this addition.

Matt vi 1 ('Do not your gift before men').

There is a well-marked various reading in this verse and the Syriac

texts take different sides. The Diatessaron and *C* support δόσω (= \aleph^a boh); *S* supports δικαιοσύνην (= $\aleph^{*,b}$ B D 1 & c latt.exc. *k*); syr.vg supports ἐλεημοσύνην (= ς , also *k*). It is natural to suppose that *S* represents the original text of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* in this passage and that *C* has been altered from the Diatessaron.

Matt xvi 2, 3 ('*The Face of the Sky*').

The well-known interpolation of the saying about the Face of the Sky is omitted in *S* and *C* (= \aleph B 13 & c 157 arm). But, as we have seen already on p. 134, S. Ephraim quotes the words and his quotation contains the characteristically Old Syriac word ܠܝܢܐ (Lk xii 55), so that there is no room for suspicion that he was using the Peshitta. The interpolation must therefore have stood in the Diatessaron, which here again is found in agreement with D and the Latins.

Matt xvii 26 ('*as if a stranger*').

The Arabic Diatessaron (xxv 6) in telling the story of the Tribute-money makes a notable addition. We read

"Jesus said to him 'The sons then are free?' Simon said to him 'Yea!' Jesus said to him 'Give thou also to him as a stranger.'"

This addition is attested for the Diatessaron by Ephraim (*Moes.* 161). It is found also in the Greek minuscule 713, but not in *S* or *C*.

Matt xxvii 16, 17 (*Jesus Barabbas*).

That the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* gave the name Jesus to Barabbas is definitely asserted by the common source of Bar Bahlul and Barsalibi (see above, p. 178 f.), and this reading is confirmed by *S*. It is found in 1*-118-209*, in the margin of several inferior mss, and in the Palestinian Syriac Lectionary¹. It was also the reading of Origen and there is good reason for thinking that it stood in the immediate archetype of B. But there is no trace of it in the Diatessaron, or in any Old Latin text.

Mk i 41 ('*being angry*').

When the leper came and begged to be cleansed, our Lord granted his request, being, according to the ordinary text, *moved with compassion*

¹ Not however in the ancient fragments, published by Land, of a MS of the Gospels.

(σπλαγχνισθείς). This is also the reading of *S*. But the Diatessaron (*Moes.* 143, 144) very expressly supports the other reading *being angry* (ὀργισθείς), which is that of *D* and the Old Latin.

Mk vii 33 (*Spitting on the fingers*).

From the evidence collected above (p. 127 *f.*) we learn that the Diatessaron supported the curious reading ἔπτυσεν εἰς τοὺς δακτύλους αὐτοῦ (*He spat on His fingers and put it in the ears of that deaf-mute*), found in *W*^d. But *S* has another reading, which nevertheless differs from the ordinary text and agrees with cod. 28 and the 'Ferrar Group.'

Mk ix 15 (προστρέχοντες, προσχαίροντες).

The variation between these words may be conjectured to have arisen from an accidental permutation of letters. The majority of Greek mss with *S* support προστρέχοντες, while *D* and the Latins support προσχαίροντες. The Arabic Diatessaron (xxiv 26) has

والناس لما ابصروا يسوع حاروا وفي اثناء سرورهم اسرعوا وسالوا عن سلامته.

*And the folk when they perceived Jesus were amazed and in the midst of their joy they ran and greeted him*¹.

The regular way to use the Arabic Diatessaron is to compare it with the corresponding verse in syr.vg: the differences between the two texts represent readings of the original Harmony. Here there are two such differences, viz. 'Jesus' instead of 'him' in the first clause and the insertion of 'in the midst of their joy' before 'they ran' in the second clause. The first variant is attested by *D b c ff k*, the same authorities that read προσχαίροντες instead of προστρέχοντες, and it is evident that 'in the midst of their joy' stands ultimately for προσχαίροντες, the intermediate Syriac stage being, I suppose, ܡܕܢܝܢ. The Arabic therefore has a conflate text containing equivalents both for προστρέχοντες and for προσχαίροντες. This double rendering can hardly be original. Doubtless the words corresponding to 'ran and' come

¹ The Arabic mss are said to have جأروا, which may either be جأروا *they lowed* (like an ox), or جأروا *they raced*, or جأروا *they drew back*,—none of which are suitable, or explicable from the context. The corresponding word in the Peshitta and *S* is ܡܕܢܝܢ, and as the substantive حيرة *amazement* is used in Diat xlii 19 to render ܡܕܢܝܢ (Lk xxi 25, *sic*) I think there can be little doubt that the word here meant is جأروا *they were amazed*.

ultimately from the Peshitta, or the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* itself, and the true text of Tatian's Harmony in this passage agreed completely with the 'Western' authorities.

Mk xvi 9-20 (*The Longer Conclusion*).

The so-called 'Last Twelve Verses' of S. Mark are omitted altogether in *S*, the Gospel ending at xvi 8, which is immediately followed on the same column by the beginning of S. Luke. The verses are found in *C*. They also form an integral part of the Diatessaron, as is clear from the allusions in Aphraates and in the *Doctrine of Addai*. In this most important feature, therefore, the Greek text underlying the Diatessaron differed from the Greek text underlying *S*.

And there can be little doubt that *S*, which omits the verses, more truly represents the genuine text of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* than *C*, which inserts them. It is impossible to conceive any Syriac-speaking community suppressing the verses: the mere fact that positive evidence for their omission exists is enough to shew that the original form of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* did not contain them.

Lk vii 14 ('*Youth, youth!*').

The doubled *Νεανίσκε*, which is found in *D* and in the Old Latin *a* and *ff*, is expressly attested by Aphraates and by Ephraim, but is not found in *S*. There is no reason to suspect that *S* in this passage represents a revised text, so that here also the Diatessaron and the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* originally differed.

Lk xviii 30 ('*Seven-fold*').

According to S. Mark those that have left their lands and their families for Christ's sake and the Gospel's shall receive *an hundredfold*. In S. Matthew most authorities have *an hundredfold*, but a few ancient texts (including *B* and Origen) have *manifold*. In S. Luke most texts have *manifold*, but *S* and *C* have *an hundredfold*, while *D* and the Old Latin with the Diatessaron (*Moesinger* 88) have *sevenfold*. Here again we may conjecture that the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* and the Diatessaron originally differed. But it is possible in this particular case that the text of *S* and *C* has been assimilated to S. Mark (or

S. Matthew). Certainly no authorities except *S* and *C* have *an hundredfold* in S. Luke, but it would be somewhat strange to find in our Syriac mss examples of harmonistic corruption, not in agreement with the Diatessaron text, but contrary to it.

Lk xxii 43, 44 (*The Bloody Sweat*) and Lk xxiii 34 (*'Father, forgive them'*).

These famous interpolations have a place in the Diatessaron, but are not found in *S*. They are however found in *C*, so the case is not absolutely parallel to the omission of Matt xvi 2, 3. Yet there can be little doubt that *S* in omitting these passages preserves the original text of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*. The intrinsic interest of the two passages must generally have afforded a strong motive for their insertion wherever they were known, and as a matter of fact S. Ephraim shews his appreciation of them by repeated quotations and allusions. According to a correspondent of Photius 'some of the Syrians' omitted Lk xxii 43, 44; this is probably a reference to the asterisk in the margin of the Harclean version.

Joh v 3, 4 (*The Angel at the Pool*).

The well-known interpolation about the Angel troubling the waters is absent from *C*, and though a leaf is here missing from *S* it is evident from the space that the passage was absent from *S* also. But it must have had a place in the Syriac Diatessaron, for Ephraim says (*Moesinger* 146): 'If they believe that the Angel by the water of Shiloah was healing the sick, how much rather should they believe that the Lord of the Angels purifies by baptism from all stain?' It is only in the interpolated form of the story that there is any mention of an 'angel.'

Joh x 8 (*'those that came before me'*).

The words 'before me' in this saying of our Lord are omitted in many Greek mss (headed by \aleph^*), in all Latin authorities except those mentioned below, in the Sahidic, and in *S* and syr.vg. They are found in many Greek mss (headed by B and D), in Clement and Origen, in the Bohairic and the Armenian, in Ephraim's Commentary (*Moesinger* 200), in Faustus (ap. Aug), in Lucifer, in Jerome's own quotations, in the

Latin Vulgate mss *gat* and *fos*, and in the ms of syr.vg called by Mr Gwilliam 36. It is tempting to add this passage to the rest where *S* and the Diatessaron differ in the underlying Greek. *Gat* is one of a group of 'mixed' Vulgate mss whose readings sometimes agree curiously with the Diatessaron, the other members being the Sangermanensis (*g*) and the Tours ms called by Wordsworth *M*. On the other hand, the only direct evidence that the words 'before me' were contained in the Diatessaron comes from *Moesinger* 200, where the verse is quoted in verbal agreement with the Armenian vulgate. We cannot therefore be sure that the translator of Ephraim's Commentary was not adapting his text to that of his vernacular Bible. This explanation however does not account for the presence of the words in an isolated ms of the Peshitta: it is somewhat difficult to account for them there, unless they slipped in through a scribe's reminiscence of Tatian's Harmony.

*Differences between the Ev. da-Mepharreshe and the Diatessaron
in rendering the Greek.*

We now give a few examples of noteworthy divergence between the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and the Diatessaron in rendering Greek words and phrases.

Matt v 4 (5) παρακληθήσονται.

'Happy is it for the mourners that they shall be *comforted*' (ܐܠܥܡܕܐ) is the rendering of *SC* and syr.vg, but Aphraates 41 in a string of allusions taken certainly from the Diatessaron¹ has 'He promised the mourners that they should be *entreated for*' (ܐܠܥܡܕܐ ܐܡܠܝܐ).

In Lk xvi 25 παρακαλείται is interpreted 'he is *besought*' by Aphraates 383 and Ephraim², in accordance with the oldest Latin tradition, but *S* and syr.vg have 'he *taketh his ease*' (ܐܡܠܐܐ). But in Lk vi 24 we read both in *S* and in Aphraates 390 'Woe to you, rich, that ye have received your *supplication*,' where 'your supplication' (ܐܠܥܡܕܐ) is a rendering of τὴν παράκλησιν ὑμῶν.

¹ See above, p. 181.

² See above, p. 136.

Matt x 5 ἐθνῶν.

'Go not in the way of the peoples' (ܠܬܝܠܝܬ) is the rendering of *S*, but the Diatessaron (as attested by Aphraates 42)¹ has 'Go not in the way of the pagans' (ܠܬܝܠܝܬ), and this rendering is adopted by the Peshitta, although ܠܬܝܠܝܬ should represent ἐθνικῶν rather than ἐθνῶν.

Other instances of a similar nature, where the rendering of the Diatessaron has been adopted in syr.vg in preference to that of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, are

Matt v 16 καλά· ܠܬܝܠܝܬ *S C*, but ܠܬܝܠܝܬ Aphraates 14

Matt xxi 41 ἐκδώσεται· ܠܬܝܠܝܬ *S*, ܠܬܝܠܝܬ *C*, but ܠܬܝܠܝܬ Ephr. *Lamy* i 253

Mk xii 42 λεπτὰ δύο· ܠܬܝܠܝܬ *S*, but ܠܬܝܠܝܬ [ܠܬܝܠܝܬ] Ephr. *Nis.* 91³⁶

Mk xii 42 κοδράντης· ܠܬܝܠܝܬ *S*, but ܠܬܝܠܝܬ Ephr. *Nis.* 91³⁶

Lk vii 43 ὀρθῶς· ܠܬܝܠܝܬ *S C*, but ܠܬܝܠܝܬ Ephr. *Lamy* ii, p. xxii.

Mk ii 27 τὸ σάββατον διὰ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐγένετο.

The Sabbath was 'created' (ܠܬܝܠܝܬ), according to *S* and syr.vg; according to Ephraim's Commentary (*Moes.* 62, 148) the word used was either a literal rendering of ἐγένετο or some word like ܠܬܝܠܝܬ. The text of *S* might naturally be put down as a quite permissibly free rendering of ἐγένετο, but ἐκτίσθη is actually found in 1-118*-131-209 and in 700, and it is not very likely that these mss have been directly influenced by the Syriac versions. We ought perhaps therefore to include this instance under the category of those passages where the Diatessaron differed from the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* in text as well as rendering.

Lk ii 14 εὐδοκία.

All Syriac authorities support εὐδοκία, but while *S* has the rare word ܠܬܝܠܝܬ 'favour,' the Diatessaron followed by the Peshitta has ܠܬܝܠܝܬ 'good hope.'

Lk iv 29 ὥστε κατακρημνίσαι αὐτόν.

As explained above, pp. 130, 183, the Diatessaron used words which implied that the people of Nazareth actually threw our Lord over the cliff. This is not supported by syr.vg, and *S* has 'so that they

¹ See above, p. 182.

might hang him.' The reading of *S* seems meant for ὥστε [κατα]κρεμάσαι αὐτόν, but as there is no trace of this elsewhere it is very likely nothing more than a translator's blunder. But be that as it may, the passage clearly illustrates the independence of the exegetical tradition of *S* and the Diatessaron.

Lk vi 28 τῶν ἐπηρεάζοντων ὑμᾶς.

These words are translated in *S* by ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܚܝܐ ܕܡܚܝܐ 'that oppress you,' while the corresponding words in the Diatessaron as represented by Aphraates 34 (see above, p. 110) are ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܚܝܐ ܕܡܚܝܐ 'that use violence to you.' Neither of these renderings was adopted in syr.vg.

Lk xii 20 ἄφρων.

S and *C* have ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܚܝܐ 'lacking in mind'; the Diatessaron had ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܚܝܐ 'without heart' (i.e. 'without sense'): see above pp. 133, 157.

Lk xvii 21 ἐντὸς ὑμῶν.

This is translated 'among you' (ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܚܝܐ) in *S* and *C*, but the Diatessaron (*Moes.* 209, 211) has 'within your heart.'¹

Joh xv 1 ἡ ἄμπελος ἡ ἀληθινή.

As explained above, pp. 143 f., 151, the Diatessaron rendered this phrase by 'the Vineyard of Truth,' but *S* and the Peshitta have 'the Vine of Truth.'

Lastly we must bring forward the most characteristic differences of all between the Diatessaron and the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* as represented by *S*,—those, namely, that concern Joseph and Mary.


Tatian was an Encratite, who rejected marriage. It is therefore not surprising that 'he cut out the Genealogies and whatever other passages shew that the Lord was born of the seed of David according to the flesh,'² and that he made certain alterations in the wording of the story of the Nativity. It was well pointed out in Baethgen's *Evangelienfragmente* (pp. 93, 94) that these alterations are actually found in *C*; it is not too much to say that the agreements of *C* with Tatian in Matt i 18–25 were the strongest features in his argument for

¹ Here again the Peshitta agrees with neither rendering, having 'in the midst of you' (ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܚܝܐ).

² Theodoret, *Haer* i 20.

the dependence of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* upon the Diatessaron. But the text of *S* in these verses is animated by a wholly different tendency, which can best be exhibited by placing the readings of our two MSS side by side with the Diatessaron fragments.

<i>S</i>	<i>C</i>	<i>Moesinger</i>
18. Now the birth of the Messiah was thus: When Mary his mother was betrothed to Joseph, before ever they drew near one to the other, she was found with child of the Holy Spirit.	18. Now the birth of the Messiah was thus: When Mary his mother was betrothed to Joseph, before ever they drew near one to the other she was found with child of the Holy Spirit.	(p. 20) The birth of Jesus Christ was thus: When his mother Mary was betrothed to Joseph, and before ever she was given to a husband, she was found with child of the Holy Spirit.
19. Now Joseph her husband ^a , because he was upright, was not willing to expose Mary....	19. Now Joseph, because he was an upright man ^b , was not willing to expose Mary....	(p. 22) Joseph, because he was an upright man, was not willing to expose Mary.
20. ... 'Joseph son of David, do not fear to take ^c Mary thy wife, for that which is being born from her is from the Holy Spirit.	20. ... 'Joseph son of David, do not fear to take ^d Mary thy betrothed, for that which is being born from her is conceived from the Holy Spirit.	(p. 23) 'Do not fear to take Mary.'
21. Now she will bear thee a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save alive his people from its sins....'	21. Now she will bear thee a son, and his name shall be called Jesus, for he shall save alive the world from its sins....'	
24. Now when Joseph arose from his sleep, he did as the angel of the LORD commanded him, and he took his wife	24. Now when Joseph arose from his sleep, he did as the angel of the LORD commanded him, and he took Mary	(pp. 25, 26) He took her. ...
25. and she bare him a son, and he called his name Jesus.	25. and purely was dwelling with her until she bare the son; and she called his name Jesus.	... purely he was dwelling with her until she bare the first-born.

Some estimate of the value of the remarkable text of *S* for the criticism of the Greek text of this passage will be given in the Note on Matt i 16, 25, but the difference of spirit between it and that of the Diatessaron "springt in die Augen," as the Germans say. And that *S* and not *C* here represents the original text of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* is clear from the first clause of v. 21 ('Now she will bear thee a son'), the corresponding Greek being τέξεται δὲ υἱόν. It is inconceivable that the person who produced *C*'s text of v. 25 should have been the translator of this clause, but it is quite easy to see how a reviser altering a text like that of *S* into conformity with the Diatessaron should have left unnoticed and uncorrected the tell-tale  in v. 21.

So far therefore as this passage goes, the argument of Baethgen as to the dependence of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* upon the Diatessaron is not confirmed by the text of *S*; on the contrary, it is seriously weakened, for it shews to what a great extent Syriac texts which were originally different in spirit and in wording have actually been harmonised.

The main object of this long catalogue of differences between the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and the Diatessaron has been to shew what great divergence in spirit, in rendering, and in the underlying Greek text, still exists in spite of all the natural tendencies to harmonisation. The last example from Matt i 18-25 shews the harmonisation in the act of being accomplished. It is true, and the fact has been insisted on by all the writers who have occupied themselves with these questions, that the agreements between the extant fragments of the Diatessaron and the text of *S* and *C* are too numerous and too intimate to be explained except by a common origin. But how far dare we say that the extant fragments of the Diatessaron truly represent the original text of Tatian's Harmony? If the earlier history of the Diatessaron at all resembled its later fortunes, it will have been continually suffering assimilation to the current Biblical text. The Syriac text from which Ciasca's Arabic was translated had been almost wholly corrected to the language of the Peshitta; Victor of Capua's Diatessaron has been almost wholly corrected to the language of the Vulgate. The quotations in Aphraates and Ephraim are the earliest form of the Syriac Diatessaron that we possess, and these quotations agree largely with the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*. But what right have we

to assume that every reading in the codex used by Aphraates or S. Ephraim faithfully represents the uncorrupted text as Tatian left it?

These considerations all tend to shew that the Syriac Diatessaron and the 'Old Syriac' version of the Four Gospels were, to a much greater extent than is generally believed, independent works. And to that extent all arguments as to the date of the 'Old Syriac,' that are based on the supposed original resemblance in text between the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and the Diatessaron, fall to the ground. Yet it is hard to believe that the resemblances of rendering can all be made to disappear. He would be a bold man who would assert that both the Diatessaron and the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* had not always rendered ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός by 'My Son and my Beloved,' or called the *νιπτὴρ* in which our Lord washed the disciples' feet ~~ⲛⲁⲕⲁⲛⲁ~~ ~~ⲕⲁⲛⲁ~~ i.e. 'a *λεκάνη* for washing' (Joh xiii 5), or the *ἐπιγραφὴ* on the Cross ~~ⲕⲁⲗⲁ~~, i.e. 'a *πιττάκιον*' (Lk xxiii 38). If these renderings be original, and the fulness of the evidence suggests that they are so, they cannot be accidental and the translator of the later text must have been acquainted with the earlier text.

The Ev. da-Mepharreshe influenced by the O.T. Peshitta.

The history of the text of the Old Testament in Syriac in its earlier stages is involved in obscurity. The Syriac Vulgate of the O.T., to which the name *Peshitta* properly belongs, is in the main a translation direct from the original Hebrew. It is clear that the translators had a good knowledge of the general meaning of the text and an excellent acquaintance with Jewish tradition. To such an extent is this the case that it seems impossible to avoid considering the *Peshitta* as the work of Jewish scholars: it will be enough here to refer to J. Perles's *Meletemata Peschitthoniana*. With this agrees the oldest Syriac tradition; according to Jacob of Edessa, the apostle Addai and the believing king Abgar sent to Jerusalem and to Palestine for men to translate the Old Testament from Hebrew into Syriac¹. This is only another way of saying that the Church in Edessa at the earliest period

¹ R. Duval's *Littérature Syriacque*, p. 32.

of its existence took over from the Synagogue a vernacular rendering of the Old Testament.

The Peshitta as we have it now is this Jewish version, slightly revised from the Septuagint, especially in the Prophets. The revision was made long before the times of Aphraates and S. Ephraim, probably at the end of the 2nd century. But it did not alter the essential character of the version, and where the Peshitta differs from the Greek we may be fairly confident that it gives the text of the original translation from the Hebrew. In attempting to discover the date of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* it is therefore most important to ascertain whether that version of the Gospels shews any traces of the influence of the Old Testament in Syriac.

The answer must certainly be in the affirmative. In no other way can we explain the general acquaintance which the translator shews with the names and the phraseology of the Old Testament. This appears above all in the Genealogies, the portion of the text least influenced by the Diatessaron.

In the Genealogies the names are transliterated correctly into their Semitic form, an impossible task to one familiar with them only in their meagre Greek dress. It requires some acquaintance with the O.T. to know that Ναχὼρ in the genealogy given by S. Luke should be written ܢܚܐ, but Σαρὼν should be ܣܪܐ, and Λάμεχ should be ܠܡܚ. Yet S gets these right, together with all the other puzzling names of the Patriarchs. In Matt i 5 he rightly transliterates Βοὲς and Ἰωβὴδ by ܒܥܝ and ܝܘܒܕ¹: if in Lk iii 32 we find the unbiblical names ܒܥܝ and ܠܡܚ, that is because the Greek here had Βοοϰ and (doubtless) Ἰωβηλ. And the accurate rendering of the Patriarchs' names is not due to extraordinary skill in recognising a Semitic name in Greek spelling, for in the names between David and Joseph that are otherwise unknown to history the Syriac transliterations do not always approve themselves: it is, at least, open to doubt whether ΗΛΕΙ (the father of Joseph) should be rendered ܠܝ as S gives it, and not ܠܝ or ܠܝ or ܠܝ.

But the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* does not merely give a scholarly representation of the names. In several cases it gives the specifically Syriac representation. Thus in Matt i 5 *Ruth* is spelt ܪܘܬ in S and

¹ C, supported by A^a, has ܒܥܝ, a Syriac corruption, which shews however that the lists have not been revised.

A, ܕܐܠܝܢ in C, with the guttural after the 'r,' in accordance with the Syriac Old Testament, a spelling which is not suggested either by the Greek, which has 'Ρούθ, or by the Hebrew and the Targum, which have רוּת. Similarly ܠܠ, for Σαλμών, agrees with the Peshitta text of Ruth iv 20, 21, but not with the Hebrew or the Greek¹.

The dependence of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* upon the Syriac Old Testament affords the explanation of another very curious circumstance, viz. that S and C are almost the only first-rate textual authorities that spell the names of king Asa and king Amon correctly². The Evangelist spelt these names ܐܥܥܫ and ܐܡܡܘܥ, following the forms then current in Greek. 'Amos' is still current in the Greek O.T., but 'king Asaph' has been corrected to 'king Asa' through the influence of Origen's *Hexapla*: sufficient evidence however still remains to shew that 'Asaph' was once the prevailing spelling both in the Books of Kings and in Jeremiah. We may therefore safely infer that the Greek ms from which the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* was translated had 'ΑΣΑϕ and 'Αμώς, not 'ΑΣΑ and 'Αμών, and that the reason why we find ܠܠ and ܐܡܡܘܥ in S and C is because the translator knew the true names of these Jewish kings from the Syriac Bible.

The influence of the Syriac Old Testament upon the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* is by no means confined to the Genealogies. The O.T. quotations which occur in S and C are of course in general, like the rest of the text, a translation from the Greek. But now and again S and C leave the Greek and agree with the Peshitta, even in places where it differs from the Hebrew and the LXX. A few instances are given below.

Matt iv 6 = Ps xci (xc) 12

'On their arms they shall bear thee up' S C.

This agrees exactly with the Peshitta in Ps xci 12 (ܐܡܡܝܢ ܐܝܡܝܢ), the Hebrew being על כַּפַּיִם. But the Greek has ἐπὶ χειρῶν ἀρᾶσίν σε, and with this agrees Matt iv 6 syr.vg.

Curiously enough the parts are reversed in the parallel passage

¹ Another instance, outside the Genealogies, is ܠܠ for Zion, Matt xxi 5, Joh xii 15.

² ܐܥܥܫ is read in Matt i 7, 8 by \aleph BCD^{luc} 1-209 543 700 *k c g q* sah boh aeth arm, by the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus (3rd cent) and by the Genealogy in Ciasca's Arabic cod. A. ܐܡܡܘܥ is read in Matt i 10 by \aleph BCD^{luc} al^{mult} latt (exc *a f* vg) sah boh arm and by the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus.

Lk iv 11. There syr.vg has *on their arms* in agreement with the O.T. Peshitta, while *S* has *on their hands* in agreement with the Greek.

Matt x 25, xii 24, &c.

‘*Beelzebub.*’

In 2 Kings i 2 ff the Peshitta has ܒܥܠܙܒܒ *Bēʿelzēḇôḇ* in agreement with the Hebrew בַּעַל זְבוֹיָב. But the Greek has Βεελζεβούλ, with λ at the end; so also has the Old Latin, and even the extant Armenian and Arabic texts of the Diatessaron. The Syriac versions and the Latin Vulgate stand alone in ending the word with the letter *b*. In the case of the Latin Vulgate this is certainly due to S. Jerome’s knowledge of the Old Testament in Hebrew; and similarly the Syriac N.T. shews an acquaintance with a translation made direct from the Hebrew, which can be none other than the Old Testament Peshitta itself.

Matt xiii 35 = Ps lxxviii (lxxvii) 2

‘*From of old*’ (ܐܬܝܬ ܡܢ ܐܝܬܝܢ) *S C.*

This agrees exactly with the Peshitta of Ps lxxviii 2, which is a translation of מִנִּי קֶדֶם. But the Greek of Matt xiii 35 is ἀπὸ καταβολῆς [κόσμου]. There can be little doubt here that the rendering adopted by the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* is derived immediately from the Syriac Old Testament.

Lk iii 4—6 = Isaiah xl 3—6

This long quotation is entirely assimilated to the Peshitta text of Isaiah in *S* and *C*. We may note especially the clause in v. 4,

ܐܬܝܬ ܕܝܪܥܬܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ ܕܥܡܪܐ

And direct in the Plain paths for our God.

This is word for word with Isai xl 3^b in syr.vg. But the Greek N.T. has εὐθείας ποιεῖτε τὰς τρίβους αὐτοῦ, and neither in *S. Luke* nor the LXX is there anything to correspond with *in the Plain* (i.e. ܒܥܪܒܐ). We see therefore that the O.T. Peshitta influenced the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* in *S. Luke* as well as in *S. Matthew*.

It follows, as an obvious corollary from these examples, that the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is later than the translation of the O.T. from Hebrew into Syriac. The imperfect preservation of the Diatessaron in its earlier forms makes it practically impossible to discover to what extent it was influenced by the O.T. Peshitta, but as far as the evidence goes the tests which prove the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* to have been later than the Peshitta tend to break down when applied to the Diatessaron. In the first place, the Genealogies are missing; the lists found in the 23rd Homily of Aphraates cannot be ascribed to the original form of Tatian's Harmony in the face of the definite statement of Theodoret that the Genealogies had been left out. Then again the evidence, so far as it goes, suggests that the Diatessaron had *Beelzebul* with the Greek, not *Beelzebub* with the Syriac O.T. As for the quotations in the Gospel from the O.T., it happens that the phrases which supplied the clearest evidence in the case of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* are not preserved in our fragmentary authorities for the Diatessaron text; but Aphraates 330, when quoting Lk iii 6, ends the verse with

And all flesh shall see the Life of God,

i.e. we have a rendering of *καὶ ὄψεται πᾶσα σὰρξ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ θεοῦ*, while on the other hand *S* and *C* give us *And all flesh shall see it together, because the mouth of the Lord hath spoken*, in agreement with Isaiah xl 5¹. In this quotation, therefore, the Diatessaron is much less influenced by the Syriac O.T. than the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*. At the same time we must remember that the preceding clause in Aphraates' quotation agrees verbally with *SC* and the Syriac of Isai xl 4^b. It is hard to believe that the text of *SC* and Aphraates, viz.

ܠܗܝܬܝܢ ܠܡܕܝܢ ܠܝܬܝܢ ܠܡܕܝܢ ܠܡܕܝܢ ܠܡܕܝܢ

the rough shall become a level and the broken country a plain,

can be an independent translation of *ἔσται τὰ σκολιὰ εἰς εὐθείας καὶ αἱ τραχεῖαι εἰς ὁδοὺς λείας*.

Thus the Diatessaron itself appears to be later than the translation of the O.T. into Syriac, but its text seems to have been less influenced

¹ The N.T. Peshitta of Lk iii 6 agrees with Aphraates (i.e. with the Diatessaron), but ܠܡܕܝܢ ܠܡܕܝܢ is changed into ܠܡܕܝܢ ܠܡܕܝܢ.

by the text of the Syriac Old Testament than was that of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*.

At the beginning of this chapter I confessed that the early history of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* belongs to the region of uncertainty and conjecture. In offering now a conjecture concerning the historical circumstances which gave birth to that version of the Gospels I am well aware of its precarious nature in the present state of our knowledge. At the same time I venture to think that the evidence is sufficient to enable us to make a guess, which may be useful at least as a working hypothesis.

First as to the *Diatessaron*. The Greek name that Tatian gave to his Harmony, the fact that he himself was a Greek author, and—most important of all—the existence of direct though degenerate descendants of the *Diatessaron* in the Codex Fuldensis and the mediæval Dutch Harmonies, all these things tell us that the Syriac *Diatessaron* is not an original work but a translation of a previously existing Greek Harmony. In the absence of evidence to the contrary there is, I consider, no reason why we should not accept Tatian as the author and compiler of this Greek Harmony and believe that he brought it with him when he finally returned to the East about AD 173. Doubtless it was very soon rendered into Syriac, probably under his immediate supervision.

This part of our hypothesis becomes all the more probable when we consider the number of Western readings—Western in the strict geographical sense—which belong to the *Diatessaron*, but are otherwise unattested except by Codex Bezae and Old Latin texts.

We come now to the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. The first introduction of the Four Gospels to a Christian community is surely a very great event in its history. This is especially the case in a community where a rival to the Four Gospels exists, even a friendly rival such as the *Diatessaron* was. Is there then any known event in the history of the Syriac-speaking Churches, which might seem to indicate a breach of continuity, an inauguration of a fresh order of things? At such a time we might look for changes in the vernacular Bible.

What do we know of the early history of the Syriac-speaking Church in its earliest seat, at Edessa? It has been well shewn—and here I must refer again once for all to the admirable work of the Abbé Tixeront,

called *Les Origines de l'Église d'Édesse*¹—that what we know is the succession of the Bishops. That succession is

Addai

Aggai

Palût (about 200 AD).

'Abshelamâ

Barsamyâ (about 250–60)

.....

Conâ (died 313).

Between Barsamya and Cona there is no real breach of continuity, but the names of the bishops are uncertain: the Abbé Tixeront (p. 152) gives some very plausible reasons for supposing that the names were Tiridates and Shalula.

The real break comes between Aggai and Palût. According to the tradition of the Church of Edessa, as embodied in the *Doctrine of Addai*, the evangelist Addai had been sent to Edessa by the apostle Judas Thomas, and Aggai was the disciple of Addai. But Palût was not ordained bishop by Aggai. The story goes that the persecution broke out so suddenly that Aggai was martyred before he was able to ordain his successor, so that Palût had to go for his consecration—to *Serapion of Antioch*. Thus suddenly we emerge from legend into the light of history.

Serapion was bishop of Antioch from 190 to 203 AD, and is known to us from Eusebius (*HE* vi 12) as the ecclesiastic who suppressed the Gospel of Peter in the neighbouring Church of Rhossus. There is absolutely no reason why the Edessene Church should have traced their succession to him, except that historical fact compelled them so to do, instead of giving the honour to their somewhat mythical founder Addai. Not that Addai and Aggai are altogether unhistorical, but the stories concerning them are obviously legendary in all their details, and

¹ See especially pp. 140 ff, 149, 151; also the *Acts of Barsamya* (in Cureton, ASD), p. 72. For a more extended attempt to fix the succession of the Edessene Bishops I venture to refer the reader to my book *Early Eastern Christianity* (S. Margaret's Lectures for 1904), especially pp. 17–36 and 75–78.

most modern scholars believe that Syriac tradition has placed them a century too early.

We have, therefore, as the history of the evangelisation of Mesopotamia a mission in the middle of the second century under Addai and Aggai, a mission which at first met with success, but later on was almost stamped out by persecution. Then comes the mission of Tatian in the last quarter of the second century, in which the Diatessaron makes its appearance. In a third period the organisation of the Catholic Church makes a fresh start under Palût about the year 200 AD, and Palût derived his commission from Serapion of Antioch, a prelate whom we know to have been especially active in promoting the ecclesiastical use of the Four Gospels. It is difficult to believe that the origin of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is unconnected with the policy of Serapion and the mission of Palût.

If this theory be adopted, we must think of Palût as a Christian of Edessa familiar with the wording of the Diatessaron, but trained by Serapion to disregard its authority. The agreements between the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and the Diatessaron are in the main agreements of language, in the choice of words and the style of translation; the differences between the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* and the Diatessaron are differences in the underlying Greek text and in striking renderings of single phrases. In other words, the influence of the Diatessaron on the translator was the sort of influence that the English Authorised Version exercises on the work of an English scholar. It modifies the phrase and the cadence of a new translation, but does not as a rule affect the result in essentials.

Formerly I thought it a serious objection to this view that the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*, especially as represented by *S*, contains many 'better' readings than the Diatessaron. It has been argued above¹, for instance, that *S*, which omits the 'last twelve verses of S. Mark,' presents an older form of the version than *C*, which retains them, because we cannot conceive of an adequate reason for their suppression. The Diatessaron contains these verses, together with many other 'Western Interpolations' which are absent from *S*; must not therefore *S* be the older?

The answer to this objection is that the two cases are not really

¹ See p. 194.

analogous. In the case of two MSS of the same translation of the canonical Gospels into Syriac, which nevertheless differ here and there in text, there is a very strong presumption that the text that has the critically 'better' readings is the more faithful representative of that translation. And this is especially true of the particular case of the retention or omission of [Mk] xvi 9-20, for it is easy to imagine motives for supplying what would seem a defect in the shorter text, while it is difficult to imagine motives for cutting these verses out when once they had been supplied. But the case is different when we compare a translation of the Four Gospels with a translation of Tatian's Harmony. Here there will be differences, intentional differences, from the very beginning. The fact that the translation of the Four Gospels should be made at all is in itself a proof that in the mind of the translator the Diatessaron was not of canonical authority. On every page, in every paragraph, there were omissions, for the Diatessaron is fuller than either of the Four Gospels taken singly. Moreover in the 'last twelve verses' of S. Mark we have not to do with a single section omitted in the middle of a familiar narrative. In the Diatessaron, as was natural, this section was divided up among passages taken from the other Gospels; and, as the substance of [Mk] xvi 9-20 is drawn from the other three Gospels (except the statement about Christ sitting at the right hand of God), it would require some attention from one who had never seen the so-called 'last twelve verses' to discover their presence in the Diatessaron¹.

When once it is conceded that the Greek texts, upon which the Diatessaron and the 'Old Syriac' were respectively based, were themselves different and came from a different part of the Christian world, the excellence or inferiority of the readings attested by the two texts affords no guide to their chronological sequence.

According to the view here suggested, the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* in its original form gives in essentials a faithful representation of the text of the Four Gospels as received at Antioch about 200 AD. The wording of the translation has been often influenced by the renderings found in the Syriac translation of Tatian's Diatessaron, a work familiar

¹ There is nothing to suggest that early copies of the Diatessaron had, like Ciasca's Arabic, notes indicating from which Gospel the several passages were excerpted.

to the translator of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*; to this cause also we may put down the many instances of minor harmonistic readings, so far as they have not been brought into our MSS by a similar tendency on the part of Syriac scribes.

The Greek text that underlies Tatian's Harmony is radically different from that attested by the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. It represents the Gospels as read in Rome in the third quarter of the second century. The fundamentally Western character of this text appears on every page, and it is only by what we may call a historical accident, *viz.* the personal history of Tatian himself, that it was ever found east of Italy. We know something of this type of text from Codex Bezae and its Latin allies, from Justin Martyr and from S. Irenaeus. There are probably few readings of the Diatessaron which are not otherwise represented in our *apparatus criticus*.

But from our ordinary sources of information we know next to nothing about the type of Greek text current at Antioch about the year 200. It is this that makes the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* so valuable to us. It is a textual witness from an otherwise unsurveyed part of the Christian world. All the more, therefore, is it necessary to use our MSS of this version with the most careful discrimination, and especially that we may avoid assigning to the Eastern text, which is the real characteristic of the Old Syriac version of the Four Gospels, Western readings which have been introduced into our MSS from the Western text of Tatian's Diatessaron. This discrimination will be the main object of the following chapter.

It is possible that the date assigned in the foregoing paragraphs to the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* is too late, and that the version may have originated in the epoch of the first mission, the times of Addai and of Aggai. The most probable form in which this view can be held is, I think, that brought forward by Dr Arthur Hjelt in his book *Die altsyrische Evangelienübersetzung und Tatians Diatessaron*.

Dr Hjelt regards the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* as older than the Syriac Diatessaron, but he considers the several Gospels to have been the work of different translators, that of S. Matthew being the oldest and S. Luke the latest. The main support of his theory is that the same Greek words and phrases are often differently rendered in S

in the different Gospels. A number of instances are collected by Dr Hjelt on pp. 96-107 of his book, some of which are sufficiently striking, and to those who are prepared to regard a text practically identical with that of the Sinai Palimpsest as the earliest version of the Gospel in Syriac they certainly present a formidable appearance. Dr Hjelt does not, I venture to think, allow sufficiently for the difficulties of consistency. My own English translation of *S* and *C* is fairly consistent; but when I call to mind the numerous irregularities which slipped in, some of which were only corrected in proof and some of which, alas, still remain, I cannot wonder that irregularities of rendering are to be detected in the Syriac text of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe*. Moreover, some of the most curious irregularities are not conterminous with the several Gospels. How irregular, for instance, are the Syriac renderings of *εὐθύς*, *εὐθέως*! Or again, the rendering of *Ἰησοῦς* by *ܐܢܬܐ* our Lord, one of the most striking features of *S*, is not characteristic of the whole of Matt and Joh, but only of parts of these Gospels, and it also occurs in Lk viii 40¹. We may also bring forward against Dr Hjelt's theory a number of very curious agreements between the text of the several Gospels in the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, which seem to imply a common origin: one striking example is the rendering of *ἐν στολαῖς* by *ܠܒܢܐܢܐ* both in Mk xii 38 and Lk xx 46, as if it were *ἐν στοαῖς*.

It will not be necessary to examine Dr Hjelt's interesting lists in detail. If once we admit that the Diatessaron preceded the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe*, another explanation of the differences between the rendering of parallel passages lies at our disposal. It is simply this:—that in one passage the translator allowed himself to reproduce the already familiar text of the Diatessaron, in another he made his own new rendering from the Greek that lay before him. Dr Hjelt observes that the text of S. Matthew is more freely rendered in *S* than the text of S. Luke: the explanation is, that there are more undigested fragments of the Diatessaron text in the First Gospel than in the Third.

For instance Dr Hjelt notes (p. 103) that *οἰνοπότης* is rendered

¹ See above, pp. 85 ff., 97 ff., and the Note on *ܐܠܝܐ* Matt xiv 27 *S*. Note also that *ῥέλος* is *ܠܒܢܐܢܐ* in Matt xxiv 6, 14, and Mk iii 26, but *ܠܒܢܐ* Matt x 22, xxiv 13, xxvi 58, Mk xiii 7, 13, Lk xxi 9. In Matt xiii 39, 40, xxiv 3, *συντέλεια* is rendered by *ܠܒܢܐܢܐ*, but in Matt xiii 49 by *ܠܒܢܐ*.

by ܠܕܝܬ 'a drinker' in Matt xi 19 *SC*, but in Lk vii 34 *S* and *C* have ܠܕܝܬ 'a drunkard.' Here the evidence of Ephraim¹ makes it practically certain that ܠܕܝܬ was the rendering found in the Diatessaron. In S. Matthew, therefore, the translator of the *Ev. da-Mepharreshe* adopted the rendering of Tatian's Harmony, while in S. Luke he chose to give a literal rendering. It is not necessary to assume in such passages that the text of both *S* and *C* have been subsequently assimilated to the Diatessaron, though this may frequently have occurred; but I am sure it is only in accordance with ordinary human nature, that a translator should sometimes follow previously existing renderings and sometimes translate for himself. It must of course be remembered that Dr Hjelt regards the original text of the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* as older than the Diatessaron and therefore uninfluenced by any previous rendering of the Gospel into Syriac.

It is naturally impossible to know how long the translator of the 'Old Syriac' was occupied with his task: for aught we know it may have been the work of several seasons, and the translator's style may have slightly changed in the interval. But if it be granted that the Diatessaron preceded the 'Old Syriac' version of the Four Gospels and exercised a decided influence on the wording of the version, it does not appear to me necessary to suppose that it was the work of more than one translator or that the translator made use of more than one Greek exemplar. And that this translator was none other than Bishop Palût, the disciple of Serapion of Antioch, I now consider a probable surmise.

On the view here advocated, the view which dates the Syriac Diatessaron about 173 AD and the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* about 200 AD, the earliest Church in Edessa under Addai and Aggai had no New Testament. For the first generation of Syriac-speaking Christians the Law and the Prophets sufficed. It is just this absence of an available text of the Four Gospels which explains the instant and continued success of the Diatessaron in Mesopotamia in contrast to its failure throughout the rest of the Christian world.

¹ *Lamy* ii 747 : see above, p. 118.